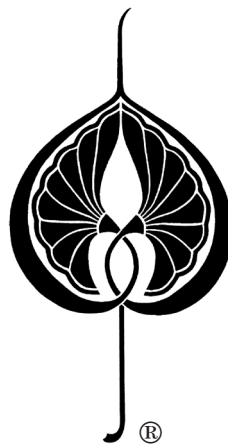


# PACIFIC WORLD

Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies

Third Series Number 14  
Fall 2012



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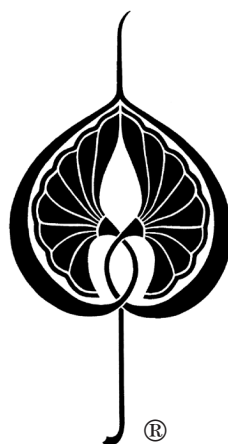
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# **A Transnational Development of Japanese Buddhism During the Postwar Period: The Case of Tana Daishō**

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## **ABSTRACT**

While there is abundant scholarship on the postwar reconstruction of Japanese religion and identity, the development of Japanese religion beyond its national borders after World War II is relatively understudied. This paper aims to expand the scope of scholarship on modern Japanese Buddhism by treating changes that affected Japanese Buddhism in the United States during the postwar period as an extended experience of Buddhism in Japan. It analyzes the work of Tana Daishō (1901–1972), an Issei Shin Buddhist minister who spent the second half of his life in the U.S., using Robert Bellah’s concepts of “facilitated variation” and “conserved core processes.” Tana wrote and compiled a set of books in Japanese as a doctrinal exegesis and expressed his vision for the development of Shin Buddhism in the United States. In his discussion of this future adaptation, however, he always referred to the Japanese tradition as the basis of comparison and justification. He set out to recover “archaic” Shin Buddhist symbols while taking into account the differing cultural conventions of Japan and the United States. By situating the study of modern Japanese Buddhism in a transnational context, I hope to clarify a broader spectrum of the Japanese Buddhist experience during the mid-twentieth century.

## **INTRODUCTION**

The Buddhist Mission of North America (BMNA)—the oldest Japanese Buddhist organization in the United States, which is affiliated with Nishi Honganji, a dominant branch of Jōdo Shinshū known as Shin

Buddhism—adopted the appearance of American institutions after the outbreak of the Pacific War. The bombing of Pearl Harbor led to the arrest and internment in camps of Japanese religious leaders, including Buddhist clergy, separated from their families. Later, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, forcing approximately 120,000 persons of Japanese ancestry living mainly in the Pacific Coast states to be evacuated and incarcerated in internment camps. Facing this crisis, BMNA issued a statement pledging loyalty to the government of the United States. Subsequently, in 1944, BMNA leaders changed the name of their organization to the Buddhist Churches of America (BCA), a name that more closely resembled an American religious institution. Nisei, the American-born children of Japanese immigrants (known as Issei) began representing the Nikkei (those of Japanese ancestry) community and took the initiative in organizing the BCA.<sup>1</sup>

During the Pacific War the U.S. government interned not only Issei but also Nisei, who were American citizens. Caught in the collision of two modern nation states, people of Japanese ancestry living in the United States responded to the government in various ways. For instance, questions about their loyalty to the United States caused many Issei to sever their ties to Japan. A large number of Nisei volunteered to join the U.S. armed forces and fought on the European front, many at the expense of their lives. Kibei Nisei, U.S.-born children of Issei who had gone to live in Japan but returned to the U.S. before the war, struggled to balance their national identities and felt a sense of alienation from other Nisei who grew up in America.<sup>2</sup> Those who resisted the federal government faced severe consequences. Antagonistic Issei were moved to segregation centers or forced to return to Japan, while disloyal Nisei were deprived of their citizenship. An analysis of the postwar development of the Buddhist Churches of America cannot be separated from a discussion of the afflictions suffered by Shin Buddhists in the United States and their connection to Japan.

This paper examines Tana Daishō's engagement in the postwar development of Shin Buddhism in the United States, while also treating the impact of war and suffering. During the Pacific War and the tumultuous postwar period, as an Issei minister of the BMNA/BCA, he sought a new direction for American Shin Buddhism. Like his predecessors before the war, Tana diverged from Shin Buddhist practices in Japan and catered to the Nisei laity's demands, while reapplying traditional

values to their situation.<sup>3</sup> He defined Shin Buddhism as a family religion that offered a spiritual standpoint to cope with death, reexamined the notion of worldly benefits, and explained the importance of practicing basic Buddhist principles by bridging differences between Shin Buddhism and other Buddhist traditions.

In this endeavor, he took a different path from that of his counterparts in Japan, who had initiated the postwar development of Shin Buddhism by rebuilding local temples and restoring Shinran's teaching, promoting a denominational identity, and rejecting practical benefits believed to be brought about by petitionary prayer. These differences do not, however, suggest that Tana was at odds with the tradition. He recognized the importance of the Japanese household system, made direct references to Shin scriptures to clarify its practical benefits, and engaged in a discussion of the theory of two truths, which underpinned the doctrinal foundation of the Nishi Honganji. Put another way, Tana reemphasized the fundamental principles of Shin Buddhism and articulated them for Nikkei Buddhists during the postwar period.

Tana's efforts illuminate the notions of "facilitated variation" and "conserved core processes." Robert Bellah applies these concepts, originally introduced by two biologists, Mark Kirschner and John Gerhart, to a discussion of cultural integrity. According to Bellah's summary of their study,

[M]utations can occur only in organisms that are already structures (sic)—already have core processes that have persisted through long ages of evolutionary history—and that mutations, though inevitably random, will be accepted or rejected in terms of how they relate to the conserved core processes. The primary contribution of [Kirschner's and Gerhart's book *The Plausibility of Life*] is to clarify how conserved core processes promote variation, that is, "facilitated variation," in ways that produce novel developments in phenotypes without undermining the continuity of the core processes. Stability and change, in this view, enhance each other rather than conflict with each other.<sup>4</sup>

For Bellah, the conserved core processes, which promote variation, represent the "acquisition of new capacities" for human beings to adapt and reorganize, responding to new conditions and various needs, albeit not in a linear fashion connected to the history of evolution.<sup>5</sup> When Tana's attempt to rethink the future of American Shin Buddhism is analyzed under this light, he appears to have recovered

“archaic” Shin Buddhist symbols that had been important to both the Nishi Honganji order and the BMNA, and brought them back into effect with their variations.

#### A SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF TANA DAISHŌ

Little is known about Tana’s life before he came to the United States. He rarely talked about his childhood; however, the few remarks he did make on this subject can help us understand his younger days. He was born in Sapporo (Hokkaidō) in March 1901. His family was impoverished, so he was raised by his grandparents. After Tana completed elementary school, his grandparents took him to a Shin Buddhist temple in Astubetsu, where the elderly, childless priest made him his apprentice. Tana received ordination at the age of seventeen and decided to stay on in Kyoto; the resident priest in Atsubetsu arranged for him to work at the Nishi Honganji headquarters. In essence, Tana had an unhappy childhood and did not receive the higher education for which he had longed.

The headquarters later assigned Tana to the Sunday School Department and he qualified as an overseas minister (*kaikyōshi*) at the age of twenty-four.<sup>6</sup> In 1924 he was sent to Taiwan, and the headquarters subsequently transferred him to the Berkeley Buddhist Temple in the United States in 1928, then brought him back to Japan two years later. He was sent to Korea in 1934 and reassigned to Berkeley in 1936. He returned to Japan the following year and, at the age of thirty-eight, married Hayashima Tomoe. Tomoe was born to a temple family in Hokkaidō and was a sister of Tana’s fellow minister, Hayashima Daitetsu. Tana and Tomoe returned to Berkeley in 1938 and had two sons, Yasuto and Shibun. (Their sons Chinin and Akira were born during the internment and postwar periods, respectively.)<sup>7</sup>

At the time of the Japanese Navy’s attack on Pearl Harbor, Tana was serving in a Buddhist community in Lompoc, California. The Federal Bureau of Investigation immediately arrested him. Tana was first detained at the Santa Barbara County Jail, transferred to a Civilian Conservation Corp camp in Tujunga, outside Los Angeles, and subsequently to the Santa Fe (New Mexico) internment camp in March 1942. The Justice Department sent him to the U.S. Army’s Lordsburg internment camp in New Mexico about three months later. Tana was then moved back to the Santa Fe camp in 1943.<sup>8</sup> In the meantime, his

wife and their two children were forcibly moved to the Gila Relocation Center in Arizona as a result of Executive Order 9066.

While in Santa Fe, Tana suffered from recurring bouts of tuberculosis, which he had contracted in Taiwan, and was hospitalized until the Justice Department released him in April 1946, approximately seven months after the war. On his release, he moved to Richmond, California. The BCA then sent him to Hawai'i, where he served at the Honpa Hongwanji Hilo Betsuin and the Honpa Hongwanji Mission of Hawaii in Honolulu. Tana returned to the Buddhist Churches of America in 1951. After serving as resident minister at the Palo Alto and San Mateo Buddhist Temples in California, he was named Head of the BCA Sunday School Department in 1955, but he resigned from the BCA in 1959 due to illness. He died in 1972 in Palo Alto, at the age of seventy-one.<sup>9</sup>

Despite his active role in the BCA, Tana's contributions have been largely unrecognized. A dispute between the Palo Alto Buddhist Temple's board members and the Tanas had a negative impact on his later career. A misunderstanding arose when temple members began gambling at temple bazaars, which the couple opposed. The dispute eventually led board members to terminate their relationship with the Tanas in September 1955, forcing the Tana family to leave the Palo Alto Buddhist Temple.<sup>10</sup> After Tana's death, his family requested the temple board members to rescind the public announcement of his termination. Although his family has continued to pursue this matter for over 30 years, the two parties have failed to come to an agreement. This incident has unfortunately overshadowed Tana's achievements in the BCA.

#### TANA'S WORKS

A close reading of Tana's writings makes it possible to reevaluate his work. Though not widely circulated today, his works are impressive in terms of their content and volume. During the war years he wrote an internment diary, in Japanese, *Santa Fe, Lordsburg, senji tekikokujin yokuryūsho nikki* in four volumes. His wife published the diaries between 1976 and 1989. Discussion of Tana's camp experience is beyond the scope of this paper; however, the characteristics of his diary are worthy of mention.<sup>11</sup>

First, despite the U.S. government's hostility toward the Issei, Tana was proud of being Japanese and accepted the status of "enemy alien." At the same time, he was determined to make the BMNA a more

American-type religious institution and educate Nisei and Sansei (children of Nisei) in Shin Buddhism. Tana, therefore, made efforts to discover the positive side of internment: it freed him from the administrative chores of a temple and allowed internees to express Japanese sentiments without reserve. According to Tana, this would not have been possible if the Japanese community had not been segregated. He was able to enjoy camp life because he could study Shin Buddhist doctrine, practice calligraphy, learn English, meet and talk with other Issei and Nisei who were brought to the camp from other regions of the United States, and learn about American cultural practices of which he was until then unaware.<sup>12</sup>

Second, his diary contains a variety of criticism. He not only evaluated fellow Japanese internees and camp authorities, but also criticized the Japanese and American governments and the social structures of the day. Tana was particularly critical of fellow Buddhist ministers who engaged in gambling and playing baseball, while neglecting their ministerial duties, such as officiating at Shin Buddhist services and giving Dharma talks. He also pointed out the inefficient camp management, which included frequently moving internees from one place to another without reason, and the dysfunctional mailing system; the misconduct of undisciplined guards; the hypocrisy of the U.S. government, which promoted democracy and liberty while mistreating Nisei and Sansei, who were American citizens; and the careless behavior of those who supported the nationalistic and militant ideology of the Japanese government.<sup>13</sup>

Third, Tana's diary is full of concern about his wife and children, who had been incarcerated at Gila. His diary contains stories of his children, poems his wife wrote to him, and descriptions of the dreams he had about her. The long distance that separated the couple did not prevent Tana from reflecting on his wife's difficult situation. Many internees called him a "saint," but Tana was vividly aware of his deep attachment to his family.<sup>14</sup> In sum, Tana's camp diary is a great resource that offers a Japanese American collective response to the Pacific War and internment, and personal reflection from a Buddhist cleric's perspective.<sup>15</sup>

Tana also wrote a set of three books explaining the basic teachings of Śākyamuni and Shinran, and dedicated them to the development of BCA Sunday Schools. While in Hawai'i, he followed in the footsteps of BMNA minister Kyōgoku Itsuzō (1887–1953), and others, who had

developed a curriculum with “pasted-on” English lesson cards in 1946; Tana elaborated on these learning tools. In 1952, after returning to the BCA, Tana embarked on a project to create a new series of cards. He wrote them in Japanese and several members translated them into English. His lesson cards were accompanied by a manual for Sunday School teachers.<sup>16</sup>

In 1955, the Sunday School Department decided to compile textbooks in English as a commemorative project for the 700th-year passing of the founder, Shinran (1173–1263), which was to take place in 1961. The Sunday School Department commissioned Tana to collect materials and write on four topics: “Introduction to Buddhism,” “The Teaching of Buddha,” “Salvation by Buddha,” and “Buddha and His Disciples.” After the textbook advisory committee’s review, three Nisei ministers used his writings as reference for the publications *Buddhism for Youth, Part One: Buddha and His Disciples* and *Buddhism for Youth, Part Two: The Teaching of Buddha*, published by the BCA in 1962 and 1965, respectively. Both of these works discuss basic principles of Buddhism, though not specifically those of Shin Buddhism.<sup>17</sup>

Tana later published a set of three books on the same themes in Japanese, expanded and written in a dialogue style: *Hotoke no kyūsai* (Salvation by Buddha) in 1966, *Busshi seikatsu hen* (Buddha and His Disciples) in 1969, and *Hotoke no kyōbō* (The Teaching of Buddha) in 1972. The subtitle “Sunday School Text Excerpts” is given to *Hotoke no kyūsai* and *Busshi seikatsu hen*, which consists of Tana’s extensive discussion of Shin Buddhism with fifty-two and fifty-three Dharma talks, respectively. These books are collections of his correspondence to his former Sunday School students during his internment. Internees were restricted to only two letters and one postcard per week. Tana distributed a Dharma talk, and also wrote a letter to his family, every week.<sup>18</sup> It is difficult to identify the readership of the Japanese books he wrote, however. First, during the mid-1960s, the ages of the Nisei ranged from thirty-five to fifty,<sup>19</sup> so printing his wartime Dharma talks, which he had addressed to young Nisei, would not have made much sense. Second, judging from the division of work in the source and target languages at the BCA Sunday School Department, Tana seemed to communicate with Nisei primarily in Japanese. Yet though most Nisei had received at least a rudimentary education in the Japanese language, their ability to read advanced Japanese books on Buddhism is doubtful.<sup>20</sup> It is, therefore, unlikely that Nisei Buddhists were able to understand Tana’s books.



Further, according to Michael Masatsugu, during the 1950s, Nisei Shin Buddhists participated in the Berkeley Buddhist Study Group, which was affiliated with the BCA. This group engaged in a transsectarian Buddhist dialogue with Euro-American Buddhists, including the Beats, Asian immigrants, and Asian Americans. These people sought a universal Buddhism but simultaneously competed in “constructing ‘authentic’ Buddhist practice and teaching,” reflecting their racial/ethnic identities.<sup>21</sup> For these Nisei Shin Buddhists, Tana’s exclusive focus on Shin Buddhism might have appeared too sectarian, although he himself proposed that Shin Buddhists adopt broader Buddhist practices. Tana understood the untimely publication of his books and wished them to be used for future propagation aimed at the new Issei (*shin issei*)—Japanese nationals who migrated to the United States after the revision of American immigration laws in 1968.<sup>22</sup>

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HONGANJI

Shinran’s followers structured his doctrine and practice by forming various organizations. Among them, the Honganji became the most powerful Shin Buddhist order under the leadership of the eighth abbot, Rennyo (1415–1499). The succeeding generation of Honganji abbots fought and negotiated with national unifiers, such as Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582), Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598), and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616). With the establishment of the Tokugawa regime (1603–1867), Ieyasu divided the Honganji into two denominations—the Nishi (West) and the Higashi (East) Honganji—to weaken its power. The split of the Honganji was done for political reasons, not for doctrinal differences. Since then, these two Honganji organizations have been the dominant branches of Shin Buddhism.

Honganji leaders deviated from the founder’s teaching in two major ways. First, Shinran considered birth in the Pure Land both a matter of the present life and that of the afterlife, but emphasized the importance of spiritual liberation attained in this life, known as “having immediately entered the stage of the truly settled” (*shōjōju*).<sup>23</sup> His followers, however, began addressing the assurance of salvation in the next life. For instance, Rennyo added to Shinran’s teaching an element of petitioning, such as to “beseech Amida for salvation in the next life.”<sup>24</sup> Today, according to the Nishi Honganji authority, the goal of Shin Buddhism is twofold: gaining the benefit of “having immediately



entered the stage of the truly settled” in this world and attaining budhahood in the Pure Land in the future.<sup>25</sup>

Second, Honganji leaders discussed the social dimension of those who obtain *shinjin* (or entrusting mind). Although Shinran emphasized the importance of maintaining spiritual principles over observing the secular rules, his descendants reversed the priority. For instance, Rennyo urged his followers to distinguish the laws of the Buddha from those of the king, and to observe both but under different circumstances. This strategy was instrumental for the Honganji leaders in negotiating with and securing its position in the Tokugawa regime. When Japan encountered the West and modernization began, Shin clergy rekindled the discussion of spiritual/secular rules and formulated the so-called theory of two truths (*shinzoku nitaion*)—spiritual and mundane.

Regardless of the variants in this schema of secular/spiritual rules, both Nishi and Higashi Honganji leaders saw the importance of obeying secular rules and conformed with the state apparatus: Article 28 of the Constitution of the Empire of Japan states that “Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief.”<sup>26</sup> The Honganji organizations counseled their followers to keep faith to themselves, while consenting to Imperial laws and supporting Japan’s colonial expansion.<sup>27</sup> After the Pacific War, Honganji leaders abandoned imperialistic wartime theology and “democratized” their organizations. The Nishi Honganji headquarters, however, have maintained the theory of two truths, with the secular rules being defined as “democracy.”

#### SHIN BUDDHISM AS A FAMILY RELIGION

Following the Nishi Honganji tradition, Tana insisted that attaining birth in the Pure Land was important to American Shin Buddhists and that such a spiritual standpoint was the basis for sustaining them in this world. With a clear understanding of the Primal Vow and through the act of reciting the name of Amida Buddha, Shin Buddhists can gain peace of mind and live confidently in the present, despite the many problems that everyday life brings.<sup>28</sup> At the same time, Tana emphasized a material aspect of the Pure Land, reiterating the idea that it is where husband and wife, parent and child, and siblings can all meet after they leave this world.<sup>29</sup> This forward-looking perspective on the afterlife derives from the heart of the Shin Buddhist tradition, drawing

from Shinran's statement that after his death he will await his followers in the Pure Land,<sup>30</sup> and the idea of "meeting together in one place [in the Pure Land]" (*kue issho*), from a scriptural passage in the *Smaller Sukhāvativyūha-sūtra*. By the mid-Tokugawa period, Shin Buddhist followers throughout Japan had begun seeking afterlife-unification with Shinran. They brought the remains of their loved ones to Shinran's mausoleum or to the Honganji head temple (either Nishi or Higashi), which enshrined the sacred image of Shinran. This burial practice even rationalized communal interment in some areas where Shin followers did not observe individual family entombment.<sup>31</sup>

The following question-and-answer passage in Tana's *Hotoke no kyūsai* demonstrates Shin Buddhist postmortem soteriology:

Question: We are worried about life. If atomic war breaks out, all forms of life may become extinct. Instead of studying hard to make our future life better, isn't it better to enjoy our present life with friends? What does Buddhism say about this?

Answer: We can live our present life righteously without the fear of death by accepting the Buddha's salvation. Imagine that a doctor tells us we have a terminal illness. Unless we have heard the Buddhist teaching and believe in the attainment of birth in the Pure Land with recitation of the nenbutsu, we will become agitated and upset. We all understand that life is limited, but the majority of us tend to think, "I will live a bit longer." At bottom, however, we are all uneasy. Today, the developments of science, which are supposed to enrich our lives, alert us to the possibility of atomic war and make us nervous. Our government and society are dealing with this problem, so we should cooperate with them. They do not, however, guarantee our security. Even though they may be fully prepared, they cannot promise the safety of all our family members. We may go astray when evacuating. Imagining atomic warfare is, however, unnecessary for the meditation of our response to death. Death is an unavoidable aspect of life. Today, Buddhist salvation means that family members [who will be separated by death] can say, "We recite the nenbutsu together so we will meet again in the Pure Land." This is what makes Shin Buddhism a family religion.<sup>32</sup>

This dialogue, in which the fear of death is magnified to make it seem that the young feel so hopeless they are unable to even consider their future, reflects not only the escalation of the Cold War but also the collective Japanese experience of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Earlier, during World War II, Tana employed the rhetoric of birth in the Pure Land as a rendezvous in the afterlife and comforted Nisei soldiers and their parents. He not only explained birth in the Pure Land as the fulfillment of a life of *kue issho*,<sup>33</sup> but also introduced various Buddhist stories related to Nisei soldiers. For instance, a father began to study Buddhism seriously after his son decided to volunteer for the American armed forces, and then explained the Buddhist teaching to his son. When it came time for them to say goodbye to each other, the father expressed the wish that if his son did not return home, he would reunite with him in the Pure Land. The father longed to attain buddhahood for himself and hoped for his son to become an Amidist.<sup>34</sup>

Another Nisei soldier, who had attended Sunday School as a child, remembered those days and began singing Buddhist *gāthās* on Sundays. It helped ease his fear when he and his fellow soldiers faced battle.<sup>35</sup> Many Nisei Buddhist soldiers carried a small piece of paper inscribed with the six kanji characters of *na-mu-a-mi-da-butsu*. They may have considered this to be a talisman or divine protector, but from Tana's perspective, it allowed them to live each day strongly with the assurance of birth in the Pure Land.<sup>36</sup>

The way Tana explained Shin Buddhism in the United States during the wartime years differed significantly from the way his counterparts in Japan propagated the religion during the same period. The great majority of Shin Buddhist priests in Japan supported Japan's Fifteen-year War (1931–1945) and asserted that death in action was honorable, representing the "bodhisattva practice of non-self,"<sup>37</sup> and that spiritual principles had already determined a soldier's birth in the Pure Land. Therefore, according to the secular rules, a soldier was obliged to perform his duty on the battlefield, with the knowledge that his service was spiritually sanctioned. The Japanese government also enshrined the war dead at state-sponsored Shintō shrines, such as the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo, and it was common for local Shin priests to place mortuary tablets for the emperors next to a statue of Amida Buddha. In short, the notion of birth in the Pure Land became deeply connected to Japan's colonialism and the ideology of imperial Shintō.

Although the idea of birth in the Pure Land played a different role in the United States, American Shin Buddhists during and after the war also embraced a kind of nationalism. Nisei soldiers chose to go to war as a pledge of allegiance to the U.S. government and on behalf of those of Japanese ancestry, hoping that this act of service would demonstrate

their loyalty and the government would stop discriminating against them. The idea of birth in the Pure Land therefore upheld the spirits of Nisei Shin Buddhist soldiers, as well. It sublimated their fear of unnatural death and recast it as sacrifice for one's country—as well as guaranteeing the afterlife reunion with their loved ones. For Nisei families too, the notion of birth in the Pure Land represented continuity of family life. To put it differently, family ties and ethnic loyalties encouraged Nisei Buddhists to uphold a belief in birth in the Pure Land.<sup>38</sup>

In postwar Japan, nationalistic and sentimental attitudes associated with the Pure Land died out and Shin Buddhist leaders reformed their organizations. In 1951, the Nishi Honganji headquarters in Japan coined the slogan: "Let us share the tradition of a Shin Buddhist life from one generation to the next through the efforts of resident ministers of Shin Buddhist temples, their wives, and followers." Its objective was to promote the teaching at local temples.<sup>39</sup> In the case of the Higashi Honganji in Japan, the rebuilding effort was more progressive. To revitalize local temples in response to the shift in family structures—from the extended family with patriarchal values to the nuclear family—its leaders organized a Youth Department that aimed to help young adults establish a Shin Buddhist identity on an individual level, instead of engaging in the religion only through family Buddhist affiliation.<sup>40</sup> The effect of the Tokugawa household registration system, which utilized Buddhist temple registries, remained strong and many parishioners observed Buddhist funerals and memorial services without really understanding the teaching. Reviving the roles of local temples and initiating a bottom-up lay movement was, therefore, an urgent task for postwar Shin Buddhist leaders in Japan.

Tana, however, still considered the household as the basic unit for practicing Shin Buddhism in America. During his internment, he witnessed many devout Issei who came to Sunday services regardless of weather, and who embraced the idea that the seeds of wholesome karma implanted in them during their childhood had taken root and allowed them to appreciate Shin Buddhism as they became older. Tana observed that not many people became followers of Shin Buddhism after the outbreak of the war, even though they began to listen to the teaching in the camps. He concluded that this revealed the importance of parents' Buddhist influence over their children.<sup>41</sup>

Tana also applied another traditional Japanese household practice in propagating Shin Buddhism in the United States. He observed

that for more than seventy years, Shin ministers in America conducted memorial services mainly at temples, though their Japanese counterparts performed such services at the parishioner's home. Reflecting on this Japanese custom, Tana proposed that each household become a center of Buddhist activity. What Shin Buddhists observed at temple should be extended to the private sphere, he said, so they could practice Buddhism at home following and adapting established American customs. For instance, Tana suggested the Thanksgiving holiday as a day to commemorate the passing of Shinran, who died on November 28th,<sup>42</sup> and Christmas as a day to celebrate Siddhārtha Gautama's attainment of awakening. Instead of a Christmas tree, a Buddhist family could place a statue of the Buddha underneath a *bodhi* tree.<sup>43</sup> In this way, Tana attempted to relocate Buddhist practice from the temple to the home, and to adapt Christian American household practices to Shin Buddhist life.

#### REDEFINING SHIN BUDDHIST BENEFITS

*Hotoke no kyūsai*, in six chapters, is a comprehensive introduction to Shin Buddhism. The book discusses its sacred texts, tradition, Shinran's life, and Shin Buddhist doctrine. In the last chapter, Tana refers to Shinran's magnum opus, the *Kyōgyōshinshō* (*The True Teaching, Practice, and Realization of the Pure Land Way*), and explains ten benefits listed by Shinran in that work. Among them, the efficacy of "having immediately entered the stage of the truly settled," the tenth benefit, is the ultimate.<sup>44</sup> Based on the tradition in Japan, where Shin Buddhist clergy considered the act of praying to Amida Buddha for worldly benefits to be a sign of unsettled faith and a lack of clear understanding of the teaching, Tana states in this work that Shin Buddhists reject petitionary prayer because seeking worldly benefits does not lead to established spiritual awareness, while those who entrust in Amida's Primal Vow and recite the nenbutsu in gratitude maintain peace of mind because they are assured of attaining buddhahood in the future.<sup>45</sup>

Tana, however, recognizes the power of nenbutsu as the effect of a decisive spiritual settlement and introduces several stories. While in Taiwan, he heard the following from a fellow minister: A Sunday School child once caught measles and lingered on the verge of death. Rather than praying for recovery, he and his mother concurred that Amida Buddha would take him to the Pure Land upon his death, so there was nothing for the minister to say or do. Strangely, the child

recovered and began attending Sunday School again. In Tana's mind, the nenbutsu teaching, to which the child had listened, helped him make up his mind to accept death, and this resolution then brought about his positive physical transformation.<sup>46</sup>

Tana also wrote about an event that happened to Japanese American youth. He felt that recitation of the nenbutsu generated mental concentration, which helped the reciter achieve a goal. Imagine a football team of which a Sunday School student was a member. If the team won the game, the student might think his team won because he had recited the nenbutsu. According to Tana however, it was not Amida's divine power that had helped the team prevail, but rather that the practice of reciting the nenbutsu had helped the student focus on the game. Tana further argued that because Shin Buddhists in Japan rarely discussed the efficacy of single-mindedness associated with the nenbutsu, the practical benefit of Shin Buddhism remained unnoticed and underappreciated.<sup>47</sup>

Another story in Tana's book exemplifies regaining one's self-composure through the act of reciting the nenbutsu. One day, Gilbert Sasaki, a Sunday School student in Hawai'i, climbed Mt. Mauna Kea with some friends, but he became separated from them during the descent. He ended up spending the night all alone on the mountain. In a state of extreme anxiety, he thought of his mother and the Buddhist altar at home. Recitation of the nenbutsu helped calm him and gave him the strength to seek a way out the next morning.<sup>48</sup> For Tana, this youth's experience demonstrated the importance of listening to the teaching every Sunday.

There is another story about a Mrs. Umeno, who used to work for an elderly Caucasian widow in Palo Alto, Mrs. Brown. She fell ill one day and asked Mrs. Umeno to put her hand on a Bible and pray to God for her recovery. Umeno felt she could not refuse, so she repeated the prayer that Mrs. Brown asked her to recite but added *namu-amida-butsu* at the end. The widow asked her about the phrase. Umeno told her it was the holy name of the Buddha and that she considered prayer unnecessary because the Buddha watched over her at all times, whether she was aware of it or not. Mrs. Brown came to admire Mrs. Umeno and asked her to say the nenbutsu after the Christian invocation whenever she visited. The widow later moved to her son's home but continued reciting the nenbutsu because it helped to calm her. In Tana's mind, Mrs. Brown's case is an example of the inconceivable working of the

nenbutsu that deeply affects and uplifts those who interact with nenbutsu followers.<sup>49</sup>

In sum, Tana, without distorting doctrine, expanded the scope of Shin Buddhist understanding regarding worldly benefits. He argued that benefits would come naturally to those who take refuge in Amida Buddha's Primal Vow and that worldly benefit is not the cause for people to seek religion, but rather is a consequence of their "correct" understanding of it. He seems to reiterate Rennyo's position that worldly benefits have already been included in the act of the nenbutsu.<sup>50</sup> Tana may have felt he had to clarify the worldly benefits of Shin Buddhism for Sunday School students because, as Mrs. Umeno's story shows, prayer is an important aspect of Christian life.

#### DEFINING "PRACTICE" FOR AMERICAN SHIN BUDDHISTS

Tana's efforts to elucidate the worldly benefit of Shin Buddhism are associated with his attempts to outline a new set of Shin Buddhist practices. In the United States, Tana participated in the postwar discussion of the theory of two truths. In the Postscript to *Hotoke no kyōbō*, he underscores the need to define "practice" as Shin Buddhists' engagement with society increases:

Buddhists in the United States who listen to "The Teaching of Buddha" must think less about attaining birth in the Pure Land and more about improving their present lives. Birth in the Pure Land is like a child making his way home after a long break, where his parents await him. Even if his clothing is dirty, there is no need for him to wash it before returning home [because his mother will do it for him]. Similarly, the Buddha's salvation does not depend on our actions, whether they are good or bad. The child must, however, be cared for because he has to drive home. Buddhist salvation explained from this point of view represents the gate of mundane rules in Shin Buddhism.

The Shin Buddhist teaching in Japan has focused on the gate of spiritual rules, which exemplifies a child's decision to return home, and emphasizes "Birth in the Pure Land even if I die at this moment," and not very much on the gate of mundane rules. Here in America, however, the entirety of a happy life is considered to be in the present. The mundane rules that accompany and ensure the child's return become very important.<sup>51</sup>



Within the concept of birth in the Pure Land, Tana distinguishes two kinds of intentions—desire for birth and pursuit of that goal—and relates them to the gates of spiritual and mundane rules, respectively. Referring to *The Larger Sutra of Immeasurable Life*, he defines the practice of six *pāramitās* (charity, morality, patience, diligence, meditation, and wisdom) as the gate of mundane rules for Shin Buddhists. The *sūtra* states:

You all should thoroughly cultivate the roots of virtue in this life. Express gratitude, manifest a kind heart. Do not violate the proscriptions set for followers of the Buddha's Way. Practice forbearance, apply yourselves energetically. Concentrate the mind and cultivate wisdom. Instruct and transform each other in the Dharma. Practice virtue, uphold what is good. Keep your mind and will straight on the Path.

It is better to purify yourselves by observing for one day and one night the precepts of the fortnightly retreat than it is to practice the good for a hundred years in the country of the Buddha of Measureless Life. . . .<sup>52</sup>

Tana, who read the description of the six *pāramitās* through the lens of the Shin Buddhist tradition, takes the passage “concentrate the mind and cultivate wisdom” to mean the state of developing *shinjin*. He, therefore, extends the spiritual life of nenbutsu followers to include the practice of six *pāramitās* and maintains that it would contribute to a prosperous land where “the people live in peace. There is no need for soldiers or weapons,”<sup>53</sup> as the *sūtra* later states.<sup>54</sup> His experiences during World War II as a prisoner and internee, tormented by the war between his home country and the nation he had emigrated to, as well as witnessing his Sunday School students sent off to the front, must have resulted in a deep longing for a country free from warfare and violence.

Tana was not, of course, the first person to propose that American Shin Buddhists adopt the practice of the six *pāramitās*. His predecessor Kyōgoku Itsuzō had also suggested it. Kyōgoku, an active BMNA minister, contributed to the establishment of the BMNA Endowment Foundation and laid the foundations of Buddhist education for youth. In fact, the BCA identifies him as “the father of the BCA Sunday School Department.”<sup>55</sup>

The lack of a defined practice in Shin Buddhism, which would have turned away BMNA Nisei and Euro-American sympathizers, caused



Kyōgoku to try to bridge the gap between the basic teachings of Śākyamuni and those of Shinran. Outwardly they seem quite different: Śākyamuni teaches practitioners to control their blind passions by pursuing self-discipline (known as “self-power” among Shin Buddhists), while Shinran teaches that followers should entrust him- or herself solely to the Primal Vow of Amida Buddha (“other-power”), without setting any ethical guidelines. For Shin Buddhists, practicing the six *pāramitās* and observing the five precepts (abstention from killing, stealing, lying, sexual misconduct, and ingesting intoxicants) are not necessary prerequisites for attaining birth in the Pure Land because they represent the virtues of Amida Buddha, on whose salvific power the follower relies.

Kyōgoku, however, came to value the process of trial and error on the follower’s part. He felt that one cannot understand self-limits and the necessity of entrusting to something larger than oneself without realizing one’s attachment. For instance, if one fails in the first practice of the six *pāramitās*, *dāna* (offering or charity)—comprehending how difficult it is to give without expecting anything in return—one would recognize one’s deep attachment to self. Failure in the practice of *dāna* would eventually lead followers to accept Amida Buddha’s salvation, which embraces sentient beings just as they are.<sup>56</sup>

The Sunday School textbook, which the BCA commissioned Tana to write, attempts to connect the basic doctrine of Śākyamuni and Shinran’s hermeneutics, so Sunday School students will not misunderstand and consider them to be two separate lineages.<sup>57</sup> In the Postscript to *Hotoke no kyōbō*, Tana writes:

To compile textbooks, it is necessary to consider the relationship between the original teachings of the Buddha and the doctrine of Shin Buddhism. Unless we do, and if we merely reiterate the traditional Japanese expression [which is “Just recite the nenbutsu and you will born in the Pure Land”], it would be extremely difficult for those born and raised in the United States to accept the nenbutsu teaching.<sup>58</sup>

The emphasis of the Japanese cultural practice would not only relegate Shin Buddhism to the status of an ethnic religion in America but also prevent Nisei and Sansei from understanding the nenbutsu teaching. At the same time, Tana knew from experience that superficial inter-Buddhist denominational dialogue would not help clarify the connection between the teachings of Śākyamuni and those of Shinran. For instance, during the internment, Buddhist clerics, Christian ministers,

and Shintō priests agreed not to criticize each other's religions in order to avoid unnecessary friction. The Buddhist clerics decided to conduct transdenominational services in which Shin Buddhist ministers, including Tana, chanted *The Heart Sutra* (Jpn. *Hannya Shingyō*), even though this practice was uncommon in their tradition.<sup>59</sup> In *Hotoke no kyōbō*, Tana does not propose such ad hoc ritual practice but suggests seeking the doctrinal foundation of Shin Buddhism in Śākyamuni's teachings. In addition to the six *pāramitās*, Tana applies the eightfold path to the gate of mundane rules as an extension of the nenbutsu practice.

Including the six *pāramitās* and the eightfold path in the spiritual lives of Shin Buddhists is, however, misleading; it generates a debate about whether these practices represent self-power or other-power because the nenbutsu is said to be the sole cause for birth in the Pure Land.<sup>60</sup> Tana avoids the mix-up by limiting the discussion of self-power and other-power to the attainment of buddhahood. The former is the practice to become a buddha through one's own effort, while the latter implies that the attainment of buddhahood is accomplished through the efficacy of Amida's Primal Vow. Other-power does not imply giving up one's responsibility and leaving everything up to Amida's will in all things, however. For instance, a child grows and thrives because of the parents' care and protection. To become a better student however, the child must study diligently and should not rely on his parents to do his homework. In like manner, the eightfold path and the six *pāramitās* represent the practice of being indebted to Amida Buddha after entrusting in his Vow, but they are not the conditions for birth in the Pure Land.<sup>61</sup> By relating the eightfold path and six *pāramitās* to the notion of indebtedness, Tana remained loyal to the tradition.

While emphasizing Amida's salvific grace however, Tana neither specified Shin Buddhists' relationship to the secular law of the United States nor took into account the complex international politics of the day. In this regard, he overlooked the central issue in dealing with the theory of the two truths—defining “the relationship between the ultimate truth of *shinjin* and the worldly principles of secular society”<sup>62</sup>—and took the Buddhist teachings to himself while avoiding expressing his faith in public. His criticism of the U.S. government remained solely in his diary and he refrained from taking political action after the war. Tana's attitude represents the majority of Nikkei Buddhists' stance in the postwar years. According to Stephen S. Fugita and Marilyn Fernandez,

[T]he contemporary religious orientation of former Japanese American incarcerated is related to differing retrospective views of their World War II incarceration. Specifically, even though the Buddhists were more marginalized by the larger society than were Protestants before, during, and immediately after the war, they remember their incarceration as a significantly less negative period in their lives than do Protestants. . . . Finally, Buddhists were somewhat less active than Protestants in the social movement to redress the injustice of their wartime treatment.<sup>63</sup>

For Nikkei Buddhists, endurance of suffering during internment did not lead them to question the institutional structure of American society and its discrimination against people of Japanese ancestry, but it led to their acceptance of their past just as it was.

Tana, in fact, avoided negotiating the boundary between religion and state. He discouraged Sunday School students from expressing their Buddhist faith in public. As an example, he said that when an American court asks a Shin Buddhist to swear to tell the truth by placing their hand on a Bible, he or she should simply do so.<sup>64</sup> In *Busshi seikatsu hen*, he even recognized warfare as a necessary evil and encouraged Buddhist followers to protect their country by referring to the *Golden Light Sutra*. Death in action is an “act of giving”—donating one’s life to one’s country, according to him.<sup>65</sup> In this aspect, Tana contradicted his previous position that the practice of six *pāramitās* would contribute to the founding of a country where “. . . the people live in peace. There is no need for soldiers or weapons.” It is puzzling why Tana’s internment experience led him to seek the abandonment of weapons on one hand and yet led to his support for warfare (in certain conditions) on the other. This inconsistency implies that Tana did not fully articulate, even to himself, the theory of two truths.

#### CONCLUSION

During the postwar period, Tana Daishō sought to help those of Japanese ancestry reestablish a Shin Buddhist identity in the United States. Instead of adding layers of new ideas, however, his work consisted of two processes: confirming the core doctrinal concepts of Shin Buddhism and rearranging the ideas and practices that had already been constructed by Shin Buddhist clergy both in Japan and the U.S., taking into account the cultural conventions of the two countries.

Tana first emphasized that no one can escape death and avoid the suffering caused by the loss of loved ones, but at the same time he

explained that one can transform death into a positive state through belief in birth in the Pure Land. Unlike major modern Shin Buddhist scholars in Japan, who emphasized birth in the Pure Land as a nondualistic and here-and-now experience,<sup>66</sup> Tana recognized the other aspect of the tradition and embraced Shin followers' emotional responses to death, in which the Pure Land is seen as a place for reuniting in the afterlife. His experience of the Pacific War and internment made Tana more sensitive to the feelings of his fellow Japanese.

Second, Tana characterized the practical benefit of taking refuge in Amida Buddha's Primal Vow in developing a strong spirituality. Shinran composed the *Genzei Riyaku Wasan* ("Hymns on Benefits in the Present"), in which he said that nenbutsu followers are protected by deities and buddhas. Zonkaku (1290–1373), the eldest son of the third Honganji abbot, Kakunyo, pointed out the efficacy of nenbutsu prayer extended to this world if recited in favor of seeking birth in the Pure Land. Rennyo recognized the fulfillment of practical benefits in the act of reciting the nenbutsu, whether or not a follower seeks those benefits.<sup>67</sup> Instead of discussing the efficacy of divine protection, Tana emphasized the spiritual freedom a follower would experience in not being disturbed by unpleasant events, including one's own death. Tana's interpretation of the Shin worldly benefit deserves attention, since Shin Buddhist scholars have strongly encouraged the reevaluation of Shinran's *Genzei Riyaku Wasan*.<sup>68</sup>

Third, for Tana, seeking a postwar Shin Buddhist identity in the United States was closely related to creating a Shin Buddhist tradition unique to this country. One of the ways he contributed to this was by reiterating the findings of his precursors. For instance, in 1916, Imamura Emyō (1867–1932) of the Honpa Hongwanji Mission of Hawaii formally explained to his ministers the importance of practicing Buddhism at home. Before the Pacific War, Kyōgoku Itsuzō, who had been influenced by Kiyozawa Manshi's (1863–1903) "Spiritualism," associated the nenbutsu with the practice of the six *pāramitās*. (As early as 1903, Kiyozawa had considered the five precepts and other Buddhist practices to constitute the practice of religious morality for Shin Buddhism.) Tana did not develop sufficient hermeneutics in his promotion of the six *pāramitās*, however, nor did he explore the correlation between the nenbutsu and Zen, which was rapidly emerging as the most popular Buddhist spiritual interest in America from the late 1950s. Other Shin Buddhist groups, such as the Berkeley Buddhist

Study Group, made a response to this movement, but it is unlikely that Tana was involved in this exchange.<sup>69</sup>

For Tana, the future of American Shin Buddhism was to be directed within the established Shin discourse, albeit with a variation of its core doctrines and practices. It remains unclear to what degree his colleagues and lay members of the temple communities in which he was involved understood his efforts. The language barrier between Issei and Nisei, as well as a generational gap, might have easily prevented his message from being recognized. Yet for Tana, cultural differences between the two countries was not a cause to make significant changes in the interpretation of Shin Buddhism in the United States.

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#### NOTES

1 Tetsuden Kashima. *Buddhism in America: The Social Organization of an Ethnic Religious Institution* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1977), pp. 47–48, 59–60; *Judgment Without Trial: Japanese American Imprisonment during World War II* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003), pp. ix, 4, 9.

2 Concerning the Kibei Nisei's identity crisis, see, for instance, Minoru Kiyota, *Beyond Loyalty: The Story of a Kibei* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), pp. 59–60. In the case of Kiyota, his internment experience led him to seek "a realm beyond political loyalty and disloyalty," which he found in the "world of free intellectual inquiry," namely, academia (p. 228).

3 For a discussion of Shin Buddhism in North America prior to World War II, see Michihiro Ama, *Immigrants to the Pure Land: The Modernization, Acculturation, and Globalization of Shin Buddhism, 1898–1941* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011).

4 Robert N. Bellah, *Religion in Human Evolution: From the Paleolithic to the Axial Age* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011), pp. 60–61.

5 Bellah, *Religion in Human Evolution*, pp. 65–66.

6 Tana Daishō, *Santa Fe, Lordsburg, Senji tekikokujin yokuryūsho nikki*, 4 vols. (Tokyo: Sankibo, 1989), vol. 4, pp. 878–879, “hissha ryakureki.”

7 *Buddhist Churches of America: A Legacy of the First 100 Years* (San Francisco: Buddhist Churches of America, 1998), p. 88; Tana, *Santa Fe, Lordsburg, Senji tekikokujin yokuryūsho nikki*, vol. 4, p. 511.

8 For the process of internment, see Kashima, *Judgment Without Trial*, pp. 104–126.

9 Tana, *Santa Fe, Lordsburg, Senji tekikokujin yokuryūsho nikki*, vol. 1, pp. 108, 110, 120–122, 241; vol. 4, p. 672.

10 The Palo Alto Buddhist Temple announced the termination of its relationship to Tana on September 15, 1955.

11 For an analysis of Tana’s internment camp diary, see Michihiro Ama, “A Neglected Diary, A Forgotten Buddhist Couple: Tana Daishō’s Internment Camp Diary as a Historical and Literary Text,” *Journal of Global Buddhism*, forthcoming.

12 For instance, Tana, *Santa Fe, Lordsburg, Senji tekikokujin yokuryūsho nikki*, vol. 1, pp. 220, 285–286, 340, 345–346, 383, 434, 449, 452, 462–463.

13 For instance, Tana, *Santa Fe, Lordsburg, Senji tekikokujin yokuryūsho nikki*, vol. 1, pp. 14, 251, 296, 306, 318, 356, 365, 368–371, 390–391, 394, 405–406, 409, 413, 416.

14 For instance, see Tana, *Santa Fe, Lordsburg, Senji tekikokujin yokuryūsho nikki*, vol. 1, pp. 330, 339, 349–350, 369.

15 Records of other Japanese ministers include, for instance, Fujimura Bunyū, *Though I Be Crushed: The Experience of Buddhist Minister* (Los Angeles: The Nembutsu Press, 1985); Fukuda Yoshiaki, *My Six Years of Internment: An Issei’s Struggle for Justice* (San Francisco: The Konko Church of San Francisco, 1990); and Lester E. Suzuki, *Ministry in the Assembly and Relocation Centers of World War II* (Berkeley: Yardbird Publishing Co., 1979).

16 *Buddhist Churches of America, 75-year History, 1899–1974*, 2 vols. (Chicago: Nobart, 1974), vol. 1, p. 103; Kashima, *Buddhism in America*, p. 157.

17 *Buddhist Churches of America, 75-year History*, vol. 1, pp. 103–104.

18 Tana Daishō, *Hotoke no kyūsai (Salvation by Buddha)* (Kyoto: Hyakkaen, 1966), p. 380.

19 According to David Yoo, in *Growing up Nisei: Race, Generation, and Culture among Japanese Americans of California, 1924–1949* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2000), “By 1940, American-born Japanese (60, 148) in California well outnumbered foreign-born Japanese (33, 569). The bulk of the Nisei population consisted of those from the ages of ten to twenty-four” (p. 3).

20 Jere Takahashi writes in *Nisei/Sansei: Shifting Japanese American Identities and Politics* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997), “Generational differences (between Issei and Nisei) were certainly exacerbated by language problems. Although most Nisei attended Japanese language schools, few could be considered fluent Japanese speakers” (p. 45).

21 Michael K. Masatsugu, *Reorienting the Pure Land: Japanese Americans, the Beats, and the Making of American Buddhism, 1941–1966* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California Irvine, 2004), p. 12.

22 Tana Daishō, *Busshi seikatsu hen (Buddha and His Disciples)* (Kyoto: Hyakkaen, 1969), pp. 453–454.

23 Dennis Hirota, et al., trans., *The Collected Works of Shinran (CWS)*, 2 vols. (Kyoto: Jōdo Shinshū Hongwanji-ha, 1997), vol. 1, pp. 406, 455.

24 Stanley Weinstein, “Continuity and Change in the Thought of Rennyo,” in Mark L. Blum and Shin’ya Yasutomi, eds., *Rennyo and the Roots of Modern Japanese Buddhism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 56.

25 Naitō Chikō, *Anjin rondai o manabu* (Kyoto: Honganji shupansha, 2004), p. 272. The efficacy of double benefits had been discussed and defined by the time of Rennyo.

26 “Constitution of the Empire of Japan,” *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1993), vol. 1, pp. 232–224.

27 Shigaraki Takamaro, *A Life of Awakening: The Heart of the Shin Buddhist Path* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2005), pp. 184–185. According to Shigaraki, there were five interpretations of the theory of two truths: “the ultimate and worldly truths are a single truth,” “ultimate and worldly are parallel truths,” “ultimate and worldly are interrelated truths,” “ultimate truth influences worldly truth,” and “worldly truth is a means to realize ultimate truth” (p. 186).

28 For instance, Tana, *Hotoke no kyūsai*, p. 42.

29 On the other hand, Tana simultaneously warns against the materialization of Amida Buddha and the Pure Land: “But we will be greatly mistaken if we consider the Buddha to be the image installed in our Buddhist altars or a being who exists far off in the Pure Land” (*Hotoke no kyūsai*, p. 391).

30 Although Shinran avoided discussing the afterlife, he wrote the following message to his follower, Yūamidabutsu. “My life was now reached the fullness of its years. It is certain that I will go to birth in the Pure Land before you, so without fail I will await you there” (CWS, vol. 1, p. 539). See also James C. Dobbins, *Letters of the Nun Eshinni: Images of Pure Land Buddhism in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2004), p. 71.

31 For a discussion of *kue isshō*, see, for example, Mark L. Blum, “Stand by Your Founder: Honganji’s Struggle with Funeral Orthodoxy,” *Japanese Journal*



of *Religious Studies* 27, no. 3/4 (2000): 194–196; Kodama Shiki, *Kinsei shakai to chiiki shakai* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2005), pp. 237–241, 251–252.

32 Tana, *Hotoke no kyūsai*, pp. 91–92 (author’s translation).

33 Tana, *Santa Fe, Lordsburg, Senji tekikokujin yokuryūsho nikki*, vol. 1, p. 375.

34 Tana, *Hotoke no kyūsai*, pp. 320–323.

35 Tana, *Busshi seikatsu hen*, p. 348.

36 Tana, *Busshi seikatsu hen*, p. 285.

37 Odake Shōkyō, “Monshu no sensōchū no goshōsoku nado no shikkō o hyōmeishita shūrei shūkoku no seika to kadai,” in Shigaraki Takamaro sensei sanju kinen ronshū henshū iinkai, ed., *Shigaraki Takamaro sensei sanju kinen ronshū: Gendai shakai to jōdo shinshū no kadai* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2006), p. 244. For a discussion of medieval Shin Buddhists’ warfare, see Carol Richmond Tsang, *War and Faith: Ikko Ikki in Late Muromachi Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

38 The issue of Nisei soldiers’ loyalty is, however, complex, since there are multiple overlapping layers of sensibilities, such as the soldiers’ political ties to the United States, their cultural connections to Japan, and their emotional attachments to their families. I thank George J. Tanabe, Jr. for this insightful comment.

39 Oe Osamu, “Sengo monshusei no dōkō,” in Shigaraki Takamaro sensei sanju kinen ronshū henshū iinkai, ed., *Shigaraki Takamaro sensei sanju kinen ronshū*, p. 191.

40 Mizushima Ken’ichi, *Kin gendai shinshū kyōgakushi kenkyū josetsu* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2010), pp. 724–725, 728.

41 Tana, *Busshi seikatsu hen*, p. 274.

42 This is the date observed by the Higashi Honganji. The Nishi Honganji changed the date of its observance to the lunar calendar date of January 16.

43 Tana, *Busshi seikatsu hen*, pp. 192–196.

44 The ten benefits obtained in the present life upon realization of *shinjin* are “being protected and sustained by unseen powers,” “being possessed of supreme virtues,” “our karmic evil being transformed into good,” “being protected and cared for by all the buddhas,” “being praised by all the buddhas,” “being constantly protected by the light of the Buddha’s heart,” “having great joy in our hearts,” “being aware of Amida’s benevolence and of responding in gratitude to his virtue,” “constantly practicing great compassion,” and “entering the stage of the truly settled” (CWS, p. 112).

45 Tana, *Hotoke no kyūsai*, pp. 181, 183.

46 Tana, *Hotoke no kyūsai*, pp. 200–202.



- 47 Tana, *Hotoke no kyūsai*, p. 205.
- 48 Tana, *Busshi seikatsu hen*, pp. 70–76.
- 49 Tana, *Hotoke no kyūsai*, pp. 219–221.
- 50 Kasahara Kazuo, *Shinshū ni okeru itan no keifu* (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1962), p. 143.
- 51 Tana, *Hotoke no kyōbō* (*The Teaching of Buddha*) (Kyoto: Hyakkaen, 1972), pp. 465–466 (author's translation).
- 52 Luis O. Gómez, *The Land of Bliss: Sanskrit and Chinese Versions of the Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtras* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), p. 214.
- 53 Gómez, *The Land of Bliss*, p. 215.
- 54 Tana, *Hotoke no kyōbō*, p. 466.
- 55 *Buddhist Churches of America, 75-year History*, vol. 1, p. 101.
- 56 For a detailed discussion of Kyōgoku Itsuzō, see Ama, *Immigrants to the Pure Land*, pp. 118–132.
- 57 Tana, *Hotoke no kyūsai*, pp. 464–465.
- 58 Tana, *Hotoke no kyōbō*, p. 467 (author's translation).
- 59 Tana, *Santa Fe, Lordsburg, Senji tekikokujin yokuryūsho nikki*, vol. 1, pp. 260, 269.
- 60 In the Preface to Tana's *Hotoke no kyūsai*, Ōhara Shōjitsu writes: "Because the book was intended for use as a Sunday School text in the United States, I was under the impression that it differs from the Japanese exegeses in some aspects, but as a scholar trained in the Ryūkoku University, I was extremely gratified at the great efforts Tana made to not deviate from the Shin Buddhist doctrine" (p. 4). Author's translation.
- 61 Tana, *Busshi seikatsu hen*, pp. 95–96.
- 62 Shigaraki, *A Life of Awakening*, p. 185.
- 63 Stephen S. Fugita and Marilyn Fernandez, *Altered Lives, Enduring Community: Japanese Americans Remember Their World War II Incarceration* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2000), p. 192.
- 64 Tana, *Busshi seikatsu hen*, pp. 26–27.
- 65 Tana, *Busshi seikatsu hen*, p. 165.
- 66 See for instance, Dobbins, *Letters of the Nun Eshinni*, pp. 70–71.
- 67 Kasahara, *Shinshū ni okeru itan no keifu*, pp. 129–131, 135–136, 143.
- 68 Sasaki Shōten, former head of Institute of Liturgy and Buddhist Music (HongANJI bukkyō ongaku girei kenkyūsho) made the following remark in 1990:

“Would our believers be running to New Religions in times of need, if we truly had a doctrine of the worldly benefits (Genzei Riyaku)? It is probably true that Shinran speaks much more about worldly benefits than Dōgen. Kaneko Daiei, one of the most influential Shin Buddhist scholars of the former generation, has expressed the opinion that we have to rethink fundamentally our doctrine on ‘Non-Retrogression in this life (Genshō Futai),’ ‘Worldly Benefits (Genzei Riyaku),’ and ‘Amida’s Directing of Virtue for Our Return to This World (Gensō Ekō).’ In a conference, he said, for example: ‘I want you to study carefully what is meant exactly by worldly benefits. We must come to understand why there is no contradiction between, on the one hand, maintaining that there is no true worldly benefit outside of the Jōdo School and, on the other, rejecting all religion that seeks worldly benefits.’

“Bandō Shōjun, the priest of the famous Hoonji-temple in Tokyo, once said: ‘The nembutsu at times begins to enter into the midst of folk practice and magic belief, and from there turn people to a true Buddhist life.’ May I finally express the heartfelt wish that you, who shoulder the future of Shin Buddhism, may elaborate a doctrine of worldly benefits?” Sasaki Shōten, *Shinran to kyōdan no fukkatsu* (Kyoto: Nagata bunshodō, 2006), p. 28.

69 Masatsugu, *Reorienting the Pure Land*, p. 190. Masatsugu did not come across Tana in his research (personal correspondence with the author).

**Treatise Resolving Doubts About the Pure Land  
(Jingtu jueyi lun 淨土決疑論) By Master Yinguang 印  
光 (1861–1940)\***

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TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

Master Yinguang (印光, 1861–1947) is one of the four most influential Buddhist monks in modern Chinese history, along with the modernizer and reformer Taixu 太虛 (1890–1947), the monastic precepts master Hongyi 弘一 (1880–1942), and the meditation master Xuyun 虛雲 (1840–1959). During a period when some who were aligned with the Chan school attacked Pure Land Buddhist teachings as vulgar, shallow, and suited only to the needs of the uneducated, superstitious classes,<sup>1</sup> Yinguang worked to define the tradition and its practices on a solid theoretical basis. His classical education, erudition, wide knowledge of Buddhist scriptures, and simple devotion earned him a following throughout the Chinese Buddhist world. Upon his death, he was widely acclaimed as the thirteenth patriarch (zu 祖) of the Pure Land school.

The arguments presented in this treatise, which takes the form of a debate between Yinguang and an unnamed Chan monk, occur in the context of two separate and competing streams of Pure Land thought. The first, called “Consciousness-only Pure Land” (*weishi jingtu* 惟/唯識淨土) or “Mind-only Pure Land” (惟/唯心淨土), took its cue from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra*, which teaches that the land in which a buddha dwells is innately pure; any apparent impurity in it arises from the deluded mind of the observer. Thus, when the disciple Śāriputra wonders why the realm of his master, Śākyamuni Buddha, seems so impure, the Buddha grants him the ability to see the world as a buddha sees it—where all appears pure and dazzling in all directions. As the Buddha explains, “Just so, Śāriputra, living beings born in the same buddha-field see the splendor of the virtues of the buddha-fields of the Buddhas

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\* A correction to the title of this article was made on November 9, 2020.

according to their own degrees of purity.”<sup>2</sup> The point of this, as critics of “superstitious and vulgar” practitioners of Pure Land Buddhism never failed to point out, is that the Pure Land cannot be localized at all, nor ought it to be conceived of as a place outside this impure world. Rather, purification of one’s mind through meditative practice brings about the purification of this present world. Purity is ultimately in the mind of the beholder.

Yinguang represented the other side of this debate. In postulating a pure land that was outside of the present impure world, which could be localized to the west of the present world, and which could not be reduced to a psychological state or fable, he belonged to the tradition referred to as “Western Pure Land” (*xifang jingtu* 西方淨土) or “other-direction Pure Land” (*tafang jingtu* 他方淨土). In this capacity, he strove against his unnamed adversary’s strategy (a venerable one in Chinese Buddhist history) of defining Pure Land practice in Chan terms, and of dismissing a literalist interpretation of the Pure Land as ignorant and dualistic. In fighting this view, Yinguang refers to scriptures that describe even the most realized bodhisattvas seeking rebirth in Amitābha Buddha’s Pure Land in the West, reinterprets Yongming Yanshou’s (永明延壽, 904–975) famous fourfold relation of Chan and Pure Land, and even quotes famous Chan masters and patriarchs to show that they were not quite as anti-Pure Land as they might have sometimes appeared to be. In the course of the debate, he gradually wears down his opponent, and in the end the Chan follower submits to Yinguang as his teacher and vows to seek rebirth himself in the Pure Land.

The text is of interest not only because of Yinguang’s eminence within the history of Pure Land Buddhism in China as a popularizer and author, but also because it straddles the divide between premodern and modern Buddhist concerns in China. This may well be the last text ever to debate the positions of “Western Pure Land” versus “other-direction Pure Land,” since at the time of its publication Taixu was proclaiming his new ideas about “Buddhism for human life” (*rensheng fojiao* 人生佛教), a set of ideas about finding a place for Buddhism in the midst of human affairs rather than in the worlds of gods or in the afterlife. Taixu’s ideas led eventually to the articulation of the new ideal of creating a “Pure Land in the human realm” (*renjian jingtu* 人間淨土).

In addition, within the text Yinguang takes on a venerable topic of Buddhist textuality: the authenticity of various versions of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Huayan jing* 華嚴經). While past authors had been able to

assert the text's scriptural status and cited it as an authority, Yinguang had to cope with rather modern textual-critical issues and, to address the text's redaction history, albeit reluctantly. Even an avowed traditionalist had to at least acknowledge and address the concerns of modernity at this point in time.

The translation that follows is based on Yinguang's text, the "Treatise Resolving Doubts About the Pure Land" (*Jingtu jueyi lun* 淨土決疑論), in *The Collected Works of Great Master Yinguang* (*Yinguang Dashi quanji* 印光大師全集), compiled and edited by Shi Guangding 釋廣定 (Taipei 臺北: Fojiao chubanshe 佛教出版社, 1991), vol. 1, pp. 357–371. My reading of the text was assisted by an annotated version prepared by the monk Chansheng 懺生, which appears in the same collection under the title "Patriarch Yinguang's Treatise Resolving Doubts About the Pure Land with Light Annotations" (*Yinguang zu jingtu jueyi lun qianjie* 印光祖『淨土決疑論』淺解), vol. 6, pp. 81–194.

#### THE TEXT

[p. 357] In medicine, there is no "expensive" or "cheap"; if it cures the disease, then the medicine is good. In the dharma, there is no "superior" and "inferior"; whatever answers to the present opportunity is marvelous. In the past, people's faculties were extraordinary, and their knowledge [was] like the [trees of] the forest. Following and practicing a single teaching, they could all attain the Way. But today, people's roots are inferior and their knowledge greatly diminished. If they abandon the Pure Land, then they will never attain liberation. I am ashamed that through many births spanning many *kalpas*, I put down few good roots. My fortune was meager and my intelligence shallow; the obstacles were severe and my [bad] karma ran deep. In my student years I did not meet with a good friend, and I never heard of the Way passed on by sages and worthies. I was struggling to swallow the anti-Buddhist poison of Han[Yu] and Ou[yang Xiu],<sup>3</sup> but before I could complete my studies, the strength of my karma manifested itself. From this time I was afflicted with illness for several years, which left me unable to attend to my affairs.<sup>4</sup>

I thought deeply about "the gods and spirits of heaven and earth, and how eminent they are."<sup>5</sup> The sages and worthies of the past and present are just as numerous. Besides, Buddhist teachings have no authority with which to intimidate people into following them; they must rely on holy ones, gentlemen, and sages (*sheng, jun, xian* 聖, 君, 賢) to

uphold them—only thus can they circulate throughout the world. If the teachings brought such results as Han Yu and Ouyang Xiu say, and went against the sagely Way (*sheng dao* 聖道), then they would bring harm to China. Not only that, but if all of the sages and worthies of the past and present were not able to accommodate [Buddhist teachings] in the world, would not the gods and spirits of Heaven and Earth have annihilated them long ago? Why would they have waited for Han Yu and Ouyang Xiu to refute them with empty words?

*The Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhongyong* 中庸) says that in the Way of the sage as well as the way of foolish men and women there exist both knowledge and practice. Yet in their farthest extent even the sage is unable to know or put into practice [some things].<sup>6</sup> Now, even though Han Yu and Ouyang Xiu were worthies (*xian* 賢), they were far from being sages (*sheng* 聖). And what is it that even worthies and sages cannot know or do? The very teachings of Buddhism, which common sentiment and worldly knowledge cannot infer.

Thus, I quickly altered my past mind, and left the household life to become a monk. I took stock of my abilities, [and saw that] if I did not rely on the power of the Tathāgata's all-encompassing vows, it would certainly be difficult to attain *samādhi* and leave the cycle of birth-and-death. From that time on, the Buddha was my only thought, the Pure Land my only goal.

For many years, I recklessly took to the lecture mat, and for a long time practiced Chan meditation.<sup>7</sup> However, it was only for the purpose of shedding light on the first truths of the Pure Land and attain the necessary qualifications for a superior-rank (*shang pin* 上品) rebirth in the Pure Land.<sup>8</sup> Regrettably, I was physically weak and frail, and had difficulty maintaining fierce and heroic practice. But since I had firmly taken hold of [the Buddha's] vows, all the lecturers and meditation teachers in the world [p. 358] could not shake it from my grasp. Even if all the buddhas were to appear and tell me to practice the other methods of cultivation, I still would not be willing to let go of this and take up that in violation of my original plan.<sup>9</sup> However, my past karma was such that to the end I never achieved the state of a unified, undisturbed mind (*yi xin bu luan* 一心不亂) so as to attain for myself the *samādhi* of buddha-recollection (*nianfo sanmei* 念佛三昧). My shame is so great!

One day, there was a senior monk who had long engaged in Chan meditation and had also penetrated deeply into Buddhist doctrines, and he was contemptuous of everything else.<sup>10</sup> He had vowed to achieve the

realization of the One Vehicle, and imitated Sudhana's travels to many different teachers; in this way he had come to [Hong]luo Mountain (紅螺山, Yinguang's residence at that time) to ask for lodging.<sup>11</sup> At that time, I happened to be reading "The Essentials of the *Amitābha-sūtra*,"<sup>12</sup> a work whose words are deep and whose doctrines are wonderful, not suitable for those of childish understanding.<sup>13</sup> I wanted to collect and edit [Tian]tai teachings, and assemble them point by point into a document in order that the beginning student could more easily make progress. It wasn't that I dared to mimic the way that the virtuous monks of old propagated and commented on the wonders of the Way; I just wanted to create better conditions for those who might enter the Way after me. I was glad of [this monk's] arrival, and I gave him a copy of the "Essentials" and told him of my intentions.

This senior monk then said to me, "I've looked at the 'Essentials' before. Look here where it says, 'None of the marvelous treasures of Huayan [teachings], the secret marrow of the *Lotus [Sūtra]*, the essential mind of all the buddhas, and the guidance of the ten thousand bodhisattva practices go beyond this.' If the 'this' (i.e., Pure Land teachings) is so broad that one cannot count all instantiations of it, then this is to suppress the teachings of all the individual schools of Buddhism and praise the Pure Land too much, to slander the wheel of the orthodox dharma, and to mislead the people. A hundred million Great Teacher Ouyi [Zhixu]s, using a thousand rarely seen knowledges and insights, do not match the direct pointing to the human mind and the propagation of calm abiding and insight meditations. Quite the opposite: in grasping at this 'Essentials' the way that common people grasp at magic amulets to protect their bodies, all the clergy and laypeople in the world will clutch at a single method and abandon the ten thousand practices [of Buddhism], taking the puddle and abandoning the great sea. This is the same as entering into the wrong way and turning one's back on the road to enlightenment, extirpating all the seeds of buddhahood, an offense that would fill all of space! Someone who genuinely wants to repay the Buddha's kindness will waste no time in utterly exterminating [this teaching]. And to write a document to help it gain currency—it is just too much!" His voice was filled with indignation, as if he were facing an enemy.

I waited until he had calmed down, and then gently answered him, saying, "So you look on this 'Essentials' of Ouyi [Zhixu] as a mire of offense. But you only know the end of its stream; you don't know its



source. This is like a stupid dog chasing after a clod [of earth], and not like the king of geese who chooses milk.<sup>14</sup> You should know that the transcendent truth is not in this ‘Essentials’ by Master Ouyi; rather, it is in Śākyamuni Buddha, Amitābha Buddha, and all the buddhas of the ten directions, along with the three Pure Land sūtras, the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, the *Lotus Sūtra*, and all Mahāyāna sūtras. It is in Mañjuśrī, Samantabhadra, Aśvaghōṣa, Nāgārjuna, [Tiantai] Zhiyi, Shandao, Qingjing, Yongming [Yanshou], and all the great masters and bodhisattvas.<sup>15</sup> If you consider yourself a dharma king, then please correct their fault. [p. 359] Put what you have just said into practice throughout the world; if you don’t, then people will take a common bumpkin from the fields and mistakenly address him as ‘your Majesty,’ taking the law into their own hands and betraying the kingship. In no great time they will exterminate the households and destroy the people.

“Do not talk this way, slandering the Buddha, slandering the dharma, slandering the monastic community, lest you fall into the Avīci hell, there to suffer for interminable eons without respite. You are presuming upon the small amount of good fortune you accumulated in former lives to create endless eons of bitter retribution. When all the buddhas of the past, present, and future speak of the one who is most to be pitied, they will mean you.”

Alarmed by this, he said, “Master, you say that the fault extends to Śākyamuni Buddha, Amitābha Buddha, and so forth. What kind of extraordinary statement is this? Please lay out your reasoning; if it is convincing, then dare I not submit?”

I responded, “The Tathāgata appears in the world because of the causes and conditions arising from one great matter. The term ‘causes and conditions arising from one great matter’ means his desire to lead all beings to open their perception and enter into a buddha’s vision of wisdom and straightaway become buddhas themselves, that’s all. Could there be any other [cause]?”

“It is inevitable that beings will have roots either great or small, and delusions either shallow or profound, and so it is not feasible to elaborate the Buddha’s original desire directly. Consequently, he lays out his teachings according to beings’ abilities, and prescribes medicines according to the disease. For the sake of truth he sets forth provisional [teachings], and by means of the provisional he manifests the truth. Within the one-vehicle dharma, he makes all manner and variety of explanations. If there are those whose roots of virtue are ripe, then he causes them to reach the shore of enlightenment, and if there



are those whose evil karma is deep and thick then he causes them to gradually emerge from their defilements and vexations. He stoops to meet and lead them, bringing them step by step to a right understanding. All the mothers and fathers of Heaven and Earth cannot compare with even a portion of his [kindness and skill].

“Furthermore, all of the dharma gates depend upon one’s own power, so that even if one’s karmic roots are deep and thick, one must cause them to thoroughly see their own minds. If there remains even the slightest degree of delusion in one’s own view of either principle or phenomena, then in dependence upon this preexisting karma one will not emerge from the wheel of birth-and-death. Moreover, they will have once again entered the darkness of the womb, and having made contact they will give rise to grasping. Those who proceed from awakening to awakening are few, while those who go from delusion to delusion are many. If even those of the highest capacities are like this, then we need not even bring up those of middling and inferior capacities. Trying to cut off delusions about principle is like trying to cut off a river forty *li* wide; how much more [difficult would it be to cut off] delusions about phenomena? Penetrating birth and casting off death—how could this be easy? Because of this, one cannot mediate the Buddha’s original intention universally to beings of the three kinds of roots (i.e., superior, middling, and inferior).

“Only the Pure Land teachings set forth exclusive dependence upon the power of Amitābha Buddha’s great vows. Regardless of whether or not one’s good roots have ripened, or whether one’s bad karma is light or heavy, one need only be willing to generate faith and make the vows and recite the Buddha’s name, and at the end of one’s life, Amitābha Buddha will compassionately descend to meet and guide one to rebirth in the Pure Land. This is in order that those whose good roots have ripened may immediately attain to the sudden fruition of perfect buddhahood, while those whose evil karma is heavy may enter the holy stream. This is the essential path by which the buddhas of the past, present, and future save all beings, [p. 360] and this is the marvelous dharma practiced by holy ones and worldlings alike. All of the Mahāyāna scriptures derive their fundamental teachings from this, and there is no patriarch or master in history who has not practiced it.

“You have taken refuge in meditation and doctrinal study, and foolishly say that those who propagate Pure Land teachings slander the orthodox wheel of dharma and cut off their seeds of buddhahood. This is adequate proof that demons have attached themselves to your

body and you have taken leave of your senses. These are the hell-seeds of seeing delusion as enlightenment, and pointing to the truth while calling it heresy.

“Now, distant eons in the past, Śākyamuni Buddha and Amitābha Buddha generated great vows to lead all sentient beings to liberation. The first manifested in the impure world, so that by means of impurity and suffering he could break its hold on beings and impel them to escape from it. The other establishes his Pure Land so that by means of its purity and joy he could gather them all in and then bring them along.<sup>16</sup>

“Your knowledge is limited to the ignorant men and women who can [only] recite the Buddha’s name, and this leads you to denigrate the Pure Land. But why not look at the *Gaṇḍavyūha* section of the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*, where Sudhana, after attaining equality with all buddhas, is taught by Samantabhadra to generate the ten great vow kings, and dedicate the merit of these acts to rebirth in the Western Paradise, there to attain perfect buddhahood, and moreover to urge [these vows on] all the assembly of the Lotus Sea?

“Now among the assembly of the Lotus Sea, there are no worldlings, nor are there two vehicles [to salvation]. All the great *dharmakāya* masters at all forty-one stages<sup>17</sup> have broken through ignorance, realized their dharma nature, and can ride the wheel of the Original Vow to manifest as buddhas in any world that lacks a buddha. Among this Lotus Sea assembly, there are pure lands without number, and so it must be that those who dedicate merit toward attaining rebirth in the Western Land of Utmost Bliss can be assured that, having gained this rebirth, they have taken the hidden gate out of suffering and the short path to becoming a buddha.

“That is why, from ancient times until the present, [those in] all monasteries, whether devoted to meditation, doctrinal study, or monastic precepts, recite [Amitābha] Buddha’s name in their morning and evening chanting services, and seek rebirth in the West. How is it that you, with all the time you have spent participating in monastic life, now turn around and seek to destroy and slander your own daily practice? Surely there has never been anyone to whom the Confucian dictum ‘he participates but does not revere, he uses it daily but does not know’ applied more aptly!<sup>18</sup>

“Now the *Avatamsaka* is considered the king of scriptures, reigning over the entire canon. One who does not believe the *Avatamsaka* is an

*icchantika*. Even though you may not fall into the Avīci hell, in the end you will certainly sink lower and lower without respite. I wish to escape from suffering and seek rebirth in the Pure Land, while you desire to look for suffering by destroying and maligning the *Avataṃsaka*. You keep to your intention, and I will tread my own path. The general does not come down from his horse; each must press ahead of his own accord. There is no common ground between us. You can go! I will not speak with you.”

He said, “The Way is precious and reaches to all, and doubts must be analyzed and resolved. Master, what is the view that you reject so deeply? Listen to this: ‘Vairocana [Buddha] permeates everywhere, and the abode of his buddhas is called ‘Eternal Quiescent Light’ (*changji guang* 常寂光).’<sup>19</sup> [p. 361] However, wherever the *dharmakāya* is attained, that place is the ‘Pure Land of Quiescent Light’ (*jiguang jingtu* 寂光淨土). So what need is there to let the mind of production and cessation forsake the East and choose the West, considering this a gain?”

I said, “Easier said than done! Although it is true that this very place is the Pure Land of Quiescent Light, still, one who has not attained perfect wisdom and thoroughly cut off all vexations and perfectly realized the *dharmakāya* of Vairocana cannot thoroughly gain it and apply it. The forty-one stages of abodes, practices, dedications of merit, grounds, and awakening to equality in the perfect teaching still involve progressive attainments.<sup>20</sup> If you have perfectly realized the *dharmakāya* of Vairocana, then you could very well say that this very place is [the Land of] Quiescent Light. But for those who have not [yet attained to this], this is like telling them to eat jewels. They would inevitably starve and die.”

He said, “[My] school has always affirmed mind-only Pure Land, and the self-nature Amitābha; this cannot be wrong.”<sup>21</sup>

I replied, “What [your] school says refers exclusively to the nature of principle (*lixing* 理性); it does not refer to practice in the phenomenal realm (*shixiu* 事修). What this means is that you want people to begin by realizing the principle that one is born a buddha without involving [false dualities of] cause and effect, practice and attainment, worldlings and holy ones, and only afterward begin practicing the causes and attain the fruit, transcendence of the worldly and entrance into the holy. This is to say that sentient beings *as sentient beings* attain the buddha Way. This is how you misconstrue ‘principle’ and ‘phenomena’ and turn the view of wisdom on its head!

“Again: You consider ‘forsaking the East and choosing the West’ to be ‘production and cessation.’ What you do not know is that to grasp at the East and disparage the West is nihilism. Now, without having attained subtle enlightenment, who can dispense with choosing [one] and forsaking [the other]? During three incalculable eons of practice, in one hundred *kalpas* of cultivating the causes [of enlightenment], in seeking [from those] above and converting [those] below, in cutting off delusion and attaining truth, where would there be no choosing [one thing] and forsaking [something else]? You must realize that the Tathāgata wishes to lead all sentient beings to the realization of the *dharmakāya* and the [Land of] Quiescent Light, and thus he specially recommends the recitation of the Buddha’s name in order to seek rebirth in the West.”

Question: “Elder Zaobo Li 棗柏李長者 (i.e., Li Tongxuan 李通玄, 635–730), in his *Avataṃsaka-sūtra with Exposition*,<sup>22</sup> says that the Western Pure Land is [a concept for] worldlings who still grasp at the characteristics of phenomena and do not yet believe in the true principle of the emptiness of *dharmas*. It concentrates their minds in recollection, partially purifies their minds, and enables them to attain rebirth in the Pure Land. It is provisional, not the [absolute] truth. So why would the Lotus Sea assembly desire to go together for rebirth [in this Pure Land]? Master Zaobo achieved sainthood during his own lifetime, and possessed inconceivable supernormal perception and wisdom. He was surely a manifestation of one of the bodhisattvas of the Lotus assembly, and his words cannot be erroneous.”

Answer: “Even though Master Zaobo was a manifestation of a bodhisattva, the scripture had not yet been fully transmitted [to China], and he had no way of prejudging [how it would end]; that is why he spoke in this way. Zaobo composed his *Exposition* during the Kaiyuan reign period of Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang (i.e., between 713 to his death in 730). He died after finishing the work. Over fifty years later, during the eleventh year of the Zhenyuan reign period of Emperor Dezong of the Tang (i.e., 795), the king of the south Indian kingdom of Odra sent over a forty-fascicle Sanskrit copy of the *Chapter on the Practice of Samantabhadra’s Vows* (*Puxian xingyuan pin* 普賢行願品), [p. 362] and it was not until 798 that it was translated and began to circulate.<sup>23</sup> The first thirty-nine fascicles correspond to the *Gaṇḍavyūha* of the eighty-fascicle *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, and it adds some details. In its eighteenth fascicle, Sudhana’s attainments, gained through Samantabhadra’s

authority and power, become equal to those of Samantabhadra and all buddhas. Samantabhadra then proclaims *gāthās* praising the miraculous merits of the Tathāgata. The text is incomplete, and closes on an inconclusive note.

“Then the *Chapter on the Practice of Samantabhadra’s Vows* arrived, and in its fortieth fascicle, Samantabhadra counsels Sudhana and the entire Lotus Sea assembly to dedicate the merits from the practice of the ten great vow kings to rebirth in the Western Paradise. After this counsel, the Tathāgata gives his approbation, and the great assembly puts it into practice. Thus the text was finally complete.<sup>24</sup> That is why ancient masters appended this one fascicle onto their commentaries on the eighty-fascicle *Avatamsaka*. They desired that later practitioners would all receive and support the scripture in its entirety.

“The ancient masters explained that this one method of seeking rebirth in the Pure Land was something that only the Buddha with the other buddhas could penetrate completely. The fact that bodhisattvas of the first ground cannot know even a fraction of it is due to just this. Consequently, the Pure Land takes in all those of superior roots and sharp faculties. The *Great Collection Sūtra* (*Da ji jing* 大集經) says: ‘In the time of the Final Dharma, myriads and myriads of beings will cultivate religious practices, but only a few will attain the Way. Only in dependence upon [the practice of] reciting the Buddha’s name can they escape the cycle of birth-and-death.’<sup>25</sup> Thus, all humans and gods, and all beings in the six realms of rebirth, are entangled in worldliness, but the Pure Land encompasses them all without exception. Now, you believe Master Zaobo, but you do not believe the *Chapter on the Practice of Samantabhadra’s Vows* or the *Great Collection Sūtra*. This is like obeying a temporary county ordinance while violating the eternal decree of the emperor. How is it that you do not know [how to distinguish] elder and junior, trivial and important?”

Question: “But if [Master Zaobo] was a manifestation of one of the bodhisattvas of the Lotus Sea assembly, why would he have had to wait for the transmission of the sūtra [into China] before he knew this?”

Answer: “Spreading the Buddha’s teachings is no easy matter. It can only be believed on the basis of evidence. The *Avatamsaka-sūtra* transcends the collection of [all other] scriptures by far and there is no way to categorize it, so it must be taken on its own merits.”

Question: “Then how could Master Daosheng have known and advocated the teaching that even *icchantikas* have buddha-nature before

the complete text of the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra* arrived? Are you saying that Master Zaobo was not the equal of Master Daosheng?”<sup>26</sup>

Answer: “*Ichchantikas* are living beings, and all living beings have buddha-nature; anyone with wisdom could have foreseen that. No scripture asserts that rebirth [in the Pure Land] is the perfect fulfillment of the fruit of buddhahood. Who would dare to set up such a strange teaching on the basis of their own thinking? The two are incommensurable in principle and in their particulars, and they cannot be drawn upon for proof. As for the attainments of the two masters, that is not something that anyone in my generation of worldly beings can know. How could I dare to discuss it? Surely you must know [p. 363] that when bodhisattvas propagate the teachings, sometimes it goes against the grain [of their hearers], and sometimes with the grain, so that they have many, many kinds of expedient means. It is inconceivable! So would it necessarily not be the case that Master Zaobo [merely] acted as if he did not know in order to strengthen future generations in their belief?”

Question: “All the masters of the Chan school deny the Pure Land. What do you say to that?”

Answer: “The masters of the Chan school all transmit nothing but the buddha-mind. All their sayings and explanations point upward to enlightenment. You have practiced Chan for many years and you still do not know this? If so, then all your explanations are merely defective views that damage the Chan school.”

Question: “How dare ignorant beings all over the world be so arbitrary! The sincere words of the patriarchs are absolutely reliable. The Sixth Patriarch [Huineng 惠能] said, ‘When people in the East commit wrong, they recite the Buddha’s name to gain rebirth in the Western Pure Land. When people in the West (i.e., those who are already in the Pure Land) commit wrong, they will recite the Buddha’s name to gain rebirth in which land?’”<sup>27</sup>

“Zhaozhou said, ‘I do not like hearing the word “buddha,” and again, ‘If a senior monk recites the name of the Buddha just once, he should rinse his mouth for three days.’”<sup>28</sup> Many patriarchs of the Chan school have spoken in this manner. What do you say to that?”

Answer: “The Sixth Patriarch was pointing directly to enlightenment, leading people to apprehend their own minds. You have taken [his words] as maxims for explaining doctrines, or arguments about methods of practice. [Like] the proverbial mistaking a donkey’s saddlebone for your grandfather’s jawbone,<sup>29</sup> how wrong can one be?



“You should know that the inhabitants of the West[ern Pure Land] have thoroughly purified thoughts and perceptions, and are advancing toward breaking the delusions of attachment to emptiness and finally ignorance itself.<sup>30</sup> As long as they progress in their practice, they cannot possibly commit wrong.<sup>31</sup>

“As to [the question of] the land in which they aspire to be reborn: within this space, those who have not thoroughly cut off [false] thoughts and perceptions and attain rebirth in reliance upon the Buddha’s compassion while still bearing the burden of karma will be reborn in the ‘Pure Land Where Worldlings and Sages Dwell Together’ (*fan-sheng tongju jingtu* 凡聖同居淨土). After a lifetime in that land, the delusions of thoughts and perceptions are thoroughly extinguished. Like a snowflake that melts away before it even reaches the furnace, so do all vulgar thoughts cease when virtuous people come together. When they have completely purified thoughts and perceptions, they then gain rebirth in the ‘Pure Land of Expedient Means With Remainder’ (*fangbian youyu jingtu* 方便有餘淨土). Having partially eliminated ignorance, they then attain rebirth in the ‘Pure Land of True Recompense and Non-obstruction’ (*shibao wu zhang’ai jingtu* 實報無障礙淨土). When they have thoroughly eliminated all ignorance, then they attain rebirth in the ‘Pure Land of Eternally Quiescent Light’ (*chang ji guang jingtu* 常寂光淨土). If this is so for those who practice here, how much more so for those who practice in that land (i.e., the Pure Land)?<sup>32</sup>

“Why do you think too much about the place of nonproduction so that you obstruct yourself and others, and remain unwilling to seek rebirth [in the Pure Land]? Refusing to eat because you fear choking, you will lose your very life! Among all the idiotic people under Heaven, is there anyone worse than you?

“So you know how Zhaozhou 趙州 said ‘I do not enjoy hearing the word “buddha”’? Why do you not quote the rest of the text: ‘A monk asked, “Are [we] then to consider the master as [only] human or not?”, and [Zhao]zhou answered, “a buddha, a buddha”’?<sup>33</sup> You only wish to rely on his saying ‘If one recites the Buddha’s name once he ought to rinse his mouth for three days,’ but why not [also] rely on this: ‘A monk asked, “If the master were to receive a great king who came to give offerings, how would he respond to him?” [Zhao]zhou said, [p. 364] “Recite the Buddha’s name.”’ Why do you not refer to the story where a monk asks Zhaozhou whether the buddhas of the ten directions themselves have a teacher and Zhaozhou answers yes. When the monk asked who is the teacher of all buddhas, Zhaozhou replied,

‘Amitābha Buddha, Amitābha Buddha.’<sup>34</sup> You assert that all the masters of the Chan lineages mostly have sentences and phrases like this. You do not know that a Chan master’s words spoken in response to a specific situation is called ‘the opportune point’ or ‘the turning word.’<sup>35</sup> The question contains the answer, and the answer contains the question. You do not know about ‘reversing the illumination to return to the light,’<sup>36</sup> or to ‘go to oneself for teaching.’<sup>37</sup> Up until now, you have only been greedily devouring wine dregs and chasing clods of dirt for such a long time!

“I have been a monk now for over thirty years, and everyone has been propagating phrases like ‘[ought to] rinse their mouths’ or ‘I don’t like to hear’ with a single voice. But I have yet to hear anyone say one word about ‘to be human by “Buddha, Buddha,”’ or ‘repay kindness by reciting the Buddha’s name,’ or ‘Amitābha is the teacher of all buddhas of the ten directions.’ But let me put in a word here—if you are to regard the one as true and reliable, then the other must also be true and reliable. How can you say that the disparaging [remarks] are reliable but the supportive [remarks] are inadmissible? To say that the one is reliable while the other is inadmissible is self-contradictory!

“As to Zhaozhou’s words, they all lead back to [one’s] original nature. ‘I don’t like to hear the word “Buddha”’ and ‘recite the Buddha’s name’ are equal, since they both count as ‘turning words.’ Only if one can achieve direct consciousness of one’s own mind can one know that Zhaozhou is communicating what is beyond feeling, that his speech transcends the ordinary. There is not enough time to recite the Buddha’s name diligently! But if one is unable to see Zhaozhou directly, then it would be better to recite the Buddha’s name as one’s primary means of self-cultivation than to rely on disparaging the Buddha as a means of gaining the advantage in a debate.

“The result of buddha-recitation is rebirth [in the Pure Land], escape from the cycle of birth-and-death, and a guarantee of attaining buddhahood in the future. The result of disparaging the Buddha is that one slanders the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha. In the present life one accumulates a mountain of guilt, while all of one’s good fortune and wisdom melt away. At the end of life one falls into the Avīci hell to suffer for long *kalpas* of time. The difference between the benefit [of buddha-recitation] and the harm [that will result from disparaging the Pure Land], the profit and loss, is as great as the distance between the heavens and the ocean floor.



“Generally, people today are of meager fortune and shallow wisdom, with heavy karma and profound impediments. Toward that which could benefit them, they act as if they were hearing slander, and toward that which inflicts harm they act as if it were the crown of the whole body. The words in the ‘opportune points’ of the masters are all like this—they never tire of devising explanations.

“You assert that the earnest words of all the masters are completely reliable. Why do you not rely on Baizhang [Huaihai] 百丈懷海 (749–814) when he says, ‘Buddha-recitation is the most secure form of practice’? And why do you not rely on him when he established rules for praying over a sick monk or dispatching a deceased monk, stating that all of the merits of the service were to be dedicated toward attaining rebirth in the Pure Land? Will you argue that Baizhang only ordered the dead to gain rebirth, and did not order the living to seek rebirth? Also, why do you not rely on the fourteenth Indian patriarch, [p. 365] Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva? The Tathāgata predicted that he would gain rebirth, and in the [undersea] palace of the *nāga* [king] he brought forth the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*. He composed a broad variety of treatises, but praised the Western [Pure Land] in particular, calling it the ‘Path of Easy Practice and Quick Arrival’ in his *Daśabhūmika-vibhāṣā-śāstra*.<sup>38</sup>

“Also, why do you not rely on the twelfth Patriarch Aśvaghōṣa Bodhisattva? At the end of his *Awakening of Faith*, he demonstrates the greatest of all expedient means in order to lead people to contemplate the Buddha and seek rebirth in the West, to wait constantly on Amitābha Buddha and never regress.<sup>39</sup> Also, why do you not rely on the second patriarch Ānanda and the first patriarch Kaśyapa, who knit together the Tripiṭaka along with all of the Pure Land sutras? If the Pure Land teachings are deficient and can harm the world, then how is it that they did not know the good from the bad but handed them down to later generations, bringing guilt upon themselves?

“Also, all of the Mahāyāna sutras praise the Pure Land, while the Hināyāna sūtras do not say the first word about it. Will you claim that the Mahāyāna sutras are deficient in their teaching?

“Again, when the Buddha preached the *Amitābha-sūtra*, all the buddhas of the six directions appeared, numberless as the sands of the Ganges, and putting forth one long and expansive tongue, they counseled faith in this sutra.<sup>40</sup> Will you claim that all the buddhas of the six directions passed [these erroneous teachings] down to humanity, creating [for themselves] a mire of guilt?

“If you say that [devotees] cannot fail to put their faith in the Sixth Patriarch [Huineng], Zhaozhou, and so on, then how much more must they put their faith in Nāgārjuna, Aśvaghoṣa, Ānanda, Kaśyapa, Śākyamuni, Amitābha, all the buddhas of the six directions, and all the Mahāyāna scriptures. [However,] if you assert that all the buddhas, all the patriarchs, and all the scriptures are not trustworthy, then how much more must you say this of the Sixth Patriarch and Zhaozhou? You see what is close at hand but not what is distant; you know the small but you do not know the great. You are like a rustic who is in awe of the county magistrate but does not know of the emperor’s majesty. A small child will pick up a copper coin as soon as he spots it, yet he will walk past the wish-fulfilling jewel without paying it any mind.

“Do you even know about Yongming [Yanshou 永明延壽, (904–975)]’s ‘Four Alternatives’ (*si liao jian* 四料簡), which speaks of the [potential] benefits and harms, gains and losses, that accrue from either having or not having Chan or the Pure Land?<sup>41</sup> Now, Yongming was a manifest body (*huashen* 化身) of Amitābha, so how could he be willing to pass this mire of guilt down to people, to ‘slander the wheel of orthodox dharma,’ to ‘mislead the people,’ and to ‘cut off the seeds of buddhahood?’”<sup>42</sup>

He replied, “Yongming’s ‘Four Alternatives’ is too tangled in incoherence to be considered an adequate teaching. Why do I say this? He claims, ‘Having both Chan and the Pure Land, one is like a tiger with horns. Such a person will be a teacher in the present life, and a buddha or patriarch in future lives.’ If we speak like this, then [we observe that] among those in the Chan school nowadays there are many types [of people], and everyone knows who is practicing *nianfo*. There are also some who live in the buddha-recitation hall and recite the Buddha’s name for many long years. Are they *all* capable of being ‘teachers in the present life, and buddhas and patriarchs in future lives’? Also, [the verse] says, ‘Lacking Chan but having the Pure Land, ten thousand out of ten thousand who practice it will go. However, having seen Amitābha, why worry about not attaining enlightenment?’ Now, among the foolish [p. 366] men and women of today, you find some practicing *nianfo* exclusively everywhere you go. However, there has yet to be seen one who manifests auspicious omens at the time of death, or whom the Buddha comes to meet and conduct to rebirth in the West. Thus, we can be sure that Yongming’s ‘Four Alternatives’ is a deficient teaching.”

I said, “How could you have gobbled down the whole fruit and not tasted any of its flavor?!”<sup>43</sup> Yongming’s ‘Four Alternatives’ is a distillation of the scriptures and a divining mirror for practice. First, however, we must agree on the meaning of ‘Chan,’ ‘Pure Land,’ ‘having’ and ‘lacking.’ After that, we can analyze the text and know that each word is ‘as Heaven and Earth devised,’ without one single inappropriate word, and without one single word that could be altered. For many decades now I have heard the Chan masters give talks, and they are all like you: not a little extraordinary. With views like theirs, it is not surprising that their Chan and their Pure Land [practice] both grow more feeble by the day.”

Question: “What do we call ‘Chan’ and ‘Pure Land,’ ‘having’ and ‘lacking’? Please condescend to make this clear.”

Answer: “Chan is a person’s inherent suchness and buddha-nature, or, as the Chan school puts it, ‘one’s original face before one’s mother and father were born.’ The words of this school [by themselves] do not reveal it, so they lead people to practice and attain it for themselves. That is why they speak in this way: the truth is devoid of subject and object; it is serene and illuminating spiritual knowledge apart from [discursive] thought, the pure, true substance of mind.

“The Pure Land means to believe in [Amitābha’s] vows and to hold to his name, seeking rebirth in the West. It does not one-sidedly mean ‘Mind-only Pure Land’ (*weixin jingtu* 唯心淨土) or ‘the Amitābha of one’s own self-nature’ (*zixing mituo* 自性彌陀).<sup>44</sup>

“To ‘have Chan’ is to practice and penetrate to the limits of your ability, with thoughts serene and passions stilled, and to thoroughly see your original face before your father and mother were born—with a luminous mind to see one’s own nature.

“To ‘have the Pure Land’ means to genuinely generate the mind of enlightenment, to engender faith, to make vows, to hold to the recitation of the Buddha’s name, and to seek rebirth in the West.

“‘Chan’ and ‘Pure Land’ [by themselves only] have to do with teachings and principles. ‘Having Chan’ and ‘having the Pure Land’ refer to capabilities and cultivation. Teachings and principle are always the same; a buddha cannot add to them, nor can a worldling detract from them. Capabilities and cultivation must give rise to practice based on teachings, and when practice reaches its limit, then one attains principle, and causes its true existence to [manifest in] all. Although the two phrases (i.e., “Chan” and “having Chan,” “Pure Land” and “having

Pure Land”) look similar, in reality they are very different. One must attend carefully to details; one cannot stop at generalities.

“If one practices Chan without reaching enlightenment, or is only partially enlightened, then one cannot call this ‘having Chan.’ If one practices *nianfo*, then none of the following may properly be called ‘having Pure Land’: grasping one-sidedly at ‘Mind-only Pure Land’ and not really believing in the vows [of Amitābha]; having faith in the vows that is not wholly sincere and practicing in a perfunctory manner; practicing diligently while one’s mind is still in love with the dust of this world; seeking only a better rebirth in a wealthy or noble household so as to enjoy the pleasures of the five desires; merely seeking rebirth in Heaven [p. 367] so as to enjoy the pleasures of the gods; seeking ordination as a cleric in the next life so as to be enlightened a thousandfold upon hearing [the teachings] a single time, attain the quintessence of the buddha-dharma,<sup>45</sup> propagate the teachings and the Way, and universally benefit all beings.”

Question: “Where is the fault in leaving the household life to become a monk or a nun in order to propagate the teachings and benefit all beings? Please clarify this.”

Answer: “If one has already cut off all views and thoughts, penetrated the cycle of birth-and-death, mounted the wheel of the Great Vow [in order to] show beings the defiled world, evangelize those above and convert those below, and carry sentient beings over to liberation, then it is all right. [However,] if in spite of having wisdom and aspirations one has still not cut off views and thoughts, then while he may be free of delusion at the beginning of his life, it will be difficult to maintain this state to the end of several more rebirths. One may be able to spread the teachings, but without having realized the Unborn, the seeds of passion will remain, and it will be difficult to avoid delusion while still in contact with sense objects and involved in conditionality. There is not even one or two in ten thousand who can attain enlightenment quickly while following the delusions of the sensory realm. Truly, there are many who roam from one delusion to the next, unable to extricate themselves, floating along and sinking for endless ages!

“Because of this, the Tathāgata leads people to rebirth in the Pure Land, where they can see the Buddha and hear the teachings, and realize the forbearance of the Unborn.<sup>46</sup> Afterward, riding on the power of the Buddha’s compassion and the wheels of their own aspiration, they can reenter the *sahā* world and bring other sentient beings to

liberation. They will always progress and never regress; always gain, never lose. Other schools permit those who have not yet cut off all views and thoughts to propagate the dharma in this [world], but the Pure Land school would never ever allow this!

“Most people in the world think that practicing Chan is ‘having Chan,’ and that practicing *nianfo* is ‘having Pure Land.’ Not only do they not know ‘Chan’ and ‘Pure Land,’ they do not even know the meaning of these phrases. Failing to live up to the kind of compassionate mind of Yongming and the buddhas of old, they cut off a shortcut out of suffering for later generations of practitioners. Deceiving themselves and others, what extreme damage they cause! As when people say, ‘to mistake the balance point of a steelyard’ (*cuoren ding pan* 錯認定盤), if there is even one hair’s width of error, then it [might as well be] as far apart as Heaven and Earth.”

He said, “Now I have an idea of the meaning of ‘Chan,’ ‘Pure Land,’ ‘having,’ and ‘lacking.’ Now please explain in detail the profound meaning of these four verses.”

I said, “The lines, ‘Having both Chan and the Pure Land, one is like a horned tiger. Such a person will be a teacher in the present life, and a buddha or patriarch in future lives,’ refer to a person who is thoroughly enlightened in the Chan school, who has illuminated his mind and seen his nature, and who has entered deeply into the scriptures so as to understand the Tathāgata’s teachings both direct and expedient. From among all [Buddhist] teachings, such a person takes the teaching of having faith in [Amitābha’s] vows and practicing *nianfo* as the quick path and the correct practice for benefiting both himself and others. When the *Meditation Sutra* speaks of practitioners who attain the highest rebirth in the highest grade,<sup>47</sup> who read and chant the Mahāyāna [scriptures] and understand the primary meaning, this is the kind of person to which it refers.

“Such a person possesses great wisdom, will be skilled in debating, and the mere mention of his name will strike terror into the hearts of heretical demons and partisans of other teachings. Like a tiger with horns, he will be fierce and in a class by himself. When someone comes to him for teaching, he will be able [p. 368] to instruct him according to his capacities. In response to one who is capable of the dual practice of Chan and Pure Land, he will guide him in the dual practice of Chan and Pure Land. In response to one who is capable only of Pure Land practice, he will guide him exclusively in Pure Land practice. Regardless of

whether they have superior, middling, or inferior roots, his grace will cover them all without exception. Could such a one not be ‘a teacher of gods and humans’?

“At the end of his life, the Buddha will come for him, and he will attain the highest grade of rebirth. After only a brief moment, his lotus will open and he will see the Buddha, and attain to the forbearance of the Unborn. At the very least he will attain to the first abiding of the perfect teachings, and will quickly vault over all other positions to attain the enlightenment of equality. Within the first abiding of the perfect teachings, one is able to manifest one’s body in a hundred world-systems as a buddha, so how much more will one gain many times in eminence as one progresses directly to the forty-first position of the enlightenment of equality? This is why [the verse] says, ‘in the next life one will be a buddha or a patriarch.’<sup>48</sup>

“The line, ‘Lacking Chan but having the Pure Land, ten thousand out of ten thousand who practice it will go; having seen Amitābha, why worry about not attaining enlightenment?’, refers to a person who has not yet illuminated their mind or seen their nature but who resolves [to do so] upon rebirth in the Pure Land. Many long *kalpas* ago, the Buddha made his great vow that he would gather in all sentient beings, as a mother remembers her children. Therefore, if one can conscientiously and sincerely think of the Buddha, as a child recalls its mother, then the ways of that person’s entreaty and the Buddha’s response will coincide, and they will benefit from [the Buddha’s] in-gathering of all beings.

“Those who strenuously cultivate *samādhi* and wisdom will of course attain rebirth. Just so, [those who have committed] the five unpardonable deeds and the ten evil acts but, oppressed by suffering at the end of their lives, experience great shame and call out the Buddha’s name ten times, or even just once before death, can also count on the Buddha to meet them and conduct them to rebirth. Is this not indeed ‘ten thousand out of ten thousand who practice it will go?’ However, even if [such a person] does not recite [the Buddha’s name] very many times, he or she can still reap this great benefit because of their fierce determination. You cannot compare the sheer number of repetitions between one such as this and another who recites [the name often but] listlessly. One born in the West, having seen the Buddha and heard the preaching, even though there may be differences in how quickly [one progresses], still, one is then part of the holy stream and will never again return to samsara. According to the depth of one’s roots, one

will attain to all of the stages of the path either gradually or suddenly. Having done this, it goes without saying that one is enlightened. This is what ‘having seen Amitābha, why worry about not attaining enlightenment?’ means.

“As to the line, ‘Having Chan but lacking the Pure Land, nine out of ten will stray from the road. When the realm of shadows appears before them, they will instantly follow it’: Even though a person may be thoroughly enlightened and may have illuminated the mind and seen into their own true nature within a Chan lineage, they still cannot easily cut off the disturbances of views and thoughts. One must practice continually for a long period of time and bring oneself to the point where one is completely and utterly purified; only then can one cut off samsara and find escape. It does not matter if [only] a single hair’s-breadth remains to be cut off. One is still a hair’s-breadth away from complete purification; one will revolve in the six paths as before and escape will be difficult. The ocean of samsara is deep and the road to wisdom long. [p. 369] The end of their lives comes, and they still have not made it home. Out of ten who have attained great enlightenment, nine are like this, and that is why the verse says, ‘nine out of ten will stray from the road.’ ‘Stray’ here means ‘to lose precious time’; in common parlance, it is ‘to be delayed.’

“The phrase ‘the realm of shadows’ refers to the period between the end of one life and the beginning of the next. At the end of one’s life, one enters a realm in which all the power of the good and evil karma accumulated over long *kalpas* manifests. When this realm manifests, then, in the twinkling of an eye, one goes to rebirth in a good or evil path as determined by the most powerful karma, whether good or bad, that manifests in that instant, and one has no power to determine the outcome. Like someone who is heavily in debt, the strong[est karmic force] will lead one to fall one way or the other. ‘Wuzu [Shi]jie again is Dongpo, and Caotang [Shan]qing returns to be Lugong; is this similar to their prior [existences]?’<sup>49</sup> That is why the verse says, ‘When the realm of shadows appears before them, they will instantly follow it.’

“The pronunciation and meaning of the word ‘shadows’ (*yin* 陰) is the same as the word *skandhas* (*yin* 陰), and means to cover and conceal. From this we can explain that the power of karma covers up one’s true nature so that it cannot manifest. The word ‘instantly’ (*pie* 瞥) is pronounced like the word *pie* (撇), and means ‘in the twinkling of an eye.’ Some take the words ‘go astray’ (*cuo* 蹉) to be ‘err’ (*cuo* 錯), and ‘the



realm of shadows' to mean 'realm of the demons of the five *skandhas*' (*wu yin mo jing* 五陰魔境).<sup>50</sup> Generally, it is because they are not aware of [the significance of] the words 'Chan' and 'to have' that they can spout such ridiculous nonsense. How could it be that nine out of ten people who had achieved a great awakening would take the wrong road—that is, follow along behind the demons of the five *skandhas*, grasping at them and losing their right minds? Now, to grasp at demons and lose one's right mind means that one does not know the doctrines and principle, does not see clearly into one's own mind, and has piled up the seeds of pride through blind practice. If one heaps [such accusations] upon someone who is greatly and thoroughly awakened, would that not mean that he could not tell good from bad? This is an important point, and we cannot keep it out of the debate.

"As to the verse, 'Lacking both Chan and the Pure Land, it will be the iron beds and bronze pillars [of hell] for ten thousand *kalpas* and one thousand lifetimes with no one to turn to,' this refers to those who lack both Chan and Pure Land [practice] and who immerse themselves in creating karma without cultivating good. They are in grave error. Now, the teachings have innumerable entrances, but only those of Chan and the Pure Land coincide most with people's capacities. These are people who have not achieved a thorough enlightenment and who do not seek rebirth in the Pure Land either. They practice other dharma gates carelessly and perfunctorily. They do not cultivate meditation, wisdom, and impartiality to cut off confusion and awaken to the truth, nor do they rely on the power of the Buddha's compassion to go to rebirth bearing their karma.

"By spending one's life performing meritorious works, one may reap the reward of rebirth as a human or a god in the next life. If in this present life one lacks true wisdom, then in the next life one will follow one's reward around and around, indulging in the five desires (i.e., for food, sex, fame, wealth, and sleep) and creating extensive bad karma. Creating evil karma, they cannot easily escape the retribution of evil. Before the next moment even arrives, one falls into hell, where he or she will pass long *kalpas* laying on the piercing iron beds or embracing the bronze pillars in recompense for their previous evil deeds of greed for sounds and forms, for killing, or for other types of evil karma. [p. 370] Even though all the buddhas and bodhisattvas descend out of compassion [to aid them], they will reap no benefit because of the obstructions of their evil karma. This is the reason that the ancient



masters referred to those who cultivated religious practices without having true faith in or seeking rebirth in the West as ‘those who would groan in the three worlds’ (i.e., of past, present, and future).

“Because of religious practices done in the present life, one will reap good fortune in the next; then, relying on that good fortune, one will proceed to do evil, and will then fall. One may enjoy some temporary pleasure in this life, but suffering is handed down through long *kalpas*. Once the karma that landed one in hell is used up, one then proceeds to rebirth as a hungry ghost or an animal. If one wants to come back in a human birth, that is the most difficult of all. Thus, the Buddha picked up a handful of earth and said to his disciple Ānanda, ‘Is the dirt in my hand greater, or is the whole earth greater?’ Ānanda answered, ‘The dirt of the whole earth is greater.’ The Buddha said, ‘Those who attain a human rebirth are like the dirt in my hand, while those who lose it are like the whole earth.’ The phrase ‘for ten thousand *kalpas* and one thousand rebirths with no one to turn to’ is a simpler way of expressing this same idea.

“All the gates of teaching rely exclusively on self-power [for success]. But the Pure Land teaching gate relies exclusively on the power of [Amitābha] Buddha (夫一切法門，專仗自力。淨土法門，專仗佛力). The practices of all other teaching gates take one to liberation from birth-and-death only if one thoroughly purifies all past karma. The Pure Land teaching gate allows one to attain to the stream of holiness while still bearing all of one’s karma. The great master Yongming [Yanshou] composed this verse to demonstrate this, fearing that the world did not realize it. One can think of him as a precious amulet in this labyrinth of delusion, a master to guide one on a dangerous road. It uplifts the people of this world out of pity; even if one reads it carelessly, one will never plumb its depths. Ah, the sympathy he felt for the evil karma of all sentient beings alike!”

[The Chan monk] said, “What guilt have I incurred from of old, that earlier I was blind to the true explanation? What [good] fortune have I stored up, that now I have heard the essentials? I wish to become your disciple, and wait upon your table.”

I said, “What virtue do I have, that I would presume to accept such talk? All that I have said is but the teaching of all buddhas and all patriarchs. If you will only reverence the buddhas and patriarchs by propagating the Pure Land [teachings], then there is no virtue that will go unrewarded, and no guilt that will go unexpiated. Early in his

life, Vasubandhu Bodhisattva slandered the Mahāyāna, but later, by propagating [Pure Land teachings], he made good his fault. If you can follow in his worthy tracks, then I would abandon my own body to make offerings [to you].”

[The Chan monk] rose from his seat, prostrated himself before the Buddha, and made the following vow: “I, [So-and-so], from this day forward, will practice pure karma<sup>51</sup> exclusively. I ask only that when I die, I may be reborn in the highest grade, so that upon seeing the Buddha and hearing the teachings I may at once attain to the Unborn. Afterward, without separating from the Pure Land, I will enter into all ten directions universally. With the stream or against it, using all manner of expedient means, I will carry this teaching to all places and liberate all beings. Not a single moment will I rest during all future times. In space without limit, I vow to reach the furthest extremity. May Śākyamuni, Amitābha, and all of the eternally abiding Three Jewels have pity on my foolishness and sincerity, and all come to receive and enfold me.”

I said, “On the phenomenal level, the Pure Land is a great causal condition. On the noumenal level, [p. 371] it is the great secret treasury. Your ability to receive it in faith and put it into practice is to adorn yourself with the Buddha’s own adornment.”

He then arose and took his leave. These questions and answers have been recorded so that those who do not know this teaching may take counsel.

#### NOTES

1 For an example of one of the most informed and sustained of these attacks, see Yinshun 印順, “Jingtu xin lun” 淨土新論 (“A New Discussion on the Pure Land”), in *Jingtu yu Chan* 淨土與禪 (*Pure Land and Chan*) (Taipei: Zhengwen, 1970), pp. 1–75. In this work, Yinshun singles out Yinguang for criticism, which caused a widespread and intense reaction. Yinshun’s books were burned in some localities in Taiwan, and he resigned as abbot of Shandao Temple in Taipei as a result of the controversy. This demonstrates both the popularity of Pure Land practice and the esteem in which Yinguang is held. For an account of this incident, see Charles B. Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan: Religion and the State, 1660–1990* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1999), pp. 124–135.

2 Robert A. F. Thurman, trans., *The Holy Teaching of Vimalakīrti* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976), p. 19.

3 Han Yu 韓愈 (786–824) and Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) were Confucian scholars who blamed the social and political ills of their time on the displacement of Confucianism by Buddhism and Daoism. Both men wrote bitter polemics

against Daoism and Buddhism. Samples of their anti-Buddhist rhetoric may be found in William de Bary, et al., comp., *Sources of Chinese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), pp. 369–393.

4 Shi Jianzheng says that at this time Yinguang was afflicted with his first bout of severe conjunctivitis, which almost left him blind. See Shi Jianzheng 釋見正, *Yinguang Dashi de shengping yu sixiang* 印光大師的生平與思想 (*The Life and Thought of the Great Master Yinguang*) (Taipei: Dongchu Chubanshe, 1989), p. 17.

5 Ven. Chansheng, in commenting on this passage, says that this is a quotation from Han Yu. The full quotation is, “The gods and spirits of heaven and earth are eminent and arrayed as thickly as [the trees of] the forest; they are not such as can be added to.” The meaning was that the gods and spirits of the state religion are so numerous that they cannot accommodate the further importation of buddhas and bodhisattvas. Shi Guangding, comp. and ed., *Yinguang Dashi quanji* (*The Collected Works of the Great Master Yinguang*) (Taipei: Fojiao Chubanshe, 1991), vol. 6, p. 84.

6 *The Doctrine of the Mean*, chapter 12. A translation by James Legge can be found on the Chinese Text Project website, <http://ctext.org/liji/zhong-yong>. Accessed on June 18, 2013.

7 In fact, Yinguang never did either of these things, and his commentator Chansheng had some difficulty explaining why Yinguang would write such transparent falsehoods. He explains that Yinguang intended this essay as an expedient means, not as a strictly factual account, but then quickly reassures the reader that everything else contained in this essay is true. See Shi Guangding, *Yinguang Dashi quanji*, vol. 6, p. 87.

8 In other words, Yinguang desires to attain the highest of the nine grades of rebirth in the Pure Land described in the *Contemplation of Amitāyus Sūtra* (*Guan wuliangshou fo jing* 觀無量壽佛經), T.365.12:344cff. For an English translation of the relevant passage, see Hisao Inagaki. *The Three Pure Land Sutras* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 1995), pp. 110–117.

9 I have translated *chuxin* 初心 here as “original plan” because a more literal translation such as “original mind” or “beginner’s mind” would have too much of a Chan flavor to it. In this context, Yinguang is clearly referring to his first intention to attain rebirth in the Pure Land.

10 *Yan kong si hai* 眼空四海 is an idiom meaning “to have contempt for everybody and everything.” This monk had engaged in an ill-advised mixture of meditation and doctrinal study such that, far from mutually reinforcing each other and leading to liberation, these two endeavors had undercut each other and led the monk to increased pride and arrogance.

11 “One Vehicle” is an image from the second chapter of the *Lotus Sutra*, and here means that the monk had vowed to discover the single truth of the Buddha’s teaching that lies behind all apparent differentiation of Buddhism

into various sects and interpretations. See Burton Watson, trans., *The Lotus Sutra* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), pp. 23–46. Sudhana is a character in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* section of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* who travels to meet fifty-five different buddhas and bodhisattvas to receive the teachings.

12 This is the *Amituo Jing Yao Jie* 阿彌陀經要解 (T.1762.37:363ff), composed by the Ming dynasty Pure Land master Ouyi Zhixu 藕益智旭 (1599–1655) as a simplified commentary on the *Amitābha-sūtra*. This work by the ninth patriarch of the Pure Land school in China had a formative influence on Yinguang’s Pure Land theology.

13 The meaning of the phrase *bu bian tongmeng* 不便童蒙 is unclear to me. This is my best guess, based on Nakamura Hajime, *Bukkyōgo Daijiten* (Tokyo: Tōkyō Shoseki Kabushiki Shakai), p. 1013b. He gives the meaning of *tongmeng* (which uses a variant character for *meng*) as “childish, ignorant,” and glosses another phrase, *tongmeng xing* (with the same character for *meng*) as a term used in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* for the First Noble Truth of suffering.

14 The phrase “goose king who chooses milk” (*ze ru zhi e wang* 擇乳之鵝王) refers to a common image in Chinese Buddhist literature of the goose that, when presented with milk and water mixed together, can drink the milk and leave the water behind. This is a metaphor for the enlightened being who while living in the impure *sahā* world is not defiled by it, and thus leaves behind the “water” (i.e., the world of ordinary experience) and chooses the milk (i.e., the enlightenment of the Buddha). See Ciyi, ed., *Fo Guang Da Ci Dian* (*Encyclopedia of Buddhism*), vol. 7, p. 6651a.

15 Chansheng’s commentary states the matter this way: the “Essentials of the *Amitābha-sūtra*” is a commentary on a *sūtra*, not a free-standing treatise. Therefore, to impugn it is to impugn the *sūtra* on which it comments, which is the word of the Buddha. Therefore, the Chan monk’s derogation of Ouyi’s work is implicitly a derogation of the Buddha’s own teaching, and that of all the other great figures of the past who have commented upon this *sūtra*. See Shi Guangding, *Yinguang Dashi quanji*, vol. 6, p. 92.

16 *Jun tao* 鈞陶, a term that literally means to turn pots on a potter’s wheel, but which can be used metaphorically to mean nurture and raise people, according to Morohashi Tetsuji, *Dai Kanwa Jiten* (Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1984, reprint), vol. 11, p. 507b.

17 It is important to Yinguang’s argument that these forty-one stages (i.e., ten abodes, ten practices, ten dedications of merit, ten grounds, and attainment of enlightenment) are occupied only by bodhisattvas of the highest levels of attainment. By this he seeks to rebut the claim that only vulgar people engage in Pure Land practices. See Ciyi, ed., *Fo Guang Da Ci Dian*, vol. 2, p. 1628b.

18 The first quotation is from Mencius, *Jin Xin* 盡心 A, 5. 孟子曰：「行之而不著焉，習矣而不察焉，終身由之而不知其道者眾也。」 Mencius said, “To act

without understanding, and to do so habitually without examination, pursuing the proper path all the life without knowing its nature—this is the way of multitudes.” Translation by James Legge on the Chinese Text Project website, <http://ctext.org/mengzi/jin-xin-i>. Accessed on June 18, 2013. I have not found the second phrase, though it is possible that it is a loose paraphrase of the last clause of this quotation.

19 This is a direct quotation from the *Meditation on the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra's Practice of the Dharma* (*Guan Puxian Pusa Xing Fa Jing* 佛說觀普賢菩薩行法經), T.277.9:392c. The significance of the name “Eternal Quiescent Light” is that this land does not undergo any transformations of production and cessation, and so it is constant and eternal. It is free of all disturbances and vexations, and so it is serene and quiescent. Finally, it radiates wisdom, and so it is light.

20 According to Ciyi, ed., *Fo Guang Da Ci Dian*, vol. 5, p. 4529a, Chinese Buddhist texts and authors at various times have affirmed the view that, regardless of the undifferentiated permeation of all reality by the *dharmakāya*, there are still distinctions between the individual bodhisattvas who dwell in the Pure Land of Quiescent Light as they all inhabit one or the other of these forty-one stages of the bodhisattva path. Yinguang's implication here is that not even these advanced bodhisattvas have succeeded in completely transcending all distinctions, thus one could not reasonably expect the ordinary Buddhist practitioner to do so.

21 In other words, the Pure Land is only this very world when apprehended by an enlightened mind, and Amitābha is only one's own self-nature when purified by enlightenment and the purging of all ignorance. This view controverts Yinguang's view that the Pure Land is an actual place different from this world, and that Amitābha is an actually existent buddha different from the practitioner.

22 This refers to Li Tongxuan 李通玄 (635–730), a lay Buddhist of the Tang dynasty. He specialized in the study of Fazang's new translation of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, and wrote many lengthy commentaries on it. The work cited here (T. 1739) was produced by a monk named Zhining 志寧, who took Li Tongxuan's forty-fascicle *New Exposition of the Avataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Xin Huayan Jing Lun* 新華嚴經論) and interpolated it into the eighty-fascicle translation of the *sūtra* made by Śikṣānanda during the Tang dynasty. For more information, see Robert Gimello, “Li T'ung-hsüan and the Practical Dimensions of Hua-yen,” in Robert Gimello and Peter Gregory, eds., *Studies in Ch'an and Hua-yen* (Honolulu: Kuroda Institute and University of Hawai'i Press, 1983), pp. 321–387.

23 According to Ciyi, ed., *Fo Guang Da Ci Dian*, vol. 5, pp. 4179a–b, Odra is in present-day Orissa, and the copy of this scripture that the king sent to the Tang court was one that he had copied out himself.

24 This account is confirmed in Mochizuki Shinkō, *Mochizuki Bukkyō Daijiten* 望月佛教大詞典, “Daihōkō butsu kegon-gyō” 大方廣佛華嚴經 (Tokyo: Sekai Seiten Kankō Kyōkai, 1933–1936, revised ed.), vol. 4, pp. 3404b–3407b, especially p. 3406c.

25 A search of the *Great Collection Sutra* on CBETA failed to locate this quotation.

26 Yinguang is claiming that Master Zaobo could not have revealed the ending of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* section of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* before its transmission to China because it would have lacked adequate scriptural documentation. He knew about the Pure Land teachings of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* but could not reveal them at that time. The opponent is claiming that the same situation obtained in Daosheng’s time, and yet he revealed the *Nirvāṇa-sūtra*’s teachings on *icchantikas* before that text was completely transmitted. Therefore, Zaobo cannot be excused for keeping silent simply on that basis. For a synopsis of Daosheng’s part in the *icchantika* controversy, see Kenneth Ch’en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964), pp. 113–116.

27 See text in Ding Fubao 丁福保, commentator, *Liu Zu Tan Jing Jianzhu* 六祖壇經箋註 (*The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch with Annotations*) (Taipei: Tianhua, 1992, second ed.), p. 39a. See also Philip B. Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 157.

28 These quotations may be found in several texts and were apparently widely known and disseminated. Both may be found in *The Recorded Sayings of Ancestral Master Zhaozhou* (*Zhaozhou zushi yulu* 趙州祖師語錄), in the *Jiaxing Canon* (嘉興大藏經), number B137 at 24:361b06 24:357a15, respectively. See [http://taipei.ddbc.edu.tw/sutra/JB137\\_001.php](http://taipei.ddbc.edu.tw/sutra/JB137_001.php), accessed April 12, 2013.

29 *Ren lü an qiao* 認驢鞍橋. According to Ciyi, ed., *Fo Guang Da Ci Dian*, vol. 4, 3665a–b and vol. 7, 6977b–c, this is an old idiom used in the Chan school to upbraid a monk for failing to distinguish true from false. It refers to the story of a son whose father went off to fight in a war. When the son goes to be battlefield later to look for his father’s remains, he finds a donkey’s saddlebone (so named because of its curved shape), and mistakes it for his father’s mandible.

30 “Views and perceptions” (*jiansi* 見思), “attachment to emptiness” (*chensha* 塵沙), and “ignorance” (*wuming* 無明) are three types of delusion (*san huo* 三惑) that the Tiantai 天台 tradition opposed to the three truths it propounded. The first involves a failure to see the emptiness of self and phenomena; the second is attachment to the notion of emptiness such that one sees the suffering of other beings as illusory and is not moved to try and relieve it; the third is the failure to see the truth of the middle, in which one simultaneously affirms both emptiness and conventional phenomenality. See Ciyi, ed., *Fo Guang Da Ci Dian*, vol. 1, p. 624a–c.

31 Thus Yinguang refutes the *Platform Sutra*’s statement, immediately prior to



that quoted by his opponent, to the effect that those already in the Pure Land can incur guilt if their minds are tainted by the slightest impurity.

32 This entire paragraph makes use of a fourfold categorization of pure lands devised by Zhiyi 智顗 of the Tiantai school and elucidated in his commentaries on various scriptures. The first is a subdivision of the “Land Where Worldlings and Sages Dwell Together,” which has two types: first, the “Defiled Land Where Worldlings and Sages Dwell Together,” which refers to the present *sahā* world where one may encounter both buddhas and worldlings; and second, the “Pure Land Where Worldlings and Sages Dwell Together,” which refers specifically to Amitābha’s Western Pure Land, where again one may encounter both buddhas and unenlightened worldlings. The other three lands mentioned are pure lands whose inhabitants show progressively greater accomplishments.

33 This quotation comes from the eighteenth fascicle of the *Zu Tang Ji* (*Patriarch’s Hall Collection*), one of the earliest histories of the Chan lineage dating from 952 C.E. See the reprint of this work, *Zu Tang Ji* (Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1987), p. 334. For more information on this work, see Ono Gemmyō, *Bussho Kaisetsu Daijiten* (*Annotated Encyclopedia of Buddhist Literature*) (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1932–1936), vol. 7, p. 5b. On the *Zu tang ji*’s history, see Albert Welte, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati: The Political Ascendancy of Chan Buddhism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), chapter four, pp. 59–114.

34 This quotation is from *The Recorded Sayings of Master Zhaozhou* (*Zhaozhou heshang yulu* 趙州和尚語錄), The original quotation from the *Jiaxing Canon* 嘉興大藏經 reads 問和尚受大王如是供養將什麼報答師云念佛. See *Zhaozhou heshang yulu*, p. 24: 365c09. Found online at [http://tripitaka.cbeta.org/J24nB137\\_002](http://tripitaka.cbeta.org/J24nB137_002), accessed April 18, 2013.

35 According to Ciyi, ed., *Fo Guang Da Ci Dian*, vol. 7, p. 6253a–b, “opportune point” (*jifeng* 機鋒) means a word or phrase spoken in response to a particular listener’s needs and abilities. It is so named because it “pricks” the listener and commands their total attention. It thus denotes the transmission of living Chan rather than dead words and letters. “Turning phrase” (*zhuan yu* 轉語) is similar in meaning. This is a word or phrase that turns the student from perplexity toward enlightenment. See *Fo Guang Da Ci Dian*, p. 6624a.

36 The phrase *fan zhao hui guang* 返照回光 occurs in several Chinese Buddhist texts, some of which belong to the Chan school. For example, the phrase occurs in *The Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Yuanwu Foguo* 圓悟佛果禪師語錄, fasc. 12, at T.1997:47:770b8.

37 The phrase *kou ji er can* 叩己而參 does occasionally occur in Chan literature with the meaning of being self-reliant. For example, in the *Wu deng quan shu* 五燈全書, we find the Chan master Deqing saying this: “[The master] taught the assembly: ‘I have a qualm that I want to lay bare before all people. Avoid seeking words or asking for phrases from other people. You are all unwilling

to lay aside your whole body and seek teaching from yourselves.” 湖州德清吉祥愚山藏禪師：示眾。我有一疑。要與諸人說破。免向人前求言覓句。你諸人不肯全身放下。叩已而參。 Found in XZJ 1571, p. 82:501b16–18; found on CBETA, [http://www.cbeta.org/result/normal/X82/1571\\_090.htm](http://www.cbeta.org/result/normal/X82/1571_090.htm), accessed on April 19, 2013.

38 *Shizhupiposhalun* 十住毘婆沙論, T. 1521. In the ninth chapter of this treatise, Nāgārjuna explains that just as one can either struggle to travel overland or joyfully sail down a stream, so in Buddhist practice there is a difficult path and an easy path (T. 1521.26:41b3–4). The difficult path consists of traditional Buddhist methods of self-cultivation such as meditation, morality, giving, and so on, while the easy path consists of calling upon the 108 buddhas and 144 bodhisattvas to come to one's assistance. Because of Nāgārjuna's putative authorship of this treatise, it has always been a standard proof-text in the arsenal of Pure Land apologists.

39 The passage to which Yinguang refers appears in Yoshito Hakeda, trans., *The Awakening of Faith Attributed to Āśvaghoṣa* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), p. 102:

[T]he sutra says, “If a man meditates wholly on Amitābha Buddha in the world of the Western Paradise and wishes to be born in that world, directing all the goodness he has cultivated [toward that goal], then he will be born there.” Because he will see the Buddha at all times, he will never fall back. If he meditates on the Dharmakāya, the Suchness of the Buddha, and with diligence keeps practicing [the meditation], he will be able to be born there in the end because he abides in the correct samādhi.

Two things must be said here. First, Hakeda considers this passage to be an interpolation in a text that is already probably spurious. Second, it does not point to the kind of faith-based Pure Land practice that Yinguang wishes to defend, but to the practice-based versions found in the *Pratyutpannasamādhi-sūtra* and the *Pure Land Meditation Sūtra*. See Hakeda, *The Awakening of Faith*, pp. 102; 116, n. 55.

40 In Luis O. Gómez's translation of the Chinese version of this scripture, the following appears:

[Various buddhas named in the scripture] extends his broad and long tongue, encompassing all worlds [. . .] proclaiming these true words: “O living beings, you should believe in this discourse, which praises inconceivable virtues—the discourse called Receiving the Protection of All Buddhas.”

It is interesting to note that in this context the buddhas themselves do not appear. Rather, Śākyamuni reports to his audience what these buddhas are doing and saying. See Gómez, *The Land of Bliss: the Paradise of the Buddha of Measureless Light. Sanskrit and Chinese Versions of the Sukhāvativyūha Sūtras* (Honolulu and Kyoto: University of Hawai'i Press and Higashi Honganji Shinshū Ōtani-ha, 1996), p. 150.



41 This refers to a set of four verses attributed to Yongming Yanshou, a Chan master who is credited with formulating the “Dual Practice of Chan and Pure Land” (*Chan-jing shuangxiu*) (my translation):

1. Having Chan but lacking the Pure Land, nine out of ten will stray from the road. When the realm of shadows appears before them, they will instantly follow it.
2. Lacking Chan but having the Pure Land, ten thousand out of ten thousand who practice it will go.  
However, having seen Amitābha, why worry about not attaining enlightenment?
3. Having both Chan and the Pure Land, one is like a tiger with horns (i.e., doubly capable).  
Such a person will be a teacher in the present life, and a buddha or patriarch in future lives.
4. Lacking both Chan and the Pure Land, it will be the iron beds and bronze pillars [of Hell]  
For ten thousand kalpas and one thousand lives with no one to turn to.

Shih Heng-ching points out that this verse does not appear in any of Yongming Yanshou’s extant works, however. Rather, it appears first in a 1393 work by Dayou 大佑 called the *Jingtu zhiguiji* 淨土指歸集 (*Collected Instructions Indicating the Pure Land*), now found in ZZ 108:114–198. The Four Alternatives appear at 108:135a. See Shih Heng-ching, *The Syncretism of Ch’an and Pure Land Buddhism* (New York: P. Lang, 1992), pp. 142–175.

42 Yinguang is throwing his opponent’s earlier words back at him.

43 *Ru he hulun tun zao, bu chang ziwei zhi ruo shi ye*, 汝何囫圇吞棗, 不嘗滋味之若是也. A Chinese idiom for reading books hastily and uncritically, thereby misunderstanding the contents.

44 This is the crux of Yinguang’s contribution to the revival of Pure Land devotionism in China, and the point at which he parts company ideologically with Yongming Yanshou, Yunqi Zhuhong, and other past masters who advocated the “dual practice of Chan and Pure Land.” They combined the practices by interpreting the Pure Land as a purified environment that reflects a purified state of mind. Likewise, they reinterpreted Amitābha Buddha as a manifestation of the inherent buddha-nature possessed equally by all beings. Thus, the Pure Land was a manifestation of one’s innately pure mind, and Amitābha was a manifestation of one’s own buddha-nature. It is a mistake to look for the Pure Land in an actual location somewhere to the west, and it was also a mistake to think that the Buddha was outside of one’s own mind. Proponents of this version of Pure Land practice generally appealed to the first chapter of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra*, in which the Buddha demonstrates that the purity of one’s abode reflects the purity of one’s mind by showing the audience the way in which the present world appears to him. (For an English version of this episode, see Thurman’s translation from the Tibetan, *The Holy*

*Teaching of Vimalakīrti*, pp. 15–19.) Yongming Yanshou himself supported such a view by quoting the *Pratyutpannasamādhi-sūtra*. (Shih Heng-ching, “The Syncretism of Chinese Ch’an and Pure Land Buddhism,” in David Kalupahana, ed., *Buddhist Thought and Ritual* [New York: Paragon House, 1991], p. 75.)

In China, Chan masters incorporated this view of the Pure Land into their teachings. For example, Yunqi Zhuhong quotes the Chan master Zhiche:

Again, there is the qualm that the practice of Chan and the recitation of the Buddha’s name are not the same. Such a one does not know that Chan is merely the attempt to gain awareness of the mind and see [one’s buddha-] nature, while the *nianfo* practitioner is awakening to the Amitābha of his own nature, the Pure Land of Mind-Only. How could there be two principles? (Fujiyoshi Jikai, trans. and ed., *Chan Guan Ce Jin* [A Spur to Enter the Barrier of Chan] [Tokyo: Kankon Eikyo, 1970], p. 99.)

As Shih Heng-ching points out, these accommodations were initiated from the Chan side, and had the effect of assimilating Pure Land practice into a Chan framework (“The Syncretism of Chinese Ch’an and Pure Land Buddhism,” pp. 74–76). Not all Pure Land masters appreciated this new interpretation of their practices, and here it is clear that Yinguang will also have none of it. In this section, he affirms that the Pure Land is a place to which devotees can legitimately aspire to go, and that they may accomplish this through faith in the Buddha’s original vows and by calling upon his name. Yinguang explicitly rejects the teaching that the Pure Land is none other than the devotee’s own purified mind, or that the Buddha is their own self-nature.

45 This phrasing is tentative. According to *The Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* (accessed March 15, 2013), the term *zongchi* 總持 means to hold to the good and to prevent evil, or it may mean *dhāraṇī*. In the *Fo shuo sheng da zongchi wang jing* 佛說聖大總持王經 (T.1371), the term appears in the title and the Buddha preaches about *dhāraṇī*. However, in the argument within which Yinguang places it, I believe it more likely to mean “attaining the good.”

46 The fourth of the five forbearances, in which the aspiring bodhisattva realizes the unproduced and unborn nature of all phenomena, and thus breaks free of all delusions. See Ciyi, ed., *Fo Guang Da Ci Dian*, vol. 2, p. 1097b.

47 For a discussion of the meaning and significance of the “three grades and nine births” mentioned in the *Meditation Sutra*, see Julian Pas, *Visions of Sukhāvātī: Shan-tao’s Commentary on the Kuan Wu-liang-shou-fo Ching* (Albany, NY: State University of New York [SUNY] Press, 1995), pp. 215–223, 251–252, 263–264, 278–283.

48 In the Mahāyāna scheme that divides enlightenment into fifty-two stages, the enlightenment of equality was the fifty-first stage and last before the attainment of perfect buddhahood for the Huayan tradition, and the forty-first for the Yogācāra school. A bodhisattva in this position will certainly attain complete enlightenment and buddhahood in his next incarnation.

Yinguang thus appears to accept the Yogācāra schema. *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, accessed June 10, 2013

49 This is an extremely obscure sentence. Wuzu Shijie and Caotang Shanqing are both Song dynasty Chan masters of the Yunmen and Linji lines, respectively. Dongpo may refer to the Northern Song poet and calligrapher Su Shi (1036–1101), who advocated the joint practice of Chan and Pure Land (see Ciyi, ed., *Fo Guang Da Ci Dian*, vol. 7, p. 6787c); Lugong is the style name of several talented painters of the Tang and Qing dynasties (see Morohashi, *Dai Kanwa Jiten*, vol. 12, p. 725b–c). However, all of these identifications are tentative, and none of them help to make any sense of the statement. One can only assume that here Yinguang raises examples of two eminent Chan masters who failed to attain liberation from samsara and came back as other personages.

50 According to Ciyi, ed., *Fo Guang Da Ci Dian*, vol. 2, pp. 1854b–1855b, this is one of four groups of tempters, or *skandha-māras*, that afflict beings and steal their stores of life and wisdom. This particular group infests the five *skandhas*; the other three types are the *māras* of death, affliction, and those born of the gods.

51 In Pure Land texts, the term “pure karma” (*jingye* 淨業) is usually synonymous with Pure Land practice.

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## **The Buddhist Sanskrit Tantras: “The *Samādhī* of the Plowed Row”**

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### **ABSTRACT**

This paper presents a discussion of the Buddhist Sanskrit tantras that existed prior to or contemporaneous with the systematic translation of this material into Tibetan. I have searched through the Tohoku University Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist canon for the names of authors and translators of the major Buddhist tantric works. With authors, and occasionally with translators, I have where appropriate converted the Tibetan names back to their Sanskrit originals. I then matched these names with the information Jean Naudou has uncovered, giving approximate, and sometimes specific, dates for the various authors and translators. With this information in hand, I matched the data to the translations I have made (for the first time) of extracts from Buddhist tantras surviving in H. P. Śāstrī’s catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Durbar Library of Nepal, and in the Asiatic Society of Bengal’s library in Calcutta, with some supplemental material from the manuscript collections in England at Oxford, Cambridge, and the India Office Library. The result of this research technique is a preliminary picture of the “currency” of various Buddhist Sanskrit tantras in the eighth to eleventh centuries in India as this material gained popularity, was absorbed into the Buddhist canon, commented upon, and translated into Tibetan. I completed this work in 1996, and have not had the opportunity or means to update it since.

### **PREFACE**

Mahāmopadhyāya Hara Prasad Śāstrī followed in the footsteps of Rajendralal Mitra in compiling the *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*. Much

of the material in these early volumes by Mitra and Śāstrī was collected from private libraries, and I understand from (the late) Prof. David Pingree that the bulk of these manuscripts may now be lost or destroyed. Śāstrī, however, completed two multi-volume catalogues, one of which is in the holdings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and one in the Durbar Library in Nepal, that contain a wealth of information on both Hindu and Buddhist tantra, and the manuscripts in these latter two catalogues have been preserved and are available to scholars today. In most instances Śāstrī included with the catalogue listing the opening verses and the colophons, sometimes with headings of major sections, some extracts from the texts, and sometimes notes on the historicity of the authors. Cecil Bendall's *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge* also adds some information, as does the India Office Library catalogue by Ernst Windish and Julius Eggeling.

The vast majority of catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts from Indian universities and research institutions are not “descriptive” in the same way as Śāstrī's catalogues, despite their titles designating them as such.<sup>1</sup> I did not have the opportunity to translate all of the tantric manuscript extracts in the two *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* sets of volumes (there are hundreds of manuscripts recorded, and Mitra's classifications are often inaccurate), nor did I have the opportunity to look through all the material in the catalogues of Sanskrit tantra manuscripts held in Paris, Tokyo, and some of the other European libraries. So this essay is not intended to present complete coverage of the Buddhist Sanskrit tantric material, but what is presented here should give a good idea of the range of material in these texts, and some idea of when the texts appear to have been incorporated into the Buddhist canon in India and when the principal commentaries and *sādhana*s on these texts were originally written. Supplementing the information from the manuscript material is a fairly thorough coverage of the published translations of Buddhist Sanskrit tantras (as of 1996).

The dating information derived from the Tohoku listings of authors and Naudou's work is necessarily incomplete. Naudou's research was based on his searches through the colophons of Tibetan translations of texts by Kaśmīri Buddhists. He was not looking particularly for translations of tantras, nor did he provide dates for authors and translators who either were not either Kaśmīri or not related to Kaśmīr by virtue of having studied in Kaśmīr, or who had worked with Kaśmīris or those educated there.<sup>2</sup> Naudou's *Buddhists of Kaśmīr* is, however, the



only work I found that provides a systematic account of the dates of Buddhist tantric commentarial writers and their work with Tibetan translators, though other authors such as Giuseppe Tucci provide additional or confirmative information. Since I relied heavily on Naudou's work for dating information and the identification of various authors, and because I found his approach to be fairly consistent, reasonable, and, I think, relatively reliable, we should take a brief look at his methodology.

Naudou read through the Tibetan canonical histories of Buddhism by Tārānātha (1608 C.E.), Bu-ston (1322), Sum-pa mkhan-po (1748),<sup>3</sup> and gZon-nu-dpal's *Blue Annals* (1478),<sup>4</sup> and compared this information with "indications supplied by colophons of Tibetan translations about authors of ancient texts and their translators" in Cordier's catalogue of the Beijing edition of the *bsTan ḥgyur* and Lalou's index.<sup>5</sup> Naudou developed a healthy skepticism about the reliability of some of the history of events in India by these Tibetan writers, who composed their histories several centuries later. He notes Tārānātha's own acknowledgement of being unable to write about "the appearance of the Law in Kaśmīr" due to the lack of "detailed sources" for Kaśmīri Buddhists.<sup>6</sup> Naudou brought some order to this wealth of information by grounding the material in data from copperplate inscriptions, Kalhaṇa's largely reliable *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, the *Annals of Ladakh*, records of the Chinese pilgrims, chronologies of the Pāla kings and other dynasties, the records of the Mahāsiddhas, and other sources such as Al Biruni's records and archaeological records, the *Sādhanamālā*, and so on. He then worked through the confusing variety of names used for the various translators and authors in the Tibetan colophons, where the same person may sometimes be referred to by three or four different names, either with his family name, an initiation name, a shortened version of his name, a title such as Mahāpaṇḍita of Kaśmīr, etc. In many instances the surname and the initiation names are used interchangeably, as with Tailikapāda (Tilopa) for Prajñāgupta, Nādapāda (Naropa) for Yaśobhadra, and Puṇyākaragupta or Mahāvajrāsana for Puṇyaśrī. On the other hand, multiple instances of the same name, such as Nāgārjuna, can also conceal instances of a number of different people (Naudou suggests four in the case of the name Nāgārjuna), just as multiple instances of Francis in the Roman Catholic canon refer to at least three different saints.<sup>7</sup> In several cases Naudou concedes defeat, saying that it is impossible to tell much about when or where a particular individual worked. On the whole I found his dating conclusions quite reasonable.

## INTRODUCTION

Contemporary late twentieth-century Buddhist scholarship tended to rely on the Tibetan classification schemes and interpretations of Buddhist tantras. These classification schemes were developed over many centuries—and much debated among Tibetan tantric writers—based on the voluminous corpus of Tibetan Tantric texts directly and carefully translated from the Sanskrit originals. The sheer volume of the translated literature, and the enormity of the Tibetan commentarial literature, combined with a contemporary Tibetan Tantric tradition being actively passed on by Tibetan monks and scholars, has tended to diminish (though by no means eliminate) interest by many Indologists in studying the original Sanskrit versions of the Buddhist tantras to determine the interrelations of these texts prior to the development of the Tibetan Tantric tradition (the difficulty of mastering Sanskrit has no doubt contributed to this trend). Furthermore, the impressive command of the material on the part of Tibetan Tantric adherents and advocates can sometimes give the impression that Tibetan historiography, classifications, and interpretations have a dogmatic status, even for scholars.

Adding to the impressive bulk of the abundance of such classificatory material has been the oft-repeated argument that as part of a “living” tradition, the Tibetan Buddhists are uniquely qualified to inform about the truth of the tradition, something that cannot be gotten at by “outsiders.” This may all be true, yet it obscures the fact that a fair number of Sanskrit Buddhist tantras survive in manuscript form in India and in various European libraries, that the material these texts contain is perhaps insufficiently familiar to many Indologists, and that the Buddhist Tantric tradition grew up in the context of a developing Śaivite Tantric tradition. It appears that the surviving Sanskrit tantric texts offer some helpful adumbrations that can broaden the perspectives gained by scholarship based on the Tibetan Tantric tradition. This is only natural, since by going back to the original Sanskrit sources we can only gain in our understanding of tantra.

Since the catalogues containing manuscript extracts of Buddhist Sanskrit tantras are not that easily available (or at least were not in 1996), I’ve included transliterations of all the translated portions in the endnotes. Most of the actual *manuscripts* of these Buddhist tantras are themselves ancient, with several dating from the eleventh to twelfth centuries (identifiable by colophon dates and script styles), and others

from the thirteenth century. These early dates for the manuscripts (i.e., the fact that they may be “originals”) suggest that the material in the texts was very likely not unduly corrupted by ignorant copyists who may have misread the originals.

Furthermore, given that the manuscripts are so old, it is also very likely that later generations of redactors of these texts did not have the chance to modify the contents, consciously or unconsciously, to suit the mores of their time and culture. We know this is a real problem with more recent work on tantras. It is not uncommon to find that published editions of tantric texts in India either deliberately or “accidentally” omit the most racy or contentious portions of the text. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya frankly admitted doing so in his edition of the *Śaktisaṃgamatantra*. I also found that the one published Sanskrit edition of the *Pradīpodyotana* commentary on the *Guhyasamāja* “accidentally” omits the page that would explain a sexual yoga practice mentioned in the root text, and have found oddly coincidental missing portions of the text in the published edition of the *Śrīmālinīvijayottaratantra*, typically in the middle of discussion of sexual yoga rites.

Similarly we find that in the “living” Nepali Tantric tradition, most of the sexual and transgressive practices referred to in the older texts have been reinterpreted in strictly symbolic fashion, or have been left out altogether in more modern recensions of the text. A good example of this trend can be seen in the public *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa* worship in Nepal. The original Sanskrit tantra contains in chapter 6 a detailed and explicit section on sexual yoga practices that reads quite like a passage out of a *Kāma Śāstra* text, complete with a variety of names and descriptions of *ratibandhas* or styles of sexual coitus. It is not at all clear, though, that such sexual yogas are still practiced in Nepal.

So it may be the case that from the relatively quiescent state of the Sanskrit Buddhist tantras—many of the texts have in fact simply lain in libraries for centuries—we may be able to gain a sharper picture of the character of Buddhist tantric practice *in India, in the Sanskrit culture*, at the close of the first millennium, prior to the onslaught of the Persian invasions and the wholesale destruction of the Buddhist universities in northern India. We have the chance, as it were, to see the texts shorn of any later interpretive schemas or explanations that might tend to soften or diminish what may have been perceived as objectionable aspects of the tradition. There are some limits: for the translations from the catalogue extracts, I did not examine copies of the actual manuscripts, decipher the scripts (nor did I train on scripts), nor did I have

a chance to go through the actual texts to gain a more comprehensive picture. What I worked from here—except for the supplemental material from extant English translations of Buddhist Sanskrit tantras—are tables of contents, opening folios, closing folios and colophons, and occasional long extracts from certain portions of the texts that the cataloguers found interesting. As mentioned above, given the scope of this material, I did not have the opportunity to fully survey all catalogue listings of Buddhist tantric Sanskrit manuscripts.

#### 1. ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF SANSKRIT BUDDHIST TANTRAS

A few of the Buddhist Sanskrit tantras have been translated into English (considerably more since 1997), though most remain in their original Sanskrit or in Tibetan translation from the early centuries of the second millennium C.E. The Central University of Tibetan Studies (formerly the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies) in Sarnath, India, under the directorship of Prof. Geshe Ngawang Samten (formerly Prof. Samdhong Rinpoche), has in recent years published Sanskrit editions of Buddhist tantric texts as part of its series of the Durlabha Bauddha Granthamālā, i.e., Rare Buddhist Texts Series of the Rare Buddhist Texts Research Project. Among these texts are the three volumes of the *Kālacakratāntra* and *Vimalaprabhā* (vols. 11, 12, and 13 of this series, under Bibloteca Indo-Tibetica Series XI). I will discuss the *Kālacakratāntra* and *Vimalaprabhā* in another publication).

Other texts in these series that are as yet untranslated are the *Jñānodaya Tantra* of the Yoga Tantra class, a text apparently not translated into Tibetan but that survives in Sanskrit; this is a very short text of only fourteen pages in the Sarnath edition.<sup>8</sup> Another such text is the *Ḍākinījāla-saṃvara-rahasyaṃ* by Anaṅgayogī, also a short Yoga Tantra of only eleven pages in the Sarnath edition.<sup>9</sup> A slightly longer text is the *Mahāmāya Tantra* restored to Sanskrit from the Tibetan translation with Ratnākara Śānti's *Guṇavatī* commentary (Rare Buddhist Texts Series, vol. 10). This is still a fairly short text of seventy-three verses, covering fifty-five relatively smallish pages in the Sarnath edition, including the commentary and the *sādhana*s.<sup>10</sup>

David Snellgrove provided the first English translation of a Buddhist tantra, the *Hevajra Tantra*, in 1959 (though he worked principally from the Tibetan in comparison with the Sanskrit). This was followed in 1971 by an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation on the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* by

Francesca Fremantle, who also provided the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts with an English translation. In 1974 Christopher George's edition and translation of the first eight chapters of the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra* was published, the same year that Shinichi Tsuda published his edition and translation of selected chapters of the *Sambarodaya Tantra*. In 1976 William Stablein completed his dissertation on the *Mahākāla Tantra* at Columbia University with a Sanskrit edition and English translation of eight of the fifty chapters of this text,<sup>11</sup> followed in 1977 by Alex Wayman's study of the *Guhyasamājatantra*; this included, however, only translations of what he referred to as the forty *Nidāna-kārikās* and a portion of the *Pradīpodyotana*. Tadeusz Skorupski provided complete Sanskrit and Tibetan editions of the *Sarvadurgati-pariśodhana Tantra* with an English translation in 1983.

Two recent doctoral dissertations on chapter 1 and chapter 2 of the *Kālacakatantra* and *Vimalaprabhā* have been done by John Newman (1986) and Vesna Wallace (1995),<sup>12</sup> respectively, and Vesna A. Wallace has since published two complete translations of the second and fourth chapters of the *Kālacakatantra* and *Vimalaprabhā* as part of the Tanjur Translation Initiative, Treasury of Buddhist Science series (*The Kālacakatantra: The Chapter on the Individual Together with the Vimalaprabhā* [New York: American Institute of Buddhist Studies, Columbia University, co-published with Columbia University's Center for Buddhist Studies and Tibet House US, 2004]; and *The Kālacakra Tantra: The Chapter on Sādanā Together with the Vimalaprabhā Commentary* [New York: American Institute of Buddhist Studies, Columbia University, New York Columbia University Center for Buddhist Studies and Tibet House US, 2010]). David B. Gray also completed a translation of the *Cakrasamvara Tantra* in the same series in 2007 (*The Cakrasamvara Tantra (The Discourse of Śrī Heruka) (Śrīherukābdhidhāna): A Study and Annotated Translation* [New York: American Institute of Buddhist Studies, Columbia University, New York Columbia University Center for Buddhist Studies and Tibet House US, 2007]).

## 2. CANONICAL CLASSIFICATIONS OF BUDDHIST TANTRAS

A large body of Buddhist Sanskrit tantras was translated into Tibetan around the turn of the first millennium C.E. The basic classification system of these Buddhist tantras as maintained in the Tibetan tradition is into the Kriya, Caryā, Yoga, and Anuttarayoga Tantras, and their

division into “father” and “mother” tantra groups.<sup>13</sup> We find in the text of the *Kālacakra Tantra* that the first and third of these were also referred to as the Loka-Tantra (Kriyā-Tantra) and Lokottara-Tantra (Yoga-Tantra); the *Kālacakra* is said to transcend both of these and is called the *Tantrottara* or *Tantra-rāja*.<sup>14</sup> Among the Anuttarayoga texts are the *Guhyasamāja*, *Cakrasaṃvara*, *Hevajra*, and *Kālacakra*—these four are perhaps the most well known of the group.

Tsukamoto, et al., in the volume on “The Buddhist Tantra” in *Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, give a very helpful layout of how the Buddhist tantric texts fall into this classificatory system. The Kriyā class includes the *dhāraṇī* collections,<sup>15</sup> and the texts of the Tathāgata-,<sup>16</sup> Padma-,<sup>17</sup> Vajra-,<sup>18</sup> and Maṇi-kulas,<sup>19</sup> and some miscellaneous texts.<sup>20</sup> These Japanese authors class both the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* and the *Siddhaikavīra-mahātantra* in the Tathāgatakula Kriyā Tantra group.<sup>21</sup> Among the Padmakula Kriyātantras they class the *Kāraṇḍavyūha nāma Mahāyānasūtraratnarāja*.<sup>22</sup> Among the Vajrakula Kriyātantras they include the *Bhūṭaḍāmara-mahātantra-rāja*.<sup>23</sup> The Caryātantra group includes only the *Vairocana-abhisambodhi*.<sup>24</sup> The Yoga-tantra group consists of twenty-eight texts, including the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, the *Nāma-saṃgīti*, and the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-tantra*.<sup>25</sup> They divide the Anuttarayogatantra class into five groups. Group 1, the Upāya-/Mahāyogatantra, includes the *Guhyasamāja* and *Pañcakrama* in the Akṣobhya-kula and the *Māyājāla* and *Kṛṣṇa-Yamāri* in the Vairocana-kula.<sup>26</sup> Group 2, the Prajñā-/Yoginī-tantra, includes in the Heruka-kula, the *Cakrasaṃvara*, the *Abhidhānottara*, the *Vajradāka* and the *Ḍākārṇava*, the *Samvarodaya*, the *Samputodbhava*, the *Hevajra*, the *Buddhakapāla*, and the *Mahāmāyā*. The Vairocana-kula of this group includes the *Catuṣpīṭha* and the *Caṇḍa-mahāroṣaṇa*. The Vajra-sūrya-kula consists of the *Vajrāmṛtatantra*. The Padmanarteśvara-kula includes only the *Śrībhagavatyārya-tārāyāḥ Kuru-kullā-kalpa*. The Paramāśva-kula includes the *Mahākāla-tantra*. There is in the Vajradhara-kula something called the *Khasamā nāma Tantra* commentary, with a few other texts, including a *Śrīcaturviṃśatipīṭhatantra* in the general group.<sup>27</sup> In the Yuganaddha-/Prajñā-Upāya-Advaya-Tantra class we find the *Kālacakratantra*, including the *Vimalaprabhā*, the four *Sekoddeśa* texts, the *Ṣaḍaṅgayoga-tippaṇī* *Guṇabharaṇī* by Raviśrī-jñānapāda, Puṇḍarīka’s *Paramārthasevā nāma Ṣaḍdarśana-avagrācīra-tat[t]va-avalokana-sevā*, Abhayākaragupta’s *Kālacakra-avatāra*, and several other texts.<sup>28</sup>

Another often-cited Buddhist tantric classification system is that of the “Neither Father nor Mother Tantras,” the “Mother Tantras,”



and the “Father Tantras.” The Neither Father nor Mother Tantras (not admitted by Tsong-kha pa), include the *Nāmasaṃgīti* and the *Kālacakra*. The Mother Tantras are divided into six *kulas* (groups, clans, or families): 1) Śākyamuni’s group, the *Sarva-buddha-saṃyoga*; 2) Heruka-Akṣobhya’s clan, the *Samvara*, *Hevajra*, *Buddhakapāla*, *Mahāmāya*, and *Ārali*; 3) Vairocana’s family, the *Catuṣpīṭha* and *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa*; 4) Ratnasambhava’s group, the *Vajrāmṛta*, *Padmanarteśvara*, *Lokanātha*, and *Tārā-Kurukullā*; 5) Paramāśva-Amoghasiddhi’s group, the *Namas Tāre Ekaviṃśati*, *Vajrakīlaya*, and *Mahākāla*; and 6) Vajradhara’s group, the *Yathālabdhakhasama*. The Father Tantras are divided into six *kulas*: 1) Akṣobhya’s *Guhyasamāja* and *Vajrapāṇi*, 2) Vairocana’s (*Kṛṣṇa*)-*Yamāri*, 3) The *Ratna-kula* (with no texts in the Tibetan canon), 4) The *Padma-kula* of the *Bhagavad-ekajāṭa*, 5) The *Karma-kula* (with no texts in the Tibetan canon), and 6) Vajradhara’s clan, with the *Candra-guhya-tilaka*.<sup>29</sup>

### 3. DATING THE SANSKRIT TEXTS OF THE BUDDHIST TANTRAS

Dating the Buddhist tantras is difficult, particularly since many of them may have been circulating in popular tantric cults prior to being accepted into the Buddhist canon. I have already described above how I used a combination of the Tibetan canonical citations of authors and translators in combination with Naudou’s and other scholars’ historical research on the dates of the transmitters of the Buddhist canon into Tibet to attempt to establish dates for the commentaries and translations of the Sanskrit Buddhist tantric material. We also have other helpful information, including Abhayākaragupta’s citations, and we can begin to discuss some relative dating based on the texts themselves.

#### 3.1. Abhayākaragupta’s *Vajrāvalī* as a Dating Marker

The earliest canonical “digest” of Buddhist Sanskrit tantras that appears to have survived (it may be the earliest that was written) is the *Vajrāvalī nāma maṇḍalopāyikā* (“Method of the Maṇḍalas known as the Row [or Chain] of Vajras”) by Abhayākaragupta, late eleventh to early twelfth centuries. As Chandra summarizes, “The *Vajrāvalī* is a practical guide to all the preliminary rites preceding initiation into the maṇḍala from the very laying of the foundations of a monastery where the maṇḍala is to be drawn.”<sup>30</sup> In this sense it is not as comprehensive a text as Abhinavagupta’s, since the *Tantrāloka* covers all aspects

of the Śaivite tantric theories and practices. Abhayākaragupta was “a prolific writer on Tantric dogmatics, liturgy and the maṇḍalas,” and twenty-four of his works have been translated in the Tibetan canon. He teamed up with Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan to translate the bulk of the *sādhana*s from the *Sādhanamālā* into Tibetan, and he is often listed in the colophons of the Tibetan translations simply as Abhaya.<sup>31</sup> He served as abbot of the Buddhist university Vikramaśīla (in Bodhgaya) during the reign of the Pāla king Ramapāla (1084–1130 C.E.),<sup>32</sup> and also served for a while as abbot of Mahābodhi Monastery and Nālandā.<sup>33</sup>

In a long extract *Śāstrī* provides from the *Vajrāvalī*,<sup>34</sup> Abhayākara-gupta gives us the sources for his work: 1) *Nāgabuddhipāda*, 2) *Niṣpan-nayogāvalī* (Abhayākara-gupta’s own work), 3) *Samputatantra*, 4) *Ānanda-garbhā*, 5) *Ḍākinīvajrapañjara*, 6) *Vimalaprabhā*, 7) *Vajradākatantra*, 8) *Mañju-vajra-maṇḍalaṭippanī*, 9) *Tantrasaṃgraha*, 10) *Bhūtaḍāmara*, 11) *Kālacakra*, 12) *Trailokyavijayatantra*, 13) *Abhidhānottaratantra*, 14) *Vajrāmṛtatantra*, 15) *Āmnāyamañjarī*—Abhayākara-gupta himself helped translate the *Āmnāyatantra* into Tibetan; 16) *Buddhakaṭāla-sambara-hevajra*, 17) *Yoginī-saṅcāra-tantra*, 18) *Śrī-[guhya]-samāja*, and 19) *Padma-supraṭiṣṭhita tantra*. The authorities cited by Abhayākara-gupta also include the following texts: 20) *Sārdhatrīsatikā*, 25) *Vajrasekharatantra*, 26) *Subāhu-paripṛcchā*, 28) *Siddhaikavīratatantra*, 29) *Hevajra*, and 30) *Saṃvarodayābhisamayopāyikā*.

I have examined a number of the texts cited by Abhayākara-gupta in the following discussion of surviving Buddhist Sanskrit tantras. Not all of the texts he cites survive in Tibetan translation. While we might attribute this to selectivity on the part of the Tibetan translators, it is equally possible that the texts Abhayākara used were destroyed before they could be translated. One of Abhayākara-gupta’s many works is the *Kālacakrāvatāra*, dated 1125 C.E.<sup>35</sup> Another is a commentary on the *Buddhakaṭālatantra*. This text cites as authorities, in addition to the *Rājajvārāvalī*, the *Vajrasekharatantra*, the *Yoginītantra*, the *Hevajra*, the *Śrīsamputatantra*, and the *Siddhaikavīratatantra*.<sup>36</sup> Abhayākara-gupta apparently also wrote a commentary on the *Samputodbhavantra*, since he mentions on leaf 2A of the *Buddhakaṭālatantraṭīkā* that he has discussed a particular *nidānavākya* in detail in the *Śrīsamputaṭīkā*.<sup>37</sup> Although there is no proof for this, it seems a reasonable possibility that the *Ḍāka* (*Vajradāka-tantra*) and the *Ḍākinī* (*Ḍākinī-vajra-pañjara*) texts mentioned by Abhayākara-gupta as his sources for the *Vajrāvalī* may be the texts, or derivative evolutions of the texts, referred to by Dharmakīrti



as the *ḍākinī*-tantras. We should also note here that Abhayākara Gupta's text *Vajrāvalī* ("The Vajra Lineage") was preceded by a Śaivite text entitled *Śrīmad-Vīrāvalī-kula* ("The Clan of the Hero Lineage") cited by Abhinavagupta in *Tantrāloka* 6.74a.<sup>38</sup>

While we do not yet have a full Sanskrit edition of the *Vajrāvalī nāma Maṇḍalaupayikā*,<sup>39</sup> we have several extracts from the manuscript in Shāstrī's RASB Catalogue. The text opens as follows:

Homage to Śrī Vajrasattva. I praise the glorious lord of the clan, the feet of the most memorable enemy of the *māras* and death; the fierce one runs after [the *māras*] in [all] the directions; may the *vajra*-women sing of the mountain of happiness. Bearing by the glorious *vajra* the elements, with the world, in the majestic great *maṇḍala*, may this *Vajrāvalī* assemble here the unimpedable with the greatness of fearlessness. May this [*Vajrāvalī*] that maintains the *vajra* outside of the home be held in the heart by the *vajra* lineages; it upholds the light in the form of the glorious *vajra* holder, banishing the final darkness.<sup>40</sup>

We know from the inclusion of the texts cited as sources in Abhayākara Gupta's early twelfth-century work that they all predated Abhaya, but this does not tell us a great deal about their earlier history. In order to clarify some of this earlier history I have attempted, with mixed results, to determine when the major Anuttarayoga Tantras were translated into Tibetan, and when the major commentaries on these texts were written. While the resultant tentative dates I give here do not resolve the issue of the dates of origin of these texts, they do at least give some indication of when the texts were in fact in the canon, and when interest in them had increased to the point that they were deemed worthy of commentaries.

Although we can only speculate, we should not necessarily presume that the date of a commentary indicates that the text was in the canon for any particular amount of time prior to the time the commentary was composed, as with the commonplace Indological assumption of a century or more. Given that many of these texts were apparently either accepted into the canon from the more popular tradition, or may have been canonical rewrites of popular circulating texts, it is not unreasonable to suppose that commentaries may have been written at the same time that the texts were taken into the canon. After all, given the potentially explosive nature of the contents of some of these texts in terms of their sexual content and promotion of sensual indulgence and magical practices, one might deduce that commentaries, which

would help explain and contextualize such practices, were absolutely necessary before the texts could be “canonized.”<sup>41</sup>

I have attempted in the following discussions of the Buddhist Sanskrit tantric texts to put them in more or less chronological order according to dates derived from the appearance of the first commentaries on these texts. As mentioned above, this dating information is incomplete since Naudou’s dates are incomplete. I have found so far no other source that provides dates for these early translations, though I suspect there may be more information on dating in the Tibetan scholarship (both by Tibetans and Western scholars) of which I may not be aware. Texts cannot be dated solely based on the time of their commentaries, since commentaries often appear many centuries after the original text is written (although, as mentioned above, this may not be the case for all the Buddhist tantric commentaries). However, I do not intend to suggest here that we can reliably date the original tantras based on the dates of their translations or commentaries. Rather, since it appears that most of the surviving Buddhist tantric commentaries were written within a relatively short period of time, from the eighth to eleventh centuries. This tends to support indications that there was a general trend of incorporating these tantras into the Buddhist canon from the eighth century onward, and the simultaneous writing of commentaries on the original tantric texts by Buddhist scholar-practitioners.

I would like to note here that I have no particular ideological or partisan axe to grind as to when the Buddhist tantras did or did not originally appear; I am simply working within modern methodologies from what appears to be reliable historical evidence, based on what I have found so far in my research and the work of other scholars. The dates I have found are certainly subject to revision pending the discovery of further evidence. From what I have found so far, the earliest datable surviving commentaries on any of the Buddhist tantras appear to be the few texts attributed to Padmasambhava—a difficult figure to pin down historically, though probably from the eighth century—and to Indrabhūti, another historically elusive character who appears to have lived in the eighth or ninth centuries. The majority of the other commentarial material on and translations of Buddhist tantric texts surviving in the Tibetan canon appears to date from the ninth to eleventh centuries.

### 3.2. The Tantric Siddhas

Several of the famed tantric *siddhas* or adepts are credited in the Tibetan catalogues with authorship or translations of Buddhist tantric texts. Sāṅkrtyāyana gives us a genealogy of the *siddhas* from Saraha to Naropa, taken from the *Sa-skya Bka'-bum*: “Saraha, (Nāgārjuna), (Sabarapa), Luīpa, Dārikāpa, (Vajra-ghaṇṭāpa), Kūrmapā, Jālandharapā, (Kaṃha(pā) Caryapā), Guhyapā (Vijayapa), Tilopa, Naropa.”<sup>42</sup> The name Śabarapa has an interesting resonance with Dharmakīrti’s remark that even the Śabararas were making up their own mantras in the early seventh century, though this resonance tells us nothing about Śabarapa’s date. According to the *Sa-skya Bka'-bum*, Luīpa was a scribe to the emperor Dharmapāla (769–809 C.E.).<sup>43</sup> The same source places Bhusukupa, Ghaṇṭapa, and Gorakṣapa in Devapāla’s reign (809–849). Naropa is placed during the reign of Mahāpāla (974–1026), along with Śāntipa.<sup>44</sup> Keith Dowman, who has translated the tales of the Mahāsiddhas, considers that with the exception of Indrabhūti they all lived in India “within the Pāla and Sena period (AD 750–1200).”<sup>45</sup> Their stories were recorded by Abhayadatta Śrī, who may possibly be the same person as Abhyākaragupta.<sup>46</sup>

### 3.3. Some Notes on the Relative Dating of Buddhist Tantras

Over the long haul I think it will become possible to establish a relative dating of most of the tantras—Śaivite, Buddhist, and others—by comparing the treatment of the different subjects we tend to find in tantric texts, writing styles, sets of deities, details of the practices, etc. The general principle for relative dating could be that as texts become progressively more complex and contain progressively more detail, we might assume that they are later, though this is by no means a necessarily reliable assumption. While my own research is a long way from having definitive information on relative dates of the texts, I offer a few pointers worth mentioning that I think may lead us in the direction of relative dating.

We find the same opening line with only slight variations in the *Guhyasamāja*, *Hevajra*, *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa*, *Samvarodaya*, and *Samputīkātantrarāja*: “Thus I have heard: at one time the Bhagavān resided in the vulvas of the women who are the *vajras* of the body, speech and mind of all the Tathāgatas” (*evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavān*

*sarvva-tathāgata-kāya-vāk-citta-vajra-yonī-bhāgeṣu vijahāra* /). However, this is not the opening line in any of the other tantras discussed in this essay (the *Abhidhānottara* is unclear). All of these texts open with a prose passage as well, while the *Kālacakratāntra* opens and is written only in verse. In the *Guhyasamāja* many bodhisattva *mahāsattvas*<sup>47</sup> accompany the Buddha Bhagavān, who enters a *samādhi*, then speaks. In the *Hevajra* Vajragarbha responds after the Bhagavān speaks, without a smile. In the *Samvarodaya* a few bodhisattvas are named, the Bhagavān smiles on seeing Vajrapāṇi among them, and Vajrapāṇi then rises, puts his garment over his right shoulder, kneels on his right knee, bows, and asks for instruction. In the *Samputikātāntra* the Bhagavān smiles upon seeing Vajragarbha among the host of 80,000, then Vajragarbha rises, puts his garment over his right shoulder, kneels on his right knee, bows, and asks for instruction, exactly as Vajrapāṇi does in the *Samvarodaya*. This same opening pattern appears in chapter 22 of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*.

While I am uncertain what to make of these differences and similarities for now, there certainly appears to be a textual typology that suggests the possibility of historical, geographical, or cultic genres of tantras that may or may not match up with the canonical classification schemas. The notion comes to mind that there was a certain style of beginning a tantra that may have been particular either to a certain time, or to a certain geography or group of traditions. What is noteworthy is that there are such styles, the styles are consistent in a small group of texts, and the styles apparently changed over time, over distance, or among groups.

There appears to have been a developmental trend in the amount of alchemical information in the tantras. As we will see below, the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* has a not overly long chapter on making gold. The *Guhyasamājatamra* has only a very short section on medicinal/alchemical material—indeed the material corresponds more nearly to *Atharvaveda*-style mantras for healing and magical purposes. We find *Āyurveda* and *Rasāyana* mentioned in section 7 of the *Samputikā Tantra*. In the *Kālacakra* the *Āyurveda* and *Rasāyana* material is very detailed and extensive.

A similar developmental trend might be noticed in the description of sexual rites, though as with the alchemical material this could as well be explained as a difference in local or regional emphasis, rather than as a marker of temporal evolution. The description of the sexual

rites in the *Guhyasamāja* is rather subdued. In chapter 4, on the *maṇḍala* of the secret body, speech, and thought (*guhya-kāya-vāk-citta-maṇḍala-paṭala*), Vajradhara explains the delightful thought *maṇḍala* of all the *tathāgatas*.<sup>48</sup> The wise man<sup>49</sup> is to lay this out with a thread. After he has clearly understood the ultimate mind *maṇḍala*, he should carefully make worship with offerings of his body, speech, and thought, then coming together with a sixteen-year-old young lady, whose beauty is truly radiant, he should adorn her with perfumes and flowers,<sup>50</sup> and then make love to her in the middle of the *maṇḍala*.<sup>51</sup> Though meditative aspects are added, consecrating her as Māmakī Prajñā, offering feces, urine, semen, and blood to the deities, etc., no further description of the sexual rite is given.<sup>52</sup> The sexual yoga rites are much more explicitly detailed in the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa* and the *Kālacakra*.

Another topic worth exploring for relative dating and geographic identification is the mention of particular deities in the tantras. As Pingree has remarked with regard to the Indian astronomical tradition, Indian thinkers have a predilection for keeping whatever they can from the past and integrating new material with earlier systems. This preference for continuity of ideas, symbols, and names in the Sanskrit tradition may help us determine relative, if not absolute, dates in the evolution of the Tantric tradition. In *Kālacakratāntra* 5.91 we find the names Ḍākinī and Viśvamātā added to the standard set of four deities Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍarā, and Tārā (or Tārīṇī). We do not find the first two of these six goddesses in the *Guhyasamājatantra*. In the *Kālacakra* there is a tendency to map buddhas and goddesses into earth, air, fire, water, space, and the void, whereas at *Guhyasamāja* 17.51 we have a mapping of Locanā to earth, Māmakī to water, Pāṇḍarā to fire, and Tārā to air, with Vajradhara mapped to space, and no deity mapped to the void. In the *Hevajra* I.i.31 these four are joined only by Cāṇḍalī.<sup>53</sup> In another list at *Hevajra* II.iv.65 we have “all those goddesses, led by Nairātmyā, with Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍarā and Tārā, Bhṛkuṭī, Cuṇḍā, Parṇasavarī, Ahomukhā and the rest, as numerous as the atoms in Mount Meru. . . ,”<sup>54</sup> again with no mention of Viśvamātā or Ḍākinī.

It is difficult to derive too much about the relationship of the texts to each other at this stage. I merely wish to point out that by beginning to compare the contents, style, and level of detail on different subjects in the various tantras, we eventually should be able to determine either relative dating, or the relative interests of the different cults in particular subjects.

#### 4. THE TWO “EARLIEST” BUDDHIST TANTRAS

There is a general consensus among scholars of the Buddhist tantras that the two earliest texts of the tradition are the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (AMMK) and the *Guhyasamājatantra* (GST). However, as alluded to above, there were *Ḍākinī* and *Bhaginī* tantras circulating in Dharmakīrti’s time that shared much of their contents with Hindu tantras of the same period. So it may be that the AMMK and GST are simply the oldest surviving Buddhist written texts that we have.

##### 4.1. The *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*

Scholars generally designate the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (AMMK) as the first or earliest Buddhist tantra. Both Bhattacharyya and Wayman considered that the AMMK preceded the *Guhyasamāja*, though their dating methods are not reliable. The AMMK was edited from a single incomplete manuscript by Mahāmahopadhyāya T. Gaṇapati Śāstri in the Trivandram Sanskrit Series, in an edition that has been repeatedly criticized by subsequent scholars who have attempted to use his edition.<sup>55</sup> He worked from a three hundred to four hundred-year-old manuscript that was collected in 1909 from the Manalikkara Mathom near Padmanabhapuram. The main problem with the text is the ungrammatical Sanskrit, and this was one of the texts studied by Franklin Edgerton in preparing his work on Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.<sup>56</sup> Gaṇapati Śāstri prepared his readers with the following remark:

As the non-observance of the rules of Vyākaraṇa [grammar] in regard to the gender, number and case, found throughout this work is becoming its sacred character, and as no second manuscript has been obtained, the text in this edition is adopted exactly as it is found in the original manuscript.<sup>57</sup>

It is difficult to get a sense of the date of *Manjuśrīmūlakalpa*, a rather long text that has not been translated from the Sanskrit, without reading it. The only published translation of any portion of the text I have found is K. P. Jayaswal’s edition and translation of the fifty-third chapter. Dr. Jayaswal re-edited Gaṇapati’s Sanskrit with the aid of the Tibetan translation done by Kumāralāśa and Śākya-blo-gros in 1060 C.E. The chapter is an imperial history of India beginning in 78 C.E. and ending at the beginning of the Pāla dynasties. Accordingly, Jayaswal assigns the text the reasonable date of c. 770–800 C.E.<sup>58</sup> Although one

could assert that this chapter is a later addition and push back the date of the written text, I consider that without having a full translation of the text to compare with the other tantras, providing definitive evidence of citations from it in reliably dated earlier literature, or using other historically testable methods, we should tentatively settle on a late eighth-century date for this text, pending further research.

The full name of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, as found in every chapter colophon of the Sanskrit edition, is *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakā Mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrā Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpā* (“Ornament of the Bodhisattva Basket, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya [Extensive] Sūtra, the Basic Mantra Manual of the Glorious Mañjuśrī.”)<sup>59</sup> (I have given an English translation of the colophons to the fifty-five chapters as well as the complete Sanskrit in the Appendix at the end of the essay.) So we see that—provided our Sanskrit text has not been consistently altered—the original Sanskrit of the work was considered a Vaipulya sūtra, not a tantra, but by the time it was translated into Tibetan it had come to be classed as a tantra. In fact the term *tantra* is only in one chapter colophon (chapter 38), as part of a list of ritual practices.<sup>60</sup> The first chapter opens with:

Homage to all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Thus have I heard. At one time, at the top of the Pure Abode located in the vault of heaven, the Bhagavān relaxed in the scope of the meeting-sphere wherein were distributed an incomprehensible, miraculous, wonderful [number] of Bodhisattvas.<sup>61</sup>

The first two chapters lay out the attendant deities, bodhisattvas, etc., in the *maṇḍala*, a very long list reminiscent of the beginning of many Mahāyāna sūtras, and unlike most of the texts calling themselves tantras. The chapters are composed in both verse and prose; the prose sections typically begin the chapters (some are exclusively prose). It is evident from the first seven chapters of the text that there is copious description of maṇḍalic ritual procedures: 1) *Sannipāta* (the assembly), 2) [giving] instruction on the rules about the *maṇḍala* (*maṇḍala-vidhinirdeśa*), 3) procedures with the *maṇḍala* (*maṇḍala-vidhāna*), 4) ritual procedures (*vidhāna*), 5) ritual procedures (*vidhāna*), 6) ritual procedures for the younger brother (*kanyasa-paṭa-vidhānaḥ*), 7) (no name). Chapters 8–10 introduce the highest practice, method, and action and the highest ritual procedure (*uttama-sādhana-upayika-karma* and *uttama-paṭa-vidhāna*), suggesting an early version of the notion of *anuttarayoga* that defines the class of the most advanced Buddhist Sanskrit



tantras. Chapter 11 suggests an elaborate ritual process with its title: “the fourth long chapter on all the actions, rules, and procedures, i.e., the practice, method, action, position, mantra-recitation, disciplinary rules, offering, meditation, ethical behavior” (*sādhana-upayika-karma-sthāna-japa-niyama-homa-dhyāna-śaucācāra-sarva-karma-vidhi-sādhana*). Chapters 12–16 include further ritual rules including those for *akṣa-sūtras*, i.e., the “rosary” beads used for mantra recitation, and a chapter on songs.

Chapters 17–19, 21, and 24 are on the rules for using astronomy in the ritual; chapter 18 discusses the causes of suffering; and chapters 22–23 are on learning to understand the sounds of animals. Chapters 25–33 introduce the rites for making, painting, and using the ritual image of the Single Indestructible Cakravartin Mañjuśrī, with restrictions about the time and place of practice. Chapters 34–37 introduce the rules about the *mudrā*; it is not clear without translating the chapters whether this refers to hand postures or consorts, although chapter 38 refers to “all the rules of action for the consort, for the *maṇḍalas*, and for the tantra (*mudrā-maṇḍala-tantra-sarva-karma-vidhi*).” Chapters 39–40 give the rules for meditation in the context of the ultimate practice (*uttama-sādhana*). Garuḍa makes an appearance in chapter 41, and this and chapter 42 are devoted to all the ritual actions and practices.

Chapters 43–46 introduce us to the sexual yoga practices and deal with “the *Mahāmudrā* as the means to the ultimate practice with all activity” (*sarva-karma-uttama-sādhana-upayikaḥ mahā-mudrā-paṭala-visaraha*) and related *Mahāmudrā* practices. Chapter 47 is “The first complete long chapter for the one who will enter the most secret communion—the *maṇḍala* of the four actual tantric consorts” (*bhaginīs*, i.e., real women; literally, “women possessing vulvas”) (*catur-bhaginā-maṇḍalam anupraveśa-samaya-guhyatama*); the use of the term *samaya-guhyatama*, “the most secret communion” or “the most secret tantric session (or group or society),” suggests a similarity with the title of the *Anuttarayogatantra*, the *Guhyasamāja*, particularly since *samāja* and *samaya* appear to be Sanskrit and Prakrit versions of the same word. Chapter 48 is “The complete long chapter on the four young women, [and] the subrule about entering the *maṇḍala* as the method of practice” (*dvitīya-sādhana-upayika-maṇḍala-praveśa-anuvidhiś catuḥ-kumārya-paṭala-visaraha*). Chapter 49 is entitled “The chapter on all the activities with the consorts, the herbs, the tantras, and the mantras, and the restrictions about recitation, and all the means that constitute the



method with the four young women” (*catuḥ-kumārya-upayika-sarva-sādhana-japa-niyama-mudrā-oṣadhi-tantra-mantra-sarvā-karma*).

Chapters 50–52 describe rites for conjuring up the fierce deity Yamāntaka; chapter 53 is the imperial history chapter discussed above; chapter 54 is on praise and blame; and chapter 55 is an alchemical chapter on the preparation of gold. From chapters 43–49 we have to conclude that we do indeed have a tantric text in the *Mañjitsrīmūlakalpa*, though I cannot say much more here without actually reading the chapters in question, and as is seen from the pagination noted in the Appendix, these chapters total a significant amount of Sanskrit and translating them will take some time. As with chapter 55 of this text, we also find alchemical practices in the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakratantra*.

There are eighty-nine texts in the Tibetan canon whose titles begin with “Mañjuśrī.”<sup>62</sup> Among these are the *Mañjuśrī-guhyā-tantra-maṇḍala-vidhi* (2667), “The Maṇḍala rite for Mañjuśrī’s Secret Tantra”; the *Mañjuśrī-guhyā-tantra-sādhana-sarva-karma-nidhi-nāma-ṭikā*. (2666), “The Commentary called The Treasury of All the Actions in the Secret Tantric Practice of Mañjuśrī”; and the forty-one texts of the *Mañjuśrī-nāmasaṃgīti* cycle<sup>63</sup>—including, interestingly enough, a text called the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti-ṭikā-vimalaprabhā* (1398), “The Stainless Light Commentary on the Song of the Names of Mañjuśrī”; the latter part of this title is the same used by Puṇḍarīka for his commentary on the *Kālacakratantra*, in which the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-Nāmasaṃgīti* is repeatedly quoted in the fifth chapter. There are also the *Mañjuśrī-karma-catuṣ-cakra-guhyā* (838), “The Secret of the Four Cakras of the Mañjuśrī Cycle”; and the *Mañjuśrī-kumāra-bhūta-aṣṭaka-uttara-śataka-nāma-dhāraṇī-mantra-sahita* (639, 879), “The Collection of Mantras Constituting the *Dhāraṇī* called the One Hundred and Eight Names of Mañjuśrī Kumārabhūta.”

One curiosity is the text entitled the *Mañjuśrī-vajra-bhairava-nāma-stuti*, “The Hymn to the Vajra-Bhairava Version of Mañjuśrī” (Tohoku 2012, one folio), said to have been written by Las-kyi rgyal-po.<sup>64</sup> Bhairava is the fierce form of Śiva, who is also absorbed into the Buddhist tantric tradition (we do not have clear information on when or where or from what tradition the figure of Bhairava first appeared). The original text is listed simply as the *Ārya-mañjuśrī-tantra* (*ḥphags-pa hjam-dpal-gyi rtsa-bahi rgyud*) (Tohoku 543, 245 folios), said to have been translated by Kumārakalaśa and Śākya blo-gros.<sup>65</sup>

#### 4.2. The Guhyasamājatantra

The earliest extant Buddhist tantra that calls itself a tantra is, by common consent, the *Guhyasamāja*, “The Tantra of the Secret Conclave” or “The Tantra of the Esoteric Communion.”<sup>66</sup> This text was first published in 1931 by Bhattacharyya as *Guhyasamājatantra or Tathāgataguhyaka*, vol. 53 of Gaekwad’s Oriental Series from Baroda.<sup>67</sup> Francesca Fremantle later produced a new edition of the Sanskrit, collated with the Tibetan, and an English translation of the first seventeen chapters, *A Critical Study of the Guhyasamāja Tantra*, as her Ph.D. thesis for the University of London.<sup>68</sup> The principal Sanskrit commentary, the *Pradīpodyotana* by Candrakīrti, has since been published by the Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute in Patna.<sup>69</sup> According to a list given by Śāstri in Bengali, and converted to the English alphabet by Bhattacharyya, there are no less than sixteen Sanskrit commentaries surviving in Tibetan translation, plus some thirty other lost Sanskrit commentaries.<sup>70</sup> In their introduction to the critical edition of Nāgārjuna’s *Pañcakrama*, Katsumi Mimaki and Toru Tomabechi also refer to a new critical edition of the *Guhyasamāja* edited by Yukei Matsunaga.<sup>71</sup> I have not yet been able to examine this work.

Fremantle’s Sanskrit edition is based on Bhattacharyya’s and on manuscripts from the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and Cambridge University. Bhattacharyya’s edition was based on manuscripts from the Cambridge University library, the Baroda Oriental Institute, the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The latter is ms. 8070, no. 64, in Śāstri’s catalogue, where he writes that the original portion of the manuscript, up to folio 46, “was written in beautiful Newari of the 11th century.”<sup>72</sup> The Cambridge manuscripts are Add. 901, 1365, and 1617 in Bendall’s catalogue.<sup>73</sup>

Unnoticed by either Bhattacharyya or Fremantle,<sup>74</sup> or by Wayman,<sup>75</sup> is a catalogue listing by Śāstri of a manuscript (ms. 10765, no. 18), apparently entitled *Tathāgataguhyaka*, “a very large work of the Vaipulya class, hitherto unknown.”<sup>76</sup> This is a fragmentary paper manuscript in seventeenth-century Newari script that originally totaled eleven chapters. Śāstri gives the surviving colophons from the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters, and these suggest some prefiguring of later tantric doctrines, particularly the reference in chapter 9 to the “turning of the circle of heros” (*śūra-valaya-parivartto-nāma navamaḥ*), a term that seems to prefigure the

*vīra-cakra* term that comes to be used to refer to the group sexual rites in tantric yoga; 3) the third chapter on the secret of the Tathāgata's body; 4) the fourth chapter on the secret of speech; 5) the fifth chapter on the secret of thinking; 6) the sixth chapter teaching about the transformation of the Tathāgata; 7) the seventh chapter on prophecy; 9) the ninth chapter called the circle of heroes; 10) the tenth chapter on Ajātaśatru; 11) thus the eleventh chapter, the section teaching about the transformation of the Tathāgata's secret is completed.<sup>77</sup> A post-colophon dates the work to the *siddhaya kājula* solar day, the tenth lunar day in the bright half of Caitra (April–May), in the year Saṃvat 224. Śāstrī adds that “it is impossible to explain the early date.”

There are two Saṃvat eras: the Indian Saṃvat that begins in 57 C.E. would place this text at 281 C.E.<sup>78</sup> (an unlikely dating), while the Nepali Saṃvat that begins 880 C.E. would place this manuscript at 1104 C.E., a more reasonable date for the manuscript. Although it is impossible to say how old the manuscript might be without examining its contents in detail, the contents do give the impression that the text is a transitional Mahāyāna sūtra—proto-tantra. Its self-classification as a Vaipulya sūtra is in keeping with the same self-classification of the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*. Śāstrī gives a two-page excerpt from the fourth chapter, where Vajrapāṇi-Guhyakādhipati and Bodhisattva Śāntimati converse, and Vajrapāṇi explains the characteristics of the Tathāgata's, speech, including sixty forms of vocalized speech (loving, pure, delighting the mind, etc.). The text most likely predates any tantras, for a couple of reasons: there is no mention of tantras in lists of the types of texts in which the Tathāgata's speech is displayed, or of *ḍākas* or *ḍākinīs* or *yoginīs*—characteristic deific beings in Buddhist tantric texts—in a list of beings.

And in addition, Śāntimati, the Tathāgata's speech displays all the elements in the ten directions, and delights the abode of all beings, yet the same is not the case for the Tathāgata himself; I am this sūtra, or song (*geya*), or prophecy (*vyākaraṇam*), or *gāthā*, *udāna*, *itivṛtta*, *jātaka*, *vaipulya*, *adbhuta*, *dharmopadeśa*, or logical examples (*drṣṭānta*), or *pūrvayoga*, or *avadāna*, or *ākhyāyika*, or what should be explained (*ādeśayeyam*), or what should be taught (*prajñāpayeyam*), or what should be put aside (*prasthāpayeyam*), or what should be shared (*vibhajeyam*), or what should be revealed (*vivṛnuyeyam*), or what should be promulgated (*uttānīkuryyam*), or what should be illuminated (*samprakāśayeyam*).

In listing the assemblies (*parṣat*) gathered together with the Tathāgata, there is a *bhikṣuparṣad*, a *bhikṣuṇi*, *upāsaka*, and *upāsikā-parṣad*, and a *parṣad* of *devas*, *nāgas*, *yakṣas*, *gandharvas*, *asuras*, *garuḍas*, *kinnaras*, and *mahoraḡas* (great serpents).

Śāstrī concludes:

Hence a conjecture is hazarded here that this Vaipulya work is the original Tathāgata Guhyaka and that the first book of Guhya Samāja and sometimes the second also are called Tathāgata Guhyaka only by an analogy.<sup>79</sup>

It may well be that the tradition of the *Guhyasamājatantra* grew out this earlier Vaipulya tradition of the *Tathāgataguhyaka*, just as many of the *Upaniṣads* derive their names from earlier schools of *Brāhmaṇas*, *Āraṇyakas*, and Vedic *saṃhitās*.<sup>80</sup> A thorough study of this manuscript might shed some light on the historical origins of the *Guhyasamājatantra*.<sup>81</sup>

Should Śāstrī's suggestion prove to be correct, this would tend to support Lokesh Candra's conclusions from his analysis of the Chinese tantric texts that the Vaipulya-class texts were the direct predecessors to the named Buddhist tantras, a proposition supported (as mentioned above) by the colophon evidence of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, which refers to itself as a "Mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtra." While those who hope to demonstrate that the Buddhist tantras came first, predating the Hindu tantras, might cite the Vaipulya evidence as "proof," such an argument is too facile. I think it instead demonstrates what one would reasonably expect: that as tantric doctrines developed in India and were systematized by the different schools, it would have been natural for exponents of the different schools to fit the material into the preexisting structure of their own canonical traditions.

There are twenty-one *Guhyasamāja* texts in Tibetan translation in the Tohoku Catalogue. One of these, a *Śrī-guhya-samāja-maṇḍala-vidhi* (Tohoku 1810, 15 folios) is ascribed to the eighth- or ninth-century<sup>82</sup> Nāgabodhi (Kluḡi byan-chub), whose writings are referred to by the Kaśmīri Śaivite disciple of Vasugupta, Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa, himself dated to the mid-ninth century during Avantivarman's reign in Kaśmīr (855–883 C.E.) by Kalhaṇa.<sup>83</sup> This is a reliable bit of dating that places the *Guhyasamāja* system no later than the ninth century. The *Śrī-guhya-samāja*-texts are: 1) *-tantra-nidāna-guru-upadeśana-vyākhyāna* (Tohoku 1910, eight folios) by Sgeg-paḡi rdo-rje,<sup>84</sup> 2) *-tantra-pañjika* (Tohoku 1847, 163 folios) by Jina-? (Rgyal-bas byin), translated by Śāntibhadra (Shi-ba

bza'i-po) and Śes-rab ye-śes,<sup>85</sup> 3) -*tantra-rāja-tīkā-candra-prabhā* (Tohoku 1852, 119 folios) by Prajñākara/sambhava-varma/gupta (Rab-tu dgah-baḥ hbyuñ-gnas go-cha), translator unknown,<sup>86</sup> 4) -*tantra-vivaraṇa* (Tohoku 1845, 83 folios) by Thagana, translated by Śraddhākaravarma and Dharmaśrībhadrā and Rin-chen bzan-po, 5) -*tantrasya tantra-tīkā*. (Tohoku 1784, 324 folios) by Klu-sgrub, translated by Mantrakāla and Gshon-nu bum-pa,<sup>87</sup> 5) *Śrīguhyasamāja-pañjikā* (Tohoku 1917, 80 folios) by the pre-mid-tenth-century Ānandagarbha (Kun-dgal? Sñiñ-po), translated by Vijayaśrīdhara and Rin-chen bzan-po and revised by Śraddhākaravarman,<sup>88</sup> 6) -*mañjuśrī-sādhana* (Tohoku 1880, ten folios) by Vijñānavajra (Rnam-par snan-mdsad rdo-ije), translated by Puṇyaśrī and Gyuñ-druñ ḥod,<sup>89</sup> 7) -*maṇḍala-deva-kāya-stotra* (Tohoku 1828, three folios) by Mi-gnas rdo-rje, translated by Śraddhākaravarma and Rin-chen bzan-po,<sup>90</sup> 8) -*maṇḍala-viṃśati-vidhi* (Tohoku 1810, 14 folios) by Kluhi byang-chub,<sup>91</sup> 9, 10, 11) -*maṇḍala-vidhi* (Tohoku 1798, 20 folios) by Nāgārjuna (Klu-sgrub), translated in the eleventh century by Subhāṣita and Rin-chen bzan-po,<sup>92</sup> (Tohoku 1810, 15 folios) by<sup>93</sup> Nāgabodhi (Kluhi byañ-chub) (eighth or ninth century), whose writings are referred to by the Kaśmīri Śaivite disciple of Vasugupta, Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa, himself dated to the mid-ninth-century during Avantivarman's reign in Kaśmīr (855–883 C.E.) by Kalhaṇa<sup>94</sup>—translated by Tilakakalaśa and Phatshab Nyi-ma grags,<sup>95</sup> (Tohoku 1865, 18 folios) by Atīśa (Mar-me-mdsad bzan-po), translated in the eleventh century by Padmākaravarma and Rin-chen bzan-po,<sup>96</sup> 12) -*maṇḍala-vidhi-tīkā* (Tchoku 1871, 71 folios) by Vitapāda, translated by Kalamaguhyā and Ye-śes rgyal-mtshan,<sup>97</sup> 13) -*maṇḍala-sādhana-tīkā* (Tohoku 1873, 40 folios) by Vitapāda, translated by Kamalaguhyā and Ye-śes rgyal-mtshan,<sup>98</sup> 14) -*mahā-yoga-tantra-bali-vidhi* (Tohoku 1824, two folios) by Śāntadeva, translated by Śāntadeva and Ḥgos lo-tsa-ba,<sup>99</sup> 15) -*mahā-yoga-tantra-utpāda-krama-sādhana-sūtra-melāpaka* (Tohoku 1797, four folios) by Nāgārjuna (Klu-sgrub), translated in the eleventh century by Dharmaśrībhadrā and Rin-chen bzan-po,<sup>100</sup> 16) -*lokeśvara-sādhana* (Tohoku 1892, two folios) by Atīśa (Mar-me-mdsad ye-śes), translated by Atīśa (Mar-me-mdsad ye-śes) and Rin-chen bzan-po, 17) -*sahaja-sādhana* (Tohoku 1613), 18) -*sādhana-siddhi-saṃbhava-vidhi* (Tohoku 1874, 68 folios) by Vitapāda, translated by Kamalaguhyā and Ye-śes rgyal-mtshan,<sup>101</sup> 19) -*stotra* (Tohoku 1894, one folio) by Atīśa (Mar-me-mdsad ye-śes), translated by Atīśa (Mar-me-mdsad ye-śes) and Rin-chen bzan-po,<sup>102</sup> 20) -*abhisamayā-nāma-sādhana* (Tohoku 1881, 16 folios) by Piṇḍapa (Bsod-snyoms-pa),

translated by Sraddhākaravarman and Rin-chen bzañ-po,<sup>103</sup> 21) – *alamkāra* (Tohoku 1848, 152 folios) by Vimalagupta (Dri-med sbas pa) or Candraprabhā (Zla-baḥi bod), and Rin-chen rdo-rje myu-gu, translated by Sunyāyaśrīmitra and Dar-ma grags.<sup>104</sup>

## 5. UNPUBLISHED SECTIONS OF PUBLISHED TANTRAS

I have found by searching through the catalogues of Sanskrit tantric manuscripts that there are extant in Sanskrit considerable portions of some of the major *Anuttarayogatantras* in addition to what has already been published on these texts. This material includes Sanskrit commentaries and, for two of the three texts in this section, several chapters that have not yet been either published or translated. I have therefore translated the extracts from these chapters, which give us a much fuller idea of the material in the texts.

### 5.1. *The Cakrasaṃvara Tantra*

Shinichi Tsuda translated nineteen of the thirty-three chapters of the *Cakrasaṃvara* or *Samvarodayatantra* (also known as the *Heruka Tantra*) in his Ph.D. thesis published in 1974. He worked from eight Sanskrit manuscripts, five from the University of Tokyo, one each from Paris and London, and one from the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and included the Sanskrit for his nineteen chapters with the Tibetan (he translated chapters 2–10, 13, 17–19, 21, 23, 26, 28, 31, and 33). According to Tsuda, there are two extant Sanskrit commentaries, the *Samvarodayatantrasya pañjikāvyākhyā* (by Ratnarakṣitā, the only commentary preserved in Tibetan) and the *Samvarodayatantrasya ūnaviṃśatipaṭalavyākhyā*. Kṣāntiśrī's *Sādhana*, (commenting principally on the thirteenth chapter) apparently exists only in Chinese.<sup>105</sup> Tsuda makes several explicit claims about the text. First is the “supposition that the author of the *Samvarodaya-tantra* did intend to write correct Sanskrit” yet “gave priority to the meter.” This is based on the grammatically correct readings in the oldest manuscript he used, from 1595 C.E. (Tokyo University, ms. A.).<sup>106</sup> In contrast to Snellgrove's primary reliance on the Tibetan text and commentaries to ascertain the sense of the Sanskrit, Tsuda argued that

the Sanskrit manuscripts are the chief authority, and that the Tibetan version and the commentaries are to be treated as of a subsidiary nature with the understanding that they should actually be more



reliable. In the case of the *Samvarodaya* we have obtained the impression that the Tibetan translation and the commentaries are not in themselves sufficient to provide us with a satisfactory version of the whole work. . . . The Tibetan translation of the *Samvarodaya* is as unreliable as that (i.e. the Tibetan translation) of *Hevajra*.<sup>107</sup>

Tsuda translates the title *Samvarodaya* as “Arising of the Supreme Pleasure.”<sup>108</sup> After a long discussion of what he considers an erroneous classification as a *bśad rgyud*, or explanatory tantra, and the assertion that the *Samvarodaya* could equally well be considered a *mūla-tantra*, Tsuda concludes “we must be content with the bare fact that some mutual relation exists between the *Laghusaṃvara*, the *Samvarodaya* and the *Abhidhānottara* which, apart from the *Yoginīsañcāra*, can also be taken as a *mūla-tantra*.”<sup>109</sup> Tsuda notes that the *bsTan hgyur* commentaries on the *Samvara* or *Cakrasaṃvara* are really commentaries on the *Laghusaṃvaratantra*.<sup>110</sup> We also have an edition from the Tibetan with an English translation of the first seven chapters of the *Laghusaṃvara*, entitled *Śrīcakrasambhara Tantra* by its editor Kazi Dawa-Samdup.<sup>111</sup>

There is a considerable body of literature from this tradition in Tibetan translation. The earliest work we have on the *Cakrasaṃvara* is the *Śrī-Cakrasaṃvara-tantra-rāja-saṃvara-samuccaya-nāma-vṛtti* (Tohoku 1413, 118 folios) by Indrabhūti, who dates perhaps to the early eighth century,<sup>112</sup> translator unknown;<sup>113</sup> this would appear to be among the oldest extant Buddhist tantric texts. We also have another long commentary on the text, the *Śrī-Cakrasaṃvara-sādhana-sarva-śūla-nāma-ṭikā* (Tohoku 1407, 87 folios) apparently by the ninth-century<sup>114</sup> king Devapāla (? Lhas sbas), translator unknown;<sup>115</sup> and several works by the Mahāsiddhas, Naropa, and his collaborators. The other literature in Tibetan translation includes: 1) *Śrī-cakra-sambara-homa-vidhi* (Tohoku 1537, five folios) by Kṛṣṇa-pāda (Nag-po), translated in the fourteenth century by Dharmasrībhadrā<sup>116</sup> and Rig-pa gshon-nu;<sup>117</sup> 2) *Śrī-cakra-sambara-udaya-nāma-maṇḍala-vidhi* (Tohoku 1538, 33 folios) by Dbu-pa blo-ldan, translator unknown;<sup>118</sup> 3) *Śrī-Cakrasaṃvara-(?)-garbha-tattva-siddhi* (Tohoku 1456, one folio) by the Mahāsiddha Jalandhara, translator unknown;<sup>119</sup> 4) *Tattva-garbha-saṃgraha* (Tohoku 1505, one folio) by Kusali-pa, translated by Ngag-gi-dbang-phyug and Mar-pa Chos-kyi-dbañ-phug;<sup>120</sup> 5) *-tattva-upadeśa* (Tohoku 1507, one folio) by Kusali-pa, translated by Bhadrabodhi and Mar-pa Chos-kyi-dbañ-phyug;<sup>121</sup> 6) *-trayodaśa-ātmaka-abhiṣeka-vidhi* (Tohoku 1486, 10 folios) by the eleventh-century Advayavajra (Gnyis-med rdo-rje), translated by Jñānavajra and Shan shun;<sup>122</sup> 7) *-nāma-śatāṣṭaka-stotra* (Tohoku 1425, one folio),

author and translator unknown;<sup>123</sup> 8) *-pañca-krama* (Tohoku 1433, three folios) by the Mahāsiddha Vajraghaṇṭha (Rdo-rje dril-bu), translated by Kṛṣṇa-pa (perhaps the guardian of the southern door of Nālandā when Naropa arrived)<sup>124</sup> and Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba;<sup>125</sup> 9) *-pañca-krama-vṛtti* (Tohoku 1435, six folios) by Vajraghaṇṭha (Rdo-rje dril-bu pa), translated by Sumatikīrti and Mar-pa Chos-kyi-dban-phyug;<sup>126</sup> 10) *-pañjikā* (Tohoku 1403, 105 folios) by Bhavabhadra, translated by Mi mnyam rdo-rje and Rin-chen grags;<sup>127</sup> 11) *-pañjikā-sāra-manojñā* (Tohoku 1405, 40 folios) by (the tenth-century?) Bhavyakīrti (Skal-ldan grags-pa),<sup>128</sup> translated in the early eleventh century by Dharmaśrībhaddra and Rin-chen bzan-pa;<sup>129</sup> 12) *-bahiṣ-pūjā-vidhi* (Tohoku 1466, one folio) by the eleventh-century disciple of Naropa, Prajñārakṣita,<sup>130</sup> translated in the late eleventh to early twelfth centuries by Sumatikīrti<sup>131</sup> and Blo-ldan śes-rab;<sup>132</sup> 13) *-maṇḍala-deva-gaṇa-stotra* (Tohoku 1531, one folio) by the latter tenth-century Kaśmīri Ratnavajra (Rin-chen rdo-rje), translated in the eleventh century by Mahājñāna and Mar pa Chos-kyi dban-phyug;<sup>133</sup> 14) *-maṇḍala-maṅgala-gāthā* (Tohoku 1479, one folio) by the latter tenth-century Kaśmīri Ratnavajra (Rin-chen rdo-rje), translated in the early twelfth century by Tārākalaśa and Abhayākara Gupta's collaborator Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba;<sup>134</sup> 15 and 16) *-maṇḍala-vidhi* (Tohoku 1469, 13 folios) by the eleventh-century disciple of Nāropā Prajñārakṣita, translated in the late eleventh to early twelfth centuries by Sumatikīrti and Blo-ldan śes-rab;<sup>135</sup> and (Tohoku 1477, 36 folios) by Vijayabhadra (this appears to be the same person sometimes called Bhadrāpada or Vijayapada, a pupil of the eleventh-century contemporary of Naropa, Kṛṣṇa-pada,<sup>136</sup> called here in the canon Rgyal-ba bzan-po), translated by Hjam-dpal and Ba-ri;<sup>137</sup> 17) *-maṇḍala-vidhi-tattva-avatāra* (Tohoku 1430, 16 folios) by the twelfth-century Darika-pa,<sup>138</sup> translated by Kumāravajra and Nyi-ma rdo-je;<sup>139</sup> 18) *-maṇḍala-vidhi-ratna-pradīpoddyota* (Tohoku 1444, 22 folios) by Lwa-ba-pa, translated in the eleventh century by Sumatikīrti and Mar-pa chos-kyi-dban-phyug;<sup>140</sup> 19) *-maṇḍala-stotra* (Tohoku 1530, three folios) by Śūrakalaśa (= mid-twelfth-century Tilakakalaśa or Ālaṅkāraśa (?))<sup>141</sup> and Bsod-nams bzan-po;<sup>142</sup> 20) *-mūla-tantra-pañjikā*, (Tohoku 1406, 28 folios) by Laṅka Vijayabhadra (this appears to be the same person sometimes called Bhadrāpada or Vijayapāda, a pupil of the late eleventh-century contemporary of Naropa, Kṛṣṇa-pāda,<sup>143</sup> called here in the canon Rgyal-ba bzan-po), translator unknown;<sup>144</sup> 21) *-balividhi* (Tohoku 1467, two folios) by the eleventh-century Prajñārakṣita, translated by Sumatikīrti and



Blo-ldan ses-rab;<sup>145</sup> 22) *-ṣeka-kriyā-krama* (Tohoku 1470, 10 folios) by Nityavajra (? Rtag-paḥi rdo-rje), translated by Dharmasrībhadrā and Bu-ston;<sup>146</sup> 23) *-ṣeka-prakriyā-upadeśa* (Tohoku 1431, three folios) by the Mahāsiddha Vajraghaṇṭita (Rdo-rje dril-bu), translated by Kṛṣṇa-pa and Chos-kyi śes-rab;<sup>147</sup> 24) *-sahaja-tattva-āloka* (Tohoku 1504, one folio) by Dpag-med rdo-rje, translated by Dīpaṅkararakṣita;<sup>148</sup> 25, 26, and 27), *-sādhana* (Tohoku 1432, two folios) by Vajraghaṇṭa (Rdo-rje dril-bu-pa), translated by Prajñābhadrā and Blo-gros grags;<sup>149</sup> (Tohoku 1445, four folios), author and translators unknown, (Tohoku 1491, two folios) by Mar-me-mdsad ye-śes, translated by Atiśa (Mar-me-mdsad ye-śes) and Rin-chen bzañ-po;<sup>150</sup> 28) *-sādhana-tattva-saṃgraha* (Tohoku 1429, six folios) by the twelfth-century Dārika-pa, translated by Kumāraravajra and Advayavajra (Nyis-ma rdo-rje);<sup>151</sup> 29) *-sādhana-triṃśikā-pada-paddhati* (Tohoku 1488, two folios) by Sprin-gyi bshon-paḥi ḥla, translated by Dharmapālabhadrā;<sup>152</sup> 30) *-sādhana-ratna-pradīpa* (Tohoku 1484, five folios) by Maitri-pa, translated by Vajrapāṇi and Ba-reg thos-pa-dgaḥ;<sup>153</sup> 31) *-sādhana-sarva-śāla-nāma-ṭikā* (Tohoku 1407, 87 folios) by the ninth-century<sup>154</sup> king Deva-pāla (? Lhas sbas), translator unknown;<sup>155</sup> 32) *-sādhana-amṛta-kṣara* (Tohoku 1462, 13 folios) by King Vimalacandra (Mi-thib zla-ba), translator unknown;<sup>156</sup> 33) *-supraṭiṣṭhā* (Tohoku 1487, five folios) by the eleventh-century Advayavajra (Gnyis-med rdo-rje), translated by Vajrapāṇi and Rma-ban chos-ḥbar;<sup>157</sup> 34, 35, and 36) *-stotra* (Tohoku 1440, one folio) by Indrabhūti, translator unknown;<sup>158</sup> (Tohoku 1520, one folio) by Maitri/Advayavajra (eleventh century);<sup>159</sup> (Tohoku 1532, 2 folios) by the latter tenth-century Kaśmīri Ratnavajra (Rin-chen rdo-rje), translated by Mahājñāna and Mar-pa Chos-kyi dban-phyug;<sup>160</sup> 37) *-stotra-sarva-artha-siddhi-viśuddhi-cūḍāmaṇi* (Tohoku 1423, four folios) by the twelfth-century Dārika, translated by the Kaśmīri Dharmavajra and Rgya Brtson ḥgrus sen-ge;<sup>161</sup> 38) *-hasta-pūjā-vidhi* (1468, one folio) by Prajñārakṣita, translated by Sumatikīrti and Blo-ldan śes-rab;<sup>162</sup> 39) *-homa-vidhi* (1447, six folios) by Kṛṣṇa-pāda (Nag-po), translated by Dharmabhadrā and Rig-pa gshon-nu;<sup>163</sup> 40) *-advaita-dhyāna-upadeśa-yoga-caṇḍālī* (Tohoku 1508, one folio) by Dge-baḥ mgon-po, translated by the Nepali Vagīśvara and Mar-pa Chos-kyi dban-phyug;<sup>164</sup> 41) *-abhisamaya* (Tohoku 1498, seven folios) by Abhayākaragupta, translated by Abhayākara and Śes-rab-dpal;<sup>165</sup> 41) *-eka-vīra-sādhana* (Tohoku 1536, four folios) by Maṇikaśrī, translated by Sumatikīrti and Prajñākīrti;<sup>166</sup> and 43) *-upadeśa* (Tohoku 1485, four folios) by Gnyis-med rdo-rje, translated by Varendraruci and Rma-ban

chos-ḥjar.<sup>167</sup> The *Samvarodayābhisamayopāyikā*<sup>168</sup> is among the texts cited by Abhayākaragupta.

Manuscript HI.365 A in Shāstrā's Durbar Library Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts is a short, 700-*śloka* commentary in twenty-six folios on the *Cakrasaṃvara* by Jayabhadraḥ. Though of uncertain date, the manuscript is in transitional Gupta characters. Śāstrī writes that "the commentator Jayabhadra seems to have been an immigrant from Ceylon, though the verse in which he is described is very obscure, and many of the letters have almost been effaced." This information is based on part of the colophon: "this work was produced by a Sinhalese born in Śrītaṅka, known by the name Jayabhadra. May the heroic *ḍākiṇīs* grant peace."<sup>169</sup> The text opens with:

Salutation to Heruka, the pinnacle of the intrinsic existence of all beings, who removes the fear of all beings, who appears as all beings, engendering all beings. Homage to him the Mahāvīram, who has infinite capacity, spotless like the sky.<sup>170</sup>

Glossing the use of the term *cakrasambaram* in the root tantra, Jayabhadra tells us it refers to the tantras of Śrīheruka, Vajravārāhi, etc.<sup>171</sup>

The catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal lists two Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Heruka Tantra* (*Sambarodaya*), nos. 59 (in 82 folios, fresh and complete) and 60 (only nine folios, in fourteenth-century Newari script). The text in 1,600 *ślokās* purports to be an extract of the 300,000-verse *Heruka Tantra*. Shāstrī's placing of the text at no. 59 indicates that he considered it a relatively early tantra (he notes in the preface that he attempted a chronological ordering of the manuscripts in the catalogue).<sup>172</sup> The standard opening is found: *evaṃ mayā śrutam, ekasmin samaye bhagavān sarva-tathāgata-kāya-vāk-citta-vajra-yoginī-bhageṣu vijahāra* |, the same line that opens the *Guhyasamājatantra*<sup>173</sup> and the *Hevajratantra*,<sup>174</sup> though not the *Kālacakratantra*. In addition, the *Cakrasaṃvara*, *Guhyasamāja*, and *Hevajra* all begin in prose, while the *Kālacakratantra* is in verse (though Puṇḍarīka's commentary is in prose). Of the three earlier tantras, the *Cakrasaṃvara* is the longest, in thirty-three chapters. The *Guhyasamāja* is complete in seventeen or eighteen chapters, and the *Hevajra* is rather shorter, in two chapters of ten and eleven fairly short sections each.

Since the Sanskrit of the remaining chapters of the *Cakrasaṃvara* or *Sambarodaya* have not been published, the following is a translation of the opening lines from Shāstrī's catalogue, and the table of contents from all the chapter colophons:

Om homage to the glorious Vajrasambara. Thus was it heard by me. At one time the lord dwelt in the vaginas of the lightning *yoginīs* of the body, speech, and thought of all the Tathāgatas. Together with preeminent passionless ones, beginning with Āryya Ānanda, Avalokiteśvara, etc. and the 800,000 *yoginīs* [were present]; seeing Vajrapāṇi in [their] midst, [the lord] smiled. Vajrapāṇi, arising from his seat, putting his upper garment on one shoulder, placing the *maṇḍala* of his right knee on the ground, joining his hands together in homage, addressed the lord: “I would like to hear, O Lord, a description of *Utpattiyoga*; and how, O Lord, is the one Saṃbara of universal form arisen? How is there wind and water, earth, space, and [fire]? How is there the five forms, O Deva, and then the sixfold, Prabho? How are the three bodies established externally, and established internally? You must explain how your goddess has the form of a god, Prabho. How is there the sun and the moon, Deva, and how is there the five paths? And what is the intrinsic nature of your body, and what is the form of the channels? What is the extent of the channels, and what [is the extent] of the physical body?<sup>175</sup> You must explain to me, Prabho, about the *cchoma* that is the sign of the community,<sup>176</sup> what are the internal and external signs of your pilgrimage sites, how [does one] attain the stages, etc., and what is the explanation of the cause? What are your twelve actions, and how is mantra recitation [performed]? What is the string of *akṣa* [beads], the practice, and your description of the recitation? What is your *maṇḍala*, [its] turning, and the form of the divinities? What is the *siddhi*-mantra, and how does one satisfy the young lady? How is your divine service performed, and what are the vowels and consonants? What are the five nectars, Deva, and the five goads? You must explain how to draw the *maṇḍala*, and the measuring line. How is your ground purified, and what is the protection *cakra*? With what [sort of] teacher is this done, and how does the student recognize him? What is your consecration, its extent, and the fourth? What is the rule about time, and [how] does one cheat death? What is your mark of the four ages, and what are the four continents? What is *siddhi* in each age, and what are the teachers and the practices? What are your *yoginītantras* and *yogatantras*? What is the extent of your *sūtra* literature and the perfection [of wisdom literature]? What is the *siddhi*-mantra of the foundational *homa* sacrifice? What is the [alchemical] elixir, Deva, and what is the alcoholic drink? What is the arising of the mantras, Deva, and what is the extraction of the mantras? What is the punishment, Deva, and what is the reward?

What are the principles, Lord, and what is voidness, and compassion? What is the intrinsic nature of the void, and what is the intrinsic

nature of reality? What is the form of the deity, the name, and the line [on the body] characteristic of the *yoginī*? You must explain, Prabho, the knowledge of all the properties of the states of being.<sup>177</sup>

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(I have boldfaced the chapter titles not included in Tsuda's edition.)

**Chapter 1. Requesting instruction on the *Śrīsambarodayatantra*.**

Chapter 2. Instruction about the origin.<sup>179</sup>

Chapter 3. Instruction on the sequence of completion.<sup>180</sup>

Chapter 4. Purification of the deities of the four elements, the five forms, and the six [sense] realms.<sup>181</sup>

Chapter 5. Instruction on the course of the moon and the sun.<sup>182</sup>

Chapter 6. Instruction on the five paths.<sup>183</sup>

Chapter 7. The means [using] the sequence of the array of channels.<sup>184</sup>

Chapter 8. Rules for the meeting place of the *samaya*.<sup>185</sup>

Chapter 9. Explanation of the secret signs and the places appointed for meeting [such as] *pīṭha* [and so on].<sup>186</sup>

Chapter 10. The chapter called the advance and arising of karma.

**Chapter 11. The instruction about mantra recitation.**

**Chapter 12. The instruction about the mantra recitation rosary.**

Chapter 13. The arising of Śrī Heruka.

**Chapter 14. The rule for the worship of the lightning *yoginī*.**

**Chapter 15: The instruction about the characteristics of the drinking vessel (*pātralakṣaṇa*).**

**Chapter 16. The instruction on the practice with the five nectars.**

Chapter 17. The instruction describing the rules for laying out the *maṇḍala*.

Chapter 18. The initiation.

Chapter 19: The yoga of departure showing the constructed nature of death.

**Chapter 20. The instruction about the four ages.**

Chapter 21. The instruction on the vows of practice.

**Chapter 22. The rule for the residence of the deities.**

Chapter 23. The instruction about *homa*.

**Chapter 24. The instruction on the use of herbs for the advancement of karma.**

**Chapter 25. The rule about elixirs.**

Chapter 26. The instruction about alcoholic beverages.

**Chapter 27. The rule about the extraction of mantras.**

Chapter 28. The rule about *homa*.

Chapter 29. The instruction about the principles.

Chapter 30. The instruction about the characteristics of the multicolored, etc., forms.

Chapter 31. The advancement of the *bodhicitta* and the sequence of instruction about the four *yoginīs*.

**Chapter 32. The instruction about offering the oblation.**

Chapter 33. The section on innate arising extracted from the 300,000 [verses] In the royal tantra called Śrīheruka perfecting the recitation of the secret of all the *yoginīs*.<sup>187</sup>

### 5.2. The Hevajratantra

The first Buddhist Sanskrit tantra translated into English was the *Hevajratantra* by David Snellgrove, formerly of the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies. His complete translation of a Buddhist tantra and commentary (the *Yogaratnamālā* by Kaṇha) in many ways established a paradigm for work in Buddhist tantra by his reliance on the Tibetan translations of the text and Indian commentaries as his "chief guides" to elucidate the surviving Sanskrit text.<sup>188</sup> As he puts it more explicitly, "A Tibetan translation of a text and a commentary, let alone five commentaries or more, is of far more value for understanding a work than the Sanskrit manuscript alone. It is on these translations that I have largely relied."<sup>189</sup> Snellgrove deduces that the *Hevajratantra* existed "in its present form towards the end of the eighth century," based largely on Tāranātha's statement that Kaṇha was a contemporary of Devapāla, an early ninth-century king.<sup>190</sup> How long the *Hevajratantra* preexisted this date in oral tradition is hard to say.

The formal title of the text is the *Śrī-hevajra-dākiṇī-jāla-saṃvara-mahātantrarāja*. Snellgrove used a good Sanskrit manuscript of the *Yogaratnamālā* in the Cambridge University library. The earliest commentary in Sanskrit appears to have been the *Hevajrapañjikā* by Śrī Kamalanāth, whom Snellgrove identifies with Kampala, the originator of the *Hevajratantra* along with Saroruha. A complete Sanskrit version in twenty-three folios survived in the private Library of Field Marshal Kaisher Shamshser in Kathmandu, though Snellgrove did not have time to translate it, and as far as I am aware no one else has since done so (I do not know whether this commentary still exists). Another Sanskrit commentary by Vairocana survives in Kathmandu's Bir Library.<sup>191</sup> Göttingen's library has a manuscript of the *Hevajrasādhnopāyikā* of

Ratnākaraśānti, collected from Phyag dpe lha khang in Sa skya Tibet in a 1936 expedition.<sup>192</sup> In Shāstri's catalogue of the Durbar library we also find a *Yogaratanmālā* or *Hevajrapañjikā* manuscript in transitional Gupta characters, though it is incomplete.<sup>193</sup> More recently, G. W. Farrow and I. Menon have retranslated both the *Hevajratāntra* and the *Yogaratanmālā*, providing an edited version based on four Sanskrit manuscripts of the former, and two of the latter, in careful consultation with Snellgrove's edition.<sup>194</sup> This text is in some respects an improvement over Snellgrove's, as the *Yogaramamālā* glosses are given with each verse. Unfortunately I was not able to locate any manuscript extracts of the unpublished *Hevajra* commentaries in the catalogues I consulted.

The *Hevajra* has a substantial literature, with twenty-six works preserved in the Tibetan canon. The text was translated into Chinese in the eleventh century by Fa-hu, though this is a much later date than when the text seems to have first been incorporated into the Buddhist canon in India, and the text is generally considered to be among the earliest *Anuttarayogatantras*. One of the surviving commentaries was written by Jalandha ri-pa, one of the Mahāsiddhas (see no. 23 below). The Tibetan translations include: 1) *Hevajra-krama-kuru-kulle-sādhana* (Tohoku 3568, one folio) translated by Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan; 2) *Hevajra-tantra-panjikā-padmin* (Tohoku 1181, 47 folios) by Mtsho-skyes, translated by Kjitigarbha and Khu-ston dnos-grub; 3) *Hevajra-tantra-rājā* (Tohoku 417, 12 folios) translator unknown; 4, 5, and 6) *Hevajra-vibhuja-sādhana* (Tohoku 1235, one folio) by Vajralala, translator unknown; (Tohoku 1271, two folios) by Tārāśrī, translated by Sumatikīrti and Mar-pa Chos dbaṅ; (Tohoku 1276, two folios) translated by Sumatīśrībhadrā and Śākya ḥod-zer; 7) *Hevajra-nāma-mahā-tantra-rāja-dvi-kalpa-māyā-panjika-smṛti-nipāda* (Tohoku 1187, 48 folios) by Kṛṣṇa-pāda (Nag-po-ba), translated by Dpal-dlam zla-ba and Ḥgos lhas-btsas; 8) *Hevajra-nāma-sādhana* (Tohoku 1243, 13 folios) by Avadhūti-pa Gñis med rdo-rje, translator unknown; 9) *Hevajra-piṇḍārtha-ṭikā* (Tohoku 1180, 125 folios) by Vajra-garbha (Rdo-rje snin-po), translated by Dānaśīla, Seṅ-dkar Śākya ḥod Maitri, and Nas-hbro dge-slon; 10) *Hevajra-bali-vidhi* (Tohoku 1288, one folio) translator unknown; 11 and 12) *Hevajra-maṇḍala-karma-krama-vidhi* (Tohoku 1219, 12 folios) by Padmavajra, translated by Śākya brtson-ḥgrus; (Tohoku 1263, 13 folios) by Mtsho-skyes rdo-rje, translated by Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes; 13) *Hevajra-maṇḍala-vidhi* (Tohoku 1221, two folios) by Mtsho-skyes rdo-rje, translator



unknown; 14) *Hevajra-ṣoḍaśa-bhuja-sādhana* (1297, two folios) by Kṛṣṇa; 15, 16, and 17) *Hevajra-sādhana* (Tohoku 1264, eight folios) by Yan-lag med-paḥi rdo-rje, translated by Kun-tu bzañ-po and Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba, (Tohoku 1301, six folios) by Hjam-dpai ye-śes, translated by Mañjuśrījñāna and Roñ-zon Dharmabhadra, and (Tohoku 3292, two folios) translated by Dā, Abhay[ākaragupta], and Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan; 18) *Hevajra-sādhana-tatta-udiyotakara* (Tohoku 1253, 10 folios) by Kṛṣṇa-pāda (Nag-po), translated by Kṛṣṇa-pāda (Nag-po) and Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba;<sup>195</sup> 19) *Hevajra-sādhana-pañjikā* (Tohoku 1233, 19 folios) by the Kaśmīri Dñul-gyi bum pa, translated by Nags-kyi rin-chen and Gshon-nu dpal; 20) *Hevajra-sādhana-vajra-pradīpa-nāma-tippaṇī-śuddha* (Tohoku 1237, 23 folios) by Jalandha ri-pa, translated by Nyi-ma rgyal-mtshan; 21) *Hevajra-hasta-vyavagrāha-krama* (Tohoku 1294, 19 folios) by Se-rtsa Bsod nams rgyal-mtshan (?), translated by Gsod-nams rgyal-mtshan; 22) *Hevajra-homa-vidhi* (Tohoku 1556, one folio) by Sans-rgyas byin, translated by Bharendraruci and Blo-ltan śes-rab; 23) *Hevajra-abhiṣeka-niścaya* (Tohoku 1272, three folios) by Dgra-las-rgyal-ba, translated by Śrīgayadhara and Jo Zla-baḥi ḥod-zer; 24) *Hevajrakasmṛti* (Tohoku 1236, two folios) by Garbha ri-pa, translated by Prajnendraruci and Śākya ye-śes; 25) *Hevajra-udbhava-kuru-kulle-pañca-mahopadeśa* (Tohoku 1316, one folio) by Shi-ba-ḥtsho, translated by Dānaśīla; and 26) *Hevajra-udbhava-kuru-kulle-sādhana* (1315, one folio) by Lhan-skyes sgegs-pa, translator unknown.<sup>196</sup>

### 5.3. The Ekallavīra-Canḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra

The second Buddhist Sanskrit tantra translated into English was the *Ekallavīra-Canḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra*, the first eight (of twenty-five) chapters of which were critically edited and translated by Christopher S. George in 1974. Among the texts surviving in Tibetan translation is a one-folio *Ekavīrasādhana* attributed to Padmasambhava (see no. 4 below), that would give us a seventh- or eighth-century date for the *Canḍamahāroṣaṇa* tradition. There appear to be several related texts from this tradition in the Tibetan canon. 1) The *Siddha-ekavīra-mahā-tantra-rāja* (Tohoku 544, 12 folios) translated by Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna and Dge-baḥi glo-gros, revised by Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba;<sup>197</sup> 2) the *Ekavīra-yoginī-sādhana* (Tohoku 1710, one folio), author and translator unknown; the *Ekavīra-śrī-heruka-ṣoḍaśa-bhuja-sādhana* (Tohoku 1283, one folio), translator unknown;<sup>198</sup> 3) the *Ekavīra-sādhana* (Tohoku 1464, one folio) by Ḍombi Heruka, translated by Atīśa (Dīpaṅkara) in the second

half of the eleventh century<sup>199</sup> and Tshul-khrims rgyal-pa;<sup>200</sup> and 4) by the same name (Tohoku 1473, one folio) by Padma bhyaṅs (i.e., Padmasambhava)—so this would argue for an early date to the text—translator unknown;<sup>201</sup> 5) the *Ekavīra-heruka-sādhana* (1472, one folio) by Naropa (whom Peter Zieme and Gyorgy Kara date to 1016–110), with his teacher Tilopa (988–1069)<sup>202</sup> in the eleventh century;<sup>203</sup> and 6) the *Ekavīra-ākhyā-śrī-caṇḍa-mahāroṣaṇa-tantra-rāja* (Tohoku 431, 39 folios), translated by the Kaśmīri Ratnaśrī-(bhadra) and the early fourteenth-century<sup>204</sup> Tibetan Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan.<sup>205</sup>

There are also several *sādhana*s to the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa*: 7) (Tohoku 3062, two folios) by Prabhākarakīrti, translated by Sbyin-pa tshul-khrims;<sup>206</sup> 8) (Tohoku 3063, one folio) by Jetari (or Jetari Vijaya, Dgralas rnam-par-rgyal-ba), who was at the northern gate of Nālanda when Naropa arrived there in the late tenth century,<sup>207</sup> translated by Puṇyaśrī and Glog-skya gshon-nu ḥbar;<sup>208</sup> 9) (Tohoku 3262, one folio) translated by Da, Abhayākaragupta, and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan;<sup>209</sup> 10) (Tohoku 3263, one folio) translated by Abhayākaragupta and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan;<sup>210</sup> 11) (Tohoku 3358, one folio) translated by Don-yod rdo-rje and Ba-ri Dharmakīrti; 12) (Tohoku 3479, one folio), 13) (Tohoku 3480, one folio), and 14) (Tohoku 3481, one folio) all translated by the fourteenth-century Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan;<sup>211</sup> 15) a *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa-sādhana sakalpa* (Tohoku 3478) by bod-zer ḥbyuṅ-gnas grags-pa;<sup>212</sup> and 16) the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa-abhisamaya* (Tohoku 1782, five folios).<sup>213</sup>

The first Sanskrit manuscript of this text collected by a Western scholar was apparently Brian Hodgson's copy, excerpted in Arthur Keith's volume of the India Office Catalogue.<sup>214</sup> George gives us the colophons of the twenty-five chapters: 1) introduction<sup>215</sup> to the tantra (*tantrāvatāraṇapaṭala*), 2) *maṇḍala*, 3) consecration (*abhiṣeka*), 4) the deity (*devatā*), 5) mantra, 6) the yoga of completion (*niṣpannayoga*), 7) refreshing the body (*dehaprīṇana*), 8) his own form (*svarūpa*), 9) meditation (*dhyāna*)<sup>216</sup> 10) praise of women (*strīpraśamsa*), 11) the universal form (*viśvarūpa*), 12) prescriptions of all mantras (*sarva-mantra-kalpa*), 13) conduct (*caryā*), 14) the meaning of *acala* (*acalānvaya*),<sup>217</sup> 15) purification (*viśuddhi*) 16) dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*), 17) increasing the semen, etc. (*śukrādivṛddhi*),<sup>218</sup> 18) cures for diseases and aging (*vyādhivṛddhatvahāni*),<sup>219</sup> 19) the arrest of the semen, etc. (*śukrastambhādi*),<sup>220</sup> 20) recitation of various mantras and devices (*nānābhi-bheda-nigadita-yantra-mantra*), 21) magical feats (*kutūhala*),



22) breath control (*vāyuyoga*), 23) the signs of death (*mṛtyulakṣaṇa*), 24) the nature of the body (*dehasvarūpa*), and 25) *sādhana* of the goddess (*devī-sādhana*).

One of the manuscripts George based his translation on is no. 84 (ms. 9089) in the ASB catalogue.<sup>221</sup> As George points out, Śāstri gives excerpts from several chapters not included in George's dissertation.<sup>222</sup> These excerpts begin with a short one from the eleventh chapter ("Universal Form"):

I am everything, all pervading, and all-doing, all destroying; I maintain all forms, as Buddha, the remover, the maker, the lord, the happy one. In whatever form beings become disciples, I abide in those forms for the sake of the world—wherever there is a *Buddha*, wherever there is a *siddha*, wherever there is *dharma* or a *saṅgha*, wherever there is a *preta*, or an animal, or a hell-being.<sup>223</sup>

This is followed by an extract from the thirteenth chapter ("Conduct"):

With the joining together of wisdom and means one should give [to the consort] the fingernail, and the three syllables;<sup>224</sup> the kissing and the embrace, and also all of one's semen. She will become the perfection of generosity, without a doubt. With that as the highest, the body, speech, and thought enveloped through intense pleasure,<sup>225</sup> she is recognizable as the perfection of [good] disposition, she is to be known [as such] also from forbearance [even when] scratched by fingernails.<sup>226</sup> And even squeezing the three-syllabled, she is endowed with the perfection of patience. Concentrated, and reverently, one should engage in sexual union for a long time. She should be known as the perfection of the hero, her mind engaged in that pleasure; she is considered the perfection of meditation on the form of the universally beneficent; she is renowned as the meditation on the female form, the perfection of wisdom; she is filled with just the one *yoga* of great sex,<sup>227</sup> she becomes the perfection of the six;<sup>228</sup> she is said to be the perfection of the five, merit, knowledge, and wisdom. [He], completely engaged in the *yoga* of great sex, enveloped in the requisites of the *yoga*, is perfected in just a moment, endowed with merit and knowledge. Just as what's produced from the creeper is endowed with flowers and fruit, complete enlightenment<sup>229</sup> is also equipped with the pair of requirements in one moment. He becomes the master of the thirty realms, there is no doubt. And the stage[s] are to be known as delighted, stainless and likewise flaming, radiating, very difficult to conquer, forefront, traveling far, unmoving, highly thought of,

and the cloud of *dharma*, likewise the light called universal, unique, possessed of knowledge, are known as the thirteen.<sup>230</sup>

A short extract from the fifteenth chapter (“Purification”) reads:

The male form is existence; the female form is non-existence. Blue is consciousness (*viññāna*), white is form, yellow is perception, red is name (*saṃhitās*), black is aggregate (*saṃskāra*), or blue is space, white is water, yellow is earth, red is fire, black is wind—just as [this is the case] for the *bhagavāns*, so it is for the *bhagavatīs*. Or, dark blue is knowledge of the truly purified *dharma* constituent; white is the mirror-knowledge; yellow is the knowledge of equanimity; red is the knowledge of direct perception; black is the knowledge of performance of duty. There is only one teacher of the Victors, established in five forms; and there is one perfection of wisdom, established in five forms.<sup>231</sup>

Śāstri gives a slightly longer extract from the tenth chapter (“Praise of Women”):

Now the Lady (*Bhagavatī*) spoke: “Is it possible, or not possible, Oh lord, to achieve the place of *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa* without a woman?” The Lord answered: “It is not possible, Oh Goddess.” The Lady said: “Is it impossible without the experience of pleasure?” The Lord spoke: “The ultimate *bodhi* cannot be obtained only with the experience of pleasure; it is attained by the experience of a specific type of pleasure, and not otherwise. . . .

“For the sake of destroying the wickedness of the world, the wise son of *Māyādevī*, leaving behind the eighty-four thousand, and also the harem, going to the banks of the *Nirañjanā*, illuminated the *Buddhas* and *Siddhas*, he escaped from *Māra*, having repudiated him since that is not ultimate reality, since the *Buddha* was a master in the harem, provided with guardians, friendly, since he attained pleasure through the joining together of the *vajra* and the lotus; enlightenment is attained through pleasure, [and] pleasure is not [attained] without women. And the separation that is undertaken is in order to remove the wickedness of the world. However the world-[dwellers] become students of the *Buddha*, for that [purpose] the Victor [takes on] the form of the son of *Māyādevī*. Whatever censures of women have been made in all the *sūtras* and *abhidharma* [literature], [those] should be considered as various moral precepts according to language for one’s own protection; and one should teach about *nirvāṇa* through the destruction of the five aggregates.”

Now the *Bhagavatī* *Prajñāpāramitā* spoke: “Who, Oh *Bhagavān*, is the son of *Māyādevī*, and who is *Gopā*?”

*Bhagavān* responded: “I am the son of *Māyādevī*, and have achieved the state of *Caṇḍaroṣaṇa*. You are *Bhagavatī*, *Gopā*, i.e., *Prajñāpāramitā*. As many as are all the women, they are considered to have that (i.e., your) form; all the men likewise are well known to have my form. And this world consists of wisdom and means, having arrived at the state of both. . . .”

Then the *Bhagavatī* spoke: “Why, Oh *Bhagavān*, do the *Śrāvakas* censure women?”

The *Bhagavān* responded: “All of those dwelling in the realm of desire who are known as *Śrāvakas* etc., they do not know the path to liberation [even though] they see women everywhere. When proximity is difficult to attain for the *śūṅkumā*, etc.,<sup>232</sup> then the state of great value does not attain value for the remote one. By reason of beginningless ignorance, these people lack faith; [they] do not put their thoughts on reality, since this is protected by me.”<sup>233</sup>

The last extract is from the final chapter, *Devī-sādhana*:

Now the *Bhagavatī* spoke: “I desire to hear about the *apara* arisen from the perfection of wisdom; you must be gracious to me, Oh lord, [and explain it] briefly, not overly in detail.”

Then the *Bhagavān* spoke: “Now then I will explain to you what arises from the perfection of wisdom. The beautiful sixteen-year-old goddess, the *paryāṅka*-[*āsana*] of sentient beings,<sup>234</sup> dark-blue colored, illustrious, [is] embraced by *Akṣobhya*. Seeing her raised up on a red lotus, on the right, with dark blue limbs, a thousand fold,<sup>235</sup> with full, prominent breasts, large eyed, speaking kindly, [like] the very treatise on erotic love situated there above the moon-[seat] on the lotus, the *yogī*, delighted, should meditatively cause that goddess to come into existence who abides in the unshakable *samādhi* of orgasm, who is produced from the knowledge of *hūṃkāra* and is the universal *vajrī yoginī*—then the *yogī* certainly attains *siddhi*. Or [the *yogī*] should bring into being the white [goddess] produced from the *dhīkāra* sound, the yellow mistress of the lightning realm, embraced by the. . . , [or one should visualize] the goddess produced by the knowledge of the *hrīm-kāra*, embraced by *Amitābha*, the *vajra* sealed by red, the red mother, the mistress of the clan; [or] one should meditate on the black-colored *Tārā* mother, produced from the knowledge of the *traṃkāra*, embraced by *Amogha*[*siddhi*], with the prior form, Oh

woman. Firmly established with a handsome form, abiding in the *paryāṅka* of sentient beings, holding a chopper and a noose, glorious, having embraced [her, sexually], with dramatic gesture, the creator, having embraced a young lady of his own clan, [he] should meditate. In this [manner] the *yogī* becomes perfected by the consort, there is no doubt. Otherwise, having created an image, he should perfect [the image] that is created according to the *sūtras* etc. Staying in *samādhi* together with *Caṇḍa*, he should recite [the mantras] with a one-pointed mind.”<sup>236</sup> “Now I will explain to you the Single-Hero *maṇḍala*. It is four-cornered (i.e., square), with four doors, adorned with four pillars. A yellow-colored great lotus of four petals is to be made; a white petal in its southeast; a red petal in its southwest; a yellow petal in its northwest, and a black one in its northeast corner. In the middle of that one should create a dark blue *Acala*. One should meditatively imagine [him as] a single form with the five *Buddhas*, white, yellow, red, or black, on a solar seat. In the southeast corner [one should visualize] *Locanā*, arranging *caṇḍa* and *aśoka* [blossoms?] with her left and right hands, radiant like the light of the autumn moon. In the southwest [corner] [one should visualize] the goddess *Pāṇḍarā*, the highest, holding a bow and arrows. In the northwest corner [one should visualize] the red *Māmakī*, yellow-like, . . . with a flame in her hand; in the northeast corner [one should visualize] the black *Tārā*, with the boon-giving gesture in her right hand, and holding a blue lotus in her left. These are all the mistresses of *Caṇḍa*, seated in half-*paryāṅka* positions. In the eastern door one should place the passion-*vajrā*, similar to what causes an enemy (?);<sup>237</sup> in the southern door the red hatred *vajra*, holding a chopper and arrows; dark blue, with hands holding a knife and in the threatening gesture, enveloped by *Yama*; in the western door, [one should visualize] the *Māra-vajrā*, steady, making a colorful *vajra*, situated in the west, clothed in peacock feathers, black-like. In the north, the confusion *vajrā*, holding the *tanyśoka* (?), yellow-colored, residing in the north, one should place [her] on the solar seat. . . . They are all in the *pratyālīḍha* pose, . . . One should place four bells in the corner[s], yellow colored. By just this meditation, accompanied by the eight *yoginīs*, [one becomes] the husband of living women, the supreme master of the three worlds.<sup>238</sup> “Now I will describe to you the meditation on *Caṇḍaroṣaṇa*. One should imagine the deity *Caṇḍaroṣaṇa* on the petals of the universal lotus. *Vāmadeva* is in the southeast, colored red; in the southwest is *Kāmadeva* with yellow garments, delighting women; in the northwest is the dark-blue colored *Asura* named *Koila*.<sup>239</sup> And these, holding knives and skulls, are standing in the *ālīḍha* position. To the west of the venerable one stands the goddess *Parṇasāvalī*<sup>240</sup> by meditation and yoga on

her, with the worship by burnt fish etc., . . . joined with the yellow wisdom, and with the white lotus [woman] on the left, and the blue *Caṇḍaroṣa*, with the red [goddess] or the red [goddess], . . . one should visualize [that] intensely until it becomes manifest, since the *yogī*, becoming manifest, is perfected by the great *mantra*.<sup>241</sup>

Śāstri refers us to a one thousand-śloka commentary on this tantra the *Caṇḍa-mahāroṣaṇa-tantra-pañjikā*, or *Padmavatī*, dating from Nepali Samvat 417 (1297 C.E.), in his Durbar Library catalogue.<sup>242</sup> Like the original tantra the commentary is divided into twenty-five chapters. This commentary was used by George in his translation, referred to in his notes as *Comm*. Śāstrī provides extracts from the opening and closing sections:

Om homage to *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa*. Since this world of moving and stationary creatures is sunk into the belly of confusion and darkness, the manifest [world] is illumined by the rays of the divisions of wisdom and means . . . the male . . . [?]<sup>243</sup> his own entire learning, [his own] entire *samādhi* [?], may he stand in this world, with manifest light, to effect my pleasure. “*Evaṃ mayā*,” etc., i.e., the author of the *saṃgīti*. This is the statement of the primary cause (*nidāna-vākya*), since it is [stated] at the beginning of the *Sūtra* or *Tantra* by the author of the *saṃgīti*. It is indispensable that it be said, according to the *Bhagavān*’s statement. And so, having said “*evaṃ mayā śrutaṃ*” you may ask for my statement. It is to be sung, etc., when existing in this way. [Verse:] “In witness to the faithful the teacher fulfilled<sup>244</sup> the first section; and the place and time are indicated, in demonstration of one’s own authority”; so it is established. In that sense, “*evam*” [means] I will express it in that way. *Mayā* means by this there is refutation of [anything] contradictory that was heard, and of what was heard through tradition. And it demonstrates that what was heard is not untrue since it is not dependent on this individual. “Heard” means it was acquired through the knowledge of listening. “At one time” means “at one time.” And something else was heard at another time. This is the meaning. And in this way it demonstrates that at the beginning of this *Tantra* much was heard that was intelligible to this individual. “*Bhagavān*,” i.e., sovereignty over the vulvas (*bhagās*), etc. And likewise [Verse:] “The good fortune [*bhagāḥ*] of the six—of power, of all charity, of glory, of women, of the body, and of effort—thus [says] śruti.” They know these in this one, or through the experience of the addictions of passion etc. “*Vajrasattva*” refers to the being that is the indivisible *vajra*, causing the accomplishment of purposeful action. Or else, like a *vajra*, and this *vajra* is like a living being. “All,” i.e., all those *Tathāgatās*, through their body, speech, thought, and knowledge, [there is] the

reality of the body, the infinite heart—because of the desirability of that [the *Tathāgatās* are mentioned]. That itself is “the *bhaga* (vulva) of the mistress of the lightning realm (*vajra-dhātu*-); *vajra* is *liṅga*; the realm [is the realm] of that; that is the *bodhicitta* characterized as being [both] concealed and revealed, etc.; Wisdom (*prajñā*) is the mistress of that realm,<sup>245</sup> because she is served by the *vajra-dhātu*. That one sported in the vagina of the beautiful woman. He sported by joining together the *vajra* and the lotus, i.e. he remained in union with the cavity; this is the meaning. And [as] this sexual sport is intensely protected from ordinary people, why then does the *Bhagavān Vajrasattva* [partake of it]? And for that reason it is said: “In the land of *Vajrasattva* on top of Mount Sumeru, he took his pleasure in the uppermost apartment at the tip of the vajra-jewel (*vajramāṇi*).” Thereby the place and time of the instructor is indicated. He describes the assembled group by “and with many” etc. The *Vajrayogīs*, the white unmoving ones, the *Vajrayoginīs*, the non-confusion *Vajrīs* etc. The qualities of those [male] and of those female] are gathered together, as they are of one form—[with many means] with those. “Namely,” i.e. representing, “the white unmoving,” i.e., the *Bhagavān*, the *Bhagavatī*, by knowing the incarnate form; likewise, the “yellow unmoving,” the *Bhagavatī*, by knowledge of the incarnate smell; “with the red unmoving,” the *Bhagavatī*, with knowledge of the incarnate taste; “with the black unmoving,” the *Bhagavatī* with the knowledge of the incarnate touch; and with the delusion *vajrī*, i.e., with the *Bhagavatī* with knowledge of the of the incarnate form of the *Bhagavān*; and with the slander *vajrī*, i.e., with the knowledge of the incarnate smell of the *Bhagavān*; and with the passion *vajrī*, i.e., with the knowledge of the incarnate taste of the *Bhagavān*, and with the jealousy *vajrī*, i.e., with the knowledge of the incarnate touch of the *Bhagavān*. The *Bhagavān* himself is incarnate sound, knowledge, and form of the *Bhagavatī*, and the *Bhagavatī* is the incarnate sound, knowledge, and form of the *Bhagavān*. So there is no distinction from this anywhere. “*Evaṃ pramukhair*,” i.e., so with these sorts, i.e., with the eye, the nose, the tongue, the body, the ear, form, sensation, name, aggregates, consciousness, earth, water, fire, space, etc., i.e., with these, this is the meaning. In this way, when the sporting is of that sort, these are the assembly of goddesses. It is said that there are others like that in the *bodhicitta*. If someone objects that since it is intensely protected, how come it has been heard by you? “Then,” etc., this is the meaning. When by that sexual sport the pleasure of the four blisses has been experienced, immediately after that great compassion becomes visible in all men. In this way, having reached the *samādhi* of the plowed row, he “proclaimed,” i.e., he said this that will be said. Then [that]

was heard by me—this is the meaning. It was heard by me abiding in fact in the body of the *Bhagavān* and the *Bhagavatī*, on account of me, *Vajrapāṇi*, the author of the *saṃgīti*, having the form of [their] ear; this is the sense. What did he say was existent non-existent? Being is the *vikalpa* of bliss and supreme joy. In non-existence there is the *vikalpa* of bliss of cessation. What is released is free of both of these. The four blisses: the bliss resulting from the combination of the *vajra* and the lotus, by the [sexual] position of having mounted the *yantra*, with embracing, kissing, stroking the breasts, scratching with the finger nails, etc., characterized by mutual passionate love, with wisdom and means as in the *sūtra*. Thereby a certain amount of pleasure arises.<sup>246</sup>

The ending extract reads as follows:

The pair with the *yoginī* is the [sexual] joining together with the *yoginī*. Delight arises then. The cause of the state of manifestation is the cause of *siddhi*. As previously stated, the perfection of the *mahāmudrā* (great consort) was previously explained. Thus the chapter on the *sādhana* of the deity, the explanation of the twenty-fifth chapter. “This,” etc., is the statement by the author of the *saṃgīti*. This is that characteristic of what is stated—the *Bhagavān* spoke the entire *Tantra*, i.e., related it. “*Abhyanandan*” means being delighted. “*Samāptam*” means completed. “These *dharma*s” etc; these *dharma*s are seven, known as consciousness, name, form, the six bases, touch, sensation, birth, old age, and death. These arise from five causes, ignorance, aggregates, thirst, grasping, and existence. “*Hetuḥ*” is a cause; just as it is (*yathā*) because of relating them, so it has arrived (*tathāgataḥ*). “*Avadat*” means he said. What is the stopping of cause and effect is cessation, *nirvāṇa*, hence the disposition in order to taste it, for this one, i.e. the great religious mendicant (the Buddha). The wise one, the valiant one, the ascetic, the tremendously powerful one, the hero, and the agent of the miracle, is designated the great one. Because the sins are redeemed, he is a mendicant. Or because of alleviation of the addictions and minor addictions. This commentary, the *Padmavatī* by name, containing the essence of the secret of the glorious *Tantra*, was made the most manifest by me, according to the command of [my] *guru*. Infinitely extensive merit was attained thereby. May the world in the *Kali* [*yuga*] quickly become of one flavor through the coming together of wisdom and means, Oh *Caṇḍācala*.<sup>247</sup>

The post-colophon gives the date:

This was written for the *vajra* feet of the great bliss of the great pan-dits. This writing was completed on Tuesday, on the tenth day of the dark half of *Phalguna* (February–March), (*Nepali*) *Samvat* 417, in the



kingdom of the glorious king *Anantamalla*; may it bring good fortune to all people.<sup>248</sup>

Luciano Petech tells us that *Anantamalla* reigned c. 1274 to 1310, and citing this manuscript of the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa-tantra-pañjikā*, specifies the date as March 19, 1297.<sup>249</sup>

## 6. EXTRACTS FROM EXTANT UNPUBLISHED SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS OF BUDDHIST TANTRAS

By searching through the Sanskrit manuscript catalogues for Buddhist tantras and matching this information with the Tibetan canonical listings of Tibetan translations of Sanskrit tantras, I have managed to locate a fair number of the Buddhist tantras still surviving in Sanskrit that have not been edited, published, or translated into English. It may be that some of these texts have been published in Japanese, Russian, or any of a number of other languages I do not read; as far as I know none of this material has been published in German, French, or Italian, though there may be published material of which I am unaware as I have not made a complete search through all of the academic journals in these languages.

### 6.1. *The Ḍākinīvajrapañjara*

The involvement of Indrabhūti in writing one of the commentaries to this tantra suggests that it was one of the earliest texts brought into the canon (see no. 8 below). Indrabhūti is a difficult figure to locate historically, though he was apparently a relatively early Tantric teacher, perhaps from the beginning of the eighth century.<sup>250</sup> Two of the texts of this tradition were translated by Indrabhūti and Mar pa; see also the *Tantra-rāja-śrī-laghu-sambara* (Tohoku 368, 33 folios) translated by Padmākara and Rin-chen bzan-po, revised by Prajñākīrti, Mar pa Chos-kyi grags-pa; and the *Hevajra-vibhūja-sādhana* (Tohoku 1271, two folios) by Tārāśrī, translated by Sumatikīrti and Mar-pa Chos dbaṅ.<sup>251</sup> There are a total of thirteen texts that appear to be associated with this tradition included in the Tibetan canon: 1) *Ḍākinī-guhya-jvala-tantra-rāja* (Tohoku 408, two folios), translated by Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes; 2) *Ḍākinī-tanu-gīti* (Tohoku 2451, two folios), no author or translator listed; 3) *Ḍākinī-vajra-guhya-gīti* (Tohoku 2446, three folios), authored by Ḍākinī (Mkhaḥ-ḥgro-ma), possibly the same as Jñāna-ḍākinī (Ye-śes Mkhaḥ-ḥgro-ma), Naropa's Prajñā Karmakāri (better known as Niguma)<sup>252</sup> translated by Ston-pa sen-ge rgyal po;

4) *Ḍākinī-vajra-jāla-tantra-rāja-tattva-pauṣṭika-pañjikā* (Tohoku 1196, 40 folios), with Mahāmati (Mahādeva-kulamati, Lhaḥi rigs-kyi blo-gros chen po) listed as the authors, and Gayadhara and Ḥgos Lhas btsas the translators. Naudou suggests that Mahāmati may have been the same as Bodhibhadra, a student of Naropa and a contemporary of Mar-pa,<sup>253</sup> which would place this commentary in the late eleventh century; 5) *Ḍākinī-vajra-pañjara-pañca-dāka-sādhana* (Tohoku 1321, five folios), with Muni-candra or Śākya-candra (Mi-thub zla-ba) as author, and Līlavajra (author of the *Kālacakra-kṣaṇa-sajaha-sādhana*, and Se-rtsa Bsod-nams rgyal-mthsan as translators; Naudou does not have dating information on these individuals; 6) *Ḍākinī-vajra-pañjara-mahā-tantra-rāja-kalpa-nāma* (Tohoku 419, 35 folios), translated by Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes; 7) *Ḍākinī-varja-pañjara-mahā-tantra-rāja-kalpa-nāma-mukha-bandha*<sup>254</sup> with Kṛṣṇa-pāda (Nag-po) as the author and Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes as translators; whether Kāla refers to Kālacakrapada is not clear, though this identification does not seem unreasonable, and would date this commentary to the eleventh century; 8) *Ḍākinī-vajra-pañjara-mahā-tantra-rāja-prathama-pāṭala-mukha-bandha-nāma-pañjikā*. (Tohoku 1194, six folios), written by the mysterious Indrabhūti, who also wrote a Hevajra work entitled *Smṛti-saṃdarśanāloka*,<sup>255</sup> translators Nyi-ma shas-pa, and Śākya brston-ḥgrus; 9) *Ḍākinī-vajra-pañjara-saṃharaṇa-maṇḍala-anusaraṇa-sādhana* (Tohoku 1322, seven folios), written by Devavrata (? Lhaḥi brtul-shugs), translated by Mar pa Chos-kyi blo-gros; 10) *Ḍākinī-saṃvara-tantra-rāja* (Tohoku 406, two folios), translated by Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes; 11) *Ḍākinī-sarva-citta-advaya-acintya-jñāna-vajra-varāhy-abhibhava-tantra-rāja* (Tohoku 378, 11 folios), translated by Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes; 12) *Ḍākinī-agni-jihvā-jvāla*. (Tohoku 842, 30 folios), translator unknown; and 13) *Ḍākinī-upadeśa-śrota-parampara-piḍācchedanāvavāda* (Tohoku 2286, five folios), written by Nirmāṇa-yogi (? Sprul-pahi rnal-ḥbyor-pa), translator unknown.<sup>256</sup>

The *Ḍākārṇava* is a Buddhist tantra in fifty-one chapters noted in Shāstrī's Nepal Catalogue,<sup>257</sup> which appears to be related, though perhaps not exactly the same as the *Ḍākinī-guhyā-jvāla-tantra-rāja*. Shāstrī dates the Nepali manuscript to about 1130 C.E., and likewise for the copy in his Calcutta catalogue,<sup>258</sup> where he gives the extract we will examine. The full title appears to be *Ḍākārṇava-mahā-yoginī-tantra-rāja*. The only published work on this lineage I have found is Nagendra Chaudhuri's 1935 version of his Ph.D. thesis giving an edition of the *Apabhraṃśa* verses contained in the *Ḍākārṇava*.<sup>259</sup> Shāstrī gives us the colophons of the chapters and the text of the entire fifth chapter.

The chapter titles are as follows: 1) The descent of the ocean of wisdom; 2) the *nāyākī* who arises from Vajra-vārāhī and the true nature of the meditations with the *yantra*, *cakra*, and *maṇḍala*; 3) the rules for the clarification of the principles of action and the inviting characteristics arising from *pakin*;<sup>260</sup> 4) the mantra application, the true nature of the six *cakras* and paths etc., and the arrangement of nirvāṇa, etc., characterized by the arising of Lāmā; 5) The four *cakras*, the arrangement of the channels, the instruction about the name, and the rules for mantra application, etc., arising from the characteristics of Khaṇḍarohā. (*khaṇḍa-rohā* literally means “she whose rise or sprout is cleft,” likely a euphemism for a woman who has lost her virginity. According to Marie-Thérèse De Mallmann, this is the name of two goddesses from the *Hevajra* cycle, found in the *Samvara*, *Six Cakravartin*, and *Vajravarāhī maṇḍalas*.<sup>261</sup> She appears in several *sādhana*s given by Abhayākara Gupta);<sup>262</sup> 6) the intrinsic nature of the characteristics of Rūpiṇī, the true nature of the channels and *cakras*, the arrangement of the places, and the characteristics of the tantra; 7) the characteristics of the origin of the Crow-face, etc., *prāṇa*; 263 8) the characteristics of the *prāṇa*, etc., [whose] origin is in the determination and arrangement [according to] Owl-face; 9) the rules on the state of happiness, etc., characterizing Dog-face; 10) the descending, etc., of the *maṇḍala* having its origin in Hog-face; 11) the description of the origin of the arrangement of She Who Burns Death; 12) the concise instruction on the *cakra* meditation on the fraud of death [according] to the description, etc., of the origin of Yamadūtī; 13) the fraud of death, etc., in the application and descent of Yamadaṁśtrī; 14) the real nature of the arrangement of the buddhas and the description of the rules about the fraud of time and death in the origin of Yamamathanī; 15) explaining the tradition determined by the true *samādhi* of the lord; 16) rules for the extraction of the root mantra; 17) the rule about the lightning-being Varāhī characterized by the arising of the armor; 18) the rules for the protection by the armor of Vairocana, etc.; 19) specification of the protection-mantra of the lord who dances in the lotus, etc.; 20) the rules for the protection armor of Heruka, etc.; 21) the rule for the armor-protection of Lightning-sun, etc.; 22) the rule for the armor-protection of the ultimate breath etc.; 23) the rule for the worship of the *Bali-cakra*; 24) The rules about the *maṇḍala*, the *homa*, and the worship of the teacher; 25) the characteristic of the purification of the abode of the Tathāgata that is the purification of Bhagavān, etc;

26) the chapter on the subject matter called the characteristics and rules of the lovers' trysts and pleasure-taking with the consorts by the heroes of the *yoginīs* in the *yantras* and *maṇḍalas* of Pracaṇḍa, etc.; 27) the rules about the intrinsic nature of the lord of the consorts characterized by Pracaṇḍākṣī; 28) the rules about the consort characterized as Prabhāvatī; 29) the rules and regulations for the *homa* characterized by Mahānāsā; 30) the description of the rules on the intrinsic nature of the heroes and their consorts and the mothers and their male counterparts; 31) the chapter called the knowledge that is the intrinsic nature of the description of the *homa* of the phoneme of Kharvari; 32) the chapter on the knowledge of the rule called the intrinsic nature of the *maṇḍala* and *cakra* characterized by the lover's tryst with the consort Laṅkeśvari; 33) the rules and regulations for the lovers' tryst with the consort whose intrinsic characteristic is the shade of the tree; 34) the rules and explanation of the characteristics of the body consort Airāvatī; 35) the description relating the characteristics of the internal consort of Mahābhairava; 36) the description of the colors of the consorts and the rule about the application of the speed of the winds; 37) the rules and characteristics of the intrinsic nature of the use and *homā* of Surābhakṣī; 38) the description of the rules for the subjugation *homa*, *yantra*, and lightning *maṇḍala* of the nondual black goddess Lightning She-boar; 39) the rule for the riverbank serpent action, and the instruction about the *yantra* of the name whose nature is union with the nondual Subhadrā of the root *mantra* of the lord; 40) the description of the rules for action, and the killing, from the armoring root *mantra* through union with the nondual hero Horse-ears; 41) the heart *mantra* called all-action and the rules characterizing the intrinsic nature of the intoxicating action in the nondual *yantra* and *cakra* of the feminine hero with the sky-goer's face; 42) the rules called the intrinsic nature of the characteristics of the nondual yoga of the hero of the paralyzing action of Cakravegā; 43) the *yantras* and *cakras* for the application meditation on Khaṇḍarohā, and the rules and characteristics for the armor mantras of the six *yoginīs* of the expulsion activity; 44) the intrinsic nature of the *yantras* and *cakras* and the rules and descriptions of the [action causing] divisiveness for use with the ladies who run taverns; 45) the *yantra* and *cakras* in the form of a *rākṣasa* joined with a nondual hero and the *maṇḍalas*, *cakras*, and meditations characterizing the rule for application of the activity of silencing and the armoring of the *cakras*; 46) The emanation of the action of the paralyzing

mantra and the meditation on the *yantras* and *cakras* characterizing the rules for the application of the pacification activity of Suvīrā; 47) the description of the rules for the use of the meditation on the *yantra* of the action bodhisattva and [for the use of] the mantra for pegging down the great protection by union with She Who is Extremely Strong; 48) all the actions of the instructions, rules, and description of the root mantra of the path and meditation on the various *sādhana*, actions, mantra, and *cakra* for the use, etc., of She Who is Dwelling in the Cakra; 49) the rule about the characteristic of the use of Mahāvīryā, the secret elixir, etc., the action for worldly prosperity, and the root mantra of glorious correct *samādhi* of Heruka; 50) the entire secret explaining all the tantras and having the nature of the fifty principles; and 51) praise, worship, etc., and the nondual service of the community.<sup>264</sup>

The fifth chapter of the *Ḍākārṇava* is interesting for the information it provides on the use of external cities and regions of the time as mapped to the *cakras* of the subtle body, and for the use of abbreviations of these names in the form of *bījamantras*. This is the first instance I have seen where the *bījamantras* mapped to the subtle body can definitively be said to have semantic content; such use is distinct from the alphabetical permutations we find in the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakratāntra* and *Vimalaprabhā*. We also find in the fifth chapter of the *Ḍākārṇavatāntra* some indications of the geographical sensibilities of the day, with general names of peripheral regions to the subcontinent combined with many specific names of cities:

I will explain the internal cities out of a desire for the benefit of sentient beings. Situated at the feet of Khaṇḍāroḥā is Vajraḍākaḥ, himself the lord. In the lotuses of the four *cakras* there are one hundred and twenty channels. Their proper names will be explained, for sharing in the principles. [In the navel *cakra*:] 1)<sup>265</sup> Madhyadeśī, 2) Kaliṅgi, 3) Oḍḍa, 4) Karṇātakīsārī, 5) Saurāṣṭrī 6) Malayī, 7) Vaṅgī, 8) Dravaḍī, and 9) Kali[ṅga]ki, 10) Mālavī and 11) Mahārāṭhṭhī<sup>266</sup> 12) Varandī, 13) Kāmarūpiṇī, 14) Ḍohalī, 15) Thavideśī, and 16) Bhartāḍī, 17) Rāḍha, 18) Magadhī, 19) Tirabhutti (satti), 20) Daddaraṇḍī, 21) Nepālī<sup>267</sup> 22) Saravāsani, 23) Rāḍhī, 24) Ḍhikkarī, 25) Vaṅgalī<sup>268</sup> 26) Khaḍī, and 27) Harikelakī, 28) Suvarṇadvīpī, 29) Siṃhalī<sup>269</sup> 30) Ḍāmaḍī, and 31) Kattorakī, 32) Sindhu, 33) Himālayī, 34) Buḍī, 35) Kurutī, 36) Jaḍarī, 37) Parhī, 38) Jajjavatī, 39) Varuṇā, and 40) Oriyāṇa and 41) Lampākakī, 42) Jālandharī, 43) Arbbūdī, and 44) Kaśmīrī, 45) Kośalī, 46) Kañchī, 47) Jayantī, 48) Triśakkī, 49) Caśī 50) Laharī, 51) Purarohikā, 52) Mumbanī<sup>270</sup> 53) Kāmbojakī<sup>271</sup> and 54) Bhaṭṭalakī, 55) Gṛhadevatī, 56) Pretapūrī, 57) Valabhī (Vabhabhīcā) and 58) Pelavī,<sup>272</sup> and 59)

Upapelavī, 60) Smaśānanī, 61) Upaśaśānanī, 62) Mahodadhitaṭī, 63) Khasī, and 64) Mlecchī are the goddess in all the places, the sixty-four in sequence—the *yoginīs* should be recognized as the clan-channels in the navel *cakras*.<sup>273</sup> In the heart *cakra*, similarly, are the eight *dūtikās*<sup>274</sup> going everywhere. 1)<sup>275</sup> Prayāga, 2) Devakoṭā, and 3) Ujjāyini, 4) Mahālakṣī, 5) Jvalamukhī, 6) Siddasimbhalī, 7) Māhila, 8) Kaumarī Paurikī. In this way all the illusion-making good local goddesses<sup>276</sup> are in the heart place. And in the throat *cakra* the goddess who is the best female leader is described with sixteen great portions, and sixteen elements: 1) blood,<sup>277</sup> 2) semen, 3) marrow, 4) sweat, 5) fat, 6) skin, 7) flesh, and 8) bone, 9) sinews, 10) pus, 11) the end (death?), 12) self-generated, 13) feces, 14) urine, 15) bile, 16) phlegm. May she who is constantly carrying<sup>278</sup> move with the secret, etc., places.

In the head *cakra*, Oh Great goddess, there are thirty-two channels, providing success everywhere in the steps of the *homa* [offering], produced by the intellect. 1) Kṛṣṇā, 2) Karālī, 3) Bhībhacchī, 4) Nandī, 5) Tītā, 6) Vināyikā, 7) Camuṇḍī, 8) Ghorarūpā, 9) Umādevī, 10) Sarasvatī, 11) Bhadrakālī, 12) Mahākālī, 13) Sthūlakālī, 14) Parājitā, 15) Jayā, 16) Vijayā, 17) Ajitā, 18) Jayantī, and 19) Ghoradaṃṣṭrī, 20) Indrī, 21) Caṇḍī, 22) Catuṣpathī, 23) Grāmavāsinī, 24) Raudrākī, 25) Kāmbojī, 26) Ḍāmbī, 27) Caṇḍālī, 28) Mātaṅgī, 29) Brāhmatī, 30) Sūdrīkā, 31) Rājapurī, and 32) Maharddhikī, filled with divine intoxication. So in this way there are [the goddesses] attending upon *Khaṇḍarohā* in the channels and *cakras*.

A bit further along in the chapter the *mantranyāsa* with phonemes is described, using the first syllable of the above-mentioned locales, etc.<sup>279</sup>

## 6.2. The Bhūtaḍāmara

As discussed in section 5.4.3 above, the Bhūtaḍāmara cult was apparently shared by Buddhist and Śaivite tantric traditions, since both traditions have texts by this name, with the extant Śaivite text being considerably longer. We have seven texts of the Bhūta-ḍāmara tradition that were translated into Tibetan: 1) *Bhūta-ḍāmara* itself (Tohoku 747, 25 folios) translated by Budhhakaravarma and Chos-kyi śes-rab; 2) *Bhūta-ḍāmara-maṇḍala-vidhi* (Tohoku 2677, 12 folios) written by Blo-bzans skoṅ and translated by Non-mi pandit and Rin-chen dpal; 3 and 4) *-saṃkṣipta-sādhana* (Tohoku 3302, one folio) translated by Da, Abhayākaragupta, and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan, and (Tohoku 3641, one folio) translator unknown; 5) *-Sādhana* (Tohoku 3303, three folios)



translated by Da, Abhayākaragupta, and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan; and 6) *-Sādhana-vidhi* (Tohoku 3642, two folios) written by ḥJig-rten-gsuñ-gyi rdo-rje.<sup>280</sup>

Ms. 4801, no. 68 of the Calcutta catalogue, is the 1215 C.E. *Caturābharāṇa* by a Bhusukapāda, apparently a different writer than Śāntideva, and quite possibly the same fellow as the tantric *siddha* Bhusukapa who is dated by the *Sa-skyā Bka 'bum* to Devapāla's reign (809–849).<sup>281</sup> This would place the Buddhist Bhūtaḍāmara lineage in at least the ninth century, since the *Caturābharāṇa* appears to be a text from the tradition of the *Bhūtaḍāmaratantra*. It opens with the salutation “*Namaḥ Śrī-bhūta-ḍāmarāya*.” *Bhūtam* means simply a being; *ḍāmara* means terrible, terrifying, dreadful, etc.; hence, the “Terrifying Being Tantra.” *Caturābharāṇa* is “four ornaments.” Bhattacharyya mentions the *Bhūtaḍāmara* as a text later than the *Guhyasamāja*,<sup>282</sup> and Abhayākaragupta gives several *sādhana*s to the deity.<sup>283</sup> I translate here the first few lines of a four-page extract given by Śāstri (unfortunately, the Sanskrit appears to be a sort of dialect or Prākṛit, or is simply corrupt in many places, so it is difficult to unravel):

Homage to Śrībhūtaḍāmara. Honoring the guru, the great yoga, the son in the heart of the *yoginī*, I and the yoga of sleeping having been explained by the yogi Bhusukapāda, || Now, if the body is not perfected through an alteration of the principles, one should do [that], causing your ignorance to go [away], one should not desire to know that; || One should experience sleeping in a solitary place, likewise approaching the consort, | piercing old age and death, the determination of the sun and moon. || Time, seasons, the moment, knowledge, silence, the entry of the winds; | the binding of the six *cakras*, removing from every place; || All of this I will explain, and the texts with their purpose and stages ||.<sup>284</sup>

The text continues with a description of various mediations using the subtle body channels, *cakras*, etc., with an admixture of Hindu and Buddhist terms—using *maṇipūra* (the Hindu name) for the navel *cakra*, for instance; references to *sūryyābharāṇamaithuna*, etc. As Śāstri remarks, “the present work by Bhuḍuku contains much that is degenerate and mystic.”<sup>285</sup>

### 6.3. The Abhidhānottaratantra

There are two texts from this tradition beginning *Abhidhāna-* in the Tohoku Catalogue: 1) the *Abhidhānottara-tantra* (Tohoku 369, 123 folios)



translated in the latter tenth century by Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (i.e., Atiśa) and Rin-chen bzañ-po, revised by Jñānaśrī, Khyuṇ-po Chos-kyi brston-ḥgrus, and then again by Ānanda and Lo chuñ;<sup>286</sup> and 2) the *Abhidhāna-śāstra-viśva-locana*-[ity-*aparābhidhāna-muktāvalī*] (Tohoku 4453, 93 folios) by Śrīdharasena (Dpal-bdsin sde), translated in the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries<sup>287</sup> by Chos skyoñs bzañ-po.<sup>288</sup> There's also a *Mūlatantra-saṃgraha-hṛdaya-abhidhānottara-tantra-mūla-vṛtti* by Śūraṃganavajra, translated into Tibetan in the early twelfth century by Jñānaśrī and 'Phags-pa śes-rab.<sup>289</sup>

The *Abhidhānottara*, ms. 10759, no. 58, is a text in sixty-nine chapters, the manuscript of which dates from Nepali Saṃvat 418 (= 1298 C.E.). Śāstrī provides the colophons to most chapters; the system is slightly odd, since the numbers begin 1, 2, 3, then begin again at 1, 2, 3, 4. . . .<sup>290</sup> 1) The secret of the purification of the *avatāraṇa* community; 2) the request; 3) the ultimate reality of the heart principle; 1) the rule for the body-*saṃvara*; 2) the net-*saṃvara* of the lotus of truly great sexual bliss; 3) protecting the guru of the *saṃvara*; 4) the *Saṃvara*; 5) the pilgrimage seat-[bodily]-joints sequence; 6) the procedure for the parts of the sequence of everything that is not in order; 7) the rule about the “lovely lightning” (i.e., Mañjuśrī's *vajra*), the anointing the three *cakras*<sup>291</sup> 8) (missing); 9) explanation for the reason for the sequence of *siddhis* from the *Yoginī-pīṭhas*; 10) the tradition of the *pīṭhas* that refer to the sheaths; 11) the *yoginīs* of the *pīṭhas* etc.; 12) the arising of the meditations on the Śrīheruka *ḍākinīs*, of the hero-*yoginīs*, and the *ḍākinīs*; 13) the meditation on the primary activity yoga; 14) instruction about the meditation on the intermediate sense; 15) instruction about the meditation on the sharp sense; 16) the rule on *saṃvara* of the yoga of the four *ḍākinīs*; 17) the discipline of the *Yoga-saṃvara*; 18) *pratyaṅgirā* (?);<sup>292</sup> 19) the meditation called the omnipotent capacity of the nectar of immortality; 20) the descent of the principle of the secret community of *yoginīs*; 21) the tradition of dwelling in the clan's six *cakras*; 22) the sequence of the body, speech, and thought *pīṭhas*; 23) the women arising from the Buddha's skull to establish the community; 24) the arising of the lightning being; 25) effecting the lovely lightning; 26) effecting the *ḍāka* lightning; 27) the great secret, effecting the vowel *ḍākas*; 28) the instruction on the reason for the *siddhi* from the *ḍākas* of expansion; 29) the great royal *maṇḍala* when there is the arising of the community's *saṃvara*; 30) the arising of the quality of what's abandoned; 31) rain and market rules; 32) effecting the

universal form; 33) the ultimate glorious secret community; 34) meditation on what arises from the union of the two protective mantras; 35) *cchoṣmā*<sup>293</sup> 36) characteristics of the *yoginīs*; 37) characteristics of the *ḍākinīs*; 38) characteristics of *lamā*,<sup>294</sup> 39) (missing); 40) characteristics of the subsidiary consort; 41) the *ḍākinī* subsidiary consort; 42) characteristic of the *ḍākinī* *Cchoṣmā*; 43) the preeminent water of the happiness of beings; 44) the adept at expanding the activity of the *ḍākinī* and the hero, and the nondual heart of the *yoginī* and the hero; 45) the rules for the picture-image, its foundation, and preliminary consecration; 46) rules for the *maṇḍala*; 47) the [quarter-]junction of the day for the *Gāyatrī* [mantra];<sup>295</sup> 48) the meditation on what arises from the subsidiary heart *sādhana*; 49) the mediation on what arises from the heart plus the thirty-two; 50) rule about the *maṇḍala*; 51) meditation on the city of the Dharma realm; 52) meditation on the secret; 53) the *sādhana* on what arises from the secret syllable; 54) the extraction by chalk of the root mantra;<sup>296</sup> 55) meditation on the heart of the armor [mantra]; 56) meditation on the heart of the goddess, the mantra-armor of the heart; 57) establishment and anointing of the red, four-faced [deity], the four fierce [deities] of the *maṇḍala*, and the extraction with chalk of what arises from the *Vajra-hūṃkāra*; 58) the yoga of the groups [of phonemes]; 59) (missing); 60) the secret of knowledge; 61) the secret of the encapsulation of the four goddesses; 62) unlocking the encapsulation of the lord of the fierce deities, Vajrabhairava; 63) the *sādhana* of the seven[-times]-born *paśu*,<sup>297</sup> 64) the *svādhiṣṭhāna* [*cakra*], the meditation on the higher arising of one's own dharma; 65) worship of the state of the self; 66) instruction in the multiple stated principles from the great royal tantra on the extraordinarily secret *saṃvara*. In the post-colophon at the end of the text, the *saṃvara* is also referred to as the *ḍāka-ḍākinī-jāla-saṃvara*.<sup>298</sup>

#### 6.4. The *Vajraḍākatantra*

The Tibetan canon contains six texts beginning *Vajra-ḍāka*-. One of these texts, the *Vajra-ḍāka-niṣkāya-dharma* (Tohoku 1527) is attributed to Tilopa, Naropa's teacher, so this would date the text to no later than the late tenth century. The other texts of this tantra translated into Tibetan are the *Vajra-ḍāka*- 1) *-Guhya-tantra-rāja* (Tohoku 399) translated by Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes; 2) *Tantra-tattva-susthira-nāmapañjikā* (Tohoku 1417) written by Nor-bzañs, translated by Śrīgayadhara and Jo Zla-bahi ḥod-zer; 3) *-Nāma-uttara-tantra* (Tohoku 371) translated

by Mchog-gi dbaṅ-phyug and Śākya brston-bgras; 4) *-Nāma-mahā-tantra-rāja* (Tohoku 370) translated by Gayadhara and ḥgos Lhas-btsas; 5) *-Niṣkāya-dharma* (Tohoku 1527) written by Telo-pa (Tilopa), translator unknown; and 6) *-Stotra-daṇḍaka* (Tohoku 1442) written by Chos-kyi grags pa, translated by Manikaśrījñāna and Dpal-gyi mthaḥ-can.

Another four texts begin *Vajra-ḍākinī*:- 1) *Vajra-ḍākinī-niṣpanna-krama* (Tohoku 2379) written by Bhina-pa, translator unknown; 2 and 3) *Vajra-ḍākinī-giti* (Tohoku 2441) translated by Sha-ma lo-tsa-ba, and (Tohoku 2442) written by Dbyiṅs-kyi gtso-mo, translated by Sha-ma lo-tsa-ba; and 4) *Vajra-ḍākinī-yogini-sādhana* (Tohoku 1942) written by Mar-me-mdsad ye-śes, translated by Prajñāśrījñānakīrti.<sup>299</sup>

The *Vajraḍākatantra* surviving in Sanskrit is a text of fifty-one chapters, in a manuscript composed in fourteenth-century Newari script. Among the chapter titles of note are: 3) attracting all the serpents (*Sarva-nāgākaraṣaṇa*); 18) definition of *melāpaka* (*Melāpaka-nirṇaya*); 34) the barbarian consecration (*Mleccha-vajrābhīṣeka*); 36) the barbarian channels, community, and *saṃvara* (*Mleccha-nāḍya-samaya-sambara*); 37) knowledge of all the weapons and *mudrās* of the barbarians (*Mleccha-sarvāyudha-mudra-jñāna*); 44) the rules for the internalized *homa* and the *sādhana* of the ghosts (*Vetāḍa-sādhana-adhyātma-homa-vidhi*); 47) the rules for the section on the classes of alchemical substances (*Rasāyana-dravya-varga-adhikāra-vidhi*); and another chapter on alchemy (49), whose title is partly effaced.<sup>300</sup>

#### 6.5. The *Samputikā Mahātantrarājaḥ*

Another eleventh-century Buddhist tantra is the *Samputikā Mahātantrarājaḥ*, ms. 3828, no. 62 in Śāstrī's Calcutta catalogue. Apparently the same text, the *Samputatantra*, was cited by Abhayākaragupta. There is only one text of this tradition in the Tibetan canon, the *Samputa-nāma-mahā-tantra*, translated by Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes, revised by Bu-ston (Bu-ston's interest in the text is certainly noteworthy).<sup>301</sup> Śāstrī gives the name as *Samputikā* or *Samputodbhava-kalpa-rājaḥ*. *Samputa* properly is a cavity or covered box or bowl. *Amarakośa* 2.6.139a gives as a synonym *samudgaka*<sup>302</sup>—a box or casket, such as for keeping jewels. Vaman Shivram Apte quotes *Bharṭṛhari* 2.67, *Mālatīmādhava* 1.54, *Kāvyaḍarśa* 2.288, and *Ṛtusamhāra* 1.21 for the poetic usage of *saṃputa* as the fertile cavity of the ocean oyster that produces the pearl.<sup>303</sup> The definition given in the opening lines of our *Samputodbhavakalparāja* is that “The *Samputa* has the nature of wisdom and means—what arises

from that is the *samputa-samādhī*.<sup>304</sup> The fourth-chapter colophon of the tantra is *Samputodbhava-vajra-dākinī-saṃketa-kalpa-rajās*. *Saṃketa* in erotic contexts means an assignation or appointment made with a lover, or a lovers' meeting/trysting place.<sup>305</sup> So it would appear that the name *Samputodbhavakalparājāḥ* means "The royal treatise on what arises from the fertile cavity (i.e., the womb)." The use of the term *kalpa* in the name (there is a second incomplete manuscript of the text, ms. 4854, no. 63, entitled *Śrī-samputodbhava-sarvva-tantra-nidāna-mahā-kalpa-rājāḥ*) lends support to my contention that the use of the terms *tantra* and *kalpa* derive from early textual typologies in the medical and Vedic traditions.

The colophon dates the *Samputikā* to the twelfth day of Bhādrapāda (August–September), Nepali Saṃvat 145 (= 1025 C.E.). As with the *Guhyasamāja*, the *Hevajra*, and the *Cakrasaṃvara*, the text opens with *evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavān sarvva-tathāgata-kāya-vāk-citta-vajra-yoṣid-bhāgeṣu vijahāra* |. The text continues:

There, indeed, the Lord, seeing Vajragarbha ("Lightning-embryo") in the midst of 80,000 masters of yoga, smiled. Immediately after he smiled, Vajragarbha got up from his *āsana*, and placing his upper garment on one shoulder, placing the *maṇḍala* of his right knee on the ground, folding his hands in homage, spoke this to the Lord:

"I desire to hear, Oh master of knowledge, the secret characteristic arising from the *samputa* that is the primary basis of all the tantras."

(Bhagavān answers:) "Ho Vajragarbha, very good, very good, Oh very loving one, very good, very good, Oh great *bodhisattva*, very good, very good [you all] are the best mine of good qualities, since you ask about that secret that is the complete in all the tantras."

Then those great bodhisattvas, led by Vajragarbha, their eyes blossoming in delight, asked here about their own concerns, bowing in homage again and again: "Why is it said, 'all the tantras?' How is that the primary cause? Why is it called 'a secret'? How does it arise from the *samputa*? What is the explanation for the name, and why is it a tantra?"

The Bhagavān responded: "[Because] they are all, and they are tantras, [hence] 'all the tantras,' and by the term *sarvatantra* [is meant] the [Guhya]-*samāja*, etc.; [it is] considered to be the principal cause of them—this is the meaning. It is secret because it is not within the purview of Hari, Hara, Hiranyagarbha,<sup>306</sup> the listeners, or isolated

buddhas. The *Samputa* has the nature of wisdom and means—what arises from that is the *samputa-samādhi*. *Udbhava* is arising, characterized as having the intrinsic nature of stationary or mobile beings produced in that way;<sup>307</sup> the characteristic is like this.”<sup>308</sup>

The chapter titles are as follows: 1a) The reality of the meditation on the name, the nameable, the arising of *bodhicitta*, etc.; 1b) the five senses, the five powers, the description of the seven limbs of enlightenment, ending with the eightfold path, etc., the descent of the *bodhicitta*; 2a) the consecration of the *bodhicitta*; 2b) the meditation on the purpose of wisdom and means; 2c) (unnamed); 3a) the arising of Heruka; 3b and 3c (unnamed); 4a) indestructible speech, *Cchoṣmā*;<sup>309</sup> 4b) the consort with the mark of the *Kaṭapuṭānī*;<sup>310</sup> 4c) the sign and the consort (?); 5a) the place of meeting; 5b) the purification of the aggregates, elements, and bases of consciousness; 5c) embracing according to the practice (?); 6a) (unnamed); 6b) the ritual application of the places; and 6c) (unnamed). The sixth chapter as a whole is named *Vasanta-tilaka* (“The Ornament of Spring”).<sup>311</sup> 7.i) (apparently the first line of the section:) Now I will explain the rules of action whereby the adepts achieve success; 7.ii) now I will explain the rules of alchemy, the collection of all the elixirs; 7.iii) the rules for the application of unguents;<sup>312</sup> 7a) the Āyurvedic [section] called the arising of omniscience; 7b) the rules for the *homa*; 7c) the arising from the *cakra* [that provides for] the free scope of all activity. So the seventh chapter called is what arises from the meditation on all action is complete; 8a) the bell principle; 8b) the meditation on the mantra recitation; 8c) curing the ignorance of the heretics. The name of the eighth chapter is the complete arising of all activity; 9a) the arising of all the Tathāgatas; 9b) the *bali* offering; 9c) the discussion of the cloth book. The ninth chapter is called the reality of the four ritual actions; 10a) the teacher’s great *sādhana*; and 10b) the transformation of the illusion by the Buddha.<sup>313</sup>

#### 6.6. The *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*

The *Kṛṣṇa-yamāri-tantra* dates from no later than the early eleventh century; we have a commentary on the text, the *Kṛṣṇayamāri-tantra-pañjikā-ratnāvali* (Tohoku 1921, 54 folios) by the early eleventh-century Mahāsiddha Maitri-pa or Avadhūti-pa and Kumāra-candra (Gshon-nu zla-ba), translated by Silavajra and Bsod-nams rgyal-mtshan.<sup>314</sup> Many other texts from the *Kṛṣṇa-yamāri-tantra* tradition are also in the Tibetan canon: 1) *Kṛṣṇa-yamāri*; 2) *-tantra-pañjikā*. (Tohoku 1922, 25

folios) by Padapāṇi, translated by Parameśvara and Roñ-zom chos-kyi bzañ-po;<sup>315</sup> 3) *-tamra-rāja-trikalpa* (Tohoku 469, three folios), translator unknown;<sup>316</sup> 4) *-tantra-rāja-prekṣaṇa-patha-pradīpa-nāma-ṭikā*. (Tohoku 1920, 85 folios) by Kṛṣṇa-chen po, translated by Prajñāśrījñānakīrti; 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9) *-nāma-sādhana* (Tohoku 1929, three folios) by Nying-mo byed-pahi gragas pa, translated by hygo Lhas-btsas, (Tohoku 1960, six folios)<sup>317</sup> by Kun-tu bzañ-po, translated by Don-yod rdo-rje, (Tohoku 1946, one folio) by Nag-po, translated by Prajñāśrīmitra,<sup>318</sup> (Tohoku 1924, 15 folios) by Dpal-ḥdsin, translated by Dānakīrti and Tshul-khrims rgyal-pa,<sup>319</sup> (Tohoku 1968, two folios) by Kīrti, translator unknown;<sup>320</sup> 10) *-maṇḍala-stuti* (Tohoku 1968, two folios) by Kīrti, translator unknown;<sup>321</sup> 11) *-mahā-tantra-rāja-pañjikā-ratna-pradīpa* (Tohoku 1919, 48 folios) by Ratnākaraśānti-pa, translated by Vinayacandra and Chos-kyi śes-rab;<sup>322</sup> 12) *-mukhu-ṣaṭ-cakra-sādhana* (Tohoku 2015, two folios) by Devākaracandra, translated by Devākaracandra and Śes-rab bla-ma; 13) *-rakta-yamāri-pūjā-vidhi* (Tohoku 2028); 14) *-śānti-homa-vidhi* (Tohoku 1956, one folio) by Nag-po, translated by Prajñāśrījñānakīrti;<sup>323</sup> 15) *-sādhana-protphulla-kumudā*; 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28) *-sādhana*. (Tohoku 1923, 1930, 1932, 1936, 1947, 3282, 3283, 3284, 3326, 3327, 3628, 3629, 3630); 29) *-sādhana-maṇḍala-vidhi*; 30) *-sādhana-sa-cakrārtha-vistara-vyākhyā* (Tohoku 1931); and 31) *-abhisamaya-krama*.

The alternative name of the text is the *Kṛṣṇa-yamāri-[rakṣā]-tantra*.<sup>324</sup> The name appears to be mean “the tantra of [protection by] the *yāmari* (enemy of death) [named] Kṛṣṇa,” rather than “the black *yamāri*,” since several of the chapters end with the phrase “the yogi (will attain the stated goal, etc.), according to the statement of Kṛṣṇa (*kṛṣṇasya vacanam yathā*). A manuscript from Nepali Saṃvat 500 (= 1380 C.E.) is cited in Śāstrī’s Asiatic Society of Bengal catalogue. The first chapter on consecration (*abhiṣeka-paṭala*) opens as follows:

Thus it was heard by me; at one time the *Bhagavān* was taking his pleasure in the vaginas of all the *vajra*-women of the body, speech, and mind of all the *Tathāgatas*. And then the *Bhagavān* welcomed the king of all the *Tathāgatas*, *Vajrapāṇi*, *Vajrasattva*, along with the groups of the *Mahāyamāris*, beginning with *Moha-vajra-yamāri* (Confusion) and *Piśuna-vajra-yamāri* (Slander) and *Īrṣyā-vajra-yamāri* (Envy), *Dveṣa-vajra-yamāri* (Hostility) and *Mudgara-yamāri* (Hammer) and *Daṇḍa-yamāri* (Stick) and *Padma-yamāri*, and *Khadga-yamāri*, and *Vajra-carccikā*, and *Vajra-vārāhī*, and *Vajra-sarasvatī*, and *Vajra-śaurī*, and *Alokā*. Then the *Bhagavān* [said] “Oh *Khavajra*,” to [the one] receiving the instruction. Then [there is] a second statement. He entered the



womb of his own body, speech, and thought, the *samādhi* called the thunderbolt that destroys *Māra*. “One should destroy *Māra* by using the moon-*vajra*; for quelling the *māras*, and for removing hatred everywhere, for protection, one should created the *vajra* abounding in the five rays; and likewise [one should create] with the *vajra* the earth and the wind, the enclosure, and the cage.” Then the *Bhagavān*, entering into the *samādhi* called the generator of all the *Tathāgatas* and the destruction of all the *Māras*, spoke to everyone. He entered the lightning-womb of his own body, speech, and mind, the seed of *vajra*, *yama*, the *āryas*, etc.: “In the middle of *ya* is *kṣe sa me da ya cca ni rā jā sa ho ru ṇa yo ni ra*; the first destroyer of *yama* is in *ra*; in *kṣe Moha* [-*vajra-yamāri*] is said to be; in *ma* is the *akṣa* [seed] *Piśuna*, and in the phoneme *sa* is Passion, and in *da* is Envy; [these] are the five known as the destroyers of *Yama*. In *ya* is the Hammer, in *ca* is the Stick-leader; in *ni* is *Padmapāṇi*, and in *rā* is *Khaḍgavān* also; in *jā*, *Carcikā* is said to be, and *Vārāhī* is in *sa*. *Sarasvatī* is also in the phoneme *ho*, and *Śaunikā* is considered to be in *la*. The womb of *na* is in the square; [these] are considered the four instruments; one should consider that the terrifying universal thunderbolt resides in the middle of the sky-lightning bolt. One should [meditatively] create pitiless time residing in the middle of *Yamāntaka* (the destroyer of death), and *Mohavajra* in the eastern door, and *Piśuna* in the southern, and *Rāgavajra* in the western, and *Īrsya* in the northern door. In the four tridents in the lightning bolts of the corners, one should visualize *Carccikā*, etc. In the four tridents of the lightning bolts of the doors, one should visualize the Hammer, etc. In the four corners of the universal lightning bolts, [one should meditatively create] the heads of the kings.” Then the *Bhagavān*, entering into the *samādhi* called the *Yamāri-vajra* of the king of all the *tathāgatas*, declared the great *mantra* of the clan of hostility. “*Oṃ hūṃ strīḥ*, the disfigured face *hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā*.” Then the *Bhagavān*, the king of all the *tathāgatas*, declared the *Moha-vajra-mantra*: “*Oṃ Jina jika*.” Then the *Bhagavān* declared the *Piśuna-vajra-mantra*: “*Oṃ ratnadhṛk*.” Then the *Bhagavān*, king of all the *tathāgatas*, declared the *Rāga-vajra-mantra*, “*Oṃ āṛālika*.”<sup>325</sup>

The text gives more mantras of the various *vajra* entities,<sup>326</sup> then some *dhyānas*: *Yamāri* is three-faced, six-armed, fierce, like a sapphire [in color]; intensifying the lightning bolt in the hand, the wise one should generate *Yamāri* into existence. *Mohavajra* is three-faced, six-armed, peaceful, like a very clear mirror; contemplating a *cakra* in the hand one should generate *Mohavajra*. *Piśunavajra* is three-faced, six-armed, nourishing, like burnt gold [in color]; intensifying a gem in the hand, one should generate *Piśuna-vajra*. *Rāgavajra* is three-faced,



six-armed, controllable, like a ruby in appearance; intensifying a lotus in the hand, one should generate Rāgavajra. Īrṣyavajra is three-faced, six-armed, universal, like a budding lotus.<sup>327</sup>

Chapter 2 of the *Kṛṣṇa-yamāri* is hymns to the deities (*mahāmaṇḍala-paṭala*); chapter 3 is on *karma-yoga*. Śāstrī gives an extract from the fourth chapter:

The holder of the vow should draw a pair of *cakras* on the cremation shroud. With *rājikā*<sup>328</sup> and salt, with black salt and with *nimbaka*, the three spices,<sup>329</sup> and the *arsāna* (?) from the cremation ground. And having made the index finger red with the resins from the thorn-apple leaves, and also with the seeds of *caṇḍa*,<sup>330</sup> or with the juice of the *citraka*<sup>331</sup> taking some clay from the salt flats, the vow-holder should draw, on the fourteenth lunar day, ornamentation on the *Caṇḍāla*'s earthen pot using a 'starving lotus' drawing instrument. At midnight, with fierce thought because of the relationship with evil people, one should bind together the name of the obstacles to sentient beings with the *hum* syllable. Facing south, the *yogī* should draw himself as the destroyer of death. *Mahācaṇḍa* in his fierce form, adorned with skull fragments, sitting on a buffalo, with a lolling tongue, a big belly, terrifying, with tawny erect twisted locks, likewise [tawny] curly facial hair and eyebrows; and [he should draw] in the right [hand] the great *vajra*, and also a chopper [in] the second [hand]; in the third hand a knife, and now, the left: on the left a *cakra*, and a great lotus, and a skull; at the front of the root,<sup>332</sup> [he should draw] the great bee, on the right, very brilliant [like] the moon; the left, said to be blood-red like, adorned with diamond ornaments. [He] should make the holes of the pores of the skin irradiate the king of his own clan, standing in the *pratyālīḍha* position, standing up on top of a solar disk, his face with terrible deformed fangs, appearing like the blazing fire [at the end] of the age. Furnishing oneself in this way [*evam ātmānaṃ sannahya*], one should apply what's to be prepared in front. . . .<sup>333</sup>

Chapters 5 and 6 of the *Kṛṣṇa-yamāri* are "drawing the symmetrical circle" and "looking at the *cakra*."<sup>334</sup> The sixth chapter begins:

Now I will explain the *mantra* for performance of the ritual offering for all beings. When the great *mantra* is articulated [it causes] trembling in all beings: to *Indra hrīḥ*, to *Yama strīḥ*, to *Varuṇa vi*, to *Kubera kṛ*, to *Isāna ta*, to *Agni a*, to *Nairṛtya na*, to *Vāyu na*, to *Candra hum*, to *Arka* (the Sun) *hum*, to *Brahman phaṭ*, to *Vasudhāra phaṭ*, to *Vemacitrin* (the variegated loom) *svā*, to all beings *hā*; *hā*, *hā hīm hīm hum hum he he svāhā*. Having made the triangle [surrounded by] a circle, the *yogī* should satisfy the deities with mixtures of feces, urine, and water, and one should meditatively remember *hāhā*.<sup>335</sup>

Chapter 7 is on the means for attracting the śāktis of the different *yamāris*.<sup>336</sup>

The wise one, through use of the protection attraction, should meditatively create *Carccikā*, with three faces, six arms, white, a *cakra* in her hand, moon-like. The wise one, through use of the liquor attraction, should meditatively create *Varāhī*, with three faces, six arms, a hog's snout, with a *vajra* in her hand, very blue. The vow taker should visualize *Sarasvatī* with three faces, six arms, red, holding a lotus in her hand, and beautiful, for the purpose of increasing wisdom. Through the use of the white attraction the wise one should visualize *Saurī*<sup>337</sup> with three faces, six arms, like a blossomed lotus.<sup>338</sup>

Chapters 8 and 9 are on the rules for the *homa* and on the female terrifier (Bhimā) of the *yamāris*.<sup>339</sup> Part of the ninth chapter reads:

With the flesh of a *brāhmaṇa*, with the ashes of the funeral pyre and with the soil [under] that, one should create an image of *Yamāri* with two arms and one face, with a great *vajra* in the right hand, and a man's head on the left, colored white, really terrifying, one should mow down the evil ones with that [image]. One should offer the *bali* every day with the five types of flesh and the five nectars; the *yogī* should continually request of that [image]: "you must cut down my enemy." This having been requested for seven nights, the enemy will die at dawn.<sup>340</sup>

Chapter 10 is the practice, recollection, and meditation of the *vetālas* (goblins). Chapter 11 is on practice according to the community. Chapter 12 is on the characteristics of common practices (among the various communities). Chapter 13 is the determination of *siddhi*. Chapter 14 is the practice of *Mañju-vajra*.<sup>341</sup> Chapter 14 begins as follows:

"Here is this supreme ceremonial practice according to the reading of the *sūtra*; a is primary, because of the lack of initial arising of all the *dharma*s; in the form of the glorious destroyer of dearth, meditating on the student, the eye, the well-concentrated one should get rid of [even] the best of the best of the best of the knowledge *sūtras*. Then this is the esoteric custom of entering into the great *maṇḍala*." The string prepared by the wise ones is smeared with the five cow products, is long [enough] for twenty doors, and is twice [the dimensions] of the *maṇḍala*. Then this is the given practice for solicitation of the great *vajra*: "Aho the *Buddha* the great teacher, Aho the lord who is a host of properties is in my body; the community, the reality, and the *bodhicitta* are in my body." Then this is the custom for taking hold of the great earth, the invocation of the *vajra*-earth. "You Oh goddess, are the witness of the all the *Buddhas*, of the protectors, for

the specifications of proper practices, and for the perfections of the earth.”<sup>342</sup>

Śāstrī gives another short section of chapter 14:

And those (ye) who intensely control their breaths, eat fish, meat, etc., delight in liquor and beautiful women, who hold to the atheists’ vows, the men who are not consecrated, and who cause all sorts of mischief, who delight in the districts of villages, become perfected; there’s no doubt, according to the statement of Kṛṣṇa; now all these (te) *bodhisattvas*, beginning with *Maitreya*, having heard the etymology of the word *vajra* became, and remained satisfied.<sup>343</sup>

Chapter 15 is the practice of the *Vajra-anaṅga*, i.e., the thunderbolt-Kāma or the lightning-bolt god of love.<sup>344</sup> It begins:

And now I will explain the secret in summary, and not in detail. By knowing just this, one can attract the *Apsaras*. One should meditatively create the lightning-kāma, very attractive, with a yellow body, two arms, one face, with a bow and arrows in hand. One should meditate *Rati* (Kṛṣṇa’s wife) in the east, and in the south *Madanasundarī* (intoxikatingly beautiful), in the west *Kāmadevī*, and in the north *Madanotsukā* (She who is eager for sexual love). One should visualize the bow and arrow for all the goddesses of love; one should meditatively create them as yellow, red, black white and red. And in the corner one should always apply *Aniruddha* (Kṛṣṇa’s son), husband of *Uṣā* (the dawn).<sup>345</sup> In the door[s] and in the quarter[s] it is said there is Spring and Crocodile-bannered (*Kāma*); and it is said there is *Kandarpa* and *Darpaka* (two names of *Kāma*), and likewise *Bāṇāyudha* (armed with arrows = *Kāma*) is remembered. One should visualize in the head the Death Destroyer of all the gods; one should meditatively create lightning-Kāma situated at the tip of the mouth of women, [like] a bird, vibrating everywhere, produced from the *sītkāra mantra*.<sup>346</sup> Meditating on she who is longed for, who is agitated, who is piercing (?),<sup>347</sup> eager for ardent passion, who has fallen at one’s feet, enveloped in a red garment. And one should recite the *mantra* for her, “*omkāra*, not separated from heaven.” Then having given the *svāhā* at the end, one should utter the *sītkāra mantra*. “May this woman become subject to my will.” One should meditatively visualize [her] for seven days. The *yogī* will obtain the [woman] who is longed for, according to the statement of Kṛṣṇa.<sup>348</sup>

Chapter 16 is the *sādhana* of Heruka, chapter 17 is the recitation about *bodhicitta*, also called the *kathāpaṭala*, as is chapter 18. The closing colophon reads:

The king of the *guhyakas*, the leader of the lightning bolt-clan, endowed with the sap of the *nakaṭakā* (?), spoke this great royal tantra; it came out of *Oḍḍiyāna*, and is a complete extract from a one hundred and twenty-five thousand [verse text].<sup>349</sup>

#### 6.7. The *Catuṣpīṭha[nibandha]* tantra

A famous Buddhist tantra is the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra*, and we have several eleventh-century manuscripts of commentaries on this text, as well as a twelfth-century manuscript of the tantra. In his Nepal Durbar Library catalogue Śāstrī gives an extract from a *sādhana* text of this tantra entitled *Catuṣpīṭhanibandhaḥ*. The colophon providing the date reads:

The abbreviated *sādhana* of the *Catuṣpīṭha* is completed. It was written by Śākyabhikṣukumāra-candra while residing in the Śrīpadmacakra-mahāvihāra, commissioned by Śrīguṇakāmadeva, in the kingdom of Śrībhāskaradeva, on Friday, on the tenth day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa (July–August), *Saṃvat* 165, for the attainment of the ultimate fruit [by] mothers, fathers, gurus, teachers, dear friends, and all beings. The clan-son in the real.<sup>350</sup>

Nepal Samvat 165 = 1045 C.E. Petech dates Bhāskaradeva to 1043–1050, specifying this text's date as July 26th, 1045, and dates Guṇakāmadeva to 942–1008,<sup>351</sup> so it would appear that the text was begun during the earlier king's reign and took some forty years to complete. There are several texts from this tradition in the Tibetan catalogue. We find the *Śrīcatuḥ-pīṭha-mahā-yoginī-tantra-rāja* (Tohoku 428, 50 folios) translated by Gayadhara and ḥos Khug-pa Lhas-btsas; *Śrīcatuḥ-pīṭha-ākhyā-tantra-rāja-mantrāṃśa-nāma* (Tohoku 429, 29 folios) translated by Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes; and the *Śrī-catuh-pīṭha-vikhyāta-tantra-rāja-nāma* (Tohoku 430, 44 folios) translated by Smṛtijñānakīrti and revised by Bu-ston.<sup>352</sup> There are four *Śrī-catuh-pīṭha* commentaries in the Tibetan canon: 1) *-tantra-rāja-maṇḍala-vidhi-sāra-samuccaya* (Tohoku 1613, 25 folios) attributed to Āryadeva and translated by Gayadhara and Ḥgos-khugs-pa lhas-btsas;<sup>353</sup> 2) *-smṛti-nibhanda-nāma-ṭikā* (Tohoku 1607, 127 folios) by Bhavabhadra, translated by Gayadhara and Ḥgos;<sup>354</sup> 3) *-yoga-tantra-sādhana* (Tohoku 1610, nine folios) attributed to Āryadeva, translated by Kamalagupta and Rin-chen bzañ-po;<sup>355</sup> and 4) *-sādhana* (Tohoku 1616, five folios) written by Bhavabhadra, translated by Gayadhara and Ḥgos Lhas-btsas.<sup>356</sup> As Śāstrī notes, the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* is also mentioned in the second verse of the *Yogāmbara*

*Sādhana Tantra*: “This sincere propitiation, the brief good *sādhana* is stated by me on account of the request of the students, according to the rules [set out] in the *Catuṣpīṭha*.”<sup>357</sup> The extract (somewhat difficult to follow without the original text) reads:

So in the *Ātmapīṭha* section, the *ātma* of the wind, etc., principles is itself one’s own body, the *pīṭha*, the *āsana*, the basis; by this set of statements the wind, etc., principle is expressed, or is referred to. *Ātmapīṭha* [indicates that] the *ātma* is the *pīṭha*. Thus the first chapter in the *Ātmapīṭha* in the *Catuṣpīṭhanibandha*. Now he relates the chapter on the knowledge of time, and the illusion of that, etc. “Oh Bhagavān, I want to hear about the principle of knowledge, [its] domain [?], its removal etc.; we are this mark, the body (*aṅga*); hence the mark of death. How is the principle assembled? The principle of the *mantra*?” [Bhagavān answers]: “Listen to the teaching about the mark of the *vajra* great king, and the body. By the actions of emanation, etc., royally, thus the king. The *vajra* is the protector of *Akṣobhya*, the great king, so this is known as the *Vajra*-great king. The body is to be understood as the mark. You must listen next to the [state of] remaining (*sthitam*) that is like the time of death; it is known as what has penetrated the time of death—this is the sense. He stated the mark, the breaths, etc.”<sup>358</sup>

Śāstrī gives another extract from leaf 8A of the manuscript:

One should utter that, having created the previously described *maṇḍala-cakra* according to the rules and regulations for worship. One should offer worship with the collected *mudrās* and *mantras* as stated, “*Oṃ* you must make the great offering, *hum svāhā*.” Stretching out both hands, wiggling the middle fingers, at the time of the sacrifice into the fire, with the consort who is intoxicated by the offering at the time of the sacrifice, there is examination of the fire. If it indicates a bad omen, then “*vajra* you must become visible *hum svāhā*.” In the place where there is a bad omen, then one should offer ghee there one hundred and eight times, with quieting water from the *dravya*. Having offered the consecration [water] in the three, as before, the offering to the root-deity [*mūla-devatā-homaḥ*] is to be offered, according to the previously mentioned method. Having drawn [the deity] in with the breath, one should establish in one’s own body; releasing [it], it should become visible—this is the rule of the offering (*homa-vidhi*). [According to] the rules for the sacrifice, . . . [following (?)] the extended procedure, having performed the preparation (?) with various garments, one should create a square *maṇḍala* with white sandal, from the pitcher with the white powder. Having smeared the middle

vessel, filling it with shaving water and sandal, decorating it with blossoms, etc., offering a lac-reddened body in the form of eye-leaves (*dr̥ṣṭi-pattra-rūpakā-laktakāṅgam?*), reciting eight-times individually [the *mantra*] beginning with *Oṃ* and ending with *svāhā*, *hūṃ*, *hrūṃ*, *sum*, *kṣum*, *yuṃ*, *huṃ*, *strāṃ*, *stryām*, *kṣrām*, one should set up the eight pitchers in their appropriate places. And placing the large vessel in the middle, performing the entire *ātma*-yoga as previously stated, honoring the *ātman* (*ātmānaṃ pūjayitvā*), then one should begin that externally, “in the likeness of a lotus, *svāhā*,” cupping the hands in the shape of a lotus. Then one should see the lotus of the middle vessel, the *maṇḍala* with the moon, provided with a white parasol. Then one should meditate with the *hūṃkāra* there on the knowledge-woman, superintended by the *vajra-hūṃkāra*. One should meditate on she who is steadfast in the *sattva-paryāṅka*,<sup>359</sup> her two arms colored white, and on the *vajra* and stick on the left and right arms. That one is *Vajrī* in the east, *Ghorī* in the north,<sup>360</sup> *Vetālī* in the west,<sup>361</sup> and *Caṇḍālī* in the south.<sup>362</sup> In the northeast [she is] *Siṃhīnī*<sup>363</sup> in the southeast *Vyāghrī*.<sup>364</sup> In the northwest [she is] *Ulūkī*.<sup>365</sup> She is to be meditated upon as the previously stated ornament of wise men. And one should make the *mudrās* and *maṇḍalas* of these.<sup>366</sup> “Make that stay at the right time, *hūṃ phaṭ*.” Performing the *vajra-bandha*, extending the two index fingers, making the *cakra* and the knot, one should show [them?] to the community. One should worship as before, “*Oṃ hūṃ svāhā*.” Making two *vajra*-fists, one should place the left one on the heart, and the right one on the head; hence the *mantra* of the *mūla-bh[a]dra* (root-“dear”). And the *root-mantra*, having given also the water as desired, combined with *durva* sprouts, together with jasmine, etc., flowers; uttering that one *mantra*, performing the accompanying meditation, one should strike the *vajra* in the diadem of the goddess. One should offer the *ayutāpūrvam* (“ten-thousand unprecedented”?) substance. There will be whatever *siddhi* that is desired, long life, health, and growth. And at the end of the *homa* one should give the offering in the manner that was described. In the entire ritual, the *śukla* procedure is *sattvic* (?). One should make the eastern face peaceful. One should make the water that removes all misfortune, etc., and the state of peacefulness with a mind that has pacified the threatening one hundred bead garland. And the water, beginning “prosperity, *kṣa*, you must make the northern face the one that provides prosperity by honoring all that is yellow, [and] you must invite all wealth.” With a mind delighted by the permanence in the central channel of the hundred-bead garland and the one hundred eight-bead garland, one should make prosperity. By honoring all that is red in the *vajra* (subduing ritual), “you must bring the western face to me, you must

draw it from the directions,” etc. and the water. Placing the twenty-syllable garland in the fourth finger, one should perform the pacification [rite] with a protective mind. And in the incantation, with the *ka* service, “you must kill the southern face, you must expel it,” etc., and the water. With a rosary of sixty beads, with the continued presence of a young lady, with a mind filled with anger, one should conjure. [Thus] the subject matter of the offering, the *homa*, and the sacrifice is briefly written about according to the tradition of the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra*.<sup>367</sup>

Manuscript III.360.A in Śāstrī’s Durbar Library catalogue is another commentary on the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* entitled *Catuṣpīṭhśloka*, dated N.S. 132 = 1012 CE.<sup>368</sup> Śāstrī provides a short extract:

Homage to all the beautiful women. Honoring the five forms—the shining line of the new moon holding the sun, providing an image of the *Buddha*, Maitreya, and the beautiful young woman on his head, and Mañjughoṣa, the form of the stick arising from the lotus, the beautiful form of the diadem, the Vajra-possessor, the dreadful sound, the form of *vijñāna* and *jñāna*, destroying the fear of the world, this commentary is written because of the entreaty for the protection of the body. From the statement beginning “in this way the language” up to “they praised,” the rules for declension and gender, the compounds, etc., and the heavy and light syllables, caesuras, and meters etc. are to be employed as appropriate according to [their usage in] Āryadeśa. By what begins “in this way, knowing all the languages,” four meanings are indicated: the indicator and the manner of indication, the meaning to be indicated, [and] the place. Of these, the indicator is “knowing all.” “In this way” is the manner of indication. “Knowledge” is the meaning to be indicated. “The pure abode” is the place. When there is meaning in that sense, it is . . . the meaning “of the *Buddhas*.” Wherever there is “southern,” that itself is the meaning. “The covering with the *yoginīs* net”: the *yoginīs* are the perfection of wisdom, etc.; the net is the assemblage, as was previously stated. “In the *samapada*”<sup>369</sup> etc.: the foot is on the opposite big toe and toe, the feet are even in the nature of an embrace. And by contracting one of those feet, standing up vertically, or the *cittapadam* (?). One should make both hands, an external toe-ring, [and] the pair of knees like that. With the two forearms, the swan-wings position. Placing the right foot in the *maṇḍala* and the left foot on the ground, one sprinkles the water with the gesture of transcending the three worlds; hence the three steps (of *Viṣṇu-trivikramapadam*). One should step over the left foot with the right foot. Bending the left leg, one should stretch it out to the extent of five *vitastis*<sup>370</sup>—such is the *ālīḍha*.



For the *pratyālīḍha* here, bending the right leg, one should stretch out the left leg to the same extent.

One foot is raised up. One should not move it around. Hence, [keep it] in one place. Reclining in pleasure with a woman inspired by an amorous look, when moving the foot back and forth by various means, if at first one touches the parts of one's body with [her] foot that's moving back and forth, [then] squeezing [the foot] all over, and by means of pressing it onto the opposite thigh, because of that resting place, one should rest on what has been produced through prior effort; and so for both, i.e. for both feet of the *yoginī*. Or until the half-setting up, [i.e.,] making the sacrificial post. And he said; from one the knee is dulled from the three (?) that are applied to the knee. The pair of feet belonging to the seated man are placed on the opposite knees, paining the left side, and beating on the shaved head. Embracing the neck of *Prajñāpāramitā*, firmly in the noose-like arm of *Vajrasattva*, and placing that all around the goddess' lower leg, then joining together as the *samputa*,<sup>371</sup> it is said that there is liberation from the variety of *prāṇa* [flowing] through the woman's throat. So it was explained by Āryyadeva. "The sexual embracing of the pair," i.e., whence there is the commingling of wisdom and means; by activity subsequent to transmigration with regard to the constituent [common] to all sentient beings—this is the meaning. Having liberated the covering of the net of *yoginīs*, there is no further essence to *saṃsāra*. "And it is to be employed for liberation," i.e., one should do circumambulation. "And that particularly," i.e., because of using the word "particular," there is an abridgment in [one] word of what is stated in twelve-thousand [verses] in the *Kakṣaputa*, i.e. this is the *Kakṣaputa* in that sense. (Verse: —largely unintelligible) Bearing fire together (?) with the king, a beautiful woman with beautiful hands, | she who is the thunderbolt of the ocean of Indra, causing confusion among those terrified of hell and among the ascetics with matted hair you must make the four-fourfold-five mixture for the body | You are a young woman suitable to desire, pleasure with fangs (?) || Hence it is to be written down at the end of the *Kakṣaputa*.<sup>372</sup>

A manuscript of the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* is listed in Bendall's *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge*.<sup>373</sup> Written on palm leaf, from the twelfth century, it is divided into four *prakaraṇas*, the first (unnamed), the *ātmapīṭha*, the *parapīṭha*, the *yogapīṭha*, and the *guhyaṭha*. In the Asiatic Society of Bengal catalogue Śāstrī cites a twelfth-century manuscript of what appears to be a ritual

manual based on this text under the title *Catuṣpīṭhanibandhaḥ*, and gives the Sanskrit (with some ellipses) of the first leaf:

Homage to the three jewels. Paying homage to the truly terrifying lightning tongue, completely filling the entire mouth, I will explain [the goddess] whose garment is conducive to *sādhana*. The *mantra*-possessor who has attained the consecration, the proper learning, and has entered into the *maṇḍala* is to begin the procedure of *mantra*-recitation according to the rule described in the *Kalpa*, for the goddesses' ocean of perspiration. At first, to that extent, with the *mantra*-possessor's great effort . . . [in?] magical power, prognostication, etc. . . . for she who protects . . . | . . . not possessing an *ātman*, with the riches of a king, etc., with the mind determined upon the discipline of either achieving or requesting *siddhi*, the entire pair with *Viṣṇu* (?). With an unwearied mind engaged in purified external and internal practice, intent upon all the *dharma*-statements in the perfection of wisdom etc., on the mountains, in the gardens and parks, in the cremation grounds, the lotus-lakes, the rivers and on the river banks, in the monastic retreats, dwellings, and caves, etc., or in places pleasing to the mind, smearing oneself with mud or cow dung, etc., one should prepare the . . . ground. There is this sequence of procedures [to be followed]: at night, at the time of the end of the third [portion of the night], having arisen from sleeping, one should restore the non-existence at the end of everything to all the *Buddhas* and *bodhisattvas* situated at the end of the *dharmadhātu* in the space element that has three paths. Then one should pay homage to the self with the twelve-syllable *mantra* with the thumb-seal, [and] one should provide protection in the five places. Then one should go to the external place; at night one should face south; during the day, one should face north. Then, purified, one should perform the ablutions of the five limbs. Then, having provided the three water-offerings to the goddess, one should go to the temple. Having meditated on *bhagavatī* as non-existent in front of one of the polished images of the goddess in the disk that is sprinkled with flowers and properly anointed, wearing a red garment, supplied with all the sacrificial implements, facing to the west, etc., or facing north, one should honor all the living *Buddhas*, *bodhisattvas*, *pratyekabuddhas*, *āryaśrāvakas*, etc. residing in all the worldly realms. Then, having honored the *Bhagavatī*, having offered an *añjali* with one's head, one should say: "may the three jewels protect me; I confess all my sins; I delight in the merit of the world; I place my mind in the enlightenment of the *Buddhas*." Having made offering in that way, one should utter the purified *mantra*: "homage to the seven days, to all the *Buddhas*, Om, to all the purified *dharma*s. . . ." <sup>374</sup>

## 7. TEXTS CITED BY ABHAYĀKARAGUPTA NOT YET LOCATED IN SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS

There are a number of texts cited by Abhayākaragupta that survive in Tibetan translation, which I have not yet located in the Sanskrit manuscript catalogues. The originals of these texts may be lost, or they may simply be located elsewhere than where I was able to search.

### 7.1. The Trailokyavijayatantra

There are ten works of the *Trailokya* system in the Tohoku catalogue, three *Trailokyava-śaṃkara-lokeśvara-sādhana*s: 1) (Tohoku 3169, one folio), translated by in the early twelfth century<sup>375</sup> by Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan, 2) (Tohoku 3427, one folio) by Saraha, who may or may not be identical with Padmasambhava, and in any case must date to the eighth century, translated by Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan in the mid-fourteenth century;<sup>376</sup> and 3) (Tohoku 3428, one folio)<sup>377</sup> translated by the fourteenth-century Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan; a *Trailokyava-śaṃkara-ārya-bhugma-sādhana* (Tohoku 3436, two folios) by Śūnyatā-samādhi-vajrapāda (possibly from the ninth century),<sup>378</sup> translated in the fourteenth century by Gragas-pa rgyal-mtshan, and five *Trailokyavijaya* texts, 1) *-Nāma-vṛtti* (Tohoku 2509, 69 folios) by ṣa, probably the same as Muditaśrī, who dates to the early twelfth century,<sup>379</sup> translator unknown; 2) *-Maṇḍala-vidhy-ārya-tattva-saṃgraha-tantra-uddhṛta* (Tohoku 2519, 43 folios) by the Kāśmīri Ānanda-garbha (Kun-dgal? snin-po), translated by Rin chen bzañ-po (958–1055).<sup>380</sup> Ānandagarbha was responsible for the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha-sūtra* commentary called the *Tattva-saṃgraha-abhisamaya-nāma-tantra-vyākhyā Tattvālokarī nāma*, a commentary on the *Māyājāla-mahātantrarāja*, and edited a version of a long commentary (*Pañjikā*) on the *Guhyasamājatantra*; he also wrote two commentaries on the *Paramāditantra*, the *Vajra-dhātu-mahā-maṇḍala-upayikā* called *Sarva-vajra-udaya*, the *Vajra-sattva-sāadhanopāyikā*, and the *Vajra-sattva-udaya-nāma-sādhana-upayikā*, and a commentary on the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana* entitled the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-tejorājasya tathāgatasya ārhataḥ samyak-saṃbuddhasya nāma kalpa-ṭikā*. Unfortunately Naudou has no specific information on his dates;<sup>381</sup> we know however that Rin chen bzañ-po lived from the mid-tenth to mid-eleventh centuries,<sup>382</sup> so Ānandagarbha's works, and all the tantras he commented on, must predate the mid-tenth century; 3) *-Mahā-kalpa-rāja* (Tohoku 482, 48 folios) translated by Rin-chen bzañ-po or Rma dge blo, revised by Sha-lu-pa Yeśes rgya-mtsho; 4 and 5) two *-sādhana*s (Tohoku

3278, one folio) translated by Avhaya and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan, and (Tohoku 3624, one folio) translated in the fourteenth century by Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan;<sup>383</sup> and 6) *Trailokya-saṃkara-avalokiteśvara-sādhana* (Tohoku 3371, one folio) by Saraha, translated by Don-yod rdo-rje and Ba-ri.<sup>384</sup>

### 7.2. *The Mañju-vajra-maṇḍalaṭippanī*

There are four *Mañju-vajra* texts in the Tohoku catalogue, and though we don't have a translation of this particular text, or a date for one author, the late date of these translations suggest that this was a later, and perhaps less significant, development in the Buddhist tantric group: 1) *-Pūja-vidhi* (Tohoku 1902, one folio) written by Śrīdatta (Dpal sbyin), translated by Vibhūticandra (of the thirteenth century),<sup>385</sup> revised by Blo-gros seṅ-ge; 2) *-Sādhana* (3476) translated by Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (late thirteenth, early fourteenth century—a near contemporary of Bu-ston);<sup>386</sup> 3) *Siddha-eka-vīra-sādhana* (Tohoku 3322, one folio) translated by Ba-ri Dharmakīrti (Ba-ri Chos-kyi grags pa); and 4) *-Udaya-maṇḍala-vidhi-sarva-sattva-hitāvaha* (Tohoku 2590, 49 folios), translator unknown.<sup>387</sup>

### 7.3. *The Vajrāmṛtatantra*

There are four texts in the Tohoku catalogue from this tradition: 1) *Vajrāmṛta-tantra* (Tohoku 435, 11 folios) translated by Gyi Jo Zlabahi ḥod-zer, the Tibetan translator who worked with Bhadrabodhi (Naropa's student) to accomplish the first Tibetan translation of the *Kālacakrat Tantra* in 1027 C.E.;<sup>388</sup> 2) *Vajrāmṛta-tantra-ṭikā* (Tohoku 1650, 38 folios) by the Kaśmīri Guṇākaraśrībhadrā (c. 1075–1125 C.E.)<sup>389</sup> (Guṇabhadrā, Yon-tan bzañ-po), translated by Smṛtijñāna; 3) *Vajrāmṛta-pañjikā* (Tohoku 1649, 15 folios)<sup>390</sup> written by the thirteenth-century<sup>391</sup> Kaśmīri Vimalaśrībhadrā (Dri-med bzañ-po), translator unknown, revised by Rin-chen grub; and 4) *Vajrāmṛta-mahā-tantra-rāja-ṭikā* (Tohoku 1651, 51 folios) by Bhago, translated by Tārapāla and Chiñs Yon-tan ḥbar, revised by Śīla-guhya-vajra and Glog skya śes-rab brtsegs.<sup>392</sup>

### 7.4. *The Āmnāyamañjarī*

There are two texts that appear to be related to the *Āmnāyamañjarī* in the Tohoku Catalogue: 1) the *Āmnāya-viśeṣa* (Tohoku 3175, one folio) translated by Abhayākaragupta and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan; and 2) the *Āmnāyatantra* (Tohoku 3200, one folio) translated by Abhayākaragupta

and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan.<sup>393</sup> Abhayākaragupta himself helped translate the *Āmnāyatantra* into Tibetan.

#### 7.5. The *Buddhakaṇḍa-saṃbara-hevajra*

There are six *Buddhakaṇḍa* texts in the Tohoku Catalogue: 1) *Buddhakaṇḍa-tantra-tattva-cadrikā-pañjikā* (Tohoku 1653, 16 folios) by Padmavajra (perhaps the same as Padmākara and Padmasambhava, listed in Tohoku as Padma rdo-rje), translated by Din-ri Chos-grags (?) who postdates Abhayākaragupta, and revised by Blo-gros brtan-pa; 2) *-Tantra-pañjikā-jñānavatī* (Tohoku 1652, 46 folios) by Saraha (perhaps a contemporary of Padmasambhava, perhaps even a bit earlier), translated by Gayadhara and Jo Zla-baḥi ḥod-zer; 3) *-Nāma-yoginī-tantra-rāja* (Tohoku 424, 24 folios) translated by Śrīgayadhara and Jo Zla-baḥi ḥod zer; 4) *-Maṇḍala-vidhi-krama-pradyotana* (Tohoku 1657, 13 folios) by Saraha, translated by Gayadhara and Jo Zla-baḥi ḥod-zer; 5) *-Mahā-tantra-rāja-ṭikā-ubhaya-paddhati* (Tohoku 1654, 59 folios) by Abhayākaragupta, translated by Diñ-ri Chos-grags (?), revised by Blo-grso brtan-pa; and 6), the *Buddhakaṇḍa-sādhana* (Tohoku 1655, four folios) by Saraha, translated by Gayadhara and Jo Zla-baḥi ḥod-zer.

#### 7.6. The *Yoginī-saṅcāra-tantra*

There are two texts from this tradition in the Tohoku catalogue: 1) *Yoginīsaṅcārya* (Tohoku 375, ten folios) translated by Ḥgos lhas-btsas, and 2) *Yoginī-saṅcārya-nibandha* (Tohoku 1422, 19 folios) by Tathāgatarakṣita, translated by Tathāgatarakṣita and Rin-chen grags.<sup>394</sup>

#### 7.7. The *Padmasupratīṣṭhitatantra*

There is no text called the *Padmasupratīṣṭhitatantra* in the Tohoku Catalogue. There are five called the *Padmanarteśvarasādhana* (Tohoku 3160, 3161, 3335, 3423, 3424) and one called the *Padmajālodbhavasādhana*, as well as a *Padmanarteśvarī-guhyārtha-dharavyūha* (Tohoku 1667), and a *Padmamukūṭatamra* (Tohoku 701, seven folios) translated by Dharmaśrīmitra and Chos-kyi bzañ-po.<sup>395</sup>

#### 7.8. The *Vajraśekhara-tantra*

This text is listed in Tohoku Catalogue as the *Vajra-śekhara-mahā-guhyā-yoga-tantra* (Tohoku 480, 132 folios), translated by Karmavajra and Gshun-nu tshul-khrims.<sup>396</sup>

### 7.9. The *Subāhupariṣcchā*

There are five *Subāhupariṣcchā*- texts in the Tohoku Catalogue: 1 and 2), *Subāhupariṣcchā* (Tohoku 79; this is an erroneous listing—Tohoku 79 is the *Ārya-acintya-buddha-viṣaya-nirdeśa-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra*) and (Tohoku 805, 22 folios), translator unknown; 3) the *Subāhupariṣcchā-nāma-tantra-piṇḍa-artha* (Tohoku 2671, 16 folios) written by Saṅs-ryas gsañ-ba, translator unknown; 4) the *Subāhupariṣcchā-nāma-tantra-piṇḍa-artha-vṛtti* (Tohoku 2673, 16 folios) translator unknown; and 5) the *Subāhupariṣcchā-sūtra-udbhava-praṇidhāna* (Tohoku 4381, one folio), translator unknown.<sup>397</sup>

### 7.10. The *Ānanadagarbha*

There is one text of this tradition in the Tibetan canon, the *Ārya-Ānada-garbha-avakrānti-nirdeśa* (Tohoku 57, 11 folios, in the *Dkon-bnsegs* section of the canon). No Sanskrit or Tibetan author or translator's name is listed (I cannot read the Japanese note in the catalogue).

## 8. CONCLUSION

As we look back through the telescope of time into the history of the Buddhist tantric tradition, we can see very clearly through the second millennium C.E., thanks to the systematic preservation of and commentaries on the canonical Buddhist tantras by the Tibetans. This clear view takes us back to the time of Abhayākaragupta in the late eleventh to early twelfth centuries, and the traceable citations of Buddhist tantric texts in his works, particularly the *Vajrāvalī* and also the *Sāadhanamālā*. With careful and diligent tracing, and thanks largely to the work of Naudou, with some help from Tucci, Chandra, and others, we can trace the probable time periods of many of the authors of the original commentaries on the Sanskrit tantras who lived in India (and, it seems, mostly northern India) during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Things become murkier when we push back further in time, as we are faced with the names of some of the Mahāsiddhas who wrote commentaries and who are largely of uncertain date, though by general consensus most lived in the eighth to eleventh centuries. There are very few commentaries by Indrabhūti and Padmasambhava that may possibly predate the eighth century by several decades. At that point the trail peters out, and we do not have any reliable dates for earlier Buddhist tantric texts.

In examining the Vaipulya sūtra classifications of the *Āryamañjuśrī-mūlakalpa Mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtra*, and the *Tathāgataguhyaka-vaipulya-sūtra*, along with Chandra's notice of the Vaipulya sūtra classifications of early tantras in the Chinese canon, we have good indications that the tantric tenets, practices, and texts absorbed into the Buddhist canon were apparently integrated into the Vaipulya-class literature before texts self-identified as tantras were officially made part of the canon. With canonical acceptance, and subsequent systematization, classification, and commentarial literature, we find that there was a substantial number of different tantras and commentaries circulating in India for several hundred years before Buddhism was driven out of India and the Buddhists took their material for refuge into Nepal and Tibet.

Fortunately, a considerable amount of very early Sanskrit material survives in the Nepali and Bengali libraries, where it must have been preserved by particularly wily librarians who managed to secure the heretical Buddhist tantric manuscripts among the larger corpus of venerable Sanskrit works. For future research projects, this essay has provided a substantial introduction to the surviving Sanskrit Buddhist tantric literature, which should prove valuable in the longer-term project of clarifying the history of the tantric traditions.

#### APPENDIX CHAPTER COLOPHONS OF THE ĀRYAMAÑJUŚRĪMŪLAKALPA

The full title is the *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakā Mahāyāna-vaipulya-sutrā Āryamañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpāḥ*, “Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Glorious Mañjuśrī's Basic Manual.” The fifty-five chapter colophons essentially provide a table of contents for the text, giving a skeleton idea of the material to be found within.

Chapter 1: *Mahāyāna-mantra-caryā-nirdeśya-mahākālpāt mañjuśrī-kumāra-bhūta-bodhisattva-vikurvaṇa-paṭala-visarāt mūla-kalpāt prathamah sannipāta-parivartaḥ* (pp. 1–25). From the great Manual teaching the usage of the Mahāyāna *mantras*, the revelation that is the chapter on the transformation of the bodhisattva who became the son of Mañjuśrī, that is the Basic Manual, the first chapter on *Sannipāta* (the Encounter).

Chapter 2: *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakān mahā-kalpa-rajendrān mañjuśrī-kumāra-bhūta-vikurvaṇāt bodhisattva-paṭala-visarād dvitīyaḥ*



*maṇḍala-vidhi-nirdeśa-parivartaḥ samāpta iti* (pp. 25–52). From the Ornament of the Bodhisattva “Basket,” the great sovereign manual, with abundant chapters on the Bodhisattva who transformed himself into the son of Mañjuśrī, the second chapter is completed, [giving] instruction on the rules about the *maṇḍala*.

Chapter 3: *Iti bodhisattva-paṭala-visarā[n]mañjuśrī-kumāra-bhūta-mūla-kalpāt tṛtīyo maṇḍala-vidhāna-parivartaḥ* (pp. 53–54). Hence from the basic manual about [the bodhisattva] who became Mañjuśrī’s son, the revelation that is the chapter about the bodhisattva, the third chapter on the ritual procedures with the *maṇḍala*.

Section A: (A1) Chapter 4: *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakān mahāyāna-sutrān mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpāc caturthaḥ | Prathama-paṭa-vidhāna-visaraḥ parisamāptaḥ ||* (pp. 55–67). The fourth [chapter] from the Ornament of the Bodhisattva “Basket,” the Mahāyāna sūtra, the basic manual of Mañjuśrī. Hence the first chapter of the revelations on the ritual procedures.

(A2) Chapter 5: *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sutrād ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpāt pañcama-paṭala-visaraḥ | Dvitiyaḥ paṭa-vidhāna-visaraḥ samāptaḥ ||* (pp. 68–70). The fifth revelatory chapter from the Ornament of the Bodhisattva “Basket,” the Mahāyāna sūtra that is the basic manual of the glorious Mañjuśrī, the second revelatory chapter on ritual procedure is completed.

(A3) Chapter 6: *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sutrād mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpāt ṣaṣṭhaḥ paṭala-visaraḥ | Tṛtīyaḥ kanyasa-paṭa-vidhānaḥ parisamāpta iti ||* (pp. 71–72). The sixth revelatory chapter from Mañjuśrī’s basic manual that is the Mahāyāna Vaipulya sūtra, the ornament of the Bodhisattva “Basket.” Thus the third chapter on the ritual procedures for the younger brother.

(A4) Chapter 7: *Bodhisattva-piṭakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sutrād ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūlakalpāt saptaṃ paṭala-visarāt caturthaḥ paṭa-vidhāna-paṭala-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti ||* (pp. 73–77). The seventh revelatory chapter from the glorious Mañjuśrī’s basic manual, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the [ornament of] the Bodhisattva Basket.

Section B: (B1) Chapter 8: *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād aṣṭama uttama-sādhana-upayika-karma-pañcāla-visarāt prathamah samāpta iti* || (pp. 78–80). The eighth revelatory chapter, being the first on the highest practice, method, and action, from the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Ornament of the Bodhisattva Basket, is completed.

(B2) Chapter 9: *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakād Mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād āryamañjuśrī-mūlakalpān navama-pañcāla-visarād, dvitīyah, uttama-sādhana-upayika-karma-pañcāla-visarāḥ parisamāpta iti* || (pp. 81–84). From the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, the ninth revelatory chapter, being the second one on the highest practice, method, and action, is completed.

(B3) Chapter 10: *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakād mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād āryamañjuśrīya-mūlakalpād daśamah uttama-pañcāla-vidhāna-pañcāla-visarāḥ parisamāptaḥ* || (pp. 85–92). From the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, the tenth revelatory chapter being the chapter on the highest ritual procedure.

(B4) Chapter 11: *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ārya-mañjuśrī-mūlakalpād ekādaśama-pañcāla-visarāc caturthaḥ sādhanā-upāyika-karma-sthāna-japa-niyama-homa-dhyāna-śaucācāra-sarva-karma-vidhi-sādhana-pañcāla-visarāḥ samāpta iti* | (pp. 91–117). From the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, from the eleventh revelatory chapter, the fourth long chapter on all the actions, rules, and procedures, i.e., the practice, method, action, position, *mantra*-recitation, disciplinary rules, offering, meditation, ethical behavior, is completed.

Chapter 12: *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ārya-mañjuśrī-mūlakalpād madhyama-pañcāla-vidhāna-visarād dvādaśamah, akṣa-sūtra-vidhi-pañcāla-visarāḥ parisamāpta iti* || (pp. 92–122). From the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, the twelfth revelatory chapter on the rules about the rosary beads, from the long chapter about the intermediate ritual procedures.

Chapter 13: *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād āryamañjuśrī-mūla-kalpāt trayodaśama-ṣaṭa-visaraḥ parisamāptam iti* || (pp. 123–128). From the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, the thirteenth long chapter is completed.

Chapter 14: *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād āryamañjuśrī-mūlakalpāt caturdaśamaḥ cakṛa-vartti-ṣaṭala-vidhāna-maṇḍala-sādhana-upayika-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* || (pp. 129–144). From the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, the fourteenth chapter on the world sovereign and the revelation on the ritual procedures, the *maṇḍala*, the practice, and the method, is completed.

From Chapter 15 onward, the text renumbers the chapters: Chapter 15 is 13, Chapter 16 is 14, and so on. The renumbered chapter numbers appear in parentheses following the chapter numbers.

Chapter 15 (13): *Āryamañjuśrīya-mūlakalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād trayodaśamaḥ sarva-karma-kriyārthaḥ ṣaṭala-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* || (pp. 145–165). From the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, the thirteenth revelatory chapter on the objective of all the actions and ritual performances, is completed.

Chapter 16 (14): *Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūlakalpān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād caturdaśamati gātha-ṣaṭala-nirdeśa-visaraḥ parisamāptam iii | i* (pp. 146–168). From the Glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the fourteenth long chapter [giving] instruction on the *gāthās* (songs), is completed.

Section C: (C1) Chapter 17 (15): *Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭakāvatamsakāt mahāyāna-vaipulyasūtrād pañcadaśamaḥ karma-sva-kalpa-pratyaya-ṣaṭala-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* || (pp. 169–172), From the Glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the fifteenth revelatory chapter on faith in the ritual practices of one's own manual.

(C2) Chapter 18 (16): *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūlakalpāt ṣoḍaśa-ṣaṭala-visarād dvitīyo*

*graha-nakṣatra-lakṣaṇa-kṣetra-jyotiya-jñāna-parivarta-pāṭala-visaraḥ* (pp. 173–180). From the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, from the sixteenth revelatory chapter, the second revelatory chapter mastering astronomical knowledge about the location and characteristics of the planets and the *nakṣatras*.

(C3) Chapter 19 (17): *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūlakalpāt saptadaśamaḥ pāṭala-visarāt tṛtīyo jyotiṣa-jñāna-pāṭala-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* | (pp. 181–194). From the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, the seventeenth revelatory chapter, being the third revelatory chapter on astronomical knowledge, is completed.

(C4) Chapter 20 (18): *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūlakalpāc caturtho nimitta-jñāna-mahotpāda-pāṭala-parivartaḥ parisamāpta iti* | (pp. 195–217). From the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, the fourth chapter on mastering the great [dependent] origination knowledge about the causes [of suffering], is completed.

(C5) Chapter 21 (19): *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ārya-mañjuśrī-mūlakalpād ek[o]naviṃśati-pāṭala-visarāt pañcamah graha-utpāda-niyama-nimitta-mantra-kriyā-nideśa-parivarta-pāṭala-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* || (pp. 218–228). From the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, from the nineteenth revelatory chapter, the fifth revelatory chapter on mastering the instructions about the planets, origination, discipline, causes, mantras, and ritual activity, is completed.

Chapter 22 (20): *Mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakād āryamañjuśrī-mūlakalpād viṃśatimaḥ sarva-bhūta-ruta-jñāna-nimitta-śakuna-nirdeśa-parivarta-pāṭala-visaraḥ parisamāptam iti* || (pp. 229–252). Thus from the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, the twentieth long chapter that is the section of instructions about omens and about the causes [behind] the knowledge of the cries of all living creatures (i.e., learning how to understand the “speech” of animals).

Chapter 23 (21): *Mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatama-sakād ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpāt ekaviṃśatitamaḥ śabda-jñāna-gaṇanā-nāma-nirdeśa-parivarta-pāṭala-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* || (pp. 253–263). The long chapter that is the section on the instruction called calculations and the knowledge of sounds.

Chapter 24 (22): *Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād dvāviṃśatitama[h] nimitta-jñāna-jyotiṣa-pāṭala-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* || (pp. 264–283). The long chapter on astronomy and the knowledge of causes.

Chapter 25 (23): *Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād trayaviṃśatitamaḥ ekākṣara-cakra-varty-udbhava-pāṭala-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* || (pp. 284–288). The long chapter on the arising of the One Syllable (or One Indestructible) Cakravartin.

Chapter 26 (24): *Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād caturviṃśatitamaḥ ekākṣara-cakra-varti-karma-vidhi-paṭa-nirdeśa-pāṭala-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* || (pp. 289–300). The long chapter of instruction about activity, rite, and ritual image of the Single Syllable (or One Indestructible) Cakravartin.

Chapter 27 (25): *Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād pañcaviṃśatitamaḥ ekākṣara-mūla-mantra ārya-mañjuśrī-hṛdaya-kalpa-paṭa-vidhāna-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* || (pp. 301–310). The long chapter about the procedure of [making] the painting [and the mantra-]kalpa that is the heart of Mañjuśrī, the root-mantra of the Single Syllable (or One Indestructible Cakravartin).

Chapter 28 (26): *Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ṣaḍviṃśatitamaḥ karma-vidhāna-ārya-mañjuśrīya-parivartta-pāṭala-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* ||. [Chapter divided into six sections with sub-colophons]: a) *paṭa-vidhānaṃ samāptam*; b1) *paṭa-vidhānasya-artarikarmmaḥ*; b2) *dvitīyaḥ paṭa-vidhānaḥ samāptam*; c) *trītyaṃ vidhānam*; d) *caturthaṃ vidhānam*; e) *pañcamah paṭa-vidhānam*; f) *ṣaṣṭho vidhānaḥ* (pp. 311–321). The long chapter that is the Āryamañjuśrī version of the ritual procedure and activities: a) the complete procedure [for making the image]; b1) the difficult part of

the procedure [for making the image; b2) the complete second procedure for making the image; c) the third procedure; d) the fourth procedure; e) the fifth procedure; f) the sixth procedure.

Chapter 29 (27): *Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt saptaviṃśatimaḥ mañjuśrī-ṣaṭ-vidhāna-parivarta-karma-vidhiḥ saptamaka-ṣaṭāla-visaraḥ parisamāptam iti ||*. One subsection, *ayaṃ prathamāḥ kalpaḥ |* (pp. 322–324). The rules of performance in the section on the procedure for making the image of Mañjuśrī.

Chapter 30 (28): *Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt aṣṭaviṃśatimaḥ kṣetra-kāla-vidhi-niyama-ṣaṭāla-visaraḥ parisamāptam iti ||* (pp. 324–328). The long chapter on the restrictions of the rules as to time and place.

Chapter 31 (29): *Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakā[n] mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt ekona-triṃśatimaḥ āviṣṭa-ceṣṭa-vidhi-parivarta-ṣaṭāla-visaraḥ parisamāptaḥ iti ||* (pp. 329–334). The chapter on the image with the section on the rules for the one whose body has been entered [by the deity].

Chapter 32 (30): *Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt triṃśatimaḥ vidhi-niyama-kāla-ṣaṭāla-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti ||* (pp. 335–338). The long chapter on the time restrictions for the rules.

Chapter 33 (31): *Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakā[n] mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt ekatriṃśatimaḥ kama-kriyā-vidhi-nimitta-jñāna-nirdeśa-ṣaṭāla-visaraḥ parisamāptaḥ ||* (pp. 339–349). The long chapter of the instructions about knowledge and the reasons for the rules about ritual action and procedure.

Chapter 34 (32): *Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt dvātriṃśatimaḥ, mudrā-codana-vidhi-mañjuśrī-paripṛccha-nirdeśa-parivartaḥ ṣaṭāla-visaraḥ parisamāptaḥ ||* (pp. 350–354). The long chapter that is the section on the instruction about the request to Mañjuśrī and the rules about the invitation to the consort (or the rules about the general *mudrā* injunctions).

Chapter 35 (33): *Ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatam-sakā[n] mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt trayāḥ triṃśatimaḥ mudrā-vidhi-ṣaṭṭha-visaraḥ parisamāptam iti ||* (pp. 355–381). The long chapter on the rules about the consort (or about the *mudrā*).

Chapter 36 (34): *Ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatam-sakā[n] mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt catuḥ-triṃśatimaḥ dvitīya-mudrā-vidhi-ṣaṭṭha-visaraḥ parisamāptam iti ||* (pp. 382–383). (Then there's another section to the chapter, with the editor's remark: *Etad-granthānte 'ntimasya ṣaṭṭha-visarasya tripanāśanamasya samāptyanantaram mahāmudrā-ṣaṭṭha-visaro nāma kaścid aparaś catuḥtriṃśatimaḥ ṣaṭṭha-visaro likhita upalabhyate / sa gatasya catuḥtriṃśatimasyaiva prakārebhedo bhavitum arhati ity atah kāraṇād ihaiva yojyate /*.) Then after more of the chapter, the colophon, *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakāt ārya-mañjuśriya-mūlakalpāt catuḥtriṃśatimaḥ mahāmudrā-ṣaṭṭha-visaraḥ parisamāptam iti |* (pp. 384–411). The second long chapter on the rules about the consort or *mudra*. (Editor's remark: Immediately following the end of the just-preceding thirty-fifth chapter, in this text, there is found another long chapter called the Long Chapter on the *Mahāmudrā*. It should be considered a separate section from the preceding thirty-fourth chapter. For that reason it is appended here to this one.) Second colophon: The complete long chapter on the *Mahāmudrā*.

Chapter 37 (35): *Ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatam-sakāt[n] mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt pañcatriṃśatimaḥ mantra-mudrā-niyama-karma-vidhi-ṣaṭṭha-visaraḥ parisamāptam iti ||* (pp. 412–428). The complete long chapter on the rules of action, and the restrictions for the mantras and the consort (or the *mudrā*).

Chapter 38 (36): *Ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatam-sakāt[n] mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt ṣaṭtriṃśatimaḥ mudrā-maṇḍala-tantra-sarva-karma-vidhi-ṣaṭṭha-visaraḥ parisamāptam iti |* (pp. 429–433). The complete long chapter on the all the rules of action for the consort, for the *maṇḍalas*, and for the Tantra.

Section D1: Chapter 39 (37): *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpāt saptatriṃśatimaḥ mahā-kalpa-rāja-ṣaṭṭha-visarād uttama-sādhanaṣṭayika-sarva-karma-artha-sādhana-tattveṣu prathamāḥ dhyāna-ṣaṭṭha-visaraḥ parisamāptam iti |* (pp. 434–440).



The first complete long chapter on meditation, among the principles of the practice for all activity and all objectives as the means to the ultimate practice.

Section D2: Chapter 40 (38): *Iti bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād aṣṭatrimśatimaḥ mahā-kalpa-rāja-ṣaḍaṅga-visarād dvitīya-sarva-loka-tattva-artha-tāra-kriḍā-vidhi-sādhana-upayika-sarva-karma-dhyāna-ṣaḍaṅga-nirdeśaḥ parivartaḥ samāptaḥ* | (pp. 441–459). The second section of the chapter on the instruction about meditation on all activity as the means for playing with the stars for the purpose of all the principles of the universe.

Chapter 41 (39): *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād ekona-catvāriṃśatimo garuḍa-ṣaḍaṅga-parivartaḥ* | (pp. 460–469). The chapter on Garuḍa.

Chapter 42 (40): *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakāt mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpāt catvāriṃśatimaḥ mahākalpa-rāja-visarād sarva-karma-sādhana-upayikaḥ parisamāpta iti* | (pp. 470–474). The method for the practice with all activity.

Four Chapters on the *mahā-mudrā*: Chapter 43 (41): *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpāt eka-catvāriṃśatimaḥ ṣaḍaṅga-visarād dvitīyaḥ sarva-karma-uttama-sādhana-upayikaḥ mahā-mudrā-ṣaḍaṅga-visarād parisamāpta iti* || (pp. 475–477). The complete long chapter on the *Mahāmudrā* as the means to the ultimate practice with all activity.

Chapter 44 (42): *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpāt dvicatvāriṃśatimaḥ mahā-mudrā-ṣaḍaṅga-visarād parisamāpta iti* || (pp. 478–490). The complete long chapter on the *Mahāmudrā*.

Chapter 45 (43): *Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpāt bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād Sarva-tathāgata-acintya-dharma-dhātu-mudrā-mudritā tricvatvāriṃśatimaḥ sva-caturtho mudrā-ṣaḍaṅga-visarād* || (pp. 491–511). The thirty-third that is itself the fourth chapter on the *mudrā*, sealed by the consort of the inconceivable dharma-realm of all the Tathāgatas.

Chapter 46 (44): *Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpāt bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamaṣakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt catuṣcatvāriṃśatimaḥ mahā-mudrā-ṣaṭpāṭala-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* / (pp. 512–513). The complete long chapter on the Mahāmudrā.

Chapter 47 (45): *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamaṣakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpāt pañcacaṭvāriṃśatimaḥ ṣaṭpāṭala-visarāt prathamāḥ catur-bhaginī-maṇḍalam anupraveśa-samaya-guhyatama-ṣaṭpāṭala-visaraḥ pari-samāpta iti* / (pp. 514–527). The chapter of the maṇḍala of the four bhaginīs: the first complete long chapter for the one who will enter the most secret communion—the maṇḍala of the four actual tantric consorts.

Chapter 48 (46): *Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpāt bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamaṣakāt mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt ṣaṭcatvāriṃśatimaḥ ṣaṭpāṭala-visarād dvitīya-sādhana-upayika-maṇḍala-praveśa-anuvidhiḥ catuḥkama-rya-ṣaṭpāṭala-visaraḥ parisamāptam iti* / (pp. 528–541). The chapter about the four kumārīs and the rules for entering their maṇḍala: the complete long chapter on the four young women, [and] the subrule about entering the maṇḍala as the method of practice.

Chapter 49 (47): *Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpāt bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamaṣakāt mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt sapta-catvāriṃśatimaḥ ṣaṭpāṭala-visarāt tṛtīyaḥ catuḥ-kumārya-upayika-sarva-sādhana-japa-niyama-mudrā-ośadhi-tantra-mantra-sarva-karma-ṣaṭpāṭala-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* // (pp. 542–543). The complete long chapter on all the activities with the consorts, the herbs, the tantras, and the mantras, and the restrictions about recitation, and all the means that constitute the method with the four young women.

Chapter 50 (48): *Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamaṣakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt aṣṭa-catvāriṃśatimaḥ Yamantaka-krodha-rāja-parivarṇa-mantra-mahātmya-niyama-ṣaṭpāṭala-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* // (pp. 542–551). The long chapter on the restrictions about the divine power of the mantra that is the spectrum of the fierce king Yamāntaka.

Chapter 51 (49): *Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamaṣakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ekūna-pañcāśatimaḥ Yamānta-krodha-rāja-abhicāruka-niyamaḥ dvitīyaḥ ṣaṭpāṭala-visaraḥ parisamāptaḥ* / (pp.

552–558) (*abhicāraka* = conjuring). The second long chapter for conjuring up the fierce king Yamāntaka.

Chapter 52 (50): *Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt pañcāśatimaḥ Yamāntaka-krodharājā-sarva-vidhi-niyamaḥ tṛtīyaḥ paṭala-visaraḥ pari-samāpta iti* || (pp. 559–578). The third complete long chapter on the restrictions to all the rules about the fierce king Yamāntaka.

Chapter 53 (51): *Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt paṭala-visarāt eka-pañcāśa-rāja-vyākaraṇa-parivartaḥ parisamāpta iti* | (pp. 579–656). The section on the prophecy of the kings.

Chapter 54 (50): *Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avataṃsakāt mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt pañcāśatimaḥ anuśaṃsā-vigarhaṇa-prabhāva-paṭala-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* | (pp. 657–667) (praise and blame-arising). The complete long chapter on the occurrence of praise and blame.

Chapter 55 (53): *Mahā-kalpa-rājāt ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpāt (pañca-pañcāśattamo) Hema-sādhana-paṭalaḥ visaraḥ parisaraḥ parisamāptaḥ || Parisamāptaś ca yathā-labdham Ārya-mañjuśrīyasya kalpam iti || Svasti śrī-rāja-maṅgalakāvasthitena mārgaśīrṣaśuklā . . . padānakṣatre śiṃhasthe 'pi gurau mañjuśrīkalpaṃ samāptam iti | Śrīmūla-ghoṣa-vihāra-adhipatinā Śrībo . . . madhyadeśād vinirgatena paṇḍita-ravi-candreṇa likhitam iti* | (pp. 668–722). The complete long chapter on the preparation of gold. Final colophon: “The bright half of Mārgaśīrṣa (November–December), when Jupiter is in Leo, in (either) the 25th *nakṣatra* (*Pūrvabhādrapada* 320; or the 26th *nakṣatra*, *Uttarabhādrapada* 333:20), on Tuesday, the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* was finished. It was written down by the Pandit Ravi Candra who came from Madhyadeśa, and who was the head of the Mūlaghoṣa *vihāra*.”

#### NOTES

1. I've found that most of the Indian University and Research Institute catalogues simply list the names of the texts, sometimes the number of leaves, and sometimes the dates. Most contain no extracts, or even colophons.
2. More research needs to be done on the rest of the colophonic information in

the Tibetan translations of Sanskrit tantric works, especially correlating all the information in these colophons with Naudou's work. The same comprehensive study remains to be done of colophon information in the Chinese translations of the texts from Sanskrit that called themselves *tantras*. These two tasks must be completed before more definitive data on what texts were written when, where, and by whom will be possible.

3. Sum-pa mkhan-po ye'-śes dpal-'byor's *Dpag bsam ljon-bzang*, written in 1748 (Jean Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr* [Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 1980], p. 15).

4. The *Bod-kyi yul-du chos-dang chos-smra-ba Ji-ltar byung-ba'i rim-pa, Deb-ther sngon-po*, "The Blue Annals, the Stages of the Appearance of the Doctrine and Preachers in the Land of Tibet," written between 1476 and 1478 (George Roerich, *The Blue Annals, Parts 1 and 2* [Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976, reprint], p. i).

5. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, pp. 15–16.

6. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, p. 20.

7. See Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, pp. 10–11.

8. Samdhong Rinpoche and Dwivedi Vrajavallabha, *Jñānodaya Tantra*, Rare Buddhist Text Series 2 (Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1988).

9. Samdhong Rinpoche and Dwivedi Vrajavallabha, *Dākinījālasaṃvararahasyam*, Rare Buddhist Text Series 8 (Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1990).

10. Samdhong Rinpoche and Dwivedi Vrajavallabha, *Mahāmāyatantram*, Rare Buddhist Text Series 10 (Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1992).

11. William Stablein mentions that there are eighty-two commentarial texts to this tradition (*The Mahākālatantra: A Theory of Ritual Blessing and Tantric Medicine*, Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1976, p. 9).

12 John R. Newman, *The Outer Wheel of Time: Vajrayana Buddhist Chronology in the Kālacakra Tantra* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI, 1987); and Vesna Acimovic Wallace, *The Inner Kālacakratāntra: A Buddhist Tantric View of the Individual* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1995). Wallace's work was subsequently published in the Treasury of Buddhist Sciences series, Tengyur Translation Initiative, by the American Institute of Buddhist Studies, copublished with the Columbia Center for Buddhist Studies and Tibet House, USA.

13. It is not really necessary—nor would it be reasonable given the focus of this essay—to engage here in an extended discussion of Tibetan classification schemes. Nor is it necessary to repeat the lists of Buddhist Sanskrit tantric works that were translated in Tibetan. Lists of such works can be readily found

in several sources; see, for example: Hakuji Ui, Munetada Suzuki, Yensho Kanakura, and Tokan Tada, eds., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon (Bkab-hgyur and Bstan-bgyur)* (Sendai, Japan: Tohoku Imperial University and Saito Gratitude Foundation, 1934); the Index of Works cited in Ferdinand D. Lessing and Alex Wayman's translation, *Mkhas Grub Rje's Fundamentals of Buddhist Tantras* (The Hague: Mouton, 1968); the Bibliography of Tibetan commentaries and translations from Sanskrit in Glenn H. Mullin's *The Practice of Kālacakra* (Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 1991), etc.

14. Commentary on KCT 5.243: *Tantrottaram vai sakalam avikalam tantrarājaṃ loka-tantrāt kriyātantrāt lokottarād yogatantrāt tābhyām uttaram lokottaram | śrīmat-tantra-ādibuddhaṃ paramajinapater jñāna-kāyasya saḥajasya abhi-dhānaṃ vācakam ||* (Samdhong Rinpoche, chief ed., Vrajavallabh Dwivedi and S. S. Bahulkar, eds., *Vimalaprābhāṭikā of Kalkin Śrī Pundarīka on Śrī Laghukālacakratantrarāja* by Śrī Manjuśrīyaśas [Sarnath and Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1994], vol. 3, pp. 151.1–3).

15. *Dhāraṇī-saṃgraha*, twenty-three *Pañcarakṣā* texts, and the seven *Saptavāra* texts.

16. One hundred and five texts (Keisho Tsukamoto, Yukei Matsunaga, and Hirofumi Isoda, eds., *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature* [Kyoto: Heirakuji-Shoten, 1989], vol. IV: *The Buddhist Tantra*, pp. 68–119).

17. Forty-nine texts (Tsukamoto, et al., *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, vol. IV, pp. 120–146).

18. Six texts (Tsukamoto, et al., *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, vol. IV, pp. 146–149).

19. Two texts (Tsukamoto, et al., *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, vol. IV, pp. 149–150).

20. One hundred and seventy-one texts, mostly *dhāraṇīs* (Tsukamoto, et al., *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, vol. IV, pp. 150–175).

21. Tsukamoto, et al., *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, vol. IV, pp. 75–79.

22. Tsukamoto, et al., *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, vol. IV, p. 142.

23. Tsukamoto, et al., *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, vol. IV, p. 146.

24. Tsukamoto, et al., *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, vol. IV, pp. 179–186.

25. Tsukamoto, et al., *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, vol. IV, pp. 187–226.

26. Forty-two texts (Tsukamoto, et al., *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, vol. IV, pp. 227–250).
27. Two hundred and two texts (Tsukamoto, et al., *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, vol. IV, pp. 251–332).
28. *Kālacakra-anusāri-gaṇita*, *Bhagavataḥ Śrī-Kālacakrasya pūjāvidhi*, the *Śrīmal-lokeśvara-nirmāṇa-Puṇḍarīka-viracita-Vimalaprabhā-uddhṛta-Śrī-Kālacakra-bhagavat-sāhana-vidhi*, *Kālackarasya pūjāvidhi*, the *Kālacakra-dhāraṇī*, the *Kālacakra nāma guhya-hṛdaya nāma dhāraṇī*, *Kālacakra-nivardhana*, *Kālacakra-mantra-dhāraṇī*, *Kālacakra-vivaraddhana-dhāraṇī*, *Kālacakrasya mālāntara*, Raviśrījñāna's *Amṛta-kaṇikā*-(*kaṇikā*) *nāma Śrī-Nāmasaṃgīti-ṭippanī*, and Vibhūticandra's *Amṛta-kaṇika-udyota*. See Tsukamoto, et al., *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, vol. IV, pp. 333–343. Further sections of Tsukamoto's catalogue include a large number of related *Anuttarayoga* works, *sādhana*s from the *Sādhanamālā*, etc.
29. Complete list from Lokesh Chandra's Preface to the reprint edition of the *Shrīcakrasambhāra Tantra*, originally published in 1919 by Kazi Dawa-Samdup, *Short Chakrasambhara Tantra*, *Tantrik Texts*, vol. VII (New Delhi, Atidya Prakashan, 1987).
30. Chandra, *Vajrāvalī* (New Delhi: Mrs. Sharada Rani, 1977), p. 2.
31. See Tohoku nos. 3144–3304 (Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon*, pp. 481–502).
32. Chandra, *Vajrāvalī*, p. 1.
33. Sukumar Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India. Their History and Their Contribution to Indian Culture* (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1962), p. 346, 346, n. 2. Abhayākaragupta's works are nos. 1499, 1500, 1654, 2484, 2491, 3140, 3142, 2366, and 3743 in the *Tohoku Imperial University Catalogue*.
34. Mahāmahopadhyāya Haraprasād Shāstrī, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection, under the care of The Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1917), vol. 1, *Buddhist Manuscripts*, pp. 154–155.
35. Shāstrī, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, vol. 1, pp. 161–162.
36. Shāstrī, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, vol. 1, p. 164.
37. Shāstrī *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, vol. 1, p. 164.
38. See R. C. Dwivedi and Navijan Rastogi, eds., *The Tantrāloka of Abhinavagupta with the Commentary of Jayaratha* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987), vol. III, *Sanskrit Text: Chapters 4–7*, p. 1152.
39. The *Vajrāvalī nāma Maṇḍalopāyikā* was the subject of a Ph.D. dissertation by a fellow Columbia University graduate student, the late Lobsang Chogyen

(Pema), who was editing the Sanskrit manuscript of the text. I thank him for first alerting me to the importance of Abhayākargupta's work through several conversations we had on the subject of the development of Tantric literature.

40. *Namaḥ Śrīvajrasattvāya | bande śrīkū[u]li[ī]śeśvaram smaratare mārābhavāreḥ padam, krodho dhāvati dikṣu maṅgalagiro gāyantu vajrāṅganāḥ | Śrīmad-vajrabhṛto mahimni jagadā dhātu[ū]n mahāmaṇḍale, niṣpratyūham iha abhayasya mahasā vajrāvalī milatu | Asta-varhi-vajra-bhṛteva vajra-paramparābhis dhriyatām hṛdīyaṃ, yaj-jyotir antas-timiram nirasya śrī-vajra-bhṛn-mūrti-matī bibharti ||* (Shāstrī, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, vol. 1, pp. 153–154).

41. Christian Wedermeyer has suggested to me another possibility, that some of the commentaries were in fact written before the verse texts were written, with the latter serving as mnemonical summaries of the longer “commentaries.” My own readings in Buddhist and Śaivite Tantric material, however, does not support this possibility (though it may have occurred with texts I have not yet read), especially given the predilection of the commentaries for parsing and glossing the phrases of the verses in standard Sanskrit commentarial format.

42. Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana, “Recherches Bouddhiques: II. L’Origine du Vajrayāna et Les 84 Siddhas,” *Journal Asiatique* (Oct.–Dec. 1934): 218.

43. Sāṅkrtyāyana, “Recherches Bouddhiques: II. L’Origine du Vajrayāna et Les 84 Siddhas,” pp. 219–220.

44. See Sāṅkrtyāyana’s list from the *Sa-skya Bka’-bum* (“Recherches Bouddhiques: II. L’Origine du Vajrayāna et Les 84 Siddhas,” pp. 220–225).

45. Keith Dowman, *Masters of Mahamudra: Songs and Histories of the Eighty-Four Buddhist Siddhas* (Albany, NY: State University of New York [SUNY] Press, 1985), p. 389.

46. Dowman, *Masters of Mahamudra*, pp. 384–385.

47. Equal (in number) to the ultimate atomic particles in all the Sumerus of all the buddha fields (*sarva-buddha-kṣetra-sumreṇ-paramāṇu-rajah-samair*). Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *Guhyasamāja Tantra* (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1931), pp. 1, 1.6; cf. Francesca Fremantle, *A Critical Study of the Guhyasamāja Tantra* (London: University of London Library, 1971), p. 27.

48. *Atha vajradharaḥ . . . bhāṣate maṇḍalaṃ ramyaṃ . . . sarvatathāgataṃ cittam maṇḍalam. . .* (Bhattacharyya, *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, p. 17; cf. Fremantle, *A Critical Study of the Guhyasamāja Tantra*, p. 39).

49. Candrakīrtiḥ glosses *Prājñāḥ as aduṣṭakarmācāryaḥ*, i.e., a teacher who is free of evil actions. Chintaharan Chakravarti, *Guhyasamājantrapradīpodyotanāṭikā-ṣaṭkotīvyākhyā* (Patna: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, 1984), p. 42, 1.9.



50. *Sūtreṇa sūtrayet prājñāḥ*. . . (Bhattacharyya, *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, p. 17; cf. Fremantle, *A Critical Study of the Guhyasamāja Tantra*, p. 39). Fremantle emends Bhattacharyya's text from *gandha-puṣpākulāṃ kṛtvā* to *gandha-puṣpākālī-kṛtvā*.

51. *Parisphuṭaṃ tu vijñāya maṇḍalaṃ cittam uttamam | pūjāṃ kurvīta yatnena kāya-vāk-citta-pūjanaiḥ || śoḍaḍhābdikāṃ saṃprāpya yoṣitaṃ kāntisuprabhāṃ | gandha-puṣpākulāṃ kṛtvā madhye tu kāmāyetaḥ ||* (Bhattacharyya, *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, pp. 18–19; cf. Fremantle, *A Critical Study of the Guhyasamāja Tantra*, pp. 39–40).

52. In Chakravarti's edition, the gloss on this section is missing (accidentally?). The text of Chakravarti's edition is based on "the photograph copy of the manuscript of the famous Rahul Collection of the Bihar Research Society." (Chakravarti, *Guhyasamājantrapradīpodyotana-ṭīkā-ṣaṭkotivākhyā*, General Editor's note). On page 42, n. 1, where the gloss to this section of chapter 4 should be found, there is this note: "Folio 29a seems to have escaped the camera, while 29b has been photographed twice." Instead we have Candrakīrti's gloss up through the installation of the *maṇḍala*, then it skips to a gloss on *guṇamekhalā* from the line about consecrating the young lady as *prajñā*.

53. David L. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra: A Critical Study* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), Part 1, Introduction and Translation, pp. 49–50.

54. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra*, p. 106.

55. From Mahāmahopadhyāya T. Ganapati Śāstri's Preface to *The Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa, Part I (Chapters 1–22)*, (Trivandrum: Superintendent, Government Press, 1920), vol. 1: "Among the collection of manuscripts acquired in 1909 from the Manalikkara Mathom near Padmanabhapuram. . . . It is a pretty large palm-leaf manuscript containing about 13,000 granthas. . . . The leaves have the appearance of being from 300 to 400 years old. . . : the copyist of the manuscript is one Pandita Ravichandra the head of the Mūlaghoṣa-vihāra who went out from Madhyadeśa. . . . The copyist also tells us at the end of the manuscript, '*parisamāptaṃ ca yathā-labdham āryamañjuśrīyasya kalpam*', which means, 'here ends the Kalpa of Ārya Mañjuśrī as is available.' It can be inferred from this that the manuscript from which the present manuscript was copied is itself an incomplete one."

56. See Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970), vol. 1: Grammar, p. xxvi.

57. Śāstrī, *The Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, p. 2.

58. K. P. Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India in a Sanskrit Text, with the Sanskrit text revised by Ven. Rahula Sankrityayana* (Patna: Eastern Book House, 1988), p. 3: "The author brings his history down from two different points to the beginning of the Pāla Period. Once he starts with Śakas, pauses with the Guptas, and comes down right to Gopālaka after finishing the Gupta line. Then, again, he starts with the Nāga dynasty (Bhāraśiva), deals with Samudra

[Gupta] and his brother in Gauda, and with Śaśāṅka whose name for some reason he conceals but whose history he makes unmistakable, and then comes down to the Gopālas, ‘the *dāsajīvins* (śūdras). He does not know the later and the great Pāla kings (whom he would not have left unnamed had he known them) and their patronage of Mahāyāna. I would therefore regard the work as one of circa 770 A.D. (the death of Gopāla), or roughly 800 A.D.”

59. The order of these three compounds sometimes varies in the colophons of individual chapters.

60. Giuseppe Tucci has remarked that in the MMK “the Buddha descends to the level of witch-doctor, revealing *vidyā* by which any miracle, and even any crime, can be performed” (*Tibetan Painted Scrolls. An artistic and symbolic illustration of 172 Tibetan paintings preceded by a survey of the historical, artistic literary and religious development of Tibetan culture with an article of P. Pelliot on a Mongol Edict, the translation of historical documents and an appendix on pre-Buddhistic ideas of Tibet* [Roma: La Libreria Dello State, 1949], vol. 1, p. 216).

61. *Namaḥ Sarva-buddha-bodhisattvebhyaḥ | evaṃ mayā śrutam | ekasmin samaye bhagavān śuddhāvāsopari gagana-tala-pratiṣṭite 'cintya-āścarya-adbhuta-pravibhakta-bodhisattva-sannipāta-maṇḍala-mude viharati sma |* (Śāstrī, *The Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, p. 1, lines 1–3).

62. Hakuju Ui, Munetada Suzuki, Yensho Kanakura, and Tokan Tada, eds., *A Catalogue-Index of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons (Bkab-bgyur and Bstan-bgyurt)* (Sendai: Tohoku Imperial University and Saito Gratitude Foundation, 1934), pp. 71–72.

63. Ui, et al., *A Catalogue-Index of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 71–72. These are as follows (Tohoku numbers; I give only the portion of the title that follows after *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*): -*Guhyavad-vidhi-vṛtti-jñāna-dīpa* (2584), -*Cakra-krama* (2597), -*Cakṣur-vidhi* (2573), -*Ṭikā* (2534), -*Ṭikā-vimala-prabhā* (1398), -*Ṭikā-sara-abhisamaya* (2098), -*Nāma-mahāṭikā* (2090), -*Nāma-homa-krama* (2581), - *Pañjikā-saṃgraha* (2541), -*Maṇḍala-vidhi[s]* (2545, 2546, 2595, 2620), -*Mahā-bodhi-śarīra-vidhi* (2568), -*Māra-mantra-māra-cakra* (2574), -*Vidhi-maṇḍala* (2547), -*Vidhi-sūtra-piṇḍita* (2512), -*Vidhi-sūtra-piṇḍita* (2592), -*Vṛtti* (2535), -*Vṛtti* (2536), -*Vṛtti-nāma-artha-prakāśa-karaya* (2537), -*Vyākhyāna* (1397), -*Sarva-pāpa-viśodhana-maṇḍala-vidhi[s]* (2575, 2576), -*Sarva-maṇḍala-stotra* (2621), -*sādhana[s]* (2108, 2579, 2600, 2619), -*Sādhana-guhyā-pradīpa* (2596), -*Homa-vidhi-saṃgraha* (2569), -*Anuśaṃsa-vṛtti* (1399), -*Abhisamaya* (1400), -*Amṛta-bindu-pradīpa-loka-vṛtti* (1396), -*Artha-āloka-kara* (2093). -*Upadeśa-vṛtti* (2539), *Mañjuśrī-nāma-sādhana* (2544), *Mañjuśrī-nāma-aṣṭaka* (642).

64. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 316.

65. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 96.

66. The latter is the translation favored by Prof. Robert Thurman (personal

communication). The notion of a conclave, a closed meeting such as that of the cardinals who select the pope in the Roman Catholic tradition—a meeting that itself shares some aspects of a communion—may also be appropriate. At the beginning of the fourth chapter, for instance, the text reads: “Now all the blessed *Tathāgatas* again gathered together. . .” and addressed the *Bhagavān* (*atha bhagavantaḥ sarvatathāgataḥ punaḥ samājam āgamyā. . .*) (Bhattacharyya, *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, p. 17).

67. Bhattacharyya, *Guhyasamāja Tantra*.

68. Fremantle, *A Critical Study of the Guhyasamāja Tantra*. Fremantle’s version of the Sanskrit differs in many places from Bhattacharyya’s *Guhyasamāja Tantra*.

69. Chakravarti, *Guhyasamājantrapradīpodyotana-ṭikā-ṣaṭkotivyākhyā*.

70. Bhattacharyya, *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, pp. xxx–xxxi.

71. Katsumi Mimaki and Toru Tomabechi, *Pancakrama. Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts Critically Edited with Verse Index and Facsimile Edition of the Sanskrit Manuscripts* (Tokyo: The Center for East Asian Cultural Studies for UNESCO, 1994).

72. Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection*, p. 72.

73. Cecil Bendall, *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge* (1883), reprinted in Albrecht Wezler, ed., *Publications of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project 2, In Cooperation with the National Archives, Kathmandu, Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Supplementband 33* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992), pp. 15ff.

74. See Bhattacharyya, *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, pp. iii–xxxviii; Fremantle, *A Critical Study of the Guhyasamāja Tantra*, pp. 13–15.

75. Alex Wayman, *Yoga of the Guhyasamājantra. The Arcane Lore of Forty Verses: A Buddhist Tantra Commentary* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1991, reprint).

76. Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection*, p. 17.

77. 3) *Mahāvaipulye tathāgata-kāya-guhyā-parivarttas tṛtīyaḥ*; 4) *Vāg-guhyā-parivartto-nāmaś caturthaḥ*; 5) *Citta-guhyā-parivarttaḥ pañcamaḥ*; 6) *Tathāgata-vikurvvaṇa-sandarśana-parivarttaḥ*; 7) *Vyākaraṇa-parivartto-nāma saptamaḥ*; 9) *Śūra-valāya-parivartto-nāma navamaḥ*; 10) *Ajātaśatru-parivartto-nāma daśamaḥ*; 11) *Iti tathāgata-guhyāka-vikurvvan sandarśana-parivartta ekādaśa-paṭala[h] samāpta[h]*.

78. It is unlikely that the physical manuscript itself dates from this time, since that would mean it had survived intact for some seventeen centuries.

79. Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection*, pp. 17–21.

80. *Taittirīyopaniṣad* from the *Taittirīyasaṃhitā* of the *Kṛṣṇayajurveda*, *Aitareya Upaniṣad* from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, and *Aitareyāranyaka* on the *Ṛgveda*, *Kauṣītaki-brāhmaṇopaniṣad*, etc.
81. The text is quoted in Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection*, p. 21).
82. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmir*, p. 87.
83. See *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 6.77. M. A. Stein, *Kalhana's Rājatarāṅgiṇī. A Chronicle of the Kings of Kaśmīr* (Mirpur: Verinag Publishers, 1991, reprint), vol. 1, p. 195.
84. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 301.
85. Twice revised; Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 291.
86. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 292.
87. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 281.
88. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 302.
89. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 296.
90. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 288.
91. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 286.
92. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 284.
93. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmir*, p. 87.
94. See *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 6.77. Stein, *Kalhana's Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, vol. 1, p. 195.
95. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 286.
96. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 294.
97. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 295.
98. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 295.
99. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 288.
100. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 284.
101. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 296.
102. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 298.
103. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 297.
104. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 291.
105. Shin'ichi Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra: Selected Chapters* (Tokyo: The Hokuseido Press, 1974), pp. 6, 10.
106. Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, pp. 1–2, 13.

107. Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, p. 9.
108. Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, p. 27.
109. Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, p. 45.
110. Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, p. 27.
111. Dawa-Samdub, *Short Chakrasambhara Tantra*.
112. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, p. 79, n. 1, after Tucci.
113. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 236.
114. See Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, p. 80, n. 3.
115. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 225.
116. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, p. 248.
117. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 245.
118. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 245.
119. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 233.
120. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 240.
121. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 240.
122. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 237.
123. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 228.
124. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, pp. 159–160, n. 9.
125. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 230.
126. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 230.
127. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 225.
128. Naudou distinguishes this author of texts on the *Cakrasaṃvara* cycle from his Kaśmīri predecessor Bhavyarāja, though he offers no further information on his dates or collaborators (*Buddhists of Kashmīr*, p. 229, n. 68). He must, however, have preceded the eleventh century, given the translation date.
129. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 225.
130. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, p. 157.
131. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, p. 212.
132. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 234. For an account of this translator's work see Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, pp. 211–216.
133. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 244.
134. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 236.

135. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 235.
136. See Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, p. 187, n. 100.
137. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 236.
138. This is an estimate, based on Naudou's chart (*Buddhists of Kashmīr*, p. 272) that places Darika as living during Harṣa's reign.
139. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 229.
140. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 231.
141. For an account of the latter see Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, pp. 240–241.
142. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 244.
143. See Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, p. 187, n. 100.
144. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 225.
145. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 235.
146. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 235.
147. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 229.
148. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 240.
149. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 230.
150. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 238.
151. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 229.
152. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 238.
153. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 237.
154. See Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, p. 80, n. 3.
155. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 225.
156. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 234.
157. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 237–238.
158. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 231.
159. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 242.
160. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 244.
161. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 229.
162. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 235.
163. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 232.
164. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 240–241.
165. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 239.



166. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 245.
167. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 237.
168. There are only two “*Samvara*” texts in the Tohoku Catalogue: 1) *Samvara-viṃśaka-vṛtti* (Tohoku 4082) written by Śāntirakṣita and translated by Vidyārkarasiṃha, classed as a *Sems-tsam* text; and 2) *Samvara-vyākhyā* (Tohoku 1460) by Nag-po-pa, translated by Ḥol-ston chos-ḥbyun (Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 618, 234). There are four “*Sambara*” texts: 1) *Sambara-kalita* (Tohoku 1463) by Byaṅ-chub rdo-rje, translated by Bhadraśrībodhi and Dde-baḥi blo-gros; 2) *Sambara-khasama-tantra-rāja* (Tohoku 415) translated by the Kaśmīri Jñānavajra; 3) *Sambara-cakra-ālī-kālī-mahāyoga-bhāvanā* (Tohoku 2406) by Sagara, translator unknown; and 4) *Sambara-maṇḍala-vidhi* (Tohoku 1511) by De-bshin-gśegs paḥi rdo-rje, translated by Vibhūticandra (Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 234, 74–75, 371, 2–U).
169. *Kṛtir iyaṃ siṃhalāvasya śrīlaṅkājanmabhūr abhūt tasya Jayabadrākhyāḥ khyātaḥ. Kṣāntiṃ kurvvantu vīraḍākīnyaḥ |*
170. *Namo Śrīherukāya | sarvabhāvasvabhāvāgraṃ sarvvabhāvabhayāvaham | sarvvabhāvanirābhāsam sarvvabhāvavibhāvinam || taṃ praṇamya mahāvīram khasamārthaṃ khanirmmalam |*
171. *Cakrasambaram iti tena yad vācyam Śrīherukatantra-vajravārāhy-ādi-tantrarūpam abhidheyam |* (Rheinhold Grünendahl, *A Concordance of H. P. Śāstri's Catalogue of the Durbar Library and Microfilms of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project: Hara Prasad Sastri. A Catalogue of Palm Leaf and Selected Paper Mss. Belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal* [Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH, 1989], vol. 2, pp. 48–50).
172. Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, p. iii.
173. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *Śaktisangama Tantra. Critically edited with a preface, in four volumes* (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1932), vol. 1, *Kālikhaṇḍa*, p. 1.
174. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra*, Part 2, Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts, p. 2.
175. Literally, “what are the channels in extent, and how is that body-mass?” (*ke te nāḍī pramāṇasya śarīrapīṇḍa[m] tat katham*). I have emended the text from *śarīrapīṇḍa tat katham*, since *śanir*, i.e., Saturn, would make little sense here, and *pīṇḍa* lacks an *anusvāra*.
176. *Samaya-saṃketa-cchomasya*. One might think *cchoma* is a version of *soma*, yet the title of chapter 9 includes the term as *cchoma*. This appears to be a term like *chandoha* that is peculiar to Tantric literature, and perhaps represents a reabsorption of a Prakrit term into Sanskrit; I have not yet determined what the original Sanskrit of *cchoma* must be.
177. *Oṃ namaḥ śrīvajrasambarāya | Evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye*



bhagavān sarvva-tathāgata-kāya-vāk-citta-vajrayoginībhageṣu vijahāra / Āryyā-nanda-prabhṛti-vītarāga-pramukhair āryyāvalokiteśvarādir aśitikoṭiyoginī ca madhye vajrapāṇiṃ vyavalokya smitam akārṣīt / Vajrapāṇi[r] utthāya āśanād ekāṃsam uttarāsaṅgaṃ kṛtvā dakṣiṇajānumaṇḍalaṃ pṛthivyāṃ pratiṣṭhāpya kṛtakarapuṭo bhutvā bhagavantam adhyeṣayāmāsa / śrotum icchāmi bhagavān utpattiyogalakṣaṇaṃ / Utpannaṃ ca kathaṃ deva sarvvākāraikasaṃbaram || kathaṃ vāyu āpāśca pṛthivyākāśam eva ca / pañcākāraṃ kathaṃ deva ṣaḍvidhaṃ ca tataḥ prabho || kathaṃ trikāyaṃ adhiṣṭhānaṃ bāhyaṃ vābhyantare sthitiḥ / kathaṃ te devatārūpaṃ kathayasva devatī prabho / candrasūryyaḥ kathaṃ deva patha pañca kathaṃ bhavet / kathaṃ te śarīrasvabhāvan tu nāḍīrūpaṃ kathaṃ tataḥ || ke te nāḍī pramāṇasya śarīrapīṇḍa tat kathaṃ / samayaśaṅketacchomasya kathayasva mama prabho || ke te pīṭhādisaṅketaṃ bāhyādhyātmakam eva ca / kathaṃ bhūmyādi-lābhasya kathaṃ nimittadarśanam / kathaṃ te dvādaśa-karmma mantrajāpaṃ kathaṃ bhavet / akṣamālā kathaṃ yukti ke te jāpasya lakṣaṇaṃ / ke te maṇḍalam āvarttaṃ devatākāra-yogataḥ / siddhimantraṃ kathaṃ deva kaumārī-tarpaṇaṃ kathaṃ || ke divasena karttavyaṃ alivali kathaṃ prabho / pañcāmṛtādi kathaṃ deva pañcāṅkuśaṃś ca tad bhavet || kathayasva maṇḍalālekhyāṃ sūtrapātaṃ kathaṃ bhavet / kathaṃ te bhūmi saṃśodhyaṃ rakṣācakraṃ kathaṃ bhavet || ācāryya kena karttavyaṃ kathaṃ śiṣyasya saṃgrahaṃ / ke te 'bhiṣekaṃ pramāṇāṃ ca caturthaṅca kathaṃ bhavet || kathaṃ kālasya nīyamaṃ mṛtyuvañcanam eva ca / ke te caturyugāṅkasya caturdvīpaṃ kathaṃ bhavet / yuge yuge kathaṃ siddhi caryyācāri kathaṃ bhavet / ke te yoginītantrasya yogatantraṃ kathaṃ bhavet || kathaṃ sūtrāntaḥ pramāṇasya ke te pāramitā tathā / pratiṣṭhāhomayāgasya siddhimantraṃ kathaṃ bhavet || rasāyanaṃ kathaṃ deva madyapānaṃ kathaṃ bhavet / mantrodayaṃ kathaṃ deva mantroddhāra kathaṃ bhavet || nigrahaṅca kathaṃ deva anugrahaṅca kathaṃ bhavet / tattvāṅca kathaṃ bhagavan śūnyatā karuṇā kathaṃ || kathaṃ śūnyasvabhāvatvaṃ kathaṃ tathatāśvarūpakaṃ / devarūpaṃ kathaṃ nāma yoginīlakṣaṇaṃ valīm || sarva-dharmma-parijñānaṃ bhāvānaṃ kathaya prabho || (Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 64–65).

178. For the chapters translated by Tsuda I have added the title as he gives it.

179. *Utpattinirdeśapaṭala*, “Explanation of the process of origination” (Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, pp. 73, 239). Mapping of the birth process into a meditation: “recognizing [the process of] birth to be the process of origination (utpattikrama), a man should attain the state of the completely enlightened (samyaksambuddhatva)” (Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, p. 243).

180. *Utpannakramanirdeśapaṭala*, “Explanation of the process of completion” (Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, pp. 77, 243). The chapter really describes the state of completion, only briefly mentioning aspects of the process (*The Samvarodaya Tantra*, pp. 243–247).

181. *Catur-bhūta-pañcākāra-ṣaḍviśaya-devatā-viśuddha-paṭala*, “Purity of deities as the four elements, the five aspects and the six objects of the senses” (Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, pp. 79, 247). A standard enumeration of

the components of the body (elements, senses, etc.), the constituents of consciousness in the Buddhist system (*rūpa*, *vedanā*, *saṃjñā*, etc.), and so on, all reenvisioned or reconceived in macro-microcosmic relations (Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, pp. 247–251).

182. *Candrasūryakramopadeśapaṭala*, “Explanation of the course of the moon and the sun” (Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, pp. 83, 251). A detailed discussion of the flow of *prāṇa* through the channels according to specific times, and the consequences of these movements for one’s life (Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, pp. 251–258).

183. *Pathapañcanirdeśapaṭala*, “Explanation of the five ways” (Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, pp. 92, 258). A short chapter on the relationship of the *dhātus* to the *maṇḍalas* of the *pañcamahābhūtas*, and the paths from these *maṇḍalas* to the various *nāḍīs* (Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, pp. 258–260).

184. *Nāḍīcakrakramopāyapaṭala*, “The means of the process of the circle of veins” (Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, pp. 93, 260). The chapter provides a mapping of the major channels and their *pīṭha* names in the body, e.g., *oḍiyāna*, the right ear; *devikoṭa*, the eyes through the liver; *mālava*, the shoulders through the heart; etc. (Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, p. 261). We find the same material in the *Kālacakra*, and Tsuda reports that a similar mapping of “twenty-four countries, twenty-four parts of the body, twenty-four humors or intestines, twenty-four gods such as *Kharaṇḍakapāla* and so on and twenty-four goddesses such as *Pracaṇḍā*, and so on are repeatedly enumerated” in the *Abhidhānottara* (*The Samvarodaya Tantra*, p. 260, n. 4).

185. *Samayasāṅketavidhipaṭalaḥ*. Again, we have the term *saṅketa*, used for assignations of lovers, or lovers’ meeting places. The text says: “In his own house or in a secret place, in deserted places or in pleasant places, in mountain, cave, or thicket, on the shore of the ocean (2), in a graveyard, in a shrine of the mother-goddess or in the middle of the confluence of rivers, a man who wishes the highest result should cause the *maṇḍala* to turn correctly. The great, faithful donor should invite *yoginī* and *yogin*, the teacher (*ācārya*), (goddesses) born from the *kṣetra*, *mantra* and *pīṭha*, and all the deities (4)” (*svargrheṣu guptasthāne vijaneṣu manorame | giri-gahvara-kuñjeṣu mahodadhitāṣeṣu vā || 2 || śmaśāne mātṛgrhe ca nāḍisaṃgamamadhyataḥ | vartayed maṇḍalaṃ samyag anuttaraphalam icchati || 3 ||*) (Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, pp. 264, 96). The chapter goes on to describe who is fit to fulfill the role of *ācārya*—someone virtuous, not someone observing lifelong chastity (*naiṣṭhika*), a farmer, a merchant who sells the teaching, etc.; proper treatment of the attendees is mentioned, distribution of food and liquor, prayers, and veneration are mentioned. The elaborate salutation to the goddesses is given; dancing, singing, mantras, postures, drumming and musical instruments are employed; then the *vīra*, or hero, i.e., the gentleman who is ready for the rite of sexual union, joins together with a *yoginī*. “He will be possessed of the perfection of

pleasure, free from disease, righteous in mind, and will attain the liberation from love-passion (*kāma*). There will be fulfilment (*siddhi*) for him who has completion” (*sukhasampattisampanna ārogyaḥ śubhacetasāḥ | kāma-mokṣādi-saṃprāptaḥ siddhir bhavati sampadaḥ || 37 ||*) (Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya Tantra*, pp. 269, 102). The compound *kāma-mokṣādi-saṃprāptaḥ* should be translated “he who has attained passionate love, liberation, etc.” or “he who has attained liberation, etc., through passionate love.”

186. *Chomā-pīṭha-saṅketa-bhūmi-nirdeśa-pāṭala*.

187. *Iti śrīsambarodayatantrasya adhyeṣaṇapaṭalaḥ prathamah | iti utpattinirdeśapaṭalo dvitīyaḥ | iti utpannakramanirdeśapaṭalaḥ tṛtīyaḥ | iti catur-bhūta-pañcākāra-ṣaḍviṣaya-devatā-viśuddhi-pāṭalaś-caturthaḥ | iti candra-sūryya-kramopadeśa-pāṭalaḥ pañcamah | iti patha-pañcakanirdeśaḥ-ṣaṣṭhamah | iti nāḍī-cakra-kramopāya-pāṭalaḥ saptamah | iti samaya-saṅketa-vidhiḥ, paṭalaḥ aṣṭamah || iti cchoma-pīṭha-saṅketa-bhūmi-nirdeśa-pāṭalaḥ navamah | iti karma-prasarodayo nāma paṭalo daśamah | iti mantra-jāpa-nirdeśa-pāṭala ekādaśamah || iti mantra-jāpākṣamālā-nirdeśa-pāṭalaḥ dvādaśah | iti śrīherukodaya-nirdeśa-pāṭalas trayodaśamah | iti vajra-yoginī-pūjā-vidhi-nirdeśa-pāṭalaś caturdaśah | iti pātralakṣaṇa-nirdeśa-pāṭalaḥ pañcadaśah | iti pañcāmṛta-sādhana-nirdeśa-pāṭalaḥ ṣaṣṭhadaśah | iti maṇḍala-sūtrapātana-vidhi-lakṣaṇo-nirdeśi-pāṭalaḥ saptādaśah | iti abhiṣeka-pāṭala aṣṭadaśah | iti mṛtyu-nirmittadarśana utkrāntiyoga-pāṭala ekonaviṃsatih | iti catur-yuganirdeśa-pāṭala ekaviṃsatih | iti devatā-pratiṣṭhitā-vidhi-pāṭalo dvāviṃsatih | iti homa-nirdeśa-pāṭalas trayaviṃsatih | iti karma-prasaraṣadhi-prayoga-nirdeśa-pāṭalaś caturviṃsatitamah | iti rasāyana-vidhiḥ paṭalaḥ pañcaviṃsatih | iti vāruṇī-nirdeśa-pāṭalaḥ ṣaḍviṃsatitamah | iti mantroddhāraṇa-vidhi-pāṭalaḥ saptaviṃsatih | iti homavidhiḥ paṭalaḥ iti tattva-nirdeśa-pāṭala ekonaviṃsatitamah | iti citrādi-rūpa-lakṣaṇa-nirdeśa-pāṭalas triṃsatih | iti catur-yoginī-nirdeśa-krama-bodhicitta-saṃkramana-pāṭalaḥ eka-triṃsatih | iti valyupahāra-nirdeśa-pāṭalo dvātriṃsatih | iti śrīherukābhīdhāne tantrarāje trilakṣoḍdhṛtasahajodayakalpe śrīmahāsambarodaya-tantrarāje sarvvayoginī-rahasya vipaṭhitasiddhe trayo-triṃsatitamah paṭalaḥ samāptaḥ || (Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 63–66). The closing section of the text reads: *Aho saukhyaṃ aho saukhyaṃ aho bhuñja katham katham Aho sahaja-māhātmyam sarva-dharmma-svabhāvatā || dṛśyate ca jagaj-jalendutadvataḥ śṛṇvate ca pratidhvanaikasaṃvṛtaḥ | paśyate ca maru-marīci-saṅcitah khādyapānagaganopamodyatā || yadā jighrate na bhakta sugandhavat trasate ca svataḥ śaśi sūryya yathā | saṃsthitāñśca giri-meru-tatsamam ālambana-svapṛākṣa-mālikam tathā || māyendra-jāla-vyavahāra-mātragatāḥ evam yathā sahaja-saukhyodayam tathā | bhāva-svabhāva-rahitā vicintyarayā nityoditam sugata-mārga-varam namo 'stu || sarvva-pūjam parityajya guru-pūjam samāramet | tena tuṣṭena tal labhyate sarvajña-jñānam uttamam || kim tena na kṛtam puṇyam kimvā nopāsitam tapaḥ | anuttara-kṛta-ācāryya-vajra-sattva-prapūjanāt || bhayam pāpaharaṇ caiva . . . sāttvikah | samayācāra-rakṣa-cakra-samayaṃ tasya pradarśayet || śrī-herukābhīdhāna-tantrasya pīṭha-svādhyāya-lekhanāt | siddhim ṛddhiṃ ca**

saubhāgyaṃ bodhisattvatva[m] prāpnuyāt || śrī-sambarodaya-tantrasya bhāvite cintite yadā | mahābhāga mahāsaukhyaṃ dāridrya-duḥkha[m] naśyati || sarva-vīra-samājoga-ḍākinī-jāla-sambaram | nānādhimuktikā sattvāśvāryyā nānā-vivodhitaḥ || nānā-naya-vineyān tam upāyena tu darśitāḥ | gambhīra-dharmma-nirdeśe nānā-adhimuktikā yadi || pratikṣapā na kartavyā acintyā sarvadharmmatāḥ | śūnyatā-karuṇā-abhinnaṃ acintyo buddha-nāṭakaṃ || śrī-heruka-samāyogaṃ ḍākinī-vṛndam āśritaṃ | sattvāvatāra-muktin tu tatra sarvvatra ratā iva || sarva-ḍākinī-samāyogā śrī-heruka-pade sthitā | (Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 66-67).

188. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra*, Part 2, p. vii.

189. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra*, Part 2, p. viii.

190. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra*, Part 1, p. 14.

191. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra*, Part 2, pp. vii–viii.

192. Gerhard Ehlers, *Indische Handschriften. Teil 12. Die Sammlung der Niedersächsische Staats- Und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995), p. 220.

193. Grünendahl, *A Concordance of H. P. Śāstri's Catalogue*, p. 522.

194. G. W. Farrow and I. Menon, *The Concealed Essence of the Hevajra Tantra, with the Commentary Yogaratnamālā* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited, 1992). Since the *Yogaratnamālā* manuscripts they consulted are not substantially different than Snellgrove's edition, they do not provide the Sanskrit of the *Yogaratnamālā*.

195. See Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, p. 232, for mention of the collaboration of these two on the translation of the *Madhyamaka-avatāra-kārikā*.

196. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 538, 193, 75, 201, 206, 207, 194, 202, 193, 208, 205, 199, 205, 210, 501, 201, 209, 247, 207, 201, 212, 212.

197. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 96.

198. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 207–208.

199. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, p. 123.

200. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 234.

201. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 236.

202. Peter Zieme and Gyorgy Kara, *Ein Uigurisches Totenbuch. Naropa's Lehre in uigurischer Übersetzung von vier tibetischen Traktaten nach der Sammelhandschrift aus Dunhuang*, British Museum Or. 8212 (109) (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1979), p. 26.

203. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, pp. 129, 152–154; Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 235.

204. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, pp. 256–257.
205. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 77.
206. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 469.
207. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, pp. 159–160, n. 20.
208. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 469.
209. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 497.
210. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 497.
211. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 526.
212. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 526.
213. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 281.
214. See Arthur Keith, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office. Volume 2, Brahmanical and Jaina Manuscripts, with a Supplement, Buddhist Manuscripts*, by F. W. Thomas (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935), pp. 1398–1399, #7732.
215. Christopher S. George, *The Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra, Chapters I–VIII. A critical edition and English translation* (New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society, 1974), pp. 2–3. I have used George’s translations except where noted; each colophon ends with *–paṭala*.
216. George translates this as “trance.”
217. Śāstrī explains that this chapter “gives reasons why *Caṇḍa Mahāroṣaṇa* is called *Acala*, *Ekallavīra* [the solitary hero] and *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa*” (*A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, p. 135); see below.
218. George translates “Increasing the white, etc.,” though he notes, “i.e., how to increase sexual potency, etc.” (*The Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra, Chapters I–VIII*, p. 3, n. 11).
219. George translates “Cures for the Ills of Old Age.” Given the information we have on the scope of alchemical medicine, though, I suggest—without having read the chapter—that both regular disease and the infirmities of old age are probably the subject matter of this section.
220. Again, George keeps “white” as the translation for *śukra*, though he clearly knows what it refers to, as is evident from the translated chapters he provides. The “arrest” is the yoga of stopping the ejaculation of semen during sexual intercourse.
221. Śāstrī, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 131–140.
222. George, *The Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra, Chapters I–VIII*, p. 8.
223. Sarvo ’haṃ sarvavyāpī ca sarvakṛt sarvanāśakaḥ | sarva-rūpadharo buddhaḥ, haritā karttā prabhuḥ śukhī || yena yenaiva rūpeṇa sattvā yānti vineyatām | tena

tenaiva rūpeṇa sthito 'haṃ lokahetave || kvacit buddhaḥ kvacit siddhaḥ kvaccid-dharmo 'tha saṅkhakaḥ | kvacit pretaḥ kvacit tiryyak kvacin nāraka-rūpaka ||

224. According to Vaman Shivram Apte (*The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Revised and Enlarged Edition* [Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1985]), who is certainly no authority on Buddhist tantra, *try-akṣara* is a term for *Om*, since it is considered to have three syllables: *a, u, m*. Without the rest of the chapter it is impossible to tell; given the term's usage below, some esoteric physical meaning appears to be intended.

225. These are neuter case, though, so they probably should be taken adverbially: *tatparam, kāyavākcittam samvṛtam gaḍhasaukhyataḥ*.

226. Again, *nakhakṣatam* is neuter case.

227. *Rata* is the pleasure of, or simply sexual union. *Su-rata* therefore indicates what we would call in colloquial English great sex, or good sex.

228. A *daṇḍa* is missing after the ॥; what the "six" refers to is not clear.

229. *Sambodhi*.

230. See *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 64, 65 for the same list of the thirteen realms, in a slightly different order (K. Kasawara, F. Max Muller, and H. Wenzel, *The Dharma-Saṃgraha. An Ancient Collection of Buddhist Technical Terms* [Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1885], p. 14). The Sanskrit of this extract is: *Prajñopāya[-] samāyogena nakham dadyāt tu tryakṣaram | cumanāliṅganaṃ caiva sarva-sva-śukram eva ca || dāna-pāramitā pūrṇā bhavaty eva na saṃśayaḥ | tatparam kāya-vāk-cittam samvṛtam gaḍha-saukhyataḥ || śīla-pāramitā-jñeyā jñeyā sahanāc ca nakha-kṣatam | tryakṣaram pīḍanaṃ ca ratam kuryyāt samāhitam | vīrya-pāramitā jñeyā tat-sukhe citta-yojanā || sarvato-bhadra-rūpeṇa dhyāna-pāramitā matā | strī-rūpa-bhāvanā, prajñā-pāramitā prakīrtitā || surataka-yoga-mātreṇa pūrṇā ṣaṭ-pāramitā bhavet | pañca-pāramitā puṇya-jñāna-prajñeti kathyate || surata-yoga-samāyukto yoga-sambhārasamvṛtaḥ yoga-sambhāra-samvṛtaḥ | siddhyate kṣaṇa-mātreṇa puṇya-jñāna-samanvitaḥ || yathā latā-samudbhūtaḥ phala-puṣpaḥ samanvitaḥ || eka-kṣaṇāṃ ca sambodhiḥ sambhāra-dvaya-sambhṛtā || sa trayodaśa-bhūmiśo bhavatyeva na saṃśayaḥ | bhūmis tu muditā jñeyā vimalārccīsmatis tathā || prabhākari sudurjjayābhimukhī dūraṅgamācalā | [sā]dhumatī dharmma-meghā samant[ā]khyā-prabhā tathā || nirupamā jñātavatītyeva trayodaśaṅjñā ||*

231. *Puruṣarūpaḥ bhāvaḥ strī-rūpaḥ abhāvaḥ | nīlo vijñānaḥ, śveto rūpaḥ, pīto vedanā raktaḥ samjñā, śyāmaḥ saṃskāraḥ-athavā nīlam ākāśaḥ, śvetā-jalaḥ, pītā pṛthivī, raktā, vahni, śyāmo vātaḥ-yathā, bhagavatām, tathā bhavatīnām-athavā nīlaḥ, śuviśuddha-dharmma-dhātu-jñānaḥ, śveta ādarsa-jñānaḥ, pīta samatā-jñānaḥ, rakta pratyavekṣaṇā-jñānaḥ, śyāma kṛtyānuṣṭhāna-jñānaḥ | eka eva jinaḥśāstā pañcarūpeṇa saṃsthit[āḥ] | prajñāpāramitā caikā pañcarūpeṇa saṃsthitā ||* (Śāstrī, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 185–186).

232. Śāstrī inserts a question mark for this work, which I have retained; I have



been unable to determine what it might mean, or of what it may be a variant reading.

233. *Atha bhagatī āha | kiṃ bhagavan strī-vyatirekeṇāpi śakyate sādhayitum caṇḍa-mahāroṣaṇapadaṃ utsāho na śakyate | bhagavān āha na śakyate devi | bhagavatī āha kiṃ bhagavan sukhānudayāt na śakyate? bhagavān āha | na sukhodayamātreṇa labhyate bodhir uttamā | sukha-viśeṣodayādeva prāpyate sā ca nānyathā || . . . loka-kaukr̥tya-nāśārthaṃ māyādevīsutaḥ sudhīḥ | caturaśīti sahasrāṇi tyaktvā cāntaḥpuraṃ punaḥ || gatvā nirañjanatīraṃ buddha-siddhi-prakāśakaḥ, | yāto mārānnirākṛtya na caivaṃ paramārthataḥ || yasmād antaḥpure buddhaḥ siddho gopānvitaḥ sukhi | vajra-padma-samāyogāt sa sukhaṃ labhate yataḥ || sukhena prāpyate bodhiḥ sukhaṃ na strī-viyogataḥ | viyogaḥ kriyate yas tu loka-kaukr̥tya-hānaye || yena yenaiva te lokā yānti buddha vineyatām | tena tenaiva rūpeṇa māyādevīsuto jinaḥ | sarvva-sūtrābhīdarmmeṇa kṛtvā nindāstu yoṣitām | nānā śikṣā-padaṃ bhāvetastu svagopanabhāṣayā || nirvāṇaṃ darśayec cāpi pañca-skandha-vināśataḥ || atha bhagavatī prajñāpāramitā āha | kā bhagavan māyādevīsutaḥ kā ca gopā? bhagavān āha | māyādevīsutaś cāhaṃ caṇḍaroṣaṇatām gataḥ | tvam eva bhagavatī gopā prajñāpāramitātmikāḥ || yāvantaḥ tu strīyaḥ sarvās-tad-rūpeṇaiva tā matāḥ | madrūpeṇa pumāṃsastu sarvva eva prakīrtitā || dvayor bhāgavataṃ caitat prajñopāyātmaṃ jagat || . . . Atha bhagatī āha, kathaṃ bhagavan śrāvakādayo hi strīo dūṣayanti | bhagavān āha | kāmādhātu-sthitāḥ sarve khyātā ye śrāvakādayaḥ | mokṣamārgaṃ na jñānti strīyaḥ paśyanti savvadā || sannidhānaṃ bhaved yatra durllabhaṃ śūnikumādikam | na tatārghaṃ samāpnoti durasthasya mahārghatā || anādya-jñāna-yogena śraddhā-hināḥ tvamī janāḥ | cittaṃ na kurvate tattve mayāpy etat pragopitam ||.*

234. Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, quotes Vasiṣṭha's definition of *vīrāsana* as being the same as *paryāṅka*: placing one foot firmly on the other thigh, likewise the thigh on the other [foot], this is called the *vīrāsanaṃ* (*ekaṃ pādāṃ athaikaśmin vinyasorau tu saṃsthitam | itarasamīṃs tathā evoraṃ vīrāsanaṃ udāhṛtam || paryāṅka-granthi-bandha . . .*).

235. Again, the text is a bit suspect here, reading *nīlāyāvā sahasrake*. I've emended it to *nīlāvayavām saharaskām*.

236. *Atha bhagavatī āha | aparaṃ śrotum icchāmi prajñāpāramitodayam | sattva-parya[ni]kinī devī ṣoḍaśabda-vapuṣmatī | nīlavarṇā mahābhāgā, akṣobhyena ca mudritā | rakta-padmodiyatām savye nīla[vayavām] sahasrak[ām] | sthitam vai kāmāśāstraṃ tu padma-candropariṣṭhitam | pīnonnatakucā[m] dṛṣṭvā viśālākṣ[īm] priyaṃvadām || saha-jacala-samādhiṣṭhā[m] devīm etām tu bhāvayet | hūṃkāra-jñāna-saṃbhūtām, viśva-vajrīn tu yoginīm || bhāvayet harṣito yogī, dhruvaṃ siddhim avāpnuyāt | athavā bhāvayet chvetām, vāṇādhi-kāra-saṃbhavām || mudritām śm . . . tenaiva pītām vajradhātveśvarīm | raktena mudrita[m] vajrā[m] raktāmbā[m] [kuru]-kullikā[m] || amitābha-mudritām devīm hrīm-kāra-jñāna-saṃbhavām | tārāmbā śyāma-varṇā ca trām-kāra-jñāna-saṃbhavām || amogha-mudritām dhyāyet purva-rūpeṇa mānav[i] | sattva-paryāṅka-saṃsthas tu saumyarūpeṇa*



saṁsthitaḥ || khadga-pāśa-dharaḥ śrīmān āliṅgyabhinayaḥ kṛtī | svakulīm vātha kanyāṁ grhya prabhāvayet || anena sidhyate yogī, mudrāyā naiva saṁśayaḥ | athavā pratimāṁ kṛtvā sādhayet sutrādi-saṁskṛtāṁ || saha-caṇḍa-samādhi-stho japed ekāgramānasaḥ | (Shāstrī, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 137–138).

237. Śatru-kṛtā[m] samā[m].

238. Athātaḥ saṁpravakṣyāmi ekavīrantu maṇḍalam | caturasraṁ caturdvāraṁ, catur-toraṇa-maṇḍitam || pītavarṇaṁ tu karttavyaṁ madhya-padmaṁ catur-dalam | tasya cāgnau dalam śvetaṁ narṛtye rakta-sannibham | vāyavye pītavarṇan tu tatrācalaṁ prakalpayet | sūryya-stham athavā śvetaṁ pītam vā raktam eva vā || śyāmaṁ vā pañcabhir buddhai ekarūpaṁ vicintayet | r[l]ocanām agnikope ca caṇḍāśoka-vidhāyiniṁ || vāmadakṣiṇa-karābhyāṁ ca śarac-candra-kara-prabhāṁ | narṛtye p[ā]ṇḍarā[m] devīm dhanur-vāṇ-dharāṁ parām || raktā[m] vāyavyakoṇe tu māmaki[m] pītasannibhā[m] | . . . śikhāhastā[m], śyām[ā]m aiśānakoṇake | tāriṇiṁ varadāṁ s[avye], vāme nilotpala-dhāriṇiṁ || etā caṇḍ[e]śanā[h] sarvvā a[r]ddha-paryyaṇka-saṁsthita | rāgavajrā[m] nyaset pūrvve dvāre śatru-kṛtā[m] samā[m] || khadga-ś[ā]rya-dharā[m] raktāṁ dveṣa-vajr[ā]m tu dakṣiṇe | kartti-ta[r]jjanī-kara[m] nilā[m] yamena kṛta-veṣṭitā[m] || paścime māravajrān-tu varya-vajra-karācalāṁ | mayūra-piccha-vastrāṁs-tu varuṇa-sthām śyāma-sannibhām || uttare mohavajrān-tu tanya-śoka-dhāriṇiṁ | pītavarṇā[m] kuvera-sthā[m] nyaset sūryyāsan[e] . . . || pratyāliḍha-padāḥ sarvvā . . . mūrddhajaḥ | catvāro hi ghaṇṭa[h] koṇe karttavyaḥ pītasannibhāḥ || asya bhāvan[ā] mātrena-yoginy-aṣṭa-samanvitam | trailokyeṣu sthita-strīṇāṁ sa bharttā paramēśvaraḥ || (Shāstrī, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 138–139).

239. Koilāsurasamjñākam.

240. Marie-Thérèse De Mallmann lists her as Parṇaśabarī or Parṇaśavarī, both a Hindu and Buddhist tantric deity (*Introduction à l'Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique, dessins de Muriel Thiriet* [Paris: Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, 1975; Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1986 reprint], pp. 300; and *Les Enseignements Iconographiques de L'Agni Purana* [Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1963], p. 163), the “wild mountain woman (śabarī) covered with leaves (pañja).”

241. Athānyat saṁpravakṣyāmi caṇḍaroṣaṇ[a]-bhāvanāṁ | viśva-padma-dale devaṁ kalpayec caṇḍaroṣaṇam || vāmadevam bhaved agnau raktavarṇan tu narṛtye | piyambai[h] kāmadevam tu śyāmāṁ māhilla-rāmakam || vāyavye kṛṣṇa-varṇam tu koilāsurasamjñākam | ka[r]tti-karpa[r]a-karā caite saṁsthitaḥ padāḥ || bhavataḥ paścime devī sthitā vai parṇaśāvalī | asyā [e]va dhyānayogena dagdha-mats[y]āḍipūjayā || . . . pītayā prajñayā yuktaṁ vāme ca śveta-padmayā | nilam vai caṇḍaroṣam tu raktayā raktayāthavā || . . . tāvad vibhāvayed gāḍham yavat prasphuṭatāṁ vrajet | gatantu prasphuṭo yogī mahāmantreṇa sidhyati || (Shāstrī, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 139–140).

242. 111.402.B, pp. 92–94 of the 1915 catalogue; Grünendahl, *A Concordance of H. P. Śāstri's Catalogue*, pp. 570–572.

243. This missing portion of the text here makes it difficult to translate this sentence.

244. *Aparṣad* = aorist of √*pr*.

245. “The mistress of that realm” is interpolated here from George’s translation of this gloss of *vajradhārviśvarībhāge* (*The Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra*, p. 44, n. 3); part of the Sanskrit is missing from Śāstri’s extract.

246. *Oṃ namaś candramahārṣaṇāya | magnaṃ yena jagac carācaram idaṃ mohān-*  
*dhakārodare | prajñopāya-vibhāga-bhāskarakaraiḥ vyaktaṃ samuddīritam || . . .*  
*mādhi-sāṅgaṃ puruṣaḥ śravaṇa-saṃgaṃ svayaṃ | so 'yaṃ matsukha-sādhana-*  
*yā jagati vyakta-prabhas tiṣṭhatu || evaṃ mayā ityādi saṃgītikāraḥ | nidāna-vākyam*  
*etat yasmāt saṃgītikāreṇa sūtra-tantrāḍau | avaśyaṃ vaktavyam | bhagato vacanāt |*  
*tathā ca | evaṃ mayā śrutam iti kṛtvā bhikṣava mama vacanam | saṃgītavyam ityādi*  
*evaṃ sati || śraddhāvataṃ pravṛtṭyaṅgaṃ śāstāparṣac ca sāksīṇi | deśa-kālau ca*  
*nirddiṣṭhau sva-prāmāṇya-prasiddhaye || iti pratipāditam bhavati | tatra | evam iti*  
*yathā saṃgāsyāmi | mayetyanena viparīta-śruta-paramparāśrutayor nirāsaḥ | etena*  
*ātmanāsambandhāt śrutam aviparītam ca pratipādayati | śrutam iti śrotra-jñānena*  
*adhigatam iti | anekasmin samaye iti | ekasmin kāle | anyasmin kāle anyad api śrutam*  
*ity arthaḥ | etena ātmano bāhuśrutyam etat tantrasya āḍau lambhyaṇ ca pratipādayati*  
*| bhagavān iti bhagā aiśvaryyādayaḥ | tathā ca | aiśvaryasya samagrasya dānasya*  
*yaśasaḥ striyaḥ | kāsyāpi prayatnasya ṣaṇṇaṃ bhagaḥ iti śrutiḥ || tāni vidyante asya*  
*iti | rāgādi-kleśa-bhañjanād vā | vajrasattva iti | vajraṃ abhedyam sattvaṃ artha-*  
*kriyā-kāritvam asya iti | athavā vajra iva vajra sa cāsau sattva-prāṇīveti | sarvvyādī*  
*sarvaṇ ca te tathāgatāś ca teṣāṃ kāya vāk-citta-jñānāt śarīratattvam tasya hṛdayam*  
*atyantam abhilaṣaṇīyatvāt | tad eva vajradhātviśvarībhagaṃ vajro liṅgaṃ, tasya*  
*dhātuḥ, sāmvr̥ta-vivṛtatvādi-lakṣaṇaṃ, bodhicittaṃ tat . . . vyāprajñā vajradhātunā*  
*āsevitatvāt tasyāḥ | tat varāṅge bhage vijahāreti | vihr̥tavān vajra-padma-saṃyogena*  
*samputa-yogena sthitavān ity arthaḥ | ayaṇ ca viharān prākṛta-janasya atyanta*  
*guptaḥ bhavati kiṃ punaḥ bhagavato vajrasattvasya | tataś ca ārthād uktaṃ bhavati*  
*| sumeru-girim ūrddhva-vajra-sattva-bhūmau vajra-maṇi-śikhara-kūṭāgare viharati*  
*smeti | etena śāstākālo deśaś coktaḥ | parṣada-lokam āha anekaiś cetyādi | vajra-*  
*yoginaḥ | śvetācalādayaḥ | vajra-yoginyo mohavajryādayaḥ | teṣāṃ tāsāṃ ca guṇāḥ*  
*samūhāḥ | eka-rūpās taiḥ | bahu-vacanatva-eka-vacanasyaṇi pañca-tathāgatavāt*  
*| tad-yatheti | upadarśane | śvetācaleti bhagavān bhagavatī deha-gata-rūpa-*  
*jñānena evaṃ pītācaleneti bhagavatī deha-gata-gandha-jñānena | rakṣācaleneti*  
*bhagavatī deha-gata-rasa-jñāneneti | śitimācaleneti bhagavatī deha-gata-sparśa-*  
*jñāne | moha-vajryā ceti | bhagavtyā bhagavad-deha-gata-rūpa-jñānena | piśuna-*  
*vajryā ceti bhagavad-deha-gata-gandha-jñāneneti | rāga-vajryā ceti bhagavad-*  
*deha-gata-rasa-jñāneneti | rāga-vajryā ceti bhagavad-deha-gata-sparśa-jñānena |*  
*svayan tu bhagavān bhagavatī-deha-śabda-jñāna-rupaḥ | bhagavatī tu bhagavad-*  
*deha-gata-śabda-jñāna-rūpā | ato naitat prabhedaḥ kutaḥ || evaṃ pramukhair iti |*

evaṃ prakāraiḥ | cakṣuṣā ghrāṇena rasanayā kāyena śrotreṇa rūpeṇa vedanayā saṃjñayā saṃskāreṇa vijñānenaprthivyā jalena tejaś ākāśena ityādibhir ityarthāḥ | etenaivaṃvidhe vihāre parśad-devyo 'nye tādrśyo bodhicitte tu kathitaṃ bhavati | atiguptatvāt nanu tadā tvayā katham śrutam iti cet | athetyāti ayam arthaḥ | tena vihāreṇa yadā catur-ānanda-sukham anubhūya tad-anantaram sarva-puruṣeṣu mahākaruṇām āmukhī-kṛtyāt | evaṃ kṛṣṭhāvalī-samādhim samāpadya idaṃ vakṣyamāṇam udajahāra udāhṛtavān | tadā śrutā mayā ityarthāḥ | saṃgīta-kārasya mama vajrapāṇaḥ śrotrendriya-rūpatvāt bhagavad-bhagavati-deha eva sthityā mayā śrutam iti bhāvaḥ | kim udāhṛtavān bhāvābhāvetyādi | bhāvaḥ ānanda-paramānanda-vikalpaḥ | abhāve viramānanda-vikalpaḥ | tābhyāṃ vinirmuktaḥ tyaktaḥ | catvāra ānandāḥ | sūtra-prajñopāyābhyām anyonyānūrāga-lakṣaṇam aliṅgana-cumbana-stana-marddana-nakha-dānādinā yantrārūḍha-bandhena vajrapadma-saṃyogaṃ yāvad ānandaḥ etena kiñcit sukham utpadyate | (Grünendahl, A Concordance of H. P. Śāstri's Catalogue, pp. 570–571).

247. Yoginīdvandvaḥ yoginī-saṃyogaḥ | tatra nanditam utpannam | prasphuṭatā-karaṇam eva siddheḥ kāraṇam iti | pūrvva-vyākhyātam eva | mahāmudrā-siddhis tu pūrvvaṃ vyākhyātaiveti devatā-sādhanaṃ paṭalaḥ | iti pañcaviṃśati-paṭala-vyākhyā | idaṃ ityādi saṃgīti-kāra-vacanam | idaṃ ukta-lakṣaṇam sakalam tantram bhagavān avocat kathitavān | abhyanandan anumodivantāḥ iti | samāptam iti niṣpannam | ye dharmā ityādi | ye dharmāḥ sapta | vijñāna-nāma-rūpa-ṣaḍ-āyatana-sparśa-vedanā-jāti-jarā-maraṇākyā | te hetubhyaḥ pañcabhyaḥ avidyā-saṃskāra-trṣṇopādāna-bhavākyebhyaḥ bhavanti | hetuḥ kāraṇam teṣāṃ yathā gadanāt tathāgataḥ | avadat uktavān | kāryya-kāraṇayor yo nirodhaḥ, upaśamaḥ nirvāṇaḥ evaṃ svāditum śīlam asya iti mahāśramaṇaḥ iti | vidvān śūras tapasvī ca mahotsāhaś ca vīryavān | adbhutasya ca karttā hi mahān ityabhidhiyate || samitā-pāpatvāt sa śramaṇaḥ | kleśopakleśa-samanāt veti | kṛtyā vyaktatarāṃ mayā punar imāṃ pañjīm guror ājñayā | śrī-tantra-rahasya-sāra-racitāṃ yat tena lokāḥ kalau | prajñopāya-samāgameka-rasikaś caṇḍācalo [']stu drutam || (Grünendahl, A Concordance of H. P. Śāstri's Catalogue, pp. 571–572).

248. Kṛtir iyaṃ mahā-paṇḍita-mahā-sukha-vajra-pādānām iti | samvat 417 phālguna-kṛṣṇa-daśamyām maṅgala-vāsare likhanaṃ samāptam idaṃ iti rājye śrīmat anantamalladeves[e]ti śubham astu sarvajana[n] |.

249. Luciano Petech, *Mediaeval History of Nepal* (c. 750–1480) (Roma: Instituto Italiano Per Il Medio Ed Estremo Oriente, 1958), pp. 95–98.

250. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, p. 79, n. 1, citing Tucci.

251. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 206.

252. See Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, pp. 183–184. Naudou provides a list of fifteen of her works preserved in the *Bstan-'gyur*, though he does not mention this one (p. 184, n. 90).

253. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, pp. 186–187; 187, n. 100.

254. Ui, et al., *A Catalogue-Index of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, lists Tohoku 1165 as the number, though this is a misprint; Tohoku 1165 is *Saptatathāgatastotra*; the correct listing is Tohoku 1195, five folios.

255. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, p. 188.

256. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 74, 377, 377, 195–196, 212–213, 75, 195, 195, 213, 73, 70, 141, and 356 respectively.

257. Grünendahl, *A Concordance of H. P. Śāstri's Catalogue*, pp. 643–644.

258. Shāstrī, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 89–100.

259. His examining board consisted of F. W. Thomas (Oxford), Sylvain Lévi, and Louis de la Vallée Poussin (Nagenrda Chaudhuri, *Ḍākārṇavaḥ. Studies in the Apabhramsa Texts of the Dakarnava* [Calcutta: Metropolitan Printing and Publishing House, 1935], p. 1). Although Chaudhuri dates the text to the thirteenth century, his reasoning seems a bit more speculative. For instance, he explains the derivation of *ḍāka* as a version of the Tibetan *gdag*, or wisdom (*Ḍākārṇavaḥ*, p. 6).

260. In a *sādhana* to Vajravārāhī written by Advayavajra (*Mahā-panḍita-avadhūta-śrīmad-advayavajra*) given by Abhayākaragupta, Ḍākinī, Lāmā, Khaṇḍarohā, and Rūpiṇī are on the eastern, northern, western, and southern petals, dark blue, black, red, and white respectively. (*Tathā pūrvādi-caturdaśeṣu yathā-kramam vāmāvarttana ḍākinī-lāmā-khaṇḍarohī-rūpiṇīḥ kṛṣṇa-śyāma-rakta-gaurāḥ*. . . . Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra* [Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1941], vol. 2, *Tārākhaṇḍa*, pp. 425, 1.1 1–12).

261. De Mallmann, *Introduction à l'Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique*, p. 218.

262. Khaṇḍa-rohā literally means “she of broken ascent” or “she whose rise is cleft.” It appears to be a poetic designation for a woman who is no longer a virgin (the “rise” being her vulva). According to De Mallmann, this is the name of two goddesses from the *Hevajra* cycle, found in the *Samvara*, *Six Carkavartin*, and *Vajravārāhī maṇḍalas*. (*Introduction à l'Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique*, p. 218). She appears in several *sādhana*s given by Abhayākaragupta.

263. De Mallmann notes that “Crow Face” (*Kākāsyā*) is a ferocious goddess, black or blue, with a crow’s head, belonging to both the *Heruka/Hevajra* and the *Kālacakra* cycle. She is always located to the east or southeast (*Introduction à l'Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique*, pp. 204–205). Here in the *Ḍākārṇavatāntra*, *kākāsyā* is apparently a name of one of the breaths. See Abhayākaragupta’s description of the *Samvara maṇḍala* where Crow Face, Owl Face, Dog Face, and Hog Face, like the *ḍākinī*, etc., are accompanied by Śiva in each of the four doors (*dvāreṣu kākāsyolukāsyā-śvānāsyā-śūkarnāsyāḥ ḍākīnyādivat paramaśānugatāḥ*) (Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *Niṣpannayogāvalī of Mahāpanḍita Abhayākaragupta* [Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1972], p. 27).

264. (Mahānāsa-lakṣaṇa-cchoma-vidhi-niyama): 1) Jñānārṇavāvatārah; 2) Vajra-vārāhy-utpatti-nāyakī ca yantra-cakra-maṇḍala-bhāvanādi-svabhāva; 3) Dākiṇī-utpatti-lakṣaṇa-sukha-saṁcāra-karmma-tattva-vyavasthā-vidhiḥ; 4) Lāmotpatti-lakṣaṇa-mantra-nyāsa-ṣaṭ-cakra-varṣmādi-svabhāva-nirvāṇādi-vyavasthā; 5) Khaṇḍarohā-lakṣaṇotpatti-catuṣ-cakra-nāḍī-vyavasthā-nāmoddeśa-mantra-nyāsādi-vidhi; 6) Rūpiṇī-lakṣaṇa-svabhāva-nāḍī-cakra-svabhāva-sthānā-vyavasthā-tantra-lakṣaṇa-vidhi; 7) Kākāśyādi-prāṇotpatti-lakṣaṇa-vidhi; 8) Ulākāsyā-nirṇaya-sambidhānotpattiḥ prāṇādi-lakṣaṇa; 9) Śvānāsyā-lakṣaṇa-sukhādy-avasthā-vidhi; 10) Sūkārāsyotpatti-maṇḍalavatāraṇādi; 11) Yamadāḍī-vyavasthotpattiḥ lakṣaṇa; 12) Yamadūty-utpatti-lakṣaṇādi-mṛtyu-vancana-cakra-bhāvanopadeśa-saṁkṣepataḥ; 13) Yamadaṁśtrī-prayogāvatara-mṛtyu-vañcanādi; 14) Yamamathany-avatārotpattiḥ kālā-mṛtyu-vañcanādi-vidhi-lakṣaṇa-buddhāvasthā-svabhāva; 15) Bhagavān samyak-samādhi-vyavasthita-[n]-āmnāya-sūcaka; 16) Mūla-mantroddhāra-vidhi; 17) Kavacotpatti-lakṣaṇa-vajra-sattva-vārāhyā-vidhi; 18) Vairocanādi-kavaca-rakṣā-vidhi; 19) Padma-nartteśvarādi-rakṣā-kavaca-mantra-nirṇaya; 20) Herukādika-rakṣā-kavaca-vidhi; 21) Vajra-sūryyādi-kavaca-rakṣā-vidhi; 22) Paramāsv-ādi-kavaca-rakṣā-vidhi; 23) Vali-cakra-pujā-vidhi; 24) Maṇḍala-homa-ācāryya-pujā-vidhi; 25) Bhagavān-ityādi-viśuddha-tathāgata-pratiṣṭhā-viśuddha-lakṣaṇa; 26) Pracaṇḍādi-yantra-maṇḍala-yoginī-vīrāṇāṁ mudrāṇāṁ saṁkṣeṭa-viharaṇa-lakṣaṇa-vidhi-nāma-gocara-pāṭalaḥ; 27) Pracaṇḍākṣī-lakṣaṇa-mudrādhīpati-svabhāva-vidhi; 28) Prabhāvatī-lakṣaṇa-mudrā-vidhi; 29) Mahānāsa-lakṣaṇa-cchoma-vidhi-niyama; 30) Mudrā-pratimudrā-vīra-matī-svabhāva-vidhi-lakṣaṇaṁ 31) Kharbarī-akṣara-cchomā-lakṣaṇa-svabhāvaḥ jñāna-nāma-pāṭalaḥ; 32) Lañkeśvarī-mudrā-saṁketa-lakṣaṇa-maṇḍala-cakra-svabhāva-nāma-vidhi-jñāna-pāṭalaḥ; 33) Druma-cchāyā-svalakṣaṇa-mudrā-saṁketa-vidhi-niyama; 34) Airāvatī-kāya-mudrā-lakṣaṇa-vidhi-yukti; 35) Mahābhairavāntar-mudrā-kathana-lakṣaṇa-vidhi; 36) Vāyu-vegāyā[h] prayoga-vidhi-mudrā-varṇaka-lakṣaṇa-vidhi; 37) Surābhakṣī-prayoga-cchomā-svabhāva-lakṣaṇa-vidhi; 38) Vajravārāhyādvaya-śyāma-devyā vāśya-homa-yantra-vajra-maṇḍala-vidhi-lakṣaṇa; 39) Bhagavān mūla-mantrasya subhadrādvaya-yogātmā[h]aya-yantrodeśa-kāla-nāga-karma-vidhi-lakṣaṇa; 40) Haya-karṇa-vīrādvaya-yogataḥ kavacasī-mūlamantrasya karma-vidhi-lakṣaṇa-māraṇāṁ; 41) Khagānandī vīrāyā advaya-yantra-cakra unmatī-karaṇa-svabhāva-lakṣaṇa-vidhi-hṛdaya-mantra-sarbbā-karma-nāma; 42) Cakravegā-karmma-stambhana-vīrādvaya-yoga-lakṣaṇa-svabhāva-nāma-vidhi; 43) Khaṇḍarohā prayoga-bhāvana-yantra-cakram uccāṭana-karmaṣaḍ-yoginī-mantra-kavaceṣu vidhi-lakṣaṇa; 44) Saundhīni-prayogeṣu vidveṣaṇa-lakṣaṇa-vidhi-yantra-cakra-svabhāva; 45) Cakra-varmmanī-mūlikaraṇa-prayoga-vidhi-lakṣaṇa-maṇḍalacakra-bhāvanā-vīrādvaya-yoga-rākṣasākāra-yantra-cakram; 46) Suvīrāyā śāntika-karmma-prayoga-vidhi-lakṣaṇa-yantra-cakra-bhāvanā-stambha-mantrasya karmma-prasaram; 47) Mahāvalāyā yogena mahārakṣā-kilana-mantrasya karmma-bodhisatt[v]asya yantra-bhāvanopāya-vidhi-lakṣaṇa; 48) Cakra-varṭtiṇī-prayogādi-nānā-sādhana-karmma-yantra-cakra-bhāvanā-marga-mūla-mantrodeśa-vidhi-lakṣaṇa-sarvva-karmmakam; 49) Mahāvīrāyā prayoga-lakṣaṇa-guhyā-rasāyanādi-puṣṭika-karmma-śrī-samyak-samādhi-heruka-mūla-

*mantrasya vidhir;* 50) *Pañcaviṃśati-tattvātmāsarvva-tantrāṇām artha-sūcakam sarvva-rahasyam,* 51) *Stutiḥ pūjādi-samaya-sevādvaya* (Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 89–91).

265. The numbers are in the Sanskrit, above each name.

266. Probably Mahārāṣṭra.

267. Here, as with 29 and 44 below (Ceylon and Kaśmīr), Nepal is referred to as a region, not with specific cities, suggesting that the text does not originate from any of these regions.

268. I.e., Bengal.

269. Ceylon, or Śrī Laṅka.

270. As Shāstri points out, this is most likely Bombay, perhaps the earliest known usage of the name (*A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, p. 94).

271. Probably Cambodia.

272. This is a variant reading for the term *pīlava*, *upapīlava*, terms for pilgrimage sites. *Pelava* means “delicate, fine, soft, tender,” according to Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, who cites the word from *Kumārasambhava* 4.29, etc.: “from a bow made of tender leaves and flowers” (*dhanuṣaḥpīlava-puṣpa-patrinah*).

273. I.e., the sixty-four locations are mapped to sixty-four channels emanating from the navel *cakra* throughout the body, in the form of *yoginīs*.

274. An alternate spelling for *dūtikā*, a confidante or woman who acts as a go-between for lovers.

275. Again, the numbers are in the Sanskrit.

276. *Māyākāra-sukṣettriṇī*.

277. Each of these names are in the feminine, as names of goddesses: *raktā*, *śukrā*, etc.

278. I’ve emended *sadavāhinī* to *sadāvāhinī*—an honorific here for breath as a goddess, constantly carrying life through the body. The role of the goddess here is does not significantly differ from the idea of śakti or *kuṇḍalinī* moving through the body.

279. “*Athavā sarvva-nāḍīṣu mantra-nyāsam iha akṣaraiḥ: Ma, ka, o, ka, sau, ma, vaṃ, dra, ka, mā, ma, va, kā, dā, dha, bha, rā, mā, ti, da, ne, sa, raṃ, dhi, vaṃ, khā, ha, su, siṃ, dā, ka, siṃ, hi, vu, ku, ja, pa, ja, va, o, laṃ | jā, a, kā, kau, kaṃ, ja, tri, ca, la, pu, mu, kā, bha, gṛ, pre, va, pai, u, śma, u, ma, kha, mie |*—these are the navel. *Pre, de, u, ma, jvā, si, mā, kau*—so in the heart. *Ra, su, ma, sve, me, ca, māṃ, a, snā, pū, aṃ, sva, vi, mū, pi, śle* / and so for the throat. *Kṛ, ka, bhī, na, tī, vi, cā, gho, u, sa, bha, ma, sthū, a, ja, vi, a, ja, gho, i, ca, ca, grā, rau, kā, do, ca, mā, brā, sū, rā, [ma]*, so for the head *cakra*” (Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 89–100).



280. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 127, 411–412, 502, 548, 502, 548.
281. Rahula Sāṅkrtyāyana, “Recherches Bouddhiques: III. L’Origine du Varjaya et Les 84 Siddhas,” *Journal Asiatique* (Octobre-Décembre 1934): 219–220.
282. Bhattacharyya, *Śaktisāṅgama Tantra*, p. x.
283. *Sādhana*s 264–267 (Bhattacharyya, *Śaktisāṅgama Tantra*, vol. 2, pp. 512–528).
284. Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 87–88.
285. Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, p. 87.
286. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 68.
287. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, p. 248.
288. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 684–685.
289. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, p. 225.
290. I’ve omitted the *ityabhidhānottare paṭalaḥ prathamah*, etc., for each chapter title.
291. Though it’s impossible to tell without the complete text, it appears that the titles for chapters 7 and 8 were inadvertently combined into the double title for chapter 7.
292. Hukam Chand Patyal, in a Brief Communication, “Aṅgiras in the Lakṣmī Tantra,” *Indo-Iranian Journal*, vol. 36, no. 3, (July 1993): 239–240, concludes that “we have to give the meaning ‘name of the founder of a gotra’ to the word *aṅgiras* in the case of Lakṣmī T.” There is a very short *sādhana* to Pratyaṅgirā in Abhayākara Gupta’s *Sādhana-mālā*, no. 202: She is black or dark blue, has six arms and one face; her three right hands hold a chopper, a goad, and one is in the boon-giving *mudrā*; the left hands hold a red lotus, a trident situated in the heart (?), and one has a noose on the index finger; her seed syllable is *hum*, Akṣobhya is in her diadem, she possesses all the decorations, and is endowed with the physical appearance of an adolescent. *Mahāpratyaṅgirā kṛṣṇā, śaḍbhujāikamukhā, khaḍgāṅkuśa-varada-dakṣiṇahastā, rakta-padma-triśūla-hṛdaya-stha-sapāśa-tarjjanī-yukta-vāma-hastā, humbījā, akṣobhya-mukutā, sarvālāṅkāravatī, rūpa-yauvana-sampannā | iti mahāpratyaṅgirāsādhanaṁ ||* (Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *Sādhana-mālā* [Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1968, reprint], vol. 2, p. 402).
293. This must be a local variation of Ucchuṣma (literally, “dried out”), perhaps the consort of Ucchuṣmajambhala to whom five *sādhana*s are devoted in Abhayākara Gupta’s *Sādhana-mālā* (Bhattacharyya, *Sādhana-mālā*, vol. 2, pp. 569–579). Raniero Gnoli refers to Ucchuṣma as a mythical Śaivite master (*Luce Delle Sacre Scritture [Tantrālokaḥ] di Abhinavagupta* [Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1980, second ed.], p. 936); Uccuṣmā is cited by Abhinavagupta



at *Tantrāloka* 28.391a as the first in a list of ten ancient Śaivite gurus: *Ucchuṣma-Śavara-Canḍagu-Mataṅga-Ghora-Antaka-Ugra-Halahalakāḥ* | *Krodhī Huluhulur ete daśa guruvaḥ śivamayāḥ pūrve* || 391 || (R. C. Dwivedi and Navijan Rastogi, eds., *The Tantraloka of Abhinavagupta with the Commentary of Jayaratha. Volume III, Sanskrit Text: Chapters 4–7* [Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987], p. 3272; Gnoli, *Luce Delle Sacre Scritture*, p. 674). Of the other gurus in this list, Mataṅga gives his name to the *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama*, the twenty-sixth of the twenty-eight āgamas of the Śaiva Siddhānta tradition (N. R. Bhatt, *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama [Vidyāpāda]* [Pondicherry: Institut Françias d'Indologie, 1977], p. vii); Halahalaka is a version of Hālāhala; this is the name of (not in any order of priority): 1) the poison Śiva drinks at the mythical churning of the cosmic ocean; 2) several versions of Avalokiteśvara in Buddhist tantric *maṇḍalas* (De Mallmann, *Introduction à l'Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique*, pp. 107–109); 3) a form of Śiva as Hālāhalarudra (Gnoli, *Luce Delle Sacre Scritture*, p. 295; Dwivedi and Rastogi, *The Tantraloka of Abhinavagupta*, p. 1632); 4) the name of one of five realms in the *Vidyā* principle at *Malinīvijayottaratantra* 5.30 (*Vidyātattve 'pi pañcāhur bhuvanāni manīṣiṇaḥ | tatra hālāhalaḥ, pūrvo, rudraḥ, krodhas, tathā aparāḥ* || (Shastri Kaul and Pandit Madhusudhan, eds., *Śrī Mālinīvijayottara Tantram* [Delhi: Butala & Company, 1984, reprint], p. 30; Gnoli, *Luce Delle Sacre Scritture*, p. 804). The name Hālāhala may very likely have been a local deity from the town of Hālā, listed by Abhinavagupta at *Tantrāloka* 15.90b–91 as one of the eight *upakṣetras*, mapped internally to the eight lotus petals at the top of the heart *cakra* (*upakṣetrāṣṭakam prāhur hr̥tpadmāgradalāṣṭakam* || *Virajā, Eruḍikā, Hālā, Elāpūḥ, Kṣīrikā, [Rāja]Purī | Māyā[purī], Marudeśāśca bāhyābhyantara-rūpataḥ* || (Dwivedi and Rastogi, *The Tantraloka of Abhinavagupta*, p. 2483; Gnoli, *Luce Delle Sacre Scritture*, p. 447). In the *Arcāvidhi* of the *Mādhavakulatatantra* Hālā is visualized in the navel (*Tantrāloka* 28.61a, Dwivedi & Rastogi, *The Tantraloka of Abhinavagupta*, p. 3332; Gnoli, *Luce Delle Sacre Scritture*, p. 687).

294. De Mallmann translates *Lāmā* as *jouisseuse*, the feminine sensualist, and gives it as the name of a goddess attached to the *Hevajra* cycle, found in various *maṇḍalas* (*Introduction à l'Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique*, p. 230).

295. The *Gāyatrī* is the brahmanical mantra recited at the morning and evening *sandhyās*, two of the four junctions of the day (the other two being noon and midnight, the latter a Tantric addition). The mantra is: *Tat savitur vareṇyaṃ, bhargo devasya dhīmahi; dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt*: “that best portion of the sun [that] you gave as the radiance of the shining one, may it impel our intelligence.”

296. See *Mṛgendrāgamatantra*, *Kriyāpāda* 7.45 (Brunner-Lachaux, *Mṛgendrāgama. Section des Rites et Section du Comportement. Avec la Vṛtti de Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇkaṇṭha, traduction, introduction et notes* [Pondicherry: Institut Français d'Indologie, 1985], p. 167).

297. The use of the term *paśu* is straight from the Śaiva tradition.

298. 1) Avātaraṇa-samaya-śuddha-rahasya-ṭaḥ; 2) Prārthana; 3) Hṛdaya-tattva-paramārtha; 1) Kāya-saṃvara-vidhi; 2) Mahā-surata-padma-jāla-saṃbara; 3) Saṃbara-guru-pāli; 4) Saṃbara; 5) Pīṭha-parvva-krama; 6) Sarva-anavasthita-Krama-bheda-vidhāna; 7) Mañju-vajra-vidhi-ṭaḥ-tricakrolīpta-saptamaḥ; 8), 9) Yoginī-pīṭha-siddhi-krama-nimitta-nirdeśa; 10) Kośa-prastāva-pīṭha-sampradāya; 11) Pīṭhādi-yoginī; 12) Śrī-heruka-ḍākīnya-vīra-yoginī-ḍākīnyā-bhāvanopatti; 13) Ādi-karmika-yoga-bhāvanā; 14) Madhyendriya-bhāvanopadeśa; 15) Tīkṣṇendriya-bhāvanopadeśa; 16) Catur-ḍākīnī-yoga-saṃbara-vidhi; 17) Yoga-saṃbara-vinaya; 18) (?); 19) Amṛta-saṃjīvanī sarva-karma-karī nāma bhāvanā-ṭaḥ; 20) Yoginī-guhyā-samaya-tattvāvatāraṇa; 21) Kula-ṣaṭ-cakra-varṭti-sampradāya; 22) Kāyavākcittapīṭhānukrama; 23) Samayotthāpana-buddha-kapālotpatti-striyo; 24) Vajra-sattvotpatti; 25) Mañju-vajra-sādhana; 26) Ḍāka-vajra-sādhana; 27) Mahā-rahasyam āliḍākasya sādhana; 28) Prasara-ḍāka-siddhi-nimitta-nirdeśa; 29) Samaya-saṃbarodbhava mahā-maṇḍala-rājā; 30) Dhūta-guṇotpatti; 31) Varṣāpaṇa-vidhi; 32) Viśva-rūpa-vidhi; 33) Śrī-guhyā-samayottama; 34) Kavaca-dvaya-yogotpatti-bhavana; 35) Cchoṣmāṭaḥ; 36) Yoginī-lakṣaṇa; 31) Ḍākīnī-lakṣaṇa; 38) Lāmālakṣaṇa; 39) 40) Aṅga-mudrā-lakṣaṇa; 41) Ḍākīnī-aṅga-mudrā; 42) Ḍākīnī-cchoṣma-lakṣaṇa; 43) Bhūta-saukhyāmbu-parata[r]a; 44) Ḍākīnī-vīra-karma-prasara-sādhaka-yoginī-vīra-hṛdayādvaya; 45) Puṭa-pratimā-pratiṣṭhā-adhivāsana; 46) Maṇḍala-vidhi; 47) Gāyatrī sandhyā; 48) Upahṛdaya-sādhanaotpatti-bhāvanā; 49) Dvātriṃśatty-uttara-hṛdayotpatti-bhāvanā; 50) Maṇḍala-vidhi; 51) Dharma-dhātu-pura-bhāvanā; 52) Guhyā-bhāvanā; 53) Guhyākṣarotpatti-sādhana; 54) Mūla-mantra-khaṭikoddhāra; 55) Kavaca-hṛdaya-bhāvanā; 56) Hṛdaya-mantra-kavaco devyā hṛdaya-bhāvanā; 57) Raktā-catur-mukha-adhiṣṭhāna-lipi-maṇḍala-catuh-krodha-vajra-huṃkārotpatti-khaṭikoddhāra; 58) Varga-yoga; 59) [text missing]; 60) Jñāna-guhyā; 61) Caturdevyāḥ samputāguhyā; 62) Vajra-bhairava-krodhādhīpat-samputodghāṭa; 63) Sapta-janma-paśu-sādhana; 64) Svādhiṣṭhānaḥ svadharmottarotpatti; 65) Ātma-bhāva-pujā; 65) Saṃbara-guhyāyāguhyā-rahasya-mahā-tantra-rājan an[e]koti-tattvopadeśa-bhāvanā (Shāstri, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, pp. 60–63).

299. Ui, et al., A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons, pp. 72, 227, 69, 68, 243, 231, 367–368, 376, 306.

300. Shāstri, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, pp. 100–110, ms. 3825, no. 72.

301. Ui, et al., A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons, p. 70.

302. Amarasiṃha, Amarakośa, with the Commentary of Maheśvara [Bombay: Government Central Book Depot, 1882] p. 165.

303. “[When the moon is] in Arcturus, [the water], going into the cavity of the ocean-oyster, produces a pearl” (svātyāṃ sāgara-śukti-samputa-gataṃ [payah] san mauktikaṃ jāyate).

304. See below.

305. See Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, who cites Kṛṣṇa playing the flute sweetly to call his lover(s) to a meeting (*nāmasaṅketam kṛtasāṅketam vādayate mṛdu veṇum* !); *Gītagovinda* 5; for the meaning of a “meeting place for lovers” he cites *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 11.8.23: “The wanton woman will on occasion bring her beloved to a meeting place” (*sa svairṇyā ekadā kāntam upaneśyati*); and the *Amarakośa* [2.6.10a; see Amarasimha, *Amarakośa, with the Commentary of Maheśvara*, p. 133]: “Desiring her beloved, a woman keeping an appointment with a lover will go to a tryst” (*kāntārthinī tu yā yāti saṅketam sā abhisārikā*).

306 I.e., Viṣṇu, Śiva, or Brahma.

307. I.e., sexually produced beings.

308. *Tatra khalu bhagavān aśīti-koṭi-yoginīśvara-madhye Vajragarbham avalokya smitam akārśīt | samanantarasmite 'smin vajragarbha utthāya āsanād ekāṃśam uttarāsaṅgam kṛtvā dakṣiṇam jānu-maṇḍalam pṛthivyām pratiṣṭhāpya kṛtāñjalipuṭo bhagavantam etad avocat | śrotum icchāmi jñānendra sarvva-tantra-nidānam rahasyam sampuṭodbhava-lakṣaṇam | aho vajragarbha sādhu sādhu mahākṛpa sādhu sādhu mahābodhisattva sādhu sādhu guṇākarāḥ yad rahasyam sarvva-tantreṣu tatsarvvaṃ pṛcchatec chreyā | atha te vajragarbha-pramukhāḥ mahābodhisattvāḥ praharṣotphulla-locanāḥ pṛcchantiḥ sva-sandehān praṇipatya muhurmuhuh sarvva-tantram kim ucyate nidānam katham bhavet rahasyety atra kim ucyate sampuṭodbhavaḥ katham nāma-lakṣaṇam tatra katham bhavet | bhagavān āha |* (Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 69–70).

309. See *Abhidhānottara*, chapter 35, above.

310. Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, cites *kaṭapūṭana* as “a kind of departed spirits” from *Manusmṛti* 12.71 and *Mālatīmādhava* 5.11.

311. *Vasantatilakā* is also the name of a meter with fourteen syllables per *pāda*. (See Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Appendix A, on Sanskrit prosody.) Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Revised and Enlarged Edition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960) cites the *Vasantatilakatantra* as a Buddhist work.

312. Both Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, and Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, give rubbing or cleaning the body with perfumes or fragrant unguents, or the use of these to relieve pain, citing *Yajñavalkyasmṛti* 1.152 and *Manusmṛti* 4.132 (“And one should not go near blood, feces, urine, spittle, or unguents, etc.” *nākramed rakta-viṇ-mutra-sthīvanodvartanādi ca*), perhaps not the best example for the meaning.

313. 4c) *Cihna-mudrā*; 5a) *Melāpakasthānam*; 5b) *Skandha-dhātva-āyatana-viśuddhi*, 5c) *Caryāliṅgaṇam*; 6b) *Deśa-nyāsa[h]*; 7i) *Atha karmma-vidhiṃ vakṣye yena sidhyanti sādhakāḥ*; 7ii) *Atha rasāyanavidhiṃ vakṣye sarvva-stira-samuccayam*; 7iii) *Udvartana-vidhi*; 7a) *Sarvva-jñānodayo nāmāyurvedyaḥ saptamasya prathamam prakaraṇam*; 7b) *Homa-vidhi*; 7c) *Sarvva-karma-prasara-*

cakrodaya; iti śrīsamputodbhave mahātantre sarvva-karma-dhyāna-udayo nāma kalparājāḥ saptamaḥ samāptaḥ |; 8a) Ghaṇṭā-tattva; 8b) Mantra-jāpa-bhāvanā; 8c) Tirthika-ajñāna-apanayanaṁ, Samputodbhava-sarvva-kriyā-samudaya-kalpa-rājo 'ṣṭamaḥ; 9a) Sarva-tathāgatotpattir; 9b) Baly-upahāra; 9c) Paṭa-pustaka-nirṇaya. Iti samputodbhavaś catuś-kriyā-tattva-rāja navamaḥ kalpaḥ 10a) Ācāryya-mahā-sādhana; 10b) Buddha-māyā-vikurvitaṁ (Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 69–71).

314. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 303.

315. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 303.

316. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 83.

317. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 308.

318. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 306.

319. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 303.

320. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 309.

321. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 309.

322. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 302.

323. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 308.

324. Yamāri is an alternate form of Yamāntaka; Yama-ari, or enemy of Yama; the name is used for both Śiva, and (according to Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*) for Viṣṇu in the *Pañcarātra*. De Mallmann describes black, red, and yellow forms of Yamāri, with black being the most common (*Introduction à l'Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique*, pp. 465–469). Here our text indicates a considerably larger number and variety of Yamāris than those noticed by De Mallmann. The *rakṣā* appears in the name of the tantra in the colophon to the first chapter (Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, p. 147).

325. Both Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, and Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, say *ārālika*, “a cook.” *Evaṁ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavān sarvva-tathāgata-kāya-vāk-citta-sarvva-vajra-yoṣit-bhageṣu vijahāra | moha-vajra-yamāriṇā c[a] piśuna-vajra-yamāriṇā ca irṣya-vajra-yamāriṇā c[a] dveṣa-vajra-yamāriṇā c[a] mudgara-yamāriṇā ca daṇḍa-yamāriṇā ca padma-yamāriṇā ca khaḍga-yamāriṇā ca | vajra-carcikā ca | vajra-vārāhī ca vajra-sarasvatī ca vajra-śaurī cākolā-evaṁ pramukhaiḥ mahā-yamāri-saṅghaiḥ atha khalu bhagavān varja-pāṇiṁ vajra-sattvaṁ sarvva-tathāgatādhipatim āmantrayām āsa | atha khalu bhagavān kha-vajrety ādeśa-haraṁ dvitīyo 'tha śabdaḥ | sarvva-māra-nikṛntana-vajraṁ nāma samādhiṁ sva-kāya-vāk-citta-vajra-yoniṁ cārayām āsa | candra-vajra-prayogena bhāvayed yama-ghātakam | māraṇāṁ śamanārthāya dviṣopanude sarvvataḥ || rakṣārthaṁ bhāvayed vajraṁ pañca-raśmi-samākulam | vajreṇa bhūmi-vātaṁ ca prakāraṁ pañjaraṁ tathā || atha khalu bhagavān sarvva-tathāgata-janaka-sarvva-māra-vidhvamsana-vajraṁ nāma samādhiṁ samāpadyedaṁ sarvvaṁ āha |*

vajra-yamāryyādi-vījaṃ svakāya-vāk-citta-vajra-yonin cārayām āsa | yamadhye kṣe  
sa me da ya cca ni rā jā sa ho ru pa yo ni ra | repasyādi-yamaghnaḥ syāt kṣekāre moha  
ucyate || makāre piśunam evākṣaṃ sakāre rāgam eva ca | dakāre 'pi ca īrṣyā syād yama-  
ghnāḥ pañ ca kīrtitāḥ || yakāra mudgara khyātāḥ cakāre daṇḍa-nāyakaḥ | nikāre  
padma-pāñiś ca rākāre khaḍgavān api || jākāre carccikā praktā vārāhī ca sakārake  
| sarasvatī ca hokāre lakāre śaunikā smṛtāḥ || ṇa-yonir catuḥkoṇe catvāra[-]kārakā  
matāḥ | kha-vajra-madhye gataṃ cintet viśva-vajraṃ bhayānakam || yamāntakasya  
madhya-sthaṃ bhāvayet kala-dāruṇam | pūr[v]a-dvāre moha-vajraṃ tu dakṣiṇe  
piśunam eva ca || paścime rāga-vajraṃ tu īrṣākyam uttare tathā | koṇa-vajra-catuh-  
śūle carccikādyā vibhāvayet || dvāra-vajra-catuh-koṇe mudgarādyā vibhāvayet ||  
viśva-vajra-catuh-koṇe catvāro nṛk[p]a-mastakāḥ || atha khalu bhagavān sarvva-  
tathāgatādhipati yamāri-vajraṃ nāma samādhiṃ samāpadyedaṃ mahā-dveṣa-  
kula-mantram udājahāra | oṃ hrīṃ strīḥ vikṛtānana huṃ huṃ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā |  
atha khalu bhagavān sarvva-tathāgatādhipatir moha-vajra-mantram udājahāra |  
oṃ jina jika || atha khalu bhagavān sarvva-tathāgatādhipatiḥ piśuna-vajra-mantram  
udājahāra oṃ ratna-dhṛk | atha khalu bhagavān sarvva-tathāgatādhipatiḥ rāga-  
vajra-mantram udājahāra oṃ ārālika || (Shāstrī, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit  
Manuscripts*, pp. 145–146).

326. Śāstrī does not give these.

327. The Sanskrit reads *malakatotpala*. This appears to be a metrical abbreviation of *kuḍmalaka-utpala*, a blossoming or budding lotus. See *Rājanighaṇṭu Karavīrādīr daśamo vargaḥ* 248, where *kuḍmalaka* is given as a variety/characteristic of lotus (Narahari, *Rājanighaṇṭusahito Dhanvantariyanighaṇṭuḥ*, *Ānandāśrama-samskṛtagranthāvaliḥ*, vol. 33, 1986, p. 165).

328. *Brassica nigra* (L.) W.D.J. Koch.

329. Black pepper, long pepper, and ginger.

330. *Rumex vesicarius*; see Vaidya Bhagwan Dash, *Alchemy and Metallic Medicines in Āyurveda* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1986), pp. 314–315; Narahari, *Rājanighaṇṭusahito Dhanvantariyanighaṇṭuḥ*, p. 250.

331. *Plumbago zeylanica* Linn (Dash, *Alchemy and Metallic Medicines in Āyurveda*, p. 21).

332. *Mala-mukhe* (?).

333. Śmaśāna-karpaṭe cakra-dvayaṃ likhed vratī | rājikā-lavanenāpi viṣeṇa  
nimbakena ca || trikaṭukaṃ kaṭutailaṇca śmaśānārśānam eva ca | dhustūraka-patra-  
niryyāśaiś caṇḍa-vījais tathaiva ca | tarjjanī-raktam ādāya ciktrakasya rasena vā |  
ūśarasya mṛttikā grhya caṇḍāla-haṇḍikañjanaṃ || bubhuṣita-padma-lekhanyā  
caturddāśyāṃ likhed bratī | madhyāhne krūra-cittena duṣṭānāṃ bandha-hetunā  
| nāmaṃ sattva-vighātasya huṃkāreva vidarbhayet || dakṣiṇābhīmukho yogī  
ātmānam yama-ghātaṃ | krodha-rūpaṃ mahācaṇḍaṃ khaṇḍa-muṇḍa-vibhāṣitaṃ  
|| mahiṣa-sthaṃ lalaj-jihvaṃ vṛhad-udaraṃ bhayānakaṃ | kaḍārorddhva-jūṭa-keśaṃ

vakra-śmaśru-bhruvaṃ tathā || dakṣiṇena mahāvajraṃ khaḍgaṃ caiva dvitīyakam |  
trītiye kartti-hastaṃ ca idānīm vāmato likhet || cakraṃ caiva mahāpadmaṃ kapālañ  
caiva vāmataḥ | mūla-mukhe mahābhṛṅgaṃ dakṣiṇe candra-suprabhaṃ || vāmaṃ  
rakta-nibhaṃ proktaṃ vajrābharaṇa-bhūṣitaṃ | roma-kūpa-mahāvivarā sphorayet  
sva-kulādhīpaṃ || pratyālīḍha-pada-saṃsthaṃ sūryya-maṇḍala uddhataḥ || vikṛta-  
daṃṣṭrākarālāsyaṃ kalpa-jvālāgni-sannibhaṃ || evaṃ ātmānaṃ sannahya sādhyam  
vai purato nyaset | etc. (Shāstrī, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts,  
pp. 147–148).

334. Cakrādnupūrvva-likhanaṃ and Cakrāvalokano.

335. Atha mantraṃ pravakṣyāmi sarvva-bhūtā bali-kriyāṃ | uccārite mahāmantrā  
sarvva-bhūta-prakampanam || indrāya hrīḥ, yamāya strīḥ, varuṇāya vi, kuverāya kṛ,  
isābāya ta, agnaye a, nairṭye na, vāyave na, candrāya hūm, arkāya huṃ, brahmaṇe  
phaṭ, vasudhārāyai phaṭ, vemacitrīne svā sarvva-bhūtebhyaḥ hā | hā hā hīm hīm  
hūm hūm he he svāhā | kṛtvā maṇḍalikāṃ tryasrāḥ viṇ-mutra-toya-misṛitaiḥ |  
devatāḥ prīṇayed yogī hāhākāraṃ punaḥ smaret || (Shāstrī, A Descriptive Catalogue  
of Sanskrit Manuscripts, p. 148).

336. Ākarṣaṇādi-prayoga-pāṭalaḥ saptamaḥ.

337. Śauri is a name for Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, Vasudeva, Balarāma, and for Saturn  
(Apte, The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary).

338. Trimukhāṃ ṣaḍbhujāṃ śuklāṃ cakrahastāṃ śaśi-prabhāṃ | carccikāṃ bhāvayet  
prājño rakṣākrṣṭi-prayogataḥ || trimukhāṃ ṣaḍbhujāṃ ghoṇāṃ vajra-hastā[m]  
sunilakā[m] | vārāhi[m] bhāvayet prājño madyākrṣṭi-prayogataḥ || trimukhāṃ  
ṣaḍbhujāṃ raktāṃ sarasvatīm bhāvayed vratī | padma-hasta-dharāṃ saumyāṃ  
prajñā-barddhana-hetave || trimukhāṃ ṣaḍbhujāṃ kharvāṃ marakatotpala-  
sannibhaṃ | śaurim bhāvayet prājño śubhrākrṣṭi-prayogataḥ || (Shāstrī, A Descriptive  
Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, pp. 148–149).

339. Homa-vidhi-pāṭalo 'ṣṭamaḥ; -yamāri-bhīmā nāma navama-pāṭalaḥ.

340. Brāhmaṇasya tu māṃsena citi-bhasmena tan-mṛdā | yamāri-pratimāṃ kuryyāt  
dvi-bhujam eka-vaktriṇam || dakṣiṇena mahā-vajra[m] savye nṛ-śiras tathā | śukla-  
varṇam mahā-bhīmāṃ tena duṣṭān nikṛntayet || pratidinam baliṃ dadyāt pañca-  
māṃsāmṛtena tu | nityaṃ yat prārthayed yogī mama śatruṃ nikṛntaya || ity-ukt[arṃ]  
sapta-rātreṇa pratyūṣe mrīyate ripuḥ | (Shāstrī, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit  
Manuscripts, p. 149).

341. Vetāḍa(vetāla)[-]sādhanaṇusmṛti-bhāvanāpāṭalo daśamaḥ; caryyā-samaya-  
sādhana-pāṭala-ekādaśamaḥ; sarvvopāyika-viśeṣako nāma dvādaśaḥ pāṭalaḥ; siddhi-  
nirṇaya-pāṭalas trayodaśamaḥ; -mañju-vajra-sādhano nāma caturdaśapaṭalaḥ  
(Shāstrī, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, p. 149).

342. Atredaṃ sūtra-pāṭhena parama-samayaṃ | akāro mukhaṃ sarvva-dharmmāṇān  
ādyanutpannatvāt || śiṣyaṃ vai locanaṃ dhyātvā śrī-yamātnaka-rūpavān | jñāna-  
sūtra-varāgrāgraṃ pātayet susamāhitaḥ || tatredaṃ mahā-maṇḍala-praveśa-



samayaḥ | maṇḍala-dvi-guṇito dīrgha-dvāra-viṃśatikam | pañca-gavya-samāliptaṃ sūtram buddhaiḥ prakalpitaṃ || tatredaṃ mahā-vajra-prārthana-samayaḥ | aho buddha-mahācārya aho dharma-gaṇaḥ prabhuḥ | dehi me samayaṃ tattvaṃ bodhicittaṃ ca dehi me || tatredaṃ mahā-bhū-parigraha-samayaḥ | vajra-prṭhivyāvāhanam | tvaṃ devi sāksi-bhūtāsi sarvva-buddhān tāyināṃ | caryyānaya-viśeṣeṣu bhūmi-pāramitāsu ca || (Shāstrī, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, p. 149).

343. Prāṇātipātina ye ca matsya-māṃsādibhakṣakāḥ || madirā-kāmini-saktā nāstika-vrata-dhāriṇaḥ || anabhiṣiktā narā ye ca uddha[ta]-vyasana-kāriṇaḥ | grāma-jāla-ratā ye ca yamāri-tantra-parayānāḥ || siddhyante nāsti sandehaḥ kṛṣṇasya vacanaṃ yathā || atha te maitreya-pramukhāḥ sarvva-bodhisattvā | vajra-nirukti-padaṃ śrutyā tuṣṇīm sthitā abhūvana || (Shāstrī, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, p. 150). Note the grammatical construction ye . . . te . . .

344. -Vajrāṇaṅga-sādhanaṃ pañcadaśapaṭalaḥ.

345. See Apte's entry in *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary* for Aniruddha for his personal history.

346. *Sītkāra* or *śītkāra* is an outbreathing noise made in expression of sudden pleasure or pain, particularly during sexual activity.

347. *Vedhamānām*, perhaps a metrical shortening of *vedhayamānām*, feminine accusative singular of the derivative of the causative of the verb *vyadh*.

348. Athāto rahasyaṃ yakṣye samāsān na tu vistarāt | yena vijñāta-mātreṇa apsarākarṣaṇaṃ bhavet || dvi-bhujam eka-vaktraṃ tu iṣ[u]-kārmuka-pāṇinam | pīta-dehaṃ mahārūpaṃ vajrāṅgaṃ vibhāvayet || pūrveṇa [ca] ratim dhyāyet dakṣiṇe madana-sundariṃ | paścime kāmā-devīm tu uttare madanotsukām || sarvāsām kāmādevīnām karmukaṃ bhāvayet śaram | pītām raktām tathā śyāmām śukla-raktām ca bhāvayet || koṇe caiva nyasen nityam aniruddham uṣāpatim | vasantaṃ makara-ketuṅca dvāri bhāge prakathyate || kandarpa-darpakaṃ cokaṃ smaraṃ bāṇāyudhaṃ tathā | sarvveṣāṃ devatānām tu yamaghnaṃ mūrddhni bhāvayet || strīnām khaga-mukhānta-sthaṃ vajrāṅgaṃ vibhāvayet | sītkāra-mantra-sambhūtaṃ viṣphurantaṃ samantataḥ || vāñchitām vihvalām dhyātvā vedhamānām madotsukām | pādayoḥ patitām caiva rakta-vastra-parāvṛtām | mantraṃ caiva japet tatra oṃkāra svarabheditam | svāhā me vaśibhavatu bhāvayet saptavārakam | vāñchitā[m] labhate yogi kṛṣṇasya vacanaṃ yathā || (Shāstrī, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, p. 150).

349. -Heruka-sādhana-paṭalaḥ ṣoḍaśaḥ; -bodhicitta-nigadana-paṭalaḥ saptadaśaḥ; -kathā-paṭalaḥ saptadaśama. Colophon: Idam avocat guhyakādhipatir vajra-kula-prapetā nakaṭakārasasya sampannato[;] mahātamra-rāja[h] oḍiyāna-vinirgataḥ sapāda-lakṣād uddhṛtaḥ samāptaḥ | kathā-paṭalo aṣṭādaśamaḥ (Shāstrī, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, p. 151).

350. Catuṣpīṭha-sādhana-saṃkṣepaḥ samāpteti | saṃvat 165 śrāvana śukla-daśa-



*myām śukra dine rājye Śrībhāṣkaradevasya śrī-guṇa-kāma-deva-kāritaḥ śrīpadma-cakra-mahāvihāre sthita[m]* śākya-bhikṣu-kumāra-candrena likhitam iti | *mātā-pitā-guopādhyāya-kalyāṇa-mitra-sarvva-sattvam anuttara-jñāna-phala-prāptaya iti | śrīgāṇulāṅge kulaputraḥ* | Śāstri adds that *gāṇulāṅga* “is a Newari word, meaning ‘real’” (Grünendahl, *A Concordance of H. P. Śāstri’s Catalogue*, pp. 485–486).

351. Petech, *Mediaeval History of Nepa* (c. 750–1480), pp. 40–41, 33–35.

352. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 77.

353. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 255–256.

354. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 255.

355. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 255.

356. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 256.

357. *Catuspīṭhohyavidhinā śiṣyābhyarthanayā mayā | sukhaṃ sādhanam saṃkṣiptam udārārccanam ucyate* (Grünendahl, *A Concordance of H. P. Śāstri’s Catalogue*, p. 485).

358. *Iti prakaraṇe ātmapīṭhe iti vāy[v]ādiṣu-tattvasya sva-śarīram eva pīṭham āsanam ādhāra ity uktakrameṇa vāyvādi-tattvaṃ prakṛtyate, prastūyate, anena veti; ātma-pīṭham ātma pīṭham eva iti ātmapīṭhe catuspīṭha-nibandhe prathamah paṭalaḥ | Idānīm kāla-jñāna-tad-vacanādi paṭalam āha | bhagavan śrotum icchāmi jñāna-tattvaṃ viśaya[m], haraṇādikam; vāyam cihnam idam aṅga | iti mṛtyu-cihnam | katham tattvaṃ samāśritam iti | mantra-tattvaṃ | śṛṇu vajra-mahārāja-aṅga-cihnasya darśitam | nirmāṇādi-karyyai rājata iti rāja | vajra akṣobhyatrā mahārāja yasyāsau vajra-mahārāja saṃbodhyate | aṅgaṃ cihnam darśitavyam | anantaram śṛṇu mṛtyu-kālam iva sthitam iti | mṛtyu-kālanitataṃ jñāyata iti bhāvaḥ | cihnam āha śvāsā ityādi |* (Grünendahl, *A Concordance of H. P. Śāstri’s Catalogue*, p. 485).

359. See above, in the extract from the final chapter of the *Ekallavīracanḍa-mahāroṣaṇa* where Bhagavatī is also described as the *paryāṅka-āsana* of sentient beings (*sattva-paryāṅka*).

360. Ghorī is also in the north in the *Yogāmbara maṇḍala* described in Abhayākaragupta’s *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, with a fierce demeanor, yellow-colored, three-eyed, with disheveled hair, and two hands (De Mallmann, *Introduction à l’Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique*, p. 176).

361. Vetālī is also in the west in the following *maṇḍalas* described by Abhayākaragupta in his *Niṣpannayogāvalī*: *Jñānaḍākinī*, *Yogāmbara*, *Hevajra*, and *Nairātmya* (De Mallmann, *Introduction à l’Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique*, p. 445).

362. Caṇḍālī is also in the south of the *Jñānaḍākinī* and *Yogāmbara maṇḍalas* as described by Abhayākaragupta in his *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, though she’s in the southwest in his *Hevajra* and *Nairātmya maṇḍalas* (De Mallmann, *Introduction à*

*l'Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique*, p. 136).

363. De Mallmann describes *Siṃhīnī* in the *Jñānaḍākinīmaṇḍala* from Abhayākaragupta's *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, vertically bicolored with an eastern white half, and a northern yellow half. She has one lion face, two hands, dressed in red, and crowned with five skulls (*Introduction à l'Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique*, pp. 347–348).

364. In the *Jñānaḍākinī maṇḍala* in Abhayākaragupta's *Niṣpannayogāvalī* Vyāghrī is also in the southeast, with a single tiger's head, vertically bicolored with a white southern half and a blue eastern half (De Mallmann, *Introduction à l'Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique*, p. 457).

365. *Ulūki* is also in the northwest in the *maṇḍalas* of *Jñānaḍākinī* and *Yogāmbara* as described by Abhayākaragupta (De Mallmann, *Introduction à l'Iconographie du Tantrisme Bouddhique*, p. 384).

366. The text reads *yeṣāñ ca*, though we might expect *yāsām ca*.

367. *Visarjayet tad-anupūrvokta-bali-vidhāna-vidhi-maṇḍala-cakrañ ca kṛtvā samasta-yathokta-mudrā-mantraiḥ baliṃ dadyāt, oṃ kuru kuru mahābaliṃ huṃ svāheti | hasta-dvayaṃ prasāryya madhyaṅguṣṭhayaṃ cālayitvā-homa-kāla-vali-matta-mudrā-hutāsana-homa-belāyāṃ vahni-parikṣaṇam | yadi durnimittam sūca-yati tadā jvara cakṣa hūṃ svāheti | yatra pradeśe durnimittam tatra aṣṭhottara-śataṃ [g]hṛtiṃ homayet dravyād aprasamodakena triṣvabhyaṅgaṃ pūrvakena homayitvā mūla-devatā-homaḥ kāryyaḥ purokta-krameṇaiva | śvāsena ākṣya svadehe sthāpayitvā visarjya samutiṣṭhed iti homavidhiḥ | yāga-vidhāna . . . te vidhāna-vitāṃ nānā-vastra-pralunṭhitam kṛtvā sita-sindhena caturasram maṇḍalakam kuruyāt | sita-dravyena kalasāt | madhya-bhāṇḍāṇca vilipyakṣaurodaka-sugandhena pūrayitvā palla-vādinā maṇḍayitvā dṛṣṭi-patra-rūpa-kālakatakāṅgam datvā hūṃ hrūṃ suṃ kṣuṃ yuṃ huṃ strāṃ sṛyāṃ kṣrāṃ iti praṇavādi-svāhāntena pratyekam aṣṭhottara-bāram japtvā yathāsthāne aṣṭhakalasān sthāpayet | madhye ca brhat bhāṇḍam sthāpayitvā pūrvokta-krameṇa ātma-yoga-samastam nivarṛtya ātmānam pūjayitvā tato vāhye samārabheta tam kamalābhe svāheti padmākāreṇa karapuṭam vikāśayet | tena madhya-bhāṇḍa-padmaṃ paśyeta | sacandra-maṇḍalam | śveta-chattrā-saṃpannam | tatra hūṃkāreṇa vajra-hūṃkāradhiṣṭhitam tena jñāna-bhāviṇiṃ bhāvayet | dvi-bhuja-dhavaḥ varṇam sattva-paryyaṅkeṇa pratiṣṭhām vajram daṇḍāṇca vāma-dakṣiṇayor bhāvayet | tat purvato vajrī uttare ghorī, paścime vetālī; dakṣiṇe caṇḍālī | īśānyām siṃhīnī āgneyyām vyāghrī | vāyavyām ulūki, pūrvokta-vijñānabharaṇā dhyātavyā | yeṣāñca mudrā-maṇḍala-mayaṃ kāryyaḥ | tam samaye tiṣṭha huṃ phaṭ | vajra-bandham kṛtvā tarjjanī-dvayaṃ prasāryya cakrañ ca granthiṃ kṛtvā samayaṃ darśayet | pūrvavāt pūjayet oṃ hūṃ svāhā vajra-muṣṭhi-dvayaṃ kṛtvā vāmaṃ hṛdaye dakṣiṇam mūrdhataḥ sthāpayet iti mālā-bh[ā]drā-mantraḥ | mūla-mantras tu yathābhilāṣitam codakam dattvā durvvāṅkura-saṃyogitam kundādi-kusumāni sakṛt tadekam mantraṃ uccāryya bhāvanāyuktam kṛtvā devyā-kirīṭi[m] vajram āhanet | ayutāpūrvam dravyam homayet | yathā-*

manīṣita-siddhir-āyur-ārogya-barddhanañ ca bhavati | homānte ca yathoktānusāreṇa  
 baliṃ dadyāt | sarvatra kriyāyām sātṭvikam śukla-vidhānam | pūrvvānanam śāntiṃ  
 kuru | sarvvāpadam apanayetyādi codakam vataikākṣa-mālā-tarjjanī-śāntaman[as]  
 ā śāntiṃ kuryyāt | pauṣṭhika kṣa samasta-pītopacāreṇa uttarānanam puṣṭhiṃ  
 kuru sarvva-sampadam āvāhaya ityādi codakam | śataikākṣamālā-aṣṭhottara-  
 śatākṣamālā[ā]ḥ madhyamā-sthitayā pramudita-manāḥ puṣṭhiṃ kuryyāt | vaśye  
 sakala-raktopacāreṇa paścimāmanam mama ānaya diśāḥ ākarṣa cetyādi codakam |  
 viṃśaty-akṣara-mālām anāmikāyām sthāpayitvā saṃrakṣaman[as]ā śāntiṃ kuryyāt |  
 abhicāre ca samastam eva kopacāreṇa yāmyānanam mārāya uccāṭaya ityādi codakam  
 | śaṣṭhi-saṃkhātākṣa-mālayā kanyāyā sthitayā krodhāviṣṭhaman[as]ā abhicārayed  
 iti | saṃkṣepataḥ bali-homa-yāga-viśayaḥ | śrī-catuṣpīṭha-tantrāmnāyena likhita iti  
 || (Grünendahl, A Concordance of H. P. Śāstri's Catalogue, p. 486).

368. Grünendahl, A Concordance of H. P. Śāstri's Catalogue, pp. 490–491.

369. Both Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, and Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, give for sama-pada “a particular posture in sexual union” or “an attitude in shooting,” both where the feet are even.

370. Sixty aṅgulas.

371. A hemispheric bowl, and the name for a type of sexual union.

372. Namaḥ sarvvabhāvinibhyaḥ || vibhrāṇam buddha-vimbaṃ divasa-kara-  
 dharolāsi-bāleṇdu-lekham maitreyaṃ cāru-rūpaṃ śirasi vara-tanuṃ mañju-ghoṣaṃ  
 ca gātrau | padmoṭhaṃ daṇḍa-rūpaṃ kuṭilita-vapuṣaṃ vajriṇam bhṛnmna(?)-nādam  
 vijñāna-jñāna-rūpaṃ nihata-bhava-bhayaṃ pañca-mūrtiṃ praṇamya || pañjikā  
 likhyate seyaṃ prārthanāt sena-varmmanah | evaṃ bhāṣitety ārambhya yāvad  
 abhyavandann iti vacanāt vibhakti-liṅga-vacanam samāsādayaḥ guru-laghu-yati-  
 cchandanaḍayaś cāryyādeśa-vaśāt yathā-yogaṃ yojaniyā | evaṃ bhāṣita-sarvva-jñam  
 ityādinā nirddiṣṭāḥ catvāro 'rthāḥ deśaka-deśanā-prakāraḥ deśyarthah sthānam iti  
 | tatra sarvvajña iti deśakah | evam iti deśanā-prakārah | jñānam iti deśyarthah |  
 śuddhāvāsakam ity etat sthānam tatra yadārthah duṣi . . . miti buddhānām ityārthah  
 | dakṣṇām iti kvacit tatrāpi sa eva arthah | yoginī-jāla-sambaram iti | yoginyaḥ  
 prajñāpāramitādyāḥ jālam samūhaḥ sat prāg eva uktaṃ | samapada ityādi padaṃ  
 parāṅguṣṭhāṅgulyāṃ saṃśleṣātma-samapadam tasya caika-pāda-saṅkocanātiryyak-  
 sthāpanam vā cittapadam | hasta-dvayam eva vāhya-canaṅgūliyakam | taj-  
 vajjānudvayam kuryyāt | bāhustābhyām haṃsa-pakṣākṛtiḥ | maṇḍala-pada-  
 dakṣiṇa-padam bhūmau saṃsthāpya vāma-pada trailokya-laṅghanākāreṇa salilam  
 utkṣepaḥ iti tri-vikrama-padam | dakṣiṇa-careṇa vāma-caraṇam ākramet | vāma-  
 jaṅgaṃ saṃkocya pañca-vitasti āyāma prāsārayet āliḍha syāt | pratyāliḍho atra  
 dakṣiṇam ākuñcyā vāmaṃ tathaiva prāsārayed iti | Eka-caraṇam utkṣipyate | naiva  
 paribhramet | ityekaḥ sthānaḥ | lalitākṣa-pāditayā sukha-niśadya vividha-prakāreṇa  
 pādasya vikṣepe pāda-vikṣepeṇa ātma-bhedam vimṛśyādaḥ cet sarvva saṅkucya  
 viparitoru-vinyāsa-prayogāc cāpi tat-kṣayāt śrama-pūrvvam utpanna-nāśayeti  
 ubhayor api | yoginī-pāda-dvaya | yāvad arddha-sthāpanam vā yūpas-kārah | āha  
 ca | ekata kuṇṭhita-nyastas-[tri]ni-kaṇṭhita-jānukarm | āsīna-puruṣopetam yugma-

*pādaṃ pratiṣṭhitam anyonya-jānubhyāṃ vāmā-pārsva-piḍanam muṇḍa-tāḍanam | vajra-sattva-bāhu-pāśe prajñā-pāramitā-kaṇṭha-dr̥ḍham āliṅgya devyā-jaṅgham tu parivinyāsyā tat sampuṭaḥ saṃyamī-kṛtaṃ uktaṃ ca yogṣit-kaṇṭha-vikalpa-prāṇāt mokṣaḥ ity utkam āryya-devena iti | dvandvāliṅganam iti prajñopāya-sammilanam kutaḥ ityāha sakala-sattva-dhātoḥ saṃsārottara-kāryyeṇa ity arthaḥ | yoginī-jāla-sambaram muktvā nāsty anyāḥ saṃsāre sāra iti | pādānāt dvādaśa-sahasrikokta-kakṣapuṭe pādasya saṃhāraḥ tatredaṃ kakṣapuṭam | nṛpa-sa[h]a-śikhī-dhārī hasta-śobhā-sukanyā | jaṭa-naraka-vibhītā-mohanīndrābja-vajrā | kuru catur-catuṣka-pañca-dehāya miśraṃ | yuvatī-va[ś]a-yogya tvaṃ ca tuṣṭhim sadam[ś]rai || (Grünendahl, A Concordance of H. P. Śāstri's Catalogue, pp. 490–491).*

373. Add. 1704 (Bendall, *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge*, pp. 197–198).

374. *Namo ratnatrayāya | vidyuj-jihvāṃ mahābhīmāṃ sarvāsā-paripūrakāṃ | tān namaskṛtya vakṣye 'haṃ sādhanopdikāmbarāṃ || bhagavatyā svedāmbujāyāḥ kalpokta-vidhinā praviṣṭa-maṇḍalābhiṣeka-vidyā-labdhasya mantriṇa japa-vidhim ārabhyet || prathamān tāvat mantriṇo kalpa . . . ya-pratipālanām ṛddhi-pratīhāryyādi . . . mahotsāhinā || . . . m-anātmavān rājādi-sampadā anyatane siddhi-niṣpādanādhyeṣaṇā-yukte suniścic-cetasā sarvvaṃ dvandvaṃ sah[v(?)]iṣṇunā || akhinna-mānasena vāhyādhyātmika-śaucācāre samanvitena prajñāpāramitādi-saddhṛmma-vāca-nodyatena parvvatārāmodyāna-śmaśāna-padmasara-nadī-pulina-vihārālaya-guhā-diṣv athavā mano'nukūle sthāne mṛd-gomayādir-upalepanam || . . . ya-bhūmi[m] kalpayet || tatrāyaṃ vidhikramo, niśā tṛtīyāvasāna-kāla-samaye śayanād utthāya trayādhvikākāśa dhātu-niṣṭha-dharmma-dhātu-paryyavasāna-vyavasthitebhyaḥ bodhisattvebhyaḥ sarvvāntam abhāvaṃ viniryātayet | praṇamet tato dvādaśākṣara-mantreṇa aṅguṣṭha-mūdrayā ātmānaṃ pañcasu sthāneṣu rakṣā[m] vidadhyāt | tena bahir bhūmyādikaṃ gacchet rātrau dakṣiṇādbhimukho divā cottarābhimukho bhavet | tataḥ kṛlāśacas tu snāna-pañcāṅga-prakṣālanam vā kuryyāt, tato devyā udakāñjali-trayaṃ nivedya, deva-grhaṃ yāyāt, samyak-lita-kusumābhikīrṇ[e] maṇḍalake devyāḥ paṭa-pratimasyānyatamasyāgrataḥ abhāvena bhagavati[m] dhyātvā raktāmbara-dharo sarvvopakaraṇopetaḥ praticyādi-mukho-daṇmukho vā sarvva-loka dhātyāsthita-sarvva-buddha-bodhisattva-pratyeka-buddhāryya-śrāvakādīn bhāvato namet || tato bhagavatiṃ natvā añjalim śirasi nidhāyevaṃ vadet, ratna-trayaṃ me śaraṇaṃ sarvva-pāpaṃ pratideśayāhaṃ anumode jagat-punyaṃ buddha-bodhau dadhe manaḥ | tathaivānalim kṛtvā viśuddhi-mantram udīrayet | saptavāraṃ namaḥ samasta-buddhānāṃ om sarvva-viśuddhi-dharmma || (Shāstrī, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, pp. 142–143).*

375. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, p. 232.

376. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, pp. 256–257.

377. Tohoku 3428 is mistakenly listed twice in the Tohoku Catalogue Index (Ui, et al., *A Catalogue-Index of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 65).

378. The only Vajrapāda referred to by Naudou (*Buddhists of Kashmīr*, p. 95, n. 38) is Acintya or Vajrapāda, another name for Mīna-pā or Matsyendranātha, who was likely the same individual as Lui-pā. This would place Vajrapāda, if these identifications are accurate, in the ninth century.
379. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, p. 212.
380. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, vol. 1, p. 88.
381. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, pp. 149–150.
382. See Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, p. 190.
383. For Tohoku listings of authors and translators, Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 484–485, 519, 520, 511.
384. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 511.
385. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, p. 249.
386. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, pp. 256–257.
387. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 299, 526, 504, 398.
388. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, pp. 184–185.
389. Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, pp. 213–214, n. 38.
390. Incorrectly listed as no. 1949 in the Index to the Tohoku Catalogue. Tohoku 1949 is the *Daṇḍadhṛg-vidāra-yamāri-sādhana-nāma* (Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 307); the correct listing is Tohoku 1649.
391. See Naudou, *Buddhists of Kashmīr*, pp. 253–256.
392. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 260–261.
393. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 485, 489.
394. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 69, 228.
395. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 120.
396. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, p. 85.
397. Ui, et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, pp. 134, 411, 674.

## **The Pure Land on Earth: The *Chronicles of Amoghapaśa 'Phags pa Don yod zhags pa'i Lo rgyus***

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### INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The *Chronicles of Amoghapaśa* describes the travels of a Buddhist layman named \*Śāntivarnam to the Potala, the famed capitol of Amitābha's Pure Land Sukhāvatī. This account was written by Sonam Tsemo (1142–1182), the oldest son of Sachen Kunga Nyingpo (1092–1158), the founder of the Sakya order of Buddhism in Tibet. It is significant in that it presents the Potala as a real place on earth, map and all. In this account Amoghapaśa, rather than Avalokiteśvara or Amitābha, is the lord of the Potala. There is much use of allegory, bringing home a message of our relationship with the lord of the Potala and of spiritual progress, while describing a real historical transmission of its tidings down to the author. The story is rich in many ways. Rather than writing a long essay I present only the translation, in hopes that many people with numerous methodologies will find it a fruitful ground for further study.<sup>1</sup>

### TRANSLATION

I bow to Amoghapaśa.

The story:

Not too long after the Buddha passed into nirvana there was an *upāsaka*<sup>2</sup> in Vārāṇasī, to the west, named Armor of Peace.<sup>3</sup> After he had gone to the Potala three times he became famous by the name of Iron Gift.<sup>4</sup> He was a man who harbored many wonderful Dharmas. He studied the Dharma under all the gurus. His compassion was as great as any other buddha or bodhisattva. He would listen to sentient beings with a heart of love.

He had heard that on the ocean shore to the south there was a place called Potala Mountain. He got the idea that he would go there for a visit. He made it to Vajrāsana. At sNga gdong<sup>5</sup> he saw a map drawn out for going to Oudṇyana, a map for going to Mt. Śrī, a map for going to the five-peaked mountain [Wu Tai Shan] in China, and a map for going to the Potala. He copied the map for the Potala and took it with him when he left.

On his way south he spent six months in a city without departing. Then he traveled for twenty days over an empty plain where there were no cities. There was a red river next to a huge ocean that he followed for seven days, until his knees wore out. The water was so hot that he couldn't drink it, so he took fruit from trees growing there and dunked them in the rivulets until they were saturated. He carried a lot of them, and when he was thirsty he sucked their juice as he went along.

He couldn't get over the river, so he looked at the map. There was something on it that said: "Get what you ask for from Tārā." So he prayed, and Tārā gave him a boat. Then she left. He reached a place called Tārā's Harbor, but no one came out to guide his boat in. He looked over the map. It said: "You will get what you ask for from Brikuṭi." He prayed. A high place appeared to him, so he went up to it. The place was called Brikuṭi Heights. A giant river named Bhaganati came from the southwest on toward the northeast. It went right out to the middle of the ocean without mixing its waters [with the ocean water]. He was stuck in the middle [of the river] and couldn't get out. He looked at the map. There was something that said: "You will get what you ask for from Hayagrīva, the horse-necked one." So he prayed. A bridge appeared on which there was a giant serpent, as big as a chariot wheel. There was a growth on its head that was a horse's head. There was an opening [on the bridge], so he crossed to the other side and arrived at the foothills of the Potala. That [bridge] was called Horse-neck Bridge. He went up from there and there was Jomo Tārā teaching the Dharma to bodhisattvas, mostly gods. He offered her flowers. He bowed and gave her gifts.

She asked him: "Where do you come from and where are you going?"

The *upāsaka* said: "I come from Vārāṇasī. I am going to see the Noble One's face."

She said: "Come back here after you meet him."

So he went on.



On the midsection of the mountain there was Samantabhadra with a retinue that was mostly *asuras*. He was sitting there explaining the Dharma, just as the previous one. The *upāsaka* went on from there and Brikuṭi was sitting there explaining the Dharma to a multitude of bodhisattva retinues, and it was just as before. Then he got to the summit. The ground was made entirely of precious gold, with many jeweled eyes drawn in patterns upon it. It had an inlay of Vaiḍūrya jewels. Trees of jewels were spread out, and there was a variety of deer there. All of them were announcing the Mahayana Dharma. They were working to liberate the spirits<sup>6</sup> of all sentient beings. There were all kinds of birds doing the same thing. There was a complete sangha of bodhisattvas, a part of which consisted of women and children. There were also a lot of *śrāvaka* sangha members there.

In the midst of all of them there was a crystal palace. The door in the east opened up with just a touch. He went inside and saw the noble Amoghapaśa by the light of five gods who were serving there as lamps for the way. He bowed. He presented offerings.

The Noble One said: “From whence have you come? Why have you come here? You are worn out.”

The *upāsaka* said: “I came from Vārāṇasī to see the Noble One’s face, and to request the Dharma.”

So the Noble One taught him the Dharma. “Now, will you be staying here or returning to your country?”

The *upāsaka* thought to himself: “I have seen the faces of many buddhas and served them. I have made it this far, so if I go back I’ll be famous among men.” So he said: “I will go to my country.”

[The Noble One] invited about five hundred guests and gave them a meal, then he said: “O Na, go on, you.”

Then the *upāsaka* bowed and made offerings to the Noble One and started his descent. He met Brikuṭi. “Did you meet the Noble One? Now where will you go?” she asked.

He said: “I met the Noble One. Now I’m going to my country.” He bowed and made offerings, then went on. It went the same way with Samantabhadra on the midsection of the mountain and with Tārā among the forest leaves. Then he prayed to the Horse-necked One, who made a bridge for him, and so on until eventually he made it to Vārāṇasī.

Now the king of Vārāṇasī, the *paṇḍitas* there, and everyone else was saying: “O *upāsaka*, where did you go?”

He told them, “I went to the Potala and met Tārā,” and went on to tell them the whole story.

“O Na, what *siddhis* did the Noble One give you?”

“He didn’t give me any at all,” the *upāsaka* said.

Everybody said: “If you meet a Noble One it’s expected that you receive *siddhis*. This didn’t happen, so you are telling us lies.”

Now in the forest grove there lived a large number of yogis who had attained *siddhis*. He bowed and made offerings to them, doing them great services. He asked them: “Is it the truth when I say that I went to the Potala and met the Noble One?”

The *siddhas* said: “That’s how it was.”

Then the king and the *paṇḍitas* said to the *upāsaka*: “O Na, There are too many chapters in *The Twenty-thousand [Line Perfection of Wisdom]* and they do not agree with the *Abhisamayālamkāra* written by Maitreya. So did you ask him how this could be?”

He said: “I didn’t ask.”

They said: “It is fitting that you ask.”

So the *upāsaka* went back and step by step he reached the outskirts of the Potala. There was a good man at home who had covered his head with a monk’s robe while plowing the fields, and the rows where he plowed were all brimming with the blood of dead animals. His wife was pulling weeds. A little boy was lying in a bed.

He saw these things, but he couldn’t believe it. He went up to them and put on [the robes] that characterize the Buddha and said: “Do it like this.” Then he took the robes off and put on white clothes. The good man said: “O Na, you have to carry these Dharma clothes,” and gave them to him.

The *upāsaka* carried them until he had brought them into a forest, then he set them down. Then he went on. He went to the place that Tārā used to stay. He scattered some old flowers there, but he didn’t see Tārā. Neither did he see Samantabhadra or Brikuṭi. He went to the summit of the mountain, but it was cloaked in fog and he didn’t see any of the things he had seen before.

He thought to himself: “What is it that is keeping me in the dark?” Then he confessed his evil deeds for one full day. He prayed to the Noble One, and things started to appear to him like they had looked before.

He met the Noble One, and asked: “Why is it that I didn’t see Tārā and the others?”

The Noble One said: “You are in the shadows because you made that good man part from his Dharma clothes. That’s why you don’t see. You have tossed away the things that support him that are so difficult to find. They will support him when he becomes a monk. You have forced him to part with the insignia that are so difficult to find, the insignia of saffron. You must go and return the Dharma clothes. If you do that he won’t go to hell. If you don’t, he will go to hell.”

So the *upāsaka* went down and looked for the Dharma clothes. They were in an opening in the woods on the path he had previously gone on. He picked them up and went to where the good man lived with his wife and child.

He was sitting there in a grass hut boiling some rice soup. The *upāsaka* gave [the Dharma clothes] to him. He said: “When I made you part from these things I took on a massive shadow. Now you must wear them until you die.”

He left and met up with Tārā. He told her the whole story.

She said: “I was right here. You were in a shadow so you didn’t see me.” It went the same way with Samantabhadra and Brikuṭi. Then he went to where the Noble One was. He said to the Noble One: “I beg you to come to Jambu Island<sup>7</sup> to help its sentient beings.”

The Buddha said: “I’m always there, but they don’t see.”

The *upāsaka* asked him again, but he said: “Sentient beings have impure karma, so I’m of no use.”

Then he asked again. The Buddha said: “O Na, I will come.” He called out and invited five hundred guests. He said: “Go and give this to them for a meal. I will come while you are eating.”

Now the *upāsaka* thought to himself: “I had a question earlier on. When the Noble One comes out I’ll ask him.” Then he set out for home.

He made offerings to Brikuṭi and the rest of [the assembly] and then left. The stages he went through were that he stayed in the city for five months without leaving. The place was about one month’s journey from Vajrāsana. There was a place called the City of the Gods.<sup>8</sup> He went there. He saw some travelers there, and stood up to teach the Dharma to them. When there was only one left he sat down. The rest of them had gone to buy things to eat. The *upāsaka* ate and went back to the forest highlands. He sat down at the trunk of a tree where it didn’t hurt. He slept the night at its roots. When he got up in the morning the earth was glistening and shining so brightly. A rain of flowers and perfumed waters came down. The sky before him was full of light. The

children of the gods were offering their gifts from out of the sky and then set themselves down there.

He thought to himself: "What's this?"

He looked all over the ground and didn't see anything. He did not give up. He went on and looked everywhere, but he didn't see anything. He went up to a tree, and there the noble Amoghapaśa was sitting at its trunk with five gods. The *upāsaka* bowed and made offerings.

Then the Noble One said: "You don't have what it takes. Enlist the son of the king of Bochara to build a *chopari* here. So the *upāsaka* went to that country, but the Noble One was already there. All the people were making offerings to him. The king offered into his hands a mountain of ten million pieces of gold. He cut the top off of a tree and put a *gañjira* on it. He put a *chopari* on it. He called it the Temple of Kharsapāṇi. The king supported eighty monks there.

Then the *upāsaka* asked the Noble One: "There are too many chapters in *The Twenty-thousand [Line Perfection of Wisdom]* and they do not agree with the *Abhisamayālamkāra*. How could that be?"

"I am just a manifestation of great compassion. I don't know. The source of great compassion is the embodiment of perfect enjoyment and lives at the Potala. Hurry over there."

So once again the *upāsaka* went over the same old road just as he had before. He met Tārā in the Potala's foothills. He bowed and made offerings.

She said: "You've come back. Why have you come?"

He told her the whole story of what had happened.

"How could it be that he didn't know?" she said. "He got you to come to the Potala a third time so that you could clear away the darkness. Now wake up from all that darkness! Clear it out!"

It went the same way when he met Samanthabhadra, Brikuṭi, and the Noble One.

Then the Noble One said: "*The Twenty-thousand [Line Perfection of Wisdom]* has eight chapters and agrees with the *Abhisamayālamkāra*," and he gave him the books.<sup>9</sup>

So once again he took that old road and came to Kharsapāṇi. He met the Noble One there, who said exactly the same thing he had before.

They say that the *upāsaka* returned to the Potala and lived there.

After that a *paṇḍita* from western India named Abhyakara showed up and performed services for the Noble One while he lived there. He had a dream one evening in which he heard the spell of the eternal

door<sup>10</sup> recited three times from out of the sky in the Sanskrit language. When he woke up he sat there with his mind stuck on this. He thought: “This is the blessing of the Noble One,” so he took him as his only *yidam*. They say he attained *siddhis* and that he moved to the Potala.

After him there was a *paṇḍita* named Sa ston. He served the Noble One while living there. First he taught him the Dharma in his dreams. Later on he taught him for real.

His student was Paṇḍita Amoghavajra. His student was Bari Lotsawa.<sup>11</sup>

#### NOTES

1 The *'Phags pa Don you zhags pa'i lo rgyus* is found in the *Sa skya bKa' 'bum*, a fifteen-volume compilation of the collected writings of the founders of the Sa skya tradition, vol. 5, pp. 361–369. Five hundred photo-offset copies of the original manuscript were published in 2006 by Sachen International, Guru Lama, Kathmandu, Nepal (ISBN 99933-8208-3).

2 A Buddhist layperson who has taken the five vows of not killing, stealing, lying, having perverse desires and consuming alcohol.

3 Zhi ba'i go cha, \*Śāntivarnam.

4 Lcags kyi byin pa, \*Ayasdatta

5 Literally, “Early Face.” It is possible that this is a corrupt spelling of lnga gdong, “Five-faced One,” which is an epitaph of Mahādeva.

6 rgyud.

7 Jambudvīpa is the name of the continent where the Buddha taught, according to Buddhist cosmology.

8 Devikoṭa.

9 Po ti.

10 Sgo mtha' yas pa'i gzungs.

11 Bari Lotsawa was a teacher of Sachen Kunga Nyingpo, Sonam Tsemo's father.



## Notes on Some Sanskrit Texts Brought Back to Japan by Kūkai\*

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It is a well-known fact that Kūkai 空海 (774–835), the founder of the Shingon 眞言 sect of Japanese Buddhism, studied Sanskrit during his two-year sojourn in Tang China (804–806), although the probable level of his proficiency has been the subject of some debate. It is also evident from the catalogue of texts and other items that he brought with him from China (*Go-shōrai mokuroku* 御請來目錄), submitted to the imperial court in late 806, that the scriptural texts he brought back to Japan included textbooks on Sanskrit phonetics and the Sanskrit syllabary, and forty-two Sanskrit texts written in the Siddhamāṭṛkā (or Siddham) script.<sup>1</sup> In addition, the thirty notebooks of texts that he either himself copied or had other people copy for him while in China (*Sanjūjō sasshi* 三十帖冊子, or *Sanjūjō sakushi* 三十帖策子) also contain a considerable amount of Sanskrit material likewise written in the Siddhamāṭṛkā script. Moreover, before Kūkai's departure for Japan, the monk Prajña,<sup>2</sup> one of two Indian masters (the other being Muniśrī) whom he mentions by name as his teachers in Sanskrit and Brahmanical philosophy, entrusted Kūkai not only with copies of his own Chinese translations of several Buddhist scriptures but also with three Sanskrit manuscripts.<sup>3</sup>

The fate of these last three Sanskrit manuscripts is not known, but the other Sanskrit texts and the *Sanjūjō sasshi* have by and large survived down to the present day in one form or another. Given the existence of this sizeable body of Sanskrit material dating from the early ninth century, one would expect that it would have been subjected to careful scrutiny by past scholars. It turns out, however, that there has been surprisingly little textual research on this corpus. While I had long been vaguely aware of the existence of this material, I first took a serious interest in it when I discovered that the *Qianbo Wenshu yibaiba mingzan* 千鉢文殊一百八名讚 (T. 1177B), one of the forty-two Sanskrit texts brought back by Kūkai, tallied with the greater part of a text



preserved in Tibetan translation.<sup>4</sup> The fact that this had not previously been noticed prompted me to take a closer look at other Sanskrit materials brought back by Kūkai, and I present some of my findings in this article.

As already noted, most of the Sanskrit material brought back by Kūkai is found either scattered throughout the thirty notebooks making up the *Sanjūjō sasshi* or in the form of the Sanskrit texts recorded in the *Go-shōrai mokuroku*. Full facsimile sets of the former have been produced twice during the past century,<sup>5</sup> and some of the works contained in these notebooks were used as textual witnesses when the Taishō canon was edited. But the greatest interest in them seems to have been evinced by calligraphers owing to the fact that parts of them are believed to be in the hand of Kūkai and Tachibana no Hayanari 橘逸勢 (d. 842), regarded as two of the three most outstanding calligraphers of the early Heian period.<sup>6</sup> These notebooks, however, are far too voluminous to take up in a short study.

The fate of the originals of the forty-two Sanskrit texts, meanwhile, is unclear, although it is known that copies were made over the centuries, and in the early twentieth century the Shingon scholar-monk Hase Hōshū 長谷寶秀 (1869–1948) managed to locate thirty-nine of them, which he then hand-copied and published together with a reproduction of a 1734 block print of the fortieth (a Sanskrit syllabary) in two volumes.<sup>7</sup> It is some of the Sanskrit texts contained in these two volumes that I wish to examine here.

Regarding the provenance of the texts reproduced in his two-volume work, Hase writes that thirty-one of them were copied from manuscripts held by the treasure house of the Mieidō 御影堂 chapel in the Tōji 東寺 temple complex in Kyoto.<sup>8</sup> These manuscripts are said to have been copied between 1341 (Ryakuō 暦應 4) and 1345 (Jōwa 貞和 1), when a total of 216 texts in 461 fascicles brought back to Japan by Kūkai were borrowed by Tōji from Ninnaji 仁和寺 and copied at the instigation of the monk Gōhō 杲寶 (1306–1362). Hase discovered a further five texts (nos. 20, 32, 37, 38, and 39)<sup>9</sup> among the Siddhamāṭṛkā manuscripts, originally from Kongōzanmai'in 金剛三昧院 on Mt. Kōya, which at the time were in the custody of Kōyasan University Library; these are said to have been copied from 1232 (Jōei 貞永 1) to 1233 (Tenpuku 天福 1). Three further texts (nos. 4, 28, and 34) were found to be included in the *Bongaku shinryō* 梵學津梁, a voluminous study of Sanskrit by Jiun Onkō 慈雲飲光 (1718–1804) held in manuscript form

at Kōkiji 高貴寺.<sup>10</sup> Hase hand-copied these thirty-nine texts and added the above-mentioned woodblock print (no. 42), and while he was unable to locate manuscripts of two final texts (nos. 8 and 10), he published the forty texts in 1938, thereby making them generally available for the first time (apart from several that had been reproduced from a variety of sources in the Taishō canon).

A survey of the forty texts reproduced by Hase has been published by Kodama Giryū and Noguchi Keiya,<sup>11</sup> and this presumably provides a reliable indication of the state of research at the time of its publication in 1998. While most of these Sanskrit texts have been identified, there are some that, although previously identified, leave scope for further elaboration; and there are others, hitherto unidentified, that either I have managed to identify or are, I believe, worth bringing to the notice of others who may be able to identify them. It is some texts from these two groups that are the focus of the following remarks.

More specifically, I take up five texts (in the order in which they are listed by Kūkai in his *Go-shōrai mokuroku* and reproduced by Hase): (1) a mantra of Amṛtakunḍalin; (2) a text titled “Eulogy of the Vajras of the Gem Family,” which consists of four separate texts, one of them being a passage from the start of Part II of the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha*; (3) a eulogy of Cundā; (4) an unidentified 108-name eulogy; and (5) a eulogy of Avalokiteśvara. The most notable of these is perhaps the excerpt from Part II of the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha*, and I still find it surprising, if not improbable, that its presence among Kūkai’s Sanskrit texts has not been previously remarked upon (unless some reference to it has escaped my notice). Because there is little information available in English on the Sanskrit texts brought back by Kūkai, a full list of them is given in an Appendix with brief comments on their content.

As has already been indicated, the texts dealt with below are copies at several removes from those originally brought back to Japan by Kūkai, and their reliability as textual witnesses has undoubtedly suffered in the course of their transmission. Moreover, in many cases more than one manuscript copy of the text is known to exist. It should therefore be borne in mind that in the following I deal with witnesses from just one set of copies. Hase himself collated the manuscripts of several texts he found in both the Mieidō treasure house and the Kōyasan University Library, and his original notes have been reproduced in volume 5 of his collected works.<sup>12</sup> But his notes on variant readings are confined to only three texts (nos. 1, 3, and 5) and do not cover the works taken up here.

If other extant manuscript copies of these texts were made more generally accessible (in addition to those reproduced in the Taishō canon and in the *Bonji kichō shiryō shūsei*, a collection of photofacsimile reproductions of valuable Sanskrit materials preserved in Japan, most, but not all, written in the Siddhamātrkā script),<sup>13</sup> it would become possible to collate multiple witnesses of the same text and thereby perhaps resolve some of the textual uncertainties highlighted below. Since at the present time this is still impossible, the present study offers only some preliminary observations on these texts.

For each of the texts discussed below, the original title is given in romanized Japanese and Chinese characters with an English translation, followed in parentheses by the text's number in the appended list. The diplomatic transcription is provided in roman type (with the page numbers of Hase's text inserted within square brackets) and the reconstructed text in italics, and these are followed by an English translation and brief remarks on the text. Interlinear glosses in the original texts, usually suggesting alternative readings and presumably added by a later copyist, are given inside braces ({} ) immediately after the *akṣara* alongside which they have been added, but the occasional Chinese character that seems to have been added interlinearly as a phonetic gloss has been omitted. In addition, superfluous *akṣaras* presumably due to scribal error have been enclosed in angle brackets; graphic elements whose identification is uncertain are enclosed in parentheses; and a lowercase "x" represents one totally illegible *akṣara*. There remain some passages that have defied all attempts to restore to their putative original form; these have been marked with crux marks (†) in the reconstructed text.

1. SENPI KANRO GUNDARI SHINGON 千臂甘露軍荼利眞言  
MANTRA OF THOUSAND-ARMED AMṚTAKUṆḌALIN (NO. 11)

Sanskrit Text

[327] kuṇḍalidharani

ॐ namo ratnatrayāya | namaḥś caṇḍavajrapāṇaye | mahāyakṣa-  
senāpataye | namo vajrakrodhāya | daṃṣṭrotkaṭābhairavāya | tad yathā  
om | amṛtakuṇḍali | tiṣṭha | bandha 2 | hana 2 | garja 2 | visphoṭaya 2 |  
sarvaviḥṇavināyakāṃ | mahāgaṇapati jīvitāṃta | karāya [328] | svāhā ||  
ārya amṛtakuṇḍalivīnāyakabandhadhārāṇi || ◎ ◎ ||  
śākyabhikṣu prajñakīrti likhi ||

*kuṇḍalidhāraṇī*

*namo ratnatrayāya | namaś caṇḍavajrapāṇaye mahāyakṣasenāpataye |  
namo vajrakrodhāya daṃṣṭrotkaṭabhairavāya | tad yathā | oṃ amṛtakunḍali  
tiṣṭha [tiṣṭha] bandha bandha hana hana garja garja visphoṭaya visphoṭaya  
sarvavighnavināyakān | mahāgaṇapatijīvitāntakarāya | svāhā ||*

*āryāmṛtakunḍalivināyakabandhadhāraṇī ||*

*śākyabhikṣuḥ prajñākīrtir likhi<sup>a</sup> ||*

<sup>a</sup>Cf. BHS, §32.17.<sup>14</sup>

English Translation

*Dhāraṇī* of [Amṛta]kuṇḍalin

Homage to the Three Jewels! Homage to Violent Vajrapāṇi, great general of the yakṣas! Homage to the Adamantine Wrathful One, terrifying with enormous tusks! [The *dhāraṇī* is] like this: *Oṃ*. O Amṛtakunḍalin! Abide [abide]! Bind, bind! Slay, slay! Roar, roar! Rend asunder, rend asunder all obstructions and obstructive demons! [Homage] to you who put an end to the life of the Great Lord of [Śiva's] Hosts! *Svāhā!*

*Dhāraṇī* of the Noble Amṛtakunḍalin for Binding Obstructive Demons.

The Buddhist monk Prajñākīrti copied [this].

Remarks

According to Kodama and Noguchi,<sup>15</sup> this mantra (or, according to the text itself, *dhāraṇī*) has points in common with a mantra in the *Ganlu juntuli pusa gongyang niansong chengjiu yigui* 甘露軍荼利菩薩供養念誦成就儀軌 (T.1211.21:48c). But there is no mantra at this location, and this is perhaps an error for the mantra at T.1211.21:48a24–28, which does indeed have some similarities with our text but is not identical.<sup>16</sup> The above mantra is best regarded as a variant of Amṛtakunḍalin's mantra, given as follows in the *Susiddhikara-sūtra* (*Suxidijieluo jing* 蘇悉地羯羅經): *namo ratnatrayāya, namaś caṇḍavajrapāṇaye mahāyakṣasenāpataye, [namo vajrakrodhāya daṃṣṭrotkaṭabhairavāya asimusalaparaśupāsahastāya,] oṃ amṛtakunḍali kha kha [kha kha] khāhi khāhi tiṣṭha tiṣṭha bandha bandha hana hana garja [vigarja] visphoṭaya visphoṭaya sarvavighnavināyakān mahāgaṇapatijīvitāntakarāya hūṃ phaṭ svāhā* (T.893.18:604a27–b4, 616b12–21; cf. 635a10–17).<sup>17</sup> Another version of this mantra is included in Siddhamāṭṛkā script in notebook no. 27 of the *Sanjūjō sasshi*,<sup>18</sup> and similar versions of this mantra are also found, for example, in the *Suxidijieluo gongyang fa* 蘇悉地羯羅供養法, a ritual manual based on the *Susiddhikara-sūtra* (T.894.18:693c18–694a4,

706a20–b16); in the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*<sup>19</sup> (*Yiqie rulai jingang sanye zuishang bimi dajiaowang jing* 一切如來金剛三業最上祕密大教王經 [T.885.18:489b5–16]); in the *Māyājāla-tantra* (*Yuqie dajiaowang jing* 瑜伽大教王經 [T.890.18:569c1–10]); in the *Huanhuawang da yuqie jiao shi fennu mingwang daming guanxiang yigui jing* 幻化網大瑜伽教十忿怒明王大明觀想儀軌經, a ritual manual associated with the *Māyājāla-tantra* (T.891.18:584b7–16); in the *Guanzizai dabeichengjiu yuqie lianhuabu niansong famen* 觀自在大悲成就瑜伽蓮華部念誦法門, a ritual manual for Avalokiteśvara (T.1030.20:2a5–12); and in the *Vasudhārādhārāṇī-sūtra*.<sup>20</sup> In addition, extended versions are found *inter alia* in the *Susiddhikara-sūtra* (T.893.18:638a11–29);<sup>21</sup> in the *\*Dhāraṇīsaṃgraha* (*Tuoluoni jijing* 陀羅尼集經 [T.901.18:855b5–27]); in the *Xifang tuoluoni zang zhong jingangzu Amiliduojuntuoli fa* 西方陀羅尼藏中金剛族阿蜜哩多軍吒利法, a ritual manual for Amṛtakunḍalin (T.1212.21:51c10–52a2); and in the *Qianbei juntuoli fanzi zhenyan* 千臂軍荼利梵字真言, a mantra of Amṛtakunḍalin preserved in Siddhamātrkā script (T.1213.21:72b). Further, in the above-mentioned ritual manual based on the *Susiddhikara-sūtra* it is stated that this mantra is used for “binding obstacles” (T.893.18:693c10, 706a12: 結縛諸難; 694a4: 繫縛諸難), and this tallies with the phrase *vināyakabandha* in the end-title of Kūkai’s text.

The colophon informs us that “the Buddhist monk (*śākyabhikṣu*) Prajñākīrti copied [this].”<sup>22</sup> Among the Sanskrit texts brought back by Kūkai, this is the only one with a colophon that mentions the name of the copyist, and the reference to a copyist by the name of Prajñākīrti is intriguing.<sup>23</sup> While this is by no means an unusual name for a monk, if it is the name of the person who copied this text for Kūkai, one is tempted to speculate that it may possibly refer to the Indian monk Prajña, under whom Kūkai studied in China.

2. HŌBU KONGŌ SAN (NAKANZUKU NYOIRIN SAN DAIHI SHINGON  
YUIMAKITSU SHINGON) 寶部金剛讚 就中如意輪讚大悲真言維摩詰真言  
EULOGY OF THE VAJRAS OF THE GEM FAMILY (WITH  
EULOGY OF CAKRAVARTICINTĀMAṆI, MANTRA OF GREAT  
COMPASSION, AND MANTRA OF VIMALAKĪRTI) (NO. 15)

This text consists of four separate units, and Kodama and Noguchi mention only that a work with the same title is included in the *Bonji kichō shiryō shūsei*.<sup>24</sup> This latter publication reproduces two folios of a manuscript of this text held by the Sanmitsuzō 三密藏 storehouse of Hōbodai’in 寶菩提院 (a subtemple of Tōji) and thought to date from

about the twelfth century.<sup>25</sup> The folios are the first (as far as *vajraketu na°* in [a] v. 1 below) and another which starts from [vajra]hūṃkara dāmaka in (a) v. 16 and ends partway through (c) (*satatā pratā pa°*). For these sections we thus have two witnesses.

(a) *Hōbu kongō san* 寶部金剛讚 *Eulogy*  
of the Vajras of the Gem Family

Sanskrit Text

[349] ॐ atha bhagavattaḥ sarvatathāgatā punaḥ samajam  
agamyā bhagavattaṃ sarvatathāgatamahācakravarttim anena  
nāmāṣṭaśatenāddhyaṣitavattaḥ  
atha bhagavantaḥ sarvatathāgatāḥ punaḥ samājam āgamyā bhagavantaṃ  
sarvatathāgatamahācakravartī[na]m anena nāmāṣṭaśatenāddhyeṣitavantaḥ ||

vajrasatva mahācakra vajranathā susādhaka  
vajrabhīṣeka vajrabha vajraketu namo stu te ||  
vajrasattva mahācakra<sup>a</sup> vajranātha susādhaka |  
vajrābhīṣeka vajrābha vajraketu<sup>b</sup> namo 'stu te || [1]

<sup>a</sup>STTS (H. §620): mahāvajra.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>b</sup>STTS (H. §620): vajraketu (cf. BHSg, §12.15).

hasavajra mahādharmā vajrakośa mahāvara  
sa[350]rvamaṇḍala rajagrya niṣprapaṃca namo stu te ||  
hāsavajra mahādharmā vajrakośa mahāvara |  
sarvamaṇḍala rājāgrya niṣprapañca namo 'stu te || [2]

vajrakarma mahārakṣa caṇḍayakṣa mahāgrahā  
vajramuṣṭi mahāmudra sarvamudra namo stu te ||  
vajrakarma mahārakṣa caṇḍayakṣa mahāgraha |  
vajramuṣṭe<sup>a</sup> mahāmudra sarvamudra namo 'stu te || [3]

<sup>a</sup>STTS (H. §622): vajramuṣṭi (cf. BHSg, §10.34).

bodhicitta mahābodhi buddha sarvatathāgata  
vajrajñāna mahājñāna mahāyāna namo stu te ||  
bodhicitta mahābodhe buddha sarvatathāgata |  
vajrajñāna mahājñāna mahāyāna namo 'stu te || [4]

sarvala sarvatatvortha mahāsatvartha sarvaviti  
sarvajña sarvakṛ sarva sarvadarśi namo stu te ||

*sarvārtha sarvatattvārtha mahāsattvārtha sarvavit |*  
*sarvajña sarvakṛt sarva sarvadarśi namo 'stu te || [5]*

[351] *vajratmaka suvajragrya vajravīrya suvajradhṛka*  
*mahāsamaya tatvārtha mahāsatya namo stu te ||*  
*vajrātmaka suvajrāgrya vajravīrya suvajradhṛk |*  
*mahāsamayatattvārtha mahāsatya namo 'stu te || [6]*

*vajraṃkuśa mahākāma surate sumahāprabhah*  
*vajraprabha prābhodyota buddhaprabha namo stu te ||*  
*vajrāṅkuśa mahākāma surate sumahāprabha |*  
*vajraprabha prabhodyota buddhaprabha namo 'stu te || [7]*

*vajrarajagrya vajra vidyāgryagrya narottama |*  
*vajrotnama mahāgryagrya vidyotnama namo stu te ||*  
*vajrarājāgrya vajr[āgry]a vidyāgryāgrya narottama |*  
*vajrottama mahāgryāgrya vidyottama namo 'stu te || [8]*

*vajradhatu mahuguhya vajraguhya suguhyadhṛka*  
 [352] *vajrasūkṣma mahādhyāna vajrakarya namo stu te ||*  
*vajradhāto mahāguhya vajraguhya suguhyadhṛk |*  
*vajrasūkṣma mahādhyāna vajrakārya namo 'stu te || [9]*

*buddhagrya buddhavajragrya būddhabodhi mahābūdhaḥ*  
*būddhajñana mahābuddha buddhabuddha namo stu te ||*  
*buddhāgrya buddhavajrāgrya buddhabodhe mahābudha |*  
*buddhajñāna mahābuddha buddhabuddha namo 'stu te || [10]*

*buddhapūja mähapūja satvāpūja sūpūjaka*  
*mahopāya mahāsiddhe vajrasiddhi namo stu te ||*  
*buddhapūja mahāpūja sattvapūja supūjaka |*  
*mahopāya mahāsiddhe vajrasiddhe<sup>a</sup> namo 'stu te || [11]*

<sup>a</sup>STTS (H. §630): *vajrasiddhi* (cf. *ibid.*, p. 320, n. 11-3; BHSg, §10.34).

*tathāgatamahākarya tathāgatasarasvāte*  
*tathāgatamahācitta vajra 2 namo stu te*  
*tathāgatamahākāya tathāgatasarasvate |*  
*tathāgatamahācitta vajravajra<sup>27</sup> namo 'stu te || [12]*



[353] buddhādhīpa jinajñākṛta bu(ḍḍha)pṛte jinigryaja  
mahāvairocana vibho śasta śatta raudra namo stu te ||  
buddhādhīpa jinājñākṛd buddhapṛita jināgryaja<sup>a</sup> |  
mahāvairocana<sup>28</sup> vibho śastāḥ<sup>b</sup> śānta raudra namo 'stu te || [13]

<sup>a</sup>STTS (H. §632): buddhamitra jināgraja.

<sup>b</sup>STTS (H. §632): śāstā (cf. BHSg, §13.31).

tathāgata mahātattva bhūtakoti mahānaya  
sarvapāramitājñāna paramā(rtha) namo stu te ||  
tathāgata mahātattva bhūtakote mahānaya |  
sarvapāramitājñāna paramārtha namo 'stu te || [14]

samatnabhadra caryagrya mara marapramardaka  
sarvāgrya samatājñānā sarvatraga namo stu te ||  
samantabhadra caryāgrya mārā mārāpramardaka |  
sarvāgrya samatājñānā sarvatraga namo 'stu te || [15]

[354] buddhahūṃkāra hūṃkāra vajrahūṃkāra dāmaka  
viśvavajraṃga vajrogra vajrapāṇi namo namaḥ \* :||: ||  
buddhahūṃkāra hūṃkāra vajrahūṃkāra<sup>a</sup> dāmaka |  
viśvavajrāṅga vajrogra vajrapāṇe namo namaḥ<sup>b</sup> || [16]

<sup>a</sup>STTS (H. §635): °hūṃkāra hūṃkāra °hūṃkāra.

<sup>b</sup>STTS (H. §635): namo 'stu te.

#### Remarks

The explanatory comments in the *Bonji kichō shiryō shūsei* merely give a brief explanation of the Gem Family and state that the Vajras of the Gem Family are the four attendant bodhisattvas of Ratnasambhava, i.e., Vajraratna, Vajrateja, Vajraketu, and Vajrahāsa.<sup>29</sup> But an examination of the actual text reveals that it corresponds to the opening section of Chapter 6 (“Trilokavijayamahāmaṇḍala-vidhivistara”) at the start of Part II (“Sarvatathāgatavajrasamayo nāma mahākālparāja”) of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, that is, the greater part of the invocation of Sarvatathāgatamahācakravartin (i.e., Vajrapāṇi) with 108 names (*nāmāṣṭaśata*) by all the Tathāgatas,<sup>30</sup> and it is not directly related to the Gem Family, which is usually associated with Part IV of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*. David Snellgrove writes that this invocation “is scarcely translatable, as almost every word is a name,”<sup>31</sup> and

although it is no doubt translatable to some extent, it should not be necessary to provide an English translation for our present purposes.<sup>32</sup>

While Amoghavajra translated only the first chapter of Part I of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*,<sup>33</sup> it is evident from both his translation and his synopsis<sup>34</sup> that his Sanskrit text was similar in content to the two extant Sanskrit manuscripts (with the possible exception of the *Uttara-tantra* and *Uttarottara-tantra*),<sup>35</sup> and so the existence of the Sanskrit text of the opening section of Part II at the start of the ninth century is itself perhaps not especially remarkable. But what is surprising is that, notwithstanding the importance of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* as a core text of esoteric Buddhism and the long history of research on all aspects of it in Japan, the existence of this Sanskrit excerpt does not seem to have been remarked upon by scholars in the past, and Horiuchi Kanjin (who edited the Sanskrit text) writes that since Part II of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* was first translated into Chinese during the Song dynasty, Kūkai did not get to see it.<sup>36</sup> The existence of this excerpt, however, would suggest that Kūkai did in fact see at least part of the Sanskrit text of Part II. The *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* contains six 108-name eulogies (*nāmāṣṭaśata*), with that at the start of Part II representing the second, and in this connection it may be noted that Kūkai's Sanskrit texts also include the greater part of the first, appearing in Part I of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*.<sup>37</sup>

Tanaka Kimiaki has noted that the Tibetan translation of a ritual manual based on Part II of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* and found among the Dunhuang 敦煌 manuscripts includes a Tibetan transliteration of the Sanskrit text of this same *nāmāṣṭaśata*.<sup>38</sup> He dates this manual to the first half of the ninth century and regards it as a valuable early (albeit fragmentary) witness of the Sanskrit text of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*. Since Kūkai's text presumably predates this manuscript, it may be considered even more valuable in this respect, and if it is indeed the case that it has escaped the notice of scholars, its existence probably deserves to be taken into account when considering the textual history of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*.

(b) *Nyoirin san* 如意輪讚 *Eulogy*  
of *Cakravartīcintāmaṇi*

Sanskrit Text

manehitaiṣiṇe sarvajagaddhitaiṣiṇe yāśa[355]svini  
bhurbhuvataikabāndhave

samastavidyadhipacakrapāṇita (|) namo 'stu te tratali cakravarttite ||  
 †mane†hitaṣiṇe sarvajagaddhitaṣiṇe yaśasvine bhūrbhuvanaikabandhave |  
 samastavidyādhipacakrapāṇine namo 'stu te trātari<sup>a</sup> cakravartine ||

<sup>a</sup>Cf. BHSg, §13.33.

#### English Translation

To you who seek (the mind's?) welfare, to you who seek the whole  
 world's welfare, to you who are renowned, to you who are  
 the sole kinsman of the terrestrial world,  
 To you who, among all spell-lords, have a wheel in the hand,  
 homage be to you, the protector and wheel-turning one!

#### Remarks

A similar eulogy, addressed to Cakravartin, is found in Chinese transliteration in three ritual manuals for different forms of Cakravartin: *Jinlunwang foding yaolüe niansong fa* 金輪王佛頂要略念誦法 (T.948.19:190a16–21), *Qite zuisheng jinlun foding niansong yigui fayao* 奇特最勝金輪佛頂念誦儀軌法要 (T.949.19:191c18–21), and *Damiao jingang da ganlu junnali yanman chisheng foding jing* 大妙金剛大甘露軍拏利焰鬘熾盛佛頂經 (T.965.19:340c6–11). The wording of all three versions is essentially the same, except that T. 965 adds the salutation *namaḥ sarvajñāya* at the start and repeats *namo 'stu te* at the end, and where Kūkai's text has °*cakrapāṇine*, they all read °*cakramāline*. The other notable point is that they seem to read *manesiṇi* or some similar form (T. 948: 滿寧寧定切引 史拏尼整反引; T. 949: 麼禰史膩; T. 965: 麼弩使拏) where Kūkai's text has *manehitaṣiṇe*, and since this latter form results in two extra syllables if, as would seem to be the case, the meter is *vaṃśasthavila*, the form *manehitaṣiṇe* may possibly be due to the inadvertent addition of °*hita*°, perhaps influenced by the next word *sarvajagaddhitaṣiṇe*.

The fact that the three versions of this eulogy preserved in Chinese transliteration are addressed to Cakravartin rather than Cakravartintāmaṇi also raises a question about the appropriateness of the title of Kūkai's text, especially since another of his Sanskrit texts (no. 41) provides a different eulogy of Cakravartintāmaṇi under the title *Eulogy of the Lotus Division*, which is preserved also in Chinese transliteration and can be read as follows:<sup>39</sup>

kalamukha kamalalocana kamalasana kamalahastā kamala-  
 bhāmuni kamala kamalasad{sam}bhava sakalamalakṣaṇa namo  
 stu te ||

*kamalamukha kamalalocana kamalāsana kamalahasta kamalābhamuni  
kamala kamalasambhava sakalamalakṣālana namo 'stu te ||*

O you who have a face like a lotus! O you who have eyes like lotuses!  
O you whose seat is a lotus! O you who have a lotus in your hand!  
O sage radiant like a lotus! O lotus! O you who have arisen from a  
lotus! O you who wash away all impurities! Homage be to you!

(c) *Daihi shingon* 大悲真言 *Mantra*  
of Great Compassion

Sanskrit Text

◡ jayatu mṛṇālasamkhaṭākeśakalapadharaṃ padmāvaramṅgayāṭa-  
ṣṭitrayātetrasahāsrabhujaṃ satatā namaskṛto pi vidyādhara devagane  
[356] aham avalokiteśvaragurūṃ satatā pratā padmarāgakamalāṅgam  
ūtaṃ lokanātha bāṃtva ve sarva śuddha siddhaṃ ca ||  
oṃ bhuvanapāla rakṣa rakṣa mava svāhā  
jayatu mṛṇālaśaṅkhaṭākeśakalapadharah padmavarāṅgayaṣṭitrayanetra-  
sahasrabhujah satataṃ namaskṛto 'pi vidyādhara devagane aham avalo-  
kiteśvaragurūṃ satataṃ pra[ṇa]taḥ padmarāgakamalāṅgam uttamaṃ loka-  
nātha bandha me sarva[ṇ] śuddha[ṇ] siddhaṃ ca ||  
oṃ bhuvanapāla rakṣa rakṣa mama svāhā

English Translation

May he who wears a knot of braided hair [adorned with] lotus fibers  
and conch shells and has a fine [slender] figure like the stem of a  
lotus, three eyes,<sup>40</sup> and a thousand arms be victorious! Even though I  
am always paid homage in the divine company of spell-holders, I am  
always bowing down to the best teacher Avalokiteśvara, whose limbs  
are [adorned with] ruby-like flowers. O lord of the world, bind for me  
everything that is pure and perfect!

Oṃ. O World-protector, guard, guard me! Svāhā!

Remarks

The greater part of this text (jayatu . . . ca) tallies closely with the  
“praises” (zantan 讚歎) found in the *Jingangding yuqie qianshou qian-  
yan Guanzizai pusa xiuxing yigui jing* 金剛頂瑜伽千手千眼觀自在菩薩  
修行儀軌經 (T. 1056), a ritual manual for Sahasrabhujasahasranetra-  
Avalokiteśvara translated by Amoghavajra. As is evident from the fol-  
lowing reconstruction of the Chinese transliteration (T.20:75c2–11), it  
is for the most part identical with Kūkai’s Siddhamātrkā text.

惹自攝反野韻 沒哩<sup>二合鼻聲</sup> 拏上引 羅餉 佉惹<sup>准上</sup> 吒計 捨迦 羅引 跋馱 嚧一  
鉢娜<sup>麼</sup><sup>二合</sup> 嚩嚩<sup>引</sup> 誡拽 瑟置<sup>二合</sup> 怛囉<sup>二合</sup> 野寧<sup>引</sup> 怛囉<sup>二合</sup> 娑賀 娑囉<sup>二合</sup> 步  
簪自含反<sup>二</sup> 娑怛<sup>多</sup> 那莫 娑訖<sup>哩</sup><sup>三合</sup> 妬引 糝 尾儺<sup>野</sup><sup>二合</sup> 馱囉<sup>嚩</sup><sup>引</sup>  
嚩誡<sup>喃</sup><sup>三</sup> 阿賀<sup>麼</sup><sup>上</sup> 嚩路<sup>引</sup> 枳帝<sup>引</sup> 濕嚩<sup>二合</sup> 嚩嚩<sup>嚩</sup><sup>嚩</sup> 娑多<sup>上</sup> 單 鉢囉<sup>二</sup>  
合拏<sup>多</sup><sup>入聲四</sup> 跋娜<sup>麼</sup><sup>二合</sup> 囉引 誡顚<sup>寧逸反</sup> 麼藍<sup>五</sup> 迦引 麼上 囉引 誡母 答鎗<sup>六</sup>  
路引 迦曩<sup>引</sup> 他 曼馱 銘引<sup>七</sup> 薩嚩<sup>林</sup><sup>詩律反</sup> 馱 悉地<sup>野</sup><sup>三合</sup> 左八  
jayatu mṛṇāśaṅkhajaṭākeśakalāpadharah<sup>a</sup> padmavarāṅgayaṣṭitraya-  
netrasahasrabhujah<sup>b</sup> satata[m] namaskṛto 'pi vidyādhara devagaṇe  
aham<sup>c</sup> avalokiteśvaraguruṃ<sup>d</sup> satataṃ praṇata[h] padmarāgaṇanirmalaṃ  
kāmarāgam uttamaṃ lokanātha bandha me sarvaśuddha sidhya ca

<sup>a</sup>Text reads °dharaṃ.

<sup>b</sup>Text reads °bhujam.

<sup>c</sup>Text reads °gaṇam aham.

<sup>d</sup>Text reads °guraṃ.

I have been unable to identify the concluding mantra of Kūkai's text  
(om̐ bhuvanapāla. . .).

(d) Yuimakitsu darani 維摩詰陀羅尼  
Dhāraṇī of Vimalakīrti

Sanskrit Text

namo aryāvimalakīrttisya tad yathā om̐ kīrttitā [357] sarvajinebhir  
abhikīrttitā sarvaji va{ne}jra{bhi}bhava vajrabhaidakare svāhā  
nama āryavimalakīrttisya<sup>a</sup> tad yathā om̐ kīrtita sarvajinebhir<sup>b</sup> abhikīrtita  
sarvaji[nebhīr] vajra[sam]bhava vajrabhedakara svāhā

<sup>a</sup>Cf. BHS, §10.78.

<sup>b</sup>Cf. ibid., §8.110.

English Translation

Homage to the noble Vimalakīrti! [The dhāraṇī is] like this: Om̐. O you  
who are praised by all Victors (i.e., Buddhas)! O you who are much  
praised by all Victors! O you who are born of the vajra! O vajra-like dif-  
ferentiator! Svāhā!

Remarks

This dhāraṇī has been transliterated, but not identified, by Noguchi.<sup>41</sup> It  
turns out to be a truncated version of the dhāraṇī of Vimalakīrti found  
in the Wenshushili [fa]baozang tuoluoni jing 文殊師利[法]寶藏陀羅尼經  
(T. 1185), a text associated with the Mañjuśrī cult that was translated

by Bodhiruci in 710. The Taishō edition gives the Koryō edition (A) and the Song, Yuan, and Ming editions (B) of this work separately, and as I have discussed elsewhere,<sup>42</sup> most of its first eighteen *dhāraṇīs* (including that of Vimalakīrti) reappear (but not always in the same order or with the same wording) as a single lengthy *dhāraṇī* in the *Zuishangyi tuoluoni jing* 最上意陀羅尼經 (T. 1408) and *Sheng zuisheng tuoluoni jing* 聖最勝陀羅尼經 (T. 1409), translated by Dānapāla in 989 and 991 respectively. These latter two sūtras are also related to the Mañjuśrī cult; the former is an extended version of the latter, which in turn tallies closely with the *Āryaviśeṣavati-nāma-dhāraṇī* preserved in Tibetan translation (P. nos. 157/497, D. nos. 542/872). For the sake of comparison, and at the risk of going into excessive detail, I shall cite all four versions of Vimalakīrti's *dhāraṇī* found in the above Chinese texts.

T. 1185A (20:793a2–5)

曩莫 阿引哩夜<sup>二合</sup>尾麼擲吉多曳 冒地薩怛嚩<sup>二合</sup>野 怛儺也<sup>二合</sup>  
他引 言<sup>a</sup>底路 薩嚩爾乃囉底吉底哆 薩嚩爾 嚩日囉<sup>二合</sup>迦隸  
嚩日囉<sup>二合</sup>婆吠 嚩日囉<sup>二合</sup>陞娜迦隸 娑嚩<sup>二合</sup>賀

*nama āryavimalakīrtaye bodhisattvāya tad yathā kīrtita sarvajinair  
atikīrtita sarvajī[nair] vajrakare vajra[sam]bhava vajrabhedakare svāhā*

<sup>a</sup>Read 吉 for 言.

T. 1185B (20:799b22–26)

南麼 痾<sup>去聲</sup>哩也微沫羅枳<sup>去聲</sup>嚩多<sup>上聲</sup>曳 菩地薩怛嚩野 怛儺他<sup>去聲</sup>  
枳<sup>去聲</sup>嚩底多<sup>去聲</sup> 薩囉麼爾寧<sup>去聲</sup>囉底多<sup>去聲</sup> 薩囉麼爾寧<sup>去聲</sup>  
嚩日囉羯隸 嚩日囉三婆<sup>上聲</sup>吠 嚩日囉<sup>引</sup>陞諾迦隸 莎訶

*nama āryavimalakīrtaye bodhisattvāya tad yathā kīrtita sarvajinair  
ati[kīrti]ta sarvajinai[r] vajrakare vajrasam̐bhava vajrabhedakare<sup>a</sup> svāhā*

<sup>a</sup>Text reads *vajrā*°.

T. 1408 (21:923b29–c4)

曩謨 阿哩野<sup>二合</sup>嚩日囉<sup>二合</sup>地波多曳 [923c] 多野引 怛儺也<sup>二合</sup>他引  
吉哩帝<sup>二合</sup>多 薩哩嚩<sup>二合</sup>嚩爾<sup>引</sup>鼻入 阿底吉哩帝<sup>二合</sup>多 薩哩嚩<sup>二合</sup>  
嚩爾<sup>引</sup>鼻 嚩日囉<sup>二合</sup>三婆吠引 嚩日囉<sup>二合</sup>鼻引那迦引野 莎賀

*nama āryavajrādhīpataye tayā<sup>a</sup> tad yathā kīrtita sarvajinebhir atikīrtita  
sarvajinebhi[r] vajrasam̐bhava vajrabhedakāya svāhā*

<sup>a</sup>Scribal error?

T. 1409 (21:925a9–12)

曩莫<sup>a入</sup> 阿哩也<sup>二合</sup>尾摩羅枳哩底<sup>二合</sup>怛寫 怛他引識多寫 阿儺枳

<sup>c</sup>Text reads *anikīrtita*.

阿者禮 怛𪖅 娑哩素𪖅 祖禮 悉𪖅思 准泥 薩囉<sup>二合</sup>𪖅底南<sup>引</sup>



avatara caturdaśārdhasmararipukoṭipraṇāmapadavihite |  
 acale taṭe saritsūne cule sidhyasi cunde sravantīnām || [1]  
 bhavaśamani svahānte sapraṇavo tadyathākṣarātugate ||  
 avinītasatvadamani prasīdalokatrayāthākārī ||

娑<sup>a</sup>嚩捨麼儺 娑嚩<sup>二合引</sup>罕<sup>引</sup>帝 薩跛<sup>b</sup>囉<sup>二合</sup>拏吠 怛儺也<sup>二合他引</sup>訖灑<sup>二合囉引</sup>[183a]拏隸帝

阿尾儺多薩怛嚩<sup>二合</sup>娜麼顛<sup>c</sup> 囉<sup>二合</sup>泉那 路<sup>引</sup>迦怛囉<sup>二合</sup>野<sup>引</sup>囉他<sup>二合</sup>迦唎

bhavaśamani svāhānte sapraṇave tadyathākṣarānugate |  
 avinītasattvadamani prasīda lokatrayārthakārī || [2]

<sup>a</sup>Read 娑 for 娑?

<sup>b</sup>Here and below vv.ll. 鉢 for 跛.

<sup>c</sup>Read 儺鉢 (vv.ll.) for 顛.

raktāravindaśābhini pātrakara dakṣiṇe smu[400]ṭaṃ sphitvā ||  
 vi{ci}ntitam alaṃ praṣṭaṃ likha janani jinādi<nādi>satyena ||

囉訖多<sup>二合引</sup>囉尾<sup>a二合引</sup>那戍<sup>引</sup>鼻顛<sup>b</sup> 播<sup>引</sup>怛囉<sup>二合</sup>迦囉 鐸<sup>c</sup>訖使<sup>二合</sup>顛

娑普<sup>二合</sup>砧 悉體<sup>二合</sup>怛嚩<sup>二合引</sup>

進底多麼囉貪<sup>二合去</sup> d瑟砧<sup>二合</sup> 李佉 惹曩顛<sup>慈以反下同</sup> 那儺底<sup>e</sup>薩帝<sup>知</sup> 曳反曩

raktāravindaśobhani pātrakare<sup>f</sup> dakṣiṇe sphuṭaṃ<sup>g</sup> sthitvā |  
 cintitam arthaṃ prṣṭaṃ<sup>h</sup> likha janani jinādisatyena || [3]

<sup>a</sup>Vv.ll. add 孕.

<sup>b</sup>Here and below vv.ll. 儺 for 顛.

<sup>c</sup>Vv.ll. 那 for 鐸.

<sup>d</sup>Vv.ll. insert 鉢囉.

<sup>e</sup>Vv.ll. 儺爾<sup>慈以反下同</sup>那<sup>引</sup>儺 for 顛<sup>慈以反下同</sup>那儺底.

<sup>f</sup>Chinese transliteration reads pātrakara.

<sup>g</sup>Chinese transliteration reads sphuṭaṃ.

<sup>h</sup>Chinese transliteration reads [pra]ṣṭaṃ.

prāśvādhiśeḷaśvākhare yas tvaṃ ramyāṃ japet muni nīrmau  
 vajrī kila dhatyaṃ suraṃpubhavanaṃ praveśayati ||

跛囉<sup>二合</sup>曩<sup>a</sup>跛囉<sup>二合</sup>庫舞<sup>二合</sup>地曬囉<sup>b</sup>始<sup>c</sup>嚩 野薩 怛梵 帝<sup>知曳反</sup> 囉弭<sup>d</sup>

焰<sup>二合引</sup> 惹閉去怛母<sup>二合</sup>顛 帽<sup>引</sup>儺<sup>儺夷反</sup>

嚩日哩<sup>二合</sup> 擔 枳邏 馱淦<sup>e二合</sup> 素囉哩補娑嚩南<sup>f</sup> 跛囉<sup>二合</sup>吠捨<sup>g</sup>野底

prāgbodhiśeḷaśikhare yas tvāṃ<sup>h</sup> ramyāṃ japet munir maunī |  
 vajrī kilaṃ dhanyaṃ suraripubhavanaṃ praveśayati || [4]

- <sup>a</sup>Vv.ll. omit 跛囉<sup>二合</sup>曩.  
<sup>b</sup>Vv.ll. 邏 for 囉.  
<sup>c</sup>Vv.ll. add 佉.  
<sup>d</sup>Vv.ll. 拈 for 弭.  
<sup>e</sup>Vv.ll. 彌焰 for 滄.  
<sup>f</sup>Vv.ll. 喃 for 南.  
<sup>g</sup>Vv.ll. 奢 for 捨.  
<sup>h</sup>Chinese transliteration adds *te*.  
<sup>i</sup>Chinese transliteration adds *taṃ*.

āmā{ryā}valokiteśaḥ siti niḥsaṃśayaṃ satatajapāṇītaṃ ||  
 nāsti kicin ta dadāsi bhaktebhyaḥ ||

阿<sup>引</sup>哩野<sup>二合</sup>嚩路<sup>引</sup>拈<sup>a</sup>帝幡 悉鞞底 諾僧捨間<sup>b</sup> 薩怛多惹播<sup>引</sup>多<sup>半音呼</sup>  
 多諾反

曩<sup>c</sup>悉底<sup>二合</sup> <sup>d</sup>惹孽底 緊旨儺也<sup>二合</sup> 薩怛梵<sup>三合引</sup> 曩 那娜悉 簿<sup>e</sup>羯  
 底<sup>二合</sup>毘藥<sup>二合</sup>

āryāvalokiteśaḥ si[dhya]ti niḥsaṃśayaṃ satatajāpāt |  
 nāsti [jagati<sup>f</sup>] kiṃcid [yat tvam<sup>g</sup>] na dadāsi bhaktebhyaḥ || [5]

- <sup>a</sup>V.l. 枳 for 拈.  
<sup>b</sup>Read 閻 (vv.ll.) for 間.  
<sup>c</sup>Vv.ll. 旦曩<sup>引</sup> for 曩.  
<sup>d</sup>...<sup>e</sup>So vv.ll.; base text reads 薩怛梵<sup>三合引</sup> 曩那娜惹孽底緊旨儺也<sup>二合</sup>.  
<sup>f</sup>So Chinese transliteration, although metrically unsatisfactory.  
<sup>g</sup>Chinese transliteration reads *yas tvām*.

īti sakalapāpatāgati ha{bha}gavati paripaṭhitamātrasiddhikari [401] ||<sup>a</sup>  
 pūraya manorathaṃ me sīdati na ddhāṃ smaraṃ ka || \* ||

壹底 娑迦羅<sup>b</sup>播<sup>引</sup>跛曩<sup>引</sup>舍顛 婆誡嚩底 跛耽多麼<sup>引</sup>怛囉<sup>二合</sup>悉地迦  
 哩

布囉野 麼努<sup>引</sup>囉貪 冥 泉娜底 曩 怛梵<sup>二合</sup> 娑麼<sup>二合</sup>嚩 迦室  
 子<sup>二合</sup>多<sup>半音c</sup>

īti sakalapāpanāśani<sup>d</sup> bhagavati paripaṭhitamātrasiddhikari |  
 pūraya manorathaṃ me sīdati na tvām smaran kaścit || [6]

- <sup>a</sup>The text has a repetition mark, but it is presumably an error for a  
 (double) *daṇḍa*.  
<sup>b</sup>V.l. 邏 for 羅.  
<sup>c</sup>Several manuscripts add 娑誡縛底准泥陀<sup>引</sup>囉尼薩妬<sup>二合</sup>怛囉<sup>二合</sup>  
 薩麼跛多<sup>二合</sup> (*bhagavaticundidhāraṇīstotra[m] samāpta[m]*).  
<sup>d</sup>So Chinese transliteration.

## English Translation

- 1 Descend, O you who have feet saluted by half of fourteen  
(i.e., seven) crores of enemies of Kāma!  
O unmoving one, river-born, Culā, Cundā, you [who] are successful  
on the bank of rivers!
- 2 O you who pacify existence, end with *svāhā*, are accompanied  
by *om*, are endowed with the syllables *tad yathā*,  
Tame untrained beings, and produce benefit for the three worlds,  
be gracious!
- 3 O you who are beautiful like a red lotus, with an almsbowl in your  
hands, standing clearly on [my] right,  
O Mother, write in accordance with the truth of the Victors and  
others the things that I have thought and asked!
- 4 The sage, the silent one, who would recite you who are pleasing  
on the summit of Mount Prāgbodhi,  
He with a *vajra* will drive a stake into the opulent palace of the  
enemies of the gods (i.e., *asuras*).
- 5 The Holy Avalokiteśa is without doubt accomplished through  
constant recitation.  
There is nothing in the world that you do not give to the faithful.
- 6 O Blessed One, you who destroy all sins and produce success  
by merely being completely recited,  
Fulfill my heart's desire! No one despairs while mindful of you.

## Remarks

In a study of works dealing with Cundā, Sakai Shinten refers to Kūkai's text, above, saying that it comprises "5 verses in meter *āryā* or *gāthā*," the meaning of which is unclear, however, and he makes no attempt to restore the original Sanskrit.<sup>46</sup> The meter is *āryā*, and while Kūkai's text appears to show some errors and lacunae, these can be restored by and large with the help of the Chinese transliteration and some conjectural emendations. It is worth noting that, as can be inferred from the notes added to the text above, Kūkai's text generally agrees with the Chinese transliteration, which may suggest that (perhaps not surprisingly) his copy derived from the Sanskrit manuscript used by Amoghavajra when translating the text into Chinese. It may also be noted that another of Kūkai's Sanskrit texts (no. 30) consists of a collection of mantras relating to Cundā.

In the above verses, "half of fourteen (i.e., seven) crores of enemies of Kāma" in verse 1 would seem to be a reference to the seven

crores of buddhas with whom Cundā is frequently associated. For example, her standard *dhāraṇī* (alluded to in verse 2)—*namaḥ saptānāṃ samyakṣambuddhakotīnāṃ, tad yathā, oṃ cale cule cunde svāhā*—begins with the salutation “Homage to seven crores of perfectly awakened ones,”<sup>47</sup> while in Chinese translations she (or her *dhāraṇī*) is regularly referred to as the “Buddha-mother (i.e., goddess) of seven crores” (as in the title of the text with which we are here concerned), which appellation later came to be widely interpreted as “mother of seven crores of buddhas.”<sup>48</sup> “O unmoving one!” (*acale*) in the same verse may be a play on *cale* (lit., “O moving one!”) in the above *dhāraṇī*, while the meaning of *cule* in both the *dhāraṇī* and the verse is unclear—is it perhaps an alliterative variation of *cale* mediating the transition from *cale* to *cunde*?

Next, verse 3 seems to describe some of Cundā’s iconographical features, the most characteristic of which is the almsbowl, usually held in her lap with two hands.<sup>49</sup> It may be noted that Cundā most commonly appears in four-armed form, holding a lotus flower in her second right hand<sup>50</sup> and displaying the gift-bestowing gesture (*varada-mudrā*) with her second left hand; the text in which the Chinese transliteration of the eulogy appears, on the other hand, describes an eighteen-armed form (T.1076.20:184c).

The counsel to practice recitation on Mount Prāgbodhi in verse 4 is, in a sense, surprising, for according to Xuanzang 玄奘, toward the end of his six years of austerities Siddhārtha climbed this mountain in search of a place to meditate but was warned by a god that it was unsuitable for attaining enlightenment, and so he proceeded to the pipal tree in nearby present-day Bodh Gayā and there attained enlightenment.<sup>51</sup> There are very few other references in Buddhist literature to Mount Prāgbodhi, let alone this incident,<sup>52</sup> and so the following passage from the *Chimingzang yuqie dajiao Zunna pusa daming chengjiu yigui jing* 持明藏瑜伽大教尊那菩薩大明成就儀軌經 (T.1169.20:677c15–20), a manual for rituals associated with Cundā that was translated into Chinese in 994, is all the more interesting.

Next, the practitioner goes to the summit of Mount Prāgbodhi, where in front of a Buddha’s *stūpa* he always eats [only] alms and recites [Cundā’s] great spell (\**mahāvidyā*) one *koṭi* (crore) [times]. Having completed the requisite number of recitations, he succeeds in seeing the bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi. The bodhisattva himself leads the practitioner through the gate of auspiciousness and declares to the practitioner: “Entering this gate, you will be without difficulties caused by demons, your wishes for what you desire will be fulfilled, you will

be free from all fear, you will experience great pleasure, and in the future you will succeed in seeing Maitreya, hear [him] preaching the wondrous Dharma, and realize the stages of the bodhisattva through to attaining the stage of an *avaivartika* (non-regressing) bodhisattva.”

The fact that this passage is followed by instructions for a similar practice to be performed on Mount Vipula (one of the hills surrounding Rājagrha) would suggest that one should probably not read too much into any possible connections between Mount Prāgbodhi and Cundā. Nonetheless, this is the only reference to the performance of mantric practices on Mount Prāgbodhi that I have so far encountered apart from the above Sanskrit eulogy, and the fact that both are associated with Cundā is noteworthy.

4. DAISANMAYA SHINJITSU IPPYAKUHACHI MYŌSAN  
大三摩耶眞實一百八名讚 EULOGY IN ONE HUNDRED  
AND EIGHT NAMES OF THE “TRUTH OF THE  
GREAT PLEDGE” (NO. 29)

Sanskrit Text

[475] ॐ mahasamayatatvāgrya ||<sup>a</sup> oṃ mahāsuga{kha} saukhyada ||<sup>a</sup>  
bodhisadva{tva} mahāsatva jaḥ huṃ vaṃ hoḥ mahārata ||  
mahāsamayatatvāgrya oṃ mahāsukha saukhyada |  
bodhisattva mahāsattva jaḥ huṃ vaṃ hoḥ mahārata<sup>53</sup> || [1]

<sup>a</sup>The text has a repetition mark, but it is presumably an error for a (double) *daṇḍa*.

anādinidhanotyatta akāśāt mādalakṣaṇa :<sup>54</sup>  
samanṭabhadra sarvatmākama : sarvajagatmate :  
anādinidhanotpanna ākāśāt majalakṣaṇa |  
samantabhadra sarvātmakāma sarvajagatpate || [2]

cintasatva samādhyagra | niścayagrya suvajradha{dhṛ}k{k} |  
vajrakāma mahākā[476]maḥ buddha : sarvatathāgata ||  
cittasattva samādhyagra niścayāgrya suvajradhṛk |  
vajrakāma mahākāma buddha sarvatathāgata || [3]

nitya śāśvata saikhyagra • mahāsamaya viśvadhṛ ||<sup>a</sup>{k}  
guhyatadvaṃ rahasyāgrya schra{chū}lasra{su}kṣma rahasyadha{dhṛ}k{k} :  
nitya śāśvata saukhyāgra mahāsamaya viśvadhṛk |  
guhyatattva rahasyāgrya sthūlasūkṣma rahasyadhṛk || [4]

<sup>a</sup>The text has a repetition mark, but it is presumably an error for a (double) *daṇḍa*.

rāgavaṇa mahādīpta : vajrajvalāgni{(tita)}santibhaḥ |  
 dṛṣṭisaukhya mahā(dr){(dṛ)}ṣṭar mahāmadana yatmathā ||  
*rāgavāṇa mahādīpta vajrajvālāgnisaṃnibha |*  
*dṛṣṭisaukhya mahādraṣṭar mahāmadana manmatha || [5]*

sarvakāma mahārāga kāmārāga mahotsava ||  
 sarvakādīśvara mahāt sarvakāmagrya kā[477]dhyadhya{(dhr)}k :  
*sarvakāma mahārāga kāmārāga mahotsava |*  
*sarvavādīśvara mahan sarvakāmāgrya kāvyadhṛk<sup>a</sup> || [6]*

<sup>a</sup>Or *kāryadhṛk*?

sarvasatvamatovyāpī sarvasatvasukhaprada :  
 sarvasatvapitāgryāgryā mahāsamaya viśvadhṛk ||  
*sarvasattvamanovyāpī sarvasattvasukhaprada<sup>55</sup> |*  
*sarvasattvapitā<sup>a</sup> 'gryāgrya mahāsamaya viśvadhṛk || [7]*

<sup>a</sup>Cf. BHS, §13.31. Or read °pita + agryāgrya?

vajrapaṇir mahākarṣa maratūṣṭer mahārāte |  
 akāśagarbha vajrārtha mahādhcaja mahāsmīta :  
*vajrapāṇe mahākarṣa mahātūṣṭe mahārāte |*  
*ākāśagarbha vajrārtha<sup>a</sup> mahādhvaja mahāsmīta || [8]*

<sup>a</sup>For *vajrārka*?

avalokiteśa : viho : mahāśrīmaṇḍa vākṣate |  
 mahākarma mahārakṣa : (ca)ṇḍa(ya)kṣa subandhana  
*avalokiteśa vibho mahāśrīmaṇḍa vākpate |*  
*mahākarma mahārakṣa caṇḍayakṣa subandhana || [9]*

vajra <vajr>aṃkuśa [478] śara suṣṭipraharṣaka mahāmaṇi |  
 ratnajvala mahāketoh prītiprāmodyadadāyaka :  
*vajrāṅkuśa śara tuṣṭipraharṣaka mahāmaṇi |*  
*ratnajvala mahāketoh prītiprāmodyadāyaka || [10]*

padma kośa mahācakra vajrajihvamahāsmata :  
 viśvavajra mahārma : daṣṭraṃmudra mahāgraha :  
*padma kośa mahācakra vajrajihvamahāsmīta |*  
*viśvavajra mahā[va]rma daṣṭraṃmudra mahāgraha || [11]*

vajrahūṃkara hūṃkara sarvadāmaka śāsaka :  
 jagadvinaya lokāgra hrīḥkāra suvaraprada :  
*vajrahūṃkāra hūṃkāra sarvadāmaka śāsaka |*  
*jagadvinaya lokāgra hrīḥkāra suvaraprada || [12]*

sarvārthasiddhir tha trāṃ dhadha ṭaṭāvmadrḥ  
 sarva[479]bauddhamahāsattva sarvasattvasusattvadhyak ||  
*sarvārthasiddhe [sarvār]tha †trāṃ dhadha ṭaṭāvmadrḥ† |*  
*sarvabauddhamahāsattva sarvasattvasusattvadhyak || [13]*

sattasatsa duṣṭa satvāgrya satvadhr̥k |  
 akṣayāvyaya nirvāṇa tyakālākṣara satpate :  
*sarvasattva dṛṣṭa[sattva] sattvāgrya satvadhr̥k |*  
*akṣayāvyaya nirvāṇa trikālākṣara satpate || [14]*

jiṣṇo viṣṇo mahānātha sarvavit sapitāmaha :  
 prajapater jagatrakṣatra sarvakartre mahāpate :  
*jiṣṇo viṣṇo mahānātha sarvavit satpitāmaha |*  
*prajāpate jagadrakṣitra<sup>a</sup> sarvakartra<sup>b</sup> mahāpate || [15]*  
<sup>a</sup>Hypermetrical; cf. BHSG, §13.14.  
<sup>b</sup>Cf. BHSG, §13.14.

bhūrbhūvasvā mahāvyāpe : sarvavyāpe susarvaga :  
 trailokya tyabhava(na)nta tridhātor vajrabhaṃja[480]kaḥ ||  
*bhūrbhuvahsvar mahāvyāpe sarvavyāpe susarvaga |*  
*trailokya tribhuvanānta tridhātor<sup>a</sup> vajrabhañjaka || [16]*  
<sup>a</sup>Or tridhāto (voc.)?

sarvasarva mahāloka dharmakarma mahapriyaḥ ||  
 vajranāthā sunāthāgrya paramārtha mahopamaḥ ||  
*sarvasarva mahāloka dharmakarma mahāpriya |*  
*vajranātha sunāthāgrya paramārtha mahopama || [17]*

agryasara viśeṣāgrya ; sarvabhūta mahānabhaḥ ||  
 a(t)yaśva : sarvativasaḥ <ṛto vasaḥ> ṛto varṣāgrakalmahā ||  
*agryasara<sup>a</sup> viśeṣāgrya sarvabhūta mahānabhaḥ |*  
*atyaśva sarvativasa ṛto varṣāgrakālaha || [18]*  
<sup>a</sup>Or agresara?



sarvemokṣa susarvogrya viśeṣāśeṣa(s)iddhidaḥ |  
mahāsiddhi mahārddhe vajrasa(tva)dya sidhya (me) ||  
sarvamokṣa susarvāgrya viśeṣāśeṣasiddhida |  
mahāsiddhe mahā-rddhe<sup>a</sup> vajrasattvādyā sidhya me || [19]

<sup>a</sup>For maharddhe, the cluster being pronounced mahā-riddhe and guaranteed by the meter.

yaḥ kaści stunuyār gadan tādair gramā[481]gryarājibhiḥ ||  
vajrasatvaṃ sakyat vāra vajraṃjalixxx |  
yaḥ kaścit stunuyād<sup>56</sup> gadan nādair gramāgryarājibhiḥ |  
vajrasattvaṃ sakṛd vāraṃ vajrāñjalim [hṛdi kṛtvā] || [20]

sarvāpāvinimuktaḥ saṃbhavat sarvasaikhyavām ||  
butvatvaṃ vajraṇitvaṃ jatmarī{nī}haiva lapsyatīti : || \* ||  
sarvāpāvinirmuktaḥ saṃbhavet sarvasaukhyavān |  
buddhatvaṃ vajra[pā]ṇitvaṃ janmanīhaiva lapsyata iti || [21]<sup>57</sup>

#### English Translation

- 1 O best truth of the great pledge! Oṃ. O great bliss, which grants happiness!  
O bodhisattva and great being! *Jaḥ huṃ vaṃ hoḥ!* O great pleasure!
- 2 O you who have arisen without beginning or end, have the mark of the son of space,  
Are universally good, have a desire for every person, and are lord of the whole world!
- 3 O mind-being, foremost in concentration, foremost in resolve, good vajra-holder,  
Having adamant desire, having great desire, awakened, and All-Tathāgata!
- 4 O you who are permanent, eternal, foremost in happiness, have a great pledge, are all-holding,  
Have the secret truth, are the best of secrets, gross and subtle, and secret-holder!
- 5 O you who have the arrow of passion, great shining one, similar to a fire with vajra-like flames,  
Whose pleasure is insight, great seeing one, great passion, and love!
- 6 O you who are all-desirous, very passionate, passionate for love, greatly rejoicing,

- Lord of all debaters, great one, foremost among the all-desirous,  
and poetry-holder!
- 7 O you who pervade the minds of all beings, grant happiness to  
all beings,  
Are father of all beings, best of the best, have a great pledge,  
and are all-holding!
- 8 O *vajra*-in-hand, you of great attraction, of great contentment,  
of great pleasure,  
Matrix of space, you who have an adamantine objective (*or ray*),  
you who have a great flag, you who have a large smile,
- 9 Lord of what is seen, mighty one, essence of great splendor,  
lord of speech,  
You who perform great deeds, you who provide great protection,  
violent *yakṣa*, and well-binding one!
- 10 O *vajra*, hook, arrow, that which causes the thrill of contentment,  
great gem,  
Gemmed flame, great banner, that which gives joy and gladness,
- 11 Lotus, sword, great wheel, large smile with a *vajra*-like tongue,  
Crossed *vajra*, great armor, tusk seal, and great grasp!
- 12 O adamantine letter *hūṃ*, letter *hūṃ*, all-taming, chastiser,  
Discipliner of the world, best in the world, letter *hrīḥ*, and  
good boon-granter!
- 13 O accomplishment of all objectives, you who have all objectives, [...],  
Great being of all Buddhists, and good being-holder of all beings!
- 14 O all-being, you who have beheld beings, best of beings,  
being-holder,  
Imperishable and immutable, *nirvāṇa*, imperishable throughout  
the three ages (i.e., past, present, and future), and good lord!
- 15 O you who are victorious, Viṣṇu, great lord, omniscient, good  
grandfather (i.e., *Brahmā*?),  
Lord of creatures, protector of the world, creator of all, and  
great lord!
- 16 O earth, air and heaven, great pervader, all-pervading, thoroughly  
omnipresent,  
You who are the three worlds and the end of the three worlds,  
and *vajra*-like destroyer of the three realms!
- 17 O all-all, you of great light, you who perform Dharma-deeds, great  
beloved one,  
*Vajra*-like lord, best of good lords, supreme objective, and most  
excellent (*or resembling the great*)!

- 18 O you who move best (or go in front), best of the special ones,  
omnipresent, great sky,  
Sun (?), all days, season, and slayer of time at the beginning of  
the year!
- 19 O liberation of all, very best of all, granting special accomplish-  
ments without remainder,  
Having great accomplishments, and having great power! O  
Vajrasattva, may you be accomplished for me today!
- 20 Whosoever, speaking with sounds consisting of series of the  
best tones, would praise  
Vajrasattva [only] once while making the adamantite hand-clasp  
at his heart
- 21 Will become freed from all sins and possessed of all happiness,  
And buddhahood and the state of Vajrapāṇi will be obtained in  
this very life.

#### Remarks

This text consists of twenty-one verses in the *anuṣṭubh* meter, and judging from both the content of the verses so far as they can be restored and the text's title, verses 2–21 constitute a eulogy of 108 names (*nāmāṣṭasāta*). I have been unable to identify either the mantra(s) in verse 1 or the remaining verses, but the term *mahāsamayatattvāgrya* at the very start suggests a possible connection with the \**Mahāsamaya-tattvayoga* (*Da sanmeiye zhenshi yuqie* 大三昧耶真實瑜伽), the thirteenth of Amoghavajra's eighteen assemblies.

If we look at the verses more closely, we find a division between verses 2–19, constituting the eulogy proper, and the final two verses, extolling the merits of reciting the eulogy. A similar basic structure can also be observed, for example, in the six 108-name eulogies in the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha*, although the numbers of verses differ: 16 + 4 (H. §§197–201, 620–639), 15 + 2 (H. §§1470–1486, 1833–1849, 2981–2997), and 16 + 5 (H. §§3044–3065). In addition, in the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha* each of the verses of the eulogies per se ends with the words “Homage be to you” (*namo 'stu te*), which are missing in the above verses. In this respect our text resembles several other so-called 108-name eulogies that consist simply of lists of names, although usually many more than 108 in number.<sup>59</sup> But it can also be pointed out that verses 8–11 consist of two sets of epithets of the sixteen bodhisattvas of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala, many of which bear similarities in form or meaning with a section of the so-called

“Supplementary Introduction” to the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, in which Mahāvairocana is described in terms of his aspect as the sixteen bodhisattvas of the *mahā-maṇḍala* and *samaya-maṇḍala* (H. §§11–12).<sup>60</sup> The correspondences between verses 8–11 and the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* are set out below. (The terms appear in the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* in the nominative and in Kūkai’s text in the vocative, but here they are given in their base forms.)

Sixteen Bodhisattvas	vv. 8–9	STTS (§H. 11)	vv. 10–11	STTS (§H. 12)
Vajrasattva	<i>vajrapāṇi</i>	<i>samanta- bhadra</i>	<i>vajra</i>	<i>vajra</i>
Vajrarāja	<i>mahākarṣa</i>	<i>svamogha</i>	<i>aṅkuśa</i>	<i>aṅkuśa</i>
Vajrarāga	<i>mahātuṣṭi</i>	<i>māra</i>	<i>śara</i>	<i>śara</i>
Vajrasādhu	<i>mahārati</i>	<i>prāmodya- nāyaka</i>	<i>tuṣṭi- praharṣaka</i>	<i>tuṣṭi</i>
Vajraratna	<i>ākāśagarbha</i>	<i>khagarbha</i>	<i>mahāmaṇi</i>	<i>ratna</i>
Vajrateja	<i>vajrārtha</i> (→ <i>vajrārka</i> ?)	<i>sumahātejas</i>	<i>ratnajvala</i>	<i>sūrya</i>
Vajraketu	<i>mahādhvaja</i>	<i>ratnaketu</i>	<i>mahāketu</i>	<i>dhvaja</i>
Vajrahāsa	<i>mahāsmiṭa</i>	<i>mahāsmiṭa</i>	<i>prītiprāmodya- dāyaka</i>	<i>smiṭa</i>
Vajradharma	<i>avalokiteśa</i>	<i>avalokita- maheśa</i>	<i>padma</i>	<i>padma</i>
Vajratikṣṇa	<i>vibhu</i>	<i>mañjuśrī</i>	<i>kośa</i>	<i>kośa</i>
Vajrahetu	<i>mahāśrīmaṇḍa</i>	<i>sarvamaṇḍala</i>	<i>mahācakra</i>	<i>sucakra</i>
Vajrabhāṣa	<i>vākpati</i>	<i>avāca</i>	<i>vajrajihva- mahāsmiṭa</i>	<i>vāc</i>
Vajrakarma	<i>mahākarman</i>	<i>viśvakarman</i>	<i>viśvavajra</i>	<i>karman</i>
Vajrarakṣa	<i>mahārakṣa</i>	<i>vīrya</i>	<i>mahāvarman</i>	<i>varman</i>
Vajrayakṣa	<i>caṇḍayakṣa</i>	<i>caṇḍa</i>	<i>daṃṣṭramudra</i>	<i>bhaya</i>
Vajrasandhi	<i>subandhana</i>	<i>ḍṛḍhagraha</i>	<i>mahāgraha</i>	<i>graha</i>

The similarities between verses 10–11 and H. §12, corresponding to the symbolic representations of the sixteen bodhisattvas, are particularly striking. When one further considers that the \**Mahāsamaya-tattvayoga* is said to have been expounded at the site of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala,<sup>61</sup> it would seem safe to assume that this text belongs to the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* family of texts. It is to be hoped that

further investigations of Sanskrit manuscripts and the Tibetan canon will shed additional light on this intriguing text.

5. JŪICHIMEN SAN 十一面讚 EULOGY OF  
ELEVEN-FACED [AVALOKITEŚVARA] (NO. 39)

Sanskrit Text

[577] ॐ jāṭadharaṃ somyavisala(lo)canaṃ sadaprasana  
mokhavaṃdramamaṇḍala  
srarosraṃrer vanditapādapaṃkajaṃ nāṃmami nāthā munipadma-  
saṃmbhavaṃ ||

jāṭadharaṃ saumyaviśālalocaṇaṃ sadāprasannaṃ mukhacandramaṇḍalam |  
surāsurair vanditapādapaṃkajaṃ namāmi nāthaṃ maṇipadmasaṃbhavam ||

English Translation

I bow to the lord who wears braided hair and has large, gentle eyes and a countenance like a moon-disc, always bright, the lotuses of whose feet are venerated by gods and demons, and who is born of the gem-lotus.<sup>62</sup>

Remarks

This verse (in the *vaṃśasthavila* meter) has been transliterated, but not identified, by Noguchi.<sup>63</sup> It tallies with verse 1 of an *Avalokiteśvarastotra* attributed to Vāsukināgarāja, with one minor difference: the latter has *sadāprasannānanacandra°* in *pāda* b.<sup>64</sup> I have not been able to identify any Chinese translation of this verse or of the entire *stotra*, and so it is not clear whether the above verse was circulating independently at the time of Kūkai and was later incorporated into the *Avalokiteśvarastotra* or whether a work similar to the *Avalokiteśvarastotra* already existed (with Kūkai having acquired only the first verse) and later came to be attributed to Vāsukināgarāja.

APPENDIX: LIST OF SANSKRIT TEXTS  
BROUGHT BACK TO JAPAN BY KŪKAI

The titles are given in the form in which they appear in Kūkai's *Go-shōrai mokuroku*, but the word *bonji* 梵字 (Brāhmī [i.e., Siddhamāṭṭṛkā] script) with which each is prefixed has been omitted. The page numbers following the titles are those of the corresponding pages in Hase's work (see n. 7). Many of these texts have also been preserved in Tibetan translation, but references to Tibetan parallels have been omitted

since they can be readily ascertained elsewhere, while references to relevant research have been restricted to works dealing directly with textual aspects of the texts in question and are by no means intended to be exhaustive.

1. *Daibirushana taizō daigiki* 大毘盧舍那胎藏大儀軌 \**Mahāvairocana-garbhadhātu-mahākālpa* (pp. 1–102)

A collection of mantras appearing in fascicles 1–6 of the Chinese translation of the *Vairocana-bhīṣaṃbodhi-sūtra* (*Dapiluzhena chengfō shenbian jiachi jing* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經 [T. 848]).<sup>65</sup>

2. *Taizō mandara shoson bonmyō* 胎藏曼陀羅諸尊梵名 *Sanskrit Names of Deities of the Garbhadhātu Maṇḍala* (pp. 103–156)

A list of the Sanskrit names of 358 deities appearing in the *maṇḍala* of the *Vairocana-bhīṣaṃbodhi-sūtra* together with their Chinese names.

3. *Kongōchō renebu daigiki* 金剛頂蓮花部大儀軌 *Great Ritual Manual of the Lotus Division of the Adamantine Pinnacle* (pp. 157–199)

A collection of mantras corresponding by and large to the mantras in the *Jingangding lianhuabu xin niansong yigui* 金剛頂蓮華部心念誦儀軌 (T. 873) and *Jingangding yiqie rulai zhenshishe dacheng xianzheng da-jiaowang jing* 金剛頂一切如來真實攝大乘現證大教王經 (T. 874), both ritual manuals based on Part I of the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha*. The *Lianhuabu xin niansong yigui* 蓮華部心念誦儀軌 (T. 875) reproduces a different copy of the *Siddhamāṭrkā* text. The mantras have been transliterated with notes by Miyasaka Yūshō.<sup>66</sup>

4. *Birushana sanmaji giki* 毘盧遮那三摩地儀軌 *Ritual Manual for the Samādhi of Vairocana* (pp. 201–208)

A collection of mantras appearing in the *Jingangding jing yuqie xiuxi Piluzhena sanmodi fa* 金剛頂經瑜伽修習毘盧遮那三摩地法 (T. 876), a ritual manual belonging to the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha* family of texts.<sup>67</sup>

5. *Fugen gyōgan san* 普賢行願讚 *Bhadracaripraṇidhāna* (pp. 209–249)

The *Bhadracaripraṇidhāna* accompanied by interlinear Chinese glosses and followed by two mantras; cf. n. 3.

6. *Daibutchō shingon* 大佛頂真言 \**Mahābuddhoṣṇīṣa Mantra* (pp. 251–276)

The title given at the start of this text can be restored as S[arva]tathā-gatoṣṇīṣasitātapatrāparājītā-pratyāṅgirā-dhāraṇī, more commonly known as the *Sarvatathāgatoṣṇīṣasitātapatrā-nāmāparājītā-mahāpratyāṅgirāvidyārājñī*, and it tallies with the *Dafoding rulai fangguang xidaduobodalu tuo luoni* 大佛頂如來放光悉怛多鉢怛囉陀羅尼 (T. 944A; Chinese phonetic transcription). The *Dafoding da tuoluoni* 大佛頂大陀羅尼 (T. 944B) reproduces a different version of the Siddhamātrkā text.<sup>68</sup>

7. *Daizuigu shingon* 大隨求真言 *Great Pratisarā Mantra* (pp. 279–301)

Consists of eight mantras appearing in the *Mahāpratisarā-mahāvidyārājñī* (*Pubian guangming qingjing chisheng ruyibao yin xin Wunengsheng damingwang dasuiqiu tuoluoni jing* 普遍光明清淨熾盛如意寶印心無能勝大明王大隨求陀羅尼經 [T. 1153]; *Suiqiu jide dazizai tuoluoni shenzhou jing* 隨求即得大自在陀羅尼神呪經 [T. 1154]; *Jingangding yuqie zuisheng bimi chengfo suiqiu jide shenbian jiachi chengjiu tuoluoni yigui* 金剛頂瑜伽最勝祕密成佛隨求即得神變加持成就陀羅尼儀軌 [T. 1155]).<sup>69</sup> A different version of the Siddhamātrkā text is reproduced at the end of T. 1153 (as far as 20:636b22).

8. *Shōzuigu shingon* 小隨求真言 *Small Pratisarā Mantra*

One of two of Kūkai's Sanskrit texts that Hase failed to locate. It has been suggested that it corresponds to the final mantra of the *Mahāpratisarā-mahāvidyārājñī* (T.1153.20:626a17–627a1).<sup>70</sup>

9. *Daihōrōkaku-kyō shingon* 大寶樓閣經真言 *Mantras of the Mahāmaṇi-vipulavimāna-sūtra* (pp. 303–324)

A collection of mantras appearing in the *Mahāmaṇi-vipulavimānaviśvasupratīṣṭhitaguhyaparamarahasya-kalparāja* (*Dabao guangbo louge shanzhu bimi tuoluoni jing* 大寶廣博樓閣善住祕密陀羅尼經 [T. 1005A]; *Guangda baolouge shanzhu bimi tuoluoni jing* 廣大寶樓閣善住祕密陀羅尼經 [T. 1006]; *Mouli mantuoluo zhoujing* 牟梨曼陀羅呪經 [T. 1007]). The *Baolouge jing fanzi zhenyan* 寶樓閣經梵字真言 (T. 1005B) reproduces a different copy of the Siddhamātrkā text.<sup>71</sup>

10. *Kongōzō gōzanze san'ō* 金剛藏降三世讚王 *King of Eulogies of Vajragarbha-Trailokyavijaya*

One of two of Kūkai's Sanskrit texts that Hase failed to locate. Kodama and Noguchi<sup>72</sup> state that there is a “eulogy of Vajragarbha-Trailokyavijaya”



(金剛藏降三世讚) in the *Suxidijieluo gongyang fa* (T.894.18:718c2–8), but the text actually has “eulogy of Vajratrailokyavijaya” (金剛降三世讚).

11. *Senpi kanro gundari shingon* 千臂甘露軍荼利真言 *Mantra of Thousand-Armed Amṛtakuṇḍalin* (pp. 325–328)

See pp. 190–192 above.

12. *Kikkyōsan* 吉慶讚 *Maṅgalagāthā* (pp. 329–336)

Nine of a series of verses extolling the life of Śākyamuni. A total of twenty-four such verses have been identified.<sup>73</sup>

13. *Muku jōkō darani* 無垢淨光陀羅尼 *Raśmivimalaviśuddhaprabhā-dhāraṇī* (pp. 337–340)

Corresponds to the first *dhāraṇī* of the *\*Raśmivimalaviśuddhaprabhā-dhāraṇī-sūtra* (*Wugou jingguang da tuoluoni jing* 無垢淨光大陀羅尼經 [T.1024.19:718b5–16]). A different version of the *Siddhamāṭṛkā* text is reproduced at the end of T. 1024. It has been transliterated with notes by Miyasaka.<sup>74</sup>

14. *Bodaijō shōgon darani* 菩提場莊嚴陀羅尼 *\*Bodhimaṇḍavyūha-dhāraṇī* (pp. 341–345)

Corresponds to the first three *dhāraṇīs* of the *\*Bodhimaṇḍavyūha-dhāraṇī-sūtra* (*Putichang zhuangyan tuoluoni jing* 菩提場莊嚴陀羅尼經 [T.1008.19:671b8–25, 674b26–27, 29]). These three *dhāraṇīs*, which appear also in the *Baiqian yin tuoluoni jing* 百千印陀羅尼經 (T.1369.21:886a22–b6, 8–9, 11) and *Luocha tuoluoni jing* 洛叉陀羅尼經 (T.1390.21:907b25–c21), are also collectively referred to as the *Bodhi-garbhāṃkārakṣa-dhāraṇī* and are found in *Siddhamāṭṛkā* script in notebook no. 29 of the *Sanjūjō sasshi*,<sup>75</sup> and have also been found inscribed on various objects in India and elsewhere.<sup>76</sup>

15. *Hōbu kongō san* 寶部金剛讚 就中如意輪讚大悲真言維摩詰真言 *Eulogy of the Vajras of the Gem Family* (with Eulogy of Cakravartīcintāmaṇi, Mantra of Great Compassion, and Mantra of Vimalakīrti) (pp. 347–357)

See pp. 192–201 above.

16. *Myōhō-rengē-kyō giki* 妙法蓮華經儀軌 *Ritual Manual of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* (pp. 359–373)

A collection of mantras appearing in the *Chengjiu Miaofa lianhua jing-wang yuqie guanzhi yigui* 成就妙法蓮華經王瑜伽觀智儀軌 (T. 1000).<sup>77</sup>

17. *Fudōson giki* 不動尊儀軌 *Ritual Manual for Acalanātha* (pp. 375–389)  
A collection of mantras appearing in the *Jingangshou guangming guanding jing zuisheng liyin sheng Wudongzun daweinu wang niansong yigui fapin* 金剛手光明灌頂經最勝立印聖無動尊大威怒王念誦儀軌法品 (T. 1199).

18. *Sonshō butchō shingon* 尊勝佛頂真言 *Uṣṇīṣavijaya Mantra* (pp. 391–396)  
A version of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī*; the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼 (T. 974B) reproduces a different copy of the *Siddhamāṭṛkā* text, and another version is reproduced in the *Zunsheng foding xiu yuqie fa yigui* 尊勝佛頂修瑜伽法儀軌 (T.973.19:377bc).<sup>78</sup>

19. *Shichi kutei butsumo san* 七俱胝佛母讚 *Eulogy of the Buddha-Mother of Seven Crores* (pp. 397–401)  
See pp. 201–206 above.

20. *Batō kannon darani* 馬頭觀音陀羅尼 *Dhāraṇī of Hayagrīva* (pp. 403–409)  
One of Hayagrīva's longer mantras; the *Matou guanyin xin tuoluoni* 馬頭觀音心陀羅尼 (T. 1072B) reproduces a different copy of the *Siddhamāṭṛkā* text, which has been transliterated by R. H. van Gulik.<sup>79</sup>

21. *Senpatsu Monju ippyakuhachi myōsan* 千鉢文殊一百八名讚 *Eulogy of One Hundred and Eight Names of Mañjuśrī with a Thousand Bowls* (pp. 411–429)  
Corresponds to the greater part of the *Mañjuśrīkumārabhūta-aṣṭottaraśātakanāma*; the *Qianbo Wenshu yibaiba mingzan* 千鉢文殊一百八名讚 (T. 1077B) reproduces a different copy of the *Siddhamāṭṛkā* text, and both versions have been edited by Giebel.<sup>80</sup>

22. *Issai kichijō tennyo darani* 一切吉祥天女陀羅尼 *Dhāraṇī of Śrīmahādevī* (pp. 431–436)  
Corresponds to the *dhāraṇī* in the *Śrīmahādevīvyākaraṇa* (*Dajixiang tiannü shi'er qi yibaiba ming wugou dacheng jing* 大吉祥天女十二契一百八名無垢大乘經 [T.1253.21:254c19–255a15]) preceded by salutations to five of the thirty-seven Tathāgatas invoked at the start of the sūtra and four of Śrīmahādevī's 108 names.<sup>81</sup>

23. *Fukūkenjaku darani* 不空羼索陀羅尼 *Dhāraṇī of Amoghapāśa* (pp. 437–443)

Similar to a *dhāraṇī* in the *Amoghapāśakalparāja* (*Bukongjuansuo shenbian zhenyan jing* 不空羼索神變真言經 [T.1092.20:275b21–276a16]).<sup>82</sup> It has been transliterated and translated into Japanese by Fujita Kōkan.<sup>83</sup>

24. *Senju sengen shingon* 千手千眼真言 *Mantra of [Avalokiteśvara with] One Thousand Hands and One Thousand Eyes* (pp. 445–450)

A mantra of Avalokiteśvara similar to that in the *Qianshou qianyan Guanshiyin pusa guangda yuanman wu'ai dabei xin tuoluoni jing* 千手千眼觀世音菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼經 (T.1060.20:107b25–c25) and the *Qianshou qianyan Guanshiyin pusa dabei xin tuoluoni* 千手千眼觀世音菩薩大悲心陀羅尼 (T.1064.20:116b13–117a9).<sup>84</sup>

25. *Amida-butsu shingon* 阿彌陀佛真言 *Mantra of the Buddha Amitāyus* (pp. 451–454)

Corresponds to the “root *dhāraṇī*” of Amitāyus in the *Wuliangshou rulai guanxing gongyang yigui* 無量壽如來觀行供養儀軌 (T.930.19:71b5–18).<sup>85</sup>

26. *Hōkyō shingon* 寶篋真言 \**Karaṇḍa[mudrā]-mantra* (pp. 455–459)

Corresponds to the *dhāraṇī* in the *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhānahrdaya-guhyadhātukaraṇḍamudrā-nāma-dhāraṇī* (*Yiqie rulai xin bimi quanshen sheli baoqieyin tuoluoni jing* 一切如來心祕密全身舍利寶篋印陀羅尼經 [T.1022.19:711c2–25, 713c24–714a18]; *Yiqie rulai zhengfa bimi qieyin xin tuoluoni jing* 一切如來正法祕密篋印心陀羅尼經 [T.1023.19:717a12–b9]). A different version of the *Siddhamāṭṛkā* text is reproduced at the end of T. 1022A.<sup>86</sup>

27. *Jūroku daibosatsu san* 十六大菩薩讚 *Eulogy of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas* (pp. 461–468)

Corresponds to the first sixteen of the twenty verses of the first of the six *nāmāṣṭaśata* found in the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha* (H. §§197–200).

28. *Jūroku daibosatsu shingon* 十六大菩薩真言 *Mantras of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas* (pp. 469–472)

The mantras of the Sixteen Great Bodhisattvas of the *Bhadrakalpa*, corresponding to those in the *Jingangding yiqie rulai zhenshishe dacheng xianzheng dajiaowang jing* (T.874.18:318b3–17) and the *Xianjie shiliu zun*

賢劫十六尊 (T.881.18:339b6–c23). They have been transliterated by Noguchi.<sup>87</sup>

29. *Daisanmaya shinjitsu ippyakuhachi myōsan* 大三昧耶眞實一百八名讚  
Eulogy in One Hundred and Eight Names of the “Truth of the Great Pledge”  
(pp. 474–481)

See pp. 206–213 above.

30. *Shichi kutei giki* 七俱胝儀軌 *Ritual Manual for [the Buddha-Mother of] Seven Crores* (pp. 483–490)

A collection of mantras pertaining to Cundā. They have been transliterated and translated into Japanese by Sakai.<sup>88</sup>

31. *Yōe kannon shingon* 葉衣觀音眞言 *Mantra of Parṇasābarī* (pp. 491–496)  
A version of the *Parṇasābarī-dhāraṇī* (*Yeyi guanzizai pusa jing* 葉衣觀自在菩薩經 [T.1100.20:447b5–448a2]; T. 1384, *Bolannashefuli da tuoluoni jing* 鉢蘭那賒嚩哩大陀羅尼經 [21:904c16–905a25]).<sup>89</sup>

32. *Daihi shin shingon* 大悲心眞言 *Heart-Mantra of Great Compassion* (pp. 497–509)

A version of the *Nīlakaṇṭha-dhāraṇī*, corresponding to the *Qianshou qianyan Guanzizai pusa guangda yuanman wu'ai dabei xin tuoluoni zhouben* 千手千眼觀自在菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼呪本 (T. 1061). A different version of the *Siddhamātrkā* text is reproduced at the end of T. 1061.<sup>90</sup>

33. *Ichijichōrinnō giki* 一字頂輪王儀軌 *Ritual Manual for Ekākṣaroṣṇīṣa-cakravartin* (pp. 511–527)

A collection of mantras appearing in the *Yizidinglunwang niansong yigui* 一字頂輪王念誦儀軌 (T. 954).<sup>91</sup>

34. *Monju goji shingon giki* 文殊五字眞言儀軌 *Ritual Manual for Mañjuśrī's Five-Syllable Mantra* (pp. 529–537)

A collection of mantras similar to those in the *Jingangding jing yuqie Wenshushili pusa gongyang yigui* 金剛頂經瑜伽文殊師利菩薩供養儀軌 (T. 1175) and, to a lesser extent, those in the *Jingangding jing yuqie Wenshushili pusa fa* 金剛頂經瑜伽文殊師利菩薩法 (T. 1171).

35. *Usushima giki* 烏芻濕摩儀軌 *Ritual Manual for Ucchuṣma* (pp. 539–550)

A collection of mantras appearing in the *Daweinu wuchusemo yigui jing* 大威怒烏芻澁麼儀軌經 (T. 1225). The *Wuchuse mingwang yigui fanzi* 烏芻澁明王儀軌梵字 (T. 1226) reproduces a different copy of the Siddhamāṭṛkā text.<sup>92</sup>

36. *Shōsho yuga giki* 勝初瑜伽儀軌 *Ritual Manual of the Paramādyayoga* (pp. 551–563)

A collection of mantras appearing in the *Jingangding shengchu yuqie jing zhong lüechu dale jingang saduo niansong yi* 金剛頂勝初瑜伽經中略出大樂金剛薩埵念誦儀 (T. 1120A). The *Shengchu yuqie yigui zhenyan* 勝初瑜伽儀軌真言 (T. 1120B) reproduces a different copy of the Siddhamāṭṛkā text.<sup>93</sup>

37. *Ten ryū hachibu san* 天龍八部讚 *Eulogy of Gods, Nāgas, and the [Other] Eight Classes [of Supernatural Beings]* (pp. 565–569)

A similar eulogy is found in Chinese transliteration in the *Yaoshi yigui yiju* 藥師儀軌一具 (T.924C.19:32c18–22) and the *Yanluo wang gong xingfa cidi* 焰羅王供行法次第 (T.1290.21:376a17–21). Both the Chinese transliteration and Siddhamāṭṛkā text have been reconstructed/transliterated and translated into Japanese by Kiyota Jakuun.<sup>94</sup>

38. *Hosshin ge* 法身偈 *Dharmakāya Verse* (pp. 571–573)

The *ye dharmāḥ* formula.

39. *Jūichimen san* 十一面讚 *Eulogy of Eleven-Faced [Avalokiteśvara]* (pp. 575–579)

See p. 213 above.

40. *Kongōbu rōkaku shingon narabi ni ippyakuhachi myōsan* 金剛峯樓閣真言并一百八名讚 *Mantras of the Adamantine Peak Pavilion and Eulogy of One Hundred and Eight Names* (pp. 581–592)

A collection of mantras appearing in the *Jingangfeng louge yiqie yuqie yuzhi jing* 金剛峯樓閣一切瑜伽瑜祇經 (T. 867). They have been transliterated with notes by Miyasaka.<sup>95</sup>

41. *Rengebu san* 蓮花部讚 *Eulogy of the Lotus Division* (p. 593)

Corresponds to the eulogy of Cakravartīcintāmaṇi found in Chinese transliteration in the *Guanzizai pusa ruyilun niansong yigui* 觀自在菩薩如意輪念誦儀軌 (T.1085.20:206a19–22). The Siddhamāṭṛkā text is also

found in notebook no. 27 of the *Sanjūjō sasshi*; it has been transliterated by Miyasaka.<sup>96</sup>

42. *Shittan shō* 悉曇章 *Chapters on Siddham* (pp. 595–702)

A primer listing several thousand Siddhamāṭṛkā glyphs, reproduced from a woodblock edition printed in 1734 (Kyōhō 享保 19).

NOTES

\* I wish to gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Sakuma Hidenori 佐久間秀範 in obtaining a copy of the relevant sections of vol. 5 of Hase Hōshū's collected works, and also the invaluable input provided by Diwakar Nath Acharya, Arlo Griffiths, Iain Sinclair, Jeffrey Sundberg, and Tanaka Kimiaki 田中公明.

1 T.2161.55:1063b10–c24. For a recent translation of the *Go-shōrai mokuroku*, see Shingen Takagi and Thomas Eijō Dreitlein, *Kūkai on the Philosophy of Language* (Tokyo: Keio University Press, 2010), pp. 199–232. It does not, however, include the list of Sanskrit texts (p. 212).

2 On Prajña (or Prajñā), see Paul Copp, “Prajña,” in Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne, eds., *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 360–362.

3 T.2161.55:1065c8–13. Ryūichi Abé, in *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), p. 119, states that these were the Sanskrit originals of Prajña's translation of the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* (or, more specifically, the *Gaṇḍavyūha*), but this is by no means certain; cf. Yoritomi Motohiro 頼富本宏, *Chūgoku mikkyō no kenkyū* 中国密教の研究 (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha 大東出版社, 1979), p. 21. It can, however, be pointed out that the Sanskrit texts brought back by Kūkai include the entire *Bhadracariprañidhāna* from the closing section of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (with interlinear glosses in Chinese; text no. 5 in the Appendix, above) and that two verses of the same work (slightly truncated, possibly owing to eye-skip on the part of the copyist) are found in Siddhamāṭṛkā script in notebook no. 23 of the *Sanjūjō sasshi*. Miyasaka Yūshō 宮坂宥勝, who has reproduced the original Siddhamāṭṛkā text of these latter two verses together with a transcription, was unable to identify them (*Indo koten ron* インド古典論, vol. 1 [Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房, 1983], pp. [90], [112]), but they had already been identified by Inokuchi Taijun 井ノ口泰淳 in 1978 (see *Chūō Ajia no gengo to Bukkyō* 中央アジアの言語と仏教 [Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法藏館, 1995], pp. 195–198), as corresponding to the first two verses of the *Bhadracariprañidhāna* (Kaikioku Watanabe, *Die Bhadracarī: Eine Probe buddhistisch-religiöser Lyrik untersucht und herausgegeben* [Leipzig: Druck von G. Kreysing, 1912], p. 29). It may also be noted that the *Bongaku shinryō* 梵學津梁



by Jiun Onkō 慈雲飲光 (1718–1804) includes seventeen Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Bhadracariprañidhāna*, at least some of which presumably derive from Kūkai's Sanskrit text; see Okukaze Eikō 奥風栄弘, “Kōkiji-zō bonbun *Fugen gyōgan san ni tsuite*” 高貴寺蔵梵文『普賢行願讃』について, *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 60/2 (2012): 941–938.

4 For details, see Rolf W. Giebel, “The One Hundred and Eight Names of Mañjuśrī: The Sanskrit Version of the *Mañjuśrīkumārabhūta-aṣṭottaraśātakanāma* Based on Sino-Japanese Sources,” *Indo ronrigaku kenkyū* インド論理学研究 3 (2011): 303–343.

5 In 1909–1915 (Tokyo: Bussho Kankōkai 佛書刊行会) and 1977 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan).

6 One notable exception is a study by Miyasaka Yūshō (included in *Indo koten ron*), in which he reproduces, transcribes, and identifies all the Siddhamāṭṛkā passages found in four of the notebooks (nos. 23, 26, 27 and 29); see also n. 77.

7 Hase Hōshū 長谷寶秀, *Daishi go-shōrai bonji shingon shū* 大師御請来梵字真言集. First published in 1938 in two volumes (Kyoto: Kyōto Senmon Gakkō 京都専門學校) and later reprinted, first in one volume in 1976 (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai 国書刊行会) and then in 1997 as volumes 4 and 5 of *Shuchiin Daigaku Mikkyō Shiryō Kenkyūjo* 種智院大学密教資料研究所, ed., *Hase Hōshū zenshū* 長谷寶秀全集 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan). I have used the 1976 reprint. On a previous occasion (Giebel, “The One Hundred and Eight Names of Mañjuśrī,” p. 307) I unthinkingly wrote that all forty of the Siddhamāṭṛkā texts reproduced by Hase were in his own hand, and I take this opportunity to correct this error.

8 The following information is based on Hase Hōshū, “Kōbō Daishi go-shōrai no bonji shingon shū” 弘法大師御請来の梵字真言集, *Rokudai shinpō* 六大新報 1774 (12 June 1938), reprinted in *Shuchiin Daigaku Mikkyō Shiryō Kenkyūjo*, ed., *Hase Hōshū zenshū*, vol. 5, pp. 397–401.

9 Here and below the text numbers are those of the texts as listed in the Appendix.

10 Said to have originally consisted of about 1,000 fascicles, 300 fascicles are preserved at Kōkiji, and some of them have been reproduced in Lokesh Chandra, *Sanskrit Manuscripts from Japan* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1972).

11 Kodama Giryū 児玉義隆 and Noguchi Keiya 野口圭也, “Daiyonkan, daigokan gaiyō—*Daishi go-shōrai bonji shingon shū shoshū no shingon ni tsuite*” 第四卷・第五巻概要—『大師御請来梵字真言集』所収の真言について, *Shuchiin Daigaku Mikkyō Shiryō Kenkyūjo kiyō* 種智院大学密教資料研究所紀要 1 (1998): 28–41. This is a modified version of the explanatory remarks (“Kaisetsu” 解説) by Noguchi included in *Shuchiin Daigaku Mikkyō Shiryō Kenkyūjo*, ed., *Hase Hōshū zenshū*, vol. 5, pp. 403–420.



12 “Bonji shingon kōgoroku” 梵字真言校合録, in Shuchiin Daigaku Mikkyō Shiryō Kenkyūjo, ed., *Hase Hōshū zenshū*, vol. 5, pp. 362–395.

13 Bonji Kichō Shiryō Kankōkai 梵字貴重資料刊行会, ed., *Bonji kichō shiryō shūsei* 梵字貴重資料集成 (Tokyo: Tōkyō Bijutsu 東京美術, 1980).

14 Here and throughout BHSG refers to Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary, Volume I: Grammar* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1953).

15 “Daiyonkan, daigokan gaiyō,” p. 35. The end-title and colophon have been transliterated by Noguchi (Shuchiin Daigaku Mikkyō Shiryō Kenkyūjo, ed., *Hase Hōshū zenshū*, vol. 5, p. 412).

16 The mantra in question reads: *namo ratnatrayāya, namaś caṇḍa-mahāvajrakrodhāya, om huru huru tiṣṭha tiṣṭha bandha bandha hana hana amṛte hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*. This mantra is also found, e.g., at T.864.18:198b1–12, 199a14–23; T.893C.18:664b21–24; and T.1146.20:603c16–604a3. Cf. Hatta Yukio 八田幸雄, *Shingon jiten* 真言事典 (Tokyo: Hiraakawa Shuppansha 平河出版社, 1985), p. 73, no. 437.

17 Cf. Rolf W. Giebel, trans., *Two Esoteric Sutras: The Adamantine Pinnacle Sutra, The Susiddhikara Sutra* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2001), pp. 132, 203–204.

18 Miyasaka, *Indo koten ron*, pp. (101)–(102), (126).

19 Matsunaga Yūkei 松長有慶, *Himitsu shūe tantora kōtei bonpon* 秘密集会タंत्र校訂梵本 (*The Guhyasamāja Tantra*) (Osaka: Tōhō Shuppan 東方出版, 1978), p. 62.

20 Ngawang Samten and S. S. Bahulkar, eds., “Vasudhārādhāraṇīsūtra,” *Dhīh* 44 (2007): 134.

21 Cf. Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sutras*, p. 315, n. 25.

22 On the term *śākyabhikṣu*, see Gregory Schopen, “Mahāyāna in Indian Inscriptions,” in *Figments and Fragments of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India: More Collected Papers* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2005), pp. 223–246; Richard S. Cohen, “Kinsmen of the Son: Śākyabhikṣus and the Institutionalization of the Bodhisattva Ideal,” *History of Religions* 40 (2000): 1–31.

23 Several other of Kūkai’s Sanskrit texts end with *samāpta* or a variation thereof (nos. 1, 6, 21, 24, and 28), while no. 23 ends with the words *sumeru lekhita*, possibly indicating that a certain Sumeru was involved in copying it or had it copied, or perhaps even that it was written on a mountain called Sumeru.

24 Kodama and Noguchi, “Daiyonkan, daigokan gaiyō,” p. 36.

25 Bonji Kichō Shiryō Kankōkai, ed., *Bonji kichō shiryō shūsei* vol. 1, p. 233 (A collections [sic] of hymns and *mantras*).

26 Here and throughout STTS refers to the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* and H. to Horiuchi's edition: Horiuchi Kanjin 堀内寛仁, ed., *Bon-Zō-Kan taishō Shoe Kongōchōgyō no kenkyū: bonpon kōtei hen* 梵藏漢対照初會金剛頂經の研究 梵本校訂篇, 2 vols. (Kōyachō 高野町: Mikkyō Bunka Kenkyūjo 密教文化研究所, 1983). Note that *tatva* and *satva* in Horiuchi's edition have been given in their regular forms *tattva* and *sattva*, respectively.

27 This conforms with the Chinese and Tibetan translations of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, whereas the Sanskrit manuscripts (T and S) have *vajracitta*; see *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 320–321, n. 13). The Dunhuang manuscript transcribed by Tanaka (see n. 38) has *vajracinta*.

28 The word *mahā* is metrically superfluous, but it appears in the Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* (H. §632) and in the Dunhuang manuscript transcribed by Tanaka (see n. 38).

29 Bonji Kichō Shiryō Kankōkai, ed., *Bonji kichō shiryō shūsei*, vol. 2, p. 187b.

30 H. §§619–635; Lokesh Chandra, ed., *Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987), pp. 55–56. Part II is best known for the tale of the subjugation of Maheśvara by Trailokyavijaya; see Nobumi Iyanaga, “Récits de la soumission de Maheśvara par Trailokyavijaya—d’après les sources chinoises et japonaises,” in Michel Strickmann, ed., *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R. A. Stein III* (Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, 1985), pp. 633–745.

31 Lokesh Chandra and David L. Snellgrove, *Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha: Facsimile Reproduction of a Tenth Century Sanskrit Manuscript from Nepal* (New Delhi: Mrs. Sharada Rani, 1981), p. 39.

32 The opening prose section may be translated as follows: “Then the Blessed Ones, all the Tathāgatas, reassembled and solicited the Blessed One Sarvatathāgatamahācakravartin [for instruction] with this one-hundred-and-eight-name [eulogy].”

33 *Jingangding yiqie rulai zhenshishe dacheng xianzheng dajiaowang jing* 金剛頂一切如來真實攝大乘現證大教王經 (T. 865); see Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sutras*.

34 As presented in the *Jingangding jing yuqie shibahui zhigui* 金剛頂經瑜伽十八會指歸 (T. 869); see Rolf W. Giebel, “The *Chin-kang-ting ching yü-ch’ieh shih-pa-hui chih-kuei*: An Annotated Translation,” *Naritasan Bukkyō Kenkyūjo kiyō* 成田山仏教研究所紀要 18 (1995): 107–201.

35 Cf. Matsunaga Yūkei, *Mikkyō kyōten seiritsushi ron* 密教經典成立史論 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1980), p. 193.

36 Horiuchi, *Bon-Zō-Kan taishō Shoe Kongōchōgyō no kenkyū*, vol. 1, p. 20.

37 Text no. 27. This same passage is also included in another of Kūkai's Sanskrit texts (no. 3; Hase, *Daishi go-shōrai bonji shingon shū*, pp. 170–174). On

the six *nāmāṣṭasata* of the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha*, see Horiuchi Kanjin, “Hyakuhachi myōsan no chūshakuteki kenkyū” 百八名讃の註釈的研究, pts. 1–3, *Mikkyō bunka* 密教文化 112 (1975): 96–80, 113 (1976): 95–54, 114 (1976): 112–46; “Shoe Kongōchōgyō shosetsu no rokushu no hyakuhachi myōsan ni tsuite” 初会金剛頂經所説の六種の百八名讃について, *Mikkyō gakkaihō* 密教学会報 16 (1977): 24–50; “Shoe Kongōchōgyō shosetsu no rokushu hyakuhachi myōsan no tōkeiteki kōsatsu” 初会金剛頂經所説の六種百八名讃の統計的考察, pts. 1–4, *Mikkyō bunka* 122 (1978): 96–60, 123 (1978): 112–67, 124 (1978): 77–31, 125 (1979): 104–72. It may be further pointed out that what would seem to be another version of the second *nāmāṣṭasata* with which we are here concerned is preserved in Chinese transliteration in the *Sheng jingangshou pusa yibaiba ming fanzan* 聖金剛手菩薩一百八名梵讃 (T. 1131; translated by Faxian 法賢 in the late tenth century).

38 *rDo rje hung zhes pa'i bsgrub pa bsdu pa* (*Vajrahūṃkārasādhanaopāyikā*). See Tanaka Kimiaki 田中公明, *Tonkō: mikkyō to bijutsu* 敦煌 密教と美術 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2000), pp. 135–149, 230–246. Like Kūkai's text, the transliteration of the *nāmāṣṭasata* ends at H. §635 (pp. 243–244), with the following three verses having been translated into Tibetan and the final verse omitted. It also exhibits a greater number of variant readings than does Kūkai's text when compared with the extant manuscripts of the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha*.

39 See Appendix, no. 41, for further details.

40 The sequence *trayanetra* has provisionally been taken in the sense of *trinetra*.

41 Shuchiin Daigaku Mikkyō Shiryō Kenkyūjo, ed., *Hase Hōshū zenshū*, vol. 5, p. 413.

42 Rolf W. Giebel, “Notes on Some *Dhāraṇī-sūtras* in Chinese Translation,” in Kimura Kiyotaka Hakushi Kanreki Kinenkai 木村清孝博士還暦記念会, ed., *Higashi Ajia Bukkyō—sono seiritsu to tenkai* 東アジア仏教—その成立と展開 (Tokyo: Shunjūsha 春秋社, 2002), pp. 30–36.

43 Peking edition, rGyud Na 35b4–5 (*The Tibetan Tripitaka: Peking Edition* [Tokyo-Kyoto: Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute, 1957–1958], vol. 6, p. 164-3-4~5).

44 Isshi Yamada, ed., *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1968), vol. 2, p. 137.2.

45 Kodama and Noguchi, “Daiyonkan, daigokan gaiyō,” p. 36.

46 Sakai Shinten 酒井眞典, *Sakai Shinten chosakushū* 酒井眞典著作集, vol. 4 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1991), pp. 78, 85–86.

47 E.g., *Kāraṇḍavyūha* in P. L. Vaidya, ed., *Mahāyāna-sūtra-saṃgraha*, Part I, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts 17 (Darbhanga: Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, 1961), p. 301.12. Vaidya's edition of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* omits *tad yathā* and has *cunye* for *cunde*, but the full version is attested in several Chinese texts, e.g., T.1034.20:17a25–26

(without *om*, but added in the Yuan and Ming editions); T.1075.20:173a9–11; T.1076.20:178c20–179a1; T.1077.20:185a12–14; and T.1078.20:186b10–15. There are also the following variants: *namaḥ saptānāṃ samyaksaṃbuddhakoṭināṃ, namaḥ (> namaś) cale cunde namaḥ* (T.1169.20:678c18–19); *namaḥ saptānāṃ samyaksaṃbuddhakoṭināṃ, om cale cule cunde* (T.1169.20:686b22–23). On the above passage in the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* and on a textual witness in Siddhamātrkā script from ancient Java, see also Arlo Griffiths, “Written Traces of the Buddhist Past: Mantras and Dhāraṇīs in Indonesian Inscriptions” (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 76, forthcoming).

48 On this point, see Robert M. Gimello, “Icons and Incantation: The Goddess Zhunti and the Role of Images in the Occult Buddhism of China,” in Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara, eds., *Images in Asian Religions: Texts and Contexts* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), pp. 233, 252, n. 6.

49 Cf. Miranda Shaw, *Buddhist Goddesses of India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 268.

50 If it were possible to interpret *sthitvā* in *pāda* 3b as a non-causative form used in a causative sense (cf. BHSG, §38.24), then *dakṣiṇe sphuṭaṃ sthitvā* could possibly be translated as “having raised an open [flower] in your right [hand]” and taken as a reference to the lotus flower held in one of Cundā’s right hands.

51 T.2087.51:915ab; Samuel Beal, trans., *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World, Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629)* (London: Trübner & Co., 1884), vol. 2, pp. 114–115.

52 It is also mentioned by Faxian 法顯 in his *Faxian zhuan* 法顯傳 (T.2085.51:863ab; cf. Beal, *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. 1, p. lxii; Herbert A. Giles, trans., *Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms* [London: Trübner & Co., 1877], p. 75; James Legge, trans., *A Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886], pp. 87–88), although he does not give the name of the mountain.

53 This opening section is cited by Kodama and Noguchi (“Daiyonkan, daigokan gaiyō,” p. 39), who have *mahārate* for *mahārata*.

54 ‘:’ is here used to represent a punctuation mark consisting of two stacked dots to the left of a *daṇḍa* (which resembles the *akṣara* “ra” without the horizontal bar on top). The two stacked dots are also used alone and are represented below by a colon.

55 *Pādas* ab also appear in the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha* (H. §2492, 44ab), but with nominative endings.

56 On this form see Horiuchi, *Bon-Zō-Kan taishō Shoe Kongōchōgyō no kenkyū*, vol. 1, p. 109, n. 7.

57 These final two *pādas* are cited by Kodama and Noguchi (“Daiyonkan, daigokan gaiyō,” p. 39).

58 See Giebel, “The *Chin-kang-ting ching yü-ch’ieh shih-pa-hui chih-kuei*,” pp. 185–191. With regard to the mantra, it may be noted that the syllables *jaḥ huṃ* (for *hūṃ*?) *vaṃ hoḥ* are the seed-syllables of the four gatekeepers in the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala (Vajrāṅkuśa, Vajrapāśa, Vajrasphoṭa, and Vajrāveśa) and are commonly found as a single unit in many mantras.

59 For a brief discussion of 108-name eulogies, see Rolf W. Giebel, “The One Hundred and Eight Names of Tārā: A Partial Sanskrit Reconstruction of the *Tārādevī-nāmāṣṭaśataka*,” *Indo ronrigaku kenkyū* 1 (2010): 441–442.

60 Cf. Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sutras*, p. 21. I owe this observation to Tanaka Kimiaki (private communication).

61 T.869.18:287a7-8; cf. Giebel, “The *Chin-kang-ting ching yü-ch’ieh shih-pa-hui chih-kuei*,” p. 186.

62 While it is possible that the term *maṇipadmasambhava* is a double entendre, here it probably refers to the famous mantra *oṃ maṇipadme hūṃ*.

63 Shuchiin Daigaku Mikkyō Shiryō Kenkyūjo, ed., *Hase Hōshū zenshū*, vol. 5, p. 419.

64 See Janardan Shastri Pandey, *Bauddhastotrasaṃgrahaḥ* (Varanasi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1994), p. 38. I was able to consult only the digital text of this *stotra* (<http://www.dsbcproject.org/avalokiteśvarastotram/avalokiteśvarastotram>), and so I am indebted to Iain Sinclair for providing me with the corresponding page number in Pandey’s edition and also for pointing out that the attribution of this *stotra* to Vāsukināgarāja may have been an innovation in the Nepalese transmission of this text. In addition, the *Avalokiteśvarastotra* can be found among the Sanskrit manuscripts in the Tokyo University Library (Seiren Matsunami, *A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tokyo University Library* [Tokyo: Suzuki Research Foundation, 1965], p. 292, no. 43; accessible at: <http://utlsktms.ioc.u-tokyo.ac.jp/utlsktms/>), and here too we find *sadāprasannānanacandra*° in *pāda* b.

65 The mantras in T. 848 have been reconstructed in Hatta, *Shingon jiten* (see pp. 306–308 for the mantra numbers); see also Rolf W. Giebel, trans., *The Vairocanaśābhisambodhi Sutra* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2005).

66 Miyasaka Yūshō, *Indogaku mikkyōgaku ronkō* インド学 密教学論考 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1995), pp. 93–106, 112–117. The mantras in T. 873 and T. 874 have been reconstructed in Hatta, *Shingon jiten* (see pp. 319–321 for the mantra numbers).

67 Kodama and Noguchi (“*Daiyonkan, daigokan gaiyō*,” p. 32) would seem to err when they state that this text coincides with the mantras in the *Jingangding jing Piluzhena yibaiba zun fashen qiyin* 金剛頂經毘盧遮那一百八尊法身契印 (T. 877).

68 On the Sanskrit manuscripts of this text, see Tanigawa Taikyō 谷川泰教, “Bonbun *Butchō-daibyakusangai-darani-kyō* ni tsuite—Nepāru shahon hōkoku [1]” 梵文『仏頂大白傘蓋陀羅尼經』について—ネパール写本報告〔1〕, *Mikkyō bunka* 138 (1982): 106–87.

69 The first four mantras constitute the *dhāraṇī* of the *Mahāpratisarā-mahāvidyārājñī*. The corresponding page numbers in the Sanskrit texts edited by Gergely Hidas (*Mahāpratisarā-Mahāvidyārājñī: The Great Amulet, Great Queen of Spells* [New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 2012]) are as follows: (1) 48.8–54.9, 115.3–126.7; (2) 54.9–55.1, 127.1–4; (3) missing in Sanskrit text (cf. T.1153.20:633, parenthetical note); (4) 55.1–4, 127.4–6; (5) 65.30, 151.10; (6) 66.1, 152.1; (7) 66.3, 152.3; (8) 66.4, 152.4–5.

70 Kodama and Noguchi, “Daiyonkan, daigokan gaiyō,” pp. 33–34; cf. Hidas, *Mahāpratisarā-Mahāvidyārājñī*, pp. 73.9–27, 176.8–182.1.

71 In a partial Sanskrit manuscript of the *Mahāmañivipulavimāna-kalparāja* discovered among the Gilgit manuscripts, the mantras on pp. 319–324 of Hase’s text correspond to those in chapter 4 (“*Mudrāvidhāna*”); see Matsumura Hisashi 松村恒, “Girugitto shoden no mikkyō zuzō bunken” ギルギット所伝の密教図像文献, *Mikkyō zuzō* 密教図像 2 (1983): 71–79 (esp. pp. 74–75).

72 Kodama and Noguchi, “Daiyonkan, daigokan gaiyō,” p. 35.

73 Mikkyō Seiten Kenkyūkai 密教聖典研究会, “*Vajradhātumahāmaṇḍalopāyika-Sarvavajrodaya—Bonbun tekisuto to wayaku—(II) kan*” *Vajradhātumahāmaṇḍalopāyika-Sarvavajrodaya—梵文テキストと和訳—(II) 完*, *Taishō Daigaku Sōgō Bukkyō Kenkyūjo nenpō* 大正大学総合佛教研究所年報 9 (1987): (15); for the Sanskrit text of 21 of the verses, see pp. (64)–(68); and Takahashi Hisao 高橋尚夫, “*Kikkyō bonsan ni tsuite*” 吉慶梵讃について, *Taishō Daigaku Sōgō Bukkyō Kenkyūjo nenpō* 1 (1979): 162–179.

74 Miyasaka, *Indo koten ron*, pp. (84)–(85), (107), (128)–(129); *Indogaku mikkyōgaku ronkō*, pp. 112, 119.

75 Miyasaka, *Indo koten ron*, pp. (107)–(108), (129)–(131).

76 For a recent study of the epigraphical data, see Ingo Strauch, “Two Stamps With the Bodhigarbhāṃkārakṣa Dhāraṇī from Afghanistan and Some Further Remarks on the Classification of Objects with the *ye dharmā* Formula,” in Gerd J. R. Mevissen and Arundhati Banerji, eds., *Prajñādhara: Essays on Asian Art History, Epigraphy and Culture* (New Delhi: Kaveri Books, 2009), pp. 37–56.

77 T. 1000 is included in notebook no. 18 of the *Sanjūjō sasshi*, where the mantras in Chinese phonetic transcription are also rendered in Siddhamātrkā script; these have been transliterated with notes in Miyasaka, *Indo koten ron*, pp. (157)–(173).

78 The Siddhamātrkā text of T. 974B has been transliterated and also presented in Devanāgarī in Yuyama Akira 湯山明, “*Fukū on’yaku Tonkō shutsudo*



Butchō sonshō darani” 不空音譯敦煌出土佛頂尊勝陀羅尼, *Sōka Daigaku Kokusai Bukkyōgaku Kōtō Kenkyūjo nenpō* 創価大学国際仏教学高等研究所年報 9 (2005): 262–269; this study also gives transliterations of several versions of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī* preserved in Chinese phonetic transcription. In addition, Sasaki Daiju 佐々木大樹 has published several studies of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī*, and three versions of the Sanskrit text are given in his “Butchō sonshō darani gaikan” 仏頂尊勝陀羅尼概観, *Gendai mikkyō* 現代密教 20 (2009): 211–234 (esp. pp. 226–228). See also Hatta, *Shingon jiten*, pp. 244–245.

79 Robert Hans van Gulik, *Hayagrīva: The Mantrayānic Aspect of Horse-Cult in China and Japan* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1935), p. 85.

80 Giebel, “The One Hundred and Eight Names of Mañjuśrī.”

81 For the Sanskrit text of the *Śrīmahādevīvyākaraṇa*, see Nalinaksha Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts* (Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1984, reprint), vol. 1, pp. 93–100.

82 Cf. Itō Yoshiyuki 伊藤善之, Yaita Hideomi 矢板秀臣 and Maeda Takashi 前田崇, “Transcribed Sanskrit Text of the Amoghapāśakalparāja Part IV,” *Taishō Daigaku Sōgō Bukkyō Kenkyūjo nenpō* 23 (2001): (29).

83 Fujita Kōkan 藤田光寛, “Fukūkenjaku darani no bongo shahon” 不空羼索陀羅尼の梵語写本, in *Nepāru shōrai Bukkyō, Mikkyō, Indokyō kankei bonbun shahon no genten hihanteki kenkyū* ネパール将来仏教・密教・インド教関係梵文写本の原典批判的研究 (report of grant-in-aid for scientific research, 1982), pp. 49–50. (This information is based on Kodama and Noguchi, “Daiyonkan, daigokan gaiyō,” p. 37; I have not seen Fujita’s study.)

84 The version of the *dhāraṇī* found in T. 1060 has been reconstructed in Lokesh Chandra, *The Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications & Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 1988), vol. 1, pp. 92–104.

85 A reconstruction of the Chinese phonetic transcription can be found in Hatta, *Shingon jiten*, p. 246.

86 A reconstruction of the Chinese phonetic transcriptions can be found in Hatta, *Shingon jiten*, p. 245. Parts of this *dhāraṇī* are inscribed on six of the eight so-called “*dhāraṇī* stones” from Abhayagiriya; see Gregory Schopen, “The Text of the ‘Dhāraṇī Stones from Abhayagiriya’: A Minor Contribution to the Study of Mahāyāna Literature in Ceylon,” in *Figments and Fragments of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India*, pp. 306–313. Recently Tanaka Kimiaki has identified this *dhāraṇī* in an inscription unearthed at Udayagiri II in Orissa; see Kimiaki Tanaka, “A Newly Identified *Dhāraṇī-sūtra* of Udayagiri II,” paper presented at the International Conference on “Buddhist Heritage of Odisha: Situating Odisha in the Global Perspective,” Udayagiri, February 1–3, 2013.

87 Shuchiin Daigaku Mikkyō Shiryō Kenkyūjo, ed., *Hase Hōshū zenshū*, vol. 5, pp. 415–417. Noguchi does not, however, note the correspondences with T.



874 and T. 881. The corresponding mantras in T. 874 have been reconstructed in Hatta, *Shingon jiten* (see p. 333 for the mantra numbers).

88 Sakai, *Sakai Shinten chosakushū*, vol. 4, pp. 86–88.

89 For an edition of the Sanskrit text, see Iwamoto Yutaka 岩本裕, “Parunashabarī darani ni tsuite” パルナシャバリ陀羅尼に就いて, *Bukkyō kenkyū* 佛教研究 3/1 (1939): 49–70.

90 For a reconstruction of T. 1061, see Lokesh Chandra, *The Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara*, pp. 189ff.

91 A comparison with the Chinese text shows that in Kūkai’s text the section from *hata* . . . on p. 517, l. 5 to . . . *apra*ti on p. 521, l. 2 should follow . . . *apra*[ti] on p. 524, l. 3. This transposition is presumably due to confusion in the ordering of the folio sides at some stage in the transmission of the text. Kūkai’s text ends with four additional mantras not included in T. 954 (but which correspond to the final five mantras in T. 953, with the third being repeated in T. 953).

92 The mantras in T. 1225 and T. 1226 have been reconstructed/transliterated in Hatta, *Shingon jiten* (see pp. 332–333 for the mantra numbers).

93 The mantras in T. 1120A and T. 1120B have been reconstructed/transliterated in Hatta, *Shingon jiten* (see p. 330 for the mantra numbers).

94 Kiyota Jakuun 清田寂雲, “Shaka san (ōjin san) to shoten bongo san (ten ryū hachibu san) no yakukai ni tsuite” 釋迦讚 (應身讚) と諸天梵語讚 (天龍八部讚) の譯解について, *Tendai gakuho* 天台學報 24 (1982): 26–28. The Siddhamātrkā text has also been transliterated (but not identified) by Noguchi (Shuchiin Daigaku Mikkyō Shiryō Kenkyūjo, ed., *Hase Hōshū zenshū*, vol. 5, p. 419).

95 Miyasaka, *Indogaku mikkyōgaku ronkō*, pp. 106–111, 117–119. The mantras in T. 867 have also been reconstructed in Hatta, *Shingon jiten* (see pp. 317–318 for the mantra numbers).

96 Miyasaka, *Indo koten ron*, pp. (100)–(101), (125). For the Sanskrit text, see pp. 197–198 above.

## Self-transformation According to Buddhist Stages of the Path Literature<sup>1</sup>

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### INTRODUCTION: LOCATING THE NARRATIVE SELF IN BUDDHIST PATH SCHEMAS

Transformative paths are conceptual frameworks, methods of practice, and prescribed behaviors that are thought to be efficacious in leading practitioners toward a particular goal deemed religiously significant by their tradition. Paths are not rigid structures; rather, they evolve and change over time in response to innovative practices, doctrines, goals, or ideas. Paths, too, are not singular and unilateral but complex networks of possibilities that take into account various sets of conditions and circumstances.

Taking their cue from the Buddhist concept of *mārga* (Pāli *magga*), Robert Buswell and Robert Gimello describe a “path” as “the theory according to which certain methods of practice, certain prescribed patterns of religious behavior, have transformative power and will lead, somewhat necessarily, to religious goals.”<sup>2</sup> Buswell’s and Gimello’s objective is to reverse the tendency of interpreting Asian religious traditions according to Western religious categories such as “faith” or “deity,” and they rightly point out that the importance of “path” across Buddhist traditions can also be used to elucidate similar paradigms in other traditions.<sup>3</sup>

Ann Taves further develops the idea that “paths” are central metaphors operative in religious traditions. Through the path schemas of a given tradition, goals are ascribed religious value and the practices deemed efficacious for the attainment of these goals are identified.<sup>4</sup> By highlighting the complex cultural mechanisms through which a particular experience becomes validated as religious, Taves argues against a *sui generis* understanding of “religious experience” in which

certain types of experience are assumed to be *necessarily* religious. Ascriptions, at the most basic level, assign qualities or characteristics—such as “sacred,” “efficacious,” or “religious”—to something, whether an object, a person, an experience, or a goal. She distinguishes between “*simple ascriptions*, in which an individual thing is set apart as special, and *composite ascriptions*, in which simple ascriptions are incorporated into more complex formations” such as religious traditions and path schemas.<sup>5</sup> Paths, therefore, allow us to identify the starting point, the goal, and the means deemed efficacious for attaining the goal as understood in any given tradition.

Due to the relative paucity of reliable first-person “reports of experience” in the historical literature of Buddhist traditions, comparing the structure and trajectory of contemplative paths reframes the discourse around “religious experiences” to an investigation instead of prescribed practices and anticipated resultant states. Just as sets of practices can be oriented toward multiple goals, so too a single goal can be attained through employing a variety of means. Taves writes,

If we conceive of religions as paths to a goal, we then naturally find ourselves thinking in terms of sequences of actions (practices deemed efficacious) for moving from an original state to a desired state.<sup>6</sup>

En route, transformative paths provide signposts for successful movements from the original to the desired state, as well as cautions and guidance for when the practitioner strays from the path.

Following the idea of “path” operationalized by these scholars, my aim in this paper is to assess Buddhist path structures as “master narratives” for self-transformation. In particular, the path structures found across Buddhist traditions provide a framework for and guide to the attainment of awakening. Because the conception of the path develops and evolves in response to new philosophical, cosmological, and soteriological ideas, different Buddhist path schemas can be read as representing competing views of how awakening is attained, as well as its characteristics. Of course, it is important to recognize that a possible discrepancy exists between the ideal of a path structure and how it is experienced by individual practitioners. These maps provide the basic structure according to traditional terminology, though they necessarily oversimplify the process and belie the differences found among individual experiences. They may be *prescriptive* in that they shape and construct contemplative experience, and also *descriptive* in that they provide a means through which individual experiences can

be communicated to a community.<sup>7</sup> They may be *polemical* in that they set forth a structure of practices and resultant experiences considered to be ultimately efficacious and authoritative according to a particular tradition or lineage.<sup>8</sup> Some path schemas may also be *theoretical* to the extent that practitioners are unable to apply their structure in the context of contemplative practice.<sup>9</sup> While it is important that scholars do not uncritically assume that Buddhist literature outlining the stages of the path have a direct bearing on the contemplative practices or experiences of those who wrote them or read them,<sup>10</sup> nevertheless, these idealized presentations of the trajectory of self-transformation allow us to make some important comparisons across Buddhist lineages.

Throughout this paper, I reflect upon how Buddhist path schemas set forth a structure through which a “narrative self” is transformed into a “resultant self.” By “narrative self” I have in mind the default, deluded self that operates by telling stories about the way the world and the self is.<sup>11</sup> According to core Buddhist doctrines, these stories are not in accordance with reality. This is the self that sees permanence in impermanence, and responds with grasping, desire, and aversion—which invariably lead to suffering. This self is to be confronted and destabilized through Buddhist contemplative practices. By contrast, the “resultant self” is the mode of being in the world that arises once the narrative self has been thoroughly deconstructed. Due to the transformative power of insight, this resultant self no longer relates to the phenomenal world through the false stories of the narrative self. Given their scope, it is impractical to address all of the states and stages of a given Buddhist path; consequently I will focus on select states and stages of the path in which particularly significant shifts in the narrative self are either prescribed (through intentional practices) or are expected to occur (as an outcome of intentional practices).

In the next two sections of this paper, I analyze some key features found in two treatises from among the much larger canon that could be called “Buddhist stages of the path literature”: first, *The Path of Purification* by the fifth-century Sri Lankan author Buddhaghosa;<sup>12</sup> second, *The Moonlight: A Lucid Exposition that Illuminates the Stages of Meditation according to the Ultimate Mahāmudrā* by the sixteenth-century Tibetan author Dakpo Tashi Namgyal.<sup>13</sup> I argue that despite major differences between these two path structures (especially in terms of prescribed practices), both traditions are concerned with overcoming similar problems with the “narrative self” in the early stages of the

path. However, once the narrative self has been thoroughly deconstructed and the practitioner is aiming for the highest levels of realization, there are many significant differences between these approaches, such that we may be led to conclude that these two paths promote as ideals two very different “resultant selves.”

The next section begins with a discussion of practices prescribed for deconstructing the “narrative self” in early Buddhism.<sup>14</sup> Along the way, I draw upon on some key passages from the Pāli Nikāyas, as some of the implicit and explicit paths found in this body of literature were systematized and organized into the path structure of Buddhaghosa’s *The Path of Purification*. Particular attention is given to the development of concentration (*samādhi*) through overcoming the five hindrances (*pañca nīvaraṇāni*). In this path schema, the “resultant self” arises as a result of progress through the stages of the eight insight knowledges (*vipassanā ñāṇa*) as well as through the paths and fruitions (*magga phala*).

Similarly, the section on Dakpo Tashi Namgyal’s presentation of Mahāmudrā begins with a discussion of how the narrative self is deconstructed through the practices of both “ordinary” and Mahāmudrā approaches to calm abiding (Skt. *śamatha*, Tib. *zhi gnas*) and insight (Skt. *vipaśyanā*, Tib. *lhag mthong*). Because Dakpo Tashi Namgyal presented Mahāmudrā according to both exoteric and esoteric path schemas,<sup>15</sup> occasional reference is also made to another of his texts, *Light Rays from the Jewel of the Excellent Teaching*.<sup>16</sup> This text, unlike *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, explicitly presents Mahāmudrā as the culmination of the generation and completion stages trainings central to Vajrayāna Buddhism. After presenting both sutric and tantric approaches to Mahāmudrā, I investigate the latter stages of practice and realization that characterize the emergence of a “resultant self” through the recognition of increasingly subtle aspects of the nature of mind.

Given the vastly different cultural contexts in which these two path schemas were composed, it is not surprising that they differ in many ways in their approach to self-transformation. Nevertheless, I contend that taking these two treatises as a basis of comparison helps us understand how the narrative elements of Buddhist stages of the path literature operate more generally. Furthermore, I hope to demonstrate that investigating states of the path literature has broader implications for our understanding of these traditions both within and beyond the parameters of Buddhist studies. In the concluding section to this paper I offer some reflections on how the analysis of stages of

the path literature could be potentially valuable for both critiquing and advancing current research in the neuroscience of Buddhist meditation traditions.

SELF-TRANSFORMATION IN BUDDHAGHOSA'S  
THE PATH OF PURIFICATION

Buddhaghosa's *The Path of Purification* is generally regarded as the pinnacle of the Pāli commentarial tradition. Because so much of the content of this text is indebted to Pāli canonical literature, including the very structure of the text, it is worth calling attention to a few implicit and explicit path schemas that can be located in the Pāli Nikāyas. While there is a wide variety of possible path schemas that could be discussed, and although there are some discrepancies across their various renditions in the canonical literature, it is still possible to make some important basic observations by correlating few key sources.

One important path schema in the Nikāyas is the famous sixteen trainings in the mindfulness of breathing (*ānāpānasati*),<sup>17</sup> one of the most well-known sequences of practices in Buddhist meditation. It purports to facilitate the pacification of the mind, the development of concentration, and the attainment of insight. Furthermore, this training explicitly incorporates two other important path schemas within it: the seven factors of awakening (*bojjhaṅgā*) and the four foundations of mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhāna*), as well as the characteristics of the four states of meditative absorption (*jhāna*).<sup>18</sup> The training in the four foundations of mindfulness<sup>19</sup> is also presented as a self-contained path schema through which one's body, feelings, mind, and mental objects are to be contemplated.

In the initial stages of practice, the practitioner must be particularly attentive to the *quality* of his or her mental attention in addition to the particular *object* of investigation. Five hindrances (*pañca nīvaraṇāni*)—sensual desire, ill will, dullness, restlessness, and doubt<sup>20</sup>—are singled out as being particularly significant obstacles. According to the *Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*, the practitioner is to investigate the five hindrances as a type of mental object that is either present or absent in his or her experience.<sup>21</sup> Subsequently, the seven factors of awakening—mindfulness, investigation, energy, rapture, tranquility, concentration, and equanimity<sup>22</sup>—are to be identified and cultivated in an analogous manner. A related passage from the *Bojjhaṅgāsaṃyutta* makes it clear that whereas the five hindrances are “makers of blindness, causing

lack of vision, causing lack of knowledge, detrimental to wisdom, tending to vexation, [and] leading away from Nibbāna,” the seven factors of awakening are, by contrast, “makers of vision, makers of knowledge, promoting the growth of wisdom, free from vexation, leading towards Nibbāna.”<sup>23</sup>

The progressive stages of mindfulness of breathing involve a significant retraining of the ordinary narrative self. Due to habits and karma, the practitioner is faced with a seemingly innate tendency to respond to sensory stimuli with either desire or aversion (two of the three poisons). From this initial grasping and labeling of good or bad, want or don't want, the conceptual mind begins to get involved, invoking memories or making plans, and propelling the practitioner into patterns of thinking that inevitably lead to suffering. In addition to the obvious ways in which chasing after sensory pleasures (or seeking to avoid discomfort) inhibits the successful development of meditation, the next two hindrances, dullness and restlessness, are more subtle mental qualities of the narrative self that also must be eradicated. The constant stimulation of ordinary life results in the tendency for the mind to wander from thought to thought, remaining unfocused. Similarly, a tendency to become overly lax also inhibits the ability to focus clearly on the breath. Both dullness and restlessness inevitably distract the practitioner away from awareness of the present moment that the mindfulness of breathing technique aims to cultivate. This tendency to spend much of one's time in past memories or planning for future events is another central component of the ordinary narrative self that is to be eradicated through the process of mindfulness of breathing.

Unlike the five hindrances, which are not necessarily removed in any particular order, in the context of training in concentration the seven factors of awakening are often presented as being developed in sequence. There are a number of pathways to the *jhānas*, but most of them highlight how rapture, joy, and tranquility are the proximate causes of a concentrated mind. A state of initial tranquility arises through the pacification of the five hindrances and through restricting the inward fluctuations and the outflows of the narrative self by single-pointed focus on the breath. This process develops into the factor of concentration, which is the gateway to the four *jhānas*. Developing right concentration through practicing the four *jhānas* is highlighted throughout the Pāli Nikāyas<sup>24</sup> as a fundamental stage along the path to awakening. Through the four *jhānas* the practitioner cultivates the



seventh factor of awakening, equanimity. The path to equanimity can be pursued through practices such as the mindfulness of breathing or through other methods entirely, such as meditating on the *brahma-vihāras*.<sup>25</sup>

A very interesting passage from the *Āṅguttara Nikāya* details four further developments of concentration. First, concentration leads to dwelling happily in this life; second, it leads to obtaining knowledge and vision; third, it leads to mindfulness and clear comprehension of the arising and passing away of phenomena; fourth, it leads to the destructions of the taints. I want to focus in particular on the second and third of these four developments of concentration. Regarding the second, concentration leading to knowledge and vision, the *bhikkhu* here is to attend “to the perception of light . . . as by day, so at night,” with the result that the *bhikkhu* cultivates “a mind that is open and uncovered, . . . a mind imbued with luminosity.”<sup>26</sup> This quality of mind, described elsewhere in the *sūttas*<sup>27</sup> as the “pure bright mind” (*pabhasara citta*), arises in the fourth *jhāna*. Here, uncovering this purity of mind is deemed useful only insofar as the practitioner can then apply this mind to the investigation of the arising and passing away of phenomena. This third development of concentration is also clearly present in the higher stages of mindfulness of breathing: once the practitioner has attained a tranquil and stable mind, he or she can then use it to investigate various dimensions of reality in order to attain liberating insight:

A monk, having given up pleasure and pain, and with the disappearance of former gladness and sadness, enters and remains in the fourth *jhāna* which is beyond pleasure and pain, and purified by equanimity and mindfulness. . . . And so, with mind concentrated, purified, and cleansed, unblemished, free from impurities, malleable, workable, established, and having gained imperturbability, he directs and inclines his mind towards knowing and seeing [the impermanence of the body]. . . , towards the production of a mind-made body . . . , to the various supernatural powers . . . , to the divine ear . . . , to the knowledge of other’s minds . . . , to the knowledge of previous existences . . . , to the knowledge of the passing-away and arising of beings . . . , to the knowledge of the destruction of the corruptions [in which he realizes the Four Noble Truths].<sup>28</sup>

In the context of the Pāli Nikāyas, the realizations that result from these investigations into the nature of mind and the nature of reality are presented through a model of a four-fold progression through the

paths (*magga*) and fruitions (*phala*). The four types of resultant self—the stream-enterer, the once-returner, the nonreturner, and the *arahant*—have progressively eliminated the various “fetters” that bind them to *saṃsāra*.<sup>29</sup> These core themes of removing the hindrances, cultivating the factors of awakening, attaining states of meditative absorption, and directing a concentrated mind to the investigation of reality deeply inform the content of Buddhaghosa’s *The Path of Purification*. With these basic structures from the Pāli Nikāyas in mind, I now turn to an investigation of the content of *The Path of Purification* in order to demonstrate how Buddhaghosa understood the process of deconstructing a narrative self and the arising of a resultant self.

Despite its title, *The Path of Purification* cannot be read as a strictly linear path structure that progresses from the beginning of the text to the end. Rather, the arrangement is in some instances more topical, with many chapters devoted to aspects of Buddhist philosophy that do not follow explicit path structures. Nevertheless, there are a number of important sequences of practices and realizations that can be treated as smaller path cycles within the broader structure of the text, as they are either causally related or are expected to occur in sequence.

Buddhaghosa organized *The Path of Purification* according to two general frameworks. The simpler of the two is a threefold progression from virtue (*sīla*) to concentration (*samādhi*) and then to understanding (*paññā*).<sup>30</sup> The second, more elaborate framework is a sevenfold progression through different “purifications,” beginning again with virtue and concentration, and with the final five purifications—purification by view, purification by overcoming doubt, purification by knowledge and vision of what is and what is not the path, purification by knowledge and vision of the way, and purification by knowledge and vision—all subsumed under the broader heading of understanding.<sup>31</sup>

In analyzing Buddhaghosa’s monumental treatise, I want to focus first on his presentation of concentration, in particular the ways in which the five hindrances, the seven factors of awakening, and the four *jhānas* remain central frameworks for understanding the development of this critical skill. Second, I will examine his presentation of the higher stages of insight as outlined in the purification by knowledge and vision of the way and the purification by knowledge and vision.

Of course, the cultivation of virtue serves as an important prerequisite to success in training in concentration. In the chapter on virtue, Buddhaghosa periodically makes reference to how the ethical life is

cultivated in and through key factors of awakening. For instance, “as restraint of the faculties is to be undertaken by means of mindfulness, so livelihood purification is to be undertaken by means of energy.”<sup>32</sup> However, he provides more exegesis on the relationship between the five hindrances and the seven factors of awakening in the chapters on developing concentration. In *The Path of Purification*, the primary object of concentration is any number of external supports (*kasīṇa*), although contemplating loving-kindness can also be used as a vehicle for overcoming the hindrances, attaining basic equanimity, and entering the first *jhāna*.<sup>33</sup>

First, the hindrances have the potential to overpower their corresponding factors of awakening, for instance, “when idleness (*kosajja*) overpowers one strong in concentration and weak in energy, since concentration favors idleness, [or when] agitation (*uddhacca*) overpowers one strong in energy and weak in concentration, since energy favors agitation.”<sup>34</sup> In balancing the hindrances and factors of awakening, it is critical not to apply the wrong factor as an antidote. Buddhaghosa explains:

[W]hen his mind is slack (*līna*) with over-laxness of energy, etc., then, instead of developing the three enlightenment factors beginning with tranquility (*passadhisambhojjhanga*), he should develop those beginning with investigation-of-states (*dhammavicayasambhojjhanga*). For this is said by the Blessed One: . . . “[W]hen the mind is slack, that is not the time to develop the tranquility enlightenment factor. Why is that? Because a slack mind cannot well be roused by those states. When the mind is slack, that is the time to develop the investigation-of-states enlightenment factor, the energy enlightenment factor and the happiness enlightenment factor. Why is that? Because a slack mind can well be roused by those states.”<sup>35</sup>

Generally speaking, investigation, rapture, and energy serve as antidotes for excessive dullness or idleness, and tranquility, concentration, and equanimity counterbalance excessive restlessness or agitation. All throughout, however, mindfulness, the first factor, has an important role to play:

Strong mindfulness, however, is needed in all instances; for mindfulness protects the mind from lapsing into agitation through faith, energy, and understanding, which favour agitation, and from lapsing into idleness through concentration, which favours idleness.<sup>36</sup>

Steering between the Scylla of idleness and the Charybdis of agitation is the primary task in the cultivation of “access concentration” (*upacāra samādhi*), the gateway to the four *jhānas*. Each *jhāna* has its own configuration of mental factors that the practitioner must negotiate in order to progress through them. The first *jhāna* is characterized by two modes of cognition, applied thought (*vitakka*) and sustained thought (*vicāra*), as well as happiness or joy (*pīti*) and bliss (*sukha*) that arise from abandoning the five hindrances.<sup>37</sup> The five hindrances

are the contrary opposites of the *jhana* factors: what is meant is that the *jhana* factors are incompatible with them, eliminate them, abolish them. . . . Concentration is incompatible with lust, happiness with ill will, applied thought with stiffness and torpor, bliss with agitation and worry, and sustained thought with uncertainty.<sup>38</sup>

Buddhaghosa makes clear throughout this section of *The Path of Purification* that overcoming the five hindrances is what leads to the *jhānas*, through which the practitioner then cultivates the awakening factors of concentration and equanimity.<sup>39</sup> To abide thoroughly in concentration also has its own distinguishing features. Perhaps most obviously, the practitioner who comes to master the *jhānas* is no longer distracted, for

Concentration has non-distraction as its characteristic. Its function is to eliminate distraction. It is manifested as non-wavering. . . . Its proximate cause is bliss.”<sup>40</sup>

In addition to this basic definition of concentration and the characteristics of the states of meditative absorption, Buddhaghosa’s text also identifies some other important “signs” (*nimitta*) along the path that are means of gauging one’s degree of prowess in concentration.

The initial sign is the “learning sign” (*uggaha nimitta*), and it is the first to appear. In the context of concentration on an external support (*kaṣiṇa*), the learning sign is a mental image of the object of concentration. When this arises and is stabilized, the practitioner then begins attending to the mental image alone as a means of further suppressing the hindrances and amplifying concentration.<sup>41</sup> Through this process, the “counterpart sign” (*paṭibhāga nimitta*) arises:

The difference between the earlier learning sign and the counterpart sign is this. In the learning sign any fault in the *kasina* is apparent. But the counterpart sign appears as if breaking out from the learning sign, and a hundred times, a thousand times more purified, like a looking-glass disk drawn from its case, like a mother-of-pearl dish

well washed, like the moon's disk coming out from behind a cloud, like cranes against a thunder cloud. But it has neither colour nor shape; for if it had, it would be cognizable by the eye, gross, susceptible of comprehension and stamped with the three characteristics. But it is not like that. For it is born only of perception in one who has obtained concentration, being a mere mode of appearance. But as soon as it arises, the hindrances are quite suppressed, the defilements subside, and the mind becomes concentrated in access concentration.<sup>42</sup>

Here Buddhaghosa clarifies that the counterpart sign is a mental image, not a perception, and that it is characterized by its clarity, vividness, and by its co-arising with the suppression of the hindrances.

If the practitioner uses other meditative supports, such as light, space, or the breath, the learning sign and counterpart signs will be different and are not solely mental images of the object of concentration. Unlike concentration on external objects, which become more vivid and clear as concentration increases, the breath as object becomes increasingly more subtle over the course of training on the mindfulness of breathing.<sup>43</sup> In this context, the initial learning sign may arise as sensation likened to a "light touch like cotton or silk-cotton or a draught."<sup>44</sup> By contrast, the counterpart sign as a mental image is more visual in character:

It appears to some like a star or a cluster of gems or a cluster of pearls, to others with a rough touch like that of silk-cotton seeds or a peg made of heartwood, to others like a long braid string or a wreath of flowers or a puff of smoke, to others like a stretched-out cobweb or a film of cloud or lotus flower or a chariot wheel or the moon's disk or the sun's disk.<sup>45</sup>

In this particularly interesting passage, Buddhaghosa provides a specific set of experiential criteria for the attainment of access concentration through training in mindfulness of breathing. Although this experience should not be understood as a type of insight (*paññā*), it serves as a marker that the ordinary tendencies of the narrative self are becoming attenuated—again, specifically with respect to the suppression of the five hindrances on account of which one typically carves up the world into positive and negative experiences. The purpose of developing such strong concentration, according to Buddhaghosa, is to develop equanimity, the seventh factor of awakening. Equanimity is important because "it watches [things] as they arise, . . . it sees fairly, sees without partiality."<sup>46</sup> This impartiality, which does not respond to phenomena with grasping or aversion, is essential for developing the

higher “knowledges” of the stages of insight, through which the narrative self is more thoroughly investigated and deconstructed.

Toward the end of Buddhaghosa’s section on understanding, one highly significant section of the text is presented under the heading “Purification by Knowledge and Vision of the Way.” This section details the progress of insight according to eight sequential “insight knowledges” (*vipassanā-ñāna*).<sup>47</sup> Given that Buddhaghosa’s text is an attempt to synthesize and systematize a numerous implicit path schemas found in the Pāli canonical literature, it is not surprising that the higher stages of insight presented in the “Purification by Knowledge and Vision of the Way” bear some resemblance to the sixteen trainings in mindfulness of breathing. Here, in the eight insight knowledges, important shifts in the narrative self are anticipated. Insights into the three characteristics—especially the impermanence and selflessness of phenomena—have the ultimate result that the practitioner becomes dispassionate toward those phenomena, and instead becomes inspired to strive toward deliverance from *saṃsāra*. When there is direct realization of one’s “self” as also being impermanent and lacking any essential nature, this brings forth a sequence of states of realization called “fruits.” Thus, throughout these stages of insight, the (increasingly) concentrated mind is employed to further deconstruct the narrative self.

The first stage of insight is knowledge into arising and passing away. For the untrained self, “the characteristic of impermanence does not become apparent because, when rise and fall are not given attention, it is concealed by continuity.”<sup>48</sup> However, with a concentrated mind, it is possible for the practitioner to uncover that which is hidden, so that “when continuity is disrupted by discerning rise and fall, the characteristic of impermanence becomes apparent in its true nature.”<sup>49</sup> In particular, the practitioner is also supposed to recognize how the other two characteristics go hand in hand with impermanence, for “what is impermanent is also painful, . . . [and] what is painful is not-self.”<sup>50</sup> When contemplating arising and passing away in the five aggregates, the practitioner undergoes important cognitive reorientations that are identified in the next stage of insight: knowledge of dissolution.

He contemplates as impermanent, not as permanent; he contemplates as painful, not as pleasant; he contemplates as not-self, not as self; he becomes dispassionate; he does not delight; he causes fading

away of greed, he does not inflame it; he causes cessation, not origination; he relinquishes, he does not grasp.<sup>51</sup>

From these shifts away from the ordinary mode of the narrative self—which is conditioned to grasp inwardly onto the defilements and outwardly onto composite phenomena as permanent—the practitioner sees all phenomena as utterly unreliable and unsatisfactory: just as past phenomena have ceased, so too will present and future phenomena cease. This is the import of the knowledge of appearance as terror,<sup>52</sup> the knowledge of danger,<sup>53</sup> and the knowledge of dispassion. In fact, these three are stated to be “one in meaning.”<sup>54</sup>

After the habitual tendency to respond to phenomena with desire is upset by the recognition of how unsettlingly impermanent they are, the practitioner begins to increasingly clearly see how phenomena are impermanent, are not-self, and that they lead to suffering. Discerning and reflecting upon this, the practitioner comes to respond to the arising and dissolution of phenomena with perfect equanimity, the eighth and final insight knowledge. Having reviewed the preceding eight insight knowledges in the stage of knowledge in conformity with truth,

then his consciousness no longer enters into or settles down on or resolves upon any field of formations at all, or clings, cleaves, or clutches on to it, but retreats, retracts and recoils . . . , and every sign as object, every occurrence as object, appears as an impediment.<sup>55</sup>

From this, the practitioner attains the first “path moment” (*magga*) of stream-entry as “change of lineage knowledge arises in him, which takes as its object the signless, non-occurrence, non-formation, cessation, nibbana.”<sup>56</sup>

The resultant self that arises through these insight knowledges, paths, and fruitions is thus progressively stripped of lingering aspects of the deluded narrative self. The practitioner clearly sees phenomena in terms of the three characteristics, and responds to them with neither grasping nor aversion. This advanced state of equanimity—cultivated initially through the seven factors of awakening and ultimately through the eight insight knowledges—serves as the gateway to liberation. As in the Pāli Nikāyas, *The Path of Purification* presents the progression through the four resultant paths<sup>57</sup> as tantamount to eradicating the ten fetters.<sup>58</sup> The resultant self is thus characterized primarily in terms of what it lacks: it lacks the ten fetters, it lacks the ten defilements, it lacks the eight wrongnesses, it lacks the eight worldly states, it lacks the five kinds of avarice and the three perversions, and



so forth. This path is, quite literally, one of *purification*—first through retraining the narrative self away from the hindrances through the development of concentration. Further purification requires turning the concentrated mind to investigate the three characteristics, through which the deeper tendencies of clinging to phenomena and to self are eradicated. The resultant self that remains is free of the various defilements that would otherwise bind the practitioner to *samsāra*.

SELF-TRANSFORMATION IN DAKPO TASHI NAMGYAL'S  
*MAHĀMUDRĀ: THE MOONLIGHT*

The practice tradition known as Mahāmudrā, “the Great Seal,” is principally associated with the Kagyu (*bka’ brgyud*) lineage of Tibetan Buddhism. Its contemplative practices, stages of realization, and philosophical views are presented, alternately, as the culmination of the perfection of wisdom of the sūtra tradition, as the culmination of the esoteric trainings of Vajrayāna Buddhism, or as a sufficient “vehicle” in its own right. Consequently, across various authors, and, as we’ll see through the works of Dakpo Tashi Namgyal, even across multiple texts by the same author, the Mahāmudrā teachings can be contextualized in a variety of ways.

As explained above, this section focuses on the stages of meditation (*sgom rim*) outlined in Dakpo Tashi Namgyal’s *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, although I supplement this presentation by highlighting some key features of his “Tantric Mahāmudrā” approach as presented in *Light Rays from the Jewel of the Excellent Teaching*. There are two reasons for this. First, given the emphasis Dakpo Tashi Namgyal places on the cultivation of ordinary calm abiding<sup>59</sup> (Skt. *śamatha*, Tib. *zhi gnas*) and insight (Skt. *vipāśyanā*, Tib. *lhag mthong*) as a preliminary to Mahāmudrā meditation proper, this facilitates comparison with similar stages of practice through which the narrative self is brought under control and investigated that are outlined in Buddhaghosa’s *The Path of Purification*. Second, Dakpo Tashi Namgyal’s outline of the Vajrayāna path in *Light Rays* presents some alternative approaches to concentration as well as to the higher practices and realizations of Mahāmudrā. This text also calls attention to some very interesting signs of attainment that will be fruitful to investigate, in part due to their possible similarity with the signs of attainment identified by Buddhaghosa.

It is important to acknowledge that Dakpo Tashi Namgyal’s presentation of ordinary calm abiding and insight is derived neither from

the Pāli Nikāyas nor from Buddhaghosa's synthesis; rather, he explains from the outset that he is relying specifically on the *Samādhinirmocana-sūtra*, the doctrines of Maitreya, other texts by Asaṅga and Śāntipa, and perhaps most notably the *Stages of Meditation (Bhāvanākrama)* of Kamalaśīla.<sup>60</sup> In fact, the entirety of *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight* relies heavily on quotations from the scriptural and commentarial sources of Indian and Tibetan Buddhism. Thus, Dakpo Tashi Namgyal's objective here is not to compose a totally new work on Mahāmudrā but to *organize* existing sources into a stages-of-the-path model for self-transformation.

Integrating numerous quotations from Kamalaśīla's *Stages of Meditation* and various Mahāyāna Buddhist sūtras as proof texts, in the first stage of *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight* Dakpo Tashi Namgyal explains how the right external and internal conditions must be in place for successful practice in ordinary calm abiding. A harmonious environment and ethical discipline are the initial prerequisites, but more emphasis is placed on recognizing and removing the hindrances (*sgrib pa*). Throughout this section, Dakpo Tashi Namgyal quotes a number of authorities that enumerate various conceptions of the hindrances and their antidotes. While the lists are not consistently identical with the classical exposition of the five hindrances discussed above, their general significance is the same. The mind of the beginning practitioner can be easily beset by restlessness (*rgod pa*) and resentment (*'gyod pa*), on the one hand, and by sluggishness (*rmugs pa*), dullness (*bying*), drowsiness (*gnyid*) and doubt (*the tshom*), on the other. Additionally, Dakpo Tashi Namgyal also references the hindering function of the binaries of desire (*'dod pa*) and ill will (*gnod sems*) and nonexertion (*mi rtsol ba*) and overexertion (*'du byed sems pa*), as well as forgetfulness (*brjed nges*), on the successful practice of calm abiding.<sup>61</sup> He concisely outlines the antidotes for these various hindrances:

The remedy for [restlessness] lies in calming the mind by meditating on impermanence. As for resentment, the remedy is to avoid thinking about its object. To counter sluggishness, one perceives joyful things. Dullness is removed by [encouragement]. Drowsiness is overcome by visualizing light. Resoluteness is a remedy for doubt. Contemplation on contentment and the evil consequences of sensory pleasures is a remedy for craving. [ill will] may be removed by engendering love and kindness for others. All these are very important.<sup>62</sup>

imilarly, intentionally recognizing, cultivating, and applying the various factors of awakening are important means of pacifying the hindrances. Mindfulness (*dran pa*) preserves nondistractedness. Two forms of mental functions, vigilance (*shes bzhin*) and mental exertion (*'du byed*), operate in tandem in this process. The former detects any deviation from the object of concentration or any deviation in the quality of awareness toward the hindrances of restlessness or drowsiness; the latter is an active cognitive process that applies the antidote to a hindrance in order to eliminate it. As a result of retraining the ordinary patterns of the narrative self in this way, the practitioner achieves a state of equanimity (*btang snyom*), in which the mind is free from the imbalance of any hindrances.

In the next section of the text, Dakpo Tashi Namgyal outlines the basic methods for attaining calm abiding, as well as the developmental stages leading up to it. In terms of meditation objects, ordinary calm abiding can be cultivated through concentration on the breath, on visualized symbols or points of light, on joy or bliss, or upon an external object such as a stone or a light.<sup>63</sup> He then summarizes a key path schema for the attainment of calm abiding from the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*: the nine stages of resting the mind (*sems gnas dgu'i rim pas 'grub tshul*).<sup>64</sup> In this sequence, the seventh stage, complete pacification of the mind, refers to the point at which the hindrances have been completely overcome through the proper application of the factors of awakening that serve as the antidotes for cultivating mental balance. The eighth and ninth stages, one-pointedness and resting in equanimity, respectively, are the culmination of the training; the primary difference between the two stages is whether maintaining equanimity is effortful or effortless for the practitioner.

From this basis of equanimity, the practitioner then turns his or her attention to the practice of cultivating insight through the investigation of the selflessness of persons and the selflessness of phenomena. In anticipation of the distinctively Mahāmudrā approach to this practice that he presents in subsequent sections of the text, Dakpo Tashi Namgyal emphasizes here how to take *the mind* as the principle object, in relation to which the view of selflessness should be realized. He explains that

[the mind] is neither one essential entity nor multiple entities. The mind is ephemeral. One should establish the ephemeral nature of phenomena in the same way as is done with the mind. Deep examination

of the essence of mind through wisdom will reveal the mind in an ultimate sense to possess neither intrinsic nor extrinsic reality.<sup>65</sup>

Dakpo Tashi Namgyal concludes the stages of the practice of ordinary calm abiding and insight by clarifying the philosophical position of his own tradition against those of his opponents. Thus, having detailed the proper methods for developing equanimity, and with the proper view of reality that must be cultivated through the investigative work of insight, the practitioner is prepared to enter into the “uncommon practice” of Mahāmudrā meditation proper.

There are two principle distinctions between the ordinary calm abiding and insight practices that Dakpo Tashi Namgyal lays out at the beginning of his treatise and these practices in the context of Mahāmudrā. First, in contrast to the effort required to attain ordinary calm abiding, Mahāmudrā calm abiding emphasizes the effortless resting of a balanced mind in a relaxed and natural state (*sems kyi rang babs*). Second, in contrast to the dualistic investigations of ordinary insight, Mahāmudrā insight operates from a perspective of subject-object nondualism. These distinctions, which in the approach of sūtra Mahāmudrā are predicated on the proper cultivation of ordinary calm abiding and insight, mark a significant shift away from the deluded tendencies of the narrative self, and are the practical basis through which the higher realizations of the resultant self can be cultivated and integrated.

In his presentation of Mahāmudrā calm abiding, Dakpo Tashi Namgyal refers his reader back to the foundational practices of eliminating the various hindrances through effortful concentration on a meditation object. While in the initial stages of Mahāmudrā calm abiding the practitioner can employ a visualized object or the breath to attain equanimity, Dakpo Tashi Namgyal makes clear that the main practice in this context is, rather, that “the mind should be settled in its natural, relaxed state.”<sup>66</sup> The practitioner should not intentionally modify the mind through effortful practice or fabricate a particular mental state.<sup>67</sup> If the natural state can be maintained, the practitioner is instructed neither to follow after thoughts nor to suppress or reject them. By contrast, the practitioner is instructed to maintain the integrity of this state without wavering from the mind’s natural and relaxed equanimity and alert mindfulness. In this stage of the practice, mindfulness and vigilance are of utmost importance. Dakpo Tashi Namgyal explains how “the former averts mental distraction from a visualized

image while the latter detects dullness or the flow of thoughts.”<sup>68</sup> But once the practitioner attains to the mental equanimity of the ninth stage of calm abiding, there is no longer any need to engage these two faculties in the same intentional, effortful way. Rather,

Having intensified one’s resolve not to be distracted, even for a moment, from the visualization, and having continuously maintained the settled state, one vivifies mindfulness. Being in such tranquility, one should simply observe while remaining alert, without specifically examining whether the mind is affected by dullness or thoughts, by mindfulness or forgetfulness.<sup>69</sup>

Moment by moment, the practitioner continues to rest in the natural state in such a way that regardless of whether hindrances or thoughts are present, “one simply watches the vigor of definite awareness that passes undiminished through every moment.”<sup>70</sup>

Insight practice in the context of Mahāmudrā proceeds in a manner analogous to resting unwaveringly in the equanimity of the natural state. Just as the hindrances of dullness or restlessness are allowed to arise co-emergent with the natural state, so too in the insight practice of Mahāmudrā all thoughts are investigated from the perspective of the mind’s natural state and not from a dualistic and strictly conceptual perspective. The main objective of insight is not to investigate the emptiness of phenomena and persons as meditation objects; rather, the purpose is to realize that the duality of subject and object, mind and appearances, is mistaken from the beginning. On account of the fundamental confusion that conditions samsaric existence, the mind’s tendency is to grasp onto and reify appearances into substantially existent external objects. While ordinary insight practice brings the philosophical view of emptiness to bear on phenomena, in this stage this sūtra view must be unified with the Mahāmudrā view of the co-emergence of mind and appearances.<sup>71</sup>

The meditator should be aware of the indivisibility of the mind and thoughts, which are like water and its waves. The waves are not different from the water—the water itself appears as waves, which retain their nature as water. Similarly, diverse thoughts—from the moment of their emergence—are inseparable from the mind’s intrinsic lucidity and emptiness, because the mind—as unceasing movement—manifests itself in dualistic thoughts. The meditator should, therefore, resolve that diverse thoughts are the manifestations of the mind, and that they are also inseparable from the intrinsic lucidity and emptiness of the mind that is devoid of any essence or identity.<sup>72</sup>

Thus, Mahāmudrā calm abiding and insight practices aim to guide the practitioner to the realization that the mind is ultimately co-emergent with the phenomena that seem to appear to it as its thoughts, emotions, and objects. Insight, here, is to recognize how mind and thoughts, emotions, and appearances are naturally united. This resolves in the practitioner's experience that "appearance and mind are a non-dual phenomenon, without bifurcating the diverse external appearances and the internal movements of the mind."<sup>73</sup> Some of the nuances of this realization will be discussed below in the context of describing the resultant self that emerges through training in Mahāmudrā. But first, it is important to see how the tantric approach to Mahāmudrā employs some unique strategies for arriving at analogous ultimate realizations.

A number of Tibetan authors writing about Vajrayāna practice employ the terms "path" (*lam*) and "stages" (*rim*) to organize their practices, and there are a few general or overarching path schemas that shape the trajectory of Vajrayāna practice for different lineages. For instance, the progression through the nine-vehicle (*theg pa rim dgu*) system of the Nyingma (*rnying ma*) lineage is an ascent in complexity of practice and potential depth of realization. The Sakya (*sa skya*) lineage presents its tantric instructions, derived from the *Hevajra Tantra*, within the framework of "path and result" (*lam 'bras*). The gradual Vajrayāna paths that shape the trajectory of tantric practice in the Gelug (*dge lugs*) are derived from Indian commentaries on the *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, especially the *Five Stages* (*Pañcakrama*) attributed to Nāgārjuna.<sup>74</sup> This highly technical approach to completion-stage (*rdzogs rim*) tantric practices presents a sequence of five techniques: body isolation, speech isolation, mind isolation, relative illusory body, and ultimate luminosity. Dakpo Tashi Namgyal's presentation of the stages of the Vajrayāna path incorporates some of the other path schemas mentioned above, including terminology shared with the nine vehicles, the five practices from the *Pañcakrama*, as well as the six *dharma*s of Nāropa (*nā ro chos drug*) that are one of the hallmarks of the Kagyu lineage.

Despite the general assumption that Vajrayāna practice is a higher development beyond Mahāyāna approaches to calm abiding and insight, Dakpo Tashi Namgyal's presentation of the tantric path makes it clear that in this context the practitioner still needs to apply the factors of awakening to remain vigilant against the hindrances. The primary distinction between Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna approaches is therefore found in the *means* used in the development of these skills. After the practitioner has attained the requisite initiation and has

pledged to keep the tantric vows, the early stages of tantric discipline involve the cultivation of concentration through visualizations and mantra recitations, or through both in the more complex practices of the generation stage. Dakpo Tashi Namgyal explains how the purpose of these practices is to tame “the crazed elephant of the mind” through tying it “to the post of focus, by using the rope of mindfulness.”<sup>75</sup>

As we saw above, it is common for the practitioner to err in one state of mental imbalance or another: “When there is a predominance of *śamatha*, dullness causes distraction. When there is a predominance of *vipāśyanā*, agitation causes distraction.”<sup>76</sup> However, in tantric practices, it is not sufficient to simply use visualizations or mantra recitations as techniques for eliminating the hindrances and defilements. One must also receive various empowerments

because they wash away the particular stains that will be hindrances and defects in your meditation on the liberating yoga of the two stages [the generation and completion stages], and they bestow the power to accomplish that particular goal.<sup>77</sup>

Despite the overall rhetoric of Vajrayāna Buddhism, which tends to emphasize the innate purity of the individual, there are many ways in which the untrained, ordinary narrative self nevertheless presents particular obstacles to the training.

Ultimately, concentration and insight are significant components to generation-stage tantric practice. Visualization practices have to be balanced with the insight that all phenomena (whether visualized or appearing as internal and external objects) have no essential nature. Before commencing the visualization of the deity, the practitioner is directed to meditate upon emptiness, fully recognizing that “all phenomena are primordially without essence, nature, or selfhood.”<sup>78</sup> The actual visualization practices of the generation stage are highly complex, and discussing them in detail is beyond the scope of this paper. Interestingly, Dakpo Tashi Namgyal explains how it is possible to become distracted by other appearances that arise while engaged in visualization, and he exhorts the reader to employ mindfulness to remain concentrated on visualizing even a small portion of the deity clearly.<sup>79</sup> In time, as one develops one’s concentration through an increased capacity for visualization, the insight practices of meditating on emptiness and visualizing the deity in front of oneself, or visualizing oneself as the deity, have a greater transformative impact on undermining the false assumption of the narrative self.



In his presentation of the initial stages of the Kagyu Vajrayāna path, Dakpo Tashi Namgyal draws upon an array of tantric techniques for facilitating the process of self-transformation. While these techniques suggest that the ordinary narrative self does indeed need to be purified of hindrances and defilements, there is also a very strong emphasis from the outset that all phenomena are intrinsically pure by virtue of their being empty. Through the continual effort to identify with the deity, the narrative self undergoes the most significant transformations in the initial stages of Vajrayāna practice. The process of self-transformation in these initial stages of tantric practice develops the mind in concentration and insight, so that the completion-stage practices can serve as catalysts for the recognition of the mind's pure, blissful, and luminous nature.

Dakpo Tashi Namgyal's presentation of Vajrayāna completion-stage practices is, like other presentations, focused on how to manipulate the energies of the subtle body for the purpose of generating inner heat, bliss, and various "signs of attainment" (*rtags*). In this stage of the practice, the tantric practitioner aims to move beyond ordinary conceptions of the gross body to experience and control a "subtle body" of channels, energies, and drops. In order to cultivate inner heat, Dakpo Tashi Namgyal advocates a visualization practice through which mantric seed syllables are associated with the four main *cakras*: navel, heart, throat, and crown. Two main changes in the practitioner's experience arise through directing the various energies of the subtle body into the central channel. First, the inner heat generated through drawing the energies into the central channel causes a flow of blissful nectar to descend from the crown *cakra* in a process called "blazing and dripping."<sup>80</sup> Through the discipline of inner heat, the practitioner aims to purify his or her body, speech, and mind of habitual patterns and defilements. Second, the withdrawal of the energies into the central channel of the subtle body also results in the appearance of various visual signs, which Dakpo Tashi Namgyal presents by quoting a tantra called the *Vajra Tent*.<sup>81</sup>

First, there is the appearance of clouds; second, something like smoke; third, the appearance of fireflies; fourth, the burning of lamp flames; fifth, a continuous radiance that is like a cloudless sky.<sup>82</sup>

While the "blazing and dripping" practices of inner heat introduce the practitioner to the blissful aspect of conscious experience, these initial light forms, which take on different characteristics as the

practice progresses, introduce the practitioner to the mind's intrinsic luminosity (*gsal ba*, 'od *gsal*).

These qualities of mind must then be conjoined with the realizations that are cultivated through the practice called illusory body (*sgyu lus*). Dakpo Tashi Namgyal explains this practice as follows: "You must train in seeing the entire outer environment of the world, the beings that inhabit it, and all other objects as being like illusions."<sup>83</sup> Through controlling the body's subtle energies, the practitioner dissolves his or her ordinary mind into luminosity and bliss and emerges in the illusory body of the tantric deity. Dakpo Tashi Namgyal explains how the primary context for practicing this training is in the dream state, through which one learns to see all dream phenomena as ultimately mind-made. Clearly, this particular practice aims to radically destabilize the ordinary narrative self, which tends to reify objects and appearances as truly existing in an external environment. Just as the external environment is a mind-made illusion, so too is one's own body, as well as the body of one's personal tantric deity.

Dakpo Tashi Namgyal points out that once the practitioner has cultivated bliss and luminosity and has recognized the illusory nature of appearances, further refinements are still necessary in order to fully realize the mind's true nature. The deepest sign of luminosity mentioned previously, the continuous radiance like a cloudless sky, is first recognized within the framework of subject-object duality—it arises to an observer who fails to recognize it as his own true nature. Dakpo Tashi Namgyal explains how the "ultimate luminosity" is "the manifestation of the nonconceptual wisdom that realizes the true nature; this wisdom is like a stainless sky and is without even the subtlest duality."<sup>84</sup> After recognizing the luminous nature of mind through manipulating the energies of the subtle body, the practitioner continues to cultivate the nondual realizations that are central to the Mahāmudrā tradition. As in the sūtra Mahāmudrā approach outlined above, this practice is directed at realizing how all phenomena are empty appearances that are co-emergent with the nature of mind.

In *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, Dakpo Tashi Namgyal thoroughly explains various subtle gradations through which the practitioner first recognizes and then familiarizes him- or herself with the nature of mind. These states and stages are predicated on the successful accomplishment of the previous stages by which the narrative self has been deconstructed through either the sutra-based approach to calm

abiding and insight or through the tantric path of generation- and completion-stage practices. The transformation from narrative self to resultant self is predicated on the practitioner having first realized the co-emergence of mind, the co-emergence of thought, and the co-emergence of appearances and then further developing this realization through the ultimate stages of Mahāmudrā training known as the four yogas (*rnal 'byor bzhi*).

What Dakpo Tashi Namgyal calls the co-emergence of mind (*sems nyid lhan skyes ngo sprod pa*) is the first realization in which calm abiding and insight practice are entirely unified. Through allowing the mind to rest in its natural state, “as the mind observes its own intrinsic nature or mode of existence, all discriminatory thoughts in their forceful or feeble forms dissolve or pacify themselves without suppression.”<sup>85</sup> The practitioner then continues to develop the realization of the co-emergence of the natural state of mind with all mental qualities and phenomenal appearances. At this point, no distinction between *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā* can be maintained:

Although [calm abiding] and insight are treated as separate aspects, they are in fact inseparable. [Calm abiding] is inherent in the insight of self-awareness and self-crystallization, while insight is inherent in the quiet nature of the mind. [Calm abiding] and insight are therefore a coemergent state, concentrating one-pointedly and indivisibly, because insight by itself comprehends and crystallizes a state of [calm abiding] unstained by any perceptive marks.<sup>86</sup>

It is important to note that the fusion of calm abiding and insight is, for Dakpo Tashi Namgyal, nothing less than the co-emergence of the ultimate mind, the *dharmakāya*. This unified state of complete resting in the equanimity of the nature of mind, coupled with insight into the mind’s vivid awareness, serves as the basis for the next two stages of realization.

To attain the second stage, identifying co-emergence of thought (*rnam rtog lhan skyes ngo sprod pa*), Dakpo Tashi Namgyal prescribes a particular practice that can be employed only from the perspective of resting in the mind’s natural state. The practitioner is instructed to intentionally generate an emotional state—delight, desire, or ill will. But, as with the previous practice, the objective is not to be carried away by the thought; the intentional generation of an emotional state facilitates disassociation from it, and this inhibits the ordinary tendency toward grasping. The practitioner instead recognizes that the emotion

is like any other mental content: it co-emerges with mind, and it is ultimately not distinguishable from mind. Realizing this,

the mind should then perceive the emotion as being empty of any identifiable essence or self-entity. Furthermore, the mind perceives the coemergent union of the intrinsic lucidity of thought and its undefinable emptiness, the inseparability of emptiness from the thought stream, as well as the inseparability of the thought stream from its intrinsic emptiness.<sup>87</sup>

Finally, Dakpo Tashi Namgyal explains the third stage: identifying the co-emergence of appearance (*snang ba lhan skyes ngo sprod pa*). This stage is treated as the ultimate realization of co-emergence because through it the practitioner resolves the apparent boundary between internal and external phenomena, subject and object, realizing that “the appearances that emerge before the mind due to psychic imprints of the past are not different from the coemergent appearances of dualistic mind.”<sup>88</sup> Here Dakpo Tashi Namgyal prescribes a practice of gazing at external forms until the form, its emptiness, and its inseparability with awareness are all perceived simultaneously.<sup>89</sup>

Having discovered the intrinsic nature of ordinary mind, the meditator remains aware of it without getting distracted, and at the same time remains unmodulated whatever immediate mode of mind or thought arises. . . . If in order to meditate, the meditator withdraws from maintaining the mind’s natural state through being mindful of its identity, and alters it or adds a new element, he will be contradicting the meaning of unmodulated mind. . . . He must not allow himself to be distracted—not even for a moment—by his deluded awareness with its ingrained clinging to duality.<sup>90</sup>

Mindfulness remains highly significant in these penultimate stages of the Mahāmudrā path as well. Once the practitioner has identified the nature of mind and its co-emergence as thought and appearances, this state of recognition is to be maintained whether in a “meditation” session or in “post-meditation.” Mindfulness is the critical faculty that allows the practitioner to maintain this state without deviating from it.<sup>91</sup> At this point all experiences become “meditation.” All experiences are now part of the path.

As this realization is perfected in the four yogas (*rnal ’byor bzhi*) of Mahāmudrā,<sup>92</sup> the practitioner isolates a few other central characteristics that are cultivated in the ultimate stages of the path. In the first yoga of one-pointedness, “the mind rests firmly, serenely, lucidly in

clear and empty awareness. . . . This is the fusion of the dynamic and stable aspects of the mind.”<sup>93</sup> In the second yoga of nondiscrimination, the practitioner recognizes that “all subject-object dualities are but nonarising [emptiness]” and is then “free from any view of absolute arising, dwelling, or dissolving.”<sup>94</sup> In the third yoga of one-flavor, the mind is “settled evenly in its primal purity, without affirming or rejecting the concepts of whether all things of samsara and nirvana are empty or not empty.”<sup>95</sup> Finally, in the fourth yoga of nonmeditation, the mind

is completely detached from the duality of absorption and postabsorption, mindfulness and distraction [and] by transcending the duality of meditation and meditator, external and internal realities, the meditating awareness dissolves itself into its luminous clarity.<sup>96</sup>

In *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, Dakpo Tashi Namgyal further differentiates each of these yogas into lower, average, and great levels, for a total of twelve degrees of final realization. He goes on to explain, however, that the twelve will not necessarily arise in sequential order “like the steps of stairs.”<sup>97</sup> Unlike the more sequential practices that involve deconstructing the narrative self, the emergence of the resultant self through the four yogas is an unfolding process in which different valences of the nature of mind become recognized in the practitioner’s experience. The three degrees in each the four yogas are differentiated primarily in terms of the depth and stability of the realization.

These views about the ways in which the four yogas come to be realized informs the penultimate section of Dakpo Tashi Namgyal’s text, in which he interrogates possible correlations between the four yogas of Mahāmudrā and the paths and grounds (*sa lam*) of Mahāyāna Buddhism. This section, while very scholastic in nature, has far-reaching implications, as here Dakpo Tashi Namgyal grapples with various claims about whether the stages of awakening in one path schema can be coherently mapped onto those of another system. Because the resultant self in the Mahāmudrā system is realized in a multifaceted manner but not necessarily in a linear progression of steps, Dakpo Tashi Namgyal is quite skeptical of any attempts to clearly correlate Mahāmudrā ultimate realizations with gradual Mahāyāna path schemas. He explains how “the essence of reality being nondifferentiable, its division into the grounds and paths cannot be acceptable from the ultimate standpoint.”<sup>98</sup> Despite this cautionary preamble, he ends up entering into the debates on their correlation as a conventional

skillful means to assist meditators in understanding their own experience.<sup>99</sup> Even though Dakpo Tashi Namgyal clearly has reservations about differentiating the ultimate realization of Mahāmudrā into discrete states, he seems unable at the end of his text to escape the need to present this tradition in terms of a path structure.<sup>100</sup> Having elucidated the practice of ordinary calm abiding and insight as well as the practice of Mahāmudrā according to their stages of meditation (*sgom rim*), he makes his best effort at mapping the paths and grounds of the Mahāyāna onto the final realizations as presented in the Mahāmudrā system.<sup>101</sup>

#### COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF TWO BUDDHIST PATH SCHEMAS

In this section, I want to recapitulate the ground covered thus far and also establish some specific comparisons between these two path schemas. While some of the earlier stages of deconstructing and reorienting the narrative self are unambiguously similar, some additional critical reflection is warranted on whether or not (or the degree to which) the higher stages of concentration, the various signs of attainment, and most importantly the progressive stages of insight and realization are analogous.

Although they could be easily overlooked in a study on paths of contemplative development, it is significant that both Buddhaghosa's *The Path of Purification* and Dakpo Tashi Namgyal's *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight* do not neglect to mention the importance of ethical discipline and a harmonious practice environment as important initial stages of the path. This is not difficult to understand, given how environmental factors can condition the mental and emotional states of the narrative self, and those states are reflected back out into the world through habitual behaviors and involuntary responses to stimuli. The initial stages of retraining the narrative self require an increased awareness of these dimensions of being in the world, first of all, and then the intentional removal and replacement of unwholesome states and behaviors with their wholesome counterparts. Adhering to the ethical principles prescribed in Buddhist traditions, as well as so-called preliminary practices such as faith and devotion, set up the essential conditions for making progress in the cognitive trainings of concentration and insight.

In both path schemas, ample attention is given to attending to and eliminating various hindrances as the first step toward greater mental

equilibrium. *The Path of Purification* largely follows the canonical enumeration of five hindrances, two of which are coarse states of agitation that can be retrained through adhering to ethical discipline, and three of which are more subtle qualities of awareness that interfere with the development of tranquility and eventually concentration. Perhaps because it incorporates a much wider variety of Buddhist literature as proof texts, *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight* identifies additional hindrances, although the principle binaries of sensory desire and restlessness on the one hand, and ill will and laxity on the other, demonstrate that both systems consistently identify the same fundamental problems as being posed by the ordinary tendencies of the narrative self.

In both path schemas, as well, the practitioner is advised to overcome various hindrances through attending to and cultivating their counterparts—the various factors of awakening. Mindfulness and effortful vigilance are essential strategies that the practitioner has at his or her disposal for retraining the narrative self away from the habitual tendency to see the world in terms of desire and aversion. These two factors in particular lead to the development of the initial tranquility that serves as the basis for more advanced practice in concentration.

*The Path of Purification* and *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight* both offer a variety of strategies for developing mental concentration—a trajectory of practice that takes place through various stages and culminates in the attainment of equanimity. Recognizing perhaps that different practitioners have different dispositions and proclivities, both Buddhaghosa and Dakpo Tashi Namgyal identify a number of possible meditation objects or supports as vehicles for the development of concentration. These supports can be external visible objects, visualized mental objects, the breath, or particular qualities of awareness. External objects range from simple and solid objects, such as the earth *kaṣiṇa* or a stone, to more subtle objects like light or space. Similarly, visualized objects range in complexity, especially when we take into consideration Dakpo Tashi Namgyal's *Light Rays*, which presents generation-stage practice as a means of developing positive mental factors and concentration. As explained above, these stages are predicated on a significant suspension of the ordinary tendencies of the narrative self to be oriented toward a world of external objects on the one hand, and distracting thoughts, stories, and mental fantasies on the other, both of which threaten the vigilant present-moment awareness needed to make progress in concentration.



Correlating the two principal models for sequential stages of concentration is a difficult task, further complicated if one takes into account the various ways the four *jhānas* and the nine stages of *śamatha* have been interpreted in different places and times. Buddhaghosa's presentation of the four *jhānas* is already somewhat inconsistent with the presentation of the four *jhānas* in the canonical literature.<sup>102</sup> Similarly, the depth and duration of concentration associated with the higher stages of *śamatha* is not necessarily consistent across interpreters of this fundamental Mahāyāna path schema. If we adhere closely to the brief descriptions offered in *The Path of Purification* and the sources quoted in *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, it seems plausible that the "one-pointedness" associated with the eighth stage of *śamatha* is on par with the "unification of mind" that is a key feature of the first *jhāna*. Along the way, similar factors of awakening, especially vigor and joy, are anticipated as a result of successfully suppressing the hindrances. It is also apparent that both the four *jhānas* and the nine stages of *śamatha* culminate in the seventh factor of awakening, equanimity. Much more difficult to discern is whether this equanimity has identical phenomenological characteristics in the experience of Buddhist meditators practicing within the context of these two path schemas.<sup>103</sup>

Through the cultivation of these increasingly subtle states of awareness, practitioners in both systems are also given feedback in the form of various signs of attainment. Dakpo Tashi Namgyal has much more to say about this topic in his overview of generation- and contemplation-state practice in *Light Rays* than in *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*. Despite their radically different methods of practice, there are some very interesting resonances between his presentation of signs of attainment and those found in Buddhaghosa's *The Path of Purification*. One point of possible convergence across these two path schemas is the arising of bliss as a result of practice. In *The Path of Purification*, bliss is a sign of attainment for the first two *jhānas*. In Dakpo Tashi Namgyal's *Light Rays*, bliss is generated through manipulating the energies of the subtle body, especially through intentionally directing them into the central channel. Closely related to the arising of bliss in both contexts is the arising of different types of luminosity as another noteworthy sign of attainment.

Unlike bliss, which to my knowledge is not so clearly differentiated into degrees, luminosity arises in different forms and with different qualities as practice develops. Through the practitioner's

concentration on the breath as a meditative support, Buddhaghosa describes the arising counterpart sign as appearing

to some like a star or a cluster of gems or a cluster of pearls, to others with a rough touch like that of silk-cotton seeds or a peg made of heartwood, to others like a long braid string or a wreath of flowers or a puff of smoke, to others like a stretched-out cobweb or a film of cloud or lotus flower or a chariot wheel or the moon's disk or the sun's disk.<sup>104</sup>

Quoting one of the many tantric proof texts that details a sequence of luminous signs of attainment, Dakpo Tashi Namgyal's text identifies the result of completion-stage practice as

First, there is the appearance of clouds; second, something like smoke; third, the appearance of fireflies; fourth, the burning of lamp flames; fifth, a continuous radiance that is like a cloudless sky.<sup>105</sup>

While again it is difficult to come to strong conclusions about the nature of contemplative experience from disparate textual sources composed in differing Buddhist cultural contexts and in different languages, the parallels between these two discussions of various luminous signs of attainment are nevertheless striking. The consistency between the two on diffuse smoke and cloud-like luminosities as well as more discrete star-like and firefly-like points of light suggests that the concentration developed in each of these practice traditions may have similar effects on the quality of the practitioner's awareness.<sup>106</sup> Furthermore, the sky-like radiance presented in various tantras as the most developed sign of attainment bears some resemblance to the pure bright mind associated with the attainment of the fourth *jhāna* in both Buddhaghosa's *The Path of Purification* and in the Pāli Nikāyas.<sup>107</sup>

These various signs of attainment are interpreted as indications that the ordinary habitual tendencies of the narrative self have been superseded by a mind that is concentrated, pliable, and balanced in equanimity. However, these signs of attainment are in no instances taken to be identical with the end goal of the path. Without the cognitive insights that come through investigative processes, the fundamental delusion of the narrative self will not be undermined, and the resultant self will remain unmanifested.

As is the case across Buddhist traditions, these two path schemas contextualize prowess in concentration as being ultimately significant only insofar as it facilitates mastery in discerning the nature of reality.

The stages outlined in *The Path of Purification* and *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight* begin to diverge in significant ways at this critical juncture.

As a general observation, *The Path of Purification* presents a much more sequential progress of insight through which the narrative self is deconstructed. The eight insight knowledges that begin with the recognition of the arising and passing away of phenomena progressively unfold into additional realizations of the three characteristics. According to Buddhaghosa's presentation, these realizations destabilize the narrative self in ways that undermine the habitual tendency to relate to objects (whether external or mental phenomena) in terms of grasping, desire, and aversion. As it matures in the latter stages of the insight knowledges, the experiential realization of the three characteristics stabilizes into a mental equanimity born of insight. The paths and fruitions that are the culmination of the stage of insight are presented in terms of a purification of mental defilements, following the paradigm of eradicating the ten fetters first put forth in the Pāli Nikāyas. Thus, according to Buddhaghosa's model, the resultant self arises only through a radical destabilization of the narrative self and a progress of insight that clears away the various fetters that bind the practitioner to *saṃsāra*.

In comparison with this fairly linear and even causal model of progression through stages of insight, Dakpo Tashi Namgyal's presentation of insight suggests that insights into the nature of mind deepen as the practitioner realizes increasingly subtle gradations of how mind and appearances are co-emergent. The progression through the co-emergence of mind, the co-emergence of thought, and the co-emergence of appearances is less explicitly causal and linear than Buddhaghosa's stages of the eight insight knowledges. Rather, Dakpo Tashi Namgyal advocates specific insight practices for attaining each of these realizations, all three of which are variations on the theme of recognizing the nonduality of the nature of mind with the various phenomena that the narrative self mistakenly reifies into "internal" and "external" objects. Similarly, though for pedagogical purposes he is willing to present the four yogas of Mahāmudrā as having twelve stages, he also insists that many of these realizations do not necessarily arise in sequential order; rather, they are different facets of a single realization that are discerned as the practitioner becomes increasingly familiar with the nature of mind.

Furthermore, Dakpo Tashi Namgyal's views on the resultant self that emerges through these realizations reflects both Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna path schemas and their unique doctrinal presentations of buddha-nature and ultimate reality. Although the shift from a narrative self to a resultant self could also be read as requiring a purification of defilements, the penultimate stages of the Mahāmudrā path do not explicitly reference the falling away of the fetters so much as they emphasize the practitioner's familiarization with the awakened qualities of awareness that are always already present.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS: PATH SCHEMAS  
AND THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF BUDDHIST  
MEDITATION TRADITIONS

The comparison of path schemas across Buddhist lineages allows us to raise—and, in some instances, begin to answer—a number of important questions: What are the various trajectories of contemplative development set forth in Buddhist literature? Where are the main points of convergence and divergence? What temporary experiential states are deemed valuable to cultivate? What enduring perceptual, cognitive, or affective shifts are anticipated? How is the relationship between practice and realization understood? And how is the final state of realization characterized across traditions?

It is all too easy for scholars (whether intentionally or not) to replicate the polemical biases of Buddhist traditions in their own work. If we uncritically assume, for instance, that Vajrayāna path schemas both incorporate but also transcend the path schemas of Mahāyāna and especially early Indian Pāli traditions, any study of these traditions will already be hierarchized in a way that potentially distorts the path schemas on their own terms. This is particularly problematic for comparative work between the canonical and commentarial Pāli literature of early Buddhism and relatively late Tibetan sources that privilege Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna perspectives.

As argued above, comparing path schemas from disparate Buddhist lineages potentially has a great deal to tell us about the key stages of contemplative practices, anticipated resultant experiences, as well as how practices and realizations are ascribed particular efficacy and value in the process of self-transformation. Because path schemas present both practice instructions as well as a phenomenology of signs

of attainment and resultant experiences, investigating them is a very useful point of departure for determining what constitutes efficacious practice for a given tradition and for constructing a picture of how a given tradition understands the nature of proximate and ultimate experiential goals.

In this last section I would also like to suggest that investigating path schemas is a valuable strategy for advancing the scientific study of Buddhist meditation traditions—an enterprise that remains fraught with methodological problems. Despite some initial moves toward greater interdisciplinary collaboration between scientists and humanists, we still have a long way to go in creating a dialogue and partnership that reflects the best of what these two approaches have to offer. Neuroscientists are faced with a number of important decisions when studying religious practices like Buddhist meditation. They need to consider which practices and experiences to study, which human subjects to study, what to measure biologically, how to make measurements, when to make measurements, and, finally, how to interpret the data.<sup>108</sup> Close collaboration between scientists and humanists is essential for making these decisions.

Neuroscientific inquiry into Buddhist meditation presents us with a great opportunity to demonstrate why interdisciplinary collaboration matters, and how both scientists and humanists need to work together in order to advance this field of study. The literature on the neuroscience of meditation is truly vast, and I do not attempt to provide a comprehensive review of the literature here. Rather, my objective is to isolate a couple of key problems in order to suggest what light might be shed on them through the careful study of traditional Buddhist path schemas.

Engaging Buddhist path schemas is potentially quite valuable for scientific researchers of meditation for two main reasons. First, much of the scientific research on “meditation” takes as its premise an overly simplistic notion of meditation that insufficiently attends to the diversity of Buddhist approaches across lineages and traditions. Comparative work across path schemas makes clear that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to generalize about “Buddhist meditation,” especially if a study incorporates data from practitioners of multiple traditions. Second, the study of path schemas demonstrates that “meditation” is in fact a composite system built up from multiple smaller practices. In other words, meditators are not engaging in a

single cognitive task but instead in a highly complex set of interrelated tasks that, depending upon the tradition in which they are practicing and their level of expertise, will almost certainly vary considerably from practitioner to practitioner. Thus, engaging in interdisciplinary research in such a way to allow for the comparative study of Buddhist path structures to inform experimental research design in the science of meditation traditions could potentially alleviate problems arising from overly generalized conceptions of both the nature and trajectory of contemplative practices.

Even within scientific studies of *Buddhist* meditation traditions, there is no consistent definition of the term “meditation.” It has been defined in recent literature as “an ancient spiritual practice which aims to still the fluctuations of the mind”;<sup>109</sup> as “a set of diverse and specific methods of distinct attentional engagement”;<sup>110</sup> and as “a physiological state of demonstrated reduced metabolic activity that elicits physical and mental relaxation and is reported to enhance psychological balance and emotional stability.”<sup>111</sup> With a few exceptions,<sup>112</sup> however, most neuroscientific studies of Buddhist meditation traditions are no longer attempting to study “meditation” as such. Instead, in the wake of some critical interdisciplinary scholarship,<sup>113</sup> experimental research is now focused more specifically on investigating specific *types* of meditation. These studies often distinguish among two or more still generalized practice types, the most common being “focused-attention,” “open-monitoring,” and “compassion-based” practices. One recent study suggests how each of these three types of meditation diminishes the prominence of the “narrative self” by engaging a specific neural network. In comparison with controls, experienced meditators practicing all three types of meditation showed decreased activity in the Default Mode Network, which is associated with both self-referential processing and mind-wandering.<sup>114</sup> Although the point that “meditation” is not a single category needed to be made at the onset of this type of research, it is important to continue to bear in mind that even a tripartite division into focused-attention, open-monitoring, and compassion-based practices is also limited and potentially misleading.

The comparative study of Buddhist path schemas could potentially illuminate some of the problems with the supposedly distinct categories of focused-attention and open-monitoring meditations, especially given the tendency for researchers to uncritically identify open-monitoring practices with “mindfulness.” Scientific investigations of

“mindfulness” are far and away the most numerous among the various empirical approaches to Buddhist meditation traditions. However, as a number of critical studies have recently pointed out,<sup>115</sup> the term “mindfulness” is used in a variety of ways in Buddhist literature, and, to further complicate matters, the clinical application of mindfulness—the so-called Mindfulness-Based Interventions pioneered by Jon Kabat-Zinn—employ an operationalized definition of mindfulness that is in some ways at odds with traditional understandings.<sup>116</sup>

Some studies suggest that focused attention and open-monitoring practices lie on a spectrum, even asserting that these are at “opposite” ends of a “continuum.”<sup>117</sup> While the language of “continuum” rightly suggests that these practices are intertwined, it obscures the fact that in practice the techniques cannot even be clearly separated.<sup>118</sup> This is a significant problem in the neuroscience of meditation, because the two primary categories used to delineate supposedly different meditation practices are in actual practice quite entangled.

Neither *The Path of Purification* nor *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight* treat “mindfulness” solely as a non-judgmental awareness of the present moment. In addition to serving as the basis of developing concentration through remaining attentive to the in-breath and out-breath, “mindfulness” also has a meta-cognitive role as a monitor of deficient qualities that inhibit one’s progress in meditation.<sup>119</sup> Buddhist Studies scholar Georges Dreyfus rightly suggests that for mindfulness

to distinguish wholesome from unwholesome mental states, it must be explicitly cognitive and evaluative, in contrast with the idea of mindfulness as non-judgmental acceptance of whatever arises within the stream of consciousness.<sup>120</sup>

In particular, the path schemas discussed above demonstrate how one of the primary roles of this monitoring of awareness is the elimination of the five hindrances. Laxity and restlessness in particular are serious obstacles to the establishment of even a basic mental tranquility, and for that reason “mindfulness”—both in the sense of remembering to remain attentive to the object and in the sense of monitoring for defective qualities of awareness—is the first and most fundamental of the seven factors of awakening.

But this is not the only conception of mindfulness found across Buddhist traditions. In his article on nondual approaches to mindfulness, John Dunne rightly points out that unlike the Abhidharma approach to mindfulness and insight, which “assumes that meditative



states are structured by subject-object duality,” Mahāmudrā traditions employ the term mindfulness (*dran pa*) both in reference to a dualistic type of monitoring awareness discussed above and in reference to a nondualistic resting undistracted in the natural state.<sup>121</sup> In Dakpo Tashi Namgyal’s *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, the difference between these two types of mindfulness is correlated with the distinction between ordinary and Mahāmudrā approaches to calm abiding and insight. I agree with Dunne when he suggests that there are more similarities between the rhetoric of mindfulness in Mindfulness Based Stress Reduction and the nondual Mahāmudrā approach to mindfulness as mere non-distraction than the dualistic approaches found either in Mahāyāna Abhidharma literature or in Pāli commentarial literature.<sup>122</sup> However, it is important to bear in mind that in Dakpo Tashi Namgyal’s system, nondual approaches to mindfulness are predicated on the practitioner’s recognition of the nature of mind and insight into the co-emergence of mind, the co-emergence of thought, and the co-emergence of appearance.

The comparative investigation of Buddhist path schemas demonstrates that the practices of concentration, insight, and especially mindfulness are much more complex and in many ways quite different from the operationalized understandings promoted in scientific literature. To alleviate this confusion and advance the neuroscientific study of Buddhist meditation, I think it is important that we move away from broad categories of meditation types, whether three or five, and aim to directly target, through experimental research, the various components that comprise a meditative discipline. In so doing, researchers will need to keep in mind that novice practitioners are not likely to be at the same stages or engaging in the same level of practice as advanced practitioners. If a researcher instructs novices and experts to do the same practice—say “concentration”—in order to compare their brain activity, he or she should not assume that the two meditators are engaging in the same cognitive processes only to different degrees; rather, the novice is likely to be involved with negotiating obstacles that may not be present at all for the more advanced practitioner. Similarly, practitioners who employ “mindfulness” as a dualistic and evaluative monitoring awareness may not be engaged in the same cognitive task as those who understand “mindfulness” as a non-dual and undistracted resting in the nature of mind.<sup>123</sup>

To clarify what I am suggesting here, I think that breaking down the trajectory of “Buddhist meditation” into various sub-practices will ultimately give us a much clearer picture of what is going on in the brain. Most scientific studies of Buddhist meditation have investigated the initial stages (especially when studying novices), and probably some of the results with expert practitioners are indicative of states attained after the union of concentration and insight. Experts may not simply be doing the same practices only with more skill or to a deeper degree; rather, having overcome the hindrances and unified concentration and insight, their practice can take on a different character altogether. In this respect, scientists have as much to learn about contemplative practices from beginners who struggle to identify and overcome the five hindrances as they do from advanced practitioners, for whom negotiating some of the basic stages may have become so automatic that they become difficult to detect. By starting with more modest claims and building up a picture of the various processes involved in meditation, important cognitive processes such as the removal of the five hindrances will not be overlooked.

To my knowledge, no studies have attempted to investigate what overcoming laxity or restlessness looks like in the brain, because these states are not understood to be the goal of meditation—despite the fact that they are central to the process of meditating. And herein lies the central problem: So long as researchers are investigating “meditation” in the abstract, they will miss out on the *process* by focusing too much on the goals. They will assume that the “goal” is a particular state that can be attained and stabilized, and will fail to understand the various techniques that are required for getting there in the first place.

There are many obstacles and many twists and turns along the various path schemas found across Buddhist traditions, and our understanding of these traditions and their cognitive effects will remain vague and incomplete unless researchers specifically recognize their various stages and investigate the subroutines that comprise a larger contemplative discipline. At this point, experimental research on Buddhist meditation remains insufficiently precise when compared with a phenomenology of those traditions derived from historical data. Most of the problems in the neuroscience of contemplative traditions derive from faulty research design or conceptions about meditation that insufficiently attend to the diversity of practices and approaches within a contemplative path. For this reason, I also think that many of

these problems can ultimately be resolved through greater collaboration between scientists and humanists.

This research has a number of valuable applications beyond increasing our knowledge of how different meditative practices affect the brain. If the neuroscience of Buddhist meditation traditions advances to the extent that we are able to correlate particular first-person reports of discrete stages of the path with consistent third-person brain-imaging data (admittedly, a big “if”), it might also be possible to begin exploring the degree to which certain states and stages that seem similar based upon textual data and first-person reports are still seen to be similar when investigated through third-person scientific methodologies. This could potentially shed light on the question raised above about whether or not the one-pointed concentration attained in the first *jhāna* is analogous with that of the eighth stage of *śamatha*. Ultimately, such comparisons could be made to address stages of practice across other contemplative traditions as well.

In addition, precise research into the stages of meditation could also be used to explain the sequences of practices and experiences found across Buddhist meditation traditions. This type of analysis could be quite valuable to scholars in the humanities, who have traditionally had to rely upon historical and sociocultural arguments in order to explain similarities and differences. It is possible that future neuroscientific research could illuminate more fundamental, biological reasons why the stages of concentration and insight follow the trajectory they do. If this is the case, then experimental research into these practices could potentially open up further avenues for understanding the relationship between religious practices and religious experiences.

#### NOTES

1 A more concise and preliminary version of this paper was presented at the conference “The Storied Self: Buddhist Narrativity in Comparative Context,” hosted by Prof. Mark Unno at the University of Oregon, Eugene, October 19–21, 2012. I would like to extend special thanks to Prof. Unno for inviting me to the conference and to Prof. Richard Payne both for his reflections on my paper during the conference and for encouraging me to compose this revised version for *Pacific World*.

2 Robert Buswell and Robert Gimello, eds., *Paths to Liberation: The Mārga and Its Transformations in Buddhist Thought* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1992), pp. 2–3.

- 3 Buswell and Gimello, eds., *Paths to Liberation*, p. 2.
- 4 Ann Taves, *Religious Experience Reconsidered: A Building-Block Approach to the Study of Religion and Other Special Things* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), p. 47.
- 5 Taves, *Religious Experience Reconsidered*, p. 9, original emphasis.
- 6 Ann Taves, "No Field Is an Island: Fostering Collaboration Between the Academic Study of Religion and the Sciences," *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 22/3 (2010): 181.
- 7 Buswell and Gimello, eds., *Paths to Liberation*, p. 11.
- 8 Buswell and Gimello, eds., *Paths to Liberation*, p. 20.
- 9 Georges Dreyfus, in *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), pp. 172–176, explains how the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, attributed to Maitreya, is a good example of a text in the stages of the path genre that is studied scholastically but is not taken as a guide for practice.
- 10 On this important issue, see Robert Sharf, "Buddhist Modernism and the Rhetoric of Meditative Experience," *Numen* 42 (1995): 228–283.
- 11 Drawing upon contemporary philosophy of mind and cognitive neuroscience, Shaun Gallagher has also employed the term "narrative self" in contrast to "minimal self," wherein the principle distinction is that the former is autobiographical and extended in time. Although his conception of the "narrative self" does in some respects line up with Buddhist theories about the constructed nature of self-identity, in Buddhist traditions the "narrative self" is additionally problematic because it also reifies the phenomenal content of experience. See Shaun Gallagher, "Philosophical Conceptions of the Self: Implications for Cognitive Science," *Trends in Cognitive Science* 4/1 (2000): 14–21.
- 12 Quotations from *The Path of Purification* (Pāli *Visuddhimagga*) are from the following edition: Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, trans., *The Path of Purification* by Bhaddantācariya Buddhaghosa (Onalaska, WA: BPS Pariyatti Editions, 1999). References to the Pāli original are derived from C. A. F. Rhys Davids, ed. *The Visuddhi-magga of Buddhaghosa* (London: Pali Text Society, 1975).
- 13 Throughout this paper I follow the conventions of the principal translation and refer to this text as *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*; quotations from this text are from the following edition: Dakpo Tashi Namgyal, *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight: Quintessence of Mind and Meditation*, second ed., Lobsang P. Lhalungpa, trans. (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2006). References to the Tibetan original are derived from Dwags po Bkra shis rnam rgyal, *Nges don phyag rgya chen po'i sgom rim gsal bar byed pa'i legs bshad zla ba'i 'od zer* (Varanasi, India: Vajra Vidya Institute, 2005).

14 Given the recent scholarship on the origins of the term “Theravāda,” I refer to the path set forth by Buddhaghosa as an instance of “early Buddhism” rather than Theravāda Buddhism. On the issue of Buddhaghosa’s relationship to “Theravāda Buddhism,” see Rupert Gethin, “Was Buddhaghosa a Therāvadin?: Buddhist Identity in the Pali Commentaries and Chronicles,” in Peter Skilling, Jason A. Carabine, Claudio Cicuzza, and Santi Pakdeekham, eds., *How Theravāda is Theravāda?: Exploring Buddhist Identities* (Chiang Mai, Thailand: Silkworm Books, 2012), pp. 1–66.

15 This distinction is sometimes characterized as one between “sūtra Mahāmudrā” and “tantra Mahāmudrā.”

16 Excerpts from this text can be found in Peter Alan Roberts, trans., *Mahāmudrā and Related Instructions: Core Teachings of the Kagyu Schools* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2011), pp. 401–620. The full title in Tibetan is *Gsang sngags rdo rje theg pa'i spyi don mdor bsdus pa legs bshad nor bu'i 'od zer* (TBRC W29340).

17 MN III.79; SN V.312.

18 The main section of the *Ānāpānasati Sutta* opens with the following statement: “Bhikkhus, when mindfulness of breathing is developed and cultivated, it fulfills the four foundations of mindfulness. When the four foundations of mindfulness are developed and cultivated, they fulfill the seven enlightenment factors. When the seven enlightenment factors are developed and cultivated, they fulfill true knowledge and deliverance” (MN III.82). The four *jhānas* are mentioned more explicitly in the subsequent *sutta* on mindfulness of the body (MN III.92).

19 MN I.56.

20 E.g., MN I.60, SN V.92, AN III.63. These are *kāmacchanda*, *vyāpāda*, *thīnamiddha*, *uddhacca-kukkucca*, and *vicikicchā*, respectively.

21 MN I.60–62.

22 E.g., MN I.62, SN V.80. These are *sati*, *dhmma vicaya*, *viritya*, *pīti*, *passaddhi*, *samādhi*, and *upekkha*, respectively.

23 SN V.97–98.

24 E.g., DN I.84, AN II.45, MN III.252.

25 MN I.38, SN V.116.

26 AN II.46

27 MN I.277.

28 DN I.75–84.

29 MN I.34. The ten fetters are discussed below.

30 Cf. MN I.301.

31 Cf. MN I.147.

32 *The Path of Purification* I.111.

33 *The Path of Purification* IX.43.

34 *The Path of Purification* IV.47.

35 *The Path of Purification*, IV.51, quoting SN V.112.

36 *The Path of Purification* IV.49.

37 See *The Path of Purification* IV.79ff. On the differences between Buddhaghosa's criteria for the *jhānas* and those found in the Pāli Nikāyas, see Richard Shankman, *The Experience of Samādhi: An In-Depth Exploration of Buddhist Meditation* (Boston: Shambhala Publications, 2008), pp. 32–76.

38 *The Path of Purification* IV.86 (*samādhi kāmaccchandassa paṭipakkho, pīti vyāpādassa, vitakko thīnamiddhassa, sukkhaṃ uddhaca-kukkuccassa, vicāro vicikicchāyā*).

39 “For although other unprofitable things too are abandoned at the moment of *jhana*, still only these [five hindrances] are specifically obstructive to *jhana*” (*The Path of Purification* IV.104).

40 *The Path of Purification* III.4.

41 *The Path of Purification* IV.31.

42 *The Path of Purification* IV.31.

43 *The Path of Purification* VIII.208.

44 *The Path of Purification* VIII.214.

45 *The Path of Purification* VIII.215.

46 *The Path of Purification* IV.156.

47 The eight insight knowledges are knowledge of rise and fall, knowledge of dissolution, knowledge of appearance as terror, knowledge of danger, knowledge of dispassion, knowledge of desire for deliverance, knowledge of reflection, and knowledge of equanimity about formations (*udaya-bbayānupassanāñāṇaṃ, bhaṅgānupassanāñāṇaṃ, bhayaṭupaṭṭhānañāṇaṃ, ādinavānupassanāñāṇaṃ, nibbidānupassanāñāṇaṃ, muccitukamyatāñāṇaṃ, paṭi-sankhānupassanāñāṇaṃ, sankhārupekkhāñāṇaṃ*).

48 *The Path of Purification* XXI.3.

49 *The Path of Purification* XXI.4.

50 *The Path of Purification* XXI.7–8.

51 *The Path of Purification* XXI.11.

52 Although in certain Buddhist lineages, such as the Burmese tradition of Mahāsi Sayādaw, this stage of insight is often interpreted as a necessarily

difficult stage of the progress of insight, *The Path of Purification* is less clear about this. Buddhaghosa asks, “But does the knowledge of appearance as terror itself fear or does it not fear? It does not fear. For it is simply the mere judgment that past formations have ceased, present ones are ceasing, and future ones will cease” (*The Path of Purification* XXI.32).

53 Danger is characterized in the following manner: “[W]hen all formations have appeared as a terror by contemplation of dissolution, this meditator sees them as utterly destitute of any core or any satisfaction and as nothing but danger” (*The Path of Purification* XXI.36).

54 *The Path of Purification* XXI.44.

55 *The Path of Purification* XXII.5.

56 *The Path of Purification* XXII.5.

57 MN I.34. See note 29, above.

58 These are belief in self, doubt, clinging to ritual, craving, ill will, craving for material and immaterial existence, conceit, restlessness, and ignorance.

59 Although the principal translation of *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight* translates *zhi gnas* as “tranquility,” I use the alternate rendering “calm abiding” throughout this paper to avoid eliding the distinction between *śamatha* as a sequence of concentration practices and the fifth factor of awakening (*passaddhi*).

60 *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, p. 15.

61 *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, pp. 19–21.

62 *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, p. 21.

63 *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, pp. 43–44.

64 *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, pp. 47–48. Also referred to as the *sems gnas pa'i thab dgu*, these are 1) resting the mind (*'jog pa*), 2) resting the mind longer (*rgyun du 'jog pa*), 3) continuously resettling the mind (*blan te 'jog pa*), 4) fully settling the mind (*nye bar 'jog pa*), 5) taming the mind (*dul bar byed pa*), 6) pacifying the mind (*zhi bar byed pa*), 7) completely pacifying the mind (*rnam par zhi bar byed pa*), 8) one-pointedness (*rtse gcig tu byed pa*), and 9) resting in equanimity (*mnyam par 'jog pa byed pa*).

65 *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, pp. 63–64.

66 *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, p. 159.

67 “Up to this time whenever he applied exertion so as to achieve [calm abiding], he perceived that all forceful and feeble thoughts seemed to fade as if through suppression. The mind because momentarily so serene and still that the meditator was obligated to control it with one-pointed attention. It was not a very easy condition. At the present stage he finds that when the mind is relaxed it can be settled naturally and easily while not losing the vigor



of mindfulness. . . . If one knows the secret of releasing whatever inner craving has emerged, one will know how to relax the mind and still it" (*Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, pp. 163–164).

68 *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, p. 166.

69 *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, p. 166.

70 *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, p. 167.

71 "Insight, at this stage, must consist of (1) the understanding that all dualities including the mind, its manifest thoughts, and appearances are in an ultimate sense empty of any absolute mode of arising, settling, or cessation, and (2) the awareness with a deep certainty that all these dualities are empty of true essence or self-nature" (*Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, p. 211).

72 *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, p. 204.

73 *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, p. 205.

74 Both the Nyingma nine-vehicle system and the Gelug system based on the *Five Stages* would be interesting places to investigate further implicit and explicit Vajrayāna path schemas. There are also countless ways in which these and other Vajrayāna paths are correlated with the progression through the five paths and ten grounds found in Mahāyāna Buddhist literature, and Dakpo Tashi Namgyal's text is no exception. See *Light Rays*, pp. 601–606.

75 *Light Rays*, p. 458.

76 *Light Rays*, p. 459.

77 *Light Rays*, p. 491.

78 *Light Rays*, p. 512.

79 *Light Rays*, pp. 535–536.

80 *Light Rays*, p. 561.

81 According to Roberts, this quotation is from the *Ḍākinīvajrapañjarātantra* (Tib. *Mkha' 'gro ma rdo rje gur zhes bya ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po'i brtag pa*) Toh. 419, rgyud nga, chap. 4, 39a2. See *Mahāmudrā and Related Instructions*, p. 691, n. 1221; p. 729.

82 *Light Rays*, p. 561.

83 *Light Rays*, p. 566.

84 *Light Rays*, p. 577.

85 *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, p. 228.

86 *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, p. 229.

87 *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, p. 232.

88 *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, p. 237.

89 “What is generally known as ‘nondual awareness of intrinsic reality’ is inherent in every substance of reality. If one realizes the intrinsic nature of every thought or appearance, it is not different from awareness itself” (*Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, p. 250).

90 *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, p. 252.

91 On this point, Dakpo Tashi Namgyal writes: “If the meditator maintains an unceasing mindfulness of the mind’s intrinsic essence throughout the postabsorptive consciousness or the emergence of appearances, all undistracted thoughts and appearances will become the postabsorptive perception. By maintaining an unceasing awareness of the mind’s intrinsic reality, one will be able to maintain every emerging perception in its natural mode during the postabsorptive state, and one will also attain the determinate awareness with respect to the abiding nature of every sensory appearance without attempting to alter it. It is of the utmost importance to continuously maintain undistracted mindfulness of the intrinsic nature [of thought or appearance]. This is why mindfulness constitutes the main meditation” (*Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, p. 293).

92 These are one-pointedness (*rtse gcig gi rnal ’byor*), nondiscrimination (*spro bral gyi rnal ’byor*), one-flavor (*ro gcig gi rnal ’byor*), and nonmeditation (*sgom med kyi rnal ’byor*).

93 *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, p. 364.

94 *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, p. 364.

95 *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, p. 365.

96 *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, p. 366.

97 *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, p. 380.

98 *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, p. 380.

99 A thorough analysis of the paths and grounds of Mahāyāna Buddhism is beyond the scope of this paper, so I will not rehearse in detail Dakpo Tashi Namgyal’s interesting arguments and attempts at correlation here. These debates can be found in *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, pp. 408–415.

100 Dakpo Tashi Namgyal also attempts to correlate Mahāyāna paths and grounds with stages of developmental progress through completion stage practice in *Light Rays from the Jewel of the Excellent Teaching*, pp. 601–606.

101 Dakpo Tashi Namgyal seems fairly comfortable in equating the great degree of the yoga of nonmeditation with the tenth Mahāyāna ground (or eleventh in some systems) of buddhahood. He is more particular about where he situates the path of insight and the first ground, breaking with some other

Kagyü commentators by not being willing to attribute them to any stage prior to the lesser degree of the yoga of one flavor. See *Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, pp. 411–412.

102 See Shankman, *The Experience of Samādhi*, 101–104.

103 The possibility of using scientific methods of evaluating the potential similarities in states of concentration will be discussed further in the next section of this paper.

104 *The Path of Purification* VIII.215.

105 *Light Rays*, p. 561.

106 I address possible scientific explanations for this in a forthcoming article, “A Phenomenology of Meditation-Induced Light Experiences: Traditional Buddhist and Neurobiological Perspectives.”

107 The *Mahā-Assapura Sutta* describes this aspect of the fourth *jhāna* as follows: “He sits pervading this body with a pure bright mind, so that there is no part of his whole body unpervaded by the pure bright mind. Just as though a man were sitting covered from the head down with a white cloth, so that there would be no part of whole body unpervaded by the white cloth; so too, a bhikkhu sits pervading his body with a pure bright mind, so that there is no part of his whole body unpervaded by the pure bright mind” (MN I.277).

108 See Andrew Newberg, *Principles of Neurotheology* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010).

109 Klaus Baerentsen, et al., “An Investigation of Brain Processes During Meditation,” *Cognitive Processing* 11/1 (2010): 57.

110 B. Rael Cahn, Arnaud Delorme, and John Polich, “Occipital Gamma Activation during Vipassana Meditation,” *Cognitive Processing* 11/1 (2010): 39.

111 Katya Rubia, “The Neurobiology of Meditation and its Clinical Effectiveness in Psychiatric Disorders,” *Biological Psychology* 82/1 (2009): 2.

112 Marco Sperduti, Pénélope Martinelli, and Pascale Piolino, “A Neurocognitive Model of Meditation based on Activation Likelihood Estimation (ALE) Meta-analysis,” *Consciousness and Cognition* 21 (2012): 269–276.

113 Antoine Lutz, John Dunne, and Richard Davidson, “Meditation and the Neuroscience of Consciousness: An Introduction,” in Philip David Zelazo, Morris Moscovitch, and Evan Thomson, eds., *The Cambridge Handbook of Consciousness* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 499–551; Antoine Lutz, Heleen A. Slagter, John D. Dunne, and Richard J. Davidson, “Attention Regulation and Monitoring in Meditation,” *Trends in Cognitive Science* 12/4 (2008): 163–169.

114 Judson A. Brewer, Patrick D. Worhunsky, Jeremy R. Gray, Yi-Yuan Tang, Jochen Weber, and Hedy Kober, “Meditation Experience is Associated with

Differences in Default Mode Network Activity and Connectivity,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 108/50 (2011): 20254–20259.

115 See the special issue of *Contemporary Buddhism* (12/1 [2011]) dedicated to the exploration of this topic.

116 The characteristics of a “non-judgmental” and “present moment” awareness have been associated with the scientific study of mindfulness since the influential writings of Kabat-Jon Zinn in the 1990s. See, for instance, *Wherever You Go, There You Are: Mindfulness Meditation in Everyday Life* (New York: Hyperion, 1994), p. 4.

117 Sperduti, Martinelli, and Piolino, “A Neurocognitive Model of Meditation,” p. 269.

118 As Dakpo Tashi Namgyal explains in the context of the co-emergence of mind, “Although [calm abiding] and insight are treated as separate aspects, they are in fact inseparable [co-emergence]. [Calm abiding] is inherent in the insight of self-awareness and self-crystallization, while insight is inherent in the quiet nature of the mind. [Calm abiding] and insight are therefore a co-emergent state, concentrating one-pointedly and indivisibly, because insight by itself comprehends and crystallizes a state of [calm abiding] unstained by any perceptive marks” (*Mahāmudrā: The Moonlight*, p. 229). On the role of mindful discernment in navigating the *jhānas*, see MN III.25. On how the four foundations of mindfulness lead to the development of concentration, see SN V.149.

119 See Ven. Anālayo, *Satipatthana: The Direct Path to Realization* (Cambridge, MA: Windhorse Publications, 2003), and Bhikkhu Bodhi, “What Does Mindfulness Really Mean? A Canonical Perspective,” *Contemporary Buddhism* 12/1 (2011): 19–38.

120 Georges Dreyfus, “Is Mindfulness Present-Centered and Non-Judgmental?,” *Contemporary Buddhism* 12/1 (2011): 45.

121 John Dunne, “Towards an Understanding of Non-Dual Mindfulness,” *Contemporary Buddhism* 12/1 (2011): 74, 84.

122 Dunne, “Towards an Understanding of Non-Dual Mindfulness,” p. 75.

123 There are at present only a few experimental studies investigating the potential uniqueness of “nondual” meditation practices among Buddhist practitioners. See Zoran Josipovic, “Duality and Nonduality in Meditation Research,” *Consciousness and Cognition* 19/4 (2010): 1119–1121; Zoran Josipovic, Ilan Dinstein, Jochen Weber, and David J. Heeger, “Influence of Meditation on Anti-Correlated Networks of the Brain,” *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience* 5/183 (2011): 1–11.



## Fractal Journeys: Narrative Structure of the Path and of Tantric Practice

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### INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps the way in which Buddhism is represented most frequently in both popular and scholarly literature is by equating it with meditation. Such representations marginalize the vast array of other kinds of practice found throughout the Buddhist tradition—so much so that the legitimacy as “Buddhist” of non-meditative forms of Buddhist practice is called into question. This is certainly the case with the recitative practices of Pure Land Buddhism (Jp. *shōmyō nenbutsu* 称名念仏), and with the ritual practices found in the tantric Buddhist tradition, where “ritualized meditation” (Skt. *sādhana*) is sometimes understood as efficacious, while other kinds of rituals, such as offerings (*pūjā*), may be treated as pious additions. This essay argues that the ritual practices of tantric Buddhism have a fractal self-similarity to the path (*mārga*), and as such have their own rationale for efficacy, distinct from that commonly given for silent, seated meditation.

The argument proceeds in three steps:

1. Drawing on the work of Hayden White, an argument that praxis has a narrative structure;
2. An analysis of the narrative structure of Buddhist praxis in terms of a three-part structure of ground, path, and goal; and
3. An analysis of tantric ritual structure as reflecting the narrative structure of ground, path, and goal.

While many expositions of the efficacy of silent, seated meditation employ a psychologized concept of how meditation works, the fractal self-similarity of ritual practice and the path reveals a different conception of the efficacy of practice. The goal here is to understand how the practices of tantric ritual may be seen as efficacious from within the tradition, rather than attempting to apply an external theoretical

orientation with the presumption that the latter is in fact somehow fundamentally more explanatory than the traditions' own ways of conceiving efficacy.

#### I. THE NARRATIVE STRUCTURE OF DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE

The idea of narrative as it relates to the formation of the self most often focuses on "personal narrative":<sup>2</sup> the stories about ourselves that we tell ourselves and others.<sup>3</sup> However, I would like to propose that we also consider religious praxis—the relation between practice, doctrine and experience—as narrative, particularly in order to consider how engaging in religious practice produces effects consistent with that narrative. The link between doctrine and practice is sometimes presented as if it is direct, with each and every doctrinal point directly supported by a specific experience generated by practice. Such formulations usually privilege experience as the irreducible and universal<sup>4</sup> foundation on which practice, first, and then doctrine are constructed as superstructures. In contrast to this exegetical rhetoric, however, the relation is looser and much more interrelated, with the three elements mutually supporting one another as a system. The term "praxis" is used here to identify the complex and dynamic mutual dialectics between practice, doctrine, and experience.

Like narratives, religious doctrines provide an understanding of the world, information about how to act, what to think, how to feel. I want to extend the category of "narrative" to include religious praxes (including doctrinal descriptions of the nature of the self and practices related to that description) in a fashion similar to the way in which Hayden White demonstrated the narrative structure of historiography. White employs four modes of emplotment to analyze the narrative structures in accord with which histories have been written: romance, comedy, tragedy, and satire. Drawing on his descriptions of these four narrative modes, we can provide a preliminary reflection on the relation between narrative and religious thought.

"The Romance is fundamentally a drama of self-identification symbolized by the hero's transcendence of the world of experience, his victory over it, and his final liberation from it."<sup>5</sup> White exemplifies the Romance narrative structure with the legend of the Grail and the story of Christ's resurrection—mythoreligious narratives, of which the latter is particularly significant in the formation of Christian doctrinal



conceptions. To the extent that the hero's quest (the principal form of the Romance) has been generalized to the life of the Buddha, as, for example, in the work of Joseph Campbell, the Romance narrative structure has been imposed onto Buddhist thought in the process of its integration into Western popular religious culture as well.<sup>6</sup>

Comedy is characterized as a "provisional release from the divided state in which men find themselves in this world." Not transcendence, victory, or liberation, but reconciliation in which "the condition of society is represented as being purer, saner, and healthier as a result" as a result of apparently "inalterably opposed elements" being harmonized with one another.<sup>7</sup> The comedic dimension of religion seems to have received far too little attention, perhaps because it has been considered part of folk tradition—since it is not serious it must not be worthy of the attention of serious scholars.<sup>8</sup> Consider, however, the importance of Trickster figures such as Coyote in Native American myth and Uncle Tonpa in Tibetan lore, whose plans seem to always backfire, leaving everyone, including, at times, the Trickster, better off than if the original plan had succeeded.<sup>9</sup>

The contrast to Comedy is Tragedy,<sup>10</sup> a state of affairs in which the conditions of human existence are inalterable, implying "that man cannot change them but must work within them."<sup>11</sup> In this regard, we may appropriately think of the Stoics, and also the Stoic interpretations of Buddhism that were prominent in the wake of Arthur Schopenhauer's representations of both Buddhism and Hinduism. Regardless of how the plots unfold, White sees all three of these modes (he distinguishes them from genre as such) taking the agonistic or conflicted character of human existence seriously, such that the primary frame of experience is contestation. The fourth mode, Satire, however, treats contestation and conflict ironically. Satire for White operates "in the atmosphere generated by the apprehension of the ultimate inadequacy of consciousness to live in the world happily or to comprehend it fully."<sup>12</sup> This would seem to be how many religious people think of scientific, postmodern, relativist, or atheist worldviews. While the purpose here is not to systematically match different religious praxes with one or another of these specific categories, these suggestions can help us understand that religious praxis can be interpreted in terms of narrative structures.<sup>13</sup>

The specific narrative structure that informs much of Buddhist praxis is the system known as "ground, path, goal," that is, a description

of the ordinary human condition and its problematic nature (ground), the way in which one moves out of that condition (path), and the nature of what one seeks to ultimately attain (goal).<sup>14</sup> “Ground, path, goal” reveals the underlying narrative structure of Buddhist praxis in the sense of narrative as a temporally developing trajectory (i.e., causally coherent), in which change is reframed as meaningful.<sup>15</sup>

While ground, path, and goal provide a narrative framework, each of the three terms needs to be identified more clearly to give it some content. Here we are in the familiar territory of nearly every introductory exposition of Buddhism, yet it bears repeating in order to highlight the narrative framework provided by these ideas. First, ground: the self-reinforcing repetition of actions (Skt. *saṃsāra*, Jp. *rinne* 輪廻) that lead to frustration and dissatisfaction (*duḥkha*, ku 苦) due to our mistaken conceptions (*jñeyāvaraṇa*, *shochishō* 所知商障) and misplaced affections (*kleśāvaraṇa*, *bonnōshō* 煩惱障). What is important in this diagnosis of the human condition is that the relation between mistaken conceptions and misplaced affections, that is, between thought and emotion, does not set them up as a disjunct pair but rather as a closely integrated system in which each reinforces the other.

The question, then, for the second stage, the path, is: What is the point of entry that allows for disrupting the close systemic relation between mistaken conceptions and misplaced affections? Emotional reactions occur very quickly, and are therefore very difficult to hold onto long enough to engage with critically. Ideas about how things are in the world move more slowly, and can, therefore, be more easily engaged. (This is substantiated by current understandings of neural processing. Emotions are primarily processed by the hippocampus, and are much quicker to arise than reflective thought, which is processed through the neocortex.)<sup>16</sup> Thus, despite the rhetoric of Buddhist modernism, which interprets reflective thought as an obstacle to awakening, the best entry point into the system for effecting transformation is addressing mistaken conceptions.

As Jeffrey Hopkins puts it,

Because of this basic perspective, namely that false ideation traps beings in a round of suffering, *reasoned* investigation into the nature of persons and other phenomena is central to the process of spiritual development, though not its only concern.<sup>17</sup>

Unlike the common anti-intellectual notion that such learning is empty of any significance because it is “merely theoretical,” this kind

of training in Buddhist philosophy is “primarily studied not to refute other systems but to develop an internal force that can counteract one’s own *innate* adherence to misapprehensions.”<sup>18</sup> Hopkins points out that such doctrinal training is part of a three-stage discipline. First, one hears, or in contemporary terms, reads a classic text.<sup>19</sup> Second, one thinks about the meaning of the text. And, third, one reflectively meditates on the meaning in order to grasp it fully, so that it changes one’s apprehension of the world. In other words, what is transformative is specifically practice that is focused on and directed by doctrine. One has moved from the emotional turmoil and cognitive error of the ground, where ignorance is the driving factor, into a disciplined and systematic reflection on and integration of the truths of the doctrinal system.

The notion is sometimes presented that Buddhist practice is both free from doctrinal constraints and has as its goal freedom from doctrinal constraints—that it is (somehow) a pure reflection on the nature of consciousness that will spontaneously produce insight into the nature of reality and liberate one from suffering, automatically making the practitioner more compassionate and ethical in his or her relations with others. This is one of the fundamental errors in many modernist representations of Buddhist practice. This misapprehension preserves an almost behaviorist conception of the mind as a mechanism that can be modified at will, and of meditation as one of a variety of context- and value-neutral mental technologies that can be employed to effect such changes. Such conceptions of the mind constitute the rhetorical frame for the idea that practice and doctrine are separate and independent of one another. If we accept the notion that all existing things are interdependent as foundational for Buddhism generally, then the modernist Buddhist idea that practice and doctrine are independent of one another is contrary to that fundamental teaching. Of course, this argument, based on the idea that interdependence is foundational for Buddhism, is basically a doctrinal argument, and as such is significant only for those who already accept the truth of interdependence. However, from a broader perspective than Buddhist thought *per se*, all practice always has a doctrinal context, whether it is made explicit, as with Buddhist philosophy, or left implicit, as in the societal values of personal success that informs much self-help literature.

The ease with which the idea that Buddhist practice is free of doctrinal constraints has been accepted is a consequence of it being overdetermined by (1) the high valuation placed on spontaneity in the

creative or religious genius in Romantic<sup>20</sup> and neo-Romantic religious thought, pervasive in contemporary popular religious culture; and, (2) the plentiful rhetoric in Buddhism that the purpose of practice is the attainment of “higher, non-conceptual states.”<sup>21</sup> We might note first that these putative “higher, nonconceptual states” are specific levels of being postulated within a medieval cosmology, and second that within traditional Buddhist descriptions of the path attainment of such states is predicated upon systematic and sophisticated intellectual training.

In contrast to neo-Romantic modernist representations of Buddhist praxis as “pure” unreflective spontaneity, this idea of higher, non-conceptual states is not anti-intellectual abandonment of reflective thought. Doctrine is integral to practice itself, and is not merely a set of claims to be believed because they bear the authority of a religious figure or institution. In fact, the two—doctrine and practice—cannot be treated separately. Practice is always contextualized by doctrine. This is the case even if it is claimed that the actual practice is simply a mental exercise (what used to be called “mental hygiene”), or when it is claimed that there is no doctrinal commitment required for practice. (The second is paradoxical since it is itself a doctrinal claim.) The integrity and inseparability of ritual and practice is key to understanding the narrative structure of tantric Buddhist practice.

## II. RITUAL IDENTIFICATION AND DEITY YOGA

One of the characteristics found in one form or another throughout the tantric traditions is the practice of identifying oneself with the deity.<sup>22</sup> David Germano has placed the origin of these kinds of practices in the Upaniṣadic period, and notes that we can trace

a gradual shift from pure encounters with an autonomous Buddha appearing in the field of vision, to an ideology of identity-transference where the Buddha descends as a gnostic spirit (*ye she babs*) directly into the practitioner’s own body, which has already been imaginatively transfigured into the Buddha’s surface body image: from encounter to identification. This profoundly non-Vedic element of standard and widespread self-identification with deity of course had already entered post-Vedic forms of discourse and practice from the Upanishadic literature onwards.<sup>23</sup>

It has been claimed that the motivation for such practices, and one of the main forces motivating the development of Mahāyāna

generally, was the absence of the Buddha from this realm. Within the early Mahāyāna Buddhist movement there is the desire for a direct encounter with a buddha in order to receive a prediction about one's attainment of full awakening in the future. (The desire to receive new teachings rather than a personal prediction of future awakening seems to be a later development following from visionary experiences.) The trajectory of development traced by Germano falls into three broad (non-mutually exclusive) stages. (1) Their trajectory begins with Pure Land practices intended to lead to birth in a buddha field (*buddhakṣetra*) where one can directly encounter a buddha and become a member of his retinue. (2) On that basis, meditative practices of intense concentration intended to create spontaneous visionary encounters with a buddha develop, such as those found in the *Pratyutpannasamādhisūtra*.<sup>24</sup> (3) These tantric practices of identification then move the buddha from an external presence that is experienced to one's own being in the world, that is, the experience and identification of oneself as an awakened one.

Although practices involving ritual identification are widespread in the tantric world, these are only one of a variety of related visualization practices. Addressing the range of practices related to deity yoga, Germano has proposed a three-part progression based on a reading of Tibetan doxography, specifically extrapolating from the Mahāyoga text "An Esoteric Precept: The Garland of Views" (late ninth century, attributed to Padmasambhava) which adds a "great perfection mode" to the more familiar two-part generation and perfection modes of practice. The practice under consideration here is the first of these three, which he describes as "the visualization practices that involve scripted imaginal evocations (*sādhana*, *sgrub thabs*) of pre-described forms of a Buddha located either external to oneself, or, in what came to be known as deity yoga, transmuting the practitioner's own bodily self-perception."<sup>25</sup> We are here considering just the first mode, which can also be considered a form of "guided imagery."

Identification of the practitioner with the main deity (Jp. *honzon*, 本尊) forms the symbolically central act in many Shingon rituals.<sup>26</sup> Similarly, Tsongkhapa distinguished the practices of *sūtra* Mahāyāna (also known as the "perfection vehicle" because of its foundation in the teachings of the Perfection of Wisdom literature) from tantra Mahāyāna (also known as the "mantra vehicle") on the basis of the absence of ritual identification, or deity yoga, in the former and its presence in the latter. The Tibetan expression that is equivalent to ritual

identification, *lha'i rnal 'byor* (ལྷའི་རྣལ་འབྱེད་) is usually glossed in English as “deity yoga.” (Daniel Cozort gives the Sanskrit as *devatā yoga*.)<sup>27</sup>

Hopkins describes deity yoga, rather succinctly, as “the meditative practice of imagining oneself to be an ideal being fully endowed with compassion and wisdom and their resultant altruistic activities.”<sup>28</sup> Elsewhere, summarizing the Fifth Dalai Lama’s explication of Tsongkhapa’s discourse, Hopkins writes that “Deity yoga means to imagine oneself as having the Form Body of a Buddha now; one meditates on oneself in the aspect of a Buddha’s Form Body.”<sup>29</sup> Greater emphasis is placed on the fact that it is the “form body” (*saṃbhogakāya*) with which the practitioner identifies, as distinct from the “truth body” (*dharmakāya*), which is the nature of *sūtra Mahāyāna* meditation.

In the Perfection Vehicle, there is meditation similar in aspect to a Buddha’s *Truth Body*—a Buddha’s wisdom consciousness. A Bodhi-sattva enters into meditative equipoise directly realizing emptiness with nothing appearing to the mind except the final nature of phenomena, the emptiness of inherent existence; the wisdom consciousness is fused with that emptiness.<sup>30</sup>

Daniel Cozort describes the *sādhana* of Kālacakra, in which the ritually central action is the union between the deity evoked and the practitioner. Kālacakra, a manifestation of Akṣobhya, is visualized as “an impressive black or dark blue man” residing at the center of the cosmos, standing on a huge lotus, embracing his consort Viśvamātā, who is yellow in color, in sexual union (*yabyum*).<sup>31</sup> They are in the middle of a large mandala palace, surrounded by a retinue of over 700 emanations of themselves, in a landscape enclosed by a boundary of *vajras*. Working through the various preparatory ritual steps and the seven stages of *pūjā* offerings,

One imagines that Kālacakra dissolves into one’s crown and that one now is Kālacakra in the brilliant circle of mansion and deities, emanating fierce protective deities from one’s heart and uttering the divine speech associated with all deities. The deities melt, dissolving into oneself; oneself also dissolves, but then re-forms as Kālacakra, whereupon one renews one’s vows and pledges.<sup>32</sup>

Many of the rituals in the Shingon tradition’s ritual corpus have a central action known as “visualizing entering me, me entering” (Jp. *nyū ga ga nyū kan*, Skt. *ahaṃkāra*, 入我我入觀). In this, just as in Tibetan deity yoga practices, the practitioner visualizes becoming identical with the chief deity of the ritual.

Hopkins identifies one of the concerns that may arise in relation to such practices by the term “inflation,”<sup>33</sup> a negative condition of grandiosity, such as “thinking that one is God.” He borrows this term from Carl Jung’s works, especially those that address the potentially dangerous consequences of Westerners engaging in yogic practices. Hopkins argues, however, that the fundamental corrective for inflation is already built into the larger religious context of such practices: specifically, the preliminary ethical practices (*śīla*), and the doctrinal emphasis on emptiness (*śūnyatā*), both of which serve to moderate the tendency of the ego toward self-aggrandizement.

### III. THE CONTEXT OF PRACTICE: ŚĪLA AND EMPTINESS

Buddhist praxis was codified as an integrated system by many different Buddhist thinkers. One rather widespread system for organizing praxis is that employed by Buddhaghosa as the overall structure of his *Path of Purification* (*Visuddhimagga*): ethical training (*śīla*), contemplation (*samādhi*), and wisdom (*prajñā*).<sup>34</sup> Ethical training (*śīla*) is a preliminary foundation for any kind of meditative practice (*samādhi*, *dhyāna*, *śamatha-vipaśyanā*, *pūjā*, or any of the other variety of practices developed over the course of Buddhist history). On the basis of these two, the practitioner is able to develop wisdom (*prajñā*)—insight into emptiness.

Buddhist conceptions of ethics are for the most part based on the idea of karma. By paying attention to the consequences of one’s actions, the practitioner will be motivated to desist from engaging in actions that impede realization, and to engage in actions that are conducive to awakening. This in turn points to the importance of the intent to attain awakening (*bodhicitta*). In *The Great Treatise on the Stages of the Path to Enlightenment*, Tsongkhapa explains that the practitioner who is motivated by the desire for awakening, and committed to its attainment, takes the karmic process itself as an object of reflection.

Thus, having understood virtuous and nonvirtuous karma and their effects, do not leave it at just an understanding but meditate on it over and over, because this is a very obscure subject and it is difficult to acquire certainty about it.<sup>35</sup>

Tsong kha pa goes on to demonstrate the integral nature of Buddhist praxis by linking his discussion of karma with emptiness:



Some, who claim that they have acquired certain knowledge of emptiness, are uncertain about karma and its effects and do not value it. This is a mistaken understanding of emptiness. For, once you understand emptiness, you will see that it is the meaning of dependent-arising, and it will assist you in becoming certain about karma and its effects.<sup>36</sup>

As indicated by Hopkins, then, all types of meditation—including the ritualized practice of tantric *sādhana* in which the practitioner identifies with the deity—is framed by the dual teaching of karma: ethical training (*śīla*) and emptiness, that is, wisdom (*prajñā*).

In the form associated with the *Pratyutpanna-samādhi-sūtra* alluded to above, identification is firmly conditioned by contemplation of emptiness, and this is central to understanding the significance of the practice of the identity of practitioner and buddha. Germano summarizes:

In this context, there are extended discussions of emptiness which strongly stress the importance of integrating concentration on the Buddha's visual form with an understanding of emptiness. This integration of Buddha cults and emptiness is an important precursor to the ideology of deity yoga, where the mind perceiving emptiness is none other than that which appears in the form of the deity's body.<sup>37</sup>

This emphasis on emptiness continues into the identification practices of tantra, and may serve as at least a general marker distinguishing Buddhist tantra from Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava forms of tantra. In the practice of identifying with the deity, emptiness being of a single nature, the mutual emptiness of self and deity is understood as that which makes the identification possible.<sup>38</sup> Thus, emptiness is not primarily understood as a metaphysical doctrine that somehow comes to be applied to practice, but rather as that which is the very nature of existence and which makes practice effective. It is simply a label that we employ to describe the character of existence—that all existing entities exist solely as the result of causes and conditions.

While it is one thing to be able to understand the imaginal body as “like a dream or a mirage,” the visionary unification of practitioner and deity, so that the practitioner experiences existing as the awakened one, reflexively creates an awareness of the practitioner's own emptiness as well. Georgios Halkias has described the conception of identification in relation to the realization, literally, the “making real,” of the practitioner's intrinsic nature as already being awakened (that is, their buddha-nature):

In deity-yoga the practitioner visualizes himself or herself to be already fully enlightened in the body and with the speech and mind of a particular Buddha or chosen deity (*vidam*) drawn from the Vajrayāna pantheon. Vajrayāna is also called the vehicle of fruit or result (Phalayāna), for it presupposes the inherent Buddha-nature of the practitioner working to a state of realization from inside out—exemplified in the union of “acting like a Buddha” and “being one.”<sup>39</sup>

We have mentioned that ritual identification constitutes the central ritual action in many Shingon tantric ritual practices. This identification is based upon a foundation of moral training (*śīla*), and is held within the conceptual system of emptiness (*śūnyatā*). As a ritual action, identification takes place within the narrative structure of the ritual.

#### IV. GROUND, PATH, AND GOAL AS THE NARRATIVE STRUCTURE OF TANTRIC RITUAL

We have suggested above that the three-part structure of ground, path, and goal provides a narrative frame for Buddhist praxis—including doctrinal analyses of the ordinary human condition, expositions of the stages of the path, and considerations of the efficacy of practice, as well as reflections on the nature of awakening and of buddhahood. More specifically, however, the ground, path, and goal schema provides the narrative structure of tantric Buddhist practice. Such practices, then, are not simply items to be placed within the category of “path” but rather recreate within the ritual practice itself the entire narrative of awakening. This “reflection in miniature,” as it were, is what I am referring to by the term “fractal” in the title of this essay.

Characteristic of fractal patterns is that each smaller element replicates the same pattern as a larger one. Such patterns are familiar from the visual images generated mathematically known as Mandelbrot sets, which are now used extensively in computer animation. These patterns are described as “self-similar.” The whole has the same shape as one or more of its parts. Such self-similarity is familiar in nature, both in physical structures, such as coastlines, and in organic structures, such as the relation between a head of broccoli and its florets. A related concept is recursion, as, for example, in generative linguistics when a rule is applied repeatedly to the previous product of that same rule. This fractal relation of self-similarity also holds between the structure of the path and the structure of tantric ritual practice. Both employ the

structure of ground, path, and goal, and thus ritual practice is “self-similar” to the path. I believe that this fractal self-similarity explains the understanding of ritual efficacy in tantric traditions that employ rituals of these kinds, and in other traditions that have adopted similar doctrinal understandings.

The pattern of many Shingon ritual practices may be briefly summarized as follows.

The practitioner enters the hall of practice as a normal human being, a simple foolish person (*prthagjana*, *bonbu* 凡夫), and enters onto the path. Most clearly, the generation of *bodhicitta* marks entry onto the path, not only in path schemas but also as a specific ritual act. Having entered onto the path, the tantric practitioner then proceeds with various other ritual acts that are informed by the Buddhist use of the more general Indian offering ritual practice *pūjā*,<sup>40</sup> which differ from the more familiar emphasis on silent, seated meditation but are nonetheless a form of practice on the path. At the culmination of the ritual performance, the practitioner ritually identifies with the chief deity. Doing so, he or she *becomes* the buddha evoked in the ritual, experiencing the view of the world, him- or herself, and others in the way that buddhas do, as empty, and thus attains the goal.

In this abbreviated description of tantric Buddhist rituals, the narrative structure of ground, path, and goal is evident. Following the central act of ritual identification, which is attainment of the goal understood as the direct experience of one’s own awakened nature, that is, being a buddha, the practitioner repeats the practice in roughly reverse order and ends the ritual. This is not, however, an isolated instance of this larger, symmetrical narrative structure of ground, path, goal, path, ground.

This five-part version of the narrative structure implicitly conveys a conception of the relation between wisdom (*prajñā*) and compassion (*karuṇā*) that leads the practitioner back into his or her conventional self-identity. It is perhaps not uncommon to think of the path as leading to some static endpoint of unmoving, unchanging, absolute awareness—a dead-end, though the term might seem impious. But when the goal of buddhahood is conceived of as a state to be attained permanently, an absolute state without change, then the end of the path has been reached and forward motion stops.<sup>41</sup> This would be the condition of an arhat or *pratyekabuddha*, soteriological states that are critiqued as inferior in many Mahāyāna texts.

In the ritual schema, however, the closing sequence following the act of identification requires the practitioner to “dis-identify” from the chief deity, close the ritual, and leave the hall to return to his or her present involvement with the world, as well as to their conventional, socially defined self-identity. A dismissive interpretation of this would be that the ritual didn’t work and a permanent transformation of the practitioner into a buddha was not achieved. I believe, however, that such a facile interpretation entirely misunderstands the dynamics of both practice and path as understood within the Mahāyāna conception of awakening as *both* wisdom and compassion.

Four examples drawn from other Mahāyāna traditions may help the reader see the nature of tantric ritual practice as closely adhering to more general conceptions of practice and awakening as dynamic. The first is based on a personal experience in Zen training. As a short-term lay practitioner at Tassajara Zen Mountain Center in California, I was informed that work in the temple and its grounds—cleaning the temple hall, sweeping the walkways, weeding the garden, and the like—was also meditation. There was a systematic progression from seated meditation to walking meditation, to doing simple chores, to doing more complex ones. Awareness developed on the cushion was not intended to stay on the cushion but was to be carried out into one’s daily activities in the world. This extension of meditation practice into daily activity was graduated in accord with the practitioner’s ability. Indeed, as a beginner I had been responsible for very easy tasks that were not particularly demanding or disruptive of a calm and centered state of mind. However, when driving out from Tassajara I noticed road maintenance work being done, including moving boulders that had fallen onto the roadway during a recent rainstorm, and I was surprised to see that the most senior students were engaged in this physically demanding project, one potentially most disruptive to their meditative equipoise.

Similarly, in some portrayals of the ten, or twelve, ox-herding pictures<sup>42</sup> of the Chan/Zen tradition familiar to many readers, the sequence ends with a portrayal of the practitioner “returning to the marketplace.” We can understand this as the same idea regarding the necessity for the practitioner not to remain in an exalted state of absorption once achieved, but rather to return to live in the world with the awareness generated by meditative practice itself.

The same basic idea is also expressed in Shin Buddhist thought by the pairing of the desire to go to Sukhāvati (ōsō 往相) with the desire

to return (*gensō* 還相). Taitetsu Unno has interpreted “returning to samsaric existence” (*gensō-ekō* 還相廻向) as the “ultimate manifestation of compassion,” which “completes the progression on the path to enlightenment.”<sup>43</sup> Last, the *Jōdo-ron* (浄土論, T. 1524), attributed to Vasubandhu, is structured into five “gates,” the last of which is characterized as “leaving the garden” (the Pure Land), and returning to the world of ordinary life. Thus, not only does the narrative structure of ground, path, and goal found in tantric ritual practice reflect that of the path generally, the section of the ritual that follows the identification of practitioner with deity, in which the ritual is closed and the practitioner returns to “ordinary” life, is also reflected in the understandings of practice as leading to an awakened engagement with the samsaric realm found in other Buddhist traditions as well.

What we are seeing in the fractal relation between tantric ritual practice and the path is effectively a ritualized version of the doctrinal view described by Paul Groner as “the shortening of the path.”<sup>44</sup> This shortening of the path is found throughout Kamakura-era Buddhism in one form or another, all of which may have derived from the tantric teachings that came into Japanese Buddhism through Kūkai’s Shingon and the tantric portion of Saichō’s Tendai. Known in Kūkai’s terminology as “becoming awakened in this very body” (*sokushin jōbutsu*, 即身成佛), this radical claim, common to all tantric Buddhism, holds that the practices are effective enough to lead to awakening in a single lifetime.

This notion is based on the belief that one is in fact already awakened and needs only to engage in the proper practices to realize that fact. Thus, in one sense, the ground is already identical with the goal. This suggests that Japanese understandings of tantric practice share a common Indian source with the Tibetan conception of tantric practice as the “resultant vehicle”<sup>45</sup> (literally, “the path of the fruit,” *phalayāna*); in other words, the path is itself the goal. These ideas are themselves part of the larger concept of “sudden awakening” found in many forms of Buddhist conceptualizations of the path.

#### CONCLUSION: FRACTAL RELATIONS BETWEEN PRACTICE AND PATH

Throughout the tradition, Buddhist praxis has a shared narrative structure: the three stages of ground, path, and goal, which in Buddhist thought are commonly understood as frustrating repetitive behaviors (ground), attention to the nature of one’s existence and the

consequence of one's mental, verbal, and bodily actions (path), and freedom from the delusions that drive the round of frustrating repetitive actions (goal). This narrative structure is also the organizing structure of tantric Buddhist ritual practices such as ritual identification, or deity yoga. The practitioner begins as an ordinary person, engages in practices (such as *pūjā* offerings) that lead to entering into union with the deity evoked, made possible by the uniformity of the emptiness of both deity and self, as well as of all existing things; then, separating, he or she returns to being themselves but with an awareness of the emptiness of the self. The fractal self-similarity of ritual practice and the path provides an understanding of why tantric Buddhist ritual is structured in the way that it is.

#### NOTES

1 This is a revised and, it is hoped, much more coherent version of the paper "The Self is a Self-Constructing Construct: Narrative and Buddhist Praxis," given as part of the conference "The Storied Self: Buddhist Narrativity in Comparative Context" organized by Mark Unno at the University of Oregon, Eugene, October 19–21, 2012. My thanks to Prof. Unno for inviting me to participate in that conference, and to Prof. Jared Lindahl for his responses to my presentation. I also want to thank Mr. Cody Bahir for reviewing the earlier draft and offering his reflections on these topics as well. The conference presentation draft was published under the title "The Self is a Self-Constructing Construct: Narrative and Buddhist Praxis," Center for Humanities, Science, and Religion, *Annual Report of 2012* (Kyoto: Ryukoku University, 2013), pp. 360–371.

2 See, for example, Timothy D. Wilson, *Strangers to Ourselves: Discovering the Adaptive Unconscious* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), Chapter 8: "Introspection and Self-Narratives," pp. 159–181.

3 Dan McAdams has done extensive work on the narrative construction of the self, for example in *The Stories We Live By: Personal Myths and the Making of the Self* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1993). In his own study of narratives in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, Shubha Pathak summarizes this concisely, noting that McAdams "equates identity with a 'life story,' a 'personal myth' that an individual invents over the course of his late adolescence and adulthood to make sense of the events of his past, present and future. Although this narrative is inside him, it incorporates elements from his social environment. Among these elements are the stories he hears being passed down as part of his cultural tradition" ("Why do Displaced Kings Become Poets in the Sanskrit Epics? Modeling *Dharma* in the Affirmative *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Interrogative *Mahābhārata*" *Hindu Studies* 10 (2006): 145). We should also note that the "narrative milieu" within which a person matures is not cleanly delineated

between stories of the cultural tradition and those of familial tradition.

4 See James L. Fredericks, "A Universal Religious Experience? Comparative Theology as an Alternative to a Theology of Religions," *Horizons* 22/1 (1995): 67–87.

5 Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), p. 8.

6 While the hero's journey or quest has been taken as paradigmatic, broader conceptions of the Romance narrative can perhaps provide a better understanding of the emplotment of the Buddha's life, rather than forcing it into the mold formed from tales of Osiris, Prometheus, and Gawain. Rather than abstracting out aspects of the life of the Buddha to match the framework of the hero's quest, the way in which the Buddha's life narrative has provided a model for religious practice in Buddhism itself would provide a methodologically more appropriate approach. An initial effort in this direction can be found in my "Individuation and Awakening: Romantic Narrative and the Psychological Interpretation of Buddhism," in Mark Unno, ed., *Buddhism and Psychotherapy Across Cultures: Essays on Theories and Practices* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2006), pp. 31–51.

7 White, *Metahistory*, p. 9.

8 Exceptions include David Shulman's *The King and the Clown in South Indian Myth and Poetry* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), many of Wendy Doniger's studies, and the works of Lee Siegel, especially his *Laughing Matters: Comic Tradition in India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

9 The provisional character of resolution noted by White is perhaps why there are so many such stories, in which the Trickster continually goes on to another scheme.

10 White's fourfold categorization of narrative to comparative studies cannot be applied uncritically to crosscultural comparisons. For example, Siegel contends that the view that comedy and tragedy are opposites, as indicated by the paired comedic and tragic masks, a widespread theatrical convention in the West, is a cultural convention. "The comic sentiment is not understood in India as a dichotomous principle in relation to a tragic one; it is rather a mood which arises out of an opposition to, or parody of, any of the aesthetic flavors" (Siegel, *Laughing Matters*, p. 8).

11 White, *Metahistory*, p. 9.

12 White, *Metahistory*, p. 10.

13 Two important questions arise in thinking about religious doctrine generally, and Buddhism specifically, within this analytic framework. The first is whether or not there are more narrative structures appropriate for the analysis of religious doctrine than these four, which White has identified



as relevant for the analysis of the narrative character of historiography. The second is whether or not there is something uniquely “Western” about these modes.

14 Although discussed here as a specifically Buddhist formulation, I believe that it can be extended to describe other religious systems as well—as an interpretive device, if not as a necessarily accurate reflection of an emic organization of a religious system other than Buddhism.

15 I note that this structure—ground, path, goal—differs from the three-part structure at the basis of Christianity and much of other Western religions, philosophy, and psychology—that of unity, fall, and redemption. While the latter projects backward in time to an originally pure and harmonious past, contributing no doubt to a persistent mode of nostalgia, the Buddhist system starts with the present condition, the ground of human existence as it is found now. (This difference gives Buddhist thought some similarity to existentialism, and perhaps helps to highlight the distinction between existentialism, eschewing metaphysics as it does, and other forms of Western thought, informed by the three-part structure of unity, fall, and redemption.)

16 One rationale for quiet contemplative reflection on the working of the mind is to slow it down enough to be able to grasp clearly the link between one’s own mistaken conceptions and misplaced affections and the ongoing round of repetitive suffering.

17 Jeffrey Hopkins, “The Tibetan Genre of Doxography: Structuring a World-view,” in José Ignacio Cabezón and Roger R. Jackson, eds., *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre* (Ithaca, New York: Snow Lion, 1996), p. 171.

18 Hopkins, “The Tibetan Genre of Doxography,” p. 171.

19 This suggests an important difference between substantive texts and ones that merely reinforce existing prejudices and preconceptions. The effort involved in sustained attention and reflection on a difficult text may be a reflection of its transformative potential. Of course, what constitutes a difficult text that requires sustained attention and reflection will differ depending on the reader. When I read J. R. Tolkien’s *Lord of the Rings* trilogy at the age of 13, sustained attention and reflection was required. Now, however, I would probably find these works unchallenging.

20 See Tim Blanning, *The Romantic Revolution: A History* (New York: Modern Library, 2011), pp. 24–29.

21 See Michel Bitbol, “The Co-Emergence of the Knower and the Known: A Comparison between Madhyamaka and Kant’s Epistemology,” in D. K. Nauriyal, Michael S. Drummond, and Y. B. Lal, eds., *Buddhist Thought and Applied Psychological Research: Transcending the Boundaries* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 132.

22 This should not be understood as the defining characteristic of tantra for two reasons. First, as a polythetically unified tradition there are various strands that make up tantra. Ronald Davidson, for example, has shown that the mandalic symbolism equating the emperor and his court with a buddha and his retinue is at least equally “definitive.” Ronald Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), Chapter 4: “The Victory of Esoterism and the Imperial Metaphor.” Similarly, there are forms of tantra in which the theology is strongly dualistic, and the nature of identification in those traditions differs from the kinds being discussed here. See Richard K. Payne, “Ritual Studies in the *Longue Durée*: Comparing Shingon and Śaiva Siddhānta Homas,” *Pacific World: Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*, third series, no. 13 (Fall 2011): 223–262. Second, other forms of tantra such as Jain tantra, and Islamic forms have only begun to be studied and written about, and these materials have only recently become accessible, thus precluding any definitive claims about ritual identification in those forms of tantra.

23 David Germano, “The Shifting Terrain of the Tantric Bodies of Buddhas and Buddhists from an Atiyoga Perspective,” in Ramon Prats, ed., *The Pandita and the Siddha: Tibetan Studies in Honour of E. Gene Smith* (Dharamsala, India: Amnye Machen Institute, 2007), p. 53.

24 One codification of such practices is found in the Tiantai school. In his *Mohe zhiguan* (T. 1911; 摩訶止觀, Jp. *Makashikan*) Zhiyi (538–597, 智顗, Jp. Chigi) identified four *samādhis* (Jp. *shishu zammai* 四種三昧): constant sitting (Jp. *jōza zammai* 常坐三昧), constant walking (Jp. *jōgyō zammai* 常行三昧, associated with the *Pratyutpanna-samādhi-sūtra*), both walking and sitting (Jp. *hangyō hanza zammai* 半行半坐三昧, associated with the *Lotus Sutra*), and neither sitting nor walking (Jp. *higyō hiza zammai* 非行非坐三昧). See Paul Swanson, “Ch’an and Chih-kuan: T’ient-t’ai Chih-i’s View of ‘Zen’ and the Practice of the *Lotus Sutra*,” paper presented at “The *Lotus Sutra* and Zen,” 2002 International Lotus Sutra Conference, Tokyo. Of the four meditation practices, the constant walking *samādhi* is a particularly rigorous, indeed grueling, 90-day practice still performed on occasion on Hieizan, the center of Tendai Buddhism in Japan. See the lecture series by Tesshin Michimoto, “Mt. Hiei and the Pure Land,” 2013 Ryūkoku Lecture Series, Institute of Buddhist Studies, March 13, 20, 27 (audiofiles available soon on the IBS electronic archive, <http://podcast.shin-ibs.edu/>). The incredibly demanding constant walking *samādhi* as practiced on Hieizan is expected to produce visions of Amida and his Pure Land.

25 Germano, “The Shifting Terrain,” p. 52. For the interested reader, the other two are described by Germano as “(ii) non-conceptual and image-free meditation following the dissolution of imaginal processes, the transition of visualizations into spontaneous naturally occurring visions, or subtle body praxis involving detailed representations of the body’s interior that goes hand

in hand with the explosion of horrific and sexual imagery; and (iii) the radical deconstruction of complex deity-yoga centered tantric contemplation that tends to aestheticize the cruder aspects of tantric focus on sexuality, violence and death, while contemplatively favoring either strict non-conceptual states, simple visualizations or imaginal processes that are centered around more spontaneous image flow" (p. 52). In terms from psychology, we may consider the first two to correspond to "guided imagery" and "active imagination." The third seems to correlate to a transformation of the primitive/emotional material that is manifested objectively in the visualization in the service of psychological wholeness (in psychological terms) or awakening (in Buddhist terms).

26 Dale A. Todaro, an important contributor to the study of Shingon thought in Western languages, has already suggested the unity of Shingon ritual identification and Tibetan Vajrayāna deity yoga in "A Study of the Earliest *Garbha Vidhi* of the Shingon Sect," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 9/2 (1986): 118.

27 Daniel Cozort, "Sādhana (sGrub thabs): Means of Achievement for Deity Yoga," in José Ignacio Cabezón and Roger R. Jackson, eds., *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre* (Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion, 1996), p. 332. As this is the only instance of rendering this term as *devatā yoga* that I have encountered in researching deity yoga, I wonder whether it is a back-translation into Sanskrit from the Tibetan.

28 Jeffrey Hopkins, "Paradigm Change in Meditation on Selflessness in Tibetan Buddhism: The Progression from Space-Like Meditative Equipose to Deity Yoga," in *Proceedings of Conference on Modern Tibetan Studies* (Taipei: Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission, 2003), p. 235.

29 Jeffrey Hopkins, "Reason as the Prime Principle in Tsong kha pa's Delineation of Deity Yoga as the Demarcation Between Sūtra and Tantra," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 7/2 (1984): 99–100. Note that at this point Hopkins in turn cites Tsong-Ka-Pa (Tsong kha pa), *Tantra in Tibet: The Great Exposition of Secret Mantra*, Jeffrey Hopkins, tr. (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1977), pp. 61–65, 115–116.

30 Hopkins, "Reason as the Prime Principle," p. 100.

31 Cozort, "Sādhana," p. 331.

32 Cozort, "Sādhana," p. 336.

33 Hopkins, *Tantric Techniques* (Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2008), Chapter 3: pp. 65–82.

34 Cf. Jared Lindahl, "Self-Transformation According to Buddhist Stages of the Path Literature," *Pacific World: Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies* 3/14 (2013): 241–285.

35 Tsong-kha-pa, *The Great Treatise on the Stages of the Path to Enlightenment* (Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2000), pp. 247–248.

36 Tsong-kha-pa, *The Great Treatise*, p. 248.

37 Germano, “The Shifting Terrain,” p. 54.

38 The relation between deity yoga and emptiness was contradictory for some in the tradition. Deity yoga, since it involved focusing on a conceptual formation, could not lead to insight into emptiness. According to Thomas F. Yarnall, a key issue for Tsong kha pa’s tantric discourse, “The Great Stages of Mantra,” is the integration of conceptual and nonconceptual yogas; in other words, the integration of deity yoga and emptiness (“The Emptiness that is Form: Developing the Body of Buddhahood in Indo-Tibetan Buddhist Tantra” [Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 2003], esp. pp. 219 ff.).

39 Georgios Halkias, “Buddhist Meditation Traditions in Tibet: The Union of the Three Vehicles, a Tibetan Perspective,” in Sarah Shaw, ed., *Introduction to Buddhist Meditation* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 161.

40 For a discussion of the organizing structures of *pūjā*, see Śāntideva’s *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, Kate Crosby and Andrew Skilton, trans. (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 10–11. It is worth pointing out that Crosby and Skilton discuss in the commentary to the first chapter the use of the organizing structure of the *pūjā* for structuring the text of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, i.e., a ritual structure being employed as a narrative structure.

41 This raises many problematic issues within Buddhist thought regarding the nature of a buddha, and while the scope of this essay cannot incorporate a review of the issues, two basic conceptions can be mentioned here. In one conception, upon death a buddha who has attained complete awakening (*anuttara-samyak-saṃbodhi*) simply ceases to exist; all karmic consequences of his life has been extinguished, and there will be no further rebirth. In the other conception, as “unconditioned” (*asamskrta*), nirvana is interpreted as a permanent, eternal, absolute, unchanging nature or status. This latter interpretation supports the imagery of cosmic buddhas presently existing and accessible to us. It seems to me that it may be impossible to resolve these two understandings, and that there is a philosophical incoherence in arguing for an understanding of buddhahood that is both permanent, eternal, absolute, and unchanging, and at the same time compassionate and active. Ultimately, however, these are simply intersubjective entities, conceptual in existence and consensual in character—there is no objective referent against which such claims may be either validated or invalidated.

42 Cf. Paramita Paul, “Wandering Saints: Chan Eccentrics in the Art and Culture of Song and Yuan China” (Ph.D. dissertation, Universiteit Leiden, 2009), pp. 237–245.

43 Taitetsu Unno, "The Concept of Gratitude in Shin Buddhism," *Pacific World: Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*, n.s. 1 (Fall 1985): 30.

44 Paul Groner, "Shortening the Path: Early Tendai Interpretations of the Realization of Buddhahood with this Very Body," in Robert E. Buswell, Jr. and Robert M. Gimello, eds., *Paths to Liberation: The Mārga and Its Transformations in Buddhist Thought* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1992).

45 Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, p. 367, n. 2. See also Halkias, "Buddhist Meditation Traditions," p. 161. For an extensive treatment of the system developed on this basis in Tibet, known as *lam 'bras* (ལམ་འབྲས་), see Cyrus Stearns, trans., *Taking the Result as the Path: Core Teachings of the Sakya Lamdré Tradition* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2006).



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### **The *Pacific World*—Its History**

Throughout my life, I have sincerely believed that Buddhism is a religion of peace and compassion, a teaching which will bring spiritual tranquillity to the individual, and contribute to the promotion of harmony and peace in society. My efforts to spread the Buddha's teachings began in 1925, while I was a graduate student at the University of California at Berkeley. This beginning took the form of publishing the *Pacific World*, on a bi-monthly basis in 1925 and 1926, and then on a monthly basis in 1927 and 1928. Articles in the early issues concerned not only Buddhism, but also other cultural subjects such as art, poetry, and education, and then by 1928, the articles became primarily Buddhistic. Included in the mailing list of the early issues were such addressees as the Cabinet members of the U.S. Government, Chambers of Commerce, political leaders, libraries, publishing houses, labor unions, and foreign cultural institutions.

After four years, we had to cease publication, primarily due to lack of funds. It was then that I vowed to become independently wealthy so that socially beneficial projects could be undertaken without financial dependence on others. After founding the privately held company, Mitutoyo Corporation, I was able to continue my lifelong commitment to disseminate the teachings of Buddha through various means.

As one of the vehicles, the *Pacific World* was again reactivated, this time in 1982, as the annual journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies. For the opportunity to be able to contribute to the propagation of Buddhism and the betterment of humankind, I am eternally grateful. I also wish to thank the staff of the Institute of Buddhist Studies for helping me to advance my dream to spread the spirit of compassion among the peoples of the world through the publication of the *Pacific World*.

Yehan Numata  
Founder, Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai

### **In Remembrance**

In May 1994, my father, Yehan Numata, aged 97 years, returned to the Pure Land after earnestly serving Buddhism throughout his lifetime. I pay homage to the fact that the *Pacific World* is again being printed and published, for in my father's youth it was the passion to which he was wholeheartedly devoted.

I, too, share my father's dream of world peace and happiness for all peoples. It is my heartfelt desire that the *Pacific World* helps promote spiritual culture throughout all humanity, and that the publication of the *Pacific World* be continued.

Toshihide Numata  
Chairman, Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai