

Studies in the Kālacakra Tantra

A History of the Kālacakra Tantra in Tibet and a Study of the Concept of Ādibuddha,
the Fourth Body of the Buddha and the Supreme Unchanging



Urban Hammar

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To Maribel, Daniél, Victor and Emil

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The *Kālacakra Tantra* was during my years of Tibetological studies in Paris in the 1970s, a generally little studied form of Buddhism. When I later learned about the *Kālacakra Tantra* I found it very complicated and fascinating. Consequently, it was a challenge for me to initiate a project on this *tantric* Buddhist teaching.

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1. INTRODUCTION.

1.1. TANTRIC BUDDHISM.

Tantric or *Vajrayāna* Buddhism is a development of the earlier *Mahāyāna* Buddhism and can be dated to approximately the 5th or 6th century AD. This dating is controversial as it is quite difficult to fix a date for the earliest *tantric* texts. Buddhist *Tantric* texts and practises appeared in Tibet from the 7th century. The *Kālacakra Tantra* appeared in India at the beginning of the 11th century and very soon after, in Tibet. The importance of these teachings in Tibet is underlined by the fact that the Tibetan calendar has as its date of origin the year 1027 AD, which is the traditional year of the introduction of the *Kālacakra Tantra* to Tibet.

Tantric Buddhism has the same basis as *Mahāyāna* Buddhism in the importance of compassion and the ideal of the *bodhisattva*. The difference lies more in the methods applied for reaching the goal of *Nirvāṇa*, *Śūnyatā* (voidness) or *Mahāsukha*, “the great bliss”, as it is more often called in the texts. In *Vajrayāna* Buddhism the most important practice is the *sādhana* ritual. The word *sādhana* means “method or means” and it is a method of reaching contact with the chosen *buddha*, *bodhisattva* or protective deity. The ritual is based on a written text and the *bodhisattva* is described and visualised in front of the practitioner. At some moment of the recitation the reading is halted and the *mantra* of the *bodhisattva* is recited. Then the reading of the text is resumed and the practitioner is finally identified with the chosen deity.

Another difference with *Mahāyāna* Buddhism is that in *Vajrayāna* Buddhism there exists a possibility to reach *Nirvāṇa* in one lifetime with the help of special methods like the six-fold *yoga* of the *Kālacakra Tantra*.

1.1.1. The *Kālacakra Tantra*.

Kālacakra means “The wheel of time”, and in some ways it is a philosophy of time. At the beginning of the basic text it is mentioned that everything in the cosmos has its origin in “time”.¹

The basic extant texts are the relatively short *Śrī-Kālacakra-tantra-rāja* (KCT) and its canonical commentary *Vimalaprabhā* (VP). It is said that there exists a root-*tantra*, which is much longer, but of which only a shorter text and various quotations are known. There are also many other texts translated from the Sanskrit into Tibetan in the Tibetan canon, the *bKa’-gyur* and the *bsTan’-gyur*. Finally, there is a voluminous literature of commentaries written in Tibetan from later centuries. The great number of texts is a measure of the importance of the *Kālacakra Tantra* in Tibet. Only parts of this literature are translated into western languages. According to their own tradition, the basic texts were written by kings in the mythic land of *Shambhala*.² Buddha *Śākyamuni* himself is supposed

¹ KCT I:4, in Banerjee. 1985:1, translated in Newman. 1987:419.

² *Shambhala* is the Tibetan version of the name of the land, which in the Sanskrit texts is written *Sambhala*.

to have preached the original root *tantric* texts, which then have been written down by the kings of *Shambhala*.

The basic text (KCT) and its commentary (VP) are divided into five chapters among which the first treats the outer world (the macro-cosmos) and the second chapter the human inner world (the micro-cosmos), consisting of the subtle body with the six *cakras* and how to control this body. There is a description of the subtle body as a system of energy (*prāṇa*) channels with three main channels, one in the middle (*avadhūti*), and one on each side. The energy is moving in these channels and the goal of the six-limb *yoga* (*ṣaḍaṅga-yoga*) is to halt the movement of these “winds” and in that way reach the state of the supreme unchanging bliss. The energy is not moving in the spine as in Hindu *Kuṇḍalīni yoga*, but somewhere in the middle of the body.

The third chapter (*abhiṣeka-paṭala*) treats the initiation ritual of this *tantric* system. This chapter was the first to be explained by the Dalai Lama as it was necessary to shed light on the *Kālacakra* initiations that he was giving since the 1970s.³

The fourth chapter contains descriptions of the methods of meditation (*sādhana*) and also the six-limbed *yoga* mentioned above.

The fifth chapter (*jñāna-paṭala*) treats the knowledge (*jñāna*) with a long sub-chapter on the supreme unchanging bliss. Traditionally, the *Kālacakra Tantra* is divided into three parts, the outer, which is the first chapter treating astronomy, astrology and mathematics; the inner, which is the second chapter treating the human body with its inner structure of *cakras* and different energy channels. Finally there is the “other” *Kālacakra* which in chapters 3-5 treats the very divinity *Kālacakra*, the *maṇḍala* and the other main teachings.

The teachings of *Kālacakra* have as a goal to reach *nirvāṇa*, or rather the state of *sūnyatā* (the void) also called the state of great bliss (*mahāsukha*) which can be compared to the concept of the supreme unchanging (*paramākṣara*). This is reached by the union of opposites as mentioned in other *mahāyāna* teachings, male/female, *upāya/prajñā* translated as means and wisdom. This state is symbolised by *Kālacakra* (the wheel of time) as a male divinity in embrace with his female counterpart *Viśvamātā* (the all-mother). These two in union possibly emerge from the so-called *Ādibuddha*, the “original” Buddha, or the “first Buddha”. Actually, it is not very clear what is meant by the concept of *Ādibuddha*. In some places it can be interpreted as the principle where the world began. For the person initiated or meditating on the *Kālacakra*, the process of identification, as in all *tantric* meditation, is enacted. The one leading the *Kālacakra* initiation (the Dalai Lama) becomes *Kālacakra*, and with him all the participants become identified with the *Kālacakra*. All the above are presuppositions that are basic for the actual initiation ritual. There are different layers in the interpretation of a ritual. In the case of the *Kālacakra Tantra* there is a complicated philosophical background as to why the ritual is performed inside a purely Buddhist context.

The *Kālacakra Tantra* is regarded as one of the most advanced teachings within Tibetan Buddhism. It is not known or practised in other Buddhist countries, with the exception of Mongolia. Traditionally, it was an esoteric teaching where the outer forms were well known, but the meditational practice was restricted. Today, the teachings are well known by the Tibetans as well as around the world. However, the more advanced teachings are still not widely known. The importance of the *Kālacakra* for modern Tibetan Bud-

³ See Dalai Lama. 1985.

dhism is clearly shown by the great number of such initiations made by the present Dalai Lama.⁴ Another indication of its importance in the *dGe-lugs-pa* tradition is the three-dimensional *Kālacakra māṇḍala* which can still be found today in the Potala palace.⁵

A number of non-academic publications on the *Kālacakra Tantra* meant for practising groups in the western world have been published in later years. Some of them by Tibetans and others by western practitioners. There is also an interesting site on the Internet, International Kālachakra Network, functioning over the last few years and founded by, among others, David Reigle. Some valuable material on the *Kālacakra* has been published on the site. In order to obtain complete access to the site it is necessary to have participated in a *Kālacakra* initiation and to have a lama trained in the *Kālacakra Tantra* as a reference.⁶ There is also a website in French maintained by the *Kālacakra* writer Sofia Stril-Rever which contains material on the practice of the *Kālacakra Tantra*.⁷ Several centers for practising the *Kālacakra Tantra* have been founded in Paris, London, Florence and Graz.⁸

Furthermore, the *Kālacakra Tantra* had a certain importance for the Theosophy and H.P. Blavatsky and her successors. In accordance with the common western image of Tibet as a land of mystery and esoteric teachings, well painted and analysed in the recent works by Donald Lopez and Martin Brauen,⁹ the founder of Theosophy, H. P. Blavatsky, was interested in the *Kālacakra* and made some rather confused allusions to it in her works.¹⁰ From this esoteric tradition also springs the tradition of *Shamballa* (with double -ll- and unaspirated -b-) as a sort of "paradise" that has had great importance for the esotericism of Alice Bailey¹¹ in the beginning and middle of the last century. Considering the importance of Bailey for the theories behind the New Age movements, the *Kālacakra Tantra* can even be said to have some influence on this important movement in Western culture of today.

In the same spirit, the Russian artist Nicholas Roerich undertook a long and awesome journey through Tibet and Central Asia searching for *Shambhala* in the 1920s.¹² This journey was certainly of great importance to his son, the tibetological researcher George N.

⁴ The initiations made by the Dalai Lama XIV are as follows: Norbu Lingka, Lhasa, Tibet in May 1954; Norbu Lingka, Lhasa, Tibet in April 1956; Dharamsala, India in March 1970; Bylakuppe, India in May 1971; Bodh Gaya, India in December 1974; Leh in Ladakh, India in September 1976; Madison, USA in June 1981; Dirang in Arunachal Pradesh, India in April 1983; Lahaul and Spiti, India in August 1983; Rikon, Switzerland in July 1985; Bodh Gaya, India in December 1985; Zanskar in Ladakh, India in July 1988; Los Angeles, USA in July 1989; Sarnath, India in December 1990; New York, USA in October 1991; Kalpa in Himachal Pradesh, India in August 1992; Gangtok in Sikkim, India in April 1993; Jispa in Himachal Pradesh, India in 1994; Barcelona, Spain in December 1994; Mundgod, India in January 1995; Ulan Bator, Mongolia in August 1995; Tabo in Himachal Pradesh, India in June 1996; Sydney, Australia in September 1996; Salugara in West Bengal, India in December 1996; Bloomington, USA in July 1999; Graz, Austria in July 2002; Bodh Gaya, India January 2003; Toronto, Canada in April 2004.

This information can be found, among other places, on the Internet site of the Tibetan Government in Exile. See also Dalai Lama. 1997:97 and Hammar. 1992:204.

⁵ Batchelor. 1987:108-109; Tibet Handbok. 1999:102-103. Also my own observations and documentation from a visit to the Potala in the summer of 2001.

⁶ See International Kalachakra Network: www.kalachakranet.org

⁷ See www.buddhaline.net

⁸ Stril-Rever. 2002:247-252.

⁹ Lopez, Jr. 1998 and Brauen. 2000.

¹⁰ For Blavatsky and Tibet see Brauen 2000:36-41.

¹¹ See for example the index of her *Esoteric Astrology* (1951).

¹² See Roerich, Nicholas. 1985 (1930); Roerich, N. 1928 ; Roerich, George. 1931.

Roerich, who also participated in the journey. Nicholas Roerich was inspired by theosophy in his search for *Shambhala*. There exists a museum of his art in New York where works inspired by this journey can be seen.

1.2. METHODS AND AIMS.

This dissertation has several aims. At the beginning of the project was the idea of presenting a history of the *Kālacakra Tantra* from the text “A history of the *Kālacakra*” by Bu-ston, using other texts to clarify the early history of the *Kālacakra* in Tibet. Bu-ston lived in the fourteenth century and he wrote the first known doctrinal history of the *Kālacakra*. My aim is also to investigate the problem of when the *Kālacakra* was introduced to Tibet. Furthermore I want to compare the concept of the inner and outer war in the context of the kingdom of *Shambhala*.

The second part of the dissertation is the doctrinal analysis of one of the main themes in these texts, namely the concept of *Ādibuddha*, which can be compared to the concepts of the fourth body of the Buddha and the concept of *paramākṣara-sukha*, the supreme unchanging bliss.

The basic method used in this dissertation is to present, translate and analyse texts. I have done some field research, being present at *Kālacakra* initiations, but the main work is textual analysis. In the historical part, I have made a translation of Bu-ston’s text in its entirety and then commented upon it.

In the doctrinal chapters, some parts of the *Kālacakra* texts are presented with the intention of researching for concepts that are of interest to analyse. This method has its limitations and one could say that it would be better to translate whole chapters of the texts instead. I am aware of this problem, but chose to do this analysis because of the secondary benefit of being able to grasp greater parts of the *Kālacakra* texts. In order to find information on the *Ādibuddha*, it is necessary to search the texts for the concept, something that can not be done if attention is only paid to one part of the entire texts.

1.3. A SHORT SURVEY OF EARLIER RESEARCH ON THE KĀLACAKRA TANTRA.

The best survey of research on the *Kālacakra* has been done by John Newman¹³ and there is no reason to repeat everything that he has written, but I have made a short survey with comments on the most important research. For the two chapters on the *Ādibuddha* concept and on the fourth body of the Buddha, I have made separate surveys of relevant research.

The study of the *tantric* system of *Kālacakra* was first introduced to the western scholarly world by Alexander Csoma de Kőrös who was also the founding pioneer of Tibetan studies. He was the first to translate a short text on *Kālacakra* and *Ādibuddha* in

¹³ Newman. 1987a:135-211.

1833.¹⁴ Later, a series of scholars would become interested in these teachings. I will analyse Csoma de Körös' article in a following chapter.

In the second half of the 19th century, interest grew quite strong among Western scholars in the chronological systems of Buddhist and Tibetan culture. When they studied Tibetan methods of calculating time, it was obvious that the *Kālacakra Tantra* was very important. Csoma de Körös published one chronological table and Schlagintweit later published another.¹⁵ S.C. Das published a chronological table in 1889, Schlagintweit translated one in 1897 and Pelliot then wrote a lengthy article in 1913 about the chronology of Tibet as did B. Laufer.¹⁶ Other research on chronology in Tibet was done by Staël-Holstein, C. Vogel and D.Schuh.¹⁷

These works on chronology were important in attempting to define general Buddhist chronology, but did not add much to the understanding of the actual teaching of the *Kālacakra Tantra*.

There was also a beginning of an analysis of the *Ādibuddha* concept made by Louis de La Vallée Poussin that I will treat below in the chapter on *Ādibuddha*.

Waddell referred briefly to the *Kālacakra* in his book on Tibetan religion. He, and others, described the *tantric* tradition in general and especially the *Kālacakra Tantra* as the most degenerated and popular form of Buddhism that existed.¹⁸ He obviously had not read the texts and the very complicated and sophisticated teachings which make the *Kālacakra* one of the most advanced teachings of later Buddhism. This poor appreciation of *tantra* among researchers of Buddhism has unfortunately continued up to present time until the encounter with the living Tibetan *Kālacakra* tradition and other *tantric* traditions imposed a change in attitudes.

During the first half of the 20th century, academic interest and work on the *Kālacakra Tantra* continued at a low level. Eliot wrote about it briefly in the 1920s, with very little understanding of its teachings.¹⁹

Lalou wrote a short and correct condensation of what was known on the subject in the 1950s.²⁰ There was also a short article by Bandyopadhyaya in 1952 which held that the *Kālacakra Tantra* was created in order to unite Buddhists and Hindus against the invading Muslims.²¹ This idea of the *Kālacakra* has been stressed later by B. Banerjee in his edition of the KCT text and in his later article on the *Kālacakra Tantra*. He states with conviction that this *tantra* was actually created for the purpose of uniting Hindus and Buddhists against the common enemy of the Islamic armies.²²

The greatest name in research on the *Kālacakra* in the 1950s and 60s was Helmut Hoffmann. He wrote a number of articles on the subject.²³ He was interested in analysing

¹⁴ Csoma de Körös. 1833 and 1834.

¹⁵ Csoma de Körös. 1834:181-198; Schlagintweit. 1863:273-287.

¹⁶ Das. 1889:37-84; Schlagintweit. 1897; Pelliot. 1913; Laufer. 1913.

¹⁷ Staël-Holstein. 1935/36; Vogel. 1964 and Schuh. 1973.

¹⁸ Waddell. 1972 (1895):131.

¹⁹ See Eliot. 1921.

²⁰ Lalou. 1957:48-49.

²¹ Bandyopadhyaya. 1952.

²² Banerjee 1985 och 2000.

²³ Hoffmann. 1951; 1958; 1961; 1964; 1967; 1969/72; 1973; 1975; 1990.

the possible central Asian and Iranian/manichean influence on the teachings and reached the conclusion that such an influence existed. In the late 1950s, he held series of seminars on the *Kālacakra* texts.

Another very important area of study is the very pinnacle of the teachings of *Kālacakra*: the *ṣaḍaṅga-yoga*, the *yoga* of the six limbs as contrasted to the classical *yoga* of *Patañjali* of eight limbs. It has been studied by Günter Grönbold in a dissertation and several articles.²⁴ This is the *yoga* of the completion stage of the *Kālacakra*, and the final stage of it, the *samādhi*-stage, will lead to the union of *prajñā* and *upāya* using the sexual *yoga*, to the great bliss (*mahāsukha*) and consequently to the state of an *Ādibuddha*. The basic verses of the *ṣaḍaṅga-yoga* can be found in the *Sādhana* chapter in the KCT and have been translated by Grönbold.²⁵ The six limbs are *Pratyāhāra*, *Dhyāna*, *Prāṇāyāma*, *Dhāraṇā*, *Anusmṛti* and *Samādhi*. This *ṣaḍaṅga-yoga* also exists in the *Guhyasamājatantra*, with some differences.²⁶ The latest contribution to the study of the *ṣaḍaṅga-yoga* is the work of Sferra where he has made a valuable contribution to the study of this subject.²⁷

The concept and tradition of *Shambhala* is a subject which has attracted much attention. The idea of a hidden kingdom resembling a kind of paradise has made a strong impression in Tibet and also in Mongolia. This tradition will be treated in more detail in the subchapter on *Shambhala* and the battle between *Raudra Kalkin* and the barbarians.

The past decade has witnessed something of an explosion of academic studies on Tibet in general. This includes studies on the *Kālacakra Tantra*, the object of three doctoral dissertations in the USA²⁸ by Andresen, Wallace and Hartzell, and several other articles and publications, notably by the pioneer researcher Günter Grönbold and the first researcher to translate parts of the original *Kālacakra* texts, John Newman. Finally, Giacomella Orofino, Raniero Gnoli, and Francesco Sferra have made valuable contributions to the research.²⁹ The research by the above authors will be treated in connection with the relevant chapters.

Research on the *Kālacakra maṇḍala* has also been done, especially by Martin Brauen and by Y. Imaeda. Brauen has made a model of the *maṇḍala* with computer assistance and clarified the cosmology of the *tantra*.³⁰

²⁴ Grönbold. 1969; 1982; 1983a; 1983b; 1983c; 1983d; 1984; 1996b.

²⁵ KCT IV:116-117 in Banerjee. 1985:169; Grönbold. 1966:30-31.

²⁶ Wayman. 1977, especially p.163-172.

²⁷ Sferra. 2000.

²⁸ Andresen. 1997, Wallace. 1995 and Hartzell. 1997.

²⁹ See Bibliography for references.

³⁰ Brauen. 1997 and Imaeda. 1987.

1.4. THE KĀLACAKRA IN CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT. REASONS WHY KĀLACAKRA IS IMPORTANT TODAY.

As mentioned earlier, the present XIVth Dalai Lama has been very important for the growing interest in the *Kālacakra Tantra* by giving the *Kālacakra* initiation to many thousands. The initiation is actually meant to be an introduction and a permission to practice the meditation techniques and *yogas* found in the *Tantra*. It is also meant to give a taste of the result that can be obtained by the practice of these methods. There is a moment of rebirth in the initiation ritual when the initiand visualizes himself as coming out of the womb of *Viśvamātā*, the female consort of *Kālacakra*. The participant comes out purified, now capable of identifying himself with the deity *Kālacakra*. Consequently, this is a kind of purifying rebirth known from other areas in the study of comparative religions. The symbolic rebirth is of great importance but not as important as in other religions where the rebirth rituals are of more central importance.

The initiation also creates a *karmic* bond between the teacher and the initiand and between the initiands. For example, it is said that the final war of this era will take place between the king of *Shambhala* and the *mlecchas*, the evil ones. At the time when the texts were compiled, they were identified with the Muslims who were at the time invading India. Everyone who has received the initiation is going to fight in the last war by the side of the future 25th *kalkin* of *Shambhala*, called *Raudracakrin*. This is an eschatological perspective which is of great importance for Tibetans participating in the *Kālacakra* initiations today.

During the last thirty years, the *Kālacakra* initiations have become nationalistic events very important for the Tibetans in exile and also for the Tibetans inside Tibet. Almost all Tibetans in exile have by now received the *Kālacakra* initiation at least once from the Dalai Lama. Having participated in the *Kālacakra* initiation gives a feeling of belonging together because of the eschatological context and helps to keep alive the hope of returning to Tibet. In 1985, around 10,000 Tibetans from inside Tibet participated in the initiation at Bodh Gaya, something that must have been important for all Tibetans. Subsequently, Tibetans from inside Tibet have not been allowed to go to India to participate in the initiations, although there were some Tibetans from Tibet at the latest initiation in Bodh Gaya in January 2003. At the initiation in Sarnath in 1990 Tibetans were not allowed to travel from Tibet to participate in the ceremony and no passports were issued. People travelling in spite of this were threatened with fines. The Chinese authorities have clearly understood that these initiations are important nationalistic events for the Tibetans.³¹

At the *Kālacakra* initiation in Graz in Austria in October 2002, there were 10,000 participants. It was a great media event, broadcast on the Internet by the Österreichische Rundfunk. The well-known German film director Werner Herzog made a documentary of the occasion. The event was partly sponsored by the city of Graz, perhaps as a way of promoting the city as the cultural capital of Europe in 2003.³² This initiation also led to a series of protests from some churches claiming that the Dalai Lama's teaching is bad. In particular, the *Kālacakra* teaching itself has been criticised. A book has been published in

³¹ Hammar 1992:205 from Tibetan Review, 26 (2), 1991:6.

³² The official Internet site of the *Kālacakra* initiation in Graz in October 2002. www.kalachakra-graz.at

German with severe criticism of the teaching of *Kālacakra* both from an ethic and a Christian viewpoint.³³

The reason given by the present Dalai Lama to arrange these mass initiations is that the world is in danger and the initiations help to collect the forces of good and help promote peace in the situation of global crisis that we are witnessing in the world today.³⁴ The Dalai Lama gives a complementary explanation as to why the initiations are given to so many when he explains the different possible ways of receiving the *Kālacakra* initiation. He recognizes that the *Kālacakra* meditations and the six-limbed *yoga* are going to be practised only by a few of the participants: the most advanced participants who have a clear experience of the nature of the ultimate reality as it is explained by the great *Mahāyāna* philosophers. The intermediate participants have a correct understanding of this philosophy based on studies and reasons, while the less advanced participants have at least a strong appreciation and understanding of Buddhist philosophy. One can also receive the initiation as a blessing and an appreciation of participation. The intention of the initiation is to plant *karmic* seeds in the minds of the participants and this requires at least an open mind.

It is very interesting to see how the very esoteric *Kālacakra* initiation has changed from being an advanced initiation for small groups of disciples, who have already studied Buddhist philosophy and other *tantric* teachings, into a mass ceremony where most of the participants do not know much about *tantra* and do not intellectually understand the teachings. The number of participants, traditionally, was not more than twenty-five persons.³⁵ Now there is a new tradition, according to Dalai Lama, to give the initiation to many people because of the critical situation in the world and in order to establish strong *karmic* connections between the minds of human beings and the *Kālacakra*.³⁶ We are also approaching the time when the 25th king of *Shambhala* is going to come and when everyone who has received the *Kālacakra* initiation is going to be reborn and obtain the complete enlightenment through the *Kālacakra*.

The initiations are also presented as “Kalachakra for World Peace” by the Dalai Lama and in the material published in connection with the initiations.³⁷ How can this peace message be motivated from the *Kālacakra* texts themselves? It is not easy to discern the peace message because these texts show signs of being written during a time of struggle against enemies of Buddhism, primarily in the form of invading Muslims. The basic theme of a future war against evil forces is very important. All the participants in the initiations are going to fight in the war with the future king of *Shambhala* after they are reborn. Of course, as I will show later in the subchapter on *Shambhala*, the real fighting is perhaps to be seen as an inner fight to obtain the great liberation and integrate into *Nirvāṇa*. In that way, the teachings can be seen as promoting peace in the world. There is also a theory that the mere practise of the *Kālacakra* teachings has a good effect on the world.

³³ The Internet site www.trimondi.de and Trimondi 2003. Victor and Victoria Trimondi are pseudonyms for Hermann and Mariana Röttgen. Hermann Röttgen was politically active and a revolutionary on the left wing in the 1970s and then changed perspectives in the 1980s. See www.trimondi.de/biograph.html.

³⁴ See for example *Kalachakra Initiation – Switzerland 1985*.

³⁵ Mullin. 1991:9-12. The present Dalai Lama has written a foreword to this book where he comments on his own initiations.

³⁶ Dalai Lama. 1981:9.

³⁷ See for example pamphlets from 1981, 1985 and 1997 and material from 2003 (WTN News January 14).

Historically, the first recorded mass initiation of *Kālacakra* was the one given by the Panchen Lama in Peking in 1932. It was arranged because of the war with Japan in order to try to establish peace. This was actually the first time that the theme of peace was presented in connection with a mass initiation. The Swedish ethnographer Gösta Montell was present at the initiation and he wrote that it was arranged by a Buddhist association in Peking which wanted to do something for peace in China. The initiation was made with a predominantly Mongol participation, the Mongols being adherents of Tibetan Buddhism for many centuries. At this event, the thought of fighting for the perfect land of *Shambhala* was alive with the Mongols and was also an expression of Mongolian nationalism.³⁸ This event is a good example of a *Kālacakra* initiation for promoting peace.

It is interesting to see how the very esoteric teaching of *Kālacakra* has been spread to great numbers of people. Formerly, the *Kālacakra* initiation was not given to groups of more than twenty-five participants.³⁹ In modern times there is however, a tradition of giving the initiation to great numbers. This modern tradition probably started with the 9th Panchen Lama. He gave nine *Kālacakra* initiations in China between 1928 and 1936. Tens of thousands of Chinese and Mongol Buddhists participated on these occasions. The most important of these initiations was the one held in Peking on October 21-24 in 1932 for some 60.000 participants. It is interesting to note that the initiations of the Panchen Lama had a duration of three days, whereas the initiations by the present Dalai Lama last for eleven or twelve days. The difference must be that there were no preliminary Buddhist teachings and that the monks of the Panchen Lama did not create the *maṇḍala* of coloured sand, something that takes several days. It seems, though, that there was a *maṇḍala* made of coloured sand at the Peking initiation. A difference is also that the initiations now given in the West do not presuppose that the participants are very knowledgeable in Buddhism. In China and Mongolia the participants were Buddhists and did not need preliminary teachings in the same way. The Peking initiation was urged by a Buddhist association. It was expressly made for peace in the region. Japan had just started the wars in the area by occupying Manchuria. Present at the occasion was also the secretary of education of the Chinese republican government and the lCang-skyä Khutuktu, the head of the Mongolian Buddhists. This shows the importance of the event.⁴⁰ The Panchen Lama held a very appreciated *Kālacakra* initiation as far south as in Hangzhou in 1934, where the audience was more purely Chinese. These activities of an appreciated Tibetan Buddhist lama in China evokes the memory of the Tibetan lamas going to China in order to teach Buddhism at the time of the Mongol dynasty in the 13th-14th century.

The *Kālacakra* of 1957 was another occasion where politics were important for the conducting of the initiation ritual. This initiation was partly sponsored by the newly founded Tibetan resistance movement of Chushi Gangdruk. Because of the hard Chinese policy in Kham in eastern Tibet a resistance movement of the Khampas was formed. In an

³⁸ Montell. 1942:165-173 and Lessing 1942.

³⁹ See Mullin. 1991: 9-12. Dalai Lama has written a foreword to this book where he comments on his own initiations.

⁴⁰ This information is mostly from Jagou. 2004:117-126, who has written a comprehensive biography of the ninth Panchen Lama. Information also comes from the Swedish ethnographer Gösta Montell who was present at this initiation, Montell. 1942:167, 171 and also in Lessing. 1942, which was the publication *Yung-Ho-Kung* in the series from the Ethnographical Museum on the collections of the Sven Hedin expeditions.

attempt to cover up their movements the leaders requested that that Dalai Lama would make a *Kālacakra* initiation in Lhasa in 1957. The initiation was conducted by the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan resistance had an occasion to meet. They also offered a longevity ceremony to the Dalai Lama which was meant to symbolise the enthronement of the Dalai Lama as ruler of the whole of Tibet, including Kham. This was a clear occasion when the *Kālacakra* initiation was used in a political way.⁴¹

One of the latest *Kālacakra* initiations was held at Bodh Gaya in India on January 11-20 in 2003. It was held instead of the initiation cancelled one year earlier when the Dalai Lama fell ill. The Buddhist monks from the All India Monks Federation, composed of ethnic Indians who converted to Buddhism urged by B.R. Ambedkar in the 1950s, opposed the participation of the Dalai Lama, and also the XVIIth Karmapa, in the planned initiation at Bodh Gaya. The monks guarded the Mahabodhi temple in Bihar. They said that Dalai Lama could face a threat to his life if he participated in the initiation. The reasons given for the opposition are vague, for example, that neither the Dalai Lama nor the Karmapa have publicly condemned the demolition of the Bamiyan statues by the Talibans in Afghanistan. The All India Monks Association general secretary Bhadant Anand wrote in a memorandum to the president of India that the Dalai Lama through his questionable acts and pretensions had caused avoidable tension between India and China and that the deportation of the Tibetan leader would be a way of improving Sino-Indian relations. Anand also wrote that the Dalai Lama's stay in India is against the interests of India as he is involved in activities harming the country. In addition to this, Anand also claimed that the Karmapa two years previously had entered the Mahabodhi temple with his shoes on, something that he called an attack on Indian culture.

A plausible reason for these attacks is that these Buddhists want to limit the influence of the Tibetans and the Dalai Lama and that they seek to assert their own control over the Buddhist shrines around Bodh Gaya. A consequence of the threats was that the security measures were increased.⁴²

Subsequently, a pamphlet distributed by these Buddhists in Bodh Gaya said that the Tibetan government in exile has received large sums from the CIA in a questionable manner. The pamphlet questions the existence of the Tibetan government in India, as it should be against the Indian constitution to have another official government in the country.⁴³

The *Kālacakra* initiation was directly prepared by the Tibetan government-in-exile led by the Secretary of the Department of Religion and Culture who visited Bodh Gaya a month before the initiation.⁴⁴

Security was increased even more after new threats from a group of Chinese insurgents called "Norggen" who operate on the border with Nepal and who are reported as having links with Nepal's Maoist rebels. This group was previously unknown and I do not

⁴¹ See www.chushigangdruk.org/history/history02.html. In other sources this second *Kālacakra* initiation is said to have taken place in 1956. There is a confusion in some way, because there was probably not a third initiation taking place in these years in Lhasa.

⁴² The WTN News on December 16 2002. A telegram from the AFP and an article by Imran Khan of the Indo-Asian News Service on December 16.

⁴³ WTN News January 3, 2003. A telegram from the AFP.

⁴⁴ WTN News January 4, 2003.

have much information on the group. The threats were taken seriously by the Indian authorities and metal detectors were installed at the site of the ceremony.⁴⁵

On January 9, 2003, twelve neo-Buddhists started an indefinite fast-unto-death against the Dalai Lama near their Mahabodhi sanctuary. They wanted to have the Dalai Lama leave India and expressed that he and the 17th Karmapa Ugyen Trinley Dorje should be expelled from India because they had pro-China leanings. The fact that the Dalai Lama is content with autonomy for Tibet is also a proof of his pro-Chinese ideas. The secretary Anand further holds that China threatens to extend its hegemony to the disputed areas near the Indian frontier. They were to continue their fast until the Indian government asked the Dalai Lama and the Karmapa to leave India.⁴⁶ The action of the neo-Buddhist monks was intensified on January 11 when some of the fasting monks threatened to immolate themselves if the Dalai Lama did not initiate a dialogue with them within the next twenty-four hours.⁴⁷ The monks were taken into custody by the Indian authorities after only one day on a charge of attempting suicide and creating a disturbance, but the fast continued in jail.⁴⁸

There is a historical background of the Ambedkar Buddhists trying to "liberate" the Buddhist site of Bodh Gaya, which is still run by a committee dominated by Hindus. They have previously organised hunger strikes and made threats of immolation. There is a clear tradition of militancy among the neo-Buddhists and a history of conflict between the traditional Buddhists of Tibet and other Buddhist countries and the Buddhists of the Ambedkar tradition. Johannes Beltz in his doctoral thesis even claims that these neo-Buddhists have the trait of being fundamentalists in the modern meaning of the word. These militant actions can perhaps be compared to the modern Hindu nationalist movement, for example, the case of the conflict of Ayodhya.⁴⁹ There has also existed a certain criticism of the neo-Buddhists by the Dalai Lama. He has said that they are criticising the Hindus in too much of a militant fashion. Others have criticised the movement for being more a movement for social reform than for practising Buddhism.⁵⁰ In light of this historical situation, the conflict connected with the *Kālacakra* initiation of Bodh Gaya 2003 is perhaps not so difficult to understand.

The *Kālacakra* initiation was attended by about 200,000 people, mostly Tibetans from India, including Sikkim, and Nepal. Thousands of people from western countries and from the rest of India also attended, in total, people from around fifty countries. There were also some attendees from inside Tibet who apparently had received visas for the occasion.⁵¹

It was an outspoken policy by the Tibetan government in Dharamsala to expose the Tibetan issue in various ways at the occasion of the initiation. They distributed booklets, pamphlets, photographs and showed documentary films. There was a photo exhibition of the Chinese oppression in Tibet and a booklet in Tibetan and English making it clear that

⁴⁵ WTN News January 6, 2003.

⁴⁶ WTN News January 9, 2003.

⁴⁷ WTN News January 11, 2003.

⁴⁸ WTN News January 12, and from the Ambedkar Times, ambedkar_times@yahoo.com. The later information was posted in a network for dalit Ambedkar Buddhists and kindly forwarded to me by Dr. Gunnel Cederlöf of Uppsala University.

⁴⁹ Beltz. 2001:194-95.

⁵⁰ Beltz. 2001:252-53.

⁵¹ WTN News January 12, 2003 and December 26, 2002.

peace and stability cannot return to Tibet without the Dalai Lama's participation in governance. The standpoint of the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan government-in-exile is that they are not seeking the independence of Tibet, but an opportunity of the Tibetan people for genuine self-rule.⁵² These activities are actually done at most *Kālacakra* initiations, but were accentuated at this mega-event actually organized by the Tibetan government-in-exile.

In conclusion, the *Kālacakra* initiations clearly are of great importance for the Tibetan national identity, as the Tibetans are assembled in an important ceremony led by the Dalai Lama, which also gives hope of better times to come. The event has an eschatological meaning with the coming war of the king of *Shambhala* for the sake of Buddhism and the forces of good in general. This feeling can, of course, be transposed to the situation in Tibet and the wish to see a free Tibet, or at least a real self-governing Tibet, to which the refugees can return.

As has been summarized by Yeshi Choedon, the Chinese leaders' policy on religion after 1994 has become harder, with more suppression and restriction of religious activities, as religion posed a major challenge to state authority. As the Tibetans had no real access to power, religion has become more and more important for the national identity and much energy and emotion has been devoted to a religious revival and reconstruction.

Buddhism is an alternative to the ideology of the Chinese state and the religious revival has become a challenge to Chinese rule. Almost every form of Tibetan religious and cultural activity is of political importance and therefore there has been a considerable effort to restrict the growth of religion in Tibet.⁵³ There has consequently been a campaign against the Dalai Lama and the strategy has been to eliminate both his religious and political influences from the region.

Consequently, the *Kālacakra* initiations by the Dalai Lama are events of great importance for the Tibetans and thorough studies of this Tantric system of teachings are also motivated from a contemporary view-point.

⁵² WTN News January 11, 2003; Articles from Rediff.com and Indo-Asian News Service.

⁵³ Choedon. 2002:381.

2. THE EARLY HISTORY OF KĀLACAKRA IN TIBET.

The actual year when the *Kālacakra* was introduced into India is a question that has been discussed by many scholars since western research started. A short survey of this issue will be made in this chapter. An investigation then follows into a text that treats the first introducers of *Kālacakra* to Tibet. The main part of this chapter then follows, treating a text by Bu-ston from 1329 outlining the history of *Kālacakra* from the introduction up to the 14th century. An annotated translation of that text will be presented.

2.1. THE ORIGIN OF KĀLACAKRA IN SHAMBHALA⁵⁴ AND INDIA.

The *Kālacakra Tantra* was, according to its own tradition, preached by *Śākyamuni Buddha* at the *Dhānyakaṭaka stupa* in Andhra Pradesh at the request of king *Sucandra* of *Shambhala*. The *Dhānyakaṭaka stupa* was later called *Amarāvātī* and has existed since the *Sātavāhana* dynasty in the present Andhra Pradesh. The dynasty existed from some decades B.C. until the third century A.D.⁵⁵

The *Kālacakra Tantra* did not spread with early Buddhism, but was directly brought to *Sucandra's* country *Shambhala*. There, the teachings were developed and commented upon during more than 1000 years. In the 10th century, it made its appearance in India and then contained statements about Jesus and Muhammed and many other things that had taken place long after the life of Buddha. The explanation given by the texts is that facts about, for example, Islam were told in the form of prophecies by *Śākyamuni Buddha*. It is not possible to judge these statements with absolute certainty, but without making reference to supernatural ideas, one can only draw the conclusion that the *Kālacakra* texts were written at the earliest a couple of centuries after Muhammed's life-time.

Consequently, it is possible to say something about *Kālacakra* in *Shambhala* only by making reference to the *Kālacakra* texts themselves.⁵⁶ There exists some other interesting texts in this context, especially the *Kalāpāvatāra*,⁵⁷ which has survived in Tibetan translation. Sofia Stirl-Rever recently made an interesting contribution by treating the traditional Tibetan view on *Shambhala*.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ In the Sanskrit texts the well-known Tibetan subject of "*Shambhala*" is spelled "*Sambhala*". Consequently the original spelling of the concept should be "*Sambhala*". I will mainly use the word *Shambhala* as it is the best known concept in Tibetan Buddhism.

⁵⁵ Tripathi. 1977 (1942):191-198, 444; Dutt. 1988 (1962):135-136; Subrahmanyam. 2001:8. For an excellent discussion of the problem of the location and tradition concerning the *Dhānyakaṭaka stupa* see Macdonald. 1970.

⁵⁶ KCT I:150-170. In the *Vimalaprabhā* there are pieces of information in many places.

⁵⁷ P. 5908, Toh.4464. The text has been translated and commented upon by Bernbaum (Bernbaum. 1985: 42-81). There exists other guidebooks to *Shambhala* by Tibetan authors. The most famous being the one by the sixth Panchen Lama entitled *Shambhala'i lam-yig*. This work was one of the first texts treating subjects in the *Kālacakra Tantra* that was translated into a western language (Grünwedel. 1915), although the translation leaves much to be desired.

⁵⁸ Stirl-Rever. 2000:49-57, 96 note 7.

The history of *Kālacakra* in India is more complicated and has been treated first by Helmut Hoffmann and Ariane Macdonald and then by John Newman and G. Orofino.⁵⁹ The most recent contributions are the dissertations by Jensine Andresen⁶⁰ and James Hartzell.⁶¹

2.2. THE INTRODUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF KĀLACAKRA IN TIBET.

This subchapter contains two sections. The first part treats the question concerning the dates of the introduction of *Kālacakra* to Tibet on the basis of a text by *Nyang Ral-pa-can* which contains the first known mention of *Gyi-jo* and 'Bro *Lo-tsa-ba* who were the first to translate the *Kālacakra* texts to Tibetan. The second part deals with the text *Dus-'khor chos-'byung* by Bu-ston which is the first known history of *Kālacakra*. A summary and analysis of the text is presented first, followed by an annotated translation.

2.2.1. On the dates of the introduction of Kālacakra to Tibet.

This chapter treats the History of *Kālacakra* in Tibet up to the time of *Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub* (1290-1364), who wrote the first known extant history of *Kālacakra*.⁶² *Bu-ston's* text called *rGyud-sde'i zab-don sgo-'byed rin-chen gces-pa'i lde-mig*, [short title:] *Dus-'khor chos-'byung* written in 1329 will be presented first. The text consists of 46 Tibetan folios, which corresponds to p.1-92 in the Indian edition by Lokesh Chandra. The reason for studying this text is evident considering that it is the most ancient known extant history of *Kālacakra*. The text is a copy of a block-print edition of his works made in Lhasa in 1921. It was prepared for the 13th Dalai Lama between 1917 and 1919 and printed at the *Zhol-par-khang* printing house in Lhasa.⁶³ The works of *Bu-ston* were collected before the 17th century and existed in one edition in his home monastery *Zha-lu* and one in Lhasa. The Lhasa edition is now the only version available.⁶⁴ The original of the published edition is kept in New Delhi.

The colophon states that the composition of the *Dus-'khor chos-'byung* was urged by Bu-ston's teacher and that it contains both the *Rva* and the 'Bro traditions of *Kālacakra*. Bu-ston's commentaries follow the *laghutantra Śrī-Kālacakra-tantra-rāja*, the *Vimala-prabhā* commentary and also, as far as possible, the lost *mūlatantra*. As in most of his writings, *Bu-ston* organizes and classifies the material in a systematic way. In *The History of the Monastery of Zhwa-lu*, there is the information that Bu-ston actually taught from his *Dus-'khor chos-'byung*.⁶⁵

⁵⁹ Hoffmann. 1964, 1967, 1975; Newman. 1985, 1987a; Orofino. 1994 and 1995; Macdonald. 1970.

⁶⁰ Andresen. 1997, Wallace. 1995, Hartzell. 1997 and Newman. 1998a and 1998b.

⁶¹ Hartzell. 1997:969-1056.

⁶² Bu-ston. 1965d:56-74.

⁶³ Ruegg. 1966:41.

⁶⁴ Chandra. 1965:1-4.

⁶⁵ *The History of the Monastery of Zhwa-lu*, p.81, line 6 and p.82, line 1.

The text *Dus-'khor chos-'byung* begins with salutations to *Kālacakra*, the Buddha, the *Kālacakra* texts and so forth, and the text is divided into four chapters. Then it continues to explain the development of the cosmos and enumerates the Buddhas that will appear in the different *kalpas*. The history is related of the life of *Śākyamuni* and of how the *Kālacakra Tantra* was preached by the Buddha at the *Dhānyakaṭaka stūpa* in present Andhra Pradesh. Then follows how the texts were guarded by the kings of *Shambhala* and the lineage of these kings.

On page 56 (fol.27a) in the Indian edition the explanation of how the *Kālacakra Tantra* was brought to India begins. This part (p.56-61) has been translated by George Roerich in the meaning that he has translated *mKhas-grub-rje's* text on this matter, which in turn was copied almost word by word from the text by *Bu-ston*, written one hundred years earlier than *mKhas-grub-rje's* (in 1434).⁶⁶ This has also been remarked upon by John Newman in his very interesting article on the history of *Kālacakra*. He makes a new translation of the text, directly from *Bu-ston*.⁶⁷ A final translation of this text has been made in Newman's dissertation, where he includes more details on the history of *Kālacakra* in India.⁶⁸ A summary of this part of the text (p.56-61) follows:⁶⁹

The text (p.56) starts with telling the story of the *Rva* tradition of *Kālacakra*. The Indian *Cilu* is mentioned first. His disciple was *Piṇḍo* who taught the whole *Bodhisattva Corpus*, which is comprised by the *Kālacakra Tantra*, its commentaries and two texts from the *Hevajra* and *Cakrasaṃvara* tantric systems.

After *Piṇḍo* came *Kālacakrapāda, the Elder* and then *Kālacakrapāda, the Younger*. *Somanātha* received the *Kālacakra* from both *Kālacakrapāda the Elder* and the Younger. He probably visited Tibet around the year 1064.⁷⁰ Newman identifies *Kālacakrapāda, the Elder* with *Piṇḍo* and *Kālacakrapāda, the Younger* with *Nāropa*.⁷¹ The *Rva*, 'Bro, and *Gyi-jo zla-ba'i 'od-zer* schools of *Kālacakra* have, according to Newman, their origin in *Nāropa*. Consequently, the introduction of *Kālacakra* to India probably took place in the early part of the 11th century. There is a date, 1012 A.D., mentioned in both the *laghutantara* and the *Vimalaprabhā* which means that these texts were not written earlier.⁷² John Newman has recently written a comprehensive article on the dating of the *Kālacakra* texts. He reaches the conclusion that the *mleccha* year 403 after *Hijra*⁷³ corresponds to 1024/25 or 1026/27. He also states that the mention of this date in the *Kālacakra* means that the texts could not have been written until after the beginning of the sexagenary cycle, which began in 1025 or 1027. His general conclusion is that the *Śrī-Kālacakra-tantra-rāja* and

⁶⁶ Roerich. 1932:18-22.

⁶⁷ Newman. 1985:66-71; Newman. 1987a:76-89.

⁶⁸ Newman. 1987a:70-114.

⁶⁹ Bu-ston. 1965a:56-61; Newman. 1987a:76-89.

⁷⁰ For example see *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*. 1985:3216 and Newman. 1987a:92, note 13.

⁷¹ Newman. 1987a:106.

⁷² Newman. 1987a:85, note 13. For a more elaborate discussion on the dating of the texts see Newman. 1998a.

⁷³ The Muslim/*Mleccha* chronology, beginning with year of *Hijra* when Muhammed left from Mecca to Medina in the year 622 AD.

the *Vimalaprabhā* were completed between 1025 and 1040 A.D. which seems to be a realistic dating.⁷⁴

The most common dating of *Nāropa* is set by Wylie to 956-1040.⁷⁵ This dating is not very certain. The foregoing means that the *Kālacakra* hardly could have been introduced to Tibet as early as the traditional date of 1027. Ariane Macdonald has argued for a later dating for the introduction of *Kālacakra* to Tibet. She places the date for the introduction to the last 25 years of the 11th century, after *Atiśa*, whom she considered played no role in this introduction.⁷⁶ If we consider the early mention of the introduction of *Kālacakra* to Tibet by *Nyi-ma 'od-zer*, which I will treat in detail later, it seems more probable that the main tradition was introduced by *Gyi-jo* before 1040.

The first mention of the introducers of *Kālacakra* to Tibet that I have found is in the *rNying-ma'i chos-'byung chen-mo* by *Nyang Ral-pa-can Nyi-ma 'od-zer* (1136-1204).⁷⁷ The author *Nyang Ral-pa-can* married a daughter of *Dharmesvara* called *Jo-'bum-ma* and he begot with her the sons *Nam-mkha' 'od-zer* and *Nam-mkha-dpal*.⁷⁸ This is a very interesting fact because it shows that *Nyang-Ral* was directly involved in the 'Bro tradition of *Kālacakra*. *Dharmesvara* and his nephew are known as two of the main tradition holders in the 'Bro school in the 12th century.⁷⁹ Furthermore, *Dharmesvara* was the main tradition holder after *Yu-mo* in the controversial *Jo-nang-pa* school. This school, and its main master *Dol-po-pa* (14th century), is mainly known for its *gZhan-stong* theory of "substantialism" which is partly founded on an interpretation of *Kālacakra*. Taken together, *Nyang-Ral* must have been quite familiar with the *Kālacakra* and naturally treated only the 'Bro school in his *chos-'byung*, not the *Rva* school. Consequently, the question arises whether *Nyang-Ral* had any significant part in the promotion of the tradition of *Kālacakra*. Another known fact about *Nyang-Ral* is that he was an important *gter-ston* (discoverer of texts) inside the *rNying-ma-pa* school and one of the great names of this school. It would be an interesting issue to investigate the relation of the *rNying-ma* tradition with the *Kālacakra*.

2.2.1.a. The first mention of the translators of the *Kālacakra Tantra*.

The Tibetan text of *Nyang Ral-pa-can Nyi-ma 'od-zer* and the English translation are presented:

I. The mention of *Gyi-jo zla-ba'i 'od-zer*:

Tibetan text:

⁷⁴ Newman. 1998a:342-343.

⁷⁵ Wylie. 1982:687-692.

⁷⁶ Macdonald. 1970:175-176.

⁷⁷ Meisezahl. 1985:Tafel 341.1.1 (fol.509a) and Tafel 349.3.1 (fol.523a). Stein. 1981:50 gives the dates of *Nyang Ral pa can* as 1124-1192.

⁷⁸ Dargyay. 1977:214, note 56 and 97-103. Dargyay is here quoting his biography *Yid-bzhin norbu'i phreng-ba* (fol. 1a. Dargyay prefers the dating 1124-1192.

⁷⁹ Bu-ston. 1965d:61-65 and Roerich. 1949/53:755, 768.

(Tafel 341.1.1., fol.509a) *lha bla-ma'i sku-che'i smad-la spu-rang-pa zhang-chung / btsun-gsar shes-rab-la bka' bgos-nas / yul-dbus-kyi paṇḍi-ta shri bajra-bho-dhi dang / lo-tstsha-ba gyi-cho zla-ba 'od-zer gyis dus-'khor dang / ma-rgyud 'ga' bsgyur-ro / mnga'-ris stod-du lo-gsum gzhuḡs /*

Translation:

In the later part of the lifetime of *lHa bla-ma*, after having instructed *sPu-rang-pa Zhang-chung bTsun-gsar Shes-rab*, *Paṇḍi-ta Shri Bajra-bho-dhi* of *Mādhyaḡeṣa* [India] and *lo-tstsha-ba Gyi-cho Zla-ba 'od-zer* translated the *Kālacakra* and some mother *tantras*. [They] stayed in upper *mNga'-ris* for three years.

II. The mention of 'Bro lo-tsa-ba Shes-rab-grags.

Tibetan text:

(Tafel 349.3.1., fol.523a) *'brom lo-tstsha-ba shes-rab-grags kyis kha-che zla-mgon spyang-drangs-pa nas / dus-'khor 'grel-pa che-chung sngags dang bcas-pa bsgyur-ro / de-nas 'jam-dpal zab-don la-sogs-pa bsgyur-ro /*

Translation:

After having invited *Kha-che Zla-mgon* [*Somanātha*], '*Brom Lo-tsa-ba Shes-rab-grags* translated the Great and Small *Kālacakra* Commentary together with [other] *tantras*. After that [they] translated the '*Jam-dpal zab-don* [The deep sense of *Māñjuśrī*].

The first text mentions the founder of the *Gyi-jo* school of *Kālacakra* which, according to *Bu-ston*, is the third important school of this *tantric* system in Tibet.⁸⁰ *Gyi-jo Zla-ba'i 'od-zer* is in this text called *Gyi-cho*, but probably this is only a misspelling without any greater significance. It is a place name and both spellings are represented in catalogues of the Tibetan canon.⁸¹ *Bhadrabodhi* is also called *Bajra-bo-dhi*, which probably does not have any great significance, keeping in mind the similarity of the two words *Bhadra* and *Bajra* (*va-jra*). The word is the same as *Bodhibhadra* mentioned later in the text. Further, *lHa bla-ma* is, according to '*Gos lo-tsa-ba gZhon-nu-dpal*, the same as the renowned king '*Khor-re*, later a monk under the name *lHa bla-ma Ye-shes-'od*, who was involved in the invitation of *Atiṣa* (982-1054) to Tibet.⁸² Later he has been identified as the brother *Srong-nge*.⁸³ There is a problem here because the nephew of *Ye-shes-'od*, *Byang-chub-'od* is also known by the name *lHa bla-ma* according to *Sum-pa mkhan-po*.⁸⁴ Further, according to Tucci, *Byang-chub-'od* was given the title *lHa bla-ma*, it is to say that he was the spiritual heir of *Ye-shes-'od*.⁸⁵ However '*Gos Lo-tsa-ba* gives *Byang-chub-'od* the title *lHa btsun pa*, *lHa-btsun* and also *lHa yi sras* and reserves *lHa bla-ma* only for *Ye-shes-'od*.⁸⁶

⁸⁰ Bu-ston. 1965d:74.

⁸¹ Lalou. 1933:224 and Cordier. 1909:19 "*Lo-ca-ba Zla-baḡi ḡod-zer* [*Candraprabha*] *de Gyi-co*".

⁸² Roerich. 1949/53:244.

⁸³ Karmay. 1980:150.

⁸⁴ Sum-pa mkhan-po. 1908 (1748) as quoted in Stein. 1981:48.

⁸⁵ Tucci. 1933:24 and Naudou. 1968:159.

⁸⁶ Roerich. 1949/53:86, 244.

Considering that *Atiśa* is said to have been invited by *Byang chub-'od* in the year 1042 it is probable that *lHa bla-ma Ye-shes-'od* is referred to. Most important in this context is that *Nyang Ral-pa-can* at other places in the same text reserves the title *Lha bla-ma* for *Ye-shes-'od*, while *Byang-chub-'od* is mentioned as *lHa Byang-chub-'od*.⁸⁷

Consequently, supposing that *Bhadrabodhi* and *Gyi-jo* translated the *Kālacakra* in the later lifetime of *lHa bla-ma Ye-shes-'od*, the time would be before *Atiśa* came to Tibet in 1042⁸⁸ on an invitation from *Byang-chub-'od*.⁸⁹ The well-known story related in *The Blue Annals* is that *Ye-shes-'od* waged a war against the *Garlog* in order to obtain enough gold to invite *Atiśa* to Tibet. He was captured and made prisoner, and then his nephew, the monk *Byang-chub-'od*, raised enough gold to buy him free from the *Garlog*. *Byang-chub-'od* visited *Ye-shes-'od* and he said that the gold should be used for inviting *Atiśa* instead of liberating himself as he was an old man. In that case, *Ye-shes-'od* should have died in prison, some time after approximately 1040 and so sacrificed himself for the sake of inviting *Atiśa* to Tibet. It is not completely clear from these sources exactly when or where he died.⁹⁰ This story is historically very uncertain. It could have been an amendment in later historical texts.

'*Gos lo-tsa-ba* clearly states that it was *Ye-shes-'od* who received *Atiśa* when he came to *mNga'-ris* and later to *dBus*.⁹¹ As *Bhadrabodhi* and *Gyi-jo* are said to have arrived in the later lifetime of *lHa-bla-ma*, that should mean that *Ye-shes-'od* was still active in the kingdom, although he had already abdicated the throne much earlier. It should be remembered that *Rin-chen bzang-po*, who was sent to India by *Ye-shes-'od*, came back to Tibet in 978, so the former king must have been very old around 1040. *Rin-chen bzang-po* was about 85 when *Atiśa* came to Tibet and *Ye-shes-'od* was the king that had sent him to India, which supposes that he must have been more than 100 years old.⁹² It is not very probable that *Nyi-ma 'od-zer* would have written that *Gyi-jo* and *Bhadrabodhi* came to Tibet and translated the *Kālacakra* in the later life-time of *lHa bla-ma* if *Ye-shes-'od* was imprisoned by the *Garlog* at that time. More probable is that they came when *Ye-shes-'od* was still responsible for the warfare, that is, at the latest in 1040 when *Atiśa* was already on his way to Tibet, invited with the money supposed to be assembled by *Byang-chub-'od* for the liberation of *Ye-shes-'od*. '*Gos lo-tsa-ba* is here using the title *Lha bla-ma* for the king who invited *Atiśa*. *Ye-shes-'od* was at the time supposedly in prison and could not receive anyone. Still, in other places in his text, '*Gos lo-tsa-ba* reserves the title *Lha-bla-ma* for *Ye-shes-'od* and gives *Byang-chub-'od* the name *Lha-tsun-pa*.⁹³ Quite contrary to the inner logic of both *Nyang-Ral's* and '*Gos lo-tsa-ba's* texts, it must be supposed that they were

⁸⁷ Meisezahl. 1985: Tafel 332.2.6 and 337.3.3.

⁸⁸ *Atiśa* is said to have been in Tibet between 1042 and 1056 (Snellgrove. 1987:477)

⁸⁹ Other texts translated together with *Bhadrabodhi* are Toh.4528 (a *Kālacakra* text) and Toh.4476 - *Śrī-Kālacakra-laghutantra-rāja-hṛdaya*; interestingly enough revised by *Samantaśrī* and *Chos-rab*. In the colophon of Toh.4528 is mentioned that the translation was urged by the *Yon-bdag Zhang-btsun dge-long*, which could be a reference to the *Zhang-chung btsun-gsar shes-rab* mentioned above in the text by *Nyang-ral-pa-can*. See also Toh.1197 on *Saṃpūṭa-tantra*.

⁹⁰ Shakabpa. 1984 (1967):56-58; Roerich. 1949/53:244-250; Eimer. 1979:1. Teil: 215-218, 2. Teil:149-155; Eimer. 1974:21 note 13; Chattopadhyaya. 1967:283-290.

⁹¹ Roerich. 1949/53:247-248.

⁹² Karmay. 1980:158-159, note 26.

⁹³ Roerich. 1949/53:244.

writing about *Byang-chub-'od* instead of *Ye-shes-'od*. Taken together, this seems to signify that *Gyi-jo* came to Tibet some years before 1040, not very far from the traditional date of 1027.

These questions on dating bring us to later research on the dating of *Ye-shes-'od* presented by Samten G. Karmay in 1979. He has in his article "*The ordinance of Lha-bla-ma Ye-shes-'od*" used a biography on *Rin-chen-bzang-po* that throws some light on this problem.⁹⁴ From this biography, it can be concluded, according to Karmay, that *Ye-shes-'od* died at the end of the 10th century or the beginning of the 11th century.⁹⁵ If we follow the earlier traditional dating of *Ye-shes-'od*, it follows that he died in captivity some time in the 1030s and *Bhadrabodhi* and *Gyi-jo* should have introduced and translated the *Kālacakra* texts in Tibet previous to this time, as it should have happened during the life-time of *Ye-shes-'od*. With the new and probably more relevant dating of the king, the problem arises again how it could be said in *Nyang-Ral's* text that the two translators were active during the life-time of *Ye-shes-'od*. It seems quite improbable that they could have done the translation work as early as around the year 1000, as there is a date in the *Kālacakra* texts that can as interpreted as 1024/25 or 1026/27 and the text could not have been completed prior to this.⁹⁶ The translation into Tibetan must have occurred later. The story about *Ye-shes-'od* could also be a legend or relate to something else. In this context, it can be noted that *Bu-ston* in his *Chos-'byung* does not mention all these events but only says that *Atiśa* was invited by *Byang-chub-'od*.⁹⁷ The only possibility that remains is that '*Gos lo-tsa-ba* and *Nyang Ral-pa-can* when they mention *Lha-bla-ma* as inviting *Atiśa* and the translators *Bhadrabodhi* and *Gyi-jo* actually mean *Byang-chub-'od* instead of *Ye-shes-'od*, as the inner logic in the texts demands. In conclusion, the final solution of the problem is still not solved as exact dates for *Byang-chub-'od* are also missing. The probable date for the introduction still appears to be around 1030/1040 A.D. *Nyang-Ral's* text could also imply a new dating of *Gyi-jo*, *Bhadrabodhi* and the introduction of *Kālacakra* to Tibet at the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century.

There exists new information concerning *Ye-shes-'od* from Laxman Thakur where he has reached the conclusion that *Ye-shes-'od* passed through *Ta-pho* in *Spiti* in the year 1004.⁹⁸ John Newman has in his dissertation the presently most reliable analysis of the dates of *Gyi-jo*. He places *Gyi-jo* in the first half of the 11th century and regards him as almost certainly the first Tibetan to translate texts on the *Kālacakra*, which is confirmed by the texts cited here.⁹⁹ What can be added from this dissertation is that *Gyi-jo* and *Bhadrabodhi* probably came to Tibet before 1040. Of interest in this connection is that *Bhadrabodhi* is cited as the teacher of *Atiśa*. If it is the same person, it means that the connection *Atiśa* and *Kālacakra* is not totally impossible because *Bhadrabodhi* was a renowned

⁹⁴ Karmay. 1980:150-162; Rin-chen-bzang-po. 1977:51-128; Snellgrove. 1987:480 and Snellgrove & Skorupski. 1980:92.

⁹⁵ Karmay. 1980:158-159 note 26.

⁹⁶ Newman. 1987a:538-539; Newman. 1987b:100; Newman. 1998a; Schuh. 1973:120-122. Also interesting is: Snellgrove 1987:480 and Snellgrove and Skorupski 1980:92.

⁹⁷ Bu-ston. 1964 (1932):212-214.

⁹⁸ Thakur. 1995:972 and Thakur. 2001:24,43,80,148. Thakur. 2001 is a thorough investigation of the monastery of Tabo in Spiti, Himachal Pradesh.

⁹⁹ Newman. 1987a:102-106.

Kālacakra scholar. Another interesting fact is that *Gyi-jo* also made translations under *Atiśa*.¹⁰⁰

There is a problem with the dating of *Gyi-jo*, because it is told in the *Blue Annals* that *Gyi-jo* invited the Indian *paṇḍita* *Gayādhara* to *mNga'-ris*.¹⁰¹ It was *Gayādhara* who gave the *Lam-'bras*-doctrines to '*Brog-mi* (992-1072),¹⁰² who paid 500 golden *srang*¹⁰³ for that teaching with a promise of exclusiveness for Tibet. When *Gyi-jo* invited *Gayādhara*, '*Brog-mi* had just died. Consequently, this event should have taken place soon after the year 1072, which means that *Gyi-jo* was active rather late in the 11th century. It can be found in the *bsTan-'gyur* that he cooperated with *Gayādhara* on translations of *Hevajra* texts.¹⁰⁴ The fact that *Gyi-jo* was active so late in the 11th century indicates that his translation work with *Bhadrabodhi* could not have taken place around the year 1000 when *Ye-shes-'od*, according to Karmay, died. It is interesting in this context to note that *Bhadrabodhi* is mentioned as the teacher of *Atiśa*, which means that the *Kālacakra* was well known by *Atiśa*, but that he chose not to teach this doctrine himself in Tibet. Accordingly, he must have been well aware of the activities by *Bhadrabodhi* in spreading the teachings in Tibet. It is not possible to place *Bhadrabodhi's* arrival and activities in Tibet too late in time. *Atiśa* (982-1054) arrived in Tibet at the age of 60 in the year 1042. *Bhadrabodhi* must have been considerably older, being his teacher, and consequently he probably already was present when *Atiśa* came to Tibet.

As for the dating of *Byang-chub-'od*, it is evident from many sources that it was he who received *Atiśa* and supported him, which means that he was active during the years around 1030s to 1050s.¹⁰⁵ Still, I am not convinced that in the text by *Nyang-ral*, *Lha-bla-ma* stands for *Byang-chub-'od* and the question therefore is not completely resolved. In the text, *Lha-bla-ma* should be a title for *Ye-shes-'od*. In support for this, *Byang-chub-'od* should be named *lHa-bla-ma*. It is the conclusion of G. Tucci that he received this title.¹⁰⁶

The next problem in the text *rNying-ma'i chos-'byung* is the statement that *Bhadrabodhi* and *Gyi-jo* first taught the *Kālacakra* to *sPu-rang-pa zhang-chung bTsun-gsar shes-rab* and then translated the *Dus-'khor*. In this context, it is probable that *Dus-'khor*, which is Tibetan for *Kālacakra*, is referring to the *Kālacakra* texts in general, not to any particular *Kālacakra* text. Who then was *sPu-rang-pa Zhang-chung bTsun-gsar Shes-rab*?¹⁰⁷ One should note that *sPu-rang-pa* is a word for "the man from *sPu-rang*," that is from *sPu-rang* near lake *Manasarowar* on the pilgrim road to Mount *Kailāś*. *Zhang-chung* is the younger maternal uncle and *bTsun-gsar shes-rab* could be the personal name. Another possibility is that it is another name for *lHa-bla-ma*, but I have not found that name in the literature. *lHa-bla-ma Ye-shes-'od* though, is called "King of *Pu-hrangs*"¹⁰⁸ and he pos-

¹⁰⁰ Toh.4748-4760. A series of small texts on *Hevajra* translated together with *Dipamkāśrījñāna* (*Atiśa*).

¹⁰¹ Roerich. 1949/53:207; *Deb ther ngon po*. 1976. Vol. *Nga* fol.2a.

¹⁰² Snellgrove. 1987:488 for the dating of '*Brog-mi*.

¹⁰³ 1 *srang* is 100 *zho*. The ancient currency in Tibet.

¹⁰⁴ Lalou. 1933:143 and Cordier. 1908:84. He translated the following texts together with *Gayādhara*: Toh.378-379 (*Samvara*), 424,1272 and 1298 (*Hevajra*), 1356 and 1366 (*Kālacakra*), 1417, 1652, 1655-57, 4604, 4849-50, 4853-54.

¹⁰⁵ Roerich. 1949/53:37,244,305 and 374. Bu-ston. 1964 (1932):213.

¹⁰⁶ Tucci. 1933:24; Naudou. 1968:159 and 213.

¹⁰⁷ For the words *sPu* and *sPu-rang* see Haahr. 1969:227-230.

¹⁰⁸ Karmay. 1979:153.

sibly also governed *Zhang-zhung*, but the inner logic of the text makes that interpretation less probable.

However, it seems that *Bhadrabodhi* and *Gyi-jo* travelled this way to arrive at the kingdom of *Guge* further west, as it is said in the text that they stayed for three years in “upper” (*stod*) *mNga’-ris*, which should mean the region of *Guge*. Finally, it is stated in the text that they translated the *Kālacakra* and some mother *tantras* which probably means that they translated the *laghutāntra* itself. ‘*Gos lo-tsa-ba*’ also states that *Gyi-jo* translated this text and consequently this possibly was the first Tibetan translation. The canonical translation by *Somanātha* and ‘*Bro Shes-rab-grags*’ has to be of a considerably later date, but it should also be noted that this text, according to both *Bu-ston* and ‘*Gos lo-tsa-ba*’, was translated many times by different scholars.¹⁰⁹ It has been said that the *Kālacakra* text has been translated to Tibetan more times than any other Buddhist text. It is also said that *Gyi-jo* and *Bhadrabodhi* translated the small *Kālacakra* text mentioned below and another commentary on the *Kālacakra*.¹¹⁰ Furthermore it is stated in this text by *Nyang Ral-pa-can* that *Gyi-jo* and *Bhadrabodhi* translated some *ma-rgyud* (mother *tantras*) without defining titles. There are two more translations in the Tibetan canon by these two, and they are both short texts on the *Kālacakra*.¹¹¹

In spite of the complications concerning the dating of *Gyi-jo* and *Bhadrabodhi* as presented here, the most probable dating of the introduction of the *Kālacakra* to Tibet is around 1030 to 1040 A.D. As will be shown in the following chapter, *Somanātha* and ‘*Bro lo-tsa-ba*’ must have been active considerably later, although there is a small possibility that *Somanātha* arrived in Tibet considerably earlier.

Another complication with these dates comes from a reading of the colophon to the small Kanjur text *Śrī Kālacakra-garbhā-nāma-tantra* Toh.364.¹¹² This colophon mentions that the text was translated by *Śrī Bhadrabodhi* and *Gyi-jo zla-ba’i ‘od-zer* on the request of ‘*Bro dGe-slong*.’ Supposedly, this means that it was the same ‘*Bro lo-tsa-ba*’ as the one mentioned below and it also implies a direct connection between these three masters. Because ‘*Bro*’ requested the translation, it means that he already had some position within the community of masters working with the *Kālacakra* texts. This is contradictory in respect to the accepted fact that *Bhadrabodhi* and *Gyi-jo* were the first who translated *Kālacakra* texts. Probably they were the first, but ‘*Bro lo-tsa-ba*’ was already in the 1030s active in the transport of these texts to Tibet. The traditional date for the arrival of *Somanātha* to Tibet and the consequent cooperation of the two in translating the basic texts of *Kālacakra* is 1064 and it is difficult to understand how ‘*Bro*’ was already working with the other *Kālacakra* translators over thirty years prior to this date. Perhaps it is necessary to pre-date both.

An Indian master was invited to Tibet by the king *Ye-śes-‘od* before *Atiśa* (1042) with the name *Subhūtiśrīśānti*. He revised a translation of the text *Hevajrapañḍārthaṭīkā* (Toh.1180) made by *Maitri-pā* and (‘*Bro*) *Śes-rab-grags-pa*. This implies an earlier activ-

¹⁰⁹ Roerich. 1949/53:837 and *Bu-ston*. 1965d:74.

¹¹⁰ Toh.1365, *Śrī-Kālacakra-garbhālaṃkāra-sādhana-nāma*.

¹¹¹ Toh. 4476, 4528.

¹¹² Toh.364. In the Nyingma edition. 1982, Vol.28, p.73:288, line 6-7. The text has 2 fols. (4 pages 285-288). Newman has noted the existence of this colophon (Newman. 1987a: 99, note 66).

ity as a translator for 'Bro.¹¹³ An interesting detail in this connection is that 'Bro was involved in translating one of three texts comprising the so called *Bodhisattva corpus*. The connection between the three texts is again emphasized.¹¹⁴

Another question that arises is why 'Bro wanted another translation of the texts when he was already involved in the first translation of *Kālacakra* texts. The answer to that question could be that 'Bro, here presented as 'Bro *dge-slong*, was not yet active as a translator and therefore urged that translations be made by *Bodhibhadra* and *Gyi-jo*. Later, when he himself became a translator and had received the title of translator (*lo-tsa-ba*), he wanted to improve on the earlier translation and invited *Somanātha* to Tibet. Still, it is not quite clear why 'Bro is mentioned in this colophon.

The second part of the text by *Nyang Ral-pa-can* mentions 'Bro(m) *lo-tsa-ba Shes-rab-grags* as the one who invited *Somanātha* and translated the *Kālacakra* texts together with him. The text says that they translated the Great and Small *Kālacakra* Commentary. Usually the Great Commentary is a name for the main commentary *Vimalaprabhā*, but it is more difficult to understand what is meant by the small commentary. Furthermore, it is somewhat awkward that only the commentaries and not the basic text (the *laghutantra*) are mentioned. Finally, it is mentioned that they translated the 'Jam-dpal zab-don (the profound sense of *Mañjuśrī*). This could possibly be the text *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti* which has a direct connection to *Kālacakra*, but they are not the canonical translators of this text.¹¹⁵

2.2.2. Concerning the early history of *Kālacakra* in Tibet. An introduction to and analysis of Bu-ston's "A History of *Kālacakra*".

This chapter treats the doctrinal history of *Kālacakra* in Tibet from its introduction in the first half of the 11th century up to the time of *Bu-ston* in the 14th century. The part which treats this history in Bu-ston's text *rGyud-sde'i zab-don sgo-'byed rin-chen gces-pa'i lde-mig*, short title *Dus-'khor chos-'byung*, "A History of *Kālacakra*" written in 1329 is primarily presented.¹¹⁶

Bu-ston has written numerous texts on the *Kālacakra*. Five out of the 28 volumes of his Collected Works are devoted to this subject. He has commented on the basic texts and written about most of the topics which comprise the *Kālacakra* tantric system, among them is to be found the present text about the history of the doctrine.

As mentioned above, Newman has translated p.56-61 of the "History of *Kālacakra*" by *Bu-ston*.¹¹⁷

These five pages contain the history of the introduction of *Kālacakra* to India from the mythic land of *Shambhala*.¹¹⁸ Starting with the version from the *Rva* school of

¹¹³ Naudou. 1968:160-161.

¹¹⁴ Note 119 below.

¹¹⁵ Toh. 361.

¹¹⁶ Bu-ston. 1965d:56-74.

¹¹⁷ See above p.19.

Kālacakra. The Indian pandit *Cilu* is first mentioned. His disciple was *Pido Ācārya* (or: *Pinḍo ācārya*), who taught the whole *Bodhisattva Corpus*.¹¹⁹ After *Pinḍo* came *Kālacakrapāda*, the Elder and then *Kālacakrapāda*, the Younger, who is also called *Nāropa* (or: *Nalendra-pa*).¹²⁰ *Sōmanātha*, who founded the 'Bro school of *Kālacakra* and brought it to Tibet, received the *Kālacakra* tradition from both the Elder and the Younger *Kālacakrapāda*.

I will not here treat all of Newman's arguments, but concerning the identification of these masters, he establishes with some conviction that *Kālacakrapāda*, the Elder should be identified with *Pinḍo*. Using *Atiśa's Bodhipathapradīpa* with commentary as a source, Newman also identifies *Kālacakrapāda*, the Younger, with *Nādo* (*Nāropa*), whose death has been calculated to 1040.¹²¹

Consequently, the appearance of the *Kālacakra Tantra* in India probably happened in the early part of the 11th century. There is a date, 1012 A.D. or 1026 A.D.¹²² which is mentioned in the *laghutantra* in the form of a prophecy. Therefore, it is not absolutely certain that this text was written after this date, it could also have been written previously. Orofino mentions the 60-years-cycle 967-1026 which seems quite possible.¹²³ As the date of the death of *Nāropa* has been quite well established as 1040, this seems quite probable. This means that it is difficult to accept the *Kālacakra Tantra* being introduced to Tibet as early as 1027, the date mentioned by most Tibetan commentators, but probably somewhat later in the 11th century. Ariane Macdonald was the first to argue for a later dating of the introduction of the tantra to Tibet. She wanted to set the date of the introduction of the *Kālacakra* to Tibet to the last 25 years of the 11th century, after *Atiśa*, whom she considered had played no role in this introduction.¹²⁴

The latest contribution to the discussion is an article by Newman where he, after a very thorough investigation, reached the conclusion that the *mleccha* year of 403 mentioned in KCT I:27 and VP 1.9.27 corresponds to the year 1024/25 or 1026/27 AD. This

¹¹⁸ The correct spelling of the original word in Sanskrit is *Sambhala* as it is found in that form in the original Sanskrit texts (first remarked by Reigle. 1986). In the Tibetan translations *Sambhala* became *Shambhala* for an unknown reason. Perhaps it was phonetically easier or there was an older tradition of also writing *Shambhala* in Sanskrit? In correspondence with John Newman (21.6.-04) he remarks that *Shambhala* probably is an east Indian pronunciation. In this dissertation I will use the Tibetan spelling *Shambhala* as I will use the concept in the Tibetan context.

¹¹⁹ This consists of the following three texts; *Vimalaprabhā* (Toh.1347) by Kalki Pundarika, *Hevajrapīṇḍarthaṭīkā* by *Bodhisattva Vajragarbha*, a text belonging to the *Hevajra* system (Toh.1180, Peking 2310); and *Lakṣabhidhanaduḍḍhṛta-laghutantra-piṇḍarthavivarana-nama* by *Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi*, a text belonging to the *Cakrasamvara* system. (Peking 2117). These three texts all comment on the abridged (*laghu*) *tantras* of *Kālacakra*, *Hevajra* and *Samvara* systems. According to Newman, the latter two explain their *tantras* in accordance with the special ideas of the *Kālacakra*. They have corresponding passages and doctrinal and stylistic features in common. (Newman. 1987a:77, 111). These texts have often been grouped together in these *tantric* traditions.

¹²⁰ This is the Tibetan word for the monastery of *Nālanda* in northern India where *Nāropa* was active.

¹²¹ Wylie. 1982:687-692.

¹²² Schuh. 1973:20,121; Newman. 1985:65,85 note13; Newman. 1987:538-39 and Orofino. 1994:15-16 who convincingly argues that the date should be 1026 and not 1012. The latest and most comprehensive investigation of the dating problem of the *Kālacakra* texts has been made by Newman. 1998a.

¹²³ Orofino. 1994a:15-16.

¹²⁴ Macdonald. 1970:175.

means that these texts must have been completed after these dates, between 1025 and ca. 1040 AD.¹²⁵ This dating seems correct and hereafter well established.

As we have seen above, Newman found just one allusion to the *Kālacakra* in the main texts of *Atiśa*. Above the problem of dating the introduction of *Kālacakra* to Tibet has been treated. The introduction probably took place between 1030-1040 (p.13-20).

The part of *Dus-'khor chos-'byung* that I have translated is p.61-74 in the Lokesh Chandra edition (fol.31a-37b). It contains the history of the '*Bro-pas* and the '*Rva-pas*, the two main *Kālacakra* schools. The text begins with the '*Bro* school (p.61-65, fol.31a-33a). [When nothing else is stated, the facts are from Bu-ston's text.] At the end of the preceding chapter of Bu-ston's text, the *Kāsmīrī Somanātha* is introduced as a disciple of both the Elder and Younger *Kālacakrapādas* in *Māgadha* and he received the whole *Bodhisattva Corpus*.¹²⁶ It is also told that he was involved in a debate with the *Kāsmīrī* scholar *Ratnavajra* (*Rin-chen rdo-rje*).¹²⁷ This *Ratnavajra* was a well-known Buddhist scholar and was one of the six "gate-keepers" of the *Vikramaśīla* monastery in northern India. He was one of the two at the centre, together with *Jñānaśrimitra*, which means that he was one of the leaders of the monastery. He was also known as *ācārya Karṇa-pa* before receiving his initiation name.¹²⁸

There is an interesting dating which says that *Ratnavajra* was gate-keeper during the reign of the *Pāla* king *Canaka* (955-983) and was a contemporary of *Nāropa*.¹²⁹ *Somanātha* won the debate in question and *Ratnavajra* told *Somanātha* to go elsewhere, otherwise his disciples would lose faith in him. *Somanātha* then considered that he would spread the *Kālacakra* to Tibet and went there.¹³⁰ It is very difficult to conciliate the dates of *Nāropa* with this event. The dating of *Nāropa* is very uncertain and the above dating of *Ratnavajra* is also uncertain. It is more probable that *Nāropa* lived later and possibly *Ratnavajra* also lived later and it is possible that this story is credible, but that it took place some years later. The foregoing shows that *Somanātha* had made a powerful enemy and the question is whether he went to Tibet voluntarily or in "exile", because he had made some religious offense against *Ratnavajra* who held a position of power. The position of *Somanātha* in the *Vikramaśīla* is not clear from the context.

There is an obvious dating problem because *Somanātha* is generally considered to have lived later. If *Nāropa* died in 1040 and the identification of him with *Kālacakrapāda*, the Younger, by Newman is correct, then *Somanātha* was active as a disciple of *Nāropa* not later than 1040 in *Vikramaśīla*. Then again, if the traditional dating of the arrival of *Somanātha* to Tibet in 1064¹³¹ is correct, we have to calculate that *Somanātha* was at least

¹²⁵ Newman. 1998a:342-343.

¹²⁶ See note 119.

¹²⁷ Newman. 1985:71.

¹²⁸ Roerich. 1949/53:372, 378, 869; Tāranātha. 1868/69:240-41; Naudou. 1968:139; *Nāropa* was also one of the gate-keepers.

¹²⁹ Dutt. 1962:361; Naudou. 1968:139-141, Tāranātha. 1868/69:234-243.

The six gatekeepers at the period 955-983 were: 1. *ācārya Ratnākaraśānti* of the Eastern Gate; 2. *Vāgīśvarakīrti* of the Western Gate; 3. *Nāropa* of the Northern Gate; 4. *Prajñākaramati* of the Southern Gate;

5. *Ratnavajra* in the central gate. 6. *Jñānaśrimitra* of the second central gate.

¹³⁰ Bu-ston. 1965d:60, Newman. 1985:71.

¹³¹ *Bod-rgya tshig-mdzod chen-mo*. 1985:3216.

in his seventies when arriving in Tibet, probably in his eighties. Again, this is not possible because it is difficult to understand that he would have had his doctrinal debate with *Ratnavajra* and gone to Tibet when he was more than eighty. If *Ratnavajra* was born around 940 and died after 986, as suggested¹³², it is not possible that *Somanātha* arrived in Tibet in the year 1064 as in the texts it is supposed that he left India soon after his debate with *Ratnavajra*. The *Kālacakra* master *Bodhibhadra*, a disciple of *Nāropa* and a contemporary of *Ratnavajra*, was teaching around the year 1000 CE and lived after that for some time collaborating with *Gyi-jo*.¹³³ This makes the debate between *Somanātha* and *Ratnavajra* virtually impossible if the former was active in the 1060s. The solution to this problem is either to change the dating of *Nāropa* and *Somanātha* or to accept that *Nāropa* was not identified with *Kālacakrapāda*, the Younger. Perhaps there is also another *Ratnavajra* than the one mentioned in the sources. In conclusion, it can be stated that the datings of the first masters of *Kālacakra* are uncertain.

The text continues with *Somanātha* arriving at *gNyos* and initiating the translation of the *Vimalaprabhā* supported by the local ruler *Ye-shes-mchog*.¹³⁴ There he did not translate more than half of the commentary because he was not given the 100 golden *srang*¹³⁵ that he was promised. In *tantric* Buddhism, the practice of giving money in order to get access to special teaching is not uncommon. The donation was for the initiation to the tradition and the access to the texts. Especially the Tibetans going to India had to collect quite a large amount of gold to obtain teaching from Indian masters. This custom is in the Tibetan tradition itself, and is a way of showing respect to the guru and a sign of your willingness to give all that you have for the sake of religion. It is also stressed that the guru will not use this wealth for his own good but to build shrines and other religious purposes.

Somanātha then travelled to *'Phan-yul* and there he met *'Bro lo-tsa-ba* and completed the translation of the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary. This is the canonical translation found in the *bsTan-'gyur*. Comparing these facts to *Nyang-Ral's* text makes some problems evident. There it is said that *'Bro* invited *Somanātha* in order to translate the great and small commentary and there is nothing stated about *Somanātha* first going elsewhere. At least the two texts agree that they translated the *Vimalaprabhā*. Nothing is said about translating the *Laghutantra* (KCT). The problem of course could be only one of omission of information, but still, it would have been probable that *Nyang-Ral* would have mentioned if they also translated the basic text. There remains a doubt as to when *Somanātha* made this translation with *'Bro* of the KCT. *'Gos-lo-tsa-ba* and *Bu-ston* mentions that *Somanātha* went back to India for three years and then to Tibet a second time, which means that he had a connection with Tibet under a long time period.¹³⁶

Eventually, *Somanātha* had several disciples, among them *sGom-pa dKon-mchog-srung*, to whom he gave all the *Kālacakra* teachings and from whom he received some

¹³² Naudou. 1968:129,139. *Ratnavajra* was also the teacher of *Rin-chen bzang-po* (980-1055). *Ratnavajra* is said to have supervised the work of reconstructing the *bSam-yas* monastery after it had been burnt in 986. He was doing the work of an architect (*The Blue Annals*. 1949/53:378).

¹³³ Naudou. 1968:151-154. Naudou writes convincingly about the dating of these early masters and there is no reason to doubt his conclusions concerning *Bodhibhadra*.

¹³⁴ See my notes below 165 and 173-74.

¹³⁵ *Srang* was a monetary unit in ancient Tibet.

¹³⁶ Roerich. 1949/53:760; *Bu-ston*. 1965d:62, line 4 and my translation below (p.38-39).

gifts and some gold. The next name in the lineage is *sNor-bzang-gi sGro-gNam-la-brtsegs*. He had some conflicts with *Somanātha*, who at first only gave him the *Pratimokṣa* precepts, so *sGro* first received the *Kālacakra* teachings from *sGom-pa*, but eventually he also received them from *Somanātha*.

In the lineages usually given there is the line: *Somanātha* - 'Bro - *sGom-pa*,¹³⁷ but in this text by *Bu-ston* there is no indication that *sGom-pa* was ever a disciple of 'Bro. The name 'Bro is mentioned only once in connection with the translation of the *Vimalaprabhā*, and not as the teacher of *sGom-pa*. Mention can also be made of the fact that 'Gos *lo-tsa-ba* in an abbreviated lineage of the 'Bro school does not mention 'Bro's name in the lineage, which is as follows: *Somanātha* - *sGom-pa* - *sGro*.¹³⁸ It is difficult to draw any conclusions from this but probably the 'Bro school has its name because of his merits as a translator and not as much for his being a guru and lineage holder.

Next in the guru lineage given by *Bu-ston* is *Yu-mo*. It is stated in the text that he was given his name by *Bar-ston Thos-pa-dga'*, which is also the personal name of *Mi-la-ras-pa*. It is possible with the dating of *Mi-la-ras-pa* (1040-1123)¹³⁹ and *Yu-mo* in the second half of the 11th century and the beginning of the 12th century¹⁴⁰ that it could be *Mi-la-ras-pa*. This could point at an interesting connection between *bKa'-brgyud-pa*, *Kālacakra* and the *Jo-nang-pa*. *Yu-mo* was the founder of the *Jo-nang-pa* school and also the founder of the controversial doctrine of *gZhan-stong* ("substantialism"), although the doctrine was not written down until *Dol-po-pa* (1292-1361).¹⁴¹ *Yu-mo* studied with many lamas and particularly his guru was *bLa-ma sNor-bzang*, but he also received *Kālacakra* teachings directly from *Somanātha* and he became a great master of *Kālacakra* and taught extensively. He died at the age of eighty-two. Recently, texts have become accessible which may make his life more known.¹⁴²

When *Yu-mo* was fifty-five years old, his son *Dharmesvara* became his disciple; next in the guru lineage was *Dharmesvara's* disciple *Nam-mkha'-'od*. His disciple was *Dharmesvara's* son *Nam-mkha'* *rgyal-mtshan* and the latter's successor was 'Jam-gsar, who in his turn gave the *Kālacakra* teachings to *bLa-ma rGa-lo*.

Information about these last five representatives of the 'Bro lineage is very scarce and not much more is known than the names. All of them were masters and main lineage holders of the *Jo-nang-pa* school.¹⁴³ It is interesting that the *Jo-nang-pas* should have such a prominent place in the history of *Kālacakra*. It points out that these very complicated *Kālacakra*

¹³⁷ Roerich. 1949/53:765-788.

¹³⁸ Roerich. 1949/53:755-756.

¹³⁹ Snellgrove. 1987:488 and Stein. 1984:49. As far as I know there is no mentioning of *Mi-la-ras-pa* having contact with the *Kālacakra Tantra*.

¹⁴⁰ Ruegg. 1963:73-91. See Stearns. 1999:199-200, note 10. In a text on the life of *Yu-mo*, Stearns has found that *Yu-mo* was born during the first cycle of 60 years of Tibetan chronology based on the introduction of *Kālacakra* to Tibet in 1027. Consequently, he was born before 1087 and after 1027; a dating which actually corresponds well with other sources.

¹⁴¹ Ruegg. 1963:77.

¹⁴² Stearns. 1999:200, n.10.

¹⁴³ Ruegg. 1963:80; Roerich. 1949/53:766-67. It can also be noticed that the tantric cycle of *Yamāntaka* was continued by the same lineage of masters beginning with the one who first received the teachings from India, *Rva-lo-tsa-ba rDo-rje grags* (Roerich. 1949/53:379).

doctrines could be interpreted in very different ways. The doctrines are important for the development of their *gzhan-stong* doctrine.¹⁴⁴

Another interesting fact is that *Bu-ston* ends his history of the 'Bro school with *rGa-lo* (1203-1282), who could not possibly have been his own teacher.¹⁴⁵ One possible reason, as shown later, is that *rGa-lo* was an important guru also in the *Rva* school of *Kālacakra* and that *Bu-ston* considered that the *Rva* and 'Bro schools were united in the person of *rGa-lo*, and therefore only treats *rGa-lo* and his disciples in connection with the *Rva* school. He might have considered that the 'Bro school ceased to exist separately with *rGa-lo*, and that after him there was no point in treating different schools of *Kālacakra*. In the biography (*rnam-thar*) of *Bu-ston*, translated by Ruegg, it is directly stated that *Bu-ston* was making a synthesis of the two schools *Rva* and 'Bro. He summed up the opinions of the two schools as well as others into the essential practice of the *Kālacakra* methods.¹⁴⁶ In contrast, 'Gos *lo-tsa-ba* considered that the 'Bro school continued up to his own time, but *rGa-lo* is not included at all in his guru lineage of the 'Bro school, only in the *Rva*.¹⁴⁷ It is consequently worthwhile to continue researching the lists of tradition holders.

It can also be noted that The Blue Annals mentions *Dol-po-pa* (1292-1361) as an important lineage holder and *Bu-ston* (1290-1364) does not mention him at all.¹⁴⁸

Perhaps that is not too strange as they were contemporaries, but it is also known that there existed a doctrinal conflict between the two. It concerned the *gzhan-stong*, "voidness of other"-theory of "substantialism" propagated by *Dol-po-pa* and the orthodox *Mādhyamika* theory of *rang-stong* / "emptiness in itself" held by *Bu-ston*. This was the most important doctrinal debate of the 14th century. The *gzhan-stong* theory had its origin in the 12th century with *Yu-mo*, but was not put into writing until *Dol-po-pa* wrote his treatise *Ris-chos nges-don*.¹⁴⁹ This may now be studied with the publication of *The Collected Works of Dol-po-pa*.¹⁵⁰ Recently, a new basic work on the life of *Dol-po-pa* and his doctrines has been published, shedding new light on this important figure in the religious history of Tibet.¹⁵¹

The *Rva* school is treated on p.65-74 in the Indian edition (fol.33a-37b) of *Bu-ston's Dus-'khor chos-byung*. The lineage starts with the Indian *Pandita Samantaśrī*, who was invited to Tibet by *Rva lo-tsa-ba Chos-rab*. *Rva Chos-rab's* uncle was *Rva lo-tsa-ba rDo-rje-grags* a famous master especially in the *Yamantaka* tantric teachings. He founded a school, as it is said in the text that *Rva Chos-rab* learned all the texts and precepts of the *Rva-pas* (the *Rva* school).¹⁵² *Rva lo-tsa-ba Chos-rab* then travelled to Nepal and there stud-

¹⁴⁴ Ruegg. 1963:75, 85; For more on the *gzhan-stong* teachings see Stearns. 1995 and 1999 and also the interesting article by Mathes (Mathes. 2000).

¹⁴⁵ For information on *rGa-lo* see Macdonald. 1970:182; Ruegg. 1966:42-43, 88; Roerich. 1949/53:789-793 and the present text (p.46-54).

¹⁴⁶ Ruegg. 1966:86-88.

¹⁴⁷ Roerich. 1949/53:755-756, 765-788.

¹⁴⁸ Roerich. 1949/53:775-777; Ruegg. 1966: index ; *Bu-ston*. 1965d:73-74.

¹⁴⁹ Ruegg. 1963:80-83.

¹⁵⁰ *The Collected Works of Dol-po-pa with an Introduction and Catalogue* by Professor Matthew Kapstein.

¹⁵¹ Stearns. 1999:43-46 for a discussion of the *gzhan-stong* tradition and its relation to the *Kālacakra* tantra; p.56-59 for a general discussion of the influence of *Kālacakra* on the teachings of *Dol-po-pa*; p.118 and notes on p.238-39 for a very interesting discussion of the concept of *Ādibuddha* as interpreted by *Dol-po-pa*.

¹⁵² Roerich. 1949/53:374-379, and Snellgrove. 1987:505-506 for biographical notes on *Rva lo-tsa-ba rDo-*

ied the *Kālacakra* with *Samantaśrī*. He then invited *Samantaśrī* to Tibet and received the explanations of the *Vimalaprabhā* and the *Ṣaḍaṅgayoga*. After some time, having received some gold and given many instructions on the *Kālacakra*, *Samantaśrī* returned to Nepal. The dating of *Rva Chos-rab* is not completely clear. He is supposed to have participated in a Buddhist council in *mNga'-ris* in the year 1076,¹⁵³ but Ariane Macdonald gives his date of birth as 1070 which does not agree with other information.¹⁵⁴ His uncle *Rva rDo-rje-grags* lived in the second half of the 11th century and consequently, *Rva Chos-rab* probably lived a little later, in the second half of the 11th century and the first half of the 12th. The uncle was one of the most famous and richest of the Tibetan scholars bringing back teachings from India and, as in this case, from Nepal. The dates of *Samantaśrī* are not definite either. He must have lived in the second half of the 11th century, but it is difficult to arrive at a more precise date.

The "son" of *Rva Chos-rab* was *bLama Ye-shes seng-ge*, and his son was *Rva Bum-seng*. These two are just mentioned very briefly.

The *bLa-ma rJe-btsun rGa-lo rNam-rgyal rDo-rje* acquired the teachings of *Kālacakra* from *Rva Bum-seng*, and about this *rGa-lo* no less than five pages are written (p.65:7-71:5), which is out of proportion when compared to the space given to other names in the guru lineages. Consequently, he was considered a very important person by *Bu-ston*. His family is traced back to the old aristocracy of Tibet to a man from *Mi-nyag* brought to Tibet by the ministers *sBa-gsal-snang* and *Sang-shi* at the time of king *Khri-srong lde-btsan* in the 8th century.¹⁵⁵ Later, the family came to stay at a monastery called *dBen-dmar* in *gTsang*, whose abbatial seat then was inherited by members of the family. *rGa-lo rNam-rgyal rDo-rje* was considered to be the incarnation of *Khams-pa rGa-lo-tsa-ba gZhon-nu-dpal* (1110/14 - 1198/1202). In the *Blue Annals* there is only one *rGa-lo* indexed, but it is obvious that two existed. The second, *rGa-lo rNam-rgyal rDo-rje*, lived in the 13th century (1203-1282).¹⁵⁶ He is the first to be properly dated in *Bu-ston's* text and it is the same dating as given in the *Blue Annals*. *rGa-lo* met *Kha-che Pan-chen /Śākyaśrī/* at *Ngur-smrig* in *gTsang* when he was three years old, and *Kha-che* prophesized about *rGa-lo's* future success. Then more stories follow on the life of *rGa-lo* and it is difficult at times to understand why they are included in this text.¹⁵⁷

rGa-lo studied Sanskrit and the great commentary of *Nāro* with *dPyal Chos-kyi-bzang-po*.¹⁵⁸ He received instructions from both the *Rva* and the '*Bro* school and received teachings from *Sa-skya Pandita*, *Vibhūticandra*, *Khro-phu lo-tsa-ba* and *dPyal A-mo-gha*.

Some of his main disciples were *Man-lung gu-ru*, *lHo-pa grub-seng*, *Thang-ston lo-tsa-ba* and *mKhan-chen Khro-phu-ba*. From all the names mentioned in the text, one can

rje grags. There exists also a special biography of him recently published in India. On *Rva Chos-rab* see for ex. Roerich. 1949/53: 756, 765, 789.

¹⁵³ Roerich. 1949/53:378, here '*Gos lo-tsa-ba* must have made a mistake in talking about *Rva Chos-rab* as the one who helped *Ratnavajra* to rebuild *bSam-yas* after it was burnt in 986. It must have been his uncle *Rva lo-tsa-ba rDo-rje grags*; *Bod gyia tshig mdzod chen mo*. 1985:3217.

¹⁵⁴ Macdonald. 1970:181.

¹⁵⁵ Macdonald. 1970:182.

¹⁵⁶ Macdonald. 1970:177-179; Roerich. 1949/53:790, 796 and *Bu-ston*. 1965d:66,73.

¹⁵⁷ *Bu-ston*. 1965d:70, 71 the story about the imitative magic.

¹⁵⁸ This must be the *Sekoddeśatikā*.

conclude that *rGa-lo* was acquainted with most of the great traditions of his time. He met *Sa-skya Paṇḍita*, who was the *bla-ma* that was sent to deal with the Mongols and together with his nephew, *'Phags-pa*, received the power to govern Tibet in the 13th century. The monastery of *Sa-skya* is also quite close to *dBen-dmar*, both situated in the *gTsang* province. There are some interesting examples of imitative magic practised by *rGa-lo*. He acted as a sort of healer and when someone had a tooth-ache, *rGa-lo* filled in a crack in the fireplace and the ache disappeared. When someone had a head-ache he took out some nails from the door and it helped. Another technique was when someone was dumb and could not walk, *rGa-lo* gave him other clothes and changed his name and so he was cured. This kind of healing was evidently something that was practiced in 13th century Tibet. Likely to be examples of popular medicine/magic, it is difficult to see any connection with classical Buddhism, but *rGa-lo* was apparently famous for his healing abilities (see below, p.54).

rGa-lo's eldest son *rGya-gar-grags-pa* subsequently learned the *Kālacakra* and occupied the abbatial seat of *dBen-dmar*.

The son, *bLa-ma Shes-rab seng-ge*, was born in 1251 (see below, p.55). He also learned the *Kālacakra* and took over *dBen-dmar* from his brother. He founded the monastery of *Shangs-bar* and spread the *Kālacakra* to, among others, the *Ti-shri bLa-ma* who at the time was the regent of Tibet for the Mongols in the name of the *Sa-skya-pas*.

The next son of *rGa-lo*, *Ā-ka-ra siddha*, received the *Kālacakra* teachings of the *Rva* and *'Bro* schools. He also received teaching from the *Sa-skya-pas* and the *dPyal-pa* school, which is evident from his two teachers with *dPyal* in their names. The *dPyal-pa* was quite a respected school in Tibet, but little known.¹⁵⁹

The next in the guru lineage was the son of *Ā-ka-ra siddha* named *bLa-ma rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan* (1283-1325) (see below, p.57). He studied the *Kālacakra* intensively and also took possession of *dBen-dmar*. He was invited to China in 1322 and went there the same year. It appears that he died in China in 1325, as it is never mentioned that he returned to Tibet. It was a custom of the Mongol emperors of China to invite learned Tibetan *bla-mas* to Peking, as they had a strong connection with Tibetan Buddhism since the time of *'Phags-pa*. There the concept of *chos-srid*, the relationship between a lay protector/king and his religious councillor, developed, between the Mongol emperors and Tibetan *bla-mas* starting with *Sa-skya Pandita* and *'Phags-pa*. Quite a few *bla-mas* went to Peking at this time, among them several of the *Karma-pa* incarnations.

Consequently, he was far from being alone in being invited like this, but it also means that he had reached a certain position among the clergy in Tibet in order to be known well enough to receive an invitation. If he gave instructions on the *Kālacakra* in Peking is not stated in the text, but it is possible as the *Kālacakra* texts are also translated in the Mongol *bKa'-gyur* and *bsTan'-gyur*. In China proper, the *Kālacakra* has remained unknown, as there is no translation of the *Kālacakra* texts in the Chinese buddhist canon.

To conclude, *Bu-ston* himself was a disciple of *rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan* and he also states that he had a *Kālacakra* teacher with the title *mKhan-po lo-tsa-ba*, whose doctrinal affiliation is unknown. *Bu-ston* later came to be considered one of the main tradition holders of the *Kālacakra*, probably the most appreciated of all. He commented on a variety of

¹⁵⁹ Like the *Rva* family, the *dPyal* family was one of the old families/clans (*rus*) of the old Tibet in the 7th to the 9th century.

themes in the *Kālacakra* and dedicated five volumes of his collected works to them. *Bodong phyogs-las rnam-rgyal*, *Tsong-kha-pa*, *mKhas-grub-rje* and consequently the *dGe-lugs-pa* school tradition of *Kālacakra* in modern times with Dalai Lama XIV have their tradition of *Kālacakra* from *Bu-ston*.¹⁶⁰ As he united the *Rva* and *'Bro* schools in his works, there is not much mention of these two schools after him.¹⁶¹ Consequently, there are good reasons for studying *Bu-ston*'s commentaries to the *Kālacakra* texts.

Finally, *Bu-ston* gives a short lineage of the third of the three traditions that he considered the most important in the transmission of the *Kālacakra*, namely the *Gyi-jo* school. It starts with *Dus-zhabs-pa* (*Kālacakrapāda*) and continues with *Śrī Bhadrabodhi*, who gave the *Kālacakra* teaching to *Gyi-jo Zla-ba'i 'od-zer*. Then *Bu-ston* gives the names of several *bla-mas* who continued the tradition, but he also states that the *Gyi-jo* tradition was not continued after these disciples. Consequently, the *Gyi-jo* tradition had only minor importance for the later development of the *Kālacakra*. Although *Bu-ston* also states that *Gyi-jo*'s disciple *Se lo-tsa-ba* gave the teachings to *gNyos 'od-ma*, from whom the *rTsa-mi* tradition originated, the *rTsa-mi* tradition is not well known, but *Kalu Rinpoche* of the *Karma-pa* school gave several *Kālacakra* initiations at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s and he states that his tradition of *Kālacakra* was of the *rTsa-mi* school.¹⁶² Within the *Karma bKa'-brgyud-pa*, this tradition has consequently continued. Although this tradition merits further study, that is not possible within the scope of the present study. The following chapter will present *Bu-ston*'s text in an annotated translation.

2.2.3. Bu-ston's text: *Dus-'khor chos-'byung* – A history of *Kālacakra*.

A translation from:

rGyud-sde'i zab-don sgo-'byed rin-chen gces-pa'i lde-mig, "The opening of the door of the profound meaning of the tantras called: 'The key of the excellent jewel'."

By *Bu-ston* 1329.

Short title: *Dus-'khor chos-'byung*, "A History of the origin of *Kālacakra*."

In: *The Collected Works of Bu-ston*, ed. by Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi

1965, Part 4, p.1-92 (Here, p.61-74 are translated).

Here follows the translation of p.61-74 which treats the history of *Kālacakra* in Tibet up to the time of *Bu-ston* himself. He wrote the text in 1329.

¹⁶⁰ Roerich. 1949/53:793-795 and *Bu-ston*. 1965, vol.1-5.

¹⁶¹ For ex. see Ruegg. 1966:86-88, where *Bu-ston* is said to be synthesising the opinions of *Rva* and *'Bro*.

¹⁶² *Kalu Rinpoche*. 1986:6. *rTsa-mi Sangs-rgyas grags-pa* also acted as a translator as shown with the text *Avadhūṭayoga-nāma-ādibuddha-sādhana* by *Kālacakrarati-pa*. He translated the text together with *Kālacakra*, the younger (*Dus-kyi 'khor-lo zhabs chung-ngu*). See below p.60.

(p.61:2) 3. The school of the 'Bro-pa and the school of the Rva-pa.¹⁶³

1. [The 'Bro school :]

After that the *Kāsmīrī Somanātha*¹⁶⁴ had arrived in Tibet, he settled with *gNyos* of *Kha-rag*¹⁶⁵ and translated the commentary *Vimalaprabhā*¹⁶⁶ (p.61:3), being promised 100 golden *srang*,¹⁶⁷ [but] being discontent, [he] did not translate more than half of the commentary.

¹⁶³ These two schools were considered to be the most important from the introduction of *Kālacakra* up to the 14th/15th century. There is another school, *rTsa-mi*, considered as the third important school especially in the *bKa'-brgyud-pa* tradition. (Kalu Rinpoche. 1986:6)

¹⁶⁴ Tib. *Kha-che Zla-mgon* [*Zla-ba mgon-po*]. *Somanātha* can be considered the founder of the 'Bro school of *Kālacakra*. He probably came to Tibet around the middle of the 11th century (Newman. 1985:70-71 and Newman. 1987a:88-89). According to the *Bod rgya mtshig mdzod chen mo* Part 3 (p.3216), he arrived in Tibet in the year 1064, a year probably calculated from *Deb-ther sngon-po*. In order to obtain an idea of the context of this text I hereby quote from Newman. 1987a:88-89, where he has translated p.56-61 of the *Dus-khor chos-'byung*. "At that time Somanatha, the very intelligent son of a brahman, was born in Kashmir. For twelve years he learned his father's heterodox dharma, but his mother was a buddhist and she told him that he should study her religion. She put him under tutelage of the Kashmiri pandit called "Brahmanapada" (Bram ze zhabs). Since Somanatha was very handsome, the pandit's daughter said: "You must have intercourse with me in order to listen to the Dharma." Somanatha accepted that and listened to a lot of Buddhist Dharma. At that time Kalacakrapada the Elder's disciple Vinayakaramāti (Dul ba'i blo gros) sent the *Sek-kodeśa* and a commentary on the *Sekaprakriya* to Brahmanapada. Brahmanapada showed them to Somanātha, who read and admired them a lot. Somanatha went to Magadha, met the Elder and Younger Kalacakrapadas, and received instruction on the doctrines of the Bodhisattva Corpus. At that time Somanātha became involved in a debate with the Kashmiri scholar Ratnavajra (Rin chen rdo rje), and won. Ratnavajra told Somanatha that he should go elsewhere lest Ratnavajra's disciples lose faith in him. Somanatha acquiesced, thinking that he would spread the Kalachakra in Tibet, which he did." For my discussion of *Somanātha* and *Ratnavajra* see the foregoing chapter. See also Roerich. 1949/53:765-767.

¹⁶⁵ *Kha-rag gNyos Lo-tsa-ba* was according to 'Gos *Lo-tsa-ba's* Blue Annals a translator of the *Kālacakra Tantra*. It is said that he translated the *Kālacakra* after *Somanātha's* arrival to Tibet with financial support from *Kalyānamitra* *lCe-pa* from *bZang-yul* and his son. They gave 60 golden *srang* to *gNyos* and he made the translation in one year. (Roerich. 1949/53:373, 837, 906.) Consequently, *gNyos* of *Kha-rag* is a person, not a place. *gNyos* is the name of a clan. The two stories of *Bu-ston* and 'Gos *Lo-tsa-ba* do not agree on how this translation was made. In *Bu-ston's* text *Se Lo-tsa-ba* is only mentioned by name at the end of the text as a translator and nothing is said about him financing *Somanātha's* translation. It is difficult to reconcile the two versions. A qualified supposition is that the version by *Bu-ston* is more correct as it is older and generally reliable. *Kha-rag* is a place-name, but I have not found it on the available maps. 'Gos *Lo-tsa-ba* writes about *Kha-rag* (Roerich. 1949/53:207, 522,675), which seems to be a place name, but also the name of a mountain. The location of the mountain is probably near *Sa-skya* in *gTsang*. There is a system of teaching called *Kha-rag-pa* after a *bLa-ma Kha-rag sGom-chung* who lived at a place called *Kha-rag phug-pa nag-po*. There was also a mountain called *Kha-rag*. From the context it could be deduced that it was not far from 'Phan-yul'. Roerich. 1949/53:999-1005.

¹⁶⁶ Tib. *Dri-ma med-pa'i-'od*. P. 2064 and Toh. *bKa'-'gyur* 845, *bsTan-'gyur* 1347. This text has a unique position in the canon together with the *laghutantra* (P.4 and Toh.362 and 1346) in that they are included both in the *bKa'-'gyur* and the *bsTan-'gyur* in the *sDe-dge* edition.

¹⁶⁷ It could be that the figure should be 8 instead of 100, *brgyad* instead of *brgya*? The difference is small in Tibetan script and it would fit better with the 18 golden *srang* mentioned later in the text. (p.61:5). *Srang* is a coin used in Tibet. 1 *srang* = 10 *zho*. The value of 1 golden *srang* is difficult to know but it had a quite high value. *Srang* is also measure for weight, approximately 1 ounce. (Das. 1903:1287) (*Bod rgya mtshig 'dzod chen mo*. 1985:2969).

After having seized the rest of the translation to be made, he [i.e. *Somanātha*] travelled to *Grab*¹⁶⁸ in '*Phan-yul*'.¹⁶⁹ [There] *Zhang-pho chung-ba*¹⁷⁰ took [*Somanātha*] as his *bla-ma*, and '*Bro*',¹⁷¹ after having been made the translator, translated [the rest] completely, with perfection.

As it was said by *gNyos* to *Zhang-ston*: "Because you robbed me of my *bla-ma*, I am going to stuff small grains of rape in between the threads of the cloth of a nomad-tent."¹⁷² (p.61:4) Then, after having said: "Even after being threatened by hundreds of wrathful deities, I was not destroyed, and even after being shown the smile of hundreds of goddesses, I didn't have desire", he [*Zhang-ston*] was served [by them].¹⁷³ [Then] *gNyos-ston Ye-shes mchog* gave [*Somanātha*] 18 golden *srang*.¹⁷⁴ (p.61:5) [Then] *Gra-pa mngon-shes*¹⁷⁵ donated provisions for three years of *Chos-ston* [to *Somanātha*], [and] when they met he continuously showed respect. *Jo-btsun Tshul-khrims rin-chen* gave [*Somanātha*] six golden *srang*. [And] *gYo-ru 'Gar-ston, Mang-yul ston-ma sri-dar* and *sMon-gro 'i 'jam-sgom* and

¹⁶⁸ '*Phan-yul* is a district just a little bit to the north-east of Lhasa. Wylie. 1962:map. *Grabs-yul* was the designation of a place at the time of the early six tribes of Tibet (*Bod rgya mtshig mdzod chen mo*. 1985:396). I have not found any information on *Grab* on the maps.

¹⁶⁹ It is probably meant that *Somanātha* seized both his finished translation and the unfinished half with the original text and left the place *Kha-rag*. There was evidently a conflict concerning money with this *gNyos* who was the person that should have paid him.

¹⁷⁰ There is a *Zhang-chung-ba* mentioned by '*Gos Lo-tsa-ba* (Roerich. 1949/53:311,314). He was a disciple of the *Kalyanamitra sNe'u-zur-pa* (1042-1118) who is mentioned after treating *Atiśa* and his lineage. This master's monastery was *sNe'u-zur* in '*Phan-yul*', so there is a connection with '*Phan-yul*'. The time in the second half of the 11th century is also correct. The connection with *Atiśa* is also clear.

¹⁷¹ '*Bro Lo-tsa-ba Shes-rab-grags* can be dated from the context to the second half of the 11th century. He is the canonical translator of several texts in the *bKa'-gyur* and *bsTan-'gyur* together with *Somanātha* and the '*Bro* school of *Kālacakra* is named after him.

¹⁷² I have not found an explanation to this obscure statement. It is obviously some simile, but the meaning is not clear. The Tibetan text: "*khyod kyis nga'i bla ma 'phrog pa yinpas sbra gseb tu yungs kar rtsang nge ba zhiḡ bya yi zer ba la*". *De-ba* = a medicinal herb (Jäschke), *rtsang* = *rdzang* = to stuff something into something. (Jäschke) *Yungs-dkar* = grain of white mustard (Jäschke) or according to Tarab Tulku "grain of rape". *sbra* = the cloth that the nomad-tents are made of, *gseb-tu* = between (Jäschke). There is, though, a hint at a solution of the meaning of the saying in the *Samvarodaya-tantra* (Toh. 373) where it is written in connection with describing the benefits with making the homa offering, that "white mustard pacifies (calamities)". The conclusion of this is that *gNyos* was making some sort of ritual to pacify the calamity that *Zhang-ston* had robbed him of his *bla-ma*.

¹⁷³ Obviously there was a conflict here between *gNyos* and *Zhang-ston* about who was going to be *Somanātha*'s host. *gNyos* thought that he was first and wanted to keep *Somanātha*, but it seems like *Zhang-ston* won the conflict as he resisted the temptations put forward by his adversary.

¹⁷⁴ Here there must have been some reconciliation between *Somanātha* and *gNyos*, provided that this *gNyos-ston Ye-shes-mchog* is the same person as the *gNyos* mentioned earlier in the text. *gNyos-ston* gives gold to *Somanātha*, which could mean that he paid some of his debt to *Somanātha* for the translation of the texts.

¹⁷⁵ His dates are 1012-1090 according to Roerich. 1949/53:95-97,262,755,852. Newman. 1987:103. The uncle of *Gra-pa mngon-shes* was a *Zhang-ston chos-'bar* from whom he had learned the *Kālacakra* in his youth. *Gyi-jo Zla-ba'i 'od-zer* was a translator working with *Zhang-ston*. Consequently the *Kālacakra* was already known to *Gra-pa mngon-shes* when he met *Somanātha*. *Gra-pa* acted here as a donator and paid three years of retreat (*chos-ston*) for *Somanātha*. For the general role of the lay donator in relation to his spiritual, religious adviser/*guru* see the recent work by Ruegg (Ruegg. 1995).

others,¹⁷⁶ (p.61:6) even after having made great service [to *Somanātha*], [they] were not given other [teachings] than the rules of conduct.¹⁷⁷

*sGom-pa dKon-mchog-srung*¹⁷⁸ who was born at *Grab* in 'Phan-yul, collected all his wealth, assembled [it in the form of] six golden *srang* [and] gave [them to *Somanātha*], (p.61:7) [and he] tied a silk scarf¹⁷⁹ on [*Somanātha*]'s neck, and having offered the body,¹⁸⁰ [he] rendered service [to *Somanātha*]. Because he [*sGom-pa*] was accomplished in the way how to explain the great qualities of *Abhidharma*¹⁸¹ and *Sa-sde*¹⁸² and medicine and so forth, he [*sGom-pa*] received the basic text and the manuals without exception [from *Somanātha*].¹⁸³

(p.62:1) After that, *sGro sNam-la-brtsegs* from *sNor-bzang*,¹⁸⁴ after having taken provisions and one *phul*¹⁸⁵ of turquoise to *dGe-pa-shes Lo-ro-ba* of *sBu-sde*,¹⁸⁶ he [*sGro*] was made a disciple [of *Lo-ro-ba*] between twenty-six and fifty-eight years of age.

¹⁷⁶ Four names are given in this context, relating that they did not receive the *Kālacakra* teachings although they had tried; another proof of the relative inaccessibility of these teachings. I have not found information on any of them, only that one of them obviously came from *Mang-yul* near the Nepalese border.

¹⁷⁷ Here the stress lies on how difficult it was to get the higher *tantric* initiations from *Somanātha*. No matter how much they served him, they still could not obtain more teaching than the rules of conduct (skt. *prati-mokṣa*).

¹⁷⁸ He was born at the same place where *Somanātha* had gone to meet 'Bro and *Zhang-ston* and probably this was the place where he met *Somanātha*. *Grab* in 'Phan-yul must have become an important centre for the *Kālacakra* teaching in Tibet. The sum of 6 golden *srang* is a good indicator of the value of the *Kālacakra* teachings. The other sums mentioned in the text are; 100 (8?) golden *srang* promised to *Somanātha* from *Kha-rag gNyos*, 18 golden *srang* was given to *Somanātha* by *gNyos-ston Ye-shes mchog*, *Jo-btsun Tshul-khrims rin-chen* gave *Somanātha* 6 golden *srang*, *sGro sNam-la-brtsegs* gave 12 golden *srang* (and a black horse) to *Somanātha* for the *Kālacakra* teachings. The highest sum mentioned in this text is the 300 golden *srang* given to *Samantaśrī* by *Rva Chos-rab*. Otherwise there are no more sums mentioned. It seems like the giving of money and wealth was restricted to the Indian teachers. In Tibet there are no sums mentioned. More about *sGom-pa* can be found in Roerich. 1949/53:755, 766-767. He is also called "the ascetic *Ratna-gupta*". Despite his second Indian name, which actually only is a translation from the Tibetan, there is no reason to believe that he was not a Tibetan. As will be shown in the figures below (p.54-55), *sGom-pa* was one of the main lineage holders of the 'Bro school

¹⁷⁹ "Silk scarf" here means the traditional white *Kha-btags* which is used as a sign of honoring someone all over Tibet. The Tibetan word used here is *dar-yug*. *Dar* = silk and according to Jäschke honorific language for *Kha-btags*.

¹⁸⁰ Probably here is meant that he made prostrations before *Somanātha*.

¹⁸¹ Tib. *mNgon-pa*, *Abhidharma*, the third part of the Buddhist canon.

¹⁸² *Sa* = skt. *bhūmi*, earth, degree. *sDe* = part, class. In the Tibetan tradition *Sa-sde* stands for the five works by *Asaṅga* in the *bsTan-'gyur* on *Yogācārabhūmi*; Toh. 4038-4042, P. 5539-5543.

¹⁸³ This means that *sGom-pa* received the texts and doctrines of *Kālacakra*. He was now considered to have enough qualifications to receive these teachings, considered very advanced and exclusive.

¹⁸⁴ He is also called *rTsang-ston* (p.64:4). *sGro* is also mentioned by 'Gos *lo-tsa-ba* (Roerich. 1949/53:755,766-767) as *sGro-ston*. He reached at least the age of 72 (see this text below p.64:4). He was asked by *Somanātha* to carry his belongings to *Mang-yul* (Ladakh) when going back to India.

In that way *sGro* would receive the teachings, but he refused and eventually he received the teachings of *Kālacakra* anyway and became one of the main lineage holders in the 'Bro school of *Kālacakra*. I have not found *sNor-bzang* on maps. There is also mention of an earlier *sGro-ston* of the *rNying-ma-pa* school who built a temple at *sGro-phug* (Roerich. 1949/53:113).

¹⁸⁵ *Phul* = a unit of measure equal to one-fourth of a *bre*. *Bre* = volume measure for solids. 20 *bre* = 1 *khal*. *Khal* = a standard measure of volume equal to about 25-30 pounds. Although these are modern values they can give a hint at to how much it was at the time of the text. (Goldstein. 1983:710,773,129)

[Then] *Lo-ro-ba* said: "There is someone by the name *mChims*,¹⁸⁷ a great *tantric*, he is like someone who carries a *rdo-rje*.¹⁸⁸ I was like an ox. Now, because I met the three *Leng*, '*Brog* and '*Gos*,¹⁸⁹ I am also like someone who carries a *rdo-rje*." Because he [*Lo-ro-ba*] said: "But if someone appears [who has] knowledge of *Kālacakra*, I will be like an ox".¹⁹⁰ *gNam-brtsegs* aroused great faith in the *bla-ma* [*Lo-ro-ba*], and he [*gNam-brtsegs*] gave twelve golden *srang* and a black horse to the *Paṇḍita* [*Somanātha*]. (p.62:3) Even by serving [*Somanātha*] for a long time, he [*gNam-brtsegs*] was not given anything besides the rules of conduct.¹⁹¹

At the time of that [event], [*gNam-brtsegs*] after having given a thin bit of gold to *bLa-ma dKon-mchog-srung*, even [when] requesting he was not granted [the teachings]. (p.62:4) While the *Paṇḍita* went away to India, in the meantime, he [*gNam-brtsegs*] was raised to a [higher] position for three years, and because he requested, [*dKon-mchog-*

¹⁸⁶ '*Gos Lo-tsa-ba* mentions that *Lo-ro-ba* propagated a teaching named *bZhi-chos* ("the four *dharma*s") (Roerich. 1949/53:948). *dGe-pa shes Lo-ro-ba* means "the *dGe-shes* from *Lo-ro*, which is a place in the region Lho-ka in the south-eastern part of central Tibet near Bhutan. (Wylie. 1962:174; Ferrari. 1957:126). As is commented on by Wylie, *Lo-ro-ba* could also be the name of *Ras-chung-pa* (1083-1161), the famous disciple of *Mi-la-ras-pa*, but his dating makes that impossible as these events must have taken place in the 1060s or 70s. *sBu-sde* as a place name is not identified.

¹⁸⁷ There is another *mChims* mentioned later in the text (p.72:1), but he lived in the 13th century (see note 368). *mChims* is an old aristocratic family in Tibet and also a name of a village near the monastery of *bSam-yas* (Das. 1903:434). A minister under king *Khri-srong lde-btsan* was from this family. According to '*Gos lo-tsa-ba* the family '*Chims* changed its name to *Zhang* some time before the 11th century so perhaps there is a connection with the *Zhang-ston* that invited *Somanātha* (Roerich. 1949/53:95). The place is also called *mChims-phu* and has a place in Tibetan history connected with *Padmasambhava* and the *rNying-ma-pa* school (Downman. 1988:231-232). As the spelling in Tibetan is difficult it could also be spelled '*Chims* and there is also a *bla-ma* '*Chims* mentioned, but he is a little late in time (Roerich. 1949/53:406) so which *mChims* is meant in this text remains unclear.

¹⁸⁸ skt. *vajra*. Possibly just another way of saying that he was a *tantric* using the ritual instrument *vajra*.

¹⁸⁹ These three were famous translators in the 11th century. They are mentioned together as the three great disciples of a *bl-ma gZhus* (Roerich. 1949/53:72). There is not much information to be found about *gZhus*. *rNgog Lo-tsa-ba* (1059-1109) is mentioned as having studied with one of *gZhus*'s disciples so he must have been active earlier in the 11th century (Roerich. 1949/53:325). There is a region of *gZhu* in a valley north of the *Tsang-po* river in the western part of the *dBus* province where he could have his origin (Ferrari. 1958:69,161). *Leng lo-tsa-ba* came from *La-stod* in upper *gTsang* and lived in the later part of the 11th century. (Roerich. 1949/53:852). '*Brog* is probably to be identified with the founder of the *Sa-skya-pa* school, '*Brog-mi lo-tsa-ba* Śākya gzhon-nu (992-1064/72). (Roerich. 1949/53:205-210). He was reported to have worked with '*Gos lo-tsa-ba*. '*Gos-lo-tsa-ba* was probably a '*Gos Lhas-btsas* living in the 11th century. (Roerich. 1949/53:359-366) He is described as the main introducer of *Guhyasamāja Tantra* to Tibet. He had his residence in *Zur-pa*. *Zur* was an old family connected with the *rNying-ma-pa* with its residence near *gZhis-ka-rtse* in *gTsang* (Wylie. 1962:61,144). He is not to be confused with the '*Gos Lo-tsa-ba gZhon-nu-dpal* who wrote *The Blue Annals* in the 15th century. He received teachings from '*Brog-mi*. It is noteworthy that the Buddhist masters in the dynamic 11th century in Tibet were not limited to their own schools, which, in any case were not yet founded. They searched teachings from many different teachers from various Buddhist traditions. '*Gos lhas-btsas* also worked with translations with for example the Indian pandit *Gayādhara* (Toh.1196).

¹⁹⁰ This last passage is not easy to understand. It could be understood as a recommendation from *Lo-ro-ba* to *sGro* to go to *Somanātha* in order to get the *Kālacakra* teaching.

¹⁹¹ Again it is stressed how difficult it was to obtain the *Kālacakra* teachings. *sGro* had to possess great merit. One can compare with *sGom-pa* who received the teachings for six golden *srang*.

srung] gave all basic texts and the manuals [of *Kālacakra* to *gNam-brtsegs*].¹⁹² As the *Paṇḍita* later arrived in Tibet, all the disciples [said] that *sGom-pa* granted *sGro* the manuals completely because he [*sGro*] requested [them]. And as the *Paṇḍita* said to *sGro*: “I [wanted] to give [you] the precepts.” [*sGro* answered:] (p.62:5) “[You] did not wish to give [them to me] at the time of my youth, but now since I am old I don’t want to ask [for them].” [And the *Paṇḍita* said:] “You are satisfied with the precepts of *dKon-mchog-srung*” [And] after that [*Somanātha*] had said: “If that [teaching] did not come from me, from whom did it originate?”, he [*Somanātha*] hit him [*sGro*] with the hand. [And *sGro* said:] “That is true. It has been made to exist by the kindness of the great *bLa-ma* [*Somanātha*].” (p.62:6) As he [*Somanātha*] said: “What did he [*dKon-mchog-srung*] give to you?” [*sGro*] said accusingly: “He gave me these [teachings].” [Then *sGro*], after having said: “He didn’t give me more than these [teachings], [now] because [you] have all the complete [teachings], do not give [them] to anyone. You should swear not to give [them].” He put a rosary around the neck [of *sGro*] and [*sGro* said:] (p.62:7) “Because [you] the *bLa-ma* did not give [the teachings], I of course asked *bLa-ma dKon-mchog-srung*.” Then [*Somanātha*], after having said: “This is a bad person,” threw sand at the head [of *sGro*]. [And] as [*Somanātha*] said: “Now, do not destroy [the teachings],” [*sGro*] said: “That, you should not say. Why should it be destroyed?” Thus he [*sGro*] listened to the *Paṇḍita* and *dKon-mchog-srung* [give] the basic texts together with all the instruction manuals.¹⁹³

(p.63:1) After that, someone called *rNgam-khrom-pa dad-po rgyal-po*¹⁹⁴ was born near the snowy *Kailāś*,¹⁹⁵ and among [his] four sons, the small one *bLa-ma Yu-mo*¹⁹⁶ listened to the *dharma* teachings in the presence of *Se-ston sgra-gcan-dzin* from *Don-mo-ri*¹⁹⁷ and *Bar-ston Thos-pa-dga’*.¹⁹⁸ (p.63:2) By him [*Thos-pa-dga’*] he was given the name

¹⁹² *sGom-pa* seems to have been the chief disciple of *Somanātha* as he was left with the responsibility of the monastery when *Somanātha* travelled to India.

¹⁹³ The whole of this short story of how *sGro* eventually received the blessings of the reluctant *Somanātha* to practice the *Kālacakra* teachings shows the harshness of *tantric* relations between master and disciple.

Somanātha hit him with his hand and threw sand at his head. The importance is the result that *sGro* eventually became a master himself.

¹⁹⁴ Not identified.

¹⁹⁵ Tib. *Ti-se*. The father of *Yu-mo* came from the far west of Tibet, the province *mNga’-ris* where the holy mountain *Kailāś* is situated. This region has traditionally always had independent relations with neighbouring India and *Kāśmir*. Therefore, it is possible that *Yu-mo*, and consequently the *Jo-nang-pa* school was independently influenced from India.

¹⁹⁶ *Yu-mo Mi-skyod-rdo-rje* is the person to whom is devoted more space is devoted in *Bu-ston*’s text than all others except for *rGa-lo* and *Somanātha*. He is the ideological father of the *Jo-nang-pa* school and the “substantialistic” doctrine of *gzhan-stong*. *Yu-mo* lived in the latter half of the 11th century and the beginning of the 12th. See (Ruegg, 1963:77,82-83; Roerich, 1949/53:179,186,636,755,767-68; Andresen, 1997:173,178 and Hookham, 1991:59-60, 135). There is the possibility of an independent influence from India on the *gzhan-stong* doctrine because of the origin of *Yu-mo* in the region of *Kailāś* in western Tibet. This has always been the goal of many Indian pilgrims (Ruegg, 1963:77).

Recently Stearns has investigated *Yu-mo*’s role in connection with these teachings. He claims that, from reading *Yu-mo*’s own work *gSal sgron skor bzhi* (Four clear lamps), *Yu-mo* did not formulate the *gzhan-stong* doctrine clearly. This was the work of *Dol-po-pa*. The claim that *Yu-mo* was the origin of the *gzhan-stong* teachings stems mainly from *Tāranātha*. 1983:16. Stearns, 1999:44-45, 199-200 n.10.

¹⁹⁷ Roerich, 1949/53:857. He was a disciple of the Indian scholar *Vajrapāṇi* in the *Mahāmudra* tradition. He

Yu-mo. He [*Yu-mo*] listened to the *dBu-ma*¹⁹⁹ and the *Tshad-ma*²⁰⁰ at *gNyag* from *rMa dge-mthong*.²⁰¹ At that time [one] considered that there was no greater '*Dul-ba-teacher*'²⁰² than *Sog*.²⁰³ Therefore he [*Yu-mo*] went there and [*Sog*] explained by heart the *mDo-rtsa*.²⁰⁴ He [*Yu-mo*] even learned the doctrine of *sPyod-phyogs*.²⁰⁵ (p.63:3) Because he wanted the *tantras*, he learned the *tantras* like *Hevajra*²⁰⁶ and others.

Meanwhile, because he [*Yu-mo*] was asked by a friend: "What are you doing in the winter?" [*Yu-mo*] said: "While in a retreat, I will be writing a book on *tantra*." [And the friend] said: "Well then, at *Byan-klag-chang*"²⁰⁷ there is the commentary made by *rDo-rje snying-po*,²⁰⁸ [and I] heard [somebody] say: 'Do you want to write [a copy] ?'" (p.63:4)

came from *Don-mo-ri* which, at least in the 12th century, was a famous monastery in the *gTsang* province. *Vajrapāṇi* lived in the second half of the 11th century. When *Se-ston* was his disciple he was staying at *Chusgo* in *gTsang*. (Roerich. 1949/53:82,1013,1039). The *Se* family belonged to the old aristocracy from the time of the dharma kings of Tibet (600-842), (Roerich. 1976:37).

¹⁹⁸ Could this possibly be *Mi-la ras-pa*, whose personal name was *Thos-pa-dga'*.

¹⁹⁹ Skt. *Mādhyaṃika*. Here is probably not meant a special text but the whole philosophical system.

²⁰⁰ Skt. *pramāṇa*, usually translated as Buddhist "logic". There are many texts belonging to this system.

²⁰¹ *rMa* was an old and well-known family. There was a *rMa Rin-chen-mchog* known already in the 8th century (Ferrari. 1958:65,152). He was one of *Padmasambhava*'s 24 disciples and obviously one of the founders of the *rNying-ma-pa* school. (Dowman. 1988:230,279). The *rMa* in this text could be the *rMa* born in 1055 who was a disciple of the Indian master *Dam-pa Sangs-rgyas*, a tradition holder of the *Mahāmūdra* and active in the *Yar-klung* valley where there is a place called *gNyags*, also the site of the old family of *gNyags*. *rMa* also met a *gNyags lo-tsa-ba* who presumably was the known abbot of the *bKa'-gdams-pa* establishment *sTag-spyan bum-pa* (11th century) (Dowman. 1988:183-184; Roerich. 1949/53:170,872-875). In the 11th century it was a good choice to go to a monastery of the school of *Atiśa* because there the knowledge of these subjects would be the best.

²⁰² Skt. *Vināya*.

²⁰³ *Sog*, whose complete name was *Sog Dulba 'dzin-pa* or *Sog-po mDo-sde* is mentioned as a great *Vināya*-teacher who was active in the 11th century. The *Vināyadhara* of *rGya*, who was born in 1047 studied with *Sog*, so he must have been somewhat older (Roerich. 1949/53:78). On the other hand, one can find that '*Gos lo-tsa-ba*' later in the same text states that *Sog* only became 36 years old and still was the teacher of a person born in 1091 (Roerich. 1949/53:80). In that case *Sog* must have died some time around 1110 and been born around 1075. It is therefore difficult to understand how he could be the teacher of someone born in 1047. These are consequences that arise from the fact that for many of the dates for these old masters there are very few sources. Later Tibetan historiographers often do nothing but repeat the dates given by earlier ones like *Bu-ston* and '*Gos lo-tsa-ba gZhon-nu-dpal*'. The latter also mentions that *Sog* was the disciple of the father of the above mentioned *rMa*, but also of *Dam-pa rMa*, which clearly makes invalid the indication that *Sog* could be born as late as in the 1070s (Roerich. 1949/53:874). The conclusion must be that he was born well before 1050.

²⁰⁴ This is the *Vināya*-text '*Dul-ba'i mdo*, skt. *Vināya-sūtra*, in the *bsTan-'gyur* Toh.4117.

²⁰⁵ This could be a misspelling of the word *spyod-jugs*. In that case, the text is the *Bodhisattvacāryāvatāra* by *Shantideva* (Roerich. 1949/53:611). It is probably a misspelling because this is a basic text for all students of Buddhism in India and Tibet and it is translated into many modern languages. It is a *Mahāyāna* classic about the way to act in order to reach the state of a *bodhisattva*. It could also be that *spyod-phyogs* refers to advances *tantric* practice in general.

²⁰⁶ Tib. *dGyes-rdor* which is short for *dGyes-pa rdo-rje*. Here must be meant the whole *tantric* system as is customary when mentioning *tantras*. The main text is *Hevajratantra-rāja-nāma*, Toh.417. Translated in Snellgrove. 1959. A later translation also exists.

²⁰⁷ Unidentified.

²⁰⁸ Skt. *Vajragarbha*. He was an Indian *tantric* who wrote a famous commentary on the *Hevajratantra*,

Therefore, because [that] aroused [his] former inclinations,²⁰⁹ he [Yu-mo] was very contented. And because he asked: "Can you acquire this book?", he acquired it. Examining closely that book, he came to have great faith in it. And to the question [from Yu-mo]: "Who knows about it?", [the friend] answered: "It is known by *Somanātha*." After having thought: "That is the previous name," he [Yu-mo] went to *dBus*²¹⁰ where he settled down. While listening to the *sPyod-phyogs*²¹¹ from *Khams-pa lte'u-ba*,²¹² he heard that it was said: "*Pañḍita Somanātha* stays at *dKar-chung*."²¹³ (p.63:5) As he [Yu-mo] asked: "Does he [*Somanātha*] know what *rDo-rje snying-po* knows?" [*Khams-pa lte'u-ba*] answered: "Yes, he knows that [doctrine], and further, he knows even The Great Commentary of *Śrī Kālacakra*."²¹⁴ When questioned [by Yu-mo]: "If asked, will he [*Somanātha*] give the doctrine?" (p.63:6) [*Khams-pa lte'u-ba*] answered: "Generally [his teaching] is very secret. But because he does not have anyone to serve him [when he wants] to go to Nepal, if you are able to go [there to serve him], he will give [the teachings to you]." The *Pañḍita* and *gNam-la brtsegs* stayed doing a revision of the hundred-letter root-mantra of *Hevajra*.²¹⁵ (p.63:7) Then *Dus-gsum-pa rDo-rje gzhon-nu*,²¹⁶ after having acted as intermediary,²¹⁷ made the request [and] after having shown much precious musk and a lot of gold, he [Yu-mo] was told [by *Somanātha*] through *Dus-gsum-pa*: "You shall carry these [things], and [if] at the time when you arrive to Nepal you still have everything [in good care], then he [*Somanātha*] will come from Tibet and give the *dharma* [to you]."²¹⁸

Toh.1180, *Hevajra-piṇḍārtha-ṭīkā*, translated to Tibetan by *Dānaśīla* (Lessing & Wayman. 1968:256-257,263). This text is part of the so-called *Bodhisattva Corpus* and was transmitted at the same time as the two other texts

on *Kālacakra* and *Cakrasamvara* that comprise the Corpus. (Newman. 1987:77,111). Later in the text it is stated that *Somanātha* also knew the Great Commentary of *Kālacakra*, so a connection has been shown. The connection with the *Kālacakra* texts is also made by '*Gos lo-tsa-ba gZhon-nu-dpal* (Roerich. 1949/53:830,838).

²⁰⁹ Tib. *sngon-gyi bag-chags*, skt. *vāsanā*, "karmic imprints". The word is used to indicate the influence of actions in former lives on that person in this life, so Yu-mo presumably knew about the book in a former life.

²¹⁰ Traditional Tibet is comprised of five regions. *mNga'-ris* in the west, *gTsang* and *dBus* in the centre, *Amdo* in the north-east and *Khams* in the east.

²¹¹ See note 205.

²¹² Unidentified. His name only indicates that he came from *Khams*.

²¹³ Ferrari. 1958:47,119. *dKar-chung* is a very small place to the east of *bSam-yas* near the river Tsang-po. This is further away from Lhasa than he was said to have stayed earlier in the text. Monks and lamas travelled around frequently at this time searching for teachings in different monasteries, or, as *Somanātha*, teaching himself.

²¹⁴ Tib. *dpal dus-kyi 'khor-lo'i-grel-pa chen-mo*. This is the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary commonly referred to as the Great Commentary.

²¹⁵ There exist very long *mantras*. This one is of the *Hevajra* tradition.

²¹⁶ Unidentified. In this case he represents the tradition that there was need for an intermediary to approach an important *bla-ma* such as *Somanātha*.

²¹⁷ Tib. *Zhu-sna byed-pa*, "to act as intermediary". This is a special expression in Tibetan to say that somebody is advocating another person's interest on behalf of someone else.

²¹⁸ This is another example of the degree of sacrifice that was needed in order to get some special *tantric* teaching. Yu-mo had to carry his teachers' things to Nepal from *dKar-chung* which was quite far away. He would then receive the teachings there instead of getting them at once.

(p.64:1) Then he [Yu-mo] arrived to obtain a book from *sGom-pa Tshul-khrims grags*²¹⁹ and he [*sGom-pa*] said: "To where do you go?" He [*sGom-pa*] requested the former story and said: "You will not get the dharma from the *Paṇḍita*. Many who came before did not get it." And [*sGom-pa*] said: "Therefore, my *bla-ma* lives in *sNor-bzang*²²⁰ and knows completely the dharma of the *Paṇḍita*." Because of that, he [Yu-mo] changed his mind.

(p.64:2) *sGom-pa dBang-gsod*²²¹ and *sTon-pa rgyal-pa 'od*²²² and *sGom-pa Tshul-grags*²²³ acted as intermediaries [between Yu-mo and *sGro gNam-la brtsegs*]. Because he [Yu-mo] gave as an introduction gift some golden *zho*²²⁴ and one beautiful *dung-chos*²²⁵ and one *Ka-pā-la*²²⁶ [to *gNam-la brtsegs*], he [*gNam-la brtsegs*] said: "You have quite a good relation to these [*sGom-pa* and *sTon-pa*]. (p.64:3) This monk *Sog 'Dul-ba 'dzin-pa*,²²⁷ gives dharma verbally²²⁸ to everybody who doesn't know how to eat and doesn't know how to put on his clothes, acting like a father. You are the one who is attached to the heart of these [teachers]. Therefore you must have some qualities." After having come to say [that], he [*gNam-la brtsegs*] promised to give the dharma [to Yu-mo]. (p.64:4) The *bla-ma* [*gNam-la brtsegs*], at the age of seventy-two, was met [by Yu-mo] who stayed there continuously for four years.²²⁹ He [Yu-mo] listened to the explanations and instructions of the *Kālacakra*²³⁰ and *mTshan-brjod*²³¹ and the *sGron-gsal*²³² and others. After having imagined [that] a disturbance of the dharma [could come], and after having prayed to the *mKha'-gro-ma*:²³³ "Don't kill me until I have finished the dharma of this *rTsang-ston*,²³⁴ even if I am slightly ill," he [Yu-mo] was given all the doctrines [of *Kālacakra* from *gNam-brtsegs*]. (p.64:5) And [Yu-mo], after having stayed [there] between fifty and eighty years of age, because he talked [about the dharma], he increased the spread [of the doctrine of *Kālacakra*].²³⁵

²¹⁹ There is a *sGom-pa Tshul-khrims* mentioned who was a disciple of *Nag lo-tsa-ba* (b.1010) and consequently active in the second half of the 11th century.

²²⁰ *sGro gNam-la brtsegs*.

²²¹ Unidentified.

²²² Unidentified.

²²³ See note 219. As he was the disciple of *sGro*, he acted as intermediary for Yu-mo.

²²⁴ 10 *zho* = 1 *srang*. It was a quite small sum.

²²⁵ A conch-shell trumpet for use in the ritual.

²²⁶ Skt. *Kapāla*. It is a bowl made out of a skull, used in tantric rituals.

²²⁷ *Sog Vināyadhāra*. See note 205.

²²⁸ Tib. *Zhal-chos*, "mouth-dharma".

²²⁹ The advanced age of *sGro gNam-la-brtsegs* shows that this must have taken place quite late in the 11th century.

²³⁰ Here should be meant the *laghutantra* (KCT) and the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary.

²³¹ Toh.360, bKa'-gyur, rGyud-'bum. Tib. 'Jam-dpal ye-shes-sems-dpa'i don-dam-pa'i mtshan yang-dag-par brjod-pa. Skt. *Mañjuśrījñānasattvasya paramārthanāmasaṅgīti*.

²³² This is short for one of several texts with *sGron-gsal* in the title. It is probably Toh. 1785, *Pradīpoddhotana* of Candrakīrti.

²³³ "Sky-wanderers". Skt. *ḍākiṇī*. They are a sort of female deities roaming about in the sky. They can be good or hostile.

²³⁴ "The master from *rTsang*." This must be another designation for *sGro sNam-la brtsegs* from *sNor-bzang*. He also came from a place called *rTsang*. The only reference to *rTsang* is found in Roerich. 1949/53:916 where it appears to be a place in the north of the *gTsang* province.

²³⁵ Here one can see the importance of Yu-mo because he stayed for thirty years spreading the *Kālacakra*. Probably in *sNor-bzang* because it was there he stayed to meet *sGro gNam-la-brtsegs*.

When he [Yu-mo] was fifty-five years, his son *Dharmesvara*²³⁶ was made a disciple at a young age because of former inclinations. (p.64:6)²³⁷ From the age of twelve he [*Dharmesvara*] taught the doctrine of *Sekkodēśa*²³⁸ and from sixteen he taught the Great Commentary,²³⁹ and as for other texts, he was studying the *sPyod-phyogs*²⁴⁰ and the *Lam-rim*²⁴¹ and many *tantric sādhanas*²⁴² until the age of thirty (p.64:7). [And] he produced very great benefit even to others.

His [*Dharmesvara's*] disciple *Nam-mkha'-'od*²⁴³ listened to the *Rigs-tshogs*²⁴⁴ and so forth of '*Gos dBang-pa-can*'.²⁴⁵ And he [*Nam-mkha'-'od*] listened to *bLa-ma Dharmesvara* give many explanations of the root-text and the manuals of the Great Commentary of *Kālacakra*.²⁴⁶

(p.65:1) The son [of Yu-mo], *Dharmesvara's* son, *Siddha Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan*²⁴⁷ listened to all the texts together with the precepts of *Hevajra* and *Kālacakra* and so forth [from *Nam-mkha'-'od*].

From him [*Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan*] '*Jam-gsar*'²⁴⁸ obtained full control of *Phar-tshad-mngon*²⁴⁹ and so forth, and he asked for the empowerment at the monastery in the

²³⁶ He was also a master of the *Jo-nang-pa* school (Ruegg. 1963:80). His daughter *Jo-'bum* was married to the *rNying-ma-pa* master *Nyi-ma 'od-zer* (1136-1204) and was considered an incarnation of *Ye-shes misho-rgyal*, the spouse of *Padmasambhava*. She was also a practitioner of the *Kālacakra*. It follows that *Dharmesvara* must have been born around 1085 because he was at least ten when *Yu-mo* was 55, around 1095 (see below, p.64:6-7). Consequently, there is here a clear connection with the old *rNying-ma-pa* school (Dargyay. 1977:100, 214 note 56 and Meisezahl. 1985:10,15 and Roerich. 1949/53:768).

²³⁷ Consequently, he must have been a reincarnation of a former *Kālacakra* master. That was why he could learn everything so fast.

²³⁸ Tib. *dBang-mdor bstan-pa*. In *bKa'-'gyur* Toh.361, 7 fol. Translated by *Somanātha* and '*Bro Shes-rab-grags*'. It is one of only five texts on the *Kālacakra* in the *rGyud-'bum* section of the *bKa'-'gyur*. The text is considered to be a portion of the lost root (*mūla*) *tantra* and treats the *Kālacakra* initiation. It has recently been edited in a critical edition (Orofino. 1994). The well-known commentary by *Nāropa*, the *Sekoddeśatikā*, has also recently been edited and translated into Italian (Orofino & Gnoli. 1995 and Carelli. 1941).

²³⁹ The *Vimalaprabhā*.

²⁴⁰ See note 197.

²⁴¹ This should, at that time, before *Tsong-kha-pa*, be the text *Bodhipātadipāda* by *Atiśa*, Toh.3947. It could also be another *lam-rim*.

²⁴² Tib. *sgrub-thabs* "method". The name for the *tantric* method of evoking and visualizing the *tantric* deities and making a ritual performance.

²⁴³ '*Gro-mgon Nam-mkha'-'od-zer* was, according to Dud-jorns Rinpoche, the son of *Dharmesvara*. (Dargyay. 1977:100). Here he is a disciple.

²⁴⁴ *Rig-tshogs* (drug), skt. [*ṣaḍ*]-*yuktisāstra*, "the collection of the six treatises." Six treatises on the *Mādhymika* by *Nāgārjuna*. (Ruegg. 1963) (Rigzin. 1986:398.)

²⁴⁵ Unidentified, although '*Gos*' is a well-known family with famous translators like '*Gos lo-tsa-ba Khug-pa lhas-btsas* (11th century) and '*Gos lo-tsa-ba gZhon-nu-dpal* (15th century).

²⁴⁶ That is, the complete *Kālacakra* tradition.

²⁴⁷ Also called *Siddha Se-mo che-ba* (or *Se-chen*) *Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan* (Ruegg. 1963:80; Roerich. 1949/53:755-56, 768-71). He is said to have practised the *ṣaḍaṅga-yoga* and "the six doctrines of *Nāropa*". He was called *Se-mo che-ba* after his place of residence *Se-mo-che* in the *gTsang* province near the river *gTsang-po*.

²⁴⁸ Or '*Jam-dbyangs gsar-ma Shes-rab 'od-zer*. (*Deb ther sngon po* tha 2b,8b; cha 4b-5a; ta 2a; Roerich. 1949/53:756,769-71,335-36,727,1052.) According to Ruegg, it is said in the *Grub mtha' shel gyi me long* by *Thu'u bkvan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma* that until then the *Kālacakra* scripture was limited in its diffusion, but after '*Jam-gsar*' the teaching became generalized (Ruegg. 1963:80). '*Jam-gsar*' founded a school at *sKyang-dur* and had among others *Kun-mkhyen Chos-sku 'od-zer* as a disciple. The latter was also the successor of

small village *gYas-ru sMon-mkhar*²⁵⁰ and he [*'Jam-gsar*] learned all the *tantra* commentaries and [the corresponding] parts of the instructions. (p.65:2) From him [*'Jam-gsar*] *bLa-ma rGa-lo*²⁵¹ learned [the doctrine].

2. [The History of the *Rva* school].

Rva lo-tsa-ba Chos-rab,²⁵² the nephew of *Rva lo-tsa-ba rDo-rje grags*,²⁵³ was born in the country of *sNye-gnam-snang*.²⁵⁴ After having put into his mind all the *dharma* divisions of

'Jam-gsar in the '*Bro* tradition according to '*Gos lo-tsa-ba*. (Roerich. 1949/53:755-56,770). Perhaps because of that *Bu-ston* ends his description of the '*Bro* school with *rGa-lo*, *Chos-sku 'od-zer* is not mentioned by him. There is also another reason: *Chos-sku 'od-zer* was the next tradition holder of the *Jo-nang-pa* school, which was not appreciated by *Bu-ston*. (Ruegg. 1963:80).

²⁴⁹ Short for *Phar-phyin*, skt. *Prajñāpāramitā*, *Tshad-ma* skt. *pramāṇa* ("logic") and *mNgon* which is the *Abhidharma* system.

²⁵⁰ *gYas-ru* is one of the two provinces into which *gTsang* anciently was divided. Literally, it means "the right hand division" (eastern *gTsang*), the other province being *gYon-ru* "the left side division". (western *gTsang*). (Das. 1902) There is a *Mon-mkhar dzong* in the east of *gTsang* not far from the monastery of *mTshur-phu*. (Ferrari. 1958:161, note 621.)

²⁵¹ For *rGa-lo*, see the chapter on the *Rva* school. It can only be remarked here that *Bu-ston* ends the story about the '*Bro* school with *rGa-lo*. The reason probably being that the two schools '*Bro* and *Rva* were united in his person and also perhaps because the following masters of the '*Bro* school were all also masters of the *Jo-nang-pa* and close to the time of *Bu-ston* himself and his doctrinal conflicts with *Dol-po-pa* and the *Jo-nang-pas*.

²⁵² He lived in the second half of the 11th century and the first half of the 12th. His birthdate is given by Macdonald as 1070 and he should have supervised the reconstruction work of *bSam-yas* in 1106 (Macdonald. 1970:181). He is not so well known as his uncle, but more information can be found about him (Roerich. 1949/53:378,755,756,789,837). He was a specialist on the *Yamāntaka* tantric cycle. He was very active in general in purchasing and translating texts from India. He translated two texts together with *Samantaśrī*, Toh.365 *Sekaparakriyā* and Toh.1374 *Ṣaḍāṅgayogopadeśa* and also six small texts together with *Vāgīśvara* (*gupta*), tib. *Ngag-gi dbang-phyug* or *Thang-chung-pa*. (Toh.1358-59,1362,1392-94). The latter is by '*Gos lo-tsa-ba* identified with the youngest brother of a Nepalese known as *Pham-mthing-pa* or *A-nges-pa chen-po*. This *Thang-chung-pa* went to India and stayed receiving teachings from, among others, *Nā-ro-pa*. The fact that he was a Nepalese explains his translation work with *Rva Chos-rab*. *Pham-mthing-pa* had another younger brother called *Dus-'khor-ba* (skt. *Kālacakra*) who studied directly with *Nāropa* and from his name one can deduce that he learnt the *Kālacakra*. A third brother was *Bodhibhadra* (tib. *Byang-chub bzang-po*), disciple of *Nā-ro-pa*, who could be the same as the *Bhadrabodhi* working with *Gyi-jo* and also a teacher of *Atiśa*. (Roerich. 1949/53:381-84). A complication in this context is that *Pham-mthing-pa* is called *Vāgīśvarakīrti* but it is not probable that it was he who translated texts with *Rva Chos-rab* (Roerich. 1949/53:226, Wylie. 1962:200). This should explain the Nepalese origin of two of the great translators working with *Kālacakra* in Tibet. The conclusion of the foregoing is that it confirms that *Samantaśrī* and *Rva Chos-rab* were active in working with *Kālacakra* translations in the second half of the 11th century, although closer to the last quarter.

²⁵³ A short biography can be found in Roerich. 1949/53:374-380 and there exists a special *rnam-thar* (*Rwa-lo rNam-thar* 1974 and 1965). His birth is given as 1016 from his *rnam-thar* (*Bod rgya mtshig mdzod chen mo*. 1985: 3214) and his death is given by Macdonald, also from his *rnam-thar*, as the year 1114/16. This means that he should have reached the age of 100 years, something that is not very probable. There are some problems with the dates of the *rnam-thar* and probably his birthdate is more reliable than the dating of his death. See also Ferrari 1958:42,98,105. He was famous as a translator and as the main introducer of the *Yamāntaka* tantric cycle to Tibet. It is known that he attended the council (*chos-'khor*) organized by king *rTse-lde* in 1076 and directly after the council he and *gNyan Lo-tsa-ba Dharma-grags* went directly to Nepal and India in order to get teachings from there. (Roerich. 1949/53:70-71). There is no mention by '*Gos Lo-tsa-ba* that

the *Rva-pa*²⁵⁵ the three divisions of *Nag-'jigs*²⁵⁶ of the *Rva* tradition, and the *mNgon-'byung rnam-gsum*,²⁵⁷ (p.65.3) [and] the *tantras* of *Abhidhana*²⁵⁸ and *Samputa*²⁵⁹ and so forth, and the six *Chos-'byung*²⁶⁰ and so forth, he [*Rva Chos-rab*] turned to the *Kālacakra*.²⁶¹

After having arrived to central Nepal,²⁶² (p.65:4) and after having adhered to *Paṇḍita Samantaśrī*²⁶³ for five years, ten months and five days, because he [*Rva Chos-rab*] re-

Rva Chos-rab also went there with him, but it is possible, and in accordance with the timing, that *Chos-rab* went with his uncle to Nepal and there separated from him and went to see *Samantaśrī* and invited him to Tibet. As is written later in this text by *Bu-ston* (p.65:4), *Rva Chos-rab* was supposed to have stayed in Nepal for five years and then invited him to Tibet. If he went to Nepal in 1076, *Samantaśrī* arrived in Tibet some time around 1082. Another possibility is that the school of *Rva lo-tsa-ba rDo-rje-grags* was formed after his visit to India and Nepal, as can be deduced from information about him (Roerich. 1949/53:375). *Rva Chos-rab* learned from his school before going to Nepal looking for *Kālacakra*. There is no mention that *Rva rDo-rje-grags* ever learned or taught the *Kālacakra Tantra*. The conclusion is that *Rva Chos-rab* went to Nepal considerably later, in the 1080s or 90s.

²⁵⁴ Also *Nye-lam*, *Nya-lam*, *gNya'-nang* or *Kuti* (Wylie. 1962:65,129; Wylie. 1970:49; Ferrari. 1958:98). This was also the birth-place of *Rva rDo-rje-grags* (Roerich. 1949/53:374, Wylie. 1962:65,130)) and the family seems to have been firmly established at this site. I have not been able to find the name *sNye-gnam-snang* on available maps (Verhufen. 1995, Dowman. 1988:267, Batchelor. 1987:343, Wylie. 1962, Ferrari. 1958: map and ONC H-9), but the name of the place, if not the actual monastery, could be *Nye-lam* or (in modern maps) - *gNya'-lam*, which is located almost at the Nepalese border on the main road between Kathmandu and Lhasa. As one can deduce that this was a main communication line even before the advent of modern roads, it is not strange that both *Rva Lo-tsa-ba's* went to Nepal (i.e. Kathmandu) to study Buddhism, as it was the centre of the then flourishing *Newar Buddhism*.

Communications were also relatively good with central Tibet.

²⁵⁵ The name of the school founded by *Rva rDo-rje-grags* which mainly propagated the *Yamāntaka* tantric cycle. (Roerich. 1949/53:374-79). He did not teach the *Kālacakra*.

²⁵⁶ This is probably the black *Yamāntaka* normally called *gShin-rje* in Tibetan. As *Rva rDo-rje-grags* was a leading expert on that cycle, it is the most probable identification. It could also be *Kṛṣṇa-Yamāri*, *Rakta-Yamāri* or *Vajrabhairava*.

²⁵⁷ This is probably a text in the *Cāryatantra* system, the basic text of *Vajravārahī* is Toh.377. It should be noted that the following two texts on the same *tantric* cycle (Toh.178-79) were translated by *Gyi-jo Zla-ba'i 'od-zer* and *Gayādhara* and consequently, there is a connection with the *Kālacakra*. It could also be the *Herukābhyudaya* (Toh.374), *Samvarodaya* (Toh.373) or *Abhidhanottara* (Toh.369) (communication from Newman June-04).

²⁵⁸ Toh.369 is the basic text of *Abhidana Tantra*.

²⁵⁹ Toh.381 is the basic text of the *Samputa Tantra*.

²⁶⁰ Unidentified.

²⁶¹ It should be noted that *Rva Chos-rab* first studied all these other teachings before studying the *Kālacakra*, which consequently can be regarded as the most important "highest" teaching.

²⁶² Tib. *Bal-po'i mthil-du*, "the Kathmandu valley".

²⁶³ Newman gives the Indian beginning of the *Rva* school as follows: An emanation of *Mañjuśrī* or *Avalokiteśvara* - *Cilu* - *Piṇḍo* - *Kālacakrapāda* the Elder - *Kālacakrapāda* the Younger (*Bodhipa*, *Nalendra-pa*) - *Mañjukīrti* - *Samantaśrībhadra* - *Rwa Chos-rab*. (Newman. 1987:94). The '*Bro* school also derives from *Kālacakrapāda* the Elder who, according to Newman, was the same as *Piṇḍo*. (Newman. 1987a:106). This is refuted by Orofino, who rightly doubts that we have enough information to draw that conclusion (Orofino. 1994:20). *Samantaśrī* probably lived in the late 11th and the first part of the 12th century. He was probably a *Newar Buddhist* living in Kathmandu (or Patan; tib. *Ye-rang*) as *Rva Chos-rab* is said to have stayed five years there with him. *Samantaśrī* must have been to Magadha and the monasteries of *Nālanda* and *Vikramaśīla* in order to study the *Kālacakra*. The two schools separated, the *Rva* tradition continuing in the Kathmandu valley and the '*Bro* tradition in Kashmir.

quested the explanation [and] the empowerment together with the instructions, he was given everything [by *Samantaśrī*].²⁶⁴ (p.65:5) After having invited the *Paṇḍita* to Tibet, he [*Rva Chos-rab*] explained the tantra commentary together with the branches.²⁶⁵ He translated and systematized, [and] he was held in great veneration by everybody.

One day he [*Rva Chos-rab*] gave 300 golden *srang*²⁶⁶ [to *Samantaśrī*] and accompanied him on departing [for Nepal] even up to *sKyi-rong*.²⁶⁷ (p.65:6) So the *bLa-ma* was very pleased and he donated the tiara of the *Paṇḍita* 'Bum-phrag gsum-pa,²⁶⁸ sandals [and] a *rdo-rje*²⁶⁹ and a *dril-bu*²⁷⁰ according to the measures of *Kālacakra*.²⁷¹

His [*Rva Chos-rab*] own son, *bLa-ma Ye-shes seng-ge*²⁷² was learning [from him] everything, [and] knowing it by heart, he practised it.

(p.65:7) His [*Ye-shes seng-ge*] own son *Rva 'Bum-seng*,²⁷³ learning everything, practised it.

From him *bla-ma rGa-lo*²⁷⁴ has taken [the teachings of *Kālacakra*]. As for *bla-ma rGa-lo*, at the time of the kings of Tibet, the minister *bZhang-shi*²⁷⁵ was sent as envoy to

²⁶⁴ This clearly shows a strong connection with Nepal concerning the *Rva* tradition. The same is the case with Kashmir concerning the 'Bro tradition. Consequently, there are two traditions with distinct geographical origin, which also indicates some difference in the teachings.

²⁶⁵ By the *tantra* commentary, here is probably meant the *Vimalaprabhā*. The "branches, limbs or auxiliary texts" could mean that *Samantaśrī* and *Rva* were teaching the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* something which is confirmed by the fact that the two translated an instruction text on the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* in the *bsTan-'gyur* (Toh.1374, *Ṣaḍaṅgayogopadeśa* by *Cilupa*.).

²⁶⁶ This is the largest sum mentioned in the text. It can be deduced that it was a sort of fare-well gift for *Samantaśrī* after him having stayed in Tibet teaching for some time. The *Rva* family was also very wealthy. For example, *Rva lo-tsa-ba rdo-rje-grags* paid one thousand golden *srang* to another Nepalese master and also rebuilt the main temple at *bSam-yas* (Roerich. 1949/53:378).

²⁶⁷ Or *sKyid-grong*. A village and a district close to the Nepalese border on one of the main routes from Kathmandu to the province of *gTsang*. (Wylie. 1962:172, Ferrari. 1958:154).

²⁶⁸ *rNgog lo-chen-po* or *rNgog bLo-lan shes-rab* (1059-1109) was a disciple of 'Bum-phrag (or *brTan-skyong* = *Sthirapāla*) which means that the later lived a little before that time (Roerich. 1949/53:325). *Sthirapāla* got his title 'Bum-phrag gsum-pa (=300.000) because he had memorized 300.000 *śloka*s (Roerich. 1949/53:789). *Siddha Nyin-phug-pa* (1094-1186) studied with 'Bum-phrag at *Bo-dong* when he was 14, that is, in the year of 1108 (Roerich. 1949/53:1009). The fore-going shows that *Samantaśrī* must have lived in a period quite late in the 11th century and the first half of the 12th, because it is quite evident that he was a disciple of 'Bum-phrag as he possessed the hat.

²⁶⁹ Skt. *vajra* ("diamond"), a ritual instrument.

²⁷⁰ Skt. *ghaṇṭa* (bell). An instrument used in the ritual.

²⁷¹ There exist traditions of special measures for these ritual instruments in the *Kālacakra Tantra*.

²⁷² He must have lived in the early part of the 12th century. As the other members of the *Rva* family in the *Kālacakra* lineage, *Rva Chos-rab* and *Rva 'Bum-seng*, he was also a lineage-holder of the cycle of *Yamāntaka*. This was a heritage from *Rva rDo-rje-grags* who was the most important to introduce this *tantra* in the 11th century. The lineage is given by 'Gos lo-tsa-ba *gZhon-nu-dpal* as follows: *Atiśa* and *Kṛṣṇasamayavajra* - *Nag-tsho-lo-tsa-ba* - *Rong-pa Phyag-sor-pa* - *Rwa lo-tsa-ba rDo-rje-grags* - *Rwa Chos-rab* - *Rwa Ye-shes Seng-ge* - *Rwa 'Bum-seng* - *rJe-btsun rGa-lo* and *bla-ma Shes-rab seng-ge* (*gZhon-nu-dpal* 1976, fol.13a; Roerich. 1949/53:374,379). *Kṛṣṇasamayavajra*, who also was one who introduced *Guhyasamāja* to Tibet, seems to be the more important master who taught the *Yamāntaka* cycle in both *dBus* and *gTsang* (Roerich. 1949/53:360,374).

²⁷³ See previous footnote. *gZhon-nu-dpal* gives almost the same lineage as *Bu-ston* on the *Rva* school (Roerich. 1949/53:756,789-795). There is not much found on this master, only that it can be remarked that 'Bum in Tibetan stands for the *Prajāñāpāramitā*, which could mean that he was connected with that teaching.

make invitations to *Hva-shangs*²⁷⁶ from China, and consequently he invited one from *Mi-nyag*,²⁷⁷ who had become a *Hva-shang*. [That one] was made chaplain of the king, [and] among the lineage of ancestors, which was made out of only *tantrics* who had practised the complete established texts and traditions of the *Mahāyāna*,²⁷⁸ there was one called *Mi-nyag gzhon-nu snying-po* from *Yar-'brog-sgang*²⁷⁹ and his son *gZhon-nu seng-ge*, and his son *Rig-'dzin snying-po*, (p.66:2) who settled in the country of *rGya-ma* of *Rong*.²⁸⁰ His son *rDo-rje seng-ge* took possession of *Rong mKhar-phug*²⁸¹ The eldest of the four sons born to him, named *Ye-shes rdo-rje*,²⁸² being learned, appeared to be one who had acquired perfection. He [*Ye-shes rdo-rje*] obtained perfection with [the help of] (p.66:3) the precepts of the *Mahāmūdra* renowned as *dByug-Chos*,²⁸³ [and] took possession of [the monastery] *dBen-dmar*²⁸⁴, the abbatial seat of someone called *dBang-phyug rgyal-po*.²⁸⁵

²⁷⁴ He lived 1203-1282 (Macdonald. 1970:177-78,182). There are five Tibetan folios written about this *bla-ma* by *Bu-ston*, which makes him the most important of all the tradition-holders mentioned. *rGa-lo rNam-rgyal rdo-rje* is the first to be dated in *Bu-ston's* text (p.66:4, 71:5). *gZhon-nu-dpal* presents the same dates (Roerich. 1949/53:790,796). *rGa-lo* was considered to be the incarnation of *Khams-pa rGa-lo-tsa-ba gZhon-nu-dpal* (1110/14 - 1198/1202) (p.66:3; Macdonald. 1970:177-78). In *The Blue Annals* there is only one *rGa-lo* indexed, but it is obvious that two existed. An interesting fact seems to be that the earlier *Khams-pa dPal-chen rGa-lo* was also a master of the *Kālacakra* (Roerich. 1949/53:555-56,713). He is not mentioned in the usual *Kālacakra* lineages, but was evidently initiated into the system. According to Tibetan Buddhist thinking, *rGa-lo rNam-rgyal rdo-rje* must have had strong former inclinations to study the *Kālacakra*. Through the 'Bro lineage *rGa-lo rNam-rgyal rdo-rje* was also a lineage holder of the *Yamāntaka* tantric cycle. (Roerich. 1949/53:379). As *Bu-ston's* text states he was a member of an old family from the royal period in Tibet in the 8th century (p.66:1). The fore-going gives a picture of an important master of the 13th century who is otherwise not very well-known.

²⁷⁵ Or *Sang-zhi*. This seems to be a version of the story about *Sang-zhi* of the 'Ba clan who went to China and *Mi-nyag* in order to obtain texts on Buddhism and Taoism. It was in the last years of king *Mes-ag-tshom*, who died in 755 (Stein. 1984:37,42; Shakabpa 1984:32-34). It is possible that he also invited Chinese Buddhists (*hva-shang*). If he was from the *dBa'* clan that *rGa-lo* belonged to. The contact with Chinese religion had some importance for the future. 'Gos *lo-tsa-ba* more explicitly states that *Sang-zhi* was sent to invite monks (Roerich. 1949/53:789,41).

²⁷⁶ Chinese Buddhist monk or scholar (Das. 1903:1326).

²⁷⁷ *Mi-nyag* is a small Tibetan area in eastern Kham near the Chinese border (Stein. 1984:14-15 map). Consequently it was a Tibetan who was invited, who had become a Chinese Buddhist teacher.

²⁷⁸ It was important for *Bu-ston* in this context to stress that they were *tantrics* well based in classical *Mahāyāna*, possibly in order to defend the legitimacy of his *Kālacakra* interest.

²⁷⁹ This person is obviously someone who came from *Mi-nyag*, but who later settled in the area of the lake *Yar-'brog* in central Tibet south of the river *Tsang-po*.

²⁸⁰ These two persons are unidentified but *Rig-'dzin snying-po* settled in the *Rong* valley situated between Lhasa and *gZhis-ka-rtse* in the *gTsang* province (Ferrari. 1958, map; Wylie. 1962:140). The family continued to live in this region.

²⁸¹ Unidentified. The monastery is also unknown, but should be situated in the *Rong* valley.

²⁸² As his son *rGa-lo* was born in 1203, he must have lived in the late 12th and at the beginning of the 13th century. 'Gos *lo-tsa-ba* writes that it was *dBang-phyug rgyal-po* who received the *Mahāmūdrā* teachings, but *Bu-ston* is quite clear about it being *Ye-shes rdo-rje* (Roerich. 1949/53:789).

²⁸³ 'Gos *lo-tsa-ba* has written a whole chapter on the tradition of *Mahāmūdra* (Roerich. 1949/53:839-866). There is an explanation of *dByug-chos* by Roerich in his translation of the *Blue Annals*. *dByug-chos* means a secret doctrine written on a roll of paper, and hidden inside a bamboo stick, used as a walking staff by *yogis*."

²⁸⁴ This monastery was situated somewhere near the *Rong* valley just between the provinces of *dBu* and *gTsang*. It was then kept in the family as noted later in the text (p.71:6, 72:4 and 73:1). See also Roerich. 1949/53: 790,791,792 and 793.

As for his [*Ye-shes rdo-rje 's*] son *rJe-btsun rGa-lo*, the father gave [him] a name like that after being supported by a sign [in a dream]. He thought that he [*rGa-lo*] was a reincarnation of the former *Khams-pa rGa-lo-tsa-ba*.²⁸⁶

(p.66:4) At the time when *Kha-che paṇ-chen*²⁸⁷ came to *Ngur-smrig*,²⁸⁸ he [*rGa-lo*] was about three years old. [And] after being taken by *Ma-gcig Jo-sras ma-skyi-mo*,²⁸⁹ as she went to receive blessings and *dharma*-teachings [from *Kha-che*], (p.66:5) it was prophesized [by him] that he [*rGa-lo*] was going to be excellent in Sanskrit. He [*Kha-che*] took him by the hand, and as he [*rGa-lo*] was relieved, almost everybody assembled perceived that he was a holy man. And *rJe-btsun rGa-lo* even [used to] say to himself: "At the time of childhood I met *bLa-ma Paṇ-chen*²⁹⁰ himself and I was going to be relieved by [learning] Sanskrit."

(p.66:6) When he [*rGa-lo*] was young, according to prophecy, he learned to write and read, the '*Jig-rten bstan-pa*'²⁹¹ and the *Phung-po lnga'i rab-byed*²⁹² and the *sPyod-'jug*²⁹³ and the *mDo-sde las-mang*²⁹⁴ and the smaller section of the *Mādhyamika* and the *Don-zhags*²⁹⁵ (p.66:7) and the doctrine of [the method] for calming the *bag-chags*²⁹⁶ and so forth. [All] these different kinds [of teachings] he learned from his father. After that, he [*rGa-lo*] came into the presence of *dPyal Chos-kyi bzang-po*,²⁹⁷ and during three years he

²⁸⁵ Unidentified.

²⁸⁶ See note 274.

²⁸⁷ *Śākyaśrībhadrā* (1127-1225). He came to Tibet 1204 and stayed there until 1222, when he returned to Kaśmīr where he died in 1225. He was interested in *Kālacakra* and *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti* (Naudou. 1968:196-97). He translated a *Kālacakra*-text, *Śrī-kālacakra-sahaja-sādhana*, by *Kālacakra-pāda*. (Cordier Rgyud IV,9). '*Gos lo-tsa-ba* gives the same story as *Bu-ston* (Roerich. 1949/53:770,790,797).

²⁸⁸ It was difficult to find any information on *Ngur-smrig*. The only information that I could find is from *gZon-nu-dpal* that lCe 'dul-'dzin of *gTsang-rong* founded the monastery-college (*bshad-grva*) of *Ngur-smrig* (Roerich. 1949/53:80). The monastery is also mentioned in connection with the reconstruction of *bSam-yas* after a fire in 986. *Rva lo-tsa-ba rDo-rje-grags* contributed a large donation for the reconstruction of the monastery. He also supported and made offerings to the monastery of *Ngur-smrig* in *gTsang*. The monastery is mentioned here as the place where *rGa-lo* was raised. The monastery was therefore connected with the *Rva* family from at least the end of the 11th century when reconstruction occurred (Roerich. 1949/53:378). The location is situated somewhere near the *Rong* valley in *gTsang*. The word actually means "reddish colour" (*Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*. 1985:654) and is the name of the colour of the robes that Buddhist monks wear. Consequently, the word might mean that the person was wearing the saffron robe and was a monk, in this case the Kaśmīr monk *Śākyaśrībhadrā*.

²⁸⁹ The name is unidentified, but is probably the name of *rGa-lo*'s mother.

²⁹⁰ This is *Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan* (1182-1251) who is generally known by that name. He was actually known as a Sanskrit scholar.

²⁹¹ '*Jig-rten bstan-pa* (*Lokaprajñāpti*) is the same as the text '*Jig-rten bzhang-pa* Toh.4086.

²⁹² *Phung-po lnga'i rab-byed*, skt. *Pañcaskandha-prakaraṇa* is one of the texts Toh. 3866 or 4066, but most probably 4059.

²⁹³ The text *Bodhisattvacāryāvatāra* by Śāntideva. Toh. 3871.

²⁹⁴ Skt. *Karmavibhaṅga*. Toh. 338, 339 or 340.

²⁹⁵ *Don-zhags* can be one of several texts; Toh.683, 686, 687, 689, 903, 2721, 2861 and 2864.

²⁹⁶ Skt. *vāsanā*, "karmic imprints". The traces of the former inclinations in earlier lives. These imprints decides much of the present life but can be calmed by certain methods.

²⁹⁷ He is also mentioned in *The Blue Annals* (p.379) where it is stated that he also received the red *Yamāntaka*; on p.396 it is mentioned that the *dPyal* family traced its origins back to a minister of king *Khri-srong lde-btsan*, something that indicates that this family, like the *Rva* family, was part of the old Tibetan aristocracy. He had also received the teachings of *Vajravārāhi*.

[*rGa-lo*], after having studied to write Indian and read Indian [language] and the different varieties of the language Sanskrit,²⁹⁸ (p.67:1) and after having studied particularly *Hevajra*²⁹⁹ and *Vajravārahī*³⁰⁰ at the age of sixteen, explaining in a good way at *Ngur-smrig*, spread the teachings. As for other [texts] he learned the Great Commentary of *Nā-ro*³⁰¹ with the instructions, and the small *Samvara-sāstra*³⁰² with instructions.

(p.67:2) When he [*rGa-lo*] was receiving the empowerment of *Samvara* with the instructions, hearing wonderful sounds from the centre of the *maṇḍala*,³⁰³ having had blood dripping from the nose, after having dreamt of the dropping, he purified his disease and mental obscurations. [And his] pleasure-body³⁰⁴ became like shining wisdom. (p.67:3) When he received the empowerment of *gShed-dmar*,³⁰⁵ he was freed from the temptations of *Māra*.

So then, now, earlier when he [*rGa-lo*] resided at *Dol-chung*³⁰⁶ when he was a little bit sick, [somebody] made hindrances [to him]. (p.67:4) A visiting monk, after having come in front of him carrying an Indian book with a supplement, took out one volume, and waving it in front of his [*rGa-lo*'s] eyes said: "As for the words, you will not grasp them, (p.67:5) and as for the meaning of the holy [teachings], you will not understand it." [And they] disputed so. And [then], at night, he [the monk], after having undressed naked, and

"*Śākyaśrī* bestowed on the *lo-tṣā-ba* *dPyal Chos-kyi bzah-po* the commentary on the *Hevajratāntra* composed by *Nā-ro-pa* and *Nā-ro's* precepts on *Ṣaḍaṅgayoga*. *dPyal* expounded them in a book called *Rin-po-che sgom-gyi lde-mig*." (Roerich. 1949/53:797). This confirms that *dPyal* received teachings from *Śākyaśrī* after his arrival to Tibet in 1204 and before his death in 1225, and consequently brought these teachings to *rGa-lo* later. One of *dPyal*'s disciples was *bSam-gling rin-po-che* (1189-1260; Roerich. 1949/53:518-519) who belonged to the *Dags-po bKa'-brgyud-pa*. It can be concluded that *dPyal Chos-kyi bzang-po* lived at the end of the 12th century and the first half of the 13th century. In Grönbold. 1966:146 it is mentioned that *dPyal* was one of the tradition-holders of the *Ṣaḍaṅgayoga*.

²⁹⁸ It is actually written that he learned different ways of pronouncing the Sanskrit language.

²⁹⁹ Tib. *dGyes-rdo-rje*; Here it stands for the whole cycle of *Hevajra*.

³⁰⁰ The tantric text of *Vajravārahī*; tib. *rDo-rje phag-mo*. In Tibet, the only female incarnation with a position comparable to the higher incarnations of other schools. She belongs to the *Karma-pa* school and each incarnation is reborn as the abbess of the *bSam-lding* monastery on the shores of the *Yar-'brog* lake in southern Tibet.

³⁰¹ This could be the *Sekoddeśa-tīkā* (Toh.1351), which is the well-known commentary of *Nā-ro-pa* on the only surviving text from the root-*tāntra* (*mūlatāntra*), *Sekoddeśa* (Toh.361). The text has been edited (Carelli. 1941) and recently edited and translated into Italian by R. Gnoli and G. Orofino (Orofino. 1994a and Nāropā. 1994). It could also be *Nāropa's* big *Hevajra* commentary, Toh.1181, attributed to *sNyan-grags bzang-po* [**Yaśobhadra*] in the *bsTan-'gyur*.

³⁰² This must be a commentary on the main text on *Samvara* (*Cakrasamvara*) (Toh. 368). Tib. '*Khor-lo bDe-mchog*. The tantric cycle of *Cakrasamvara* has connections with the *Kālacakra* cycle. It may be Toh. 1402, *Vajrapāṇi's Samvara-tīkā*, a commentary on the first chapter of Toh. 368.

³⁰³ Here is probably meant the *Cakrasamvara maṇḍala*.

³⁰⁴ Tib. *long-spyod-skyi-sku*. Skt. *sambhogakāya*.

³⁰⁵ This is *gShin-rje gshed-dmar-po*, the red *Yamāntaka*. See also Roerich. 1949/53:379. The basic text of this tantric system is *gShin-rje gshed-dmar-po'i rgyud*, Toh. 474.

³⁰⁶ *Dol-chung*. I have not found the location of this place, but the only name that is similar is the region of *Dol-po* in the Tibetan area of northern Nepal to the west of Annapurna and Mustang. The *Jo-nang-pa* master *Dol-po-pa* came from that region. *Dol-chung* could be a "small" part of *Dol-po*.

after having placed on his head a small piece of clay from the temple, said: "I am the clay-made *Garuḍa*-headed." And he threatened him [*rGa-lo*] and so forth.³⁰⁷

(p.67:6) Further again, when he [*rGa-lo*] after arrival at *Ngur-smrig*, in a dream there came an old monk who was carrying a load of boots without soles saying: "[You are] the friend that I could not find [for such a long time that] I have worn out so many shoe soles [as I am carrying], and now [that I] have found [you] I am very glad." He [the monk] was very happy and he began to go around him [*rGa-lo*], following after him. And he [the monk] was acting as to help him [*rGa-lo*] in a cheating way. (p.67:7) After that, when he [*rGa-lo*] arrived at his own monastery, as his father said: "Last night there was great magical disturbances of *bgegs*,³⁰⁸ you should not trust your mind [that you could get] help [from a *bgegs*]. (p.68:1) You should do the most excellent *thugs-dam* (meditation)." He [*rGa-lo*] thought in his own mind: "As for these '*byung-pos*,'³⁰⁹ they act as like to help, but [they] are doing harm." He [*rGa-lo*] generated a [strong] noble mind, which could not move to the external world, and he said *mantras* many times.

(p.68:2) And they [*rGa-lo* and the '*byung-po*] quarrelled and he [*rGa-lo*] even made like opening wide [his mouth to frighten the '*byung-pos*]. [But] they did not have fear. Sometimes [they] changed [to be] like teachers, [and one '*byung-po* said:] "For many lives we were friends, in this life [we did] like this [quarrelled], and [we] became perfected in such a good way." And he [the '*byung-po*] explained introductory stories of all sorts of different lives. (p.68:3) Sometimes he [the '*byung-po*] came appointed as a master of a *gTsug-lag-khang*,³¹⁰ [and] said: "As for my *gTsug-lag-khang* [it is] this. As for the earlier history [it was] like this." [And] he [the '*byung-po*] explained all sorts of sayings, and said: "Even you, if you do the same as I do, you can act as to be a master like this."

(p.68:4) Sometimes he [the '*byung-po*] came in the form of a scholar and explained: "As for the tradition of the *gzhung* (basic texts), [it is] like this. As for former times, [it was] like this. As for the future, [it will be] like this. Even you can act in this way."

Sometimes he [the '*byung-po*] acted as a magician and explained: "As for the real substances and medicine and *mantras*, [they are] like this. (p.68:5) [And] if you are close to such a one [a magician], [then you] become like this." Sometimes in the form of a big grey bird, he [the '*byung-po*] transformed his words into human language, and after having remained beside [*rGa-lo*] in a very loving way, at the time of the early morning, when he flapped the wings with much noise and called [*rGa-lo*] with the names: "*Zla-'od gzhon-nu*,

³⁰⁷ This story is quite strange but can be seen as someone putting *rGa-lo* to a test. As is usual in a *tantric* context he has to endure some difficulties in order to progress in the *tantric* way.

³⁰⁸ This is a class of demons, whose speciality is to cause hindrances and to obstruct. See Nebesky-Wojkowitz. 1956:285, where they are described as obstacle-creating demons, who are supposed to obstruct all religious activities. See also Das 1903:925, where it is stated that the *bgegs* are a sort of demons divided into eighteen classes.

³⁰⁹ See Nebesky-Wojkowitz. 1956:380, where it is mentioned that the '*byung-pos* are demons causing mirages or illusions. This is very much the case in this text where the '*byung-pos* are trying to cheat *rGa-lo*. See Das. 1903:925. Skt. *bhūta*, which is a general name for the three classes of demons called '*dre*, *gdon* and *bgegs*. In *Bod-rgya tshig-mdzod chen-mo*. 1985:1981 it is said that they are formless harmful beings. The '*byung-po* is also mentioned as being without form in Stein. 1956:42,219, fol.6a and 63, 247, fol. 43b. See also Berglie. 1983:118.

³¹⁰ *gTsug-lag-khang* means temple/monastery, *vihāra*, but in later times normally meant the assembly hall or main hall of worship. Here it seems to mean a monastery.

Seng-ge rgyal-mtshan 'Od-kyi nyi-ma,³¹¹ he said: "Get up! Investigate closely! Do meditation! Explain the philosophical texts!"

[Then] as he [the 'byung-po] was acting as if to do work for the *dharma*, when he [rGa-lo] was trying to get the empowerment of *gShed-dmar*³¹² at *Thar-pa*³¹³, he [the 'byung-po] said: "It would be better if you went home. (p.68:7) Your father and mother and others are sick. You should meet them and look after them. As for the empowerment, it is proper to get it later." [Then] as he [rGa-lo] said: "It is difficult to get it later. Therefore [I want] to get it now." (p.69:1) He [the 'byung-po] answered: "After having cared about you so much, if you act like that, it is very unwise. Now, go back [home]." And he [the 'byung-po] even helped him [rGa-lo] to lift up the food and the [other] burdens. And as he [rGa-lo] said: "Even [if it is] like that, I must take [the empowerment]."

He [the 'byung-po] threw the food and the burdens under the staircase and said: "I, being a friend of yours for a long time, have been cheated [by you]. (p.69:2) You can do whatever you like, as for me, I am leaving. You, accompany me a short distance." He [rGa-lo] accompanied him [the 'byung-po] to *Mo-dben sgang-khar*³¹⁴ of *Thar-pa-gling*.³¹⁵ And he [the 'byung-po], having mounted on the horse which was there, was elevated to the sky and the horse was transformed into the form of a lion. And looking like the *gnas-brtan* called *dPon-go-rub*,³¹⁶ he leaned his cheek in the hand, singing. (p.69:3) And he [rGa-lo], having passed an old man who had grey hair, went away. Ever since that time the disturbances of *Māra* (tib. *bdud*) did not harm him.³¹⁷

Later, when *Sa-skya Paṇḍita* was at a *dharma*-school near the *Byang-thang*,³¹⁸ he [rGa-lo] met him, (p.69:4) and because he [Sa-skya Paṇḍita] was praying: "You, being of young age and of good family, you are going to learn, because of your great wisdom, [to be] like someone [who is] omniscient." After having been promised that, later at *gZhu-dbu-rgyan*,³¹⁹ requesting the empowerment and the *sādhana* of *Nag-po-pa*³²⁰ and the empowerment of *rNam-'joms*³²¹ [and] *A-ra-pa tsa-na*,³²² he [rGa-lo] was accomplished according to the promise.

³¹¹ I have not found any reference to these names. Probably they are only epithets given to *rGa-lo* in order to give him prestige. Here it is part of a strategy of how to cheat *rGa-lo*.

³¹² See note 305.

³¹³ *Thar-pa* or *Thar-pa-gling*.

³¹⁴ The name is unidentified, but should in the context have the meaning of a special part of the monastery.

³¹⁵ *Thar-pa-gling* is situated on an old route from *Sha-lu* to *Ngor* in the *gTsang* province. To the south lies the site of *Thar-pa-gling* monastery. It was founded in the 14th century by *Thar-pa lo-tsa-ba*, a teacher of *Bu-ston* and a renowned translator (Dowman. 1988:272; Roerich. 1949/53:751, 829).

³¹⁶ *gnas-brtan* is skt. *sthavira*, a senior (elderly) monk. The name is unidentified.

³¹⁷ The whole of this story about the 'byung-po demon (p.67:9 to p.69:3) is very interesting and seems very typical for this type of demon that always try to cheat the faithful Buddhists. *rGa-lo* succeeds in defeating this demon, actually said to be an envoy of *Māra*. The demon leaves, disappointed with *rGa-lo*'s attitude, because it could not defeat *rGa-lo*.

³¹⁸ "the northern plain", the name for the great northern part of Tibet.

³¹⁹ See Roerich. 1949/53:792. There it is mentioned that the son of *rGa-lo*, *Shes-rab seng-ge* (1251-1315) preached at a monastery called *gZhu Kun-dga-'ra-ba*.

³²⁰ This is probably the *Cakrasaṃvara* tradition of *Kṛṣṇa ācārya*, Toh.431, 1445-48.

³²¹ Skt. *Viśphotakah*. See *Mahāvīryutpatti*, Part 1, p.233, nr.3345. It is according to Edgerton 1972 (1953):504, the name of a *nāga* divinity.

³²² This is a name used for the *bodhisattva Mañjuśrī*.

(p.69:5) Furthermore, having adhered to *bLa-ma* 'Jam-gsar,³²³ he received well the instructions of many commentaries [Buddha]-words of the outer philosophy and *gShed-dmar* of the tradition of *Dā-na śī-la*³²⁴ and the empowerment and *sādhana* of *Tārā*,³²⁵ and particularly the empowerments and instructions of the 'Bro school of *Kālacakra*.

(p.69:6) After having adhered in a good way to *bLa-ma Rva* 'Bum-seng,³²⁶ and after having completely obtained all the blessings of the empowerments and instructions of the *Rva* school, of which the most excellent is *Kālacakra*, he [*rGa-lo*] became a treasure of the *tantra*-class.

(p.69:7) After having adhered to *lCe-ston mdo-seng-ge*,³²⁷ he [*rGa-lo*] received properly the *Yoga* of the *Guhyasamāja*³²⁸ and *Māñjuśrīnāmasaṅgītisādhana*³²⁹ and others.

(p.70:1) After having adhered to *Paṇḍita Vibhūticandra*³³⁰ and *Khro-phu lo-tsa-ba Byams-pa'i dpal*³³¹ and others, he [*rGa-lo*] learned many instructions and profound *dharma*[-teachings]. He [*rGa-lo*] learned from 'Gro-mgon chos-rgyal³³² the empowerments and

³²³ See note 248.

³²⁴ This is the red *Yamāntaka* of *Dā-na-śī-la*. See *Bod rgya tshig dzod chen mo*. 1985:1236. There it is stated that *Dānaśīla* was from Kashmir and lived in the 8th century. He was one of the three translators and *paṇḍitas* that were invited by the king *Khri-srong lde'u-btsan*. This might also be a later *Dānaśīla*.

³²⁵ The female *bodhisattva*, tib. *sGrol-ma*.

³²⁶ See notes 272-275.

³²⁷ *lCe* is one of the old aristocratic families in Tibet which can trace its lineage back to the old royal times. The family founded the monastery of *Sha-lu* in 1040 (Stein. 1981:50 and 201). Two members of the *lCe* family were disciples to *Somanātha* in the 11th century and they invited him to stay in Tibet (Roerich. 1949/53:759-60 and 766). *lCe ston mdo-seng-ge* was a member of this family and he was also a lineage-holder of the *Mahāmudra*, *Vajravārahi* and *Zhi-byed* (Roerich. 1949/53:866, 397 and 905).

³²⁸ Sanskrit editions in Bhattacharya. 1967 (1931) and Matsunaga. 1975. Translations by Freemantle (unpublished dissertation) and to German by Gäng. 1988. Tibetan edition, Toh. 442. See also Wayman. 1977.

³²⁹ There are some canonical texts on the MNS. The basic *tantra* is the Toh.361 and the commentaries are found in Toh.1395-1400. There is no special text with the title of *sādhana* but there are obviously many *sādhana*s used. It is worth notice that various authors and translators of the canonical texts on the MNS are the same as the ones working with *Kālacakra* texts. The best example is Toh.1398 *Ārya-Māñjuśrīnāmasaṅgītīṭīkā-vimalaprabhā* by *Rgyal-po Padma dkar-po* (skt. *Rāja Puṇḍarika*), translated by *bSod-snyoms-pa chen-po* (skt. *Pinḍo*) although this might be a false ascription. They were also active in translating *Kālacakra* texts. This is another indication of the close ties between these two teachings.

³³⁰ *Vibhūticandra* lived at the end of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th century in Nepal and received different *Yoga*-teachings, for ex. the *ṣaḍaṅga-yoga*, from *Śa-ba-ri dBang-phyug*. *Vibhūticandra* then called on *Ko-brag-pa* from Tibet and gave him the secret teachings of the *ṣaḍaṅga-yoga*. *Ko-brag-pa* then invited *Vibhūticandra* to *Ding-ri* in Tibet and received all the precepts of the *ṣaḍaṅga-yoga* (Roerich. 1949/53:727, 796). It seems that *Vibhūticandra* was in contact with the famous *paṇḍita Śākyaśrī-bhādra* who visited Tibet in 1204-1225 (Roerich. 1949/53:799). *rGa-lo* invited *Vibhūticandra* to *dBen-dmar* and *Śambhar* obtained several *Kālacakra* teachings and initiations from *Vibhūticandra* (Stearns 1996:146).

³³¹ *Khro-phu* was born in 1172 and was the one who invited *Śākyaśrī-bhādra* to Tibet in 1204, and worked as an interpreter and translator for him and died in 1217 (Roerich. 1949/53:306, 599 and 708-711; Stearns. 1996:130). *gZhon-nu dpal* has devoted a chapter to his spiritual lineage. *Khro-phu*'s main guru was the Indian master *Mitrayogin* (Roerich. 1949/53:1033-1039). In this context he is only mentioned as one of the teachers of *rGa-lo*.

³³² This could be 'Gro-ba'i mgon-po 'Phags-pa who was also called *Lha* 'Gro-ba'i mgon-po (1186-1259). He was a famous master and an abbot of the monastery of *Po-to* (Roerich. 1949/53:278-279). This is not the historically known 'Phags-pa.

dharma-teachings of *Dril-bu-pa*,³³³ the dharma-teachings of *Mahāmāyā*,³³⁴ the tantra of *Hevajra*³³⁵ and so forth, the instructions of the protectors as *Mahākāla*³³⁶ and so forth, and *sūtras* as *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*³³⁷ and so forth, and *āgamas* as *Bhāvanākṛāma*³³⁸ and so forth and *Rigs-gter*.³³⁹

(p.70:2) Furthermore, after having adhered to *dPyal A-mo-gha*³⁴⁰ and *mKhan-po phag* and *sLob-dpon Dharma-gzhugs* and '*Bum-pa 'od-se* and *mTsho-yangs-pa-snyan Dar-ma rgyal-mtshan* and *Srin-po ri-pa mKhan-po-'jam*³⁴¹ and *mKhan-po Seng-ge zil-gnon*³⁴² and *Yar-'brog bsNyan-ston*³⁴³ and so forth, (p.70:3) he [*rGa-lo*] became a rich man [spiritually] through the profound and great *dharma*.

(p.70:4) Furthermore, his [*rGa-lo*'s] main disciple *rGya-gar grags-pa*³⁴⁴ and the disciple *gZhon-nu rgyal-mtshan*,³⁴⁵ because the two of them were taken by the *Hor*³⁴⁶ army, he [*rGa-lo*] made a *pūja* of *Tārā*³⁴⁷ to free [them] from prison, after that he had seen in the hole of the navel of a *Tārā* so big so as to fill the sky, the heads of two children sticking together. (p.70:5) And because he [*rGa-lo*] accomplished his intention [to set them free], in about three days the main disciple escaped, and in about one month even the [other] disciple changed his mind and escaped. At *sNar-phu'i dgon-pa mdzo-sgang*,³⁴⁸ there was the

³³³ Skt. *Vajraghaṇṭa*. *Dril-bu-pa* was an Indian master who taught the *Cakrasaṃvara Tantra* (Toh.1431-39). There exists a lineage which shows that he was active during the first introduction of Buddhism to Tibet in the 8th century (Roerich. 1949/53:384-385; *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*. 1985:1332). There also existed a special teaching on the *Cakrasaṃvara* by *Dril-bu*, which accordingly could be the teachings transmitted to *rGa-lo* (Roerich. 1949/53:389).

³³⁴ *Mahāmāyā* is a tantric teaching and a divinity in the Tibetan canon. He is very fierce and causes creation and destruction. He creates and destroys himself and is a sort of overlord (Newman. 1987:402; Peking #64, vol. 3, 63/4/2 – the *Mahāmāyā-tantra-rāja-nāma* Toh.425). An edition of the Tibetan text and a restored Sanskrit edition of the text has been published in Sarnath (*Mahāmāyātantram* 1992). See also Edgerton. 1972 (1953):424.

³³⁵ *Hevajra-tantra*. Toh.418, P.10, translated in Snellgrove. 1959.

³³⁶ The tantric protection deity *Mahākāla*. There are several texts concerning this divinity. In Tibet he is very popular as a protective deity.

³³⁷ A classical *Mahāyāna* text (transl. by Kern in *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* 1974 (1884). Concerning the text see Nakamura. 1987:183-191.

³³⁸ The text was written by *Kamalaśīla* (8th century) who belonged to the *Mahāyāna* school of *Yogācāra-Mādhyamika*. On the text see Nakamura 1987:283.

³³⁹ These are texts on logic (*mtshad-ma*). (*Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*. 1985:2688).

³⁴⁰ *dPyal* is an old aristocratic family from the first introduction of Buddhism to Tibet (*Bod rgya tshig dzod chen mo*. 1985:1644). It is also name of a place (Das 1903:794).

³⁴¹ I have not found any information on the foregoing five teachers of *rGa-lo*.

³⁴² He heard teachings from *Śākyaśrī* at the beginning of the 13th century. It appears that *Bu-ston* received teachings on logic from the tradition of *Seng-ge zil-gnon* (Roerich. 1949/53:82).

³⁴³ No information could be found, except that it can be supposed that he came from the area of lake *Yar-'brog* in southern Tibet.

³⁴⁴ He is here presented as the foremost disciple of *rGa-lo*. He escaped from Mongolian captivity with the help of *rGa-lo*.

³⁴⁵ There was a *gZhon-nu rgyal-mtshan* who was a disciple of *Chag lo-tsa-ba* in the 13th century who was active in the monastery of *Thang-po-che* near the *Yar-lung* valley in central Tibet (*dBus*) (Roerich. 1949/53:94; Naudou. 1968:196-197 and Roerich. 1959).

³⁴⁶ A designation of Mongolia or other Tartarian people in Tibetan. In this case it can be supposed from the context that *Hor* means Mongolia (Roerich. 1949/53:94).

³⁴⁷ Tib. *sGrol-ma*.

³⁴⁸ The monastery of *sNar-phu*, which is not identified.

only son of a married couple [who was] dumb and unable to walk. He [*rGa-lo*] made actions of connection between cause and effect, and because he [the dumb] changed clothes and was given a new name, he was made to know how to talk and walk. Furthermore, he [*rGa-lo*] proceeded in this way with many dumb and crippled.

[Then someone] (p.70:6) called *sTon-pa gzhon-brtson*³⁴⁹ at *Thar-pa-gling*,³⁵⁰ [had] an affliction of pus and blood [because of] a big inflammation, one could even see the heart and the lungs. And he changed his name to *sTon-pa-ra-tser*. (p.70:7) As it was written above the door: "*sTon-pa gzhon-brtson* is now *sTon-pa ra-tser*, *sTon-pa ra-tse* extinguishes bad talk," he [*sTon-pa gzhon-brtson*] was cured from the disease. In that way, when [someone] had a tooth-ache, because he [*rGa-lo*] filled up a crack in the fire-place, it helped. (p.71:1) And as [someone] was ill with head-ache, because he [*rGa-lo*] took out the nails from the door, it helped. And as [someone] was ill in the waist and wailing, because he [*rGa-lo*] drilled a hole in the wall of someone who could not have children, it helped. (p.71:2). And he [*rGa-lo*] cured insane and so forth, making limitless other benefits.³⁵¹

Particularly, because he [*rGa-lo*] made explanations of *Kālacakra*, he accumulated many disciples who became skilled in the *Kālacakra*, like the disciples, learned men and spiritual sons, *Grub-pa'i dbang-phyug Man-lungs gu-ru*³⁵² and *lHo-pa grub-seng*³⁵³ and *Thang-ston lo-tsa-ba*³⁵⁴ and others. (p.71:3) Furthermore he [*rGa-lo*] brought to maturation many disciples abounding in the three [characteristics]: learning, faithfulness and good-

³⁴⁹ There is one *ācārya sTon-gzhon* who lived in the 13th and who was teaching the *śaṅgāyoga* (Roerich. 1949/53:678-679).

³⁵⁰ See note 315.

³⁵¹ In the text the following, six examples of this kind of contagious magic are given:

- Problem: two of *rGa-lo*'s disciples are prisoners of the *Hor*.

Cure: *rGa-lo* has a vision of *Tārā* with two childrens' heads sticking together in her navel and he liberates the two children and thereby his disciples.

- Affliction: a son was dumb and unable to walk.

Cure: *rGa-lo* made him change his clothes and his name and he was cured.

- Affliction: a serious inflammation in the lungs and the heart.

Cure: the sick was made to change name, and the new name was written above the door.

- Affliction: tooth-ache.

Cure: *rGa-lo* filled in a crack in the fire-place.

- Affliction: head-ache.

Cure: *rGa-lo* removed the nails of a door.

- Affliction: pain in a waist.

Cure: *rGa-lo* drilled a hole in the wall of someone who could not have children.

The cures are mainly of two types. One is to change the name of the sick and the second is to do something that resembles the affliction. Both kinds of magic are hardly from Buddhist teachings. They must be seen as something inherent in the Tibetan culture later assimilated with Buddhism.

³⁵¹ The great *siddha Man-lung gu-ru* who lived 1239-1300 wrote a well-known guide-book to holy places in India that he visited on his many journeys (Roerich. 1949/53:790, 640; Macdonald. 1970).

³⁵² The great *siddha Man-lung gu-ru* who lived 1239-1300 wrote a well-known guide-book to holy places in India that he visited on his many journeys (Roerich. 1949/53:790, 640; Macdonald. 1970).

³⁵³ It is mentioned in the Blue Annals that *lHo-pa grub-seng* was also a disciple in the lineage of *dPal Phag-mo-gru-pa* (Roerich. 1949/53:335).

³⁵⁴ About this *bla-ma*, it is told that he also received the *Tārā-tantra* from a *Sri Vimalakīrti* who lived in the 13th century (Roerich. 1949/53:444-447).

ness, like 'Gro-mgon chos-rgyal³⁵⁵ and mKhan-chen Khro-phu-ba³⁵⁶ and others. (p.71:4) When he [rGa-lo] arrived to rGod-dkar-la³⁵⁷ from bSam-yas,³⁵⁸ as there came many robbers and thieves, he made many [tantric gestures] like looking harsh and making signs with the fingers, and because he was not afraid, they [the robbers] asked for his [rGa-lo's] state of health, and as he burst out in laughter and so forth, they became intangible, with the signs of perfection.³⁵⁹

(p.71:5) In that manner, after having accomplished unlimited [benefit] beyond the reach of thinking, [in the interest] of himself and others, and after having reached eighty years of age, in the water-male-horse year [1282], in the early morning of the third day of the part of the month when the moon increases (yar-ngo) [the first half of the month], of [the month] of the Great Miracle (Tsho-'phrul chen-po) [the first month], he [rGa-lo] died.

His [rGa-lo's] main disciple rGya-gar grags-pa, named as ordained sLob-dpon Nam-mkha'-dpyal,³⁶⁰ after having learned the many teachings of his [spiritual] father, like Kālacakra and others, he took possession of the abbatial seat of dBen-dmar³⁶¹ And he constructed a study-place at the monastery, and after having made great actions of dharma, he died.

The son [of rGa-lo] bLa-ma Shes-rab seng-ge³⁶² was born [in the year] iron-female-pig [1251].³⁶³ (p.71:7) Even at the time of his youth, having perfected to read and write well, he was studying the Kālacakra and at the age of sixteen he explained the Kālacakra. Having arrived at Thar-pa in his twentieth year, he requested the dharma-teachings of the dPyal-pa³⁶⁴ [school]. (p.72:1) At the age of twenty-two he [Shes-rab seng-ge] arrived in the presence of sTag-sde seng-rgyal³⁶⁵ and during five years he exercised [himself] in Phar-tshad.³⁶⁶ Particularly, he became a scholar of logic, and he even made examinations

³⁵⁵ This could be the famous 'Phags-pa of the Sa-skya-pa school. This coincides as 'Phags-pa was born in 1234 (Shakabpa. 1967:71).

³⁵⁶ It is difficult to see how this could be the well-known Khro-phu lo-tsa-ba born in 1172, as mentioned in note 321. It must be another Khro-phu.

³⁵⁷ A mountain pass between Lhasa and bSam-yas (Ferrari. 1958, map, Roerich. 1949/53:258).

³⁵⁸ The first monastery in Tibet situated south of Lhasa at the river gTsang-po.

³⁵⁹ These are very special methods used by rGa-lo in order to help even robbers and thieves to reach perfection.

³⁶⁰ Unidentified.

³⁶¹ See note 284.

³⁶² Shes-rab seng-ge (1251-1315) was the son of rGa-lo and one of the main tradition-holders of the Rva school. He received the complete monk ordination in 1280 by Chos-rgyal Phags-pa (1234-1280) (Roerich. 1949/53:791-792 and Shakabpa. 1984:64-69), something that must have meant that he was one of the important masters of the time considering the position of Phags-pa as the effective ruler of Tibet at that time. See also Ruegg. 1966:87.

³⁶³ Also Rong-pa Shes-rab seng-ge. (Ruegg. 1966:87. Deb-ther sngon-po fol.18a-19a. See also the implication of Rong-pa Shes-rab seng-ge for the Jo-nang-pa school and Dol-po-pa in Stearns. 1999:13.

³⁶⁴ The dPyal clan (rus) has its origin in the time of the dharma-king Khri-srong-lde-btsan. The school of dPyal-pa is less well known (Roerich. 1949/53:395-396).

³⁶⁵ This was in the year of 1273 and as Shes-rab seng-ge stayed for five years with sTag-sde seng-rgyal; he stayed there until about 1278. A sTag-sde-ba seng-ge rgyal-mtshan (1212-1294) was a disciple of Bo-dong Rin-po-che Rin-chen rtse-mo and learned the Kālacakra from him (Roerich. 1949/53:783-784) and this must be the same person as mentioned in this text.

³⁶⁶ Short for Phar-pyin (Prajñāpāramitā) and Tshad-ma (logic).

in *dBus* and *gTsang*.³⁶⁷ In his thirtieth year, he entered monastic life in the presence of *bLa-ma Chos-rgyal*³⁶⁸ and *mKhan-po mChims*,³⁶⁹ and after having been completely ordained he learned many dharma [teachings].

(p.72:2) After having invited *Lo-tsa-ba Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan*,³⁷⁰ he [*Shes-rab seng-ge*] received the empowerment of *Vajramāla*³⁷¹ and the *Māñjuśrīmūlatantra*³⁷² and others, and the *Vaidyāṣṭāṅga* and others. After having taken possession of the abbatial seat of *dBen-dmar*, he made explanations of *Kālacakra* for a considerable period (p.72:3) Furthermore he explained many dharma[-teachings] in various monasteries such as *Thar-pa*,³⁷³ *Khro-phu*,³⁷⁴ *bSam-yas*,³⁷⁵ *sTag-lung*,³⁷⁶ *gZhu Kun-dga' ra-ba*,³⁷⁷ *Shangs-rtse gdong*,³⁷⁸ *sTon-mo-glung*,³⁷⁹ *gYus-dga'-ldan*³⁸⁰ and others.

(p.72:4) At the age of forty-one, after having given the abbatial seat of *dBen-dmar* to *bLa-ma rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan*,³⁸¹ he [*Shes-rab seng-ge*] settled at *dMu*.³⁸² After having

³⁶⁷ He moved around in Central Tibet as was the custom among monks seeking teachings and initiations.

³⁶⁸ Mentioned in this context and at this time, this is probably *bla-ma 'Phags-pa* who died in 1280.

³⁶⁹ He was acting as the *upādhyāya* at the ordination of *Shes-rab seng-ge* as a monk in 1280. There was a *mChims Nam-mkha'-grags* who was the abbot of the *sNar-thang* monastery during the years 1246-1282. This is probably the other witness to the ordination together with 'Phags-pa (Roerich. 1949/53:282-283). *mChims* was one of the old clans of Tibet from the royal time in the 8th century.

³⁷⁰ Also called *Yar-klungs lo-tsa-ba Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan* (Roerich. 1949/53:792, 837). He lived in the latter part of the 13th century and the first half of the 14th century. He participated in a translation of the *Kālacakra Tantra* originally made by *Lo-grags-pa* (Roerich. 1949/53:780). He worked with his nephew, *dPal Jigs-med grags-pa* (1315-1391). Consequently he must have lived quite late in the first half of the 14th century. He also translated the whole *Kālacakra-tantra-rāja* and the *Sekoddeśa-ṭīkā* (Roerich. 1949/53:837-838) and some other texts (Roerich. 1949/53:350,379). The *bla-ma Kun-dga' bzang-po* (1258-1316) invited *Grags-pa* in 1298 and received from him the *Hevajra*, *Sekoddeśa-ṭīkā*, *Saṃpuṭa* and the *Kālapa-sūtra*. Consequently, he was a well-known Buddhist tantric teacher of his time. See also Ruegg. 1966:87, note 2. Ruegg underlines that this master, *rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan*, who was the teacher of *Bu-ston*, is not the same as the *Kālacakra* translator *Ṣoṇ-ston rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan*.

³⁷¹ This is a *Guhyasamāja Vyākhyatantra* (communication from Newman June -04), probably Toh.445 with the commentary Toh.1795

³⁷² Toh. 543, P.162.

³⁷³ Situated near the monastery of *Sha-lu* and the town of *gZhis-ka-rtse* (see map in Ferrari 1958 and note 315).

³⁷⁴ Situated to the west of *gZhis-ka-rtse* (Ferrari. 1958:map).

³⁷⁵ As mentioned before, this first monastery of Tibet is situated to the south-east of Lhasa.

³⁷⁶ Situated to the north of Lhasa on the road to lake *gNam-mtsho* (Ferrari. 1958:map)

³⁷⁷ The monastery of *gZhu Kun-dga'-ra-ba* was built by *rNgog* in the first half of the 11th century (Roerich. 1949/53:75 and Ferrari. 1958:161).

³⁷⁸ The only mention is the same information in the Blue Annals (Roerich. 1949/53:792). The monastery must be situated in the *Shangs* valley north-east of *gZhis-ka-rtse*.

³⁷⁹ This was a monastery in central Tibet (Roerich. 1949/53:1043).

³⁸⁰ Unidentified.

³⁸¹ *rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan* (1283-1325) was the son of *Ā-kāra-siddhi* and consequently the grandson of *rGa-lo*. He succeeded *Shes-rab seng-ge* (1251-1315) as abbot of *dBen-dmar* in 1292, according to the present text. This seems quite unreasonable as *rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan* was only nine years old at the time. Later in this text it is said though that he took possession of the two, *Shangs-'bar* [and *dBen-dmar*] at the death of *Shes-rab seng-ge* in 1315 (p.73:6). Earlier in this text (p.73:1) and in the Blue Annals it is said that *rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan* took over *dbEn-dmar* in 1299 (Roerich. 1949/53:792) but in 1315 as well (Roerich. 1949/53:793). It is also said that he departed for China in 1310 (Roerich. 1949/53: 793). However, *Bu-ston* says in this text that he departed for China in 1322 (p.73:7). This somewhat confused information is a reminder that the dating

founded *Shangs-'bar-tsa*,³⁸³ he constructed a study-place and collected of *tantras* and texts on *Vināya*, and he benefited many living beings. He gave many *tantras* to *bLa-ma Ti-shri*,³⁸⁴ the head [of the *Sa-skyapa*] and other *Sa-skyapa* lineages, (p.72:5) and as for others, he had many disciples who became great men and reached high positions, mainly the three *lo-tsa-ba*'s [translators] *Yar*,³⁸⁵ *Thang*³⁸⁶ and *dPang*³⁸⁷ who in their turn made to appear high positioned disciples who were heads of schools, good-hearted and noble. He especially had disciples [who became] scholars of *Kālacakra*. (p.72:6) Thus, after having collected merits for himself and others, he [*Shes-rab seng-ge*] died at *Shangs-'bar* in the tenth day of the ninth month of the hare year [1315].

One [of *rGa-lo*'s] sons *sLob-dpon rNal-'byor*³⁸⁸ took care of the estate. (p.72:7) Another [of *rGa-lo*'s] sons [was] *bLa-ma Ā-ka-ra siddha*,³⁸⁹ who came to know the *Kālacakra* from the schools of *Rva* [and] '*Bro*, and the *dharma*-teachings of the *Sa-skyapa* and the *dPyal-pa*.³⁹⁰

His [*Ā-ka-ra siddha*'s] son *bLa-ma rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan* was born in [the year of] water-female-sheep [1283].³⁹¹ From the time of his youth, he exercised reading and writing. He became skilled in many variations of the Tibetan script. (p.73:1) After that, having trained in the *Kālacakra*, he explained the *Kālacakra* at the age of sixteen. After having requested *bLa-ma 'Jam-dbyangs Rin-rgyal*³⁹² and *sLob-dpon Sher-rgyal*³⁹³ to be *mKhan-*

of events in the old historical texts are not always certain. The most probable is that he, at least effectively, took over the monasteries in 1325 at a more mature age and when his predecessor died. In any case, *rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan* was a very important *bla-ma* for *Bu-ston* as he was the one who taught *Bu-ston* the *Kālacakra*. *Bu-ston* studied the *Kālacakra* with him for nine months (p.74:1).

³⁸² A place name (Roerich. 1949/53:78,792). It can also mean a kind of evil demon.

³⁸³ This monastery was also situated in *gTsang* (Roerich. 1949/53:792, 793). From the name, it can be deduced that it is situated in the *Shangs* river valley just east of *gZhis-ka-rtse* (Wylie. 1962:71,140).

³⁸⁴ This should be the *Ti-shri bla-chen Kun-dga' blo-gros* (Roerich. 1949/53:792,634). He was, according to the Blue Annals, born in 1299 (Roerich. 1949/53:308). *Ti-shi* (*Ti-shri*) was the title given by the Mongol emperors to the head of the *Sa-skyapa* in order to install them as rulers of Tibet.

³⁸⁵ *Yar-klung lo-tsa-ba*. *Yar* and *dPang lo-tsa-ba* are mentioned as translators of the *Kālacakra* in the Blue Annals (Roerich. 1949/53:837-838).

³⁸⁶ Probably here is meant *Thar* instead of *Thang* in line with what is written in the Blue Annals (Roerich. 1949/53:792). There is also a *Thar-pa lo-tsa-ba* mentioned in the present text (p.73:2) as a teacher of *rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan*. It is also said that *Bu-ston* himself studied the *ṣaḍāṅga-yoga* with *Thar-pa* (Roerich. 1949/53:800). All this fits in well with the fact that *Thar-pa* was a disciple of *Shes-rab seng-ge* who died in 1315 and *Bu-ston* who was born in 1290 and was a young man when *Thar-pa* was active as a teacher.

³⁸⁷ *dPang lo-tsa-ba blo-gros brtan-pa* (1276-1342). A short biography is to be found in the Blue Annals where it is mentioned that he was a great master of *Kālacakra*, and also of Logic, *Abhidharma* and *Vināya*. He made many translations (Roerich. 1949/53:785-787,345). He possessed extensive learning in many different Buddhist teachings (Roerich. 1949/53:534). He stayed at *Sa-skyapa* monastery at some period of his life (Roerich. 1949/53:634).

³⁸⁸ It is said in the Blue Annals that he was the third son of *rGa-lo* (Roerich. 1949/53:792).

³⁸⁹ It is said in the Blue Annals that he was the fourth son of *rGa-lo* (Roerich. 1949/53:792).

³⁹⁰ Here *Ā-kāra-siddha* had teachings from the *dPyal-pa* school. Very little is known about this school but it is associated with the *Sa-skyapa*.

³⁹¹ Ruegg. 1966:87-89. See note 381.

³⁹² The information is repeated in Blue Annals (Roerich. 1949/53:792). There is information on a '*Jam-dbyangs Rin-rgyal* who travelled to the imperial palace in Peking in 1303 in the context of the succession of abbots of the monastery *mTshal Gung-thang* (Roerich. 1949/53:717).

³⁹³ Unidentified.

po and *sLob-dpon*,³⁹⁴ he was made a novice.³⁹⁵ From the age of sixteen he took possession of the abbatial seat of *dBen-dmar*. (p.73:2) He attended the study-college of *Kālacakra*, [and] after having requested *mKhan-chen bKa'-bzhi-pa*³⁹⁶ and *mKhan-po Zhal-snga-pa*³⁹⁷ to be *mKhan-po* and *sLob-dpon*, he was fully ordained. After having arrived in the presence of *bLa-ma mKhan-chen Thar-pa lo-tsa-ba*,³⁹⁸ he [*rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan*] learned the *sGra Tsandra-pa*,³⁹⁹ [and] he came to know all the traditions of writing of *Kāśmir* and *India* and *Singa-gling*.⁴⁰⁰

(p.73:3) Furthermore, he listened to many *sādhana*s and instructions on the *Abhidharma*. He [*rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan*] received all the main initiations, [for ex.] the *Kālacakra* in the presence of *bLa-ma Shes-rab seng-ge*, [and] he came to be skilled in everything concerning ritual (p.73:4), particularly when he made explanations of *Kālacakra*. He wrote [to the *bla-ma*] about difficulties of the [Buddha-]words, [and] after having arranged the questions and answers in order from the beginning, he became a great scholar. Furthermore, he learned the *Abhidharma* and *Vināya* in the presence of *Zhal-snga-pa*, (p.73:5) [and] the initiation of *rDo-rje phreng-ba*⁴⁰¹ of the lineage of *sGang-lo-tsa*⁴⁰² from *bLa-ma mDzo-po lhas-pa Sangs-rgyas sgom-pa*⁴⁰³ and the instructions of *Guhyasamāja* [and] *Hevajra* of the *Atiśa*⁴⁰⁴ school, the *Lam-'bras*⁴⁰⁵ and others. As for others, he received many *tantras* (p.73:6). In the presence of *bLa-ma Sri'u chung-pa blo-ldan seng-ge*,⁴⁰⁶ he [*rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan*] learned many *tantras* [such as] *Yo-ga* and *Guhayasamāja*⁴⁰⁷ and *Māñjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti-sādhana*⁴⁰⁸ and *rDo-rje gdan-bzhi*⁴⁰⁹ and others.

After that *bLa-ma Shes-rab seng-ge* had died, he [*rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan*] took possession of the two, *Shangs-'bar* [and *dbEn-dmar*] (p.73:7). For a long time he learned and explained the *Kālacakra*. After that, through his fame and renown, as a consequence that it had penetrated in all directions, [he] was invited by the great king [the Mongol emperor of China]. After having gone to China in the year of the dog [1322], the great king and a great

³⁹⁴ *upadhyāya* and *ācārya*, the head of a monastery-college and spiritual teacher. These two were necessary in order to ordain someone as a Buddhist novice or monk.

³⁹⁵ Tib. *dge-tshul*

³⁹⁶ No other information found.

³⁹⁷ He also transmitted the *Vināya* and the *Abhidharmakośa* to *rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan* (Below, p.73:4 and Roerich. 1949/53:793).

³⁹⁸ As has been said earlier (note 376), *Thar-pa* was a disciple of *Shes-rab Seng-ge* and a teacher of *rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan*.

³⁹⁹ The grammar of *Candragomin* (tib. *Tsandra-pa*) *Candra-vyākaraṇa-sūtra*, Toh.4269 (Roerich. 1949/53:792).

⁴⁰⁰ Old name for the present Śrī Lanka.

⁴⁰¹ This is probably the *Vajrāvalī* by *Abhayākara Gupta*.

⁴⁰² There are two *sGang bla-mas* mentioned in the 12th century, *sGang Ri-bo-che-pa* and *sGang Shes-rab bla-ma* (Roerich. 1949/53:706).

⁴⁰³ Unidentified.

⁴⁰⁴ Tib. *Jo-bo*.

⁴⁰⁵ The teaching of the path and the fruit taught by the *Sa-skyapa* school.

⁴⁰⁶ Unidentified.

⁴⁰⁷ Toh. 2584.

⁴⁰⁸ Toh. 361, P.3

⁴⁰⁹ It is probably the commentary Toh. 1611 to the basic *Catuhpīṭha-tantra* texts Toh. 428 or 430.

number of ministers became believers. After being of great benefit for the living beings, on the first day of the tenth month of the ox year [1325] he [*rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan*] died.⁴¹⁰

(p.74:1) After having adhered to this *bLa-ma* [*rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan*] for nine months without a pause, I [*Bu-ston*] tasted some nectar of the speeches contained in the *Kālacakra* branches. (p.74:2) Furthermore, in the presence of *mKhan-po Lo-tsa-ba*,⁴¹¹ I received many important points of the Great Commentary [*Vimalaprabhā*], and many small instructions on the *Kālacakra* and commentaries for example the *Sekkodeśa* and others. During that [time] I [*Bu-ston*] did not break the vows [that I had given] to the *bLa-ma*, and I did not make adulterations in the explanations, [and] I succeeded in having instructions from the *bLa-ma*.

(p.74:3) As for another school of *Kālacakra*, the disciple of *Dus-zhabs-pa* (*Kālacakrapāda*), *Śrī Bhadrabodhi* gave [the *Kālacakra*] to *Gyi-jo Zla-ba'i 'od-zer*.⁴¹² He [*Gyi-jo*] introduced [a tradition of] explanation of *Kālacakra* and even taught for a long time. He only taught four [disciples] to know the *Kālacakra*, [and] those did not continue the teachings. (p.74:4) A monk (*dge-slong*), a disciple of *Dānaśrī*,⁴¹³ and *bLo-gros sNy-ing-po*⁴¹⁴ and *Byang-chub shes-rab*⁴¹⁵ and others, even those did not continue the teachings (p.74:5). Even the disciple of *Abhaya*,⁴¹⁶ *Khe-rgad 'khor-lo grags-pa*⁴¹⁷ and *Mi'i slob-ma*,⁴¹⁸ *rGa-lo*⁴¹⁹ and *Rong-brling lo-tsa*⁴²⁰ and *sTeng-pa lo-tsa*⁴²¹ and others, they also

⁴¹⁰ As several of his contemporaries did during the Mongol dynasty, he went to China and the Msongol emperor's court. This means that he had a superior position within the *Sa-skya-pa*. *Bu-ston* was also a *Sa-skya-pa* before founding his own school at *Sha-lu*.

⁴¹¹ This is probably a designation of *rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan*.

⁴¹² In the foregoing chapter I have written about the history of these pioneers of the *Kālacakra*. Above, chapt. 2.2.1., p.18-26.

⁴¹³ There is a *Dānaśrī* mentioned as one of the teachers of *Atiśa* in the 11th century who does not fit this context. There is a possibility that this teacher had some connection with the *Kālacakra* and in that way with the *Kālacakra* tradition of *Gyi-jo*, who also had contact with *Atiśa*.

⁴¹⁴ He is also mentioned as a translator of the *Kālacakra-tantra* (Roerich. 1949/53:837).

⁴¹⁵ Unidentified.

⁴¹⁶ This must be *Abhaya*. He is mentioned as a disciple of *Nāropa* and also of *Tsa-mi*. He was one of the main figures in introducing the *Kālacakra* to Tibet (Roerich. 1949/53:760-61,765,795-96).

⁴¹⁷ Unidentified. He is mentioned as a translator of the text Toh.1380 together with *Jo-bo Ri-pa* and written by *Abhayākara* (see above p.48). Consequently, there is a clear connection with *Abhaya*.

⁴¹⁸ Unidentified.

⁴¹⁹ Here *rGa-lo* is mentioned again. This time as a representative of the school of *Gyi-jo*. It is possible that he also received this tradition together with the '*Bro* and '*Rva* tradition, but it appears that like he didn't continue this lineage. *rGa-lo* had already made the two traditions '*Rva* and '*Bro* come together in his person. Why then did he not integrate the tradition from *Gyi-jo* in his teaching? It is difficult to answer this question, but perhaps it did not pertain to the *Sa-skya* tradition to which *rGa-lo* mainly belonged.

⁴²⁰ There is a *Rong-gling lo-tsa-ba rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan* mentioned in the Blue Annals. He was one of the many translators of the *Kālacakra* (Roerich. 1949/53:837). He was one of *Abhaya*'s disciples: "At gñal-roñ-lins there was a student of the *Kālacakra* system, a disciple of *Abhaya* named Roñ-glin lo-tsa-ba rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan. His vihāra called Sags-kha stands undamaged even today even now. I have not seen his biography and therefore unable to go into details." (Roerich. 1949/53:1060-61).

⁴²¹ *sTengs-pa lo-tsa-ba Tshul-khrims 'byung-gnas* 1107-1190. He was one of many who translated the *Kālacakra* tantra. There is a short biography on him in the Blue Annals where it is also said that *Chag dGrac-bom* studied *Kālacakra* with him (Roerich. 1949/53:837,1052-54). He was active as a translator of many other texts (Naudou. 1968:192-94).

could not continue the tradition. *Se lo-tsa-ba*,⁴²² after having learned the teachings [of *Kālacakra*], he gave it to *gNyos 'od-ma*.⁴²³ From that [person] the succession of the lineage of the teachings of the *rTsa-mi*⁴²⁴ school originated.

(p.74:6) As a result there exists around 15 or 16 different translations of the *Kālacakra*. As for [those] who had [guarded] the teachings of *Kālacakra*, these three were the main ones.⁴²⁵

⁴²² *Se lo-tsa-ba gZhon-nu tshul-khrims* is said to have studied the *Vimalaprabhā* with *Tsa-mi* on two occasions and also with *Abhaya*, *Bhāskara* and *Abhiyukta*. He also visited India (Roerich. 1949/53:760-61,795-96).

⁴²³ *gNyos (Dharma) 'Od-ma* was a disciple of *Se lo-tsa-ba* and he continued the *Kālacakra* teachings of the *Rva*, *'Bro* and *Gyi-jo* schools (Roerich. 1949/53:761-62).

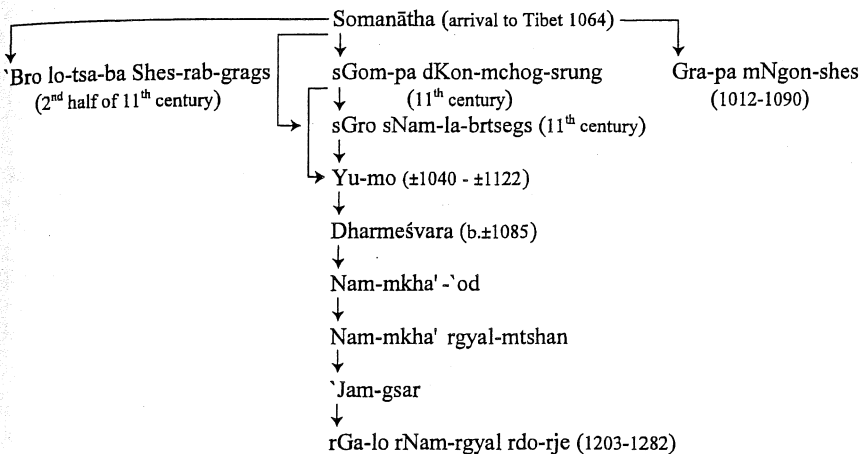
⁴²⁴ *Tsa-mi Sangs-rgyas gras-pa* (11th century) was a disciple of the well-known translator *Bodhibhadra* (see above, p.18-26 on *Gyi-jo* and *Bodhibhadra*) who was also the teacher and collaborator of *Gyi-jo Zla-ba 'od-zer*. *Bodhibhadra* appeared around the year 1000 (Naudou. 1968:151). *Se lo-tsa-ba* in his turn was the disciple of *Tsa-mi* and from him *gNyos 'Od-ma* received the *Kālacakra* teachings. From him *bKra-shis rin-chen* received the teachings and in his turn *U-rgyan-pa* received the teachings. *U-rgyan-pa* (1230-1309) is said to have given the *Kālacakra* initiation to Kubilai Khan after having travelled to Mongolia (Roerich. 1949/53:702). From *U-rgyan-pa* the school of *Tsa-mi* continued within the *bKa'-brgyud-pa* school and especially the *'Brug-pa* school of the *bKa' brgyud-pa* to which *U-rgyan-pa* belonged (Roerich. 1949/53:705). The recently deceased *Karma-pa* lama *Kalu Rinpoche* gave the *Kālacakra* teachings partly according to the *Tsa-mi* school (Kalu Rinpoche. 1986:6). In that way, it could be said that the school of *Gyi-jo* and *Bodhibhadra* has continued to the present time. A short lineage of the *Gyi-jo* school is shown below, following Newman concerning the first names in the lineage (Newman. 1987a:102-104).

⁴²⁵ *Gos lo-tsa-ba* has still more information on the translators of the *Kālacakra* (Roerich. 1949/53:837-38). It is rather unique that there were so many translations made of a text. It shows the great importance of the *Kālacakra Tantra* in Tibet.

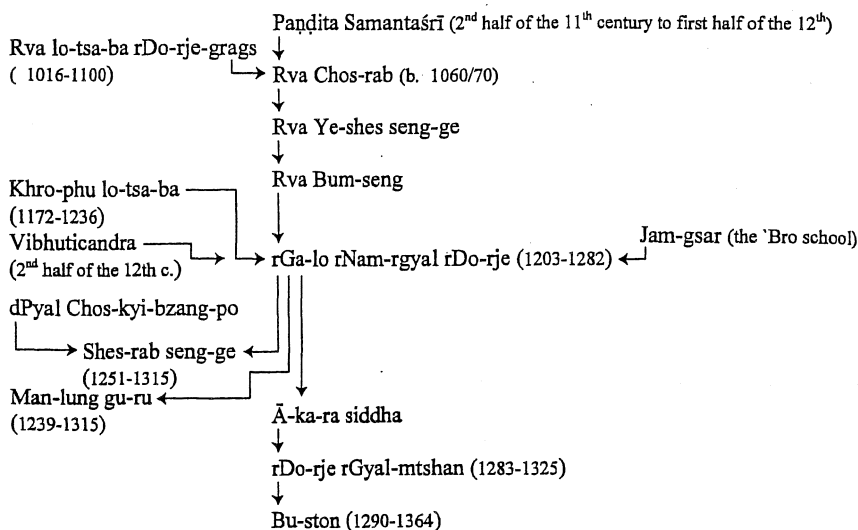
2.2.3.a. *Guru-lineages derived from the Dus-‘khor chos-‘byung by Bu-ston and The Blue Annals, by ‘Gos lo-tsa-ba gZhon-nu-dpal.*

Below I will present the lineages from the fore-going text, the Dus-‘khor chos-‘byung (The history of Kālacakra) and lineages from The Blue Annals. The lineages clarifies relations between important lineage holders and their place in the general history of Buddhism in Tibet.

Guru-lineage of the ‘Bro school according to Bu-ston’s Dus-‘khor chos-‘byung, p.61:2 – 65:2.

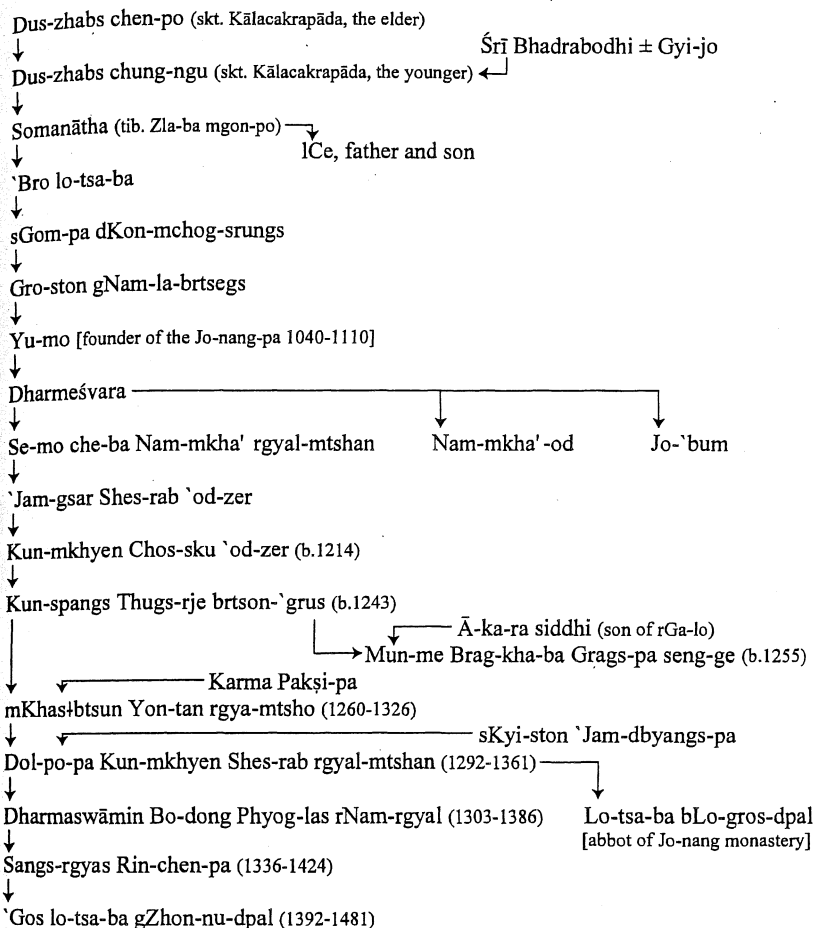


Guru lineage of the Rva school according to Bu-ston's *Dus-'khor chos-'byung*, p.65:2 – 74:2.



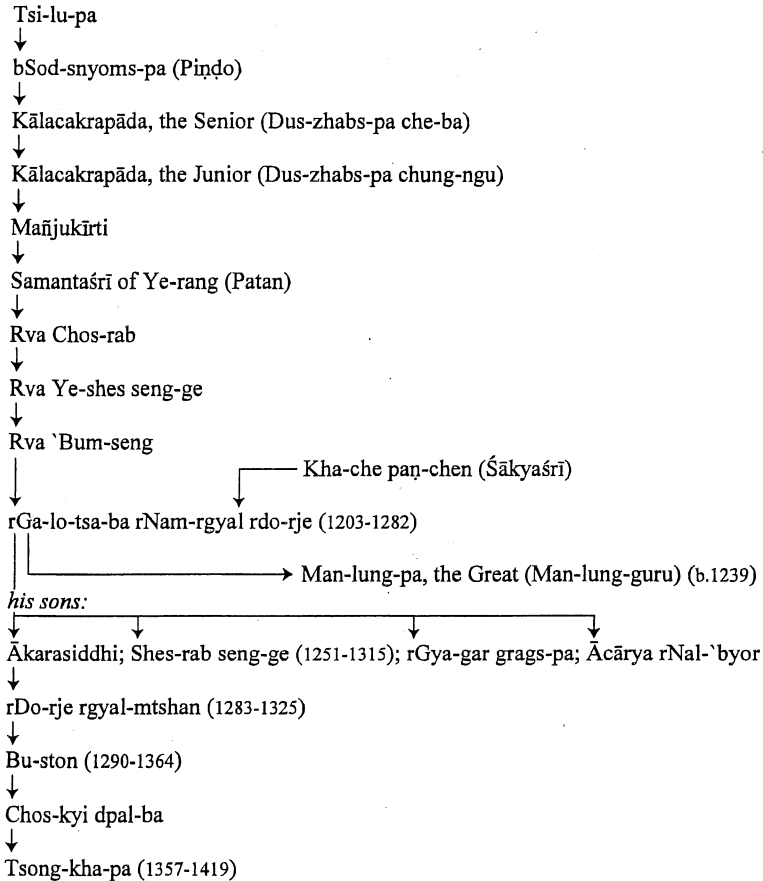
Guru lineage of the 'Bro school according to *The Blue Annals* (1478), p.765-788.⁴²⁶

⁴²⁶ In this lineage there are names mentioned not directly involved in the transmission of the *Kālacakra* teachings. The lineage is very similar to the one given by *Bu-ston* and there is even more proof of the connection between the 'Bro school and the *Jo-nang-pas*. From *Yu-mo* up to *Dol-po-pa* the tradition holders were also heads of the *Jo-nang-pa* and *Bo-dong Phyogs-las rNam-rgyal* also had a strong connection with the *Jo-nang-pa*. *rGa-lo* is not part of this lineage given by '*Gos lo-tsa-ba* and in his place there is instead *Kun-mkhyen-pa Chos-sku-'od-zer* (b.1214). This master has no place in *Bu-ston's Dus-'khor chos-'byung* which means that here occurs the separation of the lineages within the 'Bro school. For some reason, '*Gos lo-tsa-ba* does not want to mention *Bu-ston* in this lineage. '*Gos lo-tsa-ba* was an abbot of the *Karma-rnying* monastery and

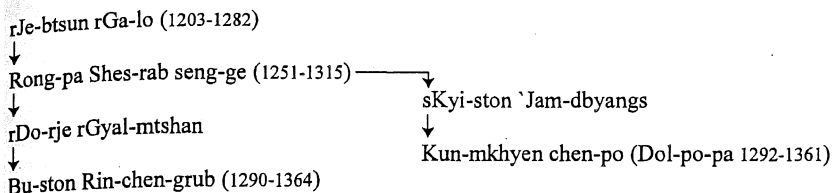


consequently of the *bKa'-brgyud-pa* tradition or perhaps a monastery of both the *bKa'-brgyud-pa* and *rNy-ing-ma-pa*. It appears that the *Kālacakra* tradition from *Bu-ston* continued with emphasis in the *dGe-lugs-pa* school and possibly was not accepted by the *bKa'-brgyud-pa*. He does mention *rGa-lo* and *Bu-ston* in the *Rva* lineage and perhaps it was only that he did not consider them to have a part in the 'Bro school.

Guru lineage of the Rva school according to The Blue Annals (1478), p.789-795.

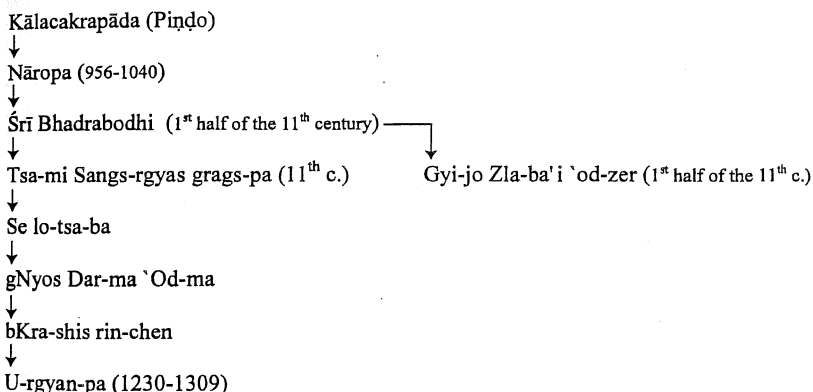


Another guru lineage according to *The Blue Annals* also gives space also to Dol-po-pa to be included in the Rva lineage. p. 756.



This lineage provides a solution to the problem with the *Rva* and '*Bro* schools being united in *rGa-lo* and *Bu-ston*. There is mention of another disciple (*sKyi-ston 'Jam-dbyangs*) to *Shes-rab seng-ge* who continued the lineage up to *Dol-po-pa*. In the fore-going '*Bro* lineage, *sKyi-ston* is mentioned as transmitting the *Kālacakra* to him. Here he is mentioned as part of the *Rva* lineage. Consequently, it can be said that *Dol-po-pa* received his *Kālacakra* tradition from both schools.

Guru lineage of the Gyi-jo school of *Kālacakra* according to *The Blue Annals*, p.702-03 and 795-96, Bu-ston's "A history of *Kālacakra*", p.74, and Newman 1987a:102-04.



After *U-rgyan-pa* the teachings were probably continued within the different branches of the *bKa' brgyud-pa* school. There are other teachings mentioned which were continued within the *Karma-pa* hierarchs and their disciples and there is no reason to believe that the important *Kālacakra* teachings were not also continued. *U-rgyan-pa* also gave the *Kālacakra* initiation to the Mongol emperor Khubilai Khan in Peking (Roerich

1949/53:703). Consequently the *Kālacakra Tantra* was given to the Mongol emperors. It is said that the *maṇḍala* was made with precious stones which were then thrown into the water (Roerich 1949/53:702)

2.3. CONCLUSIONS.

The conclusions that can be drawn from the present chapter are presented below. I will not repeat arguments found earlier in this text. This chapter is based on two Tibetan texts. The first is the *rNying-ma'i chos-'byung chen-mo* by *Nyang Ral-pa-can Nyi-ma 'od-zer* (1136-1204).⁴²⁷ The short relevant passages have been translated and analysed earlier in this dissertation. The other text is the *Dus-'khor chos-'byung* by *Bu-ston*.⁴²⁸ When combining information from these texts and other material, a picture can be drawn of the introduction of *Kālacakra* to Tibet and its subsequent diffusion in that country up to the time of the compilation of *Bu-ston's* text (1329).

The first to translate *Kālacakra* texts into Tibetan was almost certainly the Indian pandit *Bhadrabodhi/Bodhibhadra*,⁴²⁹ together with *Gyi-jo Zla-ba'i 'od-zer* some time after 1030 but before 1040/42 and the arrival of *Atiśa* to Tibet. Because it is said that they stayed in *mNga'-ris* in the kingdom of the kings of Western Tibet, they were probably working with the translation before *Atiśa*, whose policy was to be very cautious with the tantric teachings. *Atiśa* obviously was well informed about the *Kālacakra* teachings as *Bhadrabodhi* was also his teacher, but he did not work for its spread. The fact that it is mentioned that they stayed in *mNga'-ris* for three years implies that they were invited, probably by the king *Ye-ses-'od* or *Byang-chub-'od*. After that, *Somanātha* and *'Bro Śes-rab-grags* did their translation and diffusion work, although it seems like *'Bro* did not teach extensively on the *Kālacakra Tantra*. The masters who really assisted the early spread seem to be *dKon-mchog-srung* and *'Gro sNam-la-brtsegs*, who both received teaching from *Somanātha*. In the *Rva* school it appears that it really was *Rva Chos-rab* who did the first diffusion work together with *Samantaśrī*, who probably was a Newar Buddhist master from the Kathmandu valley. At that time the *Rva* teaching was very much a family tradition with the first masters all belonging to this ancient clan. In the figure of *rGa-lo*, the two traditions seem to have merged, according to *Bu-ston*, who gave him more space in his *Dus-'khor Chos-'byung* than any other master of *Kālacakra* in these early centuries. The importance of *rGa-lo* is something that has not been underlined in earlier research. His story is told in connection with the *Rva* school in *Bu-ston's* text. In writing on the *'Bro* school *Bu-ston* only mentions *rGa-lo* very briefly.

Perhaps this was a way for *Bu-ston* to mark his ideological distance to the *Jo-nang-pa* who dominated the *'Bro* school. *Bu-ston* does not mention his contemporary ideological adversary *Dol-po-pa* who was the main tradition holder of the *Jo-nang-pa*. He had actually no reason to mention him because he was not a master of *Bu-ston*.

⁴²⁷ Meisezahl (ed.). 1985: Tafel 332.2.6 and 337.3.3.

⁴²⁸ *Bu-ston*. 1965d:61-74.

⁴²⁹ See above, p.18-24 for a discussion of the identity of this person.

In the end, it was probably *Bu-ston* who gave the *Kālacakra* teachings it's high status and his tradition flourished with *Tsong-kha-pa*, *mKhas-grub-rje* and later with the *dGe-lugs-pa* school. During that time there were other *Kālacakra* teaching lineages in the other three schools of *rNying-ma-pa*, *Sa-skyapa* and *bKa'-brgyud-pa*. It is interesting that in *Bu-ston's* text a mention is made that there was a lineage of teaching from *Bhadrabodhi* and *Gyi-jo* that was not continued, although, in a way it was continued as *Se lo-tsa-ba gZhon-nu tshul-khrims* studied with *rTsa-mi* who was a disciple of *Bhadrabodhi*. The tradition from *rTsa-mi* has been kept alive in the *Karma bKa'-brgyud-pa* school up to the present day.⁴³⁰ In that way the teachings from *Bhadrabodhi*, the master of both *rTsa-mi* and *Gyi-jo*, was continued.

The 'Bro school of teachings has continued, especially in the *Jo-nang-pa* school up to its closure by Dalai Lama V in the 17th century, and especially by the historian *Tāranātha* in the 16th century. The detailed history of *Kālacakra* in Tibet after *Bu-ston* is not a subject for the present dissertation but requires it's own comprehensive study.

⁴³⁰ Kalu Rinpoche. 1986:6. He mentions that the tradition was guarded by the *Siddha Urgyen-pa* (1230-1309) and the third *Karma-pa Rang-chung rdo-rje* (b.1284), a contemporary of *Bu-ston*.

3. SURVEY OF THE KĀLACAKRA TEXTS AND THEIR CONTENT.

In this chapter some themes in the basic texts of *Kālacakra* will be treated especially in relation to the texts about *Mañjuśrī* and also to the problem of Time and *Shambhala*. The great amount of texts and teachings of the *Kālacakra Tantra* can be approached in different ways. The basic approach is textual. It is necessary to study the basic Sanskrit texts in order to have an understanding of the teachings. Another method is to study the commentaries to the basic texts, most of them in Tibetan translation or as original texts and a few existing in Sanskrit. A third method is to study the ritual and the way it is practised today in the Tibetan tradition. It must be remembered that the current practice has a Tibetan context and that it is not sure that the rituals were practised in the same way in India a thousand years ago. Apparently there also existed a tradition of practising the *Kālacakra Tantra* in Burma and Indonesia.⁴³¹ In connection with the rituals, it is possible to study the teachings from living Tibetan lamas.

My work has mainly been textual. I have attended two *Kālacakra* initiations, one with Kalu Rinpoche of the *Karma bKa-'brgyud-pa* tradition in Stockholm, 1982 and one with the Dalai Lama XIV in Rikon 1985. They have given me a valuable insight into the living tradition, but have not been used in a significant way in the dissertation.

3.1. THE BASIC TEXTS TREATING THE KĀLACAKRA TANTRA.

1. The *Paramādibuddha*; the lost *mūlatantra*, which according to internal tradition contained 12,000 verses, and now only can be found in one small part, the *Sekkodesa*⁴³² and

⁴³¹ For *Kālacakra* in Burma see Ray. 1936:37-39. Ray describes an inscription from 1442 in Taungdwin in upper Burma where *Kālacakra* texts are mentioned. This means that these teachings must have been known and practiced in Burma. The two texts which are mentioned are the *Mahākālacakka* (Pāli) and it's *ṭīkā*. This could actually refer to the *Paramādibuddha* root *Kālacakra* text and its commentary, otherwise they would have been called the *laghutāntra* and its commentary. *Tāranātha* also mentions that the *Kālacakra* texts were known in the kingdoms of Pagan and Pegu. *Kālacakra* in Indonesia has been discussed since it became known that one of the introducers of *Kālacakra* eventually came from Java or "from the land in the southern ocean". It was *Pinḍo ācārya* or *bSod snyoms-pa* (Newman. 1985:72 and Newman. 1987a:97-99). Ariane Macdonald argues for the eventual existence of another *Dhānyakāṭaka* situated in Borobudur in Java (Macdonald. 1970:206-210). See also Nihom. 1994:12,71,97, who actually does not hold an independent position on the existence of the *Kālacakra* in Indonesia, but quotes Ruegg. 1981:217-219 and Ruegg. 1984:374. Ruegg believes that *Paiṇḍapātika* (or *Pinḍo*) may be the author of the *Śrī-Kālacakra-garbhālamkāra-sādhana-nāma* (Toh.1365, P.2081) and thus implies the existence of *Kālacakra* in Indonesia.

⁴³² The Sanskrit text has not been found, but a reconstruction of the Sanskrit text has been made by R. Gnoli in Orofino. 1994, which also contains an edition of the Tibetan text and a translation of the whole text into Italian. Peking 7, Toh. 365.

through scattered citations in other texts especially the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary.⁴³³ The text is supposed to be written by the king *Sucandra* of *Shambhala*⁴³⁴ who listened to the Buddha's preaching of the text. Consequently, it was supposedly written during the lifetime of *Buddha Śākyamuni*, at the later part of his life. The text was then, according to its own tradition, brought to *Shambhala* and guarded there for over 1400 years until it was possibly brought to India, probably at the end of the 10th century A.D.

2. The *Paramādibuddhoddhṛta Śrī Kālacakra-nāma-tantra-rāja* (the *laghutantra*) (KCT) contains 1,048 verses. I have mainly used for the Sanskrit Banerjee 1985 and the *Vimalaprabhā* editions from the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies in Varanasi, edited by Samdhong Rinpoche, where the KCT is included. Tibetan translations: Toh.362 and 1346, P.4. This text is supposed to be written by a successor of *Sucandra* as king of *Shambhala* called *Mañjuśrī-Yaśas* as an abbreviation of the *Paramādibuddha*. This text, together with the VP, definitely appeared in India at the end of the 10th century and is now the extant surviving *Kālacakra* basic text. The dating of the text is uncertain, but the mention of Islam, Muhammed and Mecca and the fact that the Muslims were the great enemies (*mlecchas*) indicates a date after or during the Muslim invasions of India, beginning towards the end of the 10th century.

3. The *Vimalaprabhā* (VP); the *ṭikā* in 12,000 lines.

The Sanskrit editions from Varanasi: *Vimalaprabhāṭikā* Vol.1. 1986, Vol.2. 1994, Vol.3. 1994. Tibetan translations: Toh.845 and 1347, P.2064.

There is also said to have existed a *Vimalaprabhā* containing 60,000 lines.⁴³⁵ The extant VP was written by a later king of *Shambhala* called *Puṇḍarika*. In India and Tibet, it has always been transferred together with the KCT.

The text *Śrī Kālacakra* (KCT) is supposed to be an abbreviated version, *laghutantra*, of a much longer *mūlatantra* that was preached by *Śākyamuni Buddha* at *Dhānyakaṭaka stūpa*⁴³⁶ in south India, in the presence of king *Sucandra* of *Shambhala*. The latter is the Tibetan way of spelling that has become the best known. It has been very difficult to locate, if it exists at all as a concrete geographical unit. Bernbaum and Newman have proposed the Kocho kingdom of the Uighurs in Turkestan.⁴³⁷ Orofino has expressed some scepticism at this proposition but gives no alternative interpretation.⁴³⁸ The latest investigation of the location of *Shambhala* was done by Andresen in her dissertation and she proposed a location for *Shambhala* in the Khotanese kingdom before its extinction by the muslims around the year 1000.⁴³⁹ Hartzell places the kingdom *Shambhala* in Kashmir.⁴⁴⁰ He argues well for

⁴³³ The most comprehensive investigation of the relation between these texts has been done by John Newman (Newman. 1987:93-102).

⁴³⁴ I use here the spelling *Shambhala* as used in the Tibetan tradition. In the original Sanskrit texts it is written *Sambhala*.

⁴³⁵ VP vol.I. 1986:3, line 17-20; Newman. 1987a:227.

⁴³⁶ The location of this *stūpa* is near the town of Amaravati, Guntur district, in Andhra Pradesh. (Macdonald. 1970:205; Hoffmann. 1973:139-140; Newman. 1985:53,83; Newman. 1987a:71-73). Macdonald also leaves the field open for the existence of another *Dhānyakaṭaka* that could be identified with the Borobudur on the island of Java (Macdonald. 1970:206-210).

⁴³⁷ Bernbaum. 1980:44-46; Newman. 1985:83-84; Newman. 1987a:75. Newman. 1996:486-487. Hartzell. 1997.

⁴³⁸ Orofino. 1994:11-12.

⁴³⁹ Andresen. 1997:82-93.

his theory and it is possible that the texts were really written in India and not in a *Shambhala* kingdom situated in Central Asia.

In any case, the basic Indian origin of the *Kālacakra Tantra* is quite clear from the ideological context, even if it was written outside of India proper. In *Shambhala*, *Sucandra* is supposed to have written the original commentary called *Vimalaprabhā*, much longer than the one now extant. The seventh king after *Sucandra*, *Yaśas* wrote a condensed version, our KCT, and his successor, *Puṇḍarika*, wrote the present *Vimalaprabhā* commentary. The actual dating of these texts is very difficult, but we have a date in the KCT I.27., which has been calculated recently by Newman to 1024/25 or 1026/27⁴⁴¹ and by Orofino to 1026⁴⁴² so the text must have existed at that time. Newman actually believes that the texts were compiled at that date. Also, it is written in I.26., that *Yaśas* would appear in *Shambhala* 100 years before Islam was introduced to Mecca (which should mean about 530).⁴⁴³ All this is told in the form of prophecies made by *Buddha Śākyamuni*. We also know that these two texts were translated to Tibetan more or less at that time, around the middle of the 11th century.

The *Kālacakra* texts are found in the Tibetan Buddhist canon. As it has several editions, the numbering of the texts varies. In this dissertation, I have mainly used the Derge edition and the numbers of the Catalogue of this edition made at Tohoku University, Sendai, Japan in 1934. The same numbering has been adopted in the Dharma/Nyingma edition from Berkeley, California, which is the edition that I normally used.⁴⁴⁴ Occasionally I used the Peking edition and the catalogue published by Otani university, but normally I had limited access to that edition.

It is interesting to note the position of the *Kālacakra* texts in the canon, showing the importance given to this teaching by the editors of the canon. The very first text in the Tantric section of the canon is the Toh. 360 *Mañjuśrījñānasattvasya paramārthanāmasaṅgīti* (MNS). As I will later show, this text is of utter importance to the *Kālacakra Tantra* and it would be logical to find it in this place. The MNS is basic to the concept of *Ādibuddha* and is therefore of particular interest to this dissertation.

In the *bKa'* - 'gyur five texts that are said to be the words of *Buddha Śākyamuni* can be found.⁴⁴⁵ In the *bsTan* - 'gyur there are 47 commentary texts as follows:

Toh. 361, P.3 - *Sekkodeśa*, 7 fols., transl. by *Somanātha* and *Shes-rab grags*.

This text is said to be an extract from the lost root-*Kālacakra-tantra*, *Paramādibuddha* (P), 7 fol.

⁴⁴⁰ Hartzell. 1997:991-1002.

⁴⁴¹ *Vimalaprabhāṭikā* Vol.I. 1986:71. Newman. 1985:65,85 note 13; Newman. 1987a:538-39 note 14; Newman. 1987b:100 note 24 and the definitive article on this dating, Newman. 1998a; Schuh. 1973:20,121; Banerjee. 1959:60.

⁴⁴² Orofino. 1994:15-16.

⁴⁴³ *Vimalaprabhāṭikā* Vol.I. 1986:71; Newman. 1987a:531.

⁴⁴⁴ Tohoku Catalogue. 1934 and The Nyingma edition. 1982.

⁴⁴⁵ Toh. 1934:67-68; Catalogue of the Nyingma edition. 1982 Vol.3:158-159; Otani. 1985:1-2.

Toh. 362, P.4 in the *bKa'*- 'gyur and 1346 in the *bsTan*- 'gyur - *Paramādibuddhoddhṛta-Śrī-kālacakra-nāma-tantrarāja* (KCT), 106 fols., By *Mañjuśrī-Yaśas*, transl. by *Somanātha* and *Shes-rab-grags*.

This text is placed both in the *bKa'*- 'gyur and the *bsTan*- 'gyur showing the great respect given to this teaching.

Toh. 363, P.5 - *Śrī-Kālacakra-tantrottaratantra-hṛdaya-nāma*, 14 fols., transl. by *gNyen-chung Dharma-grags*.

Toh. 364, P.6 - *Śrī-Kālacakragarbha-nāma-tantra*, 2 fols., transl. by *Śrī-Bhadrabodhi* and *Zla-ba'i 'od-zer*

Toh. 365, P.7 - *Sekapraṅkyā*, 5 fols., transl. by *Samantaśrī* and *Chos-rab*.

Additional commentarial material on the *Kālacakra Tantra* also exists.

The canonical commentaries translated into Tibetan and found in the *bsTan*- 'gyur have the numbers in the Tohoku Catalogue from 1348-1394. They treat different subjects found in the basic *Kālacakra* texts. The most well-known is by *Nā-ro-pa* and treats the initiation process.⁴⁴⁶ Others are short condensations of the teachings.⁴⁴⁷ Others are commentaries on the six-fold *yoga* (*ṣaḍaṅga-yoga*).⁴⁴⁸ Astronomy and the cosmology of the *Kālacakra* are also commented on. The texts are the following.

Toh. 845, P.2064 in the *bKa'*- 'gyur and 1347 in the *bsTan*- 'gyur. *Vimalaprabhā-nāma-mūlatantrānusāriṇī-dvādaśasāhasrikā-laghu-kālacakra-tantra-rāja-ṭīkā*, 469 fols., by *Avalokiteśvara*, transl. by *Somanātha* and *Shes-rab-grags*.⁴⁴⁹

This is the great commentary *Vimalaprabhā* which is, unique for a commentary, placed in the *bKa'*- 'gyur and the *bsTan*- 'gyur. This emphasizes the requirement to also study the commentary which has always been transmitted together with the *laghutantra* KCT. The following information was obtained from the Tohoku catalogue, the catalogue of the Nyingma edition and the Otani catalogue of the Peking edition.⁴⁵⁰

The titles and authors of the commentaries in the *bsTan*- 'gyur are given in Appendix 3 at the end of the present work.⁴⁵¹

There also exists a great number of Tibetan commentaries on the *Kālacakra tantra*, especially the ones by *Bu-ston* and *mKhas-grub-rje* and also *Tāranātha*, which I have used in the present work.⁴⁵² One of the more important commentaries is the work of *Mi-pham* on the *Kālacakra* from the 19th century.⁴⁵³

Considering the great amount of material available, I have chosen to work with the basic texts the *laghutantra Śrī-Kālacakra-tantra-rāja* and the main commentary *Vimala-*

⁴⁴⁶ Toh. 1353, *Sekoddeśa-ṭīkā*.

⁴⁴⁷ Toh. 1348, 1350.

⁴⁴⁸ Toh. 1364, 1367, 1368, 1372, 1373, 1374, 1375, 1387, 1388 and 1390.

⁴⁴⁹ Toh. 1934:142 and 216; Catalogue of the Nyingma ed. 1982 vol.3:160-161.

⁴⁵⁰ Toh. 1934:216-224; Catalogue of the Nyingma ed. 1982 vol.3:160-187; Otani. 1985:175-182.

⁴⁵¹ See Appendix 3.

⁴⁵² See *Bu-ston*. 1965abcde; *mKhas-grub-rje*. 1983; *rJe blo-gros chos-skyong*. 1983; *Zhang-zhung Chos dbang grags-pa*. 1983; *Tāranātha* 1983; *Dol-po-pa*. 1992.

⁴⁵³ *Mi-pham*. 1971.

prabhā. Excepting the doctoral dissertation by Newman⁴⁵⁴ and the unpublished dissertation by B.Banerjee in German,⁴⁵⁵ none of these texts were translated when I initiated this project.

Newman has, in his dissertation, translated parts of the first chapter *Lokadhātupaṭala*, KCT I:1-27 and 128-170 together with the commentary *Vimalaprabhā*. A major portion of his translation is the long introduction to the whole of the *Kālacakra* system placed in the first chapter of the VP. This introduction is of great importance for understanding this very complicated tantric system. He also wrote commentaries and an introduction to the whole of the *Kālacakra* which still today is basic for the further study of this *tantra*. Unfortunately, it has not been published in book-form.

Banerjee translated the whole of the *Lokadhātupaṭala* KCT I:1-169 into German as a doctoral dissertation for Helmut Hoffmann. He did not translate the VP, but made his own notes and commentaries to the text. The dissertation is of value and shows his great knowledge of the Indian culture. It has not been published.

Wallace⁴⁵⁶ translated the whole of chapter II, the *Adhyātmapaṭala*, of the KCT and the commentary *Vimalaprabhā*. It is, together with Newman's translation, one of the most useful. It is not really possible to study the KCT without the basic commentary and consequently, these authors have made great contributions to the understanding of the *Kālacakra Tantra*. In Wallace's later work, she also studied, translated and referred to a great number of verses from the whole of the KCT and VP, especially from the 5th chapter, *Jñāna-paṭala*.

Andresen⁴⁵⁷ translated the third chapter, *Abhiṣekapaṭala*, and wrote at length about the general ideas in the *Kālacakra Tantra*. The value of the translation is limited due to her not translating the accompanying *Vimalaprabhā* commentary. The verses without commentary are many times very difficult to understand.

Hartzell⁴⁵⁸ has translated the whole of chapter five, the *Jñānapaṭala*, of the KCT and the commentary VP. His dissertation is very voluminous and treats the whole complex of the *Anuttara-yoga-tantras* or the *Yoginī-tantras*. The *Kālacakra* is one of the *tantras* that he has investigated.

Stril-Rever⁴⁵⁹ translated the whole of chapter two, the *Adhyātma-paṭala*, into French. It is not the first translation into an occidental language, as is claimed in her book, as Wallace's translation was published five years earlier. However, the translation appears to be good and represents the living Tibetan tradition of *Kālacakra*.

To sum up the situation concerning the translation of the two basic texts *Śrī Kālacakra-tantra-rāja* (KCT) and the *Vimalaprabhā* (VP):

KCT and VP to chapter I, the *Lokadhātu-paṭala*, have been partly translated by Newman. The KCT has been completely translated by Banerjee into German.

KCT and VP to chapter II, the *Adhyātma-paṭala*, have been completely translated into English by Wallace and into French by Stril-Rever.

⁴⁵⁴ Newman. 1987a. Newman has translated KCT I:1-27 and 128-170 together with the commentary, *Vimalaprabhā*.

⁴⁵⁵ Banerjee. 1959. Banerjee has translated KCT I:1-169.

⁴⁵⁶ Wallace. 1995 and Wallace 2001.

⁴⁵⁷ Andresen. 1997.

⁴⁵⁸ Hartzell. 1997. This dissertation reached me late and has not been used to a great extent.

⁴⁵⁹ Stril-Rever. 2000.

KCT, chapter III, the *Abhiṣeka-paṭala*, has been translated by Andresen without the VP. KCT and VP of chapter IV have not been translated, but Wallace has translated and summarized some verses (2001).

KCT and VP of chapter V have been translated partly by Hartzell and some verses by Wallace (2001).

According to Hartzell, Wallace has also translated the fourth chapter, although it is not published. Hartzell himself has translated all of the fifth chapter, although it was not published in his dissertation. Gnoli has written on the *Paramākṣara* in Italian.⁴⁶⁰

3.2. SOME REMARKS ON THE CONTENT OF THE ŚRĪ-KĀLACAKRA-TANTRA-RĀJA AND THE VIMALAPRABHĀ.

Intending to approach the texts belonging to the *Kālacakra tantric* system, at first one becomes bewildered at the mass of texts available either in original Sanskrit or in Tibetan commentaries and the translation of Sanskrit commentaries in the *bsTan-'gyur*. In reading the basic texts of the system, one sometimes encounters unsurmountable difficulties in translating even single verses. Many times the commentary is of little help as many difficult passages are not commented upon. It is evident that these texts are meant as an aid to understand what is also taught as a living, oral tradition, so it is easy to understand why these texts have been resisting translation into western languages for a long time.

To make an attempt to describe something of the ideas and practices put forward in the tantra, I will start by making a few remarks on the content of the basic text extant today, the *Śrī-Kālacakra-tantra-rāja* (Toh.362) (I use the abbreviation KCT or *Śrī Kālacakra*) and its commentary *Vimalaprabhā* (VP).

The full title of the text is: *Paramādibuddhoddhṛtaśrīkālacakra-nāma-tantrarāja*, "The king of tantra, *Śrī Kālacakra*, drawn out from the *Paramādibuddha*," which means that it has its source in the *Mūla-Kālacakra-tantra* called *Paramādibuddha*, which according to tradition was written by king *Sucandra* of *Shambhala*. The KCT was written by the seventh king of *Shambhala*, king *Yaśas* who is said to have made a condensed version of the *Paramādibuddha*. The *Paramādibuddha* text is said to have contained 12,000 verses and from this the *laghutāntara* is an abbreviation that contains 1,048 verses.⁴⁶¹

In contrast to many other *tantras*, the KCT has only one canonical commentary, the *Vimalaprabhā*, in 12,000 lines, written by the successor to king *Yaśas* called *Puṇḍarika*. Furthermore, in the *Vimalaprabhā* it is written: "The 60,000 line commentary written by *Sucandra* revealed the meaning of all the vehicles."⁴⁶² Thus, there is also said to have existed a root-*Vimalaprabhā* written as a commentary to the root-*tantra*, but from this text we

⁴⁶⁰ Hartzell. 1997:970; Gnoli 1997.

⁴⁶¹ This problem has been best discussed by John Newman (Newman. 1987b:93-102). For the sources see *Vimalaprabhā* vol.1. 1986:21-22, Newman. 1987a:288-89 and Bu-ston. 1965a:345.

⁴⁶² *Vimalaprabhā* vol.1. 1986:3, line 17-20. Newman. 1987a:227.

have no citations like those from the *Mūla-tantra* (root-*tantra*), so its eventual existence is even more uncertain.

3.2.1. Kālacakra and its relation to the Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti.

The following is an analysis of a quotation from the *Vimalaprabhā* which has played a certain role in the earlier research on the *Kālacakra* tantric system. This is done to show the importance of the text *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti* for the *Kālacakra* texts.

Sanskrit:

*ato ye paramādibuddhan na janānti te nāmasaṅgītin na janānti/
ye nāmasaṅgītin na janānti te vajradharajñānakāya na janānti/
ye vajradharajñānakāyan na janānti te mantrayānaṃ na janānti/
ye mantrayānaṃ na janānti te saṃsāriṇaḥ sarve vajradharabhagavato
mārgarahitāḥ / evaṃ paramādibuddhaṃ mokṣārthibhiḥ sacchiṣyaiḥ
śrotavyaṃ sadguruṇā deśayitavyam iti.*⁴⁶³

Therefore, those who do not know the *Paramādibuddha*⁴⁶⁴ do not know the *Nāmasaṅgīti*.⁴⁶⁵ Those who do not know the *Nāmasaṅgīti* do not know the *jñānakāya* of *Vajradhara*. Those who do not know the *jñānakāya* (wisdom body) of *Vajradhara*, do not know the *Mantrayāna*. Those who do not know the *Mantrayāna* are all in and of *saṃsāra*, separated from the path of *Bhagavān Vajradhara*. Thus the *Paramādibuddha* should be taught by excellent gurus and listened to by excellent disciples who strive for liberation.

As early as in 1833, Csoma de Kőrös published a translation of this text, although without knowing that it was from the *Vimalaprabhā*. He quotes it from the famous 16th century Tibetan historian, *Padma dkar-po*,⁴⁶⁶ who tells the story about when one of the main line-

⁴⁶³ *Vimalaprabhā* vol.I, chapt.I, subchapter 6.2., p.52. For the Tibetan translation see Bu-ston. 1965a:419,7-420,2 and The Nying-ma edition (Derge), Toh.845, 1347.

⁴⁶⁴ Csoma de Kőrös interpreted this word as "the chief first Buddha" and gives it thereby a more or less theistic definition (Csoma de Kőrös. 1833:58), while it is obvious that in this context *Paramādibuddha* is the name of the *Kālacakra* lost root *tantra* and is compared to the *Nāmasaṅgīti* which also is a name for the text *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti* (Toh.361).

⁴⁶⁵ Here must be meant the text *Mañjuśrī-jñānasattvasya-paramārtha-nāmasaṅgīti*, P.2 and Toh.360. That this text has a special relation to the *Kālacakra* system is also shown by the fact that it stands first in the *rGyud* (Tantra) section of the *bKa'-gyur*, just before the *Kālacakra* texts. Its commentaries are also placed just after all the commentaries on the *Kālacakra* in the *bsTan-gyur* (P.2111-2116, Toh. 1395-1400). Among these commentaries, there is interestingly enough one written by king *Puṇḍarika* of *Sambhala* who wrote the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary. Even the name of the commentary is *Ārya-mañjuśrī-nāmasaṅgīti-ṭīka-Vimalaprabhā* (Toh.1398, P.2114), which also shows the close relation between the two sets of texts. There are also various quotations in the *Vimalaprabhā* (*Vimalaprabhā* vol.I, VP vol.I. 1986:18; Newman. 1987a:276-78. More on this connection between the texts can be found in Wayman. 1985:7-8 and Davidson. 1981:12-15.

⁴⁶⁶ *Padma-dkar-po*, *Chos-'byung*, fol.68; Csoma de Kőrös. 1833:57-59 repr. 1911:21-23.

age-holders of the *Kālacakra*, the Indian *siddha* *Nāropa* (or *Nāḍo*, *Naḍapāda* or *Kālacakrapāda* the Younger) wrote it over the door of *Nālanda* monastery in order to provoke a debate on the teachings that he had acquired and that obviously were new to the monk community of *Nālanda*. In these later *chos-'byungs* (religious histories) of *Kālacakra* it is told that *Nāropa* won the debate and the community accepted the new set of teachings. Later, the same passage has been translated by Helmut Hoffmann, John Newman and David Reigle.⁴⁶⁷ There is an interesting alteration by *Padma dkar-po* in the first two lines of the quotation. He writes *Kālacakra* instead of *Nāmasaṅgīti* and therefore Csoma de Kőrös translates the passage as follows: "He, that does not know the chief first Buddha, (*Āḍibuddha*), knows not the circle of time (*Kālacakra*). He that does not know the circle of time, does not know the exact enumeration of divine attributes (*nāmasaṅgīti*)."⁴⁶⁸ The rest of the text seems to be identical with the *Vimalaprabhā*. Why did *Padma dkar-po* make this interpolation? A possible interpretation is that in the 16th century the concept of *Kālacakra* was more important than *Āḍibuddha*, although it should have been obvious for a Tibetan commentator that the word *Paramāḍibuddha* in this context represents the *mūlatantra* text.

As a result, this text has been published several times but not sufficiently analysed, something that is presented below.⁴⁶⁹ First, the *Paramāḍibuddha* in the *Vimalaprabhā* context, is the name of the lost *Mūlatantra*. The quotation is found in the 6th *uddeśa* of the *Vimalaprabhā* and is called "A summary of the *mandalas*, *abhiṣekas* and so forth," and it comments on verse I: 2 of the *Śrī Kālacakra* where king *Sucandra* requests *Buddha Śākyamuni* to explain all the subjects found in the *tantra*. The citation in question is placed at the very end of this subchapter; just before it stands the following lines: "This process of purification that gives the *mahāmudrā siddhi*,⁴⁷⁰ that is manifest in the *Paramāḍibuddha*, was written down in a book. Knowing the superior aspirations of the minds of the fortunate sentient beings north of the *Śītā* River, the *Bhagavān* taught it and *Vajrapāṇi*⁴⁷¹ wrote it down in a book. The *Bhagavān* made the *Nāmasaṅgīti* authoritative, and since it frees all beings from doubt, he rightly taught *Vajrapāṇi* the definitive meaning of all the *mantra* systems of the *Mantrayāna* from the *Nāmasaṅgīti*."⁴⁷²

Before this quotation, the teachings on "the Fourth *prajñā-jñāna* (wisdom-discriminative wisdom),⁴⁷³ the *mahāmudrā* meditation and the path of smoke and so forth" were treated.⁴⁷⁴ These teachings were not revealed by all the *mūla-* and *laghutantras* except for the *Kālacakra* root and abridged *Tantras*. So these two *tantras* have a very special posi-

⁴⁶⁷ Hoffmann. 1967:40; Newman. 1987b:93; Newman. 1985:68-69; Newman. 1987a:412; Reigle. 1986: back cover. My translation is based on Newman and Reigle, with some small changes.

⁴⁶⁸ Csoma de Kőrös. 1833:58; (1911:21-22).

⁴⁶⁹ Lately a new attempt to analyse the influence of the MNS on the *Kālacakra Tantra* has been made by Vesna A. Wallace (Wallace. 2001:18-21).

⁴⁷⁰ The *siddhis* (special powers) of *mahāmūdra* (the *tantric* technique of *mahāmūdra*). For the meaning of this word see Newman. 1987a:231, 280-81, 287, 367, 373, 410, 411.

⁴⁷¹ From the context, it is clear that *Bhagavān* stands for *Śākyamuni Buddha* and *Vajrapāṇi* for the king *Sucandra Vajrapāṇi* is the *bodhisattva* belonging to the *Akṣobhya* family among the five *jinās*.

⁴⁷² *Vimalaprabhā* Vol.1. 1986:52; Bu-ston. 1965a:419; Newman. 1987a:411-12.

⁴⁷³ Newman. 1987a:231, 279, 280, 287, 410. The fourth state is the state of bliss that goes beyond the normal bliss. It is a state of ecstasy sometimes described in erotic terms.

⁴⁷⁴ Newman. 1987a:410.

tion. It is consequently explicitly written that *Sucandra* wrote down the *Paramādibuddha* copying the words of *Śākyamuni Buddha*, who in his turn based the teachings of *Kālacakra* on the [*Mañjuśrī*]-*nāma-saṅgīti*. Actually the definitive meaning (skt. *nītārtha*) of all the teachings in the *Mantrayāna* is contained in the *Nāma-saṅgīti*. The importance of the *Nāma-saṅgīti* has consequently been very great. Especially in Tibet, it seems that it was learnt by heart by almost every fully ordained monk.⁴⁷⁵

The famous verse on the *Ādibuddha* in the *Nāma-saṅgīti* is:

*anādinidhano buddha ādibuddho niranvayaḥ / jñānaikacakṣur amalō
jñānamūrtis tathgataḥ // 100//*⁴⁷⁶

Without beginning or end, he is Buddha, *ādibuddha* without causal connection.⁴⁷⁷
Stainless with his unique eye of wisdom, he is embodied wisdom, the *Tathāgata*.

Basic ideas from this verse can be found in the *Vimalaprabhā*.⁴⁷⁸ Even what seems to be a clear quotation of the first line can be found in the commentary on the first verse of the first chapter of the KCT,⁴⁷⁹ and even in this case of a citation word by word, the Tibetan uses *rigs-med* for *niranvaya*. The word *niranvaya*⁴⁸⁰ “unconnected, without causal connection, without relation” (tib. *rigs-med*) is used at several places in the *Vimalaprabhā* with that meaning. In the *Nāma-saṅgīti* it seems to be an idea of an *Ādibuddha* outside of all causality. In the *Vimalaprabhā*, we can not find that meaning of *Ādibuddha* expressed so clearly, one can draw this conclusion from other characteristics of the *Ādibuddha*, but it is not so clear. So, the change in meaning of the word *niranvaya* is very interesting. This word is specifically used for the *Ādibuddha* at one place:

⁴⁷⁵ Davidson. 1981:14.

⁴⁷⁶ Toh.360, P.2. Davidson. 1981:30, incl. Note95 and p.57 (v.100); Wayman. 1985:93 (chapt.8, v.24)

⁴⁷⁷ The translation “without causal connection” for the Sanskrit “*niranvaya*” is used here by Davidson with guidance from the Tibetan translation *rgyu-med* = “without cause”. Wayman translates it as “without preceding cause”. I opted for the more general translation by Davidson, as *rgyu med* is not only “without preceding cause” but also “spontaneous, without any actual cause.” The Sanskrit word *niranvaya* actually means, “having no offspring, childless; unconnected, unrelated, without retinue, unaccompanied.” (Monier-Williams). The word does not occur in the *Mahavyutpatti* dictionary, which could mean that the *Nāma-saṅgīti* was not included in the first set of Buddhist texts translated into Tibetan in the 8th or 9th century when the *Mahavyutpatti* was compiled. The word *Ādibuddha* does not either occur, something that indicates that there did not exist any texts treating the concept of *Ādibuddha*.

⁴⁷⁸ *Vimalaprabhā* Vol.I. 1986:18, Newman. 1987a:277; *Vimalaprabhā* Vol.I. 1986:12, Newman. 1987a:248,270; *Vimalaprabhā* Vol.I. 1986:17, Newman. 1987a: 274,276. The Sanskrit word *niranvaya* is used here. It seems that here the Tibetan translators have opted for the word as “unaccompanied or unconnected”, which leads to Newman’s translation “without partiality”. The Tibetan word used in the *Vimalaprabhā* is *rigs-med* which means “without family or lineage, or sort or kind.” It appears that the second meaning was chosen for by Newman as it is possible to say that if something is without any different kind, so it is without partiality. A further translation of the word is given in Newman. 2001:589 as “without relation”. It is in connection with an analysis of the concept of *vajrayoga* where Newman states that *vajrayoga* is “without relation” (*niranvaya*) as it pervades everything. Therefore it cannot be localized within mundane existence or *nirvāṇa*.

⁴⁷⁹ *Vimalaprabhā* Vol.I. 1986:32, line 20-21; Newman. 1987a:327.

⁴⁸⁰ Bu-ston. 1965a:369. Bu-ston uses *rigs-med* in his commentary.

“He [the *Bhagavān Śākyamuni Buddha*] is the sole *cakravartin* of the three realms, the *Paramādibuddha* without causal connection (skt. *niranvaya*, tib. *rigs-med*). He is the *Bhagavān Kālacakra*.”⁴⁸¹

This citation is used in the context of explaining when the Buddha taught the *Kālacakra tantra* to *Sucandra*, so it is a very important definition of *Ādibuddha*. However, it is stressed that *Ādibuddha* is non-dual, not that he is outside the scope of causality. On the contrary, in several places it is written that he is the progenitor of the *jinās*, or father of the *jinās*. Could this be a conscious change of meaning between the two texts, to stress that *Ādibuddha* in fact is, to a degree, more of an active principle in the *Kālacakra* than as *Mañjuśrī* in the *Nāma-saṅgīti*? There are quotations from the *Nāma-saṅgīti* in the fifth chapter of the *Vimalaprabhā* which are very interesting in this regard.

Other connections between the two sets of teaching can also be found. For example, *Vajrapāṇi* as *Vajradhara* is the one that is addressed in the very first verse of the MNS.⁴⁸² *Vajrapāṇi* also has a great role in the *Kālacakra*, as incarnated in the king *Sucandra* of *Sambhala*. *Vajradhara* is of course the *Ādibuddha* in the *Kālacakra*, although the name *Vajradhara* is not often used for *Ādibuddha* in this connection. *Mañjuśrī* is also incarnated in king *Yaśas* of *Sambhala* who wrote the *Kālacakra laghutantra*. At another place in the *Vimalaprabhā*, it is also said “the *Paramādibuddha* (the *mūlatantra*) is embraced by the *Nāma-saṅgīti* that makes evident the *jñānakāya* of *Vajradhara*.”⁴⁸³ Consequently, the dependence of the *Kālacakra* texts on the *Nāma-saṅgīti* is quite open and evident. Therefore, a change in the interpretation of a key-word is important.

In the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary to KCT V:89, the same characteristic is given to *Ādibuddha*:

catuṣkoṭivinirmuktaṃ natvā kāyaṃ mahāsukham //
uddhṛtaṃ mañjuvajreṇa ādibuddhān niranvayāt //
*lakṣaṇaṃ buddhakāyānāṃ caturṇāṃ tad vitanyate //*⁴⁸⁴

Tib. for line 2 above:

Dang-po'i sangs-rgyas rigs-med las / jam-pa'i
rdo-rjes rab-phyung-ba /⁴⁸⁵

After having paid respect to the *Mahāsukhakāya* which is beyond inherent existence and [the statement] that something is, is not, both is and is not and neither is or is not, drawn out from the *Ādibuddha* without parts (unconnected, without relation) by *Mañjuvajra*, the characteristics of the four bodies of Buddha are to be explained.

⁴⁸¹ *Vimalaprabhā* Vol.I. 1986:12, line 5-8; Bu-ston. 1965a:317, line7; Newman. 1987a:245. See this work, p.106.

⁴⁸² Davidson. 1981:18 and note 52. He makes a good summary of the relationship between *Vajrapāṇi* and *Vajradhara*.

⁴⁸³ *Vimalaprabhā* Vol.I. 1986:12; Newman. 1987a:246.

⁴⁸⁴ *Vimalaprabhā* Vol.III. 1994:15-17.

⁴⁸⁵ *Vimalaprabhā* in Tibetan as edited and commented upon by Bu-ston. 1965c:1-294 entitled: “*Ye-śes-kyi lehuḥi ḡrel mchan*: Annotations on the *Jñānapaṭala*.” This quotation is from p.80.

This is a very interesting verse in several ways and will be further treated below (p.154). It should be noted that *Mañjuvajra* is another name for *Mañjuśrī-yaśas*, and in this context it is said that he is a sort of first emanation from the *Ādibuddha* who makes evident the four bodies of the Buddha from the *Ādibuddha* (the *mūla-tantra*), who itself seems to be inactive and identified with the highest of the four bodies named, only in this context, *Mahāsukhakāya*. Later in this part of the *Vimalaprabhā*, which treats more specifically the four bodies in the *Kālacakra*, it is called *Sahajakāya* or *Śuddhakāya*.⁴⁸⁶

In order to continue the analysis of the quotation from the *Vimalaprabhā* it is also said that it is not possible to know the *Mantrayāna* without knowing the *jñānakāya* of *Vajradhara*. *Jñānakāya* in this context might stand for *Mañjuśrī* as here it is question about the *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti*. *Jñānakāya* can also in the *Vimalaprabhā* stand for *Buddha Śākyamuni*, as in the very first verse of the KCT. In the commentary to this verse there is a long interpretation of the word *jñānakāya*, based only on two other verses from the MNS.⁴⁸⁷

The conclusion is that the *jñānakāya* is the Perfect Buddha, the *Bhagavān*, which means that it is a way of denominating a Buddha, and it can also stand as the “wisdom-body” of the *Ādibuddha*.⁴⁸⁸ Consequently, the *Nāma-saṅgīti* is perhaps even more important for the doctrines in the *Kālacakra* than has previously been stressed, especially for the concept of *Ādibuddha*.

As for the concept of *Vajradhara* in the MNS, of course in later tantric literature it stands for *Ādibuddha*, but in this earlier context that is not so evident. In verse 40 of the MNS, *Mañjuśrī* is actually called *Mahāvajradhara*, and *Vajradhara* is also a name for *Vajrapāṇi* with reference to wisdom (*jñāna*).⁴⁸⁹ On the other hand, when *Puṇḍarika* here speaks of *Vajradhara* in the *Vimalaprabhā*, it is obvious from the introductory parts of this text that *Vajradhara* is another way of denoting the *Ādibuddha* concept.⁴⁹⁰ The conclusion of the foregoing then might be that the “*jñānakāya* of *Vajradhara*” signifies *Mañjuśrī* who is the “wisdom-body” of *Ādibuddha*.

3.2.2. The concept of Time (kāla) in the Kālacakra-tantra.

Kālacakra means “the wheel of time” and important parts of the *tantra* treat Time as a fundamental concept. Principally in the first chapter on the outer world, of the *laghu-tantra* now existing, the *Śrī Kālacakra-nāma-tantra-rāja* (KCT), on the outer world (*Lokadhātu*-

⁴⁸⁶ *Vimalaprabhā* Vol.III, the chapter on the four bodies. Tibetan: Bu-ston. 1965c:80-101. This is the commentary to the verses in the KCT V:89-126 which is a very interesting treaty on the concept of the four bodies in the *Kālacakra* system. This part will be treated more in detail in chapter 5.

⁴⁸⁷ Toh.360. Nyingma ed. 360. *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti* verses 87 and 99. Davidson. 1981:29-30,56.

⁴⁸⁸ *Vimalaprabhā* Vol.I. 1986:38-39; Newman. 1987a:349-352.

⁴⁸⁹ Davidson. 1981:18, note 52.

⁴⁹⁰ *Vimalaprabhā* I.1. in VP vol.I. 1986:4; Newman. 1987a:229; *Vimalaprabhā* I.2 in VP vol.I. 1986:12; Newman. 1987a:246; *Vimalaprabhā* I.2 in VP vol.I. 1986:18; Newman. 1987a:276-277 and *Vimalaprabhā* I.2 in VP vol.I. 1986:29; Newman. 1987a:313. Especially in the last mentioned place, it is evident that *Vajradhara* denotes *Ādibuddha*: “He [*Buddha Śākyamuni*] explained that they will obtain *mahāmūdra* that is governed by the supreme unchanging bliss (*paramākṣarasukha*) of *Bhagavān Vajradhara*.”

paṭala), the division of time in small parts is treated. It is also written that the world emerges out of Time (*Kāla*).
KCT I:4 follows:

*kālāc chūnyeṣu vāyujvalanajaladharā dvīpaśailaḥ samudrāḥ
ṛkṣāṇindvarkatārāgragaṇaṣayo devabhūtās ca nāgāḥ /
tiryagyoniś caturdhā vividhamahitale mārakāś ca nārakāś ca
sambhūtāḥ śūnyamadye lavaṇam iva jale tv aṇḍajāś cāṇḍamadye //4//*

Because of time (*kālāt*), from the voids (*śūnyeṣu*)⁴⁹¹ s originate wind, fire, water, the earth; the continents, mountains, and oceans; the constellations, the sun, the moon, the host of star-planets, and the sages; gods, *bhūtas*, and *nāgas*; animals that have four types of birthplace; humans and hell beings also, on the manifold earth and below - originate in the middle of void (*śūnyamadye*), like salt in water, and the egg-born in the middle of an egg.⁴⁹²

This verse gives the basic idea of *kāla* as being the force behind the origin of the universe. In the *Vimalaprabhā*, it is spoken of: “the force of the Time of [Bu-ston: the cosmos’ birth and] origination.”⁴⁹³ The cosmos originated by the force of Time behind the five *śūnyas*, who in their turn are at the origin of the “wind” (skt. *vāyu*; tib. *rlung*) and the other elements. So, *kāla* is not really deified as a sort of “time-god” which is the case in some of the schools of *Kālavāda* in ancient India.⁴⁹⁴ There is one hymn in the *Atharvaveda* that provide some interesting ideas about Time; it is said:

“...all the beings (worlds) are his wheels (*cakras*). With seven wheels does this Time ride.....
Time, the first god, hastens onwards. Time begot yonder heaven, Time also (begot) these worlds....Time created the earth...”⁴⁹⁵

Here *Kāla* is combined with the wheel (*cakra*), he has all the beings as his wheels, he rides on seven wheels and he is the first god and also begot the worlds. These ideas are somewhat similar to the ideas in the *Kālacakra* about *Kāla* being at the origin of the cosmos. Also interesting is that the importance of the wheel (*cakra*).

A part of the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary to KCT V:127 contains some interesting information on time.⁴⁹⁶ The unchanging moment is designated as time and when that mo-

⁴⁹¹ Tib. *Dus-kyis stong-pa-rnams las*, skt. *kālāc chūnyeṣu*. The Sanskrit has a locative on *śūnya* and the Tibetan has an ablative (*stong-pa-rnams las*). From the *Vimalaprabhā*, it is obvious that the Tibetan is more correct. *Vimalaprabhā* I.1 in VP vol.I. 1986:54; Bu-ston’s commentary. 1965a:425; Newman. 1987:422-423.

⁴⁹² Banerjee. 1985:1; Newman. 1987a:419-423. *Kāla* is also mentioned in the KCT V:241,245.

⁴⁹³ *Vimalaprabhā* I.1 in VP vol.I. 1986:54.

⁴⁹⁴ Frauwallner. 1973:75-78. Other studies of Time in India are Schayer. 1938, Scheffelowitz. 1929 and Ni-yogi Balslev. 1983.

⁴⁹⁵ Frauwallner. 1973:75-76. He cites from *Atharvavedasamhitā* XIX, 53, verses 1,2,5 and 5, according to the translation of Winternitz. 1908:132.

⁴⁹⁶ *Vimalaprabhā*, VP vol. III. 1994:61, line 19 – 62, line 20. Translated in Hartzell. 1997:1259-1261. See also below p.180-81.

ment is unveiled, it is the *cakra*, that is, the aggregates, constituents and bases of the world. Later, it is stated that time is, among other things, “the end of being, the leader of beings, the best supporter of the three worlds, the cause of causes....the supreme bliss”⁴⁹⁷ *Kālacakra* is analysed so that time (*kāla*) is knowledge (*jñāna*) and the wheel (*cakra*) the knowable (*jñeya*). The unity of these two is *Kālacakra* and in that way the concept is all-inclusive.

Consequently, it is shown that the concept of “time (*kāla*)” is really behind everything in the three worlds. Mention is also made that *upāya* (method) corresponds to *kāla* (time) and *prajñā* (wisdom) to *cakra* (wheel) and as a consequence to the concept of *Kālacakra*.⁴⁹⁸ In this connection, it is also mentioned that it is possible to see the past, future and present time while practising the supreme unchanging bliss in the sexual *yoga* of retention of the semen.⁴⁹⁹ This implies that it is possible that the three times can be seen at one time. This poses the question of whether in Indian time philosophy these three times can exist at the same time and if predestination exists. This is, of course, a classical problem in India in connection with the concept of *karma*. Using *karma* it is possible to say that predestination exists. In conclusion, it seems that it is possible to see the three times at the same time.

In *Nāropa's Sekoddeśaṭikā*, an analysis of the word *Kālacakra* and consequently the concept of *kāla*, which here means time, can be found. Also *upāya*, the means needed for the liberation and *karuṇā*, the universal compassion with the living creatures for the sake of which the absolute reveals itself is analysed. *Cakra* stands for the world and *prajñā*, the wisdom connected with *sūnya*, the void. Together the two concepts are *Kālacakra*, the union of *prajñā* and *upāya* which leads to the absolute, the *Ādibuddha*.⁵⁰⁰ In the *tantra* there is also a system of calculation of the calendar that was subsequently generally used in Tibet after the traditional date of its introduction, 1027.⁵⁰¹

3.2.3. On Shambhala and the battle between Raudra Kalkin and the barbarians in the outer and the inner. The micro/macro-perspective in the *Kālacakra*.

The problem of *Sambhala*⁵⁰² and where to place it, on the map or in the spiritual world will be treated in this chapter. As remarked by Reigle,⁵⁰³ the word known as *Shambhala* is actually written *Sambhala* in Sanskrit. As noted for example, in KCT I:151 and following

⁴⁹⁷ VP vol. III. 1994:61, line 25 and Hartzell. 1997:1259 also in KCT V:245.

⁴⁹⁸ See below p.181.

⁴⁹⁹ VP vol. III. 1994:88, line 27-28; below p.185.

⁵⁰⁰ *Sekoddeśaṭikā*. 1941:22-23.

⁵⁰¹ This is best treated in Schuh. 1973. The verses in the first chapter of the KCT treating this subject have been translated and commented upon by Banerjee. 1959. See also the unpublished doctoral dissertation by Winfried Petri on Tibetan astronomy.

⁵⁰² I use *Shambhala* as it is written in the Tibetan tradition of translating the *Kālacakra* texts.

⁵⁰³ Reigle. 1986.

verses.⁵⁰⁴ Historically, the country has been known as *Shambhala* as it is the Tibetan version of the legend of *Shambhala* which has been known. Until recently, the Sanskrit texts were not as well known.

The kings of *Shambhala* and the problem of an eventual influence on the *Kālacakra* from Central Asia will also be commented upon.⁵⁰⁵ The myths and thoughts about *Shambhala* have been greatly diffused in Tibet and even to Mongolia after the introduction of the *Kālacakra*-tradition to Tibet around 1030-40. Their influence extends to the present day. The *Kālacakra* tradition spread to Mongolia with the conversion of the Mongols to the Tibetan form of Buddhism starting in the 14th and completed in the 17th century. Through the theosophists and their successors, the concept of "*Shamballa*" has spread in the western world in later times.⁵⁰⁶

Many theories have been made in order to place the country of *Shambhala* on the map. Tucci remarks that it could have been near the river *Sita*, identified as the river Tarim.⁵⁰⁷ Bernbaum was inspired, among others, by Hoffmann who saw influence from Central Asia in the *Kālacakra Tantra*, presented the theory that *Shambhala* could be placed in the Uighur kingdom of Khocho in the Turfan Depression at the foot of the Tianshan mountains. *Shambhala* has been placed north of the river *Sita* river, which could be identified as the river Tarim.⁵⁰⁸ Bernbaum also presented the oasis city of Khotan as a possible location of *Shambhala*, just north of the little known mountain range of Kunlun.⁵⁰⁹

Some scholars have wanted to place *Shambhala* in India, especially in Kashmir. It could also have survived as one of the small communities in hidden valleys of the Himalaya or the Kunlun mountains.⁵¹⁰ Among later scholars, Newman supported the theory of placing *Shambhala* in the Turfan oasis based on that the *Vimalaprabhā* locates *Shambhala* north of Khotan. He also argues that by *Shambhala* could be meant the Khocho kingdom north of the river Tarim, which should be identified with the river Sita mentioned in the KCT.⁵¹¹

Hartzell argues extensively for placing the kingdom of *Shambhala* in Kashmir, where there is a river that could be identified with the *Sita* river and also a town called *Kalāpa*, the name of the capital of *Shambhala*. His arguments are interesting and they establish that the *Kālacakra Tantra* is an Indian tradition and therefore it is doubtful to place the origin of this teaching outside of India.⁵¹² The dominating tradition on *Shambhala* is the Tibetan, as Buddhism disappeared from India. There are different interpretations of *Shambhala* even in Tibet. As Bernbaum has remarked, perhaps the most ancient text on *Shambhala*, the

⁵⁰⁴ VP vol.I. 1986:153.

⁵⁰⁵ This problem has been treated most thoroughly by Bernbaum. 1980 and 1985. A survey of western scholarship was made by Bernbaum (Bernbaum. 1985:3-10). For a valuable review of Bernbaum, see Newman. 1987a:193-207. See the following for the Sanskrit text and a translation of the parts of the *Vimalaprabhā* that treat subjects concerning *Samhala*: *Vimalaprabhā* Vol.I. 1986:23-30, 77-78, 152-153, 154; Newman. 1987a:292-316, 531-538, 578-583, 620-641. For the kings of *Samhala*, see Reigle. 1986. For special studies of *Shambhala*: is Kollmar-Paulenz. 1992/93 and 1997.

⁵⁰⁶ See for example Bailey. 1951, index.

⁵⁰⁷ Tucci. 1980 (1949):212.

⁵⁰⁸ Bernbaum. 1980:42, Bernbaum. 1985:142 and earlier in Hoffmann. 1961:125-126.

⁵⁰⁹ Bernbaum. 1980:43.

⁵¹⁰ Bernbaum. 1980:45-46.

⁵¹¹ Newman. 1987a

⁵¹² Hartzell. 1997:991-1002.

Kalāpāvātara, gives quite a different version of many stories.⁵¹³ It is probable though, that the *Shambhala* tradition has its origin outside the context of the *Kālacakra* texts. It could be borrowed from the *Purāṇas* according to Newman.

In the following the tradition of the eschatological battle between the 25th king of *Shambhala* and the *mlecchas*, barbarians identified with the Muslims, departing from the basic *laghutantra*-text *Śrī Kālacakra-tantra-rāja* (KCT) and the great commentary *Vimala-prabhā* (VP) will be treated. The commentary has a special position in this tradition and has always been taught at the same time as the KCT and also contains material apparently from the presumably lost root-*tantra*. Therefore, the VP commentary is as important as the *laghutantra*. I will concentrate on the micro/macro-cosmos perspective and how it is expressed in the texts

I have worked principally with the Sanskrit texts, but also with the Tibetan translations and the translation and commentary of Newman in his dissertation, and also the work of Hoffman.⁵¹⁴

3.2.3.a. The information on *Shambhala* in verses KCT I:150-170.

The first chapter of the KCT and the commentaries in the VP treat the “outer world”. They contain a description of the outer tradition of *Shambhala*, the perspective of macro-cosmos. In the 2nd chapter, a corresponding treatment of the micro-cosmos perspective of the human body is found.

Strangely enough, the verses in the first chapter, KCT I:150-170, do not have a corresponding commentary in the VP. It is only said that obvious and clear and no commentary is required. This is not actually true, as is evident from studying the text. There are few places in the KCT which are not provided with commentary in the VP and the authors intentions when not commenting on the text is difficult to imagine. Perhaps the theme was not sufficiently interesting as greater stress is put on the commentary of the inner perspective in the second chapter. It could also actually be ironic, because of the apparent difficulties of interpreting the text.

3.2.3.b. The history of *Shambhala* in *Śrī-Kālacakra-nāma-tantra-rāja*, chapter I, verses 150-170.

I have here condensed the content of the verses KCT 150-170:

Verses 150-152: First is a description of how *Shambhala* is placed in the Buddhist cosmological theory. In the middle of the continent, *Jambudvīpa*, the mountain *Kailāśa* is to be found. On the right side of the mountain is *Shambhala*, which has ten million villages. 100,000 villages form a district. *Sambhala* is spelled with a simple S- in the Sanskrit origi-

⁵¹³ Bernbaum. 1985:112-118.

⁵¹⁴ Newman. 1987a:578-654 and Hoffmann. 1969:54-60. See also the later work by Newman. 1995 and Wallace. 2001:115-117.

nal texts. The conclusion is that the original name was *Sambhala*. Interestingly enough, in the Tibetan translation the spelling “*Shambhala*” is already to be found. This might depend on several factors. Perhaps later editions of the text have been changed to Sh- in the Tibetan text. Or perhaps it was written as *Shambhala* from the beginning, something that could be a sign of an independent Tibetan spelling of “*Shambhala*”. This is difficult to know. Newman has communicated that probably Tibetans followed Indian pronunciation. I will follow the Tibetan tradition and write *Shambhala* as this is the historically used designation of this “mythic” country.

Verse 153: Ten of the emanations of the Buddha are presented with the same names as the ten *avatars* of *Vishnu*. This is evidence of a strong vishnuitic influence. Then *Cakrapāṇi* is mentioned, identified with the king *Raudra Cakrin* who is the enemy of the demons who shall reign for 100 years as the 32nd of the lineage of kings in *Shambhala*. For the first time in the text *Raudra Cakrin*, who is going to fight the barbarian *mlecchas*, is mentioned.

Verse 154: This verse is perhaps the best known in the whole of the KCT in western research. Helmut Hoffmann wrote about it in 1969 when he studied the eventual influence of Islam, Christianity and Manicheism on the *Kālacakra*.⁵¹⁵ In this verse, a series of figures are presented who are in the service of the demonic snakes. They are Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, “The white-clad one”, Muhammed and Mathanī. Muhammed is prophesized to be born in the city of Baghdad in the country of Makha. The literary form of prophecy is current in the *Kālacakra* texts as they are written as prophecies of what is going to happen, theoretically being written at the time of the *Śākyamuni Buddha* when he preached the *Kālacakra Tantra* at the *Dhānyakāṭaka stūpa*. Muhammed and his teaching of Islam is presented as a barbaric teaching and consequently the main enemy of Buddhism. The verse has been discussed later, especially by Orofino and Newman.⁵¹⁶

Verse 155: The barbarians are described as killing camels, horses and cattle, boiling the meat with blood and just eating a small piece.

Verse 156: Here it is mentioned that the wisdom body of the *Jina* (*jñānakāya*) is the *Buddha Śākyamuni*. It is also mentioned that the Buddha taught the teachings of the *Vedas*. This is another sign that the old Indian religion had a great influence on late *tantric* Buddhism.

Verse 157: *Kalāpa* is described as the capital of *Shambhala*. The king *Sucandra* is going to install his successor and then seven *nṛpati* (lord of men; the king) will follow. Then the first of twenty-five *kalkins* of the *vajra*-line will be *Śrī Yaśas* who is *Śrī Mañjuvāra/Mañjuśrī*. He shall clarify the *Kālacakra*. The author is here writing about himself, something which is possible because the whole text is written as a prophecy. In the commentary of *Bu-ston* twenty-five *Kalkins* are given.⁵¹⁷ The list is the same as in the introductory commentary of the VP to the whole KCT. Seven *dharmarājas* and twenty-five *kalkins* make thirty-two kings of *Shambhala*. It is interesting that the term *kalkin* is used here as it is a *viṣṇuitic* term for a future ruler in the text *Kalki-purāṇa*.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁵ Hoffmann. 1969/72.

⁵¹⁶ Newman. 1987a and 1995; Orofino and Gnoli. 1994c.

⁵¹⁷ Bu-ston. 1965a

⁵¹⁸ See *Kalki-purāṇa*, the text in Sanskrit has been edited, but there is at present no translation into English.

Verse 159: This verse contains information about the *Raudra Kalkin* as the 25th king. He shall give peace to the holy men, but he shall annihilate the race of the barbarians. He is called *Cakrin* and shall ride on a horse with a short sword in his hand and he shall wipe out all the enemies.

In the verses 160-165, the details of the fight which is going to take place at the time of the *Raudra Kalkin* are described.

Verse 160: When eight successors have been in possession of the throne in the *Kalkin* line in *Shambhala*, the barbarian *dharma* (*mleccha-dharma*) is going to be introduced in the country of Mecca (*Makha*). Then the great battle at the time of *Raudra Kalkin* is predicted.

Verse 161: The *Cakravartin* who is going to rule at the end of this age (*yuga*) is treated. The ruler is coming from the city of the gods (*Kalāpa*) on the mountain of *Kailash*. He is identified as *Raudra Cakrin*, *Rudra Cakrin* or just *Cakrin*. He is going to defeat the barbarians with an army consisting of four parts: *Rudra*, *Skandha*, *Ganendra* and *Hari*. It should be noted here that the names of the Hindu gods are used as names of parts of the army. Both *śivaites* and *viṣṇuites* are taking part in the battle. The four parts of the army are elephants, wagons, horses and infantry.

Verse 162: The numerical strength of the army of the *Kalkin* is given in this verse. There are 90 million mountain horses. The elephants are supposed to be 400,000 in number and supposed to be drunk on wine and there are 500,000 battle carts. There will be six great armies consisting of, among others, rulers from ninety-six families. Finally, it is again said that *Kalkin* together with *Hari* and *Hara* shall annihilate the barbarians with this army - another allusion to the fact that the battle is going to take place together with the *viṣṇuites*, an allusion to the Hindu/Buddhist cooperation in the *Kālacakra Tantra*.

Verse 163: A description of how the fight is going to occur. The ferocious warriors shall defeat the barbarian horde. The lord of the elephants is going to defeat the horde of elephants. The mountain horses are going to defeat the horses from *Sind*. The ninety-six ruling families are going to defeat the lords of the earth. *Hanumān*, the son of *Mahācandra*, shall defeat *Aśvatthāmā* with sharp weapons. *Rudra* shall defeat the protector of the barbarian masters, the lord of the demons. Finally, *Raudra Kalkin* himself is going to defeat *Kṛṣṇmati*, another sign of the syncretism in these teachings.

Verse 164: Here again it is stressed that *Kalkin* together with *Hari* and *Hara* shall defeat the barbarians in a fight with the whole army. Then they are going to the city of the gods where the *Cakrin* is living and there is going to be a state of paradise on earth. The commentary *Padminī-nāma-pañjikā* states that *Cakrin* is *Kālacakra*, something which is completely probable.⁵¹⁹

Verse 165: The end of the description of the battle. It is told that when *Kalkin* has vanquished his enemies he shall produce perfection in the palace of the gods on the back side of the mountain *Kailāsa*, that is, in the capital *Kalāpa*. This event is placed fifty years after the fight with the barbarians. *Brahmā* and *Sureśa*, the sons of the gods and the teachers of men, shall engage in the teachings and *Brahmā* shall be the master of men in *Shāmbhala* and *Sureśa* on the earth in the southern direction.

⁵¹⁹ *Padminī-nāma-pañjikā*, Toh.1350; P.2067, p.67-1-2.

Bu-ston states in his commentary that *Brahmā* and *Sureśa* are the sons of the *Cakrin* and can be placed on the same level as *Mañjuśrī* and *Lokeśvara*.⁵²⁰ According to *mKhas-grub-rje*, *Lokeśvara* is going to be the lord south of the river *Śītā* in the ordinary world and *Mañjuśrī* is going to be lord in the *Kailāśa* area.⁵²¹

Verse 166: Another battle that is to take place later is described. Then the lord of three existences shall cut short the whole of the barbarian teachings. Then, after 800 years and when he has established *Brahmā*, he is going to the place of happiness and after that the partition in castes is going to reappear.

Consequently, humanity is going to continue to exist in good condition after the fight between *Kalkin* and his enemies, but after 850 years there will be a new fight with the barbarians and another good age is going to reappear on earth. This is a good example of the traditional Indian cyclic way of thinking.

According to the VP, each *Kalkin* is going to reign 100 years and consequently the first fight is going to take place in the year 2425 and the next good age is going to last from 2475 to 3375. Then the next fight emerges and after that another good age will come on earth.

Verse 167: The ruler of gods together with the twelve rulers shall again go out and fight and destroy the barbarians. When the barbarian *dharma* is destroyed, the *Cakrin* is going to the place of bliss (*mahāsukha*). *Brahmā* and *Sureśa* are going to be behind and in front (in *Shambhala*). The tradition lineages from *Brahmā* are going to be divided into many lineages. The new fight, which is going to take place a long time after the first, is described.

In these two verses it is actually expressed that there is going to be another fight between the barbarians and the *Cakrin*, so history will repeat itself, according to the prophecy.

In verses 168-169 the cosmic periods are described:

The barbarian *dharma* is going to last for about 1800 years. In our way of calculating time, this would mean the years around the year 2430, which fits well with the appearance of the *Raudra Kalkin* and the fight with the barbarian *mlecchas*. The information in verse 167 is even less comprehensible, as it is foretold that the *mlecchadharmā* is going to come back after 800 years. In contrast, the *Buddhadharma* in verse 169 is said to last for a total of 21,600 years.

The fore-going verses have described the land of *Shambhala* and the eschatological fight between the *Raudra Kalkin* and the *mlecchas*. They describe a coming war which is going to take place in the future on the macrocosmical level. I will now treat the verses KCT II:48-50 where the same theme is treated on the microcosmical level. The war is here taking place inside the body of the practitioner of *Kālacakra* and is a way liberation.

3.2.3.c. The inner battle in *Śrī Kālacakra-nāma-tantra-rāja* and the VP, chapter II *Adhyātma-ṭāṭala*, verses 48-50.

I will first present a synthesis of the basic text KCT and the commentary VP and then I will make some comments on places of importance in the text.

In the verse KCT II:48 the following is found:

⁵²⁰ Bu-ston. 1965a

⁵²¹ mKhas-grub-rje. 1983:1104, line 2 – 1106, line 2.

KCT: The *mleccha*-ruler is the sin (*pāpa*). VP: The *mleccha*-king *Duṣṭa* in the outer is in the body the sinful mind.

KCT: *Kṛṇmati* is the producer of disaster.

VP: That which in the outer is *Kṛṇmati* (bad mind) and produces suffering is in the body the unsound way of the mind.

- *Kṛṇmati* is here obviously not the same as *Rudra* (*Maheśvara*).

In KCT II:49 follows:

KCT: *Aśvatthāmā* is ignorance. VP: That which in the outer was *Aśvatthāmā* becomes in the body the appearance of ignorance (*avidyā*).

- Here *Aśvatthāmā* is the barbarian general who is going to be defeated by *Hanumān* with sharp weapons.

KCT: The whole demon-army is the four-fold army of *Māra*.

VP: That which in the outer was the demon-army consisting of horses, elephants, wagons and infantry becomes in the inner body the four-fold army of *Māra* and becomes annihilated in the battle.

- Here the fight with the *mlecchas* is associated with Buddha's fight with *Māra* when he was tempted at the time of his liberation.

KCT: The annihilation of the demon-army is the fear of existence.

VP: That which in the outer among the *mlecchas* was the annihilation in battle, in the inner becomes the cessation of the fear of existence.

- To destroy the fear of existence is, of course, one of the basic teachings of Buddhism.

KCT: The victorious possesses the way to liberation.

VP: That which in the outer was the victory of *Mahācakrin* and *Kalkin*, is in the body the winning of the way of liberation.

- Here there is a clear comparison of the yearning for liberation in the body with the victory in battle. Liberation is a battle.

KCT: The preaching of the *dharma* at *Kailāśa* is the removal of dangers in the world.

VP: That which in the outer was *Mahācakrin's* gift of the teaching, in one's own body becomes the removal of the desire for existence.

KCT: The earth is the agglomeration of objects.

VP: That which in the outer was the earth filled with resources, becomes in the inner the pure agglomeration of the elements.

- The elements exist also as a basis also for the body, not only for matter in the world.

KCT: In the outer was the two sons of the *Cakrin*, *Brahmā* and *Sureśa*. They are in the rear as well as in the front.

VP: He who in the rear district (= *Shambhala*, on the back side of *Kailāśa*) was a teacher of *dharma* became in a front district (= the ordinary world, on the front side of *Kailāśa*) one who wishes the annihilation of the *mlecchadharmā* (the barbarian *dharma*).

- This means that *Brahmā* and *Sureśa* can move between the world of *Shambhala* and our ordinary world.

In KCT II:50 follows:

KCT: The ruler of the world is *rajas* (the female menstruation blood) and *bodhicitta* (the male semen).

VP: He is *Mañjuśrī*, the ruler of the world, the victor over the three worlds, he becomes in the own body *bodhicitta* and *rajas* and a producer of bliss; and he takes a vow to aspire on Buddhahood.

- The *bodhisattva Mañjuśrī* has a very significant role in the *Kālacakra tantra*. Many of the main figures in the *tantra* are incarnations of *Mañjuśrī*. Here he unites the male and female in himself.

KCT: *Brahmā*, etc., and the clans are the many pure Buddhas.

VP: In the rear district, those who belonged to the *Brahmā* etc.-families becomes many pure Buddhas in the own body and the proper nature of the *skandhas*, *āyatanas* and *dhātus*.

- There were in *Shambhala* a number of clans who ruled the country and they correspond to the *skandhas*, etc., in the body.

KCT: The fight with the *mleccha*-kings is actually taking place in the body of human beings. That which in the *Makha* district is an illusory battle with the barbarians is no battle.

VP: The fight takes place in the body because the battle with the *mleccha* king is tied to the body, in the middle of the body and because the outer is the form of illusion and the *mleccha*-battle in the *Makha*-kingdom is not the battle.

(End of the abbreviated version of the story of Shambhala)

A radical conclusion is given in this verse. The fight is really in the body and is a way of liberation in the Buddhist sense. In the texts, it is obvious that the inner fight has a higher value of truth than the outer. Reading what is actually written in the text, it is said that the fight in the outer world is not going to take place. The famous eschatological battle between the king of *Shambhala*, the *Kalkin*, will not take place and instead it is a method of meditation. The inner way with liberation and illumination is superior. But in the end, because *māyā* (the illusory world) is mentioned in this context, it is possible to imagine that what happens in the outer world indeed is an illusion, but it still has a certain value of reality. The explanation written in these verses is normally not given in the *Kālacakra* initiations where much stress is laid on the point that everybody who participates in the initiation is going to take part in the eschatological battle by the side of the twenty-fifth king of *Shambhala*, the *Raudra Kalkin* in the year 2325. Here it seems rather to be a method of meditation.

Perhaps one could say that in the Tibetan tradition the eschatological content of the text has been stressed more than the meditative content of these verses, or perhaps the eschatological content is used in the meditational practice.

4. THE ĀDIBUDDHA CONCEPT. ITS USE AND MEANING IN THE KĀLACAKRA.

There exists a concept in Buddhism which is not much investigated by western scholars. This is the concept of *Ādibuddha*. It is actually well known in Tibetan Buddhism, and is at the basis of the philosophy of the *bKa'-brgyud-pa* and the *rNying-ma-pa*, because of the *Ādibuddha* figures of *Vajradhara* and *Samantabhadra*. They are principles from where everything has its origin. In other Buddhist countries it can also be found, especially in Japan where *Mahāvajradhara* can be seen as an *Ādibuddha* figure. Also among the Newar Buddhists of Nepal the concept is known, but more in history than today. I will begin by making an overview of earlier research on the *Ādibuddha* concept.

4.1. EARLIER RESEARCH ON THE ĀDIBUDDHA CONCEPT.

In the year 1828, B.H. Hodgson published the first account of the *Ādibuddha*-concept by a western scholar.⁵²² He presented the *Ādibuddha* as a sort of creator god that stood above the four *tathāgatas*, based on the Nepalese material, especially the *Svayambhū purāṇa*, which was written in the 10th century following the model of the Hindu *purāṇas*.⁵²³ This *aiśvarika* system of Nepal had the idea of an *Ādibuddha* that was at the origin of the five *jinas* and had its origin from the "void" (*śūnyatā*).

Hodgson's articles have lately been much criticised lately and perhaps the teachings described by Hodgson were not at all as systematically theistic as he wanted them to be.⁵²⁴

D. Gellner has written an article where he tried to sort out the problems concerning Hodgson's sources for the Nepalese schools of Buddhism and the *Ādibuddha*-concept. His conclusion was that there exists a concept of *Ādibuddha* in the Nepalese Buddhism, but that it is not as "theistic" as has been suggested. The concept is more pantheistic and can hardly be compared to the monotheistic concept of semitic religions. Consequently, the *Ādibuddha* concept is just a part of Newar Buddhism. Many times it is nothing more than a temporal meaning of the word as the "first Buddha". The *Svayambhū Purāṇa* evidently had some connection with the *bodhisattva Mañjuśrī*. The text *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti* (MNS)⁵²⁵ was known and taught at the time of the writing of the *Svayambhū purāṇa*.⁵²⁶ As this text (MNS) was also very important for the *Kālacakra* system and one of the main *Kālacakra* lineages that reached Tibet had its origin in Nepal, namely the *Rva* tradition from the pandit *Samantaśrī* in the last quarter of the 11th century, one can at least put the question if the *Svayambhū purāṇa* did not have some influence on the *Kālacakra* tradition

⁵²² Hodgson. 1874 (1828):35-65. de La Vallée Poussin. 1908:94-95. The latest and best summary of research on the *Ādibuddha* has been done by Grönbold. (Grönbold. 1992:117-139).

⁵²³ de La Vallée Poussin. 1908:94. Mitra. 1971:245-255. The latter is a good summary of the text.

⁵²⁴ Gellner. 1989:7-19.

⁵²⁵ Toh.360.

⁵²⁶ Mitra. 1971:251.

of *Ādibuddha* as it was practised in Tibet? The Nepalese centre for *Mañjuśrī* is at the *Mañjuśrī-caitya* near the great stupa of *Svayambhū*.⁵²⁷

As early as in 1833 Alexander Csoma de Körös wrote a short article on the *Kālacakra Tantra* where he mentioned the concept of *Ādibuddha* in the *Kālacakra-tantra* parting from the *chos-’byung* by the 16th century historian *Padma-dkar-po*.⁵²⁸ He translated a part of the text which actually has its origin in the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary,⁵²⁹ something that Csoma de Körös was not aware of. When in the text it is said that:

“He that does not know the chief first Buddha (*Ādibuddha*), knows not the circle of time (*Kālacakra*)”,⁵³⁰ it is probably only a reference to the root-text called *Paramādibuddha*. The text does not say anything about the properties of the *Ādibuddha*.

This article and the articles by Hodgson opened the way for western researchers seeing another kind of “theistic” buddhism.⁵³¹ As Louis de la Vallée Poussin remarks, the Nepalese concept of *Ādibuddha* did not have the *tantric* female counterpart, as was the normal case in Tibet.⁵³² To conclude, in the 19th century the *Ādibuddha* concept was seen as more theistic than research has shown in more recent years.

The article that was to remain for a long time the main reference on the *Ādibuddha* concept was written, in 1908, by Louis de La Vallée Poussin for the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (ERE).⁵³³ In this article, he tries to analyse the four different systems of *Ādibuddha*, the *aiśvarikas* of Nepal, *Ādibuddha* in the text *Karaṇḍavyūha*, *Ādibuddha* in the *Kālacakra* and the *tantric* *Ādibuddha* as *Vajradhara/Vajrasattva*. He also gives a short treatment to the first mention of *Ādibuddha* in the Buddhist texts. This is in the *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti* (Toh.360), where *Mañjuśrī* is called *Ādibuddha* (verse 55,100)⁵³⁴

The *aiśvarikas* had, according to Hodgson, an idea about the *Ādibuddha* as unoriginated and existing by itself (skt. *svayambhū*). By the power of his *dhyāna* (“meditation”) he created the five *jīnas* (or *dhyānibuddhas*) *Vairocana*, *Akṣobhya*, *Ratnasambhava*, *Amitābha* and *Amoghasiddhi*. This *Ādibuddha* can be seen as a creator god and thereby an expression of a theistic thought-system.

Concerning the mention of *Ādibuddha* in the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*⁵³⁵ text, is a text mainly treating *Avalokiteśvara*, de la Vallée Poussin only remarks that there is a prose version in Tibetan translation from the 7th century that does not mention the *Ādibuddha*.

The later verse version contains a mention of *Ādibuddha*, but then it is not before the other *Ādibuddha* systems.⁵³⁶ Moritz Winternitz took up the question some years later and reached the conclusion that there is no evidence that there existed a theistic *Ādibuddha*

⁵²⁷ Brough. 1948:334.

⁵²⁸ Csoma de Körös. 1833.

⁵²⁹ *Vimalaprabhā* vol. I. 1986:52. Chapter I, subchapter 6.2. I treat this text in detail in chapter 3.2.1., p.72.

⁵³⁰ Csoma de Körös. 1833:58-59 and 1911:21-22.

⁵³¹ Remusat. 1831:25,152; Burnouf. 1876:468,581.

⁵³² de La Vallée Poussin. 1908:94.

⁵³³ de La Vallée Poussin. 1908:93-100.

⁵³⁴ Toh.360. Translated by Wayman. 1985:93 and Davidson. 1981:30,57. I have discussed this place in chapter three.

⁵³⁵ *Kāraṇḍavyūha* 1873.

⁵³⁶ de La Vallée Poussin. 1908:95.

concept in India before the 10th century. The evidence in *Karaṇḍavyūha* is not valid as the poetical version is much later.⁵³⁷

He then finds five antecedents to the *Ādibuddha* system. Among them, he notes the doctrine of the three bodies and the five "*Dhyānibuddhas*" (now called the five *jinās*) and he then tries to locate these systems doctrinally and historically. In my work with the *Kālacakra* texts,^s I have found the system of the four bodies very useful for analysing the *Ādibuddha* concept. The fourth body can be seen as a link to *Ādibuddha*, or can even be considered equal to this concept. de La Vallée Poussin does not mention the fourth body but connects the *dharmakāya* with *Ādibuddha*. In the *Kālacakra*, it is definitely the fourth body that is connected with the *Ādibuddha*.

Louis de La Vallée Poussin then writes about the five *jinās* to whom sometimes a sixth, the former *bodhisattva Vajrasattva* is added. *Amitābha* is sometimes the foremost of the five, otherwise the central *jina* is *Vairocana*. In the third part of his article, de La Vallée Poussin discusses the *Ādibuddha* concept and makes the following statement: "Harmony was attained in various ways, either by raising to the presidency one of the five Buddhas, usually *Vairocana*, the god of the Zenith, or by interposing a sixth person, whether *Mañjuśrī*, or *Vajradhara*, or merely the *Ādibuddha* not otherwise defined."⁵³⁸

In the *Kālacakra* can also be found a system of six *jinās*, the four in each direction and two in the middle. The number six is very important in the *Kālacakra* context. The body also has six *cakras* in the *Kālacakra* system, in contrast to Hindu *Tantrism* where there are seven *cakras*. *Ādibuddha* is called *jinapati* (KCT V:243), which means that he in some way rules or is at the origin of the *jinās*. The word *jinapati* is found at least sixty times in the *laghutantra* (KCT). The word is used mainly for a concept transcending the five *jinās*. To conclude, de La Vallée Poussin writes that the *Ādibuddha* system consists of superimposing on the five or six Buddhas (*Vajrasattva* included) a Being who, however invisible and inactive he may be in principle, is nevertheless a god.

A scholar who had some influence on later research,⁵³⁹ especially in India, is Charles Eliot who in 1921 made some comments on the *Ādibuddha* and the *Kālacakra Tantra*. After making the remark that the *Kālacakra* marks the extreme point of degeneration in Buddhism, he proclaims the theory that the *Kālacakra* and *Ādibuddha* doctrines represents the last effort of Central Asian Buddhism to contend with the Muslims. Instead of denying the bases of Islam, it tried to show that monotheism could also be found in Buddhism. Furthermore, he claimed that the *Ādibuddha* doctrine in the *Kālacakra* was only a variant of the Hindu idea that the Supreme Being became male and female for the purpose of producing the universe.⁵⁴⁰ This evaluation of these doctrines was part of a line of western research on India and Tibet that at the time was making strong statements of condemnation towards all kind of *tantric* practice and philosophy. Concerning Tibetan Buddhism, L.A. Waddell made similar judgements on Tibetan religion.⁵⁴¹ Eliot has been surpassed by modern research having access to the living Tibetan tradition in a way that was inconceivable before the exodus of Tibetan lamas from 1959 and onwards. Eliot seems to have misinterpreted

⁵³⁷ Winternitz. 1920:238-239.

⁵³⁸ de La Vallée Poussin. 1908:99.

⁵³⁹ See for example Hazra. 1986:4-5.

⁵⁴⁰ Eliot. 1921:173, 386-388.

⁵⁴¹ Waddell. 1972 (1895):131.

the basis of the *Ādibuddha* doctrines in the *Kālacakra*. The philosophy of the male and female principles are quite orthodox *mahāyāna/mādhyamika* philosophy of *upāya* and *prajñā*, and there is logical deduction to be found in this philosophy.

An interesting article was written by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya in 1923.⁵⁴² He analysed the concept of *Vajradhara* in two phases. He wrote that up to the beginning of the 10th century *Vajradhara* was an abstract idea. He then presented the etymology of the word *Vajradhara*, which means “holder of the *vajra* (thunderbolt)”. *Vajra* in this context can stand for *Śūnya*, so actually *Vajradhara* means “holder of the Void” and in that sense to be in *Nirvāṇa*. Consequently, in order to be a *Vajradhara* one must have reached the goal in Buddhist meditation, the Void (*Śūnyatā*) or *Nirvāṇa*. *Vajradhara* did not have a form. He had reached the formless realms beyond the *Akaṣṭha* heaven where the *jinas* are dwelling. Bhattacharyya then stated that the concept of *Vajradhara* changed with the *Kālacakra Tantra* in the 10th century and also with the appearance of the *Svayambhū Purāṇa* at about the same time. Then he quotes the famous place in the *Vimalaprabhā* where it quotes what *Tilopa* wrote about *Kālacakra* over the door in the *Nālanda* monastery.⁵⁴³ Bhattacharyya also published an important book that successfully treated the iconography.⁵⁴⁴

Carelli summarized the arguments of *Nāropa* on the *Ādibuddha* in his edition of the *Sekoddeśaṭīkā*. The *Ādibuddha* is the absolute itself, no more a manifestation of it. He is transcendent and still immanent and in his manifestation he divides himself into subject and object. *Ādibuddha* can be considered under two aspects, supreme compassion and unsubstantiality. Unsubstantiality since he is the denial of every existent thing and supreme compassion since he is moved to reveal himself by the infinite compassion that he feels for our beings which do not really exist.⁵⁴⁵

The next important contribution to the study of the *Ādibuddha* concept was the article in the Encyclopaedia of Buddhism by G.P. Malalasekara, Shinten Sakai and Kanyū Kabese.⁵⁴⁶ Malalasekara mostly repeated what was written by de la Vallée Poussin and did not present much new material. About the *Kālacakra* he wrote that “there is thus nothing new or really important in the doctrines of the *Ādi-Buddha*, for to the Indian mind it is implied in the *Trikāya* doctrine of Buddhism, the *Sambhogakāya* being virtually a Hindu *Deva* and the *Dharmakāya*, the pantheos or *Brahma*.”⁵⁴⁷ He also stated that “The fundamental feature of this doctrine is that of a primordial Buddha from whom all other Buddhas are ultimately derived.”⁵⁴⁸ I will later discuss what is the basis of the *Ādibuddha*-theory in the *Kālacakra Tantra*. Suffice it to say that, considering his categoric statements, it seems that Malalasekara did not study the relevant texts.

S. Sakai wrote about the concept in more detail. Referring to the *Nāmasaṅgīti* and the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, he defined the *Ādibuddha* concept as follows: “the *Ādi-Buddha* is the highest spiritual doctrine, while it is also at the same time the highest material origin. It is the name for the essence-body which is not separate from either material or spiritual,

⁵⁴² Bhattacharyya. 1923:113-117.

⁵⁴³ I treat this text in chapter 3. It has been treated by several scholars writing on the *Kālacakra*.

⁵⁴⁴ Bhattacharyya. 1923.

⁵⁴⁵ *Sekoddeśaṭīkā*. 1941:22-23.

⁵⁴⁶ Malalasekara. 1961:213-219.

⁵⁴⁷ Malalasekara. 1961:213.

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid*.

and is material and spiritual at the same time. It is eternal and imperishable. This is the origin of all things in the universe, because the universe is produced and developed by it. This is the one-great-life-body of the universe and is itself separate from both production and destruction. It is the origin of all things and exists in the inconceivable state. Everything is ruled by it.”⁵⁴⁹ I have included this quotation because it gives a definition which is more elaborate and gives quite a good idea about what the *Ādibuddha* doctrine could be, even in the *Kālacakra* context, although his reasoning about the material and the spiritual is somewhat difficult to understand. Sakai mentioned the *Kālacakra Tantra* and the importance of the doctrine there, but when quoting the inscription by *Padma dKar-po* already made known by Csoma de Kőrös, he seems not to have understood the text.⁵⁵⁰

Kanyu Kabese concluded the article on *Ādibuddha*, writing about *Ādi-Buddha* in Tibetan and Japanese Buddhism. He brought back the origin of the three and five “*dhyāni-Buddhas*” in the *Mahāvairocana sutra* and the *Tattva-saṃgraha sutra* respectively. From these doctrines evolved the concept of *Ādibuddha* or *Vajradhara*, having its basis mainly in the *Guhya-samāja tantra*. The transcendental body, speech and mind represents by its nature an assembly of all the Buddhas and this was called the Great *Vajradhara* or the All-Buddha. *Vajradhara* is the essence (*ātman*) of the the Buddha-families, the *Ādibuddha*, the body of wisdom (*jñāna-kāya*) and without beginning or end. This way of reasoning seems somewhat strange in the Tibetan context.

The reasoning of K.Kabese on the Japanese form of the *Ādibuddha* concept is clearer. *Ādibuddha* is the *Mahāvairocana Tathagata* as the *dharmakāya* of the Six Great Ones (the “*dhyāni-Buddhas*”). “All Buddhas, bodhisattvas and other incarnated beings are the reflected bodies, or reflexes, or the incarnate bodies of the *Ādi-Buddha*. The *Ādi-Buddha* is the “whole” Buddha and a *dhyāni-Buddha* is a “partial” Buddha, and they are respectively called “universal gate” and “one-gate”.”⁵⁵¹ Kabese then refers to the difference between Tibetan and Japanese *Ādibuddha* concepts. In the Tibetan tradition the *Ādibuddha* is *Samantabhadra* and *Vajradhara* and in the Japanese tradition, the *Ādibuddha* is the *dharmakāya*, *Vairocana*. The reason for that according to Kabese is a difference in the interpretation of the *Mahāvairocana sutra*.⁵⁵²

John Newman has a footnote in his dissertation where he compares a passage on *Ādibuddha* in the *Vimalaprabhā* to a commentary text to the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* called *Vajramālā* (the dating is difficult, but it should be long before the appearance of the *Kālacakra* texts) and in that way, the *Ādibuddha* concept could be linked with the *Kālacakra* system long before it appeared openly. Newman suspects that this is a quotation from the *Vimalaprabhā* and in that way interpolated in the *Vajramālā* later, otherwise it would be a proof of that the *Kālacakra Tantra* is older, something that is not probable.⁵⁵³

Several other scholars have written on the iconography of *Ādibuddha*. Alice Getty wrote quite extensively about the different manifestations of *Ādibuddha*.⁵⁵⁴ Others were A.

⁵⁴⁹ Malalasekara (Shinten Sakai). 1961:217.

⁵⁵⁰ Malalasekara (Shinten Sakai). 1961:218.

⁵⁵¹ Malalasekara (Kanyu Kabese). 1961:218.

⁵⁵² Malalasekara (Kanyu Kabese). 1961:219.

⁵⁵³ Newman. 1987a:354-355, note 48. For the content of the verse see also later in chapter 4 on VP I.4.

⁵⁵⁴ Getty. 1928.

Gordon, and, later, D.I. Lauf, Chögyam Trungpa, Lokesh Chandra and Wolfgang Schumann, who made an interesting systematic review of the different aspects of *Ādibuddha*.⁵⁵⁵ More recently, there have been works published on the iconography of Buddhism where *Ādibuddha* deities have a place.⁵⁵⁶

The most recent and also the most important work on the *Ādibuddha* concept is the article by Günter Grönbold in 1992.⁵⁵⁷ He edited and translated two short works on the *Ādibuddha* in the Tibetan canon. As an introduction to the texts, he wrote, an overview of the *Ādibuddha* concept in the texts and in western research. The earliest text where Grönbold found the word *Ādibuddha* is the *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṃkāra* by Maitreya-nātha (3rd or 4th century). He concluded that in this context *Ādibuddha* only signifies a pure chronological aspect. It was the first Buddha among many to come.⁵⁵⁸

In the *Tattvasaṅgraha* text, Grönbold could not find any allusion to the *Ādibuddha* as said in the article in EB. In the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, the concept as purely temporal (the first Buddha) exists once more. Even in a Hindu text, Grönbold found one place where the *Ādibuddha* can be found, the *Gauḍapāda-kārikā*. A temporal meaning of the word is obvious in that text.⁵⁵⁹ Next, the *Guhyaśamāja Tantra* was examined. In this text the word *Ādibuddha* was not found, but the corresponding concept is there. The word *Bodhicittava-jra* should be the *Vajradhara* and there seems to be a monotheistic and emanationist view expressed in the text. Grönbold found that it is not really an *Ādibuddha* concept.⁵⁶⁰ Next Grönbold treated the *Ādibuddha* concept in the *Mañjuśrī*-texts. Grönbold interpreted the famous place in MNS 100 as temporal, that is, that *Mañjuśrī* was enlightened from the beginning. The text does not state that he was a creator of the world. In a few other texts, Grönbold found that *Ādibuddha* simply could be interpreted as in Hinduism, that one god is exalted above the others and given very high epithets.⁵⁶¹

Grönbold then made the first ever intent to clarify the *Ādibuddha*-concept in the *Kālacakra Tantra*. He quoted from both the *laghutantra* and the commentary *Vimala-prabhā*.

Studying these texts, I found approximately the same quotations and therefore I leave the detailed commentaries of Grönbolds interpretations to chapter four, below.

Grönbold arrived at the conclusion that *Ādibuddha* could mean different things in the *Kālacakra* context. It can be purely temporal, often it can stand only as the name of the *Kālacakra* texts, it can stand in an enumeration of Buddhas and bodhisattvas without any specified meaning and finally, it can stand as a personification of the highest principle which also implies that it can stand for the impersonal concepts of *śūnya* (the Void), *Tathatā*, *Mahāsukha* (the great Bliss), etc. I think that the concept can be more specific as

⁵⁵⁵ Bhattacharya. 1923:113-117; Gordon. 1952:54,63; D.I. Lauf. 1976:100, 132; Jackson & Jackson. 1984:51; D.I. Lauf. 1979:24-27, 34-37, 102-103; Trungpa. 1978:37-43, 88-89; Chandra, L. 1996:73-80, 188-89; Schumann. 1986:104-114.

⁵⁵⁶ Rhie & Thurman. 1996:343-348,357-360,430,480,481.

⁵⁵⁷ Grönbold. 1992:111-161.

⁵⁵⁸ Grönbold. 1992:118-119.

⁵⁵⁹ Grönbold. 1992:119-120.

⁵⁶⁰ Grönbold. 1992:121-122.

⁵⁶¹ Grönbold. 1992:122-124.

shown later.⁵⁶² Grönbold also studied some of the Tibetan works on the *Kālacakra*, arriving at the conclusion that, concerning the *Trikāya* system, *Ādibuddha* has a position above the *dharmakāya* concept. In some texts, it is obvious that *Ādibuddha* actually represents the fourth body which is mostly called the *svābhāvikakāya*. I later show that this can also be seen also in the basic texts. Finally, sometimes *Ādibuddha* can stand for the historical *Śākyamuni Buddha*, something that I have also found in the basic texts.⁵⁶³

Grönbold then commented that the *Ādibuddha* concept can also be found in other texts. Returning to Hodgson's concept of *Ādibuddha* in the Nepalese buddhism, Grönbold then made an analysis of his sources, the MNS, the *Guṇakaraṇḍavyūha* and the *Svayambhū-purāṇa*. As mentioned previously when discussing De La Vallée Poussin, the *Karaṇḍavyūha* was a late version that mentioned the *Ādibuddha*, that he was *Svayambhū* and had created the world through meditation. The text is very late (11th century) and very syncretistic. Consequently, the *Ādibuddha* concept was very influenced by Hinduism. This shows itself from the fact that it also had its origin in the *Svayambhū-purāṇa*. The name itself is the type of name given to a Hindu text and the text itself is even later than the *Karaṇḍavyūha*.⁵⁶⁴

Finally, Grönbold noted that there existed a kind of Buddhist/Hindu syncretism in Java around year 1000. In that type of Buddhism, there is a mention of *Ādibuddha* in one of the *Vajrayāna*-texts. There, the concept was regarded as something "absolute" and having the principle of *advaya* (non-dualistic). The concept was consequently more widely spread than expected.⁵⁶⁵

It is not easy to find *Ādibuddha* depicted in art before the Tibetan *thang-kas* and sculpture depicting various forms of *Ādibuddha* in later periods. Grönbold found some that are coronated and therefore, in many cases, is an *Ādibuddha* figure. A better characteristic of *Ādibuddha* is that his arms are crossed in order to symbolize the union of opposites (*prajñā – upāya*; method and wisdom).⁵⁶⁶ No depiction of an early *Ādibuddha* existed.

Grönbold also wrote another article on the concept of *Ādibuddha*, "Weitere *Ādibuddha*-Texte", where he has translated and commented upon three texts treating the *Ādibuddha* concept.⁵⁶⁷ The texts were brought from Nepal by B.H. Hodgson in the 19th century. The texts are relatively late and treat the special form of Buddhism which exists in Nepal. The *Ādibuddha* is there seen as an immanent form of the ultimate reality. Grönbold considered these teachings to be influenced by Hinduism and approaching a sort of monotheistic religion developing very late in Nepal. This form of *Ādibuddha* is not the same as the concept which I have found in the *Kālacakra Tantra*.

The latest contribution which treats the concept of *Kālacakra* is Wallace in her recent work on the second chapter of the KCT.⁵⁶⁸ Wallace noted that the *Ādibuddha* concept in the *Kālacakra Tantra* is primarily related to the corresponding concept in the *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti*. *Ādibuddha* is called the Primordial Buddha because he was the first to obtain

⁵⁶² Grönbold. 1992:124-128.

⁵⁶³ Grönbold. 1992:128-131.

⁵⁶⁴ Grönbold. 1992:131-133.

⁵⁶⁵ Grönbold. 1992:133-134.

⁵⁶⁶ Grönbold. 1992:135. Hoffmann. 1968:361-378.

⁵⁶⁷ Grönbold. 1995.

⁵⁶⁸ Wallace. 2001.

Buddhahood by means of the unchanging bliss characterized by perfect awakening in a single moment. In the *Vimalaprabhā* the word *ādi* means “without beginning or end” and without origination and cessation. She stressed in her work that in the *Kālacakra* tradition, this refers to the “innate gnosis” (*sahaja-jñāna*) that pervades the minds of all sentient beings and stands as the basis for both *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*. When the *tantra* speaks of the *Ādibuddha* as the one who first attained perfect enlightenment by means of unchanging bliss, it is referring to the actual realization of one’s own *sahaja-jñāna*. Wallace’s conclusion was that *Ādibuddha* refers to the ultimate nature of one’s own mind and to the one who has realized the innate nature of one’s own mind by means of purificatory practices.⁵⁶⁹ This interpretation of the *Ādibuddha* concept is what can be found on for example, the International Kalachakra Network’s pages on the Internet and is the definition of the practitioner.⁵⁷⁰ I am not wholly convinced that this psychological interpretation is the only way of interpreting the concept. The texts themselves undoubtedly also contain the cosmological side of the *Ādibuddha* concept. I will return to this discussion later.

Finally G. Toffin has done interesting work on the Newar Buddhists of the Kathmandu valley. For example, the city of Patan has a *Vajrayāna* Buddhist geography. The centre of the city was planned to host a *stūpa* for *Vairocana*, who is the central “*Ādibuddha*” figure of the five jinas in the Newar Buddhism. The five *jinas* are also worshipped with *Vajrasattva* as the *Ādibuddha*, as is also the *stūpa* of *Svayambhūnāth*, which is at the origin of the *Ādibuddha* idea.⁵⁷¹

4.2. THE ĀDIBUDDHA CONCEPT IN THE KĀLACAKRA TANTRA.

4.2.a. Introduction to the texts.

In this chapter, the following three texts will be treated: *Paramādibuddha* (P), *Paramādibuddhoddhṛta Śrī Kālacakra-tantra-rāja* (the *laghutantra*) (KCT), *Vimalaprabhā* (VP). For a description of these texts see chapter 3.1.

For this chapter I have also consulted the published translations especially the unpublished thesis by John Newman, *The Outer Wheel of Time: Vajrayāna Buddhist Cosmology in the Kālacakra Tantra* from 1987. He has translated the verses 1-27 and 128-170 of the first chapter of the KCT and the *Vimalaprabhā*. The translations in the chapter are by me with assistance from the late lecturer in Sanskrit Klas Hagren of the Department of Indology at Uppsala University. The Sanskrit of these two texts has been edited by B. Banerjee⁵⁷² and J. Upadhyaya, S.Rinpoche, V.Dwivedi and S.S.Bahulkar⁵⁷³ in India and the Ti-

⁵⁶⁹ Wallace. 2001:17-18.

⁵⁷⁰ The International Kalachakra Network, www.kalachakranet.org

⁵⁷¹ Toffin 2000:48-49, 68.

⁵⁷² Banerjee. 1985.

⁵⁷³ Vimalaprabhāṭikā Vol.I. 1986; Vimalaprabhāṭikā Vol.II. 1994; Vimalaprabhāṭikā Vol.III. 1994.

betan translation is found in the Tibetan Canon and in the complete works of Bu-ston.⁵⁷⁴ The complete chapter 1 of the KCT has also been translated to German by B. Banerjee.⁵⁷⁵ I have also used the translations of Wallace 1995 and Hartzell 1997.

4.2.b. *Ādibuddha*.

The word *Ādibuddha* itself is found in very few places in the text *Śrī Kālacakra-tantra-rāja* (KCT). The meaning of the concept *Ādibuddha* can be found in many more places in the text. The deity *Kālacakra* is actually, in some places, to be equalled with *Ādibuddha*. Quotations will be given later in the text.

The first mention of *Ādibuddha* is to be found in the very title of the *tantra*, *Paramādibuddhodhṛta-Śrī-Kālacakratantra-rāja*, which means that the text is drawn out of the original text which is called *Paramādibuddha*. This text is supposed to be the original lost *mūlatantra* (root-*tantra*) and the title can be translated as “the supreme primordial Buddha.” but as the word *ādi* also can mean “the first” it can also mean “the supreme first (original) Buddha”. This double sense of *ādi* is a regular theme in the *Kālacakra* texts. Most of the time the word *Ādibuddha* signifies the name of the text. At many other occasions it has a temporal meaning “the Buddha who first reached enlightenment”.

In the *Kālacakra* system, the *Ādibuddha*-concept is central, although it is rarely mentioned under this name. *Ādibuddha* is expressed in the whole text as it is said in the *Vimalaprabhā*. The *tantra* text is expressive of the *Kālacakra* (god), and, as *Kālacakra* = *Ādibuddha*, the nature of *Ādibuddha* (god) is to be expressed (*vācya*) and *Ādibuddha* expresses the *tantra* text.⁵⁷⁶ Consequently, essentially it would be necessary to resume the whole *tantra* text, but here a more practical approach was taken and I limited my research to the concept *Ādibuddha* as it is expressed in the text.

To begin, a repertory was made of all the places where I found the word *Ādibuddha* in the *Śrī Kālacakra* (KCT) and in the first chapter of the Great Commentary *Vimalaprabhā* (VP) and then I analysed the concepts. There is an introduction in the first chapter of the VP which is very interesting as it summarizes the ideology of the *tantra*.

The concept of *Ādibuddha* has many different connotations in the texts, or rather, it is possible to deduce that there can be a kind of common concept behind the different terms which can be called “*Ādibuddha*” The different terms are as follows, according to Louis de La Vallée Poussin:

Kālacakra, *Vajrasattva*, *Vajradhara*, *Vajrakāya*, *Jinavarajanaka* (the progenitor of the best of jinas), *Jinajanaka* (progenitor of jinas), *Jinendra* (*jina-indra*), *jinapati* (master of jinas), *tribhuvanajanaka* (progenitor of the three worlds), *Śrī vajrī*, *Śrī janetrī*, *tribhuvanajanānin*, *Vajravega* (the fierce aspect), *anāhata* (indestructible), *vajrayoga* and *viśvarūpa*.⁵⁷⁷

These terms are interpretations by de La Vallée Poussin and it could be questioned if they really express the *Ādibuddha* concept. The concept loses a great deal of its meaning

⁵⁷⁴ KCT in Toh.362 and 1346. VP in Toh.845 and 1347. Bu-ston. 1965abcde.

⁵⁷⁵ Banerjee. 1959. An annotated translation without the VP commentary.

⁵⁷⁶ *Vimalaprabhā* I in VP Vol.I. 1986:18; Newman. 1987a:274.

⁵⁷⁷ de La Vallée Poussin. 1908:95.

when it is so widely defined. In any case, it is clear from the context that there was something called *Ādibuddha* that existed at the time when the *Kālacakra* texts were written. The problem remains if there really exists a concept with this content and if there does exist a coherent concept of *Ādibuddha* in the texts or if there are many different concepts related to each other but not necessarily united?

The word *Paramādibuddha* is used in different ways in the *Śrī-Kālacakra-tantra-rāja* and the *Vimalaprabhā*. It can signify the *Kālacakra maṇḍala*, the *Buddha Śākyamuni* as *Ādibuddha* when he teaches the *Kālacakra*, the deity *Kālacakra* himself, and for the text *Paramādibuddha*, the *mūlatantra* itself.⁵⁷⁸ *Paramādibuddha* is another word for the *mūlatantra* and *Ādibuddha* can be a designation for the *laghutrantra* or the *mūlatantra*. When mentioned in other contexts, the *Kālacakra Tantra* is often called the *Ādibuddha Tantra*.

4.2.1 *Ādibuddha* in the *Śrī-Kālacakra-tantra-rāja* (KCT) and the *Vimalaprabhā* (VP).

In this chapter, I treat the *Ādibuddha*-concept in the two texts KCT and VP. In spite of KCT being the basic text for the VP commentary, I will discuss them together. They were transferred together and the commentary is of great importance. I will treat them in the order of chapters, beginning with the first introductory chapters of the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary and then continuing with the verses of the KCT with the commentary.

4.2.1.a. *Ādibuddha* in the the *Śrī Kālacakra-tantra-rāja* (KCT) and the *Vimalaprabhā* (VP) commentary to chapter I - *Lokadhātupaṭalaḥ* - the chapter on the outer world.

The *Vimalaprabhā* commentary is, like the *Śrī Kālacakra-tantra-rāja* (KCT), divided into five chapters (*paṭala*) and a number of subchapters called "great brief accounts" (*mahoddeśa*). VP. I.1 is: *Vimalaprabhā*, chapter I (*Lokadhātupaṭala*) and subchapter 1 (*mahoddeśa*).⁵⁷⁹ A considerable portion of the quotations are from the first chapter, it being a sort of introduction to the whole commentary containing many general ideas valid for the whole of the text. The first three *mahoddeśas*⁵⁸⁰ are introductory and there exists, for example, a table of contents for the whole VP text in the second subchapter (*mahoddeśa*).⁵⁸¹

As a start some places in the *Vimalaprabhā* where the word *Ādibuddha* or *Paramādibuddha* clearly stands for the *mūlatantra* (the root-tantra) and nothing else will be mentioned.⁵⁸²

⁵⁷⁸ A good example of all these meanings can be found in the VP I.2 in VP vol.I. 1986:12; Newman. 1987a:245-246.

⁵⁷⁹ For details see the chapter "Survey of the contents of the ideas".

⁵⁸⁰ *Vimalaprabhā* Vol.I. 1986:1-30 and Newman. 1987a:221-316.

⁵⁸¹ *Vimalaprabhā* Vol.I. 1986:12-14 and Newman. 1987a:248-260.

⁵⁸² Some technical information: The reference to the *Kālacakra* texts are as follows.

The *Śrī-Kālacakra-tantra-rāja* (the *laghutrantra*) has been edited in Sanskrit three times. First, the edition by Lokesh Chandra in 1966, then the edition by B.Banerjee in 1985 and lastly in the edition of the *Vimala-*

Vimalaprabhā Chapter (*paṭalaḥ*) I. 2 (second *mahoddeśa*) in VP vol.I 1986:19, line 16; VP I.2 in VP vol.I 1986:19, line 19; VP I.2 in VP vol.I 1986:19, line 27; VP I.2 in VP vol.I 1986:21, line 24 and 27; VP I.3 in VP vol.I 1986:24, line 8 and 13; VP I.3 in VP vol.I 1986:29, line 2, 14, 16 and 17; VP I.4 in VP vol.I 1986:30, line 17,16 and 23; VP I.4 in VP vol.I 1986:32, line 15 and 24; VP I.4 in VP vol.I 1986:33, line 8 and 16; VP I.4 in VP vol.I 1986:34, line 1; VP I.4 in VP vol.I 1986:37, line 8; VP I.4 in VP vol.I 1986:38, line 7; VP I.6 in VP vol.I 1986:47, line 1; VP I.6 in VP vol.I 1986:51, line 29 (in the *mūlatantra paramādibuddha*); VP I.6 in VP vol.I 1986:52, line 5, 7; VP I.7 in VP vol.I 1986:52, line 12; VP I.7 in VP vol.I 1986:53, line 24; VP I.7 in VP vol.I 1986:65, line 21; VP I.8 in VP vol.I 1986:89, line 25; VP II.1 in VP vol.I 1986:157, line 12; VP II.7 in VP vol.I 1986:256, line 1 (*paramādibuddha* is the *mūlatantra*!); VP III.5 in VP vol.II 1994:107, line 10; VP III.5 in VP vol.II 1994:108, line 4; VP III.6 in VP vol.II 1994:148, line 4; VP IV.1 in VP vol.II 1994:150, line 14;

In the following, I present quotations from the KCT and the VP where the word *Ādibuddha* is a little more elaborated on and more information on the concept can be found. I begin with quoting the first lines of the first subchapter (*mahoddeśa*) of the first chapter *Lokadhātupaṭala* of the *Vimalaprabhā*. It is the first of the three introductory subchapters of the VP. These verses are a type of homage to *Kālacakra*, *Ādibuddha* and others. This first subchapter is comprised of 102 verses giving homage to the content of the VP:

*namaḥ śrīkālacakrāya śūnyatākaraṇātmane /
tribhavotpattikṣayābhāvajñānājñeyaikaamūrttaye //*⁵⁸³

Homage to *Kālacakra*, who has as his content emptiness and compassion, without origination or annihilation of the three existences, who is regarding a consistent embodiment of knowledge and objects of knowledge as non-existent.⁵⁸⁴

This is probably a definition/homage to *Kālacakra* as the protective deity, the *yidam*. He is endless, without beginning, and *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā*, which are all also referring to the *Ādibuddha* concept. Another interpretation, which seems less probable from the context, is that the word *Kālacakra* here is referring to the text (KCT). The commentator then should be honoring the text. Referring to the first interpretation, the problem of the interpretation of the *Ādibuddha* concept has already been stated. *Kālacakra* is said to be eternal and consists of both emptiness and compassion. The same concept is later applied to the *Ādibuddha*. Is then the concept of *Kālacakra* equal to the concept of *Ādibuddha*? This question will be addressed later.

Another of the introductory verses of the first chapter of the VP is given below:

prabhā texts. The *Vimalaprabhā* texts have been edited in three Volumes. VP Volume I. 1986 contains chapter 1 and 2; VP vol.II (1994) contains chapter 3 and 4 and finally, VP Volume III contains chapter 5.

I normally refer to the latest printed VP editions of both texts.

⁵⁸³ *Vimalaprabhā* I.1. in VP vol.I. 1986:1, line 1.

⁵⁸⁴ The following quotations from *Vimalaprabhā*, chapter I, subchapter 1 (VP I.1) have been translated by Newman. 1987a:221-227.

sākārā ca (pi) ⁵⁸⁵ *nirākṛtir bhagavatī prajñā tayālīṅgita*
utpādayavyavarjito 'kṣarasukho hāsyādi saukhyojjhitaḥ /
buddhānām janakas trikāyasahitas traikālyasaṃvedakaḥ
sarvajñaḥ paramādibuddhabhagavān vande tam evādvayam // ⁵⁸⁶

To the one embraced by the *Bhagavatī Prajñā*,⁵⁸⁷ the one who is aspectless although possessing aspect; to the one who has the bliss of the unchanging and who has abandoned the pleasures of laughter and so forth; to the progenitor of the Buddhas, without origination and annihilation, possessing the three bodies, rightly knowing the three times - the omniscient *Bhagavān Paramādibuddha*, I worship that very non-duality. //

Here various aspects of *paramādibuddha* are being presented; non-duality, unchanging bliss, progenitor of the Buddhas, possessing the three bodies, knowing the three times, without origination and annihilation, with aspects though without aspects and omniscient. Here, for the first time, the main aspects of the *Ādibuddha* are clearly presented.

At the beginning of the verse his consort, *Viśvamāta*, is mentioned. When *Kālacakra* is embraced by his consort in the iconography, it is a representation of the two opposites *prajñā* and *upāya*, male and female, etc. Is it here stated that *Paramādibuddha* is *Kālacakra*? At the end of the verse it is said that *Paramādibuddha* is the non-duality (*advaya*). How can that be consistent with the two statements in the same verse? I think that it is not a great problem as sometimes *Kālacakra* is identified with *Ādibuddha*/*Paramādibuddha* and sometimes he is presented as one of the two polarity principles. The ambiguity of the concepts therefore is quite clear. The problem becomes even more complicated when one considers the concept of the fourth body *Sahajakāya*, and the concept of *paramākṣara*, the supreme unchanging. I will return to this problem later.

The next concept is that of being aspectless although possessing aspect.

This is the kind of contradictory statements very common in the *mahāyāna* philosophy. It is possibly a way of saying that there is something beyond the aspects.

The concept of "progenitor of the Buddhas" is also somewhat enigmatic. By the Buddhas in these texts and referring to the *Kālacakra maṇḍala* are probably meant the five *jinās*. They consequently have their origin in the *Paramādibuddha*. In the centre of the *Kālacakra maṇḍala*, the deity *Kālacakra* is normally depicted as being embraced by his female consort. They represent the union of opposites and the final goal of *mahāsukha* or *sūnyatā*. Sometimes *Akṣobhya* and *Vairocana* are situated in the centre of the *maṇḍala*. The other four *jinās*, *Amitābha*, etc., have their place in the four directions. Consequently, when it is stated that *Paramādibuddha* is the progenitor of the Buddhas, it is probably meant that he is at the origin of the five *jinās*, corresponding to the concept of *Ādibuddha* as being a transcendental original principle. It is not said that *Paramādibuddha* creates the Buddhas, and in consequence the world, but they have originated from the *Ādibuddha*.

⁵⁸⁵ *Api* from the Tibetan *kyang*.

⁵⁸⁶ Vimalaprabhā. I.1. in VP vol.I 1986:1, line 3.

⁵⁸⁷ From the context it seems that here is meant the female consort of *Kālacakra* called *Viśvamāta* (the all-mother). The two are mostly depicted in the *yab-yum* (father-mother) position in the iconography.

Paramādibuddha is not created and also without a final ending. The same characteristics, although not with the same words were given to *Kālacakra* in the preceding verse. *Ādibuddha* consequently, has as one of "his" main characteristics being eternal, beyond the changing world. This is, of course, not a new idea in Buddhism. It was *Śākyamuni* Buddhas main philosophical question from the beginning. Suffering (*duḥkha*) is that which changes. *Nirvāṇa* is to go beyond that which changes. Is there then something new with the *Ādibuddha* concept in this respect, or is it just another designation of *nirvāṇa*, or as it is designated in later Buddhism, emptiness (*śūnyatā*) or the great bliss (*mahāsukha*)? There seems to be some difference in the meaning as in early Buddhism it seems as though *nirvāṇa* does not have much to do with the beginning of the world, however *Ādibuddha* has the quality of being at the origin of the world. Consequently one cannot say that *Ādibuddha* can be equalled to *nirvāṇa*. The principle of *Ādibuddha* stands for a different sort of timelessness.

Paramādibuddha is also said to possess the three bodies which probably means the three *trikāya* system of *Dharmakāya*, *Sambhogakāya* and *Nirmāṇakāya*. This is not really in line with the teaching of four bodies of the Buddha which is taught in general in the *Kālacakra* texts. The solution to this is evidently to consider that *Paramādibuddha* himself is considered the fourth body, or, as is expressed in other *mahāyāna* theories of the four bodies, the fourth body is a sort of essence of the other three and therefore not always mentioned.⁵⁸⁸

Knowing the three times, past, present and future, is another of the concepts associated with the *Paramādibuddha*. It is a state of being beyond time which in extrapolation could imply a theory of predestination. *Paramādibuddha* knows the future and consequently the future must in some way exist. It implies the concept of omniscience also mentioned here. To predict the future is nothing new in Buddhist philosophy. *Buddha Śākyamuni* made many prophecies. The very basic *Kālacakra* text (KCT) is a sort of prophecy because one can find in it many historical events and personalities like Christ and Muhammed whose existences were predicted by Buddha long before their historical existence. Consequently, knowledge of the three times was not a privilege of *Paramādibuddha* alone.

Omniscience (*sarvajñā*) is a quality given to *Ādibuddha* in several places in the texts. It could mean something in the way of thinking just described. By knowing everything at all times, one is all-knowing.

The non-duality concept (*advaya*) is something mentioned repeatedly as a qualification of *ādibuddha* or *paramādibuddha*. In *mahāyāna* philosophy, it is beyond *prajñā* and *upāya* (wisdom/method; male/female). This is a key concept of *Ādibuddha* because he must, by definition, be beyond the dualities in the world.

The next quotation is also from the first page of the VP.:

*buddhaṃ siṃhāsanasthaṃ tribhuvanamahitaṃ vajrayogaṃ viśuddhaṃ
tattvaṃ kāyaprabhedair abhavabhavagataṃ śoḍaśākāram ekam /
jñānajñeyaikaabhūtaṃ jīnavarasamayaṃ dvādaśākāram aṅgaiḥ
sattvārthaṃ bodhicittaṃ jīnakulīśapadaṃ kālacakraṃ praṇāmya //*⁵⁸⁹

The Buddha sitting on the lion throne, the pure *vajrayoga* worshipped in

⁵⁸⁸ Makransky. 1990:138-142.

⁵⁸⁹ Vimalaprabhā I.1 in VP vol.I. 1986:1, line 7 ; Vimalaprabhā I.1 in VP Vol.I. 1986:1, line 11.

the three existences, a single reality having sixteen aspects due to the division in bodies (*kāyaprabheda*),⁵⁹⁰ who has gone beyond existence and origination, the unity of knowledge and objects of knowledge, an assembling of what is the best of the *jinas*, the true aim having twelve aspects due to the parts, *bodhicitta*, the thunderbolt abode of the *jina*.
I worship this *Kālacakra*.

Here allusion is probably made to *Buddha Śākyamuni* as teaching the *Kālacakra*. When teaching, *Buddha* is transformed into *Kālacakra* and sits on the lion throne. The subject of the connection between the teachings of the four bodies (*kāyas*) of the Buddha and the *Ādibuddha* is also touched on as sixteen aspects of the bodies, which makes four aspects on each body.

Next, still on the first page of the VP, is the very introductory verse of homage to the *Ādibuddha* which for the first time in the text gives the important characteristics of the word:

*sarvajño jñānakāyo jinapatisahajo dharmakāyas tathā
sambhogo nirmāṇakāyo 'pi dinakaravapuḥ padmapatrāyatākṣaḥ /
yogaḥ śuddho vimokṣair gatabhavavibhavaḥ kāyavākcittarāgaḥ
prajñopāyādvāyo yo nṛsuradanunutas taṃ prāṇamyādibuddham //*⁵⁹¹

Just like [he is] omniscient, the *jñānakāya*, the master of *jinas*, the *sahaja* [*kāya*], and the *dharmakāya*, [he is] the *sambhoga* [*kāya*] and the *nirmāṇakāya*. [He is] an embodiment of the day-maker⁵⁹² [and has his] eyes spread out like lotus petals, [he is] in the pure union gone beyond origination and dissolution through the liberations of the body, speech, mind and passion, [he is] non-dual wisdom and method [and] praised by gods, men, and demons. I worship this *Ādibuddha* //

This is the most explicit reference to *Ādibuddha* in the *Vimalaprabhā*. The author relates all the aspects as a homage at the beginning of the text. He gives several aspects of the *Ādibuddha* as follows:

- Omniscient (*sarvajñā*) – someone who knows everything in the world. See above (p.104).
- The knowledge body (*jñānakāya*) – this qualification is given at several places in the text to *Ādibuddha* and can sometimes be regarded as another designation of the fourth of the four bodies of the Buddha, normally designated in the *Kālacakra* texts as *Sahajakāya*. It is also sometimes given as a personification of the wisdom of Buddha as it is described in the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakra-tantra-rāja*, the *Jñāna-patalaḥ* (the

⁵⁹⁰ The sixteen aspects of reality are explained in *Vimalaprabhā* Vol.I. 1986:45 and translated in Newman. 1987a:376-377. The aspect are the four joys (*ānanda*) connected in different ways with *jñāna* (wisdom), *citta* (mind), speech and body. All these aspects also have a connection with the theory of the four *kāyas* (bodies), who here are called *Sahajakāya*, *Dharmakāya*, *Sambhogakāya* and *Nirmāṇakāya*. The sixteen realities are also explained in the *Vimalaprabhā* Vol.I. 1986:8 and translated in Newman. 1987a:236.

⁵⁹¹ *Vimalaprabhā* I.1 in VP vol.I. 1986: 1, line 11.

⁵⁹² The sun.

chapter on knowledge). *Jñāna* in that chapter seems to be the knowledge needed in order to reach the state of the wisdom of the supreme unchanging bliss (*pa-ramākṣarasukhajñāna*).

- The master of *jinās*, that is, the *sahajakāya* – the concept of *sahaja* is very complex in Buddhist *tantric* philosophy.⁵⁹³ Kvaerne translates it as “simultaneously-born”, the literal meaning of the word. In this context, it can suffice to say “innate”. The master of *jinās* related to the concept of *sahajakāya* probably signifies that *Ādibuddha* is at the origin of the five *jinās* (see above, p.102) and not himself produced by anyone else. *Jinapati* is a common word in the *Kālacakra* texts and at several places it is identified with the *Ādibuddha* concept.⁵⁹⁴ It can even be said to be one of the main words for denoting the concept of *Ādibuddha* in the *Kālacakra* texts as the word “*Ādibuddha*” is extremely rare.

- Then are mentioned the other three bodies of the Buddha: *dharma*-, *sambhoga*-, and *nirmāṇakāya* which, in this context, only means that as the world is manifesting itself in more non-subtler ways, it is still the *Ādibuddha* who is behind this development. This problem will be treated in the chapter on the four bodies.

- The day-maker (sun) (*dinakaravapu*)– this designation is perhaps only there in order to connect *Ādibuddha* with the most powerful force in nature, the sun. It also represents the *sambhogakāya*.

- Eyes spread out like lotus petals (*padmapatrāyatākṣa*) – It could be an honorific designation of *Ādibuddha* as a Buddha who has as one of his characteristic signs that his eyes are wide and spread out. It also represents the *nirmāṇakāya*.

- *Paramāḍibuddha* is also pure union (*yogaḥ śuddho*) gone beyond origination and dissolution and the limitations of the personality. Here is a designation which says that the *Ādibuddha* is in principle eternal and not created.

- The foregoing interpretation fits in quite well with the last statements in the verse that *Ādibuddha* is “non-dual wisdom and method” (*prajñopāyādvayo*) where it is explicitly said that *Ādibuddha* is the non-dual (*advaya*) resulting from the union of *prajñā* and *upāya*.

This verse gives the basis of most of the qualities of the *Ādibuddha* concept. That is the reason why I have elaborated on the definitions of the concepts. I will refer back to this verse when finding the same type of definition in other places. I will continue with other verses from the same introduction to the *Vimalaprabhā*. This one from the second page of the introductory verses:

prajñopāyātmako yogaḥ saṁsthānakāyārddhigaḥ /
vajrasattvo mahāsattvo bodhisattvas tathāgataiḥ //
uktaḥ samayasattvo yo bhāvābhāvākṣayo vibhuḥ /
*anādinidhanaḥ śānto bodhicittaṁ praṇamya tam //*⁵⁹⁵

The *yoga* consisting of wisdom and method, the miraculously

⁵⁹³ See Kvaerne. 1975 for a thorough treatment of the concept of *sahaja* in Buddhist Sanskrit literature.

⁵⁹⁴ See for example in KCT V:243.

⁵⁹⁵ *Vimalaprabhā* I.1 in VP vol.I. 1986:2, line 1.

accomplished body; by the *tathāgatas* called *vajrasattva*, *mahāsattva* and *bodhisattva*. Also called *samayasattva*, the lord who has destroyed the existent and non-existent. I worship that beginningless, endless, peaceful *bodhicitta* //

Here homage is made to *bodhicitta*, which in VP I.1 p.1, line 7 is equalled to *Kālacakra*. *Bodhicitta* is very important in the *Kālacakra* texts. The word normally denotes the condition of the mind when it strives to reach *bodhi* (awakening, illumination?), probably the meaning in this context. A very wide meaning is given to the word *bodhicitta*. This is another of the introductory verses in the VP:

jananīm sarvabuddhānām utpādakṣayavarjitām /
caryām samantabhadrasya viśvamātām praṇamya tām // ⁵⁹⁶

The progenitor of all the Buddhas, the one who has abandoned origination and destruction, the one who is connected to the conduct of *Samantabhadra*. I worship this *Viśvamātā* //

Here the homage is to *Viśvamātā* who is the female counterpart of *Kālacakra*, always depicted in the *yab-yum* position, as to signify the union of *prajñā* (wisdom) and *upāya* (method) and the resulting *Mahāsukha* (great bliss). Interestingly enough she is also called “progenitor of all the Buddhas”, more or less the same wording used to describe the *Ādibuddha* (*jinajanaka*). She is related to *Samantabhadra*, who in other *tantric* traditions is regarded as the *Ādibuddha*, for ex., the Tibetan *rNying-ma-pas*. She is also beyond origination and destruction like the *Ādibuddha*. A conclusion from the descriptions of both *Kālacakra* and *Viśvamātā* is that the characteristics of *Ādibuddha* can be found for all three concepts. The level of the state of mind before and after the union between *prajñā* and *upāya* is described in the same way. Here follows another of the introductory verses of the VP:

ālikālisamāpatti hūṃ phaṭ kārādi varjitām /
akṣarodbhavakāyaṃ ca kālacakraṃ praṇamya tam // ⁵⁹⁷

Even though he has abandoned the absorption of *āli* and *kāli*, and the letters *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*, and so forth, he is the body arisen from the unchanging. I worship this *Kālacakra*. //

Kālacakra is here presented as the body arisen from the unchanging. Consequently, as *Ādibuddha*, as shown later, sometimes is regarded as the unchanging, *Kālacakra* could eventually be said to have arisen from *Ādibuddha*. This could be a very decisive statement of the relationship between *Ādibuddha* and *Kālacakra*. On the other hand the “unchanging”

⁵⁹⁶ Vimalaprabhā I.1 in VP vol.I. 1986:2, line 19.

⁵⁹⁷ Vimalaprabhā I.1 in VP vol.I. 1986:2, line 21.

(*aṣṣara*) also has other meanings and there is a difference to the concept of “the supreme unchanging” (*paramāṣara*).⁵⁹⁸

Another of the introductory verses of the VP:

*sarvajñaṃ jñānakāyākhyam mārtaṇḍavapuṣaṃ vibhum /
padmapatrāyatāṣaṃ taṃ tattvaṃ ṣoḍaśabhedataḥ //
catuḥkāyātmakaṃ buddhaṃ vajrasīmḥāsane sthitam /
stutaṃ surāsurair natvā sucandrādhyeṣitam purā //*⁵⁹⁹

Praised by the gods and demons is: the omniscient one, the one called wisdom body, the one who appears like the sun, the lord, the one with the eyes spread out like a lotus petal,⁶⁰⁰ the Buddha consisting of the four bodies due to the essential reality which is divided into sixteen parts, the one who sits on the *vajra* lion throne, who was previously called upon by *Sucandra*.

Here reference probably is made to *Buddha Śākyamuni* because he is sitting on a lion throne and listened to by *Sucandra*. He has some of the same characteristics as *Ādibuddha*. In this case, it is not strange because when teaching the *Kālacakra Tantra* to *Sucandra*, he was transformed into *Kālacakra* and received his characteristics, just as the current Dalai Lama is transformed into *Kālacakra* ritually as he gives the initiation. In this verse, the teaching of the four bodies of the Buddha is already established. The concept of *tattva* is important here and the four bodies is a way of dividing this “essential reality” into separate parts. *Tattva* is a concept essentially used in the *Sāṃkhya* philosophy. In that system, there are 25 different kinds of *tattvas* and there are certain similarities with the usage in the *Kālacakra Tantra*.⁶⁰¹

Another of the introductory verses of the VP:

*suddhajñānaikayogo jinavarasamayaś cittadharmaikayogaḥ
vāksambhogaikayogas tribhuvanam ahiṭaḥ kāyanirmāṇayogaḥ /
jñānajñeyādvayo 'sau gatabhavadvibhavo vajrasattvaś caturdhā
prajñopāyātmakaṃ taṃ nṛsuradanusutaṃ vajrayogaṃ praṇāmya //*⁶⁰²

The union of the pure and knowledge; the best vow of the *jina*, the union of mind and *dharma* [body]; the union of speech and the enjoyment [body]; the union of body and the emanation [body] worshipped by the three existences; this non-dual knowledge and object of knowledge, past existence and non-existence, is four-fold *Vajrasattva*. Homage to that *vajrayoga* consisting of wisdom and method that is praised by gods, men, and demons. //

⁵⁹⁸ I will treat this problem later when commenting on the verse KCT V:127.

⁵⁹⁹ Vimalaprabhā I.1 in VP vol.I. 1986:2, line 23.

⁶⁰⁰ The same term was used for *Ādibuddha* in VP vol.I:1, line 11. See my commentaries on p.114.

⁶⁰¹ Larson. 1979:176-201.

⁶⁰² Vimalaprabhā I.1 in VP vol.I. 1986:3, line 1.

Vajrasattva and *vajrayoga* are the main subjects in this verse and it is interesting to see their relation to *Ādibuddha*. *Vajrayoga* is a difficult concept in the *Kālacakra*. In some way in this verse there is a connection between *vajrayoga* and the four bodies of the Buddha.⁶⁰³ There are variations of *yoga* (perhaps here more in the meaning “union”) connected with the *suddhakāya*, the *dharmakāya*, the *sambhogakāya* and the *nirmāṇakāya*. Each has its *ekayoga* or “union into one” with something else, the knowledge (*jñāna*), the mind (*citta*), the speech (*vāk*) and the body (*kāya*). Consequently, perhaps there is a connection with *Vajrasattva* who is related with the four bodies. *Vajrasattva* is at times, in the *Kālacakra* texts, associated with *Kālacakra* and *Ādibuddha*. It can actually be another word denoting *Ādibuddha*. Another of the introductory verses of the VP:

*yaḍ vyākṛtaṃ daśabalena purālpatantraṃ guhyādhīpasya gaditāt paramādibuddhāt /
tat kālacakralaghutantraṃ idaṃ kalāpe mañjuśrīyā nigaditāṃ sakalāṃ munīnām //*⁶⁰⁴

By means of his ten powers, the Buddha previously made a prophecy [containing] the short *tantra* out from the *Paramādibuddha* spoken to the master of the secret [Sucandra]. Thus, *Mañjuśrī* [= the king *Yaśas*] expressed this entire *Kālacakra-laghutantra* to the sages in *Kalāpa*. //

Here it is said that Buddha Śākyamuni prophesied that King *Yaśas* of *Sambhala* was going to write the *laghutantra*. Actually, it is said in the text that it was Buddha himself who authorized the short *tantra* (*alpatantra* or *laghutantra*?) based on the root-*tantra* *Pa-ramādibuddha*. *Mañjuśrī* (*Yaśas*) redacted it for the sages in the capital of *Shambhala*, *Kalāpa*. It should then have been taught in *Shambhala* for many years and then finally brought out from *Shambhala* by *Pinḍo* into India. It is here very obvious here that *Pa-ramādibuddha* is just the name of the basic root-*tantra*. The master of secrets who should have preached the *Paramādibuddha tantra* was *Vajrapāṇi Sucandra*.

The following is the last among the 102 introductory verses of the first subchapter of the VP that I will quote:

*ṭikā sucandralikhitā sarvayānārthasūcikā /
ṣaṭṭisāhasrikā yā 'sīt puṇḍarīkeṇa sā mayā //
likhyate laghutantrasya mūlatantrānusārinī /
granthadvādaśasāhasrī savajrapadabhedinī //*⁶⁰⁵

The sixty thousand line commentary written by *Sucandra* revealed the meaning of all the vehicles. By me, *Puṇḍarika*, a twelve thousand line text on the abridged *tantra*, following the basic *tantra*, with a division of the *vajra* word. //

Here it is stated that there existed an original commentary on the root-*tantra* *Pa-ramādibuddha*. This “*Mūla-Vimalaprabhā*” contained 60,000 verses and was written by *Sucandra*. The *Vimalaprabhā* now extant in 12,000 verses is a shorter version of that one

⁶⁰³ See Newman. 2000.

⁶⁰⁴ *Vimalaprabhā* I.1 in VP vol.I. 1986:3, line 15.

⁶⁰⁵ *Vimalaprabhā* I.1 in VP vol.I. 1986:3, line 17.

and a commentary on the abridged *laghutāntra*. It is also stated that the *Vimalaprabhā* follows both the *laghutāntra* and the lost *mūlatantra*.

The fore-going is stated clearly in the great commentary *Vimalaprabhā* when the text gives a sort of table of contents of the whole *tāntra* in the second subchapter of the first chapter of the VP:

*anu prajñopāyātmako vajrayoga ādibuddho niranvayaḥ kālacakro
bhagavān abhidheyaḥ / sa cānyā pañcapāṭalasvabhāvayā 'vasthitāḥ' /*⁶⁰⁶

Here, the *vajrayoga* (*vajra*-union) that consists of wisdom and method – the *Ādibuddha* who is without causal connection (*niranvayaḥ*), *Bhagavān Kālacakra* – is the subject. Also, it [the *vajrayoga*] consists of these essential subjects of the five chapters.⁶⁰⁷

Consequently, this means that in essence the whole *tāntra* treats the concept of *Ādibuddha*. Here is the first place in the *Kālacakra* texts where *Ādibuddha* is qualified with the word *niranvaya* “without causal connection”. This evokes the discussion of the qualification that I made in chapter 3 when this word was used to qualify *Ādibuddha* in the *Mañjuśrī-nāmasaṅgīti*.⁶⁰⁸ Here, the wording is a very undramatic qualification of *Ādibuddha* as “without causal connection”, which only seems to mean that the *Ādibuddha* is beyond duality and is the very non-duality. As in other places, there is the problem that *Kālacakra* is also placed on the same level as *Ādibuddha*. Likewise, the term *vajrayoga* can be described as being on the level of *Ādibuddha*, that is, the union of wisdom and method.

Still another quotation from the second introductory chapter of the VP:

*mahāsukhāvāse paramādibuddhavaṃśadhatumahāmaṇḍale vajra
sīmḥāsanaśthena buddhabodhisattvakrodharāja devanāgadevatādevatigaṇa
parivṛtena traidhātukavanditacaranāravindena traidhātukaikacakravartinā
paramādibuddhena niranvayena*⁶⁰⁹ *śrīkālacakrabhagavatā sucandrādhyeṣitena
dvādaśasāhasraṃ paramādibuddhaṃ niranvayaṃ kālacakraṃ tantrārājaṃ vajradha-
rajñānakāyasākṣibhūṭayā nāmasaṅgityālingitaṃ sarvatantrēṣu vajrapadaśākṣibhūṭam.*⁶¹⁰

[The subject here is about *Buddha Śākyamuni* teaching the *Kālacakra* to *Sucandra*]

He [*Buddha Śākyamuni*] sat in the abode of great bliss - in the great *maṇḍala* of the sphere of *vajra* of *Paramādibuddha* - on the *vajra* lion throne. He was encircled by a host of Buddhas, *bodhisattvas*, wrathful kings (*krodharāja*), gods, *nāgas*, and male and female deities. The three realms

⁶⁰⁶ *Vimalaprabhā* I.2 in VP vol.I. 1986:12, line 24.

⁶⁰⁷ Newman. 1987a:248.

⁶⁰⁸ See the discussion above on MNS:100 on p.76 and notes 477-78. See also below on p.160-61, note 819 which is the beginning of the commentary to KCT V:89. Also Davidson. 1981:30.

⁶⁰⁹ From the context, I chose to read *niranvayena* instead of the variation *nirandhayena*. See VP vol.I. 1986:12, notes 3 and 4.

⁶¹⁰ *Vimalaprabhā* I.2 in VP vol.I. 1986:12, line 4-8.

saluted his lotus-feet. He is the sole *cakravartin* of the three realms, the *Paramādibuddha* without connection (*niranvaya*). He is the *Bhagavān Śrī Kālacakra*. *Sucandra* requested him for instruction and he taught the 12000 verse *Paramādibuddha* without parts (*niranvaya*) and the *Kālacakra tantrarāja*. It is embraced by the *Nāmasaṅgīti* that clarifies the knowledge body (*jñānakāya*) of *Vajradhara*. The *vajra* words are made clear in all *tantras* [by the *Paramādibuddha*].⁶¹¹

As when first mentioned above, the *Paramādibuddha* is equalled to the *Kālacakra maṇḍala*. *Buddha Śākyamuni* is seated in the *maṇḍala* when giving the teachings of *Kālacakra* to king *Sucandra*. Later in the text, it is mentioned that *Buddha* is also the *Paramādibuddha* without connection (*niranvaya*), the same qualification of *Ādibuddha* that is discussed below (p.155-156). This is the only place where *Buddha Śākyamuni* is actually said to be *Paramādibuddha*. This seems to be a way of stressing the importance of the *Buddha* when he is teaching the *Kālacakra* and is transformed into *Kālacakra*. Here, *Buddha* is also equalled to *Bhagavān Kālacakra*. He is also the *cakravartin*, that is, the ruler of the world. The *Buddha* is possibly given all these characteristics in order to maintain an even stronger position when teaching the *Kālacakra Tantra*.

In the later part of this text, *Paramādibuddha* signifies the text *Paramādibuddha*, as it is said that the 12,000 verse text was taught. In the next sentence, it is said that *Buddha* taught the *Paramādibuddha* and the *Kālacakra-tantra-rāja*. This possibly only means that the shorter text was already inherent in the longer original text. The texts of *Paramādibuddha* and *Kālacakra* are embraced by the *Nāmasaṅgīti*. This could mean that the main ideas in the *Kālacakra* were already expressed in the *Nāmasaṅgīti*.

It is also said that the *Jñānakāya* (knowledge body) of *Vajradhara* is clearly exposed in the *Nāmasaṅgīti*. This probably means that allusion is made to the place in *Nāmasaṅgīti* where *Ādibuddha* is mentioned (MNS Chapt. X, 24 or verse 100). The author is generally very conscious about the importance of the *Nāmasaṅgīti* and he cites it many times. As quoted below, in verse KCT V: 248, *Ādibuddha* is also equalled to *Vajrayoga*.

Here follows another quotation from the introductory part of the VP:

*vācyo bhagavān kālacakraḥ pañcapaṭalasvabhāvatayā 'vasthitāḥ
vācakaṃ kālacakram abhidhānam pañcapaṭalātmakam / atha ādibuddho
bhagavān vācyaḥ / vācakam ādibuddham abhidhānam iti vācyavācakaśaṅgaḥ /*⁶¹²

That which is to be spoken is established as *Bhagavān Kālacakra*, the essential topic of the five chapters. The speaker [is established as] the *Kālacakra* speech that consists of five chapters. Also, the characteristics of that which is to be spoken and the speaker: "the *Bhagavān Ādibuddha* is that which is to be spoken; the speaker is the *Ādibuddha* speech" – these are the characteristics of that which is to be spoken and the speaker.⁶¹³

⁶¹¹ Newman. 1987a:245-46.

⁶¹² Vimalaprabhā I.2 in VP vol.I. 1986:15, line 3.

⁶¹³ Newman. 1987a:260-61.

Here the relationship between the two concepts deity/text is alluded to. The one who speaks is *Bhagavān Kālacakra* and, later in the text, *Ādibuddha* and the text is also called *Kālacakra* and correspondingly *Ādibuddha*. The names are the same for person and text. It is not easy to understand this relation between the spoken and the speech. It is more of a grammatical analysis.

From here up to the end of the 2nd *uddeśa* (subchapter), the text is a commentary to the sort of preface appearing at the beginning of the 2nd *uddeśa* of the *Vimalaprabhā* in the foregoing quotation (VP vol.I:15, line 3). It gives very interesting clarifications:

*paramādibuddhavajradhātumahāmaṇḍale niranvaye jñānajñeyaikalolībhūte
acchedye 'bhedye sarvākāradhātulakṣaṇe ādarśapratīśenātulye* /⁶¹⁴

In the great *maṇḍala* of the *Paramādibuddha vajra*-realm, it [the *Paramādibuddha*] is without connection (*niranvaya*), it is the unified mixture of knowledge and objects of knowledge, it is indivisible and undivided, it has the characteristics of the realm of all aspects and is similar to a mirror divination (*pratisena*).⁶¹⁵

Here, *Paramādibuddha* is a designation of the *Kālacakra maṇḍala*, the third meaning of the word in this context. *Paramādibuddha* is again qualified with the word *niranvaya* ("without parts, unconnected") and the word *Paramādibuddha* again has a very uncertain meaning. Here it seems to be the *maṇḍala*, but how can the *maṇḍala* be without parts? It seems that there is a shifting of the meaning and the conceptualized *Paramādibuddha* is again showing itself. The *maṇḍala* cannot be indivisible, etc., because it is a very complex construction. The concept of *Paramādibuddha* as "the superior original Buddha" is definitely more applicable at this place in the text.

Here follows a very interesting quotation, also from the introductory part of the VP I.2:

*paramādibuddhadheneti / paramādibuddhaḥ ekakṣaṇapañcākāravimśaty
ākāramāyājālābhisambodhīlakṣaṇo 'kṣarasukhaḥ paramaḥ tenādibuddhaḥ pa-
ramādibuddhaḥ tena paramādibuddheneti / niranvayeneti / anvayaḥ
prajñopāyātmako grāhyagrāhakalakṣaṇo dharmah so 'nvayo nīrasto yenā
'sau niranvayaḥ tena niranvayeneti / kālacakrabhagavateti / kālāḥ
paramākṣaro mahāsukhalakṣaṇaḥ tenotpāditaṃ nīrāvaraṇaṃ
skandhadhātṛvādikaṃ cakram yasya śarīraṃ asau kālacakrah* /⁶¹⁶

As for "the *Paramādibuddha*": The *Paramādibuddha* is the unchanging bliss [which is] supreme and is characterized by attaining enlightenment in a single instant, in five aspects, in twenty aspects, and by the net of illusion. By that [unchanging bliss] [originates] the *Ādibuddha* and the *Paramādibuddha* and by that the *Paramādibuddha* [text]. As for "without parts", "parts" (*anvaya*) is the *dharma* that consists of wisdom and method, that is characterized by object and subject. Someone who has abandoned that "part" is "without parts."

⁶¹⁴ *Vimalaprabhā* I.2 in VP vol.I. 1986:16, line 26.

⁶¹⁵ Newman. 1987a:268. Here Newman makes remarks concerning two Sanskrit words, *pratisena* and *ekalolībhūta* that cannot be found in lexicons, but can be interpreted with the help of the Tibetan translation.

⁶¹⁶ *Vimalaprabhā* I.2 in VP vol.I. 1986:17, line 9.

By that [there is the concept of] “without parts” (*niranvaya*). As for the *Bhagavan Kālacakra*; *kāla* (time) has the characteristics of great bliss and the supreme unchanging (*paramākṣara*).⁶¹⁷ One whose body is generated as a wheel (*cakra*) of unobscured aggregates, elements and so forth by means of that [bliss], this is *Kālacakra*.⁶¹⁸

This is a very interesting definition of *Paramādibuddha*:

Unchanging bliss (*akṣarasukhaḥ*) - perfect enlightenment in a single instant - supreme (*paramaḥ*). The temporal aspect of *Paramādibuddha* is here clearly expressed. Actually, from this verse it seems as though the “unchanging bliss” existed before the *Ādibuddha*. He is also the one who actually taught the *tantra* in the form of *Kālacakra* at *Dhānyakaṭaka stūpa*. There is also a definition of *Kālacakra* in the second part of the quotation. Consequently “Time” (*Kāla*) has the same main characteristics as *Ādibuddha*, namely “supreme unchanging” and “great bliss”. This shows the importance of the concept “time”.

There is also a definition of the problematic word *niranvaya*. The VP text has analysed the word in two parts. *Anvaya* means the *dharma* that consists of *prajñā* (wisdom) and *upāya* (method) and which is characterized by object and subject. Consequently, there are two parts to this concept, a dualistic concept. *Nir-* in Sanskrit is a negative prefix and consequently *niranvaya* is something that is not having the two parts wisdom and method. Therefore, it is a good designation for the *Ādibuddha* concept. The fact that *Kālacakra* is designated as a “non-dual” *tantra* here is given a clear motivation.

In the following quotation from the introductory part of the VP the problem of the root-*tantra* is treated:

*dvādaśaśahasrikam iti / caturaśītisahasrādhikatrilaṅkāṣakṣarasamūhaṃ
dvātriṃśad akṣarānuṣṭubhaḥ*⁶¹⁹ *dvādaśaśahasrikam iti / suṇḍra-
rājādhyeṣitena*⁶²⁰ */ paramādibuddham iti / paramādibuddhābhidheya
vācakatvāt asyābhidheyaśābhidhānasvabhāvatayā 'vasthītatvād iti /
paramādibuddham kālacakram kālacakrābhidheya vācakatvāt
kālacakrābhidhānam iti / niranvayam iti niranvayābhidheya vācakatvāt /
ihānvayaḥ prajñāpakṣa upāyapakṣaś ca / so 'nvayo bhinnapakṣo nīrasto
yasmāt tat tantraṃ niranvayam / prajñopāyātmakam yogatantram ity
advayam ucyate / jineneti*⁶²¹

Regarding “12,000 verses”, it is an assemblage of 384,000 syllables.

It consists of 12,000 verses in *anuṣṭubh*, which consists of thirty-two syllables.

⁶¹⁷ As I will state at length in chapter six of this dissertation, *paramākṣara* (the supreme unchanging) is a very important concept in the *Kālacakra Tantra*. The verse (KCT V:127) which contains the concept has a commentary in the *Vimalaprabhā* consisting of 100 pages. The concept can in some way be related to the *Ādibuddha* concept.

⁶¹⁸ Newman. 1987a:270.

⁶¹⁹ I chose here to use the alternative reading given by Upadhyaya in VP vol.I. It better corresponds to the context.

⁶²⁰ In this context, I chose to include a variation from the *sDe-dge* edition of the *bsTan-'gyur* as given by Upadhyaya (p.19).

⁶²¹ *Vimalaprabhā* I. 2. in VP vol.I. 1986:18, line 1-7; Bu-ston's commentary on the VP in Bu-ston. 1965a:335 (Tibetan).

Thus, [the *Paramādibuddha* has] 12,000 verses. It was solicited by king *Sucandra*. [Why the name] ‘*Paramādibuddha*’; it is because it expresses the subject, the *Paramādibuddha*, since it is established as the topic of the description of this subject. [Regarding] the *Paramādibuddha* and the *Kālacakra*; since it gives expression to the subject *Kālacakra*, it is the designation of *Kālacakra*. It is ‘without parts’ because it expresses the subject that is ‘without parts’. Here, “parts” (*anvaya*) is the side of wisdom and the side of method. By the *Jina* it is said that the *tantra* that is without these parts because it has abandoned side, is non-dual. ‘It is the *yogatantra* that is without parts, that consists of wisdom and method.’⁶²²

First the definition of *Paramādibuddha* as the name of the text is treated. The VP text itself says that *Paramādibuddha* is so called because it expresses the subject, which is *Paramādibuddha*. The topic of the whole text is in some way *Paramādibuddha*.

This quotation is very important for the sake of defining the concept *Paramādibuddha*, because here it is clearly stated the root-*tantra* text in 12,000 verses is called *Paramādibuddha*, but that the reason for this is that this concept is the most important of the text. Consequently, there exists a concept called *Paramādibuddha* and it must be possible to find a content for this concept in the text, the *laghutāntra*, which is said to be an abbreviation of the *Paramādibuddha* text. I have not found any systematic attempt in the texts to clarify what the concept means. The only way to determine more is to investigate different parts of the text where the concept is used.

Later, on the same page, the problem that the *Paramādibuddha* is “without parts” is treated. It is “without parts” because it expresses the subject that is without parts (*niranvaya*; *rīgs med*). Here “parts” (skt. *anvaya*; tib. *rīgs*) is the side of wisdom and the side of method. The *Jina* (?) says that the *tantra* which is without that part because it has abandoned side, is non-dual. *Paramādibuddha* is, consequently, a concept beyond *upāya* and *prajñā* representing non-duality. As remarked above (p.76), *niranvaya* can also be translated as “without causal connection”, which is a translation that fits in better with the *Paramādibuddha* concept.

This passage has, as Newman remarks, given rise to a debate whether *Kālacakra* constitutes a third non-dual class of *tantra* within the *anuttarayoga tantra*.⁶²³ It is stated in many places in the *Vimalaprabhā* that *Paramādibuddha* is “without parts” (*niranvaya*). Perhaps it is a way of saying that the *Paramādibuddha* never has had division of wisdom and method. *Ādibuddha* is the bliss united from the beginning!

The following is the last quotation from the introductory part of the VP. After this, the verses of the KCT with the corresponding commentaries from the VP commentaries start:

*tasmāt prajñopāyātmakaṃ tantraṃ yogatantraṃ niranvayaṃ kālacakraṃ pa-
ramārthasatyata iti / vajradharajñānakāyasākṣībhūṭayā nāmasaṅgīty
ālīlīṅgataṃ iti / ādibuddhābhīdhānatvāt / iha yathā nāmasaṅgītir
atītānāgatapratyutpannais tathāgatair bhāṣitā bhāṣīṣyate bhāṣyate*

⁶²² Newman. 1987a:274.

⁶²³ Newman. 1987a:274, note 28.

*tathāḍibuddham api / ādiśabdo 'nādinidhanārthaḥ / anādikāle
anāḍibuddhadeśitam deśayisyate deśyata iti / naikena śākyamuniṇā
dīpaṅkaratathāgatenāpiti /*⁶²⁴

Therefore, from the point of view of absolute truth, *Kālacakra* is the *tantra* and the *yogatantra* that consists of wisdom and method, without parts (*niranvaya*). 'It is embraced by the *Nāmasaṅgīti* that has made visible the wisdom body (*jñānakāya*) of *Vajradhara*' because it is the designation of the *Āḍibuddha*. Here, just as past, present and future *Tathāgatas* spoke, are speaking and will speak the *Nāmasaṅgīti*, just so is that *Āḍibuddha*. The word *ādi* means without beginning or termination. Since beginningless time beginningless Buddhas have taught it, are teaching it, and will teach it: it is not taught merely by *Tathāgata Dīpaṅkara* and *Śākyamuni*.⁶²⁵

Here is stated that *Kālacakra* is a kind of *yogatantra* and is again "without parts" (*niranvaya*). Again the connection with *Nāmasaṅgīti* is made in the way that *Kālacakra* is embraced by it. The *Nāmasaṅgīti* was very important for the *Kālacakra* texts and some of the main ideas were possibly taken from that teaching. Present and future *Tathāgatas* will continue to teach the *Nāmasaṅgīti* and *Āḍibuddha* texts. Not only the *Dīpaṅkara* and *Śākyamuni* Buddhas but many other Buddhas will teach it. The universality of the *Kālacakra* teachings is established.

This passage defines *Āḍibuddha* as without beginning in time. The word *ādi* is concretely defined here as without beginning or termination. This then could be an indication for the interpretation of this term. *Āḍibuddha* does not mean the one who first obtained Buddhahood, but is the Buddha without beginning or termination, "eternal." The *Nāmasaṅgīti* and the *Āḍibuddha* have been taught from beginningless time (*anādikāle*). It is worth noting here that time is designated without beginning.

All this is important in connection with the foregoing passage where it is evident that *Āḍibuddha* never has realized the union between wisdom and method, but has always been resting in the unchanging bliss. This and the foregoing quotation can be associated with the idea in *Kālacakra* of *mi-pho-ba*, "non-transference of consciousness" because there is no real transference of consciousness. There is always a permanent consciousness in the heart cakra. This could be compared to the more general Tibetan doctrine of the "forever indestructible drop" (*brtan-du mi-shig-pa'i thig-le*).⁶²⁶ This comes very close to a Buddhist idea of an *ātman* which is a kind of permanent "soul". The problem has been treated by Ruegg in connection with the notion of *tathāgatagarbha* which comes very close to the concept of *ātman*. Quoting Buddhist *mahāyāna* sources, Ruegg comes to the conclusion that they do not claim a brahmanical concept of *ātman*, but have a similar concept of their own which is approaching the brahmanical concept.⁶²⁷

Already in the first two lines of the first verse of the first chapter of the *Śrī*

⁶²⁴ Vimalaprabhā I. 2. in VP vol.I. 1986:18, line 20-24.

⁶²⁵ Newman. 1987a:276-77.

⁶²⁶ See Dhargyey. 1985:91.

⁶²⁷ Ruegg. 1992:19-25, 44-55.

Kālacakra-tantra-rāja text itself we find the epithets which are given as of *Ādibuddha* in the *Vimalaprabhā*, that is, a quotation from KCT I:1:

*sarvajñāṃ jñānakāyaṃ dinakaravapuṣaṃ padmapatrāyatākṣaṃ buddhaṃ
siṃhāsanaśthaṃ suravaranaṃ mitaṃ mastakena praṇāmya /
pṛcched rājā sucandraḥ karakamalapuṣaṃ sihāpayitvottamāṅge
yogaṃ śrīkālacakre kaliyugasamaye muktihetor narāṇām // 1 //*⁶²⁸

The omniscient one, the wisdom body (*jñānakāya*), the embodiment of the day-maker [sun], the eye spread out like a lotus petal, the Buddha sitting on the lion throne, was worshipped by the best of gods. King *Sucandra* bowed his head, and placing the cupped palms of his hands on top of his head, he asked for the *yoga* in the *Śrī Kālacakra*, for the cause of the liberation of human beings in the time-period of *kaliyuga*.⁶²⁹

This quotation gives a vivid picture of how the *Kālacakra* was preached by Buddha to king *Sucandra*. It shows that, already from the beginning, *Kālacakra* was thought of as a remedy against the evil age of *kaliyuga* when times are getting worse until a change will come and make times better. It is interesting that the age-old Indian concept of *kaliyuga* is used in a Buddhist text. The eschatological content in the *Kālacakra* is evident considering the kings of *Sambhala* and the ultimate war against the evil *mlecchas*.

These lines are actually an enumeration of the first few topics treated in the *tantra*, but also an enumeration of qualities of the *Ādibuddha* as commented on in the *Vimalaprabhā* I.1 (VP vol.I 1986: 1, line 7). At the same time, from the context it is evident that they are also designations of the *Buddha Śākyamuni* as it was he who preached the *tantra* to *Sucandra* at *Dhānyakaṭaka stūpa*. This indicates the difficulty in trying to find information on the concept of *Ādibuddha* in the text. In any case it seems that the terms *sarvajñā* (omniscient) and *jñānakāya* are used in several places in the *tantra* for *Ādibuddha*.⁶³⁰

The following are some quotations from the *mūlatantra Paramādibuddha* in the VP commentary on KCT I:1:

*sarvajño jñānakāyo yo mārtaṇḍavapuravyayaḥ /
padmapatrāyatākṣaḥ śrībuddhaḥ*⁶³¹ *siṃhāsane sthitaḥ //*
*kāyavākcittarāgātmā vajrasattvo 'dhīdevatā /
kāyavākcittarāgeṇa kāyavākcittamaṇḍale //*
*abhedyo vajrayogo 'sau kālacakro 'kṣaraḥ sukhaḥ /
anādinidhano buddha*⁶³² *ādibuddho niranvayaḥ //*⁶³³

The omniscient one, the wisdom body, the imperishable body of

⁶²⁸ KCT. I.1; Banerjee. 1985:1; *Vimalaprabhā* I.4 in VP vol.I. 1986:30, line 24-27.

⁶²⁹ Translated in Newman. 1987a:319.

⁶³⁰ Newman. 1987a:349-351.

⁶³¹ In the text the spelling is *śrībuddha* - *dhaḥ*, a way of spelling the name of Buddha that I have never seen anywhere else. This could be a hint at the independence of the root-*tantra* text called *Paramādibuddha*.

⁶³² See foregoing note. In fact, all mention of the words *Buddha*, *Ādibuddha* and *Paramādibuddha* in this quotation are spelled in the same way.

⁶³³ *Vimalaprabhā*. I.4. in VP vol.I. 1986:32, line 16-21.

the sun, with the eyes like spreading lotus petals, the Buddha sitting on the lotus throne; // The essence of body, speech, mind and passion is *Vajrasattva*, the superior deity in the *maṇḍala* of body, speech and mind by means of body, speech, mind and passion. // This indivisible *vajrayoga* is *Kālacakra*, unchanging and bliss, Buddha without beginning or end, the *Ādibuddha* without parts [without causal connection] (*niranvaya*). // ⁶³⁴

Here the last line is identical with *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti* verse 100a.⁶³⁵ This once more shows the influence from the MNS. In several places in the *laghutantra* citations are found citations that are said to be from the *mūlatantra* *Paramādibuddha*. This particular one is of special interest. The *mūlatantra* must have been known by the author of the *Vimalaprabhā*. The verse on *Ādibuddha* from the MNS must also have been known. Actually, there are good reasons to believe that the concept of *Ādibuddha* in the *Kālacakra Tantra* is consciously influenced by the MNS. Once again the concept of *vajrayoga* is not quite clear. Possibly the meaning should be more literal: "This indivisible *vajra*-union is *Kālacakra*....", which then means that the following concepts are designations of this *vajra*-union. Reading the designations in another way, the qualifications of *Ādibuddha* are: *Kālacakra*, unchanging bliss, without beginning or end, he is Buddha and without parts (*niranvaya*), or as translated by Davidson "without causal connection".⁶³⁶ The following is a quotation from the VP commentary on KCT I:1:

ekāra-rahasya-padma-dharmodaya-khadhātu-mahāsukhāv āsasiṃghā asana-bhaga-guhyā-saṃjñānām madhye naikā ekārasaṃjñā pradhānā sarvāśaṃ sarvakārasūnyatā pratipādakatvāt / tathā vaṃkāramahāsukha – mahārāga-sahaja-paramāksara-bindu-tattva-jñāna-viśuddhacitta-saṃjñānām madhye na ekā vaṃkārasaṃjñā pradhānā sarvāśaṃ mahāmudrā-sahajānandāksarasukhapratipādakatvād iti evamekāra-vaṃkārayoḥ sarvākāravaroṣetā śūnyatā sarvadharmanirālabakarūṇā 'bhinnabodhicittabhāvavratipādakatvāt / evaṃkāro vajrasattvo bodhicittam kālacakraḥ ādibuddhaḥ prajñopāyātmako yogah jñeyajñānātmakah advayaḥ anādinidhanah śāntaḥ samājah saṃvara evam ādyanekasaṃjñābhīḥ prajñopāyātmako 'dvayo yogo niranvayo yoginā 'vaganantavya iti / ⁶³⁷

Like that, among other designations the *E*-letter, the secret doctrine, the lotus, the origin of *dharma*s, space element, abode of great bliss, lion throne, vulva and secret. *E*-letter alone is not the main designation because all of these demonstrate the voidness of all aspects. In a similar way, among the terms *VA*M-letter, great bliss, great passion, simultaneously-arisen, supreme unchanging, drop (*bindu*), essential reality, wisdom (*jñāna*) and pure mind. *VA*M-letter alone is not the main designation because all of these demonstrate *mahāmudrā*, simultaneously-arisen joy (*sahajānanda*) and unchanging bliss (*akṣarasukha*). Likewise, the two letters *E* and *VA*M shows the existence

⁶³⁴ Newman. 1987a:326-27.

⁶³⁵ Davidson. 1981:30 incl. note 95, 57; Wayman. 1985:93. See the present work p.76.

⁶³⁶ Davidson. 1981:30.

⁶³⁷ Vimalaprabhā I.4. in VP vol.I. 1986:34, line 22-29.

that is *bodhicitta*, that is, indivisibility (*abhinna*), emptiness, possessing the best of all aspects and compassion that does not objectify any *dharmas*. For this reason, a *yogi* who is to be well judged, should first reach a manifold understanding of the non-dual *yoga* that consists of wisdom and method without parts [without causal connection] (*nirānvaya*), the letter *EVAM*, *Vajrasattva*, *bodhicitta*, *Kālacakra*, *Ādibuddha*, the one consisting of wisdom and objects of wisdom, the non-duality, without beginning and end, peaceful, *Samāja* and *Samvara*.⁶³⁸

This quotation is of interest from many aspects. First, it enumerates terms applicable to emptiness (*śūnyatā*) in all its meanings and for the terms designating unchanging bliss (*akṣarasukha*). Then *Ādibuddha* is enumerated among terms applied to indivisible emptiness and wisdom and method without parts. All of these terms are used to explain different aspects of these concepts.

The mantras *E* and *VAM* are at other places used in the duality correspondences that can be found in chapter five of KCT and VP. These dualities are treated in chapter 6 of this work (p.167, 199). They are also on different sides when *E* is on the side of voidness (*śūnyatā*) and *VAM* is on the side of great bliss (*mahāsukha*) and unchanging bliss (*akṣarasukha*). The *yogi* then should understand the non-duality which arises when *E* and *VAM* are united. On that level of non-duality are also found the *Ādibuddha*, *Kālacakra*, etc. It can be noted here that *Samāja* and *Samvara* are also mentioned in connection with the non-duality, which means that they also have a similar teaching of the non-duality.

Here again is a quotation from the *mūlatantra* in the VP commentary to KCT I:1:

iha mūlatantra bhagavān āha
E-rahasye khadhātau vā bhage dharmodaye 'mbuje /
siṃhāsane sthito vajrī uktastantrātare mayā //
VAM-vajrī vajrasattvaś ca vajrabhairava īśvaraḥ /
herukaḥ kālacakraś ca ādibuddhādīnāmabhiḥ //
nānāviśayasamīñābhiḥ sthānamādhāralakṣaṇam /
*ādheyaś ca mayā prokto nānāsattvāśayena ca //*⁶³⁹

Here, the *Bhagavān* said in the basic *tantra* [*mūlatantra*: *Paramādibuddha*]: In various *tantras* I speak of *Vajrī* sitting in the *E*, in the secret doctrine, in the space element, in the vulva, in the source of phenomena (*dharmas*), in the lotus or on the lion throne. // I use the names *Vaṃ*, *Vajrī*, *Vajrasattva*, *Vajrabhairava*, *Īśvara*, *Heruka*, *Kālacakra*, *Ādibuddha* and so forth. // Using the designations of various lands, in accordance with the dispositions of various sentient beings, I speak of the characteristic of the base (*ādhāra*), the place, and also of the based. //⁶⁴⁰

⁶³⁸ Newman. 1987a:324.

⁶³⁹ Vimalaprabhā I.4 in VP vol.I. 1986:39, line 31– p.40, line4.

⁶⁴⁰ Newman. 1987a:354.

This is a citation from the root *tantra* where Buddha speaks of his using different names for the base (*ādhāra*) in different systems of teachings, but that essentially they are the same. *Ādibuddha* is here only used as one of many designations for that concept and in that way does not seem to be very unique or special. There is perhaps a possibility of a doctrinal evolution from the root-*tantra* to the *Vimalaprabhā*. The VP is much more definite in defining *Ādibuddha* as a cosmological concept. There has been no real investigation into trying to separate elements in the root-*tantra* from the KCT and the VP has been done.

Newman made an interesting note where he cited two verses from the *Vajramālā*, a *vyākhyātāntra* to the *Guhyasamāja*. They are virtually identical with the two first verses from the *Paramādibuddha* quoted above. If they are original to the *Vajramālā*, it means that the *Ādibuddha* concept could be linked with the *Kālacakra* long before the system appeared openly, as this text is much older than the *Kālacakra*. It would be an interesting challenge to the dating of the system. Newman chose to believe that these two verses are later interpolations in the *Vajramālā*. This is still an open question.⁶⁴¹

Concerning the enumeration of names which possibly are linked to the *Ādibuddha* concept, the names *Vaṃ*, *Vajrī*, *Vajrasattva* and *Kālacakra* are well known from other places in the texts. *Vajrabhairava* and *Heruka* are Buddhist deities and can, in their own context, be considered to be of the *Ādibuddha* type of deity. *Īśvara* is, as a more general designation of “god”, more of a Hindu concept. The syncretistic character of the *Kālacakra* texts is apparent in many places. The following is a quotation from the VP commentary on KCT I:1:

*yaḥ paramārthasatyena deśitaḥ sa lokottara-sarvākāravaro-peta-
mahāmudrāsiddhisādhanaṇya svacittaparikalpanādharmarahitaḥ
pratyakṣaḥ svacittapratibhāso yoginām gagane pratibhāṣate
kumārikāyā ādarśādaṇu pratisenāvad iti / iṣṭārthaphaladaḥ phalaṇ
akṣarasukhaṇ jñānacittam / anayoṣ cittayor ekatvaṇ prajñopāyātmaḇo
vajrayogo mahārthaḥ paramākṣara ādibuddho niranvayaḥ kālacakro
bhagavān vajrasattvaḥ sarvatāntrāntare prasiddha iti sa eva bhagavān
pāramitānaye hetulakṣaṇe prajñāpāramitāyāḥ svābhāvikakāya ity uktāḥ /*⁶⁴²

That which is taught in accordance with ultimate truth is devoid of dharmaṇ imagined by one's own mind in order to achieve the transcendental *mahāmudrā siddhi* that possesses the best of all aspects. Like a maiden's prognostic image in a mirror and so forth, the clear light of the *yogi*'s own mind appears manifest in the sky. It gives the result of the desired aim and the result is the knowledge mind (*jñānacitta*) of unchanging bliss. The oneness of these two minds [the *yogins* own mind and the knowledge mind of unchanging bliss] - consisting of wisdom and method, the *vajrayoga*, the great aim, the supreme unchanging, the *Ādibuddha* without parts (*niranvaya*), *Bhagavān Kālacakra* - is renowned in all the various *tantras* as *Vajrasattva*. This very *Bhagavān* is called “the essence body” (*svābhāvikakāya*) in the *Prajñāpāramitā* - in the *pāramitā* system that is characterized as the cause.⁶⁴³

⁶⁴¹ Newman. 1987a:354-355, note 48.

⁶⁴² Vimalaprabhā I.5 in VP vol.I. 1986:42, line 22– p.43, line3.

⁶⁴³ Newman. 1987a:367-68.

Here it is stated more or less clearly that *Ādibuddha* is *Kālacakra* who is *vajrayoga*, which is wisdom and method, which is the supreme unchanging (*paramākṣara*). All of the foregoing is equalled to *Vajrasattva*. All these concepts are actually different ways of naming “the Absolute.”

There is also a mention of the doctrine of the four *kāyas* instead of three, and where “the essence body” (*svābhāvīkākāya*) is the fourth.⁶⁴⁴ Following this, the verse from the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* that treats the four bodies is quoted.⁶⁴⁵ Consequently, this text was well known by the authors of the *Kālacakra Tantra* and must have affected them. In the *Kālacakra* instructions on the four bodies are clearly taught and this teaching possibly has some of its origin in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*.

Here follows another quotation from the VP commentary to verse KCT I:1:

*asminn asamayer kali yunakti iti kaliyugasamayaḥ tasmin kaliyugasamaye
kālacakrābhīdhāne ādikāḍiprajñopāyātmake yogatantrā ādibuddhe
niranvaye kālacakram abhidheyaṃ vajrayogaṃ tantrasvabhāvata yāvasthitam
ādibuddham prcchet sucandra iti dharmadeśanā saṃgrahaḥ /*⁶⁴⁶

Since the KA is united with this A collection, the KA is in union with this KA collection. *Sucandra* asked for the subject that is *Kālacakra*, the *Vajrayoga* and the *Ādibuddha* that is the actual topic of the *tantra*, in that A collection that possesses the KA line: the *Kālacakra* discourse, the A, etc., and the KA, etc., consisting of wisdom and method, the *yogatantra*, the *Ādibuddha* without parts (*niranvaya*). The preceding is a summary of the *dharma* teaching.⁶⁴⁷

Here the consonants (KA) and the vowels (A) are first treated. Consonants and vowels are in union with each other and symbolize other types of union. In this passage, it is again stated that *Kālacakra*, *Ādibuddha* and *Vajrayoga* are placed on the same level. It is also again stated that *Ādibuddha* is without parts (or without causal connection) (*niranvaya*). In other places in the text it is found that *Ādibuddha* is characterized as *niranvaya*. This word indicates a sort of “transcendence” in the concept of *Ādibuddha*. *Niranvaya*, is one of the key concepts concerning the *Ādibuddha* concept and I will return to it later.

Here follows still another quotation from the VP commentary to KCT I:1:

*etat paramāḍibuddhayogam atītabuddhair deśitam vartamānair
deśyate 'nāgatair deśayisyate / atītavartamānānāgatakālair
atītavartamān ānāgatasamayaiḥ parṣadbhir ity anantānanta-
buddhakṣetreṣv anantānantasattvānām anantānantatatathāgatair
buddhatvāya sandeśito deśyate deśayisyatīti /*⁶⁴⁸

⁶⁴⁴ Newman. 1987a:369, note 4.

⁶⁴⁵ Haribhadra. 1932-35:914.

⁶⁴⁶ Vimalaprabhā I.5. in VP vol.I. 1986:46, line 12-15.

⁶⁴⁷ Newman. 1987a:382.

⁶⁴⁸ Vimalaprabhā I.5 in VP vol. I.1986:46, line 22-25.

Past Buddhas taught this *Paramādibuddhayoga*. Present [Buddhas] are teaching it. Future [Buddhas] will teach it. It has been, is being, and will be taught to the entourages of past, present and future times, on past, present and future occasions. Limitless *Tathāgatas* rightly taught it, are teaching it, and will teach it to limitless sentient beings in limitless Buddha fields so that [they may obtain] Buddhahood.⁶⁴⁹

Here it is stated that past, present and future Buddhas will teach the *Paramādibuddha yoga*. By “*Paramādibuddha yoga*” is probably meant the *śaḍāṅgayoga*, which is the *yoga* system used in the *Kālacakra Tantra* texts. Consequently, *Paramādibuddha* in this context means the textual system of *Kālacakra* as presented in the root-*tantra* text. A last quotation from the VP commentary to KCT I:1:

*idaṃ viśuddhakramaṃ mahāmudrāsiddhidāyakaṃ paramādibuddhe
prakaṣaṇaṃ pustake likhitam*⁶⁵⁰

This process of purification that gives the *mahāmudrā* perfection, that is evident in the *Paramādibuddha*, was written down in a book.

Here is stressed that the process of purification that is associated with the *mahāmudrā* is a system of teaching that was written down in the book of *Paramādibuddha*, and therefore existed before and independent from the book.

This point in the text is just before the so-called *Kālacakra* manifesto that *Nāropa* wrote over the entrance door of the *Nālanda* monastery. This text, which mentions *Paramādibuddha* twice, was treated in chapter 3.2.1.(p.74) in the context of making an analysis of the relationship between the *Nāmasaṅgīti* and the *Kālacakra* texts.

Following the order of the texts from the *Vimalaprabhā*, the verses of the KCT (the *laghutāntra*) and their commentary will be treated. The previous points were only found in the introductory part of the VP. Consequently, in the following, I will treat part of the text from both the KCT and the VP. The first place in the abbreviated text (*laghutāntra*) KCT where the word *Ādibuddha* is to be found is in KCT I:149:

*duṣṭānāṃ sādhanārthaṃ pravaraḥbhuvī tale dhārmikānāṃ jayārthaṃ
pīrvoktaṃ cādibuddhe tribhuvanaguruṇā yat sucandrasya sarvaṃ /
tanmadhye kiñcidatra sphuṭam iha viśaye deśitaṃ te mayādyā
svasthāne rakṣanārthaṃ kuru sakalam idaṃ dveśalobhair na sūryaḥ // 149 //*⁶⁵¹

The guru of the three existences previously told all this in the *Ādibuddha* to *Sucandra*, for the subjugation of the corrupted (*duṣṭānāṃ*), and so that the righteous (*dhārmika*) will be victorious, on the surface of the

⁶⁴⁹ Newman. 1987a:383.

⁶⁵⁰ *Vimalaprabhā* I.6. in VP vol.I. 1986:52, line 1.

⁶⁵¹ KCT.I:149 in Banerjee. 1985:37; *Vimalaprabhā* I.10 in VP vol.I. 1986:152, line 10; Banerjee. 1959:205. This verse stands as nr. 148 in the commentary by *Bu-ston* (Bu-ston. 1965a:38). In the translation by Banerjee the verse is also given as I:148 (Banerjee. 1959:205). The whole of chapter I has one verse less in both editions, 169 verses in place of 170.

splendid earth. From among that, I have clearly shown a little bit to you here today in this land. Do all these things in order to protect your own places, oh *Sūrya*, not out of hatred or greed.⁶⁵²

The subject in the verses preceding this one in the KCT was war machines and different weapons needed to defend *Shambhala* and other disciples who fully understand the *Kālacakra*. The attitude to adopt concerning these weapons was that they were to be for the defense of *Shambhala*, not for attack. There is only a short commentary in the VP which says that the term *Ādibuddha* is a reference to the *mūlatantra* *Paramādibuddha*. The “guru of the three existences” is the *Buddha Śākyamuni*, as from other places in the text it is evident that it was he who put forward the *mūlatantra* at *Dhānyakaṭaka stūpa*. Consequently, this mention here does not give any new information regarding the content of the *Ādibuddha* concept.

4.2.1.b. *Ādibuddha in the KCT and the Vimalaprabhā commentary to chapter II - Adhyātmapaṭalaḥ - the chapter on the inner world.*

The word *Ādibuddha* is found in some places in the second chapter of the KCT and the corresponding commentary in the VP. This chapter treats the outer and inner functioning of the body, the *cakras*, channels, winds, etc., and the world as a microcosmos. The first occurrence of the term in the second chapter is in KCT II:56:

evaṃ tatradibuddhe ⁶⁵³ *khakaraṇṛpatayoḥ devatādevatīnām* ⁶⁵⁴ /
prajñopāyo niśāho bhavati hi samavibhāgo 'rddharātre dinārdhe //
yena jñātaṃ svadehe dinaniśisamayair māsasaṃkrāntibhedaiḥ /
sa śrīmān mañjuvajro bhavabhayamathano janmanihaiva buddhaḥ // 56// ⁶⁵⁵

Consequently, in the *ādibuddha* there are 1620 gods and goddesses; *prajñā* and *upāya* are night and day and they are evenly distributed in the night-half and the day-half. By him this is recognized in his own body, with a division of counting in months and in night-time and day-time. He, the blessed *Mañjuvajra* who destroys the fear for existence, here in this birth he is Buddha.

The *Vimalaprabhā* commentary to KCT II:56.⁶⁵⁶

evaṃ sūryacandradevatāgaṇair ekībhūtaiś cādibuddhaṃ bhavati / tasminn

⁶⁵² Transl. in Newman. 1987a:576.

⁶⁵³ An alternative is *tantrādibuddhe*. The text actually allows both readings (Banerjee. 1985:57).

⁶⁵⁴ Upadhyaya gives *svakāraṇṛpatayoḥ*, but it seems preferable to have Banerjee's version as it is a way of writing 1620 (*Vimalaprabhāṭikā* Vol.I. 1986:188).

⁶⁵⁵ KCT II:56; Skt. Banerjee. 1985:57; *Vimalaprabhā* II.3 in VP Vol.I. 1986:188, line 1.

Tib. Bu-ston. 1965a: Commentaries to KCT p.61 and to VP p.366.

⁶⁵⁶ I follow the technical device from Upadhyaya in his edition to put quotations from the verse in bold letters and the commentaries in normal text.

ādibuddhe khakaranṛpatayor ⁶⁵⁷ *viṃśatyadhikaṣoḍaśaśatasamkhyā* iti, *teṣāṃ devatādevatīnām prajñopāyaṃ niśāha* iti / *yathā samkhyāṃ prajñā rātribhāgaḥ, upāyo divābhāgaḥ samavibhāgo madhyāhnaḍdarddharātre arādhārātrān madhyāhne sārddhatrayodaśanakṣatraiḥ daśādhikāṣṭaśata-daṇḍair vā ghaṭikābhir vā niśāvibhāgaḥ; evaṃ divāvibhāgaḥ / śrīmān nakṣatramaṇḍale ādibuddhe devatāgaṇo nakṣatranāḍisamkhyātmako bhagavatokta* iti / *yathā bāhye nakṣatraghaṭikābhogaḥ sarvagrahāṇām tathādhīyātmani kāyavākcittajñāne ṣaḍindriyadharmāṇām* iti / *yena jñātaṃ svadehe* / *evam uktakramaiṇa prajñopāyātmakam yenādibuddhaṃ svadehe jñātaṃ / jinaniśisamayaiḥ sandhyāpraharādibhedaiḥ māśasaṃkrāntibhedair dvadīśabhiḥ sa yogī śrīmān mañjuvajro bhavabhayaṃ mathano janmanīhaiva buddha* iti *laghutantra mūlatantra deva-* *totpādanīyamaḥ* ⁶⁵⁸

So, through the moon, the sun and the assembly of gods assembled into one, the *ādibuddha* emerges. In this *ādibuddha* there is *khakaranṛpati*, which is to be calculated as 1620. Among these gods and goddesses *prajñā* and *upāya* are night and day. In this calculation *prajñā* is the night-part, *upāya* is the day-part. There is an even distribution from the middle of the day to the middle of the night and from the middle of the night to the middle of the day. One classifies the night with the help of 13,5 *nakṣatras* ⁶⁵⁹ or 810 *daṇḍas* ⁶⁶⁰ or *ghaṭikās* and the day is classified in the same way. It has been told by the *Bhagavān* about the assembly of gods in the *ādibuddha*; they are in their essence the blessed *nakṣatra-maṇḍala* ⁶⁶¹ As in the outer world there is a use of the *nakṣatra*-counting of hours for all the planets, so in the inner which is made up of body, speech, mind and wisdom, [there is a *nakṣatra*-counting of the hours] for the properties belonging to the six senses. By the one who has comprehended this in his own body; in the order which has been told by the one who has understood that, that which to its inner essence is *prajñā* and *upāya*, is *ādibuddha*, with a classification of time in the time of days and nights, and the transfer of the classification into twelve months. This *yogī* becomes the blessed *Mañjuvajra*, he who drives out all the fear for existence, in this birth he is Buddha. This is the description of the emergence of divinities in the *laghutantra* and the *mūlatantra*. ⁶⁶²

In this case, I present a translation of the VP as well, as it adds valuable new information. *Ādibuddha* could here stand for something to do with time. The verse is placed in the 2nd chapter in the 3rd subchapter (*mahoddeśa*) entitled “The emergence of the *nāḍis*, of the fight between the *cakravartin* ⁶⁶³ and the *mlecchas* ⁶⁶⁴ and the *tantra* of the family of

⁶⁵⁷ Here Banerjee. 1985:57 has *svakaranṛpatayor*.

⁶⁵⁸ The Vimalaprabhā commentary, chapter II, subchapter 3, in VP Vol.I. 1986:188, line 5-14.

⁶⁵⁹ Constellations, stars.

⁶⁶⁰ *Daṇḍa* means basically a “stick” but here it is used in the context of Indian astronomy as a measure of time (Monier-Williams).

⁶⁶¹ *Maṇḍala* of the star constellation.

⁶⁶² Now also translated by Wallace. 1995:235-36.

⁶⁶³ The mythical king that will come to rescue the world in the ultimate war between the king of *Sambhala* and his enemies.

Kālacakra.”⁶⁶⁵ The verses 48-50 treat the above mentioned fight and verses 51-60 the arrangements of the deities in relation to the constellations and the channels (*nāḍī*) in the body. From the context it is quite clear that in these verses (vv.56-57) the number of deities and its relation to the subtle body should be discussed. The number 1620 deities is explained in the following verses and depends on the number of channels corresponding to the same number of deities in the *Paramādibuddha maṇḍala*.⁶⁶⁶ The *Kālacakra maṇḍala* normally contains 722 gods,⁶⁶⁷ otherwise the best translation would be to identify *Ādibuddha* with the *maṇḍala*. There are also variations in the *maṇḍalas* in the way of counting the gods. In this case, there is the *nakṣatra-maṇḍala*, which is a variation with 1620 gods. As it is said in the VP, one can say that there are 810 *daṇḍas* in the day and 810 in the night. For the whole 24 hours, that makes 1620 *daṇḍas* and correspondingly there are 1620 gods and goddesses in the *nakṣatra-maṇḍala*. The correspondence between the number of gods in the *maṇḍala* and the way of measuring time and astronomy is here complete. This *maṇḍala* with 1620 gods is from the lost root-*tantra*. In the abbreviated *tantra*, the *maṇḍala* contains 722 gods. There are also distinct *Kālacakra-maṇḍalas* published in the Ngor collection.⁶⁶⁸ It is actually written in this text that the assembly of gods in the *Ādibuddha* is the *nakṣatra-maṇḍala* (the star constellation *maṇḍala*). It is also written in the VP that the 722 divinities in the *laghutantra* and the *mūlatantra* are described, and the 1620 divinities are probably described in the *mūlatantra*. To conclude, this verse is states that the *Ādibuddha* is the assembly of gods and goddesses in the *mūlatantra*. *Ādibuddha* here is a designation for the number of gods in the *maṇḍala* in the root-*tantra*.

A quotation from KCT II:57:

*triṃśadbhāgena tasmāt triguṇitanīyatā devatāḥ Kālacakre
mudrāṣaṭkaṃ ca bāhyaṃ punar api niyatāś cakranādyas tathaiva /
uṣṇiṣe dvīḥ⁶⁶⁹ hrdo 'ṣṭau śīrasi nṛpatayo dantasamkhyā ca kaṇṭhe
nābhau cāṣṭāṣṭagunya dviguṇanṛpatayo guhyamadhye prasiddhāḥ //57//*

Vimalaprabhā to KCT II:57:

*idānīm ataḥ paramādibuddhāl laghutanantrotpāda ucyate triṃśad ity ādinā --
iha paramādibuddhāt viṃśaty adhikaṣoḍaśaśatāt triṃśad bhāgena labdhāḥ
catupañcāśad devatā bhavanīti / punaḥ kāyavākcittaguṇitāś triguṇā
dvāṣaṣṭyadhikaśataṃ bhavati / eṣu māṇḍaleyaś catuḥ pañcaśad
adhikaśatasamkhyā maṇḍalesaṃ prajñopāyayugmaṃ bāhye mudrāṣaṭkaṃ
iti / kālacakraṃ paramādibuddhān nīrgataṃ daśabhāgeneḍādisamkhyānta*

⁶⁶⁴ *Mleccha* comes from the Sanskrit root *mlec* which means “to speak indistinctly (like a foreigner or barbarian who does not speak Sanskrit).” As a noun *mleccha*, it means “foreigner, barbarian, non-Aryan, man of an outcast race, any person who does not speak Sanskrit and does not conform to the usual Hindu institutions.” (Monier-Williams, 837).

In the *Kālacakra Tantra* (KCT I:150-170 and KCT II:48-50), *mleccha* stands for the barbarian Muslims from *Makha* (Mecca).

⁶⁶⁵ VP Vol.I. 1986:183.

⁶⁶⁶ VP Vol.I. 1986:184-190; Translation in Wallace. 1995:224-243.

⁶⁶⁷ See for example the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* and its description of the deities in the *Kālacakra maṇḍala*.

⁶⁶⁸ *Tibetan Mandalas*. 1983:plates 97 and 98.

⁶⁶⁹ Banerjee. 1985 has *abdhi* which stands for “four” and is more relevant.

Translation of KCT II:57:⁶⁷¹

Because of the division into thirty [divinities] from that [Āḍibuddha], in the *Kālacakra* [tantra] there are a determined [number] of divinities multiplied by three. Moreover [there are] the six outer *mūdras* and the determined [number] of the channels of the *cakras*. There are four [channels] in the crown [-*cakra*], the heart [-*cakra*] has eight, the fore-head [-*cakra*] has sixteen, the throat [-*cakra*] has thirty-two, the navel [-*cakra*] sixty-four, and in the secret [-*cakra*] thirty-two [channels] are known. // 57 //

Vimalaprabhā to KCT II:57:

Now, here the origination of the *laghutantra* from the *Paramādibuddha* [mūlatantra] is presented, beginning with “thirty” and so forth. Here, from the *Paramādibuddha*, 54 deities are obtained due to the division of 1620 by 30. They are “multiplied by 3”, that is, multiplied by body, speech and mind, and become 162 [deities]. Among them, those related to *maṇḍala* are 154. The *maṇḍala* is the pair consisting of wisdom and method and the six *mūdras* in the outer [world]. The *Kālacakra* ⁶⁷² has come forth from the *Paramādibuddha* ⁶⁷³ due to the classification of ten, ⁶⁷⁴ that is, due to the classification of channels beginning with *īḍa* and ending with *saṅkhini*. This is a relative meaning (*neyartha*) with respect to the outer [world]. This is a description of the *laghu Kālacakra* [tantra].

This part of the second chapter contains many figures and calculations of numbers which have their origin from the system of channels in “the subtle body”. From the number of channels in the body are also calculated the deities in the *maṇḍala*. This verse KCT II:57, with commentary VP vol.I:188, has more information on the *Paramādibuddha*. The origin of the abridged *tantra* from the root-*tantra* is explained. It is a continuation of the reasoning around the number of deities in the *maṇḍalas*. In the *Paramādibuddha* there were 1620 deities but by a system of division it is reduced and then again restored until the conclusion that the *Kālacakra* has come forth from the *Paramādibuddha* and they both contain 1620 deities. ⁶⁷⁵ Again it is clear that *Paramādibuddha* is a designation of both the root-*tantra* text and the assembly of divinities in the *maṇḍala* of *Paramādibuddha*. The following part of the VP commentary to KCT II:59 treats the *Āḍibuddha* and the *maṇḍala*:

evaṃ śaṭpañcāśad adhikaśatakalācakanāḍyo devatādevatīsvabhāvenāvasthitā

⁶⁷⁰ KCT II:57 and Vimalaprabhā II.3 in VP Vol.I. 1986:188, line 15-24; Banerjee. 1985:57.

⁶⁷¹ This text has been translated by Wallace in her dissertation which translates the whole of the second chapter, both KCT and VP. (Wallace. 1995:236-37).

⁶⁷² Bu-ston. 1965b:367. Bu-ston gives the explanation “1620” [deities].

⁶⁷³ Ibid. Bu-ston gives the same explanation “1620” [deities].

⁶⁷⁴ Ibid. Bu-ston gives “[of ten] channels (*nāḍī*) of the heart.”

⁶⁷⁵ VP Vol.I. 1986:188; Bu-ston. 1965b:64-65; Wallace. 1995:237-38.

*bālānām mṛtyudāyikāḥ yoginām sukhadāyikāḥ śaṭkulanādibhiḥ sārddham
bhāvitāḥ satyaḥ dvāṣaṣṭyadhikaśataṁ kālacakraṁ śaṭcakraṇādyātmakam
iti / tāsu punar dvāṣaṣṭyadhikaśatanādīṣu pratyekanādī daśavāyupracāreṇa skand-
hadhātudaśasvabhāvena daśavidhā bhavanti / evaṁ sarvā daśaguṇitā
viṃṣaty adhikaśodaśaśatasamkhyā bhavanti saptaṭviṃśan naḥṣatraghaṭikāvāhinyah
/ evaṁ śrīmān naḥṣatramaṇḍalaparamādibuddhe etāvatyō devatyah
prañhōpāyēneti / ato vistarān naḥṣatramaṇḍalāl lokasamvṛtyā śleśmādidhātu-
vāhinyō devatā laukikasiddhisādhanaṇya ca śarīrasiddhisādhanaṇya vā
mañjuśrīyoddhṛtāḥ śaṭcakraṇāyikā iti kālacakraṇāḍīsaṁkara niyamaḥ / ⁶⁷⁶*

Thus, one hundred and fifty-six channels of *Kālacakra*, which exist with the nature of male and female deities, are the givers of death to foolish people and the bestowers of bliss to the yogis. They are conceived as good along with the channels of the six families. *Kālacakra* consists of one hundred and sixty-two channels of the six *cakras*. Among those one hundred and sixty-two [channels], every single channel is of ten kinds due to the circulation of the ten winds and due to the ten natures of the aggregates (*skandha*) and elements (*dhātu*). Thus, all multiplied by ten become one thousand six hundred and twenty [channels] conveying the *ghāṭikas* of the twenty-seven constellations. Thus, due to wisdom and method, there are that many female deities in the glorious *Paramādibuddha* with its *maṇḍala* of constellations. Hence, conventionally, the deities convey the elements of humours from the extensive *maṇḍala* of constellations (*naḥṣatramaṇḍala*). *Mañjuśrī* selected the consorts of the six *cakras* for the sake of attaining the mundane *siddhis*, or for the sake of attaining the bodily *siddhis*. This is an exact description of the arrangement of the channels in *Kālacakra*.⁶⁷⁷

Here the concept of *Paramādibuddha* represents the *maṇḍala* as presented in the root-*tantra*. There are 1620 deities in the *naḥṣatramaṇḍala* of the *Paramādibuddha* text and here is given the very interesting explanation of why there are so many deities in this *maṇḍala*. In the *maṇḍala* extracted from the *laghutāntra* there are normally 722 deities. Consequently, this is the explanation of the number of 1620 deities in the verse treated KCT earlier, II:56. Here follows verse KCT II:92 with its VP commentary:

*evaṁ karmāstivādī bhavati-sa bhagavān ekaśāstā na kartā /
sarvajñaś cādibuddhas tribhuvananamitāḥ kālacakrī na cakrī //
brahmā viṣṇuś ca rudraḥ śaraṇam adhigato yasya pādābjamūle /
taṁ vande kālacakraṁ jinavarajananaṁ nirguṇaṁ nirvikalpaṁ // 92 // ⁶⁷⁸*

The Tibetan translation given in Bu-ston, 1965b:⁶⁷⁹

*De ltar las ni yod par smra ba por 'gyur bcom ldan ston pa gcig pu de ni
byed po min / kun mkhyen dang po'i sangs rgyas srid gsum gyis btud dus kyi*

⁶⁷⁶ Vimalaprabhā II.3 in VP Vol.I. 1986:190, line 1-9. A commentary on KCT II:59.

⁶⁷⁷ Wallace. 1995:242.

⁶⁷⁸ KCT II:92 in Banerjee. 1985:66 and in Vimalaprabhā II. in VP Vol.I. 1986:219, line 18-22.

⁶⁷⁹ Bu-ston. 1965b:137.

'khor lo can te 'khor lo can ma yin / tshangs pa khyab 'jug drag po dag kyang
gang gi zhabs kyi chu skyes drung du lhag par skyabs 'gro ba / dus kyi 'khor
lo rgyal ba mchog bskyed yon tan med cing rnam rtog med pa de la phyag
'tshal lo // 92

Thus, even though he becomes the one who advocates the existence of *karma* (*karmāstivādin*),⁶⁸⁰ so he, *Bhagavān* the unique teacher, is not one who is a creator. He is omniscient *Ādibuddha*, revered by the three worlds, *Kālacakrī* [the one with the time-wheel], not *Cakrī* [the one with the wheel], at the root of whose footlotus *Brahma*, *Viṣṇu* and *Rudra* have found refuge. *Kālacakra* [who is] the *jina*-producer, [who is] without qualities, [who is] without mental constructions (*nirvikalpa*), him I pay homage to. // 92 /

The *Vimalaprabhā* commentary:

*evam uktena krameṇa karmāstivādī kartā iti nāstivādī nairātmyavādī bhavati, sa bhagavān viśuddhacittātmā / "na sannāsanna sadasanna cāpy anubhayātmakam" [mā 0 kā 0 5,2] "ekaśāstī traidhātuke na kartā / sarvajñāś cādibuddhaḥ sarvajñatā-sarvākārajñatā-mārgajñatā-mārgākārajñatā-prāptatribhuvanamitaḥ kālacakrī anāśravasukhasarvākāradharmī / na cakrī viṣṇuḥ / kutah ? yato brahmā-viṣṇuś ca rudraḥ śaraṇam adhigato yasya pādābhjamūle, tam vande kālacakram iti so 'haṃ mañjuśrīr jīṇavarajananaṃ nirguṇaṃ nirvikalpaṃ pūrvoktalakṣaṇam iti śūnyatāvādinīyamaḥ /*⁶⁸¹

A translation of the whole commentary:

[Now is told about the *Karmavāda* (the doctrine of karma)] Thus, as it was discussed sequentially, one who is advocating the existence of *karma*, is not a propounder of the existence of a creator, he is one who is advocating the non-existence of self (*nairātmya*); that *Bhagavan*'s inner nature is composed of purified mind. "*Na sannāsanna sadasanna cāpy anubhayātmakam*" (mā 0 kā 0 5,2),⁶⁸² [Transl. of the quotation: "not existing, not non-existing, not existing non-existence, there is even not non-existence of the two together."]. He is the unique teacher, he is not a creator in the three worlds. The omniscient *Ādibuddha* has attained omniscience,⁶⁸³ knowledge of all the aspects,⁶⁸⁴ knowledge of the path,⁶⁸⁵ knowledge of all the aspects of the path,⁶⁸⁶ and he is revered by the three worlds. *Kālacakrī* (the one with the wheel), the one who possesses the

⁶⁸⁰From here on I place the original Sanskrit word that I have translated between simple parentheses.

I use brackets for amendments in the translation made in order to make the text comprehensible in English.

⁶⁸¹ The commentary in *Vimalaprabhā* II.5 in VP Vol.I. 1986:219, line 22-28.

⁶⁸² This is a quotation from the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* by Nāgārjuna, cited in order to prove the doctrine of *nairātmya* (the non-existence of self).

⁶⁸³ = "svābhāvīkākāya", according to the commentary by Bu-ston. 1965b:137.

⁶⁸⁴ = "nirmāṇakāya", Bu-ston. 1965b:137.

⁶⁸⁵ = "sambhogakāya", Bu-ston. 1965b:137.

⁶⁸⁶ = "dharmakāya", Bu-ston. 1965b:137.

happiness without impurities, is not *Cakrī*, that is, *Viṣṇu*. [Why?] At the root of whose foot-lotus *Rudra*, *Brahma* and *Viṣṇu* have found refuge, him I salute as *Kālacakra*. Thus I, *Mañjuśrī*,⁶⁸⁷ salute this one, the progenitor of *jinās*,⁶⁸⁸ who is *Kālacakra*, without characteristics, without mental constructions, and who has been characterized of what has been said earlier. This is the precept of a *sūnyatā-vādin* (someone following the doctrine of the Void).

In the *Vimalaprabhā*, this is part of the 5th subchapter “The definition of the characteristics of the momentary in the *Kālacakra*.”⁶⁸⁹ Earlier in this subchapter (v.89) is discussed that “there is no creator who gives or takes away the happiness and sufferings of living beings. In *saṃsāra*, a performed earlier deed which is of three kinds brings about its result.”⁶⁹⁰ It is important to stress that there is no “creator” of the individual. Generally, it is argued here for the doctrine of *karma* and its general validity.

The general topic is the birth in the six destinies due to the ripening of *karma*. Here *Ādibuddha* stands for the “principle” of *Ādibuddha*. In this verse one can read that he is omniscient,⁶⁹¹ he is revered by the three worlds, and he is equal to *Kālacakra* who produces the *jinās*. Also, one who advocates *Kālacakra* is not a worshipper of *Viṣṇu*.⁶⁹² This is a very interesting verse where for the first time in the KCT the word *Ādibuddha* is given some qualifications and is not just a name for the texts in the *Kālacakra Tantra*. In the commentary it is made clear that *Cakrī* is *Viṣṇu*, which means that that the followers of *Kālacakra* did not want their teaching to be mixed up with *vaiṣṇavism*. The whole verse makes it evident that *Kālacakra* is considered superior to the greatest Hindu gods. Actually, these gods (*Brahma*, *Viṣṇu* and *Rudra*) have taken refuge in *Kālacakra*. To conclude, in this verse one can say about the *Ādibuddha* that “he ?”⁶⁹³ is omniscient, has attained knowledge of all aspects, has knowledge of the path and all aspects of knowledge of the path, and is revered by the three worlds. He is also to be equalled to *Kālacakra*, who is a *jinajanaka* (he makes the *jinās* emerge).

I use here the pronoun “he”, but of course *Ādibuddha* has no gender and is neither “he” nor “she”. It is also impossible to say “it” and I use “he” as a convention in this work. It is clear that *Ādibuddha* is beyond male and female. When in the final line of the commentary it is said that this is a fixation of the *sūnyatā-vāda* (the doctrine of the Void), the reader could start wondering what these deities really are in connection with the doctrine of the Void. Perhaps this verse is another way of describing the *sūnyatā*-doctrine of the Void?

⁶⁸⁷ He is *Yaśas*, king of *Śambhala* and father of the author of the *Vimalaprabhā*, who is considered to be an incarnation of the bodhisattva *Mañjuśrī*.

⁶⁸⁸ = “*Vajrasattva*”, Bu-ston. 1965b:138.

⁶⁸⁹ VP vol.I. 1986:214.

⁶⁹⁰ VP vol.I. 1986:218; Wallace. 1995:325.

⁶⁹¹ Newman. 1987a:349-351 for a discussion of the concept “omniscient”.

⁶⁹² Later in this 2nd chapter of the KCT is found a discussion of the doctrines of *Kālacakra* and *Mādhyamika* contrasted to other schools and religions in India at this time (9th to 11th century). KCT II:161-180; VP Vol.I. 1986:255-271; Wallace. 1995:428-473; Grönbold. 1992b.

⁶⁹³ It is of course impossible to give the concept of *Ādibuddha* a gender. I have written “he” in the text only following the tradition that masculinity has a sort preference. One of the definitive qualifications of the *Ādibuddha* is that “he” is beyond the dualistic concept of gender.

In the commentary there is inserted a verse from *Nāgārjuna* in order to strengthen the fact that the description of the deities has its basis in *Mādhyamika* philosophy.

Next, I will present a part of the VP commentary to the verse KCT II:176 which contains a mentioning of *Ādibuddha*:

*vistaro 'neko 'nekapramāṇaśāstreṇa madhyamakena nirākaraṇīyas
tīrthikānāṃ siddhāntaḥ / yaḥ saṃvṛtyā vivṛtyā vā sambuddhavadānasamaḥ
sa na dūṣaṇīya iti kālacakra ādibuddhabhagavato niyamaḥ / tadyathā --* ⁶⁹⁴

The extensive and diverse system (*siddhanta*) of heterodox sectarians (*tīrthikas*) is to be repudiated by means of the *Mādhyamika*, which has many authoritative treatises. That which is either conventionally or non-conventionally identical to the words of the Buddha, is not to be refuted. This is the definition of the *Bhagavan Kālacakra*, the *Ādibuddha*. For example...

Here is clearly stated that *Kālacakra* is *Ādibuddha*.

After the fore-going verse the concluding verses 177-180 of the second chapter on the inner *Kālacakra* (*Adhyātmapaṭala*) follows. *Kālacakra* is here consequently called *Ādibuddha* and these last verses seem to a listing of characteristics of *Kālacakra/Ādibuddha*. These verses do not have any commentary in the VP, but concerning the two last verses of the second chapter. Here follows KCT II:179:

*indro ahaṃ svargaloke tridaśanaragurur bhūtale cakravartī
pātāle nāgarājāḥ phaṇikulanamitaḥ sarvaśaś cottamo 'ham /
jñānaṃ buddho munīndro 'kṣaraparamavibhur yogināṃ vajrayogo
vedo oṃkāraḥ pavitro vraja mama śaraṇaṃ sarvabhāvena rājan //* 179 // ⁶⁹⁵

I am Indra, the *guru* of thirteen in heaven, a *cakravartin* on earth, the king of *nāgas* in the underworld, revered by the family of serpents. I am the omnipresent and excellent knowledge (*jñāna*), a Buddha, Indra [the master] of the wise men, an unchanging and supreme sovereign (*akṣaraparamavibhu*), the yogis' *vajrayoga*, the Veda, the oṃ-syllable, a protagonist [chosen by each side to decide a battle] and a means of purification. Oh King, take refuge in me with all your being.

Who speaks here? It is not completely clear, but from the context it can be concluded that it is *Buddha Śākyamuni* in the form of *Kālacakra*, and consequently, *Ādibuddha*. A number of characteristics are then enumerated which are the same as those that can be found in other places in the KCT and the VP. He is "unchanging" and "supreme sovereign", concepts that are known from chapter five (KCT V:127). It can be remarked that Buddha here calls himself "Indra". The "King" mentioned must from the context be identified with King *Sucandra* of *Sambhala* who was listening to *Śākyamuni Buddha* preaching the root *Paramādibuddha Kālacakra Tantra* and later was to write it down.

⁶⁹⁴ Vimalaprabhā II.7 in VP Vol.I. 1986:270, line 9-10. A commentary on KCT II:176.

⁶⁹⁵ KCT II:179 in Banerjee. 1985:86 and in Vimalaprabhā II. in VP Vol.I. 1986:271. 3 These verses were translated into English by Vesna Wallace. 1995:473-474.

Finally, the last verse in the second chapter KCT II:180 will be quoted:

*tvam mātā tvam pitā tvam jagati gurur api tvam ca bandhuḥ sumitraṃ
tvam nāthas tvam vidhātā hita maghaharaṇa tvam padaṃ sampadaṃ ca /
tvam kailāyaṃ padaṃ tvam varaguṇanilayo dhvastadoṣas tvam eva
tvam dinānātha cintāmaṇiḥ api śaraṇaṃ tvam gato 'haṃ jinendra //*180//⁶⁹⁶

You are the mother, you are the father. In the world, you are the guru, you are a relative and a good friend. You are a protector, you are a giver, you are the gift of goods and wealth and the state of perfection. You are the final beatitude, you are the abode of the best qualities, and you are free from faults. Oh protector of the wretched, you are the *cintāmaṇi*.⁶⁹⁷
I take refuge in you, oh *Jinendra* (lord of *jinas*).

This verse is a homage to *Kālacakra/Ādibuddha* and tells of the qualities of this deity in very concrete language. He is a very perfect, almost human, figure, being the father, mother, guru, protector and free from faults. *Cintāmaṇi* is a very precious jewel or stone kept in *Kalāpa*, the capital of *Shambhala*. The only more general qualification is as “*Jinendra*” (*jina+indra*), which in this context can be interpreted as “master of *jinas*” or “Lord of *jinas*”.

4.2.1.c Ādibuddha in the KCT and the Vimalaprabhā commentary chapter III - Abhiṣekapatalaḥ - the chapter on the initiation.

In a few places in the third chapter of the *Vimalaprabhā*, the word *Ādibuddha* or *Paramādibuddha* can be found. Mostly, it is no more than the designation of the root-*tantra* text called with these names. When quoted, the root-*tantra* is almost always called the “*mūlatantra*”, that is, “root-*tantra*” and only in a few places is it designated as *Ādibuddha*. In the VP commentary on KCT III:1:

*tathāha bhagavān ādibuddhe.*⁶⁹⁸

So it was said by the Lord (*Bhagavān*) in the *Ādibuddha*.

Then follows a quotation from the root-*tantra*. It is clear that this mentions the text *Paramādibuddha*, also called only *Ādibuddha*. *Bhagavān* here, as in most places in the *Kālacakra* texts, is a title for *Buddha Śākyamuni*.

In the VP commentary to KCT III:19.

tatrādibuddhe cittamaṇḍalaṃ dvādaśaḥastaṃ prakuryād iti niyamāc

⁶⁹⁶ KCT II:180 in Banerjee 1985:86 and Vimalaprabhā II. VP Vol.I. 1986:271.

⁶⁹⁷ A “wishfulfilling jewel” that was thought to exist in *Kalāpa*, the capital of *Shambhala*. It was said to be able fulfill all wishes.

⁶⁹⁸ Vimalaprabhā III.1 in VP Vol.II. 1994:2, line 2.

In that *Ādibuddha* the mind-*maṇḍala* and the twelve hands are produced,
and from the four rules is established the *sūtra* of the hand.

Here *Ādibuddha* is probably the *maṇḍala* which is another meaning of the word. There is nothing new about the concept. In the VP in the introduction to subchapter 3 and KCT III:36 on the drawing of the *maṇḍala*:

*iha paramādibuddhād uddhṛtaṃ maṇḍalalakṣaṇaṃ pañcatriṃśat
tam ādivṛttaih saṅgītaṃ mañjuśrīyā yat tad idānīm vitanyate
mūlatantrānusāreṇa* ⁷⁰⁰

Here, drawn out from the *paramādibuddha* are the characteristics
of the *maṇḍala*, the 35 that exist from the beginning, the chant
of *Mañjuśrī* was laid out following the root-*tantra*.

Here the word *Paramādibuddha* must be a designation of the text, the root-*tantra*. Here is the same wording *paramādibuddhāduddhṛtaṃ* as found in the commentary to KCT V:89 that will be treated in chapter V.

In the VP commentary to KCT III:55:

*evaṃ dvādaśadvārātmakam kāyavākcittamaṇḍalam paramādibuddham
śoḍaśacandrakalā vibhāgikam* / ⁷⁰¹

So, composed of the twelve openings, the body, speech and mind-
maṇḍala, the *paramādibuddha* and the differentiation of the moon
into sixteen moon digits [small parts of the day]

This is a part of the subchapter with the description of *maṇḍalas* in the *Kālacakra*, so *paramādibuddha* is again the *maṇḍala*.

In the VP commentary to KCT III:97:

Paramādibuddhe anye vā maṇḍale saptaḥṣekair vyākṛto anujñāto mayā... ⁷⁰²

In the other *Paramādibuddha* or *maṇḍala*, having made the seven
initiations known by me...

Here once more *Paramādibuddha* signifies the *maṇḍala* in the root-*tantra*.

In the introduction to the VP subchapter 5 to KCT III:104:

iha śrīparamādibuddhāt pratiṣṭhāvidhir mañjuśrīyā caturdhikaśatādivṛttair

⁶⁹⁹ Vimalaprabhā III.1 in VP Vol.II. 1994:17, line 11.

⁷⁰⁰ Vimalaprabhā III.3 in VP Vol.II. 1994:44, line 10.

⁷⁰¹ Vimalaprabhā III.3 in VP Vol.II. 1994:57, line 17.

⁷⁰² Vimalaprabhā III.4 in VP Vol.II. 1994:93, line 10.

uddhṛta ṭikayā vitanyate ⁷⁰³

Here, *Mañjuśrī* drew out the consecration rite from the *Śrīparamādibuddha* using the 104th verse [of KCT V]. I shall explain it with the commentary.

It is obvious that *Paramādibuddha* is mentioned as the text with that name. The commentary was written with this root-*tantra* as a base.

In the VP commentary to KCT III:165:

*yenātra paramādibuddhe sarvapṛthivīvyāpakatvād bhoṭṭādicīnādiviṣayeṣv
api pīṭhādīni santi, ...* ⁷⁰⁴

Therefore, in the *Paramādibuddha* from the whole earth....; even in the countries of *Bhoṭṭa* etc (Tibet) and Cina etc, there are provinces etc....

Here *Paramādibuddha* is probably a designation for the text *Paramādibuddha*. It appears that the spread of *Paramādibuddha* to countries like Tibet is mentioned.

4.2.1.d. Ādibuddha in the KCT and the Vimalaprabhā commentary to KCT IV - Sādhanaṣaṭaḥ - the methods of practice chapter.

The first quotation is from the introduction to KCT IV:1:

Paramādibuddhāt sādhanāṣaṭale sucandrādhyeṣaṇam... ⁷⁰⁵

In the chapter on method (*sādhana*) from the *Paramādibuddha* teachings of *Sucandra*....

As in most places, *Paramādibuddha* is the name of the text.

The following quotation is from the VP commentary to KCT IV:19 and belongs to the sub-chapter on the stage of generation and *Ādibuddha* stands for the text.

*idānīm nāmarūpādyutpādāya mahārāgavaineyasaptalokam
ādibuddhadeśānāyām bhājanam abhiśaṃvīkṣya surataḍhvaninā
svakāye 'kṣobhyādijinasamūhaṃ praveśyākāśādīdhātusamūhaṃ
puruṣavidyā cakṣur ādirūpādiviṣaya svabhāvena devatā
svarūpāvīrbhūtaṃ punar api taṃ svakāyān niścārya viśvamātari
yathā vadantar bhāvayet /* ⁷⁰⁶

Here by the first emergence of name and form, [someone] has come to

⁷⁰³ Vimalaprabhā III.5 in VP Vol.II. 1994:98, line 18.

⁷⁰⁴ Vimalaprabhā III.5 in VP Vol.II. 1994:128, line 3.

⁷⁰⁵ Vimalaprabhā IV.1 in VP Vol.II. 1994:149, line 22.

⁷⁰⁶ Vimalaprabhā IV.2 in VP Vol.II. 1994:162, line 24.

be known as the one who takes part of the instruction of *Ādibuddha* on the seven worlds and the modesty of the great passion. In the own body, because of the great pleasure, *Akṣobhya* and the other *jinas* are assembled, as well as the realms, space, etc...the knowledge of man, the eye, the abode of the own form etc. Again, having manifested [this] by his own body, he is to be one who has declared this to *Viśvamāta*.

The following is the VP commentary to KCT IV:133:

*sādhitaḥ Kālacakraḥ samasukhaṃ dadāṭīti niyama iti śrīmad
ādibuddhasādhanaṃ utpannakrameṇoktam asya vistaro
jñānapaṭalaḥ vaktavya iti // 13* ⁷⁰⁷

The meditation deity *Kālacakra* has given the same bliss. It is fixed. The holy *Ādibuddha* *sādhana*, through the stage of completion (*utpannakrama*) it is to be treated in detail in the chapter on knowledge (*jñānapaṭalaḥ*).

The above is about the *sādhana* of *Ādibuddha*. There are many ways of practising and making a *sādhana* in the *Kālacakra Tantra*. Here, one is mentioned concerning the completion stage of the initiation and practice following the six folded yoga (*ṣaḍaṅgayoga*). Below follows a commentary to KCT IV:168:

*ādibuddhe mahātantre sugateneṣṭasiddhaye //
evaṃ ṣaḍlakṣajāpeṇa pūrvasevā nigadyate /* ⁷⁰⁸

In the great *tantra* *Ādibuddha*, the Buddha (*sugatena*) said that the desired accomplishment [is reached] by the murmuring of the 600.000 [*mantras*], the preliminary service [tib. *sngon-'gro*]

This is a quotation from the root-*tantra*, which is normally called *Ādibuddha* or *Paramāḍibuddha*. Here it appears that *Ādibuddha* represents the text, but it seems strange that in the very text that is called *Ādibuddha* it is mentioned that something can be found in the text *Ādibuddha*.

4.2.1.e. *Ādibuddha* in the KCT and the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary to chapter V - *Jñānapaṭalaḥ* - the chapter on knowledge.

The places in the fifth chapter of the KCT and the *Vimalaprabhā* where the word *Ādibuddha* or *Paramāḍibuddha* can be found will now be treated. In the commentary to KCT V:9:

⁷⁰⁷ *Vimalaprabhā* IV.3· in VP Vol.II. 1994:219, line 15.

⁷⁰⁸ *Vimalaprabhā* IV.5 in VP Vol.II. 1994:234, line 26.

iti vācanāt nedam upāyatantraṃ bhavati / tathāḍibuddhe ⁷⁰⁹

From these statements it is not an upāyatantra / like that, [in the] Āḍibuddha [it is said]:

After this quotation follows a citation from the root-tantra. Consequently, by Āḍibuddha is only meant the root-tantra text Paramāḍibuddha. It is sometimes called Āḍibuddha but mostly Paramāḍibuddha.

The VP introductory commentary to the second subchapter on the four bodies of the Buddha and to KCT V:89:

Na san nāsan na sadasan na cāpy anubhayātmakam /
catuṣkoṭiviniirmuktaṃ natvā kāyaṃ mahāsukham //
uddhṛtaṃ mañjuvajreṇa āḍibuddhān niranvayāt /
lakṣaṇaṃ buddhakāyānāṃ caturṇāṃ tadvitanyate //⁷¹⁰

The body of the great bliss is completely liberated from the four alternatives; it is not existent, not non-existent, not existent and non-existent and not consisting of neither. I will explain the characteristics of the four Buddha bodies as Mañjuvajra extracted them from the Āḍibuddha without causal connection.⁷¹¹

This is a very interesting quotation that will be returned to when treating the theories of the four bodies of the Buddha.⁷¹² The quotation is placed as a sort of introduction to the subchapter on the four bodies and contains at the beginning a quotation from the *Mūlamādhyāmakakārikā* by Nāgārjuna on the existence and non-existence of phenomena. It then continues that Mañjuvajra has drawn out the characteristics of the four bodies from the Āḍibuddha. Here the word Āḍibuddha can be interpreted in distinct ways. The first is that it quite simply is the name of the mūlatantra Paramāḍibuddha and Mañjuvajra is another way of qualifying the author of the *laghutantra* (KCT) who was the king of *Sambhala* called Mañjuśrī Yaśas. The interpretation would then be that the author, Mañjuśrī Yaśas, drew out the essential content on the four bodies as written by king Sucandra in the lost root-tantra Paramāḍibuddha. The other possible interpretation is that here is meant the concept of Āḍibuddha as a sort of cosmic idea of the origin of the world, and that the four bodies are levels of existence of the “cosmic” Buddha as well as different kinds of states to be reached in Buddhist methods of realization of the ultimate stage of *mahāsukha* or *nirvāṇa*. This interpretation is based on the word *niranvaya* or “without partiality”, “without retinue”, “without family”, “without descendance”, “without continuity”, “without relation” or “without causal connection”. All these possible interpretations of the word hints that Āḍibuddha should be interpreted as the “cosmic” Āḍibuddha and not as the root-tantra text.

⁷⁰⁹ Vimalaprabhā V.1 in VP Vol.III. 1994:7, line 7. A commentary on KCT V:10.

⁷¹⁰ Vimalaprabhā V.2 in VP Vol.III. 1994:45, line 14. An introduction to the verse KCT:89.

⁷¹¹ A quotation from the *Mūlamādhyāmakakārikā* by Nāgārjuna. The same quotation exists in the VP commentary to the KCT II:92 as I have translated it above, p.123.

⁷¹² See the translation of the whole of the commentary to verse KCT V:89 in my chapter on the four bodies.

The VP commentary on KCT V:127 in the third subchapter on the supreme unchanging gnoxis:

*kalkī punaḥ sambhalaviṣaye yaśobrahmaṇasya putro bhūtvā vāsudevaḥ śailāśvam āruhya darbhamaṇyāḥ śallaiḥ sarvamlecchān mārayitvā bahus-varṇamedhayāgaṃ kṛtvā punar brahmaṇamayim prthvīm kariṣyati / evam anekavākyāny aghaṭitāni duṣṭaviprair buddhotpādakāle racitāni prāgvedapāṭhe na santi / ihādibuddhadeśanākāle tathāgatenoktaṃ lokadhātupaṭale (1.26) jyotiṣaprastāve mlecchadharme jāte sati siddhānām vināśo bhaviṣyati prthvyām laghukaraṇāni bhaviṣyanti mañjughoṣo 'pi mayi nirvṛte śaḍvarṣaśataiḥ sambhalaviṣaye śākyakule sureśānasya putro vijayādevīgarbhe yaśonāmakalkī bhaviṣyati / tad yathā.*⁷¹³

Moreover, the *kalkin*, after having been born as the son of the *brāhmaṇa Yaśas* in the realm of *Sambhala*, [being in fact] *Vāsudeva*, after having mounted on a horse with precious stones, after having killed all the *mlecchas* with a spear of long sacrificial grass. After having made an offering of the richly golden sacrificial broth, he will once again make the earth the *brahmaṇa*'s place. In this way, by many nonsensical statements were preached by evil *brahmins* at the time of the emergence of the Buddha, they [the statements] did not exist in the earlier Vedic texts. In this regard, at the time of the instruction of the *ādibuddha*, it was stated by the *Tathāgata* in the chapter on the outer world that when, at the proper astrological time, the barbarian *dharma* is produced, the destruction of the *siddhas* is going to come; the *laghu-karaṇāni* [unreliable astronomical calculation manuals] will come into existence on earth, and even *Mañjughoṣa*, six-hundred years after I have entered *Nirvāṇa* will be [born] in the realm of *Sambhala*, in the *Śākya* clan, as the son of *Sureśāna*, in the womb of queen *Vijayā*, is going to become the *Kalkin* by name of *Yaśas* as follows:

Here is written about *Ādibuddha* as the text and it is also told about the author of the text. The use of the concept “instruction of the *Ādibuddha*” signifies that the teaching of *Kālacakra* was practised.

The VP commentary on the KCT V:130:

Paramādibuddhe ṣaṭṣisāhasrikāyāṃ ṭikāyāṃ jñātavya iti /⁷¹⁴

It is going to be known in the *Paramādibuddha* and the 60,000 verse commentary.

This is a reference to the root-*tantra* written by *Sucandra* and the 60,000 verse root- *Vimalaprabhā* commentary. What is interesting here is that both texts are mentioned as existing. The VP commentary on the KCT V:222:

*athādibuddhokto golakabandha ucyate*⁷¹⁵

⁷¹³ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:96, line 10-16. A commentary to verse KCT V:127.

⁷¹⁴ Vimalaprabhā V.4 in VP Vol.III. 1994:105, line 12. A commentary to verse KCT V:130.

So, it was said by the *Ādibuddha* and it was expressed in connection with the celestial sphere.

Here the word *Ādibuddha* seems to be a designation of the text, or it could be the principle. The VP commentary on the KCT V:223:

ādibuddhabhagavatoktam aparaṃ vistaraṃ na likhitam //223// ⁷¹⁶

It was said by the *Bhagavān Ādibuddha*, otherwise the exposition was not written.

Here *Ādibuddha* can be interpreted as the *Buddha Śākyamuni* who as *Kālacakra* taught the *Ādibuddha* text to the king *Sucandra* of *Sambhala*. If it was not preached by the Buddha, it would not be written as a canonical text. As *Ādibuddha* is qualified as *Bhagavan*, it must be a personal concept. The next mention of *Ādibuddha* is in KCT V:243:

*sarvasmiṃstantrarāje khalu kuṣīpadaṃ gopitaṃ vajriṇā vai,
pratyaṅkṣaṃ cādibuddhe nigaditaṃ akhilaṃ prāṇināṃ mokṣahetoḥ /
tasmāt tantrottaraṃ vai sakalaṃ avikalaṃ lokalokottarābhyāṃ,
śrīmat tantrāḍibuddhaṃ paramajinapateś cābhīdhānaṃ sucandra // 243//* ⁷¹⁷

In all [other] *tantrarājas*,⁷¹⁸ the *vajra*-state is hidden by *vajriṇā*. For the sake of the liberation of the beings, all is announced clearly in the *Ādibuddha*. Therefore, the excellent *tantra* [exists], the entire, unspoiled, with the worldly and the outer-worldly. So, *śrīmat tantrāḍibuddhaṃ* is the exposition of the supreme *jinapati* (master of *jinās*), Oh, *Sucandra*. // 243 //

Bu-ston does not comment on this verse. *Buddha Śākyamuni* is speaking to *Sucandra* about the very text, the *mūlatantra Paramāḍibuddha*, which is here called *tantrarāja*. Here *Ādibuddha* is mentioned twice in the same verse. The first time it seems to be the text *Ādibuddha*, that is, the KCT or the lost root-*tantra*. Everything is said clearly in the *Ādibuddha* texts. The second mention of *Ādibuddha* in the 4th line is very interesting because here there is a confirmation that the much used term *jinapati* is a designation for *Ādibuddha*. It also indicates the sense of the word as the master or father of the five *jinās*, which is the very definition of the *Ādibuddha*. In an incomplete inventory of the term *jinapati* in chapters 3-5 in the *laghutāntra*, I have found it mentioned in 42 places. Whereas the term *Ādibuddha* is mentioned only 7 times in a complete inventory of the whole *laghutāntra*. This is just one example that there is much more material on the concept of *Ādibuddha* in the *tantra* than the word itself indicates.

⁷¹⁵ Vimalaprabhā V.4 in VP Vol.III. 1994:139, line 30. A commentary on verse KCT V:222.

⁷¹⁶ Vimalaprabhā V.4 in VP Vol.III. 1994:141, line 17. A commentary on KCT V:223.

⁷¹⁷ Banerjee1985:260. Vimalaprabhā V.4 in VP Vol.III. 1994:150.

⁷¹⁸ See Bu-ston's commentary to KCT V:252 in Bu-ston. 1965a:290.

Translation of the Sanskrit and the Tibetan of the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary to KCT V:243:

*tad eva pratyakṣaṃ cādibuddhe nigaditam akhilaṃ prāṇināṃ
sambhalaviṣaye janmināṃ nirahāṅkāracittānāṃ mokṣahetoḥ /
tantrottaraṃ vai sakalam avikalaṃ tantrarājaṃ lokatantrāt
kriyatantrāt, lokottarād yogatantrāt, tābhyām uttaraṃ
lokottottaraṃ / śrīmat tantrādibuddhaṃ paramajinapater
jñānakāyasya sahaṃjasyābhidhānaṃ vācakaṃ //243//⁷¹⁹*

Just so, [it was]clearly [stated] in the *Ādibuddha*, for the sake of the liberation of the ones being born with minds having no pride and for all the living beings in the realm of *Sambhala*: Actually, the extraordinary *tantra*, the *tantrarāja* entire and divided in portions, from the *lokatantra* and the *kriyatantra* and from the extraordinary *yogatantra* of all those it is the supremely extraordinary. *Śrīmat-tantrādibuddha* [KCT] pronounces the full expression of *sahaṃja* and the wisdom body (*jñānakāya*) of the supreme master of *jinās* (*paramajinapati*.) // 243 //

The commentary is quite enigmatic. In the country of *Shambhala* someone, who is probably the author of the *Vimalaprabhā*, *Puṇḍarika* the king of *Shambhala*, is making a statement with the meaning that the text *Ādibuddha* explains the *sahajakāya* and the *jñānakāya* of the *Paramajinapati*. The word *Paramajinapati* carries the meaning that it is someone who is the supreme master (or father) of *jinās*. On the other hand there can hardly exist more than one *jinapati*, so consequently the name probably is there to underline the importance of the deity that is the ruler over the *jinās*. The *jinapati* then must be a designation for the chief among the *jinās* who is given several names according to tradition. In the *Kālacakra* context, it seems to be the *Ādibuddha*, *Kālacakra*, *Vajrasattva*, *Mañjuśrī* and sometimes *Samantabhadra*. If there is an *Ādibuddha* concept in the *Kālacakra*, one of his abilities must be to be the father of the five *jinās*. Consequently, here *Ādibuddha* should be qualified as the superior father/master of *jinās*. No one else could have this function.

For the first time, it is also possible to connect the idea of *Ādibuddha* with the four body theory clearly found in the *Kālacakra Tantra*. Here it is stated that in some way the *paramajinapati* "has" a *jñānakāya* and/or a *sahajakāya*. *Jñānakāya* is a concept that is normally linked to *Mañjuśrī* as *Ādibuddha*, but in the *Kālacakra* texts, many times *Mañjuśrī* comes very close to be designated as *Ādibuddha*. As will be shown later in this work, *Sahajakāya* is definitely very close to the *Ādibuddha* concept in the *Kālacakra Tantra*. Consequently, it can be deduced that by the term *Paramajinapati* at this point could be meant a concept of *Ādibuddha*.

The next text consulted is KCT V:252 with the Tibetan commentary by Bu-ston. There is no VP commentary on this verse:

śrīmān śrīdharmacakre suravarānamite viṣṭare viśvavarṇe

⁷¹⁹ The Sanskrit text in *Vimalaprabhā* Vol.III. 1994:150, line 28 to 151, line 3. Tibetan: Bu-ston. 1965a:290, line 2-7.

*tasmin buddhopaviṣṭo gadati narapate tantrarājādibuddham /
candraprasnāvabodhe tridaśanaragurur yac ca sattvārthahetos
tac cedānīm mayā te gaditam api kalāpe 'lpatantram hi sūrya. // 252 //*⁷²⁰

Translation with the commentaries of Bu-ston interpolated:⁷²¹

Śrīmān, [Bu: This is the place where the *Kālacakra* was preached, *Dhānyakāṭaka stūpa*], in the blessed *dharmacakra* [Bu: here is question of the gods in the *maṇḍala*] which [Bu: the lion-throne] is adorned by the best of the gods; all the colours have been widespread. [Bu: The colours are of various sorts] Buddha [Bu: *Buddha Śākyamuni*] has, mounted on the wheel, explained to the master of men the [Bu: the *mūla-*] *tantrarājādibuddham* [Bu: the 12,000 verse one, the king among all *tantras*, the *Ādibuddha*]. For the sake of the living beings and the guru of gods and men, having knowledge of the moon. By me [Bu: *Mahīśūri*] this is now pronounced [Bu: the meaning of the root-*tantra*] in the small (*alpa*)*tantra* in *Kalāpa*, [Bu: *upāya* and *prajñā* are inseparable from the small *Kālacakra-tantra* (the *laghutantra*)] oh, *Sūrya*[*ratha*].

In this verse, the word *Ādibuddha* once more signifies the text, the *mūlatantra Paramādibuddha*. Probably just to make the point that the author, *Yaśas*, composed this text and that the other *mūlatantra* was exposed by Buddha himself for the master of men, which probably makes allusion to the king of *Śambhala*, *Sucandra*. Here the *laghutantra* is called the *alpatantra* (the small *tantra*) which is a new terminology. Bu-ston's translation of the *Vimalaprabhā* ends with verse 247 as there are no commentaries written in the VP on the rest of the verses in the fifth chapter.

The last place where the word *Ādibuddha* is found is in KCT.V:256:

*vrddho 'pi tvam kumāraḥ sakalajinasuto 'py ādibuddhas tvam ādau,
strīsaṅgī brahmacārī paramakaruṇayā lokabandhur yamāriḥ /
saumyo 'pi tvam suvajrī maraṇabhayaḥaras tvam sadā māmamāro,
mukto 'pi tvam bhavā 'smin praviśasi jagataḥ pācanārthaṃ yaśas tvam // 256 //*⁷²²

As there is no commentary to this verse in the VP, I have translated Bu-ston's interesting commentaries to the KCT, here presented within brackets:

Even though you [*Mahīśūri*] are old, you are a youngster; even though you are born by all the *jinās* [you are the son of the *jinās* because you have entered upon the way of the *bodhisattva*], so were you in the beginning [that because you have been transformed into the *jñānakāya* of all the *Tathāgata*'s you are the *ādibuddha*] *ādibuddha*.⁷²³
Even though you are attached to women, you live in chastity [You are

⁷²⁰ KCT. V:252, Banerjee. 1985:262 and *Vimalaprabhā* V.4 in VP Vol.III. 1994:153.

⁷²¹ Bu-ston. 1965a:294, line 3-5.

⁷²² Sanskrit: Banerjee. 1985:263; *Vimalaprabhā* V.4 in VP Vol.III. 1994:153.

Tibetan: Bu-ston. 1965a:295, line 7 to p.296, line 4.

⁷²³ These two lines have been presented and translated already by de La Vallée Poussin. 1908:95.

a *brahmacāri* that doesn't let his *bodhicitta* flow out], with the extreme compassion, the kinsman of the world; the enemy [and killer] of *Yāma*. Even though you are radiant as the moon [As for you, even though dispassionate (calm)], so [you are] a brilliant *vajra*, [you] take away the fear for death, always, [you] killer of *Māra*; [Bu-ston here translates: "As for you, [you are] at each time the killer of *Māra*"; and (Bu-ston's commentary: Because you have subdued the *Māras* who hindered the highest bodhi)]. Even though you are liberated in this world [Bu-ston's translation: "As for you, even though you are liberated (from the ties of life), [as for in this life, (you have come) for the sake of ripening the living beings"], you enter into the worlds to cure the world, you *Yaśas* [As for you (*Mañjuśrī*) *Yaśas*, you were made to enter into perfection].⁷²⁴

Mañjuśrī Yaśas is here presented as a very complicated personality. He is old and young; he was born by the *jinas*, but was in the beginning *Ādibuddha*. He is the killer of *Māra* and *Yāma*; he is not of this world, but enters the world to help it. All this is possibly a way of saying that *Mañjuśrī Yaśas* is omniscient, and, as is known from the text *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti*, he is regarded at times as *Ādibuddha* himself. It is possible that the *Yaśas* which is mentioned is the king *Yaśas*, the author of the text KCT, who in his turn is regarded as an incarnation of the *bodhisattva Mañjuśrī*. There are some problems with this identification though, because if we regard the king *Yaśas* of *Sambhala* as the author of the text KCT, it seems more than strange that in the very text the author himself is put on equal footing as the *Ādibuddha*. The speaker in this verse is *Sūryaratha*, and some verses in the KCT are dialogue of *Yaśas* and *Sūryaratha*, and consequently these verses are not drawn from *Pa-ramādibuddha*. This is *Sūryaratha's* praise of *Yaśas*.

According to *Bu-ston* the interpretation could be that all the former part of the verse makes allusion to the *bodhisattva Mañjuśrī* (as *Ādibuddha*), and that only the final salutation alludes to the king *Yaśas*. *Bu-ston* comments that *Mañjuśrī* is the *jñānakāya* of all the *Tathāgatas* and this *jñānakāya* can be said to be the *Ādibuddha*.

Furthermore, two more places where the word *Ādibuddha* is not mentioned, but where the concept is alluded to in other words are presented:

First KCT V:49:

*rgvedam paścimāsyād api gadati yajur vāmavaktrāj jinendrah
savyāsyāt sāmavedam paramaharikule 'tharvaṇam pūrvavaktrāt /
pūrvāsyāt kaulatantram punar aparamukhād gārūḍam bhūtatantram
siddhāntam vāmavaktrād udayar avinibhād viṣṇudharmañ ca savyāt // 49 //*⁷²⁵

The *Rgveda* is expressed from the western [face] and *Yajur* [*veda*] [is expressed] from the left mouth by *Jinendra*; From the right face [he elaborates] the *Sāmaveda*, in the clan of the supreme *Hari* (*Vishnu*), from the eastern mouth [is spoken] the *Atharva-veda*.

⁷²⁴ See also for this verse Wayman. 1985:7-8 and Grönbold. 1992:12.

⁷²⁵ Banerjee 1985:212 and Vimalaprabhā V.1 in VP Vol.III. 1994:34. Tibetan: Bu-ston. 1965a:225, line 7 to p.226, line 2.

From the eastern face [he expresses] the *kaulantras*, moreover from the western face [he expresses] the *Gāruḍa-* and *Bhūta-tantras*. From the left face [he declares] the [*Saiva*] *Siddhanta*, [and] the *Viṣṇudharma* [that is] like unto the rising sun [he declares] from the left [face].

Here it is written that the four *Vedas* come out of the mouth of *jinendra* (the king among *jinās*) *jina - indra* and there is a possibility that this concept corresponds to the concept of *Ādibuddha*. In that case, this would be another sign of the omniscience of *Ādibuddha*. Perhaps also a sign of the inclusiveness of the *Kālacakra*, as it also includes the basic literature on Indian religion in the doctrine of the *Ādibuddha*. It also means that *Ādibuddha* even taught the *Vedas*.⁷²⁶ The syncretism of these texts becomes very obvious in this verse. *Viṣṇu* and *Gāruḍa* are mentioned and especially *Viṣṇu* is honoured. Unfortunately, there is no commentary in the *Vimalaprabhā* to this verse. There are only a few remarks by *Bu-ston* that do not give much assistance.⁷²⁷ Finally, the first chapter of the *laghutantra*. KCT. I:21, 3-4th lines:

*digrakṣapālās tanmadhye kālacakro jinavarajanako 'nāhato vajrakāyaḥ // 21 //*⁷²⁸

In the midst of the guardians of the five directions is *Kālacakra*, he who produces the foremost of *jinās*, is indestructible (*anāhato*) and *vajrakāya*.⁷²⁹

Jinajanaka, the producer of the *jinās*, is also used for *Ādibuddha* according to the commentary, as is also “indestructible” (*anāhata*), which is also used for *Vajrasattva*, and lastly, *vajrakāya* is also used for *Ādibuddha* in the commentary. So, here *Kālacakra* is equalled to *Ādibuddha*.

4.3. ĀDIBUDDHA IN THE BASIC KĀLACAKRA TEXTS – A CONCLUDING SURVEY.

As a summary of the above chapter, the characteristics of the *Ādibuddha*, *Kālacakra* and *Viśvamāta* as they are found in the KCT and the *Vimalaprabhā* are presented.

4.3.a. Ādibuddha in the Śrī-Kālacakra-nāma-tantra-rāja (KCT).

Interpreted as:

- the text (*Paramādibuddha*, *mūlatantra*, *tantrarāja*, *tantrarājādibuddha*), KCT I:149, II: 56., V:252.
- *bhagavān* = *Ādibuddha*, II:92.
- unique teacher; II:92.

⁷²⁶ Compare with *Vimalaprabhā* I.4 Vol.I. 1986.

⁷²⁷ *Vimalaprabhā* Vol.III. 1994:34 and *Bu-ston*. 1965a:225-26. A commentary to the 5th chapter of the KCT.

⁷²⁸ Banerjee. 1985:6.

⁷²⁹ Newman. 1987a:513-514.

- not one who acts; II:92.
- omniscient; II:92.
- ruler over the three worlds; II:92.
- *Kālacakrī*; II:92.
- he is not *Cakrī* (*Viṣṇu*); II:92.
- *Brahma*, *Viṣṇu* and *Rudra* have found refuge at his footlotus; II:92.
- progenitor of the best of *jinas* (*jinavarajananam*); II:92.
- without qualities (*nirguṇa*); II:92.
- without (mental) constructions (*nirvikalpa*); II:92.
- master of *jinas* (*jinapati*); V:243.
- everything is said in front of the eyes of *Ādibuddha*; V:243.
- *Śrīmāt tantrādibuddham*; V:243.
- old but young; V:256. [*Mañjuśrī*].
- [*Mañjuśrī* is] born by all the *jinas* although in the beginning *Ādibuddha*; V:256.
- attached to women but living in chastity; V:256. [All the following concerns *Mañjuśrī* as *Ādibuddha*].
- compassionate; V:256.
- kinsman of the world; V:256.
- enemy of *Yāma*; V:256.
- radiant as the moon; V:256.
- brilliant *vajra*; V:256.
- killer of *Mārā*; V:256.
- liberated in this world but enters the world to cure it; V:256.

4.3.b. *Ādibuddha* in the *Vimalaprabhā* (VP).

Interpreted as:

- aspectless although possessing aspects; *Vimalaprabhā* I.1.in VP vol.I:1; (nr.2-6 are in the same place).
- unchanging bliss (*akṣarasukha*).
- progenitor of the Buddhas.
- possessing the three bodies.
- knowing the three times.
- omniscient.
- non-dual.
- innate master of *jinas* (*sahajajinapati*); *Vimalaprabhā* I.1 in VP vol.I:1; (nr.9-15, the same place).
- *jñānakāya*, *dharmakāya*, *sambhogakāya* and *nirmāṇakāya*.
- body of the day-maker sun (*dinakaravapus*).
- the eye of spreading the lotus-petals (*padmapatrāyatākṣaḥ*).
- liberations.
- body, speech, mind, passion (*kāya-vāk-citta-rāga*).
- beyond origination and dissolution.
- non-dual wisdom and method.

- pure yoga (*śuddhoyoga*); Vimalaprabha I.2 in VP vol.I 1986:12;(nr.17-18 in the same place.)
- *vajrayoga* that consists of wisdom and method.
- without partiality (*niranvaya*).
- *Cakravartin* of the three realms (*dhātu*). Vimalaprabha I.2 in VP vol.I:12.
- perfect enlightenment in a single instant; Vimalaprabha I.2 in VP vol.I:17;(nr.21-23 in the same place).
- supreme (*parama*).
- the one who first (*ādi*) obtained buddhahood.
- without beginning in time; Vimalaprabhā I.2 in VP vol.I:18.
- without termination; Vimalaprabhā I.2 in VP vol.I:18.
- indivisible *vajrayoga*; Vimalaprabhā I.4 in VP vol.I:32.
- endless Buddha; (the same place).
- the absolute; Vimalaprabhā I.5 in VP vol.I:42-43.
- supreme unchanging (*paramākṣara*) (the same place).

Divinities who are equalled to *Ādibuddha* are: *Kālacakra*, *Vajrasattva*, *Vajradhara* and *Akṣobhya*. Also the own-nature body (*svābhāvīkākāya*).

4.3.c. *Kālacakra in the Vimalaprabhā.*

Interpreted as:

- emptiness (*śūnya*) and compassion (*karuṇā*); Vimalaprabhā I.1 in VP vol.I:1.
- without origination and annihilation in the three existences.; (the same).
- the single image of knowledge and objects of knowledge; (the same).
- the Buddha sitting on the lion throne; Vimalaprabhā I.1 in VP vol.I:1; (the same for nr. 5-12).
- the pure *vajrayoga*.
- a single reality having 16 aspects, due to the division of the Bodies.
- beyond non-existence and existence.
- the unity of knowledge and objects of knowledge.
- meeting of the best of jinas (*jīnavarasamayam*).
- the true aim having 12 aspects due to the factors.
- *bodhicitta*.
- the thunderbolt abode of the *jīnas* (*jīnakūṣīapadam*).
- he has abandoned the absorption of *āli* and *kāli*, and the letters *hum*, *phaṭ* and so forth; Vimalaprabhā I.1 in VP vol.I:2.
- the body born from the unchanging (from *ādibuddha*!); (the same).
- Definition : "Time (*kāla*, *dus*) has the characteristic of supreme unchanging bliss. One whose body is generated as a wheel (*cakra*; '*khōr-lo*) of unobscured aggregates, elements, and so forth by means of that [bliss] is *Kālacakra*"; Vimalaprabhā I.2 in VP vol.I:17.

4.3.d. *Viśvamāta in the Vimalaprabhā.*

Interpreted as:

- the progenitor of all the Buddhas (*jananī saravabuddhānām*); Vimalaprabhā I.1 in VP vol.I:2.
- abandoned origination and destruction; (the same).
- one who possesses the conduct of *Samantabhadra*; (the same).

4.4. CONCLUSIONS.

Consequently, what can we find out about *Ādibuddha* from looking at parts of these two texts? In the *Śrī Kālacakra* (KCT) the most important characteristics should be:

- he is not one who acts; - omniscient (*sarvajñā*).
- progenitor of the best of jinas (*jinavarajanānam*); - without qualities (*nirguṇa*); - without mental constructions (*nirvikalpa*); - master of jinas (*jinapati*); - ruler over the three worlds.

In the *Vimalaprabhā* the characteristics mentioned above and the following:

- unchanging bliss (*akṣarasukha*); - progenitor of the Buddhas (*jinajanaka*); - non-dual (*advaya*); - beginningless; - endless; - non-dual wisdom and method; - the one who first obtained buddhahood; - without partiality (retinue) (*niranvaya*).

It is possible to find a number of qualifications of the *Ādibuddha* in these texts. It fits in quite well with the general *Ādibuddha*-theories. Especially that he is bringing forth the jinas and that he is eternal. Consequently, one can perhaps say that *Ādibuddha* is described under this name in the two texts. Still it is not possible to find any one *Ādibuddha* described concretely and depicted iconographically as in Nepal. What is described more concretely is aspect or emanations such as *Kālacakra*, *Akṣobhya*, *Viśvamāta*, *Vajrasattva* and *Vajradhara*. In the Indo-tibetan iconography one can recognize an aspect of *Ādibuddha* in that they all have their arms crossed over the chest with *vajra* and bell in their hands.

Another possible conclusion is that the whole description is a way to describe the *śūnyata* (the Void). *Ādibuddha* can also be described as the Void, according to classical *mādhyamika* Buddhism.

Another way of describing the concept of *Ādibuddha* is that it is a designation of the concept of *tathāgatagarbha*, the notion that there exists a permanent Buddha-seed in all beings and the important thing for man is to discover his own Buddha-seed (*garbha*). Ruegg has treated the subject and he states about the *tathāgatagarbha* that it is "characterized as permanent (*nitya*), immutable (*dhruva*), blissful (*sukha*), and eternal (*śāśvata*), and sometimes we are even told that it is *ātman*."⁷³⁰ These epithets correspond well with the ones given to the concept of the *Ādibuddha* in the KCT and the VP. In the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* the concept of *tathāgata* contains the idea of being permanent,

⁷³⁰ Ruegg. 1992:19.

blissful, empty, without marks and “very pure” (*viśuddha*).⁷³¹ These concepts are found as designations of the *Ādibuddha* in the KCT/VP. In his analysis of the *tathāgatagarbha*, Ruegg concludes that the concept is not identical with the brahmanical *ātman*, but that it is founded on a distinct theory which may neutralize and cancel both the *ātmavāda* and the *anātmavāda*. Perhaps there is a common stock of experiences which are used by both Buddhists and Hindus.⁷³²

This idea about the *tathāgatagarbha* has recently been presented by Stearns in his work on *Dol-po-pa*.⁷³³ *Dol-po-pa* states that the *Ādibuddha* is to be compared to “indestructible self-arisen gnosis”, probably corresponding to *acintya-sahaja-jñāna* in Sanskrit.⁷³⁴ Despite these reservations, it is probable that there really is some idea of an *Ādibuddha* in the KCT and VP texts. The problem is that it is almost impossible to find a systematic description of the idea. As shown later in this text, more possibilities for interpretation open up when looking at the theory of the four bodies (the fourth body *sahajakāya* or *śuddhakāya*) and the whole complex of ideas around the concept of the “supreme unchanging”, “the supreme unchanging gnosis” or “supreme unchanging bliss” (*paramākṣara*).

The concept of something unmanifested which manifests itself in some way in order to shape the world as we see it, is of course known in other branches of Indian philosophy. In the *sāṃkhya* philosophy there are some similarities. It is the discussion on the root-base (*mūla-prakṛti*, *pradhāna*) which is interesting; how the unmanifested (*avyakta*) is becoming manifested (*vyakta*).⁷³⁵

⁷³¹ Ruegg. 1992:22; Ruegg. 1973:123-124.

⁷³² Ruegg. 1992:54-55.

⁷³³ Stearns. 1999:238-239 notes 30-32.

⁷³⁴ Stearns. 1999:118.

⁷³⁵ See for example Simonsson. 1955:39-48 and Larson. 1979:160-167.

5. THE FOUR BODIES OF THE BUDDHA IN THE KĀLACAKRA TANTRA AND THEIR RELATION TO THE ĀDIBUDDHA CONCEPT.

5.1. INTRODUCTION. EARLIER RESEARCH ON THE FOUR BODIES OF THE BUDDHA.

The concept of “bodies” “kāya” came to be known in *Mahāyāna* Buddhism. It is a much discussed concept and there are many different interpretations. In the following, I will discuss research being done in this field.

In his Introduction to the *Sekoddeśatikā*, Mario Carelli treats the *svābhāvikakāya* as equal to *Sahajakāya*. He also notes that the text says that the four bodies can be possessed simultaneously by the practitioner.⁷³⁶

G. Tucci writes about the four bodies in his *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*.⁷³⁷ He says that the *svābhāvikakāya*⁷³⁸ has been added to the three others to stress the fact that these three bodies should not be understood as of three different natures, but are one identical nature, partaking of one single essence. Tucci adds that there is a theory of three or four bodies, postulating a *dharmakāya* or *sahajakāya* beyond all possible determination. This has a connection with the development of the *Ādibuddha* concept. Tucci names the fourth body *sahajakāya* and the four bodies have a correspondance to the four joys (*ānanda*), of which the highest is *sahajānanda* (= *mahāsukha*). In the human body the *sahajakāya* is placed in the *uṣṇīṣa* at the top of the head.

Tucci also writes in his work, *The Religions of Tibet*, that, in the context of treating the consecrations in the *Anuttarayoga-tantras*, the fourth “investiture” consecration (*dbang*) is there to eliminate personal defilements, which are at the base of the other three defilements, corresponding to the three lower bodies. In the same way, the three lower bodies dissolve in the corresponding *svābhāvikakāya*. This concept, that is, to purify from the defilements, is another indication of why the fourth body is called *suddhakāya* in the KCT.⁷³⁹

Herbert Guenther notes in his book, *The Royal Song of Saraha*, that there are four bodies, with the fourth as *svābhāvikakāya*, but he adds that there is also a fifth body, called *Mahāsukhakāya*. These two together are a sort of causal result of the lower three, the final

⁷³⁶ *Sekoddeśatikā*. 1941:15-19.

⁷³⁷ Tucci Vol. I. 1949:234-236, 243-244.

⁷³⁸ *svābhāvikakāya* from *svabhāva* + *kāya*, which translates as a “self-existent body”. The spelling *svā...* with a long *ā* is taken from the *Vimalaprabhā* and the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, although Tucci and Snellgrove have *sva* with a short *a*. Tibetan *ngo-bo nyid-kyi-sku*.

⁷³⁹ Tucci et Heissig. 1973:87-88.

state of real being.⁷⁴⁰ Guenther's Tibetan source also says that the *svābhāvikakāya* is merely a name, and it is not an entity that can be pointed at.⁷⁴¹

D.L.Snellgrove writes in his *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*⁷⁴² that in the earlier *Mahāyāna* phase there was a question about two bodies who are form-bodies or *rūpakāya* (*sambhogakāya* and *nirmāṇakāya*) and *dharmakāya*. Asaṅga occasionally wrote about the three bodies as *dharmakāya* or *svābhāvikakāya* (self-existent body) and the other two. At a later stage, the *svābhāvikakāya* is distinguished from the *dharmakāya* and regarded as absolutely transcendent. But in *Mahāyāna*, it is clear that the theory remains with three bodies and the *dharmakāya* is also referred to as *svābhāvikakāya*. In the *tantras* the *svābhāvikakāya* is placed above the *dharmakāya* and is also referred to as the innate body (*sahajakāya*) and body of great bliss (*mahāsukhakāya*).

Günther Grönbold relates in his article, *Zwei Ādibuddha-Texte*, on how the Tibetan commentators on the *Kālacakra* interpret the position of *Ādibuddha* in the system of the three or four Buddha-bodies. First, he cites Tārānātha (16th cent.) who places "*Ādibuddha*" over the three *kāyas*. Then he continues with Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims rin-chen (18th cent.), who relates *Ādibuddha* to the *Dharmakāya Vajradhara*. Finally, he quotes Bu-ston (1290-1360) who praises the *Ādibuddha* as *svābhāvikakāya*.⁷⁴³ However, Grönbold does not in his article refer to the treatment of the four bodies and *Ādibuddha* in the two basic *Kālacakra* texts (KCT and VP), so that is where the analysis will begin.

John Makransky wrote a dissertation on the four bodies in Buddhism and later published a book with the results of his dissertation.⁷⁴⁴ As the work by Makransky is the latest and the most comprehensive, his arguments will be treated at some length. Makransky's analysis of how the word *kāya* (body) was etymologized by the Indian commentators to the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (AA) and Indian *Yogācāra* commentaries are first quoted:

1. *kāya* = "body" in the sense of *saṃcaya*, a collection of components or an accumulation of parts; *dharmakāya* = the collection (*kāya*) of Buddha's excellent qualities (*anāsravadharma*); in some pre-*Mahāyāna* texts and a few early *Mahāyāna* passages, it has also meant "collection (*kāya*) of the Buddha's teachings (*dharma*)."
2. *kāya* = "body" in the sense of *āśraya*, substratum or basis; *dharmakāya* = the substratum (*kāya*) of excellent qualities (*anāsravadharma*) or the basis (*kāya*) of sovereignty over all phenomena (*sarvadharma*).
3. *kāya* = "body" in the sense of embodiment; e.g., *dharmakāya* = that which embodies the real nature of things, the embodiment (*kāya*) of the real nature of things (*dharmatā*) in knowledge.

While *rūpakāya* has been a term of reverence for the physical form in which a Buddha appears to others, *dharmakāya* has often been a reverential term for a Buddha's own enlightened awareness. The *rūpakāyas* are the forms through which Buddhahood communicates with beings, categorized as *sambhogikakāya* (the glorious form through which a

⁷⁴⁰ Guenther. 1968:91, note 23. Guenther refers to an unpublished work by a Tibetan writer, Karma phrin-las-pa.

⁷⁴¹ Guenther. 1968:44-45,78. He cites Karma phrin-las-pa, *Do-hā skor-gsum*, fol.81a-b and fol.52b.

⁷⁴² Snellgrove Vol.1. 1987:36-37,115-116,250-251.

⁷⁴³ Grönbold. 1992a.

⁷⁴⁴ Makransky. 1990 and Makransky. 1997.

Buddha shares the *dharma* with great *bodhisattvas*) and *nairmāṇikakāya* (the limitless variety of forms through which a Buddha communicates *dharma* to the limitless varieties of other beings). Makransky then defines the *svābhāvīkākāya* as “the embodiment [of Buddhahood] in its essence, in its real nature”.⁷⁴⁵

Makransky treats the controversy over *dharmakāya* starting with chapter 8 of *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (AA) where there is a place, also quoted in the *Vimalaprabhā*, that can be interpreted as treating the four bodies of the Buddha. The place quoted in the VP is actually from *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, chapter I.17 (although quoted by Newman 1987a:368 as AA I.18):

*svābhāvīkaḥ saśāmbhogo nairmāṇiko 'paras tathā
dharmakāyaḥ sakāritraś caturdhā samudīritah*⁷⁴⁶

In its essence (*svābhāvika*), with its enjoyment (*sambhoga*), and in its manifestation(s) (*nairmāṇiko*) as well, embodiment of *dharma* (*dharmakāya*), with its activity, is proclaimed as fourfold.⁷⁴⁷

Makransky makes a convincing interpretation of this verse, and others, to the end that here is meant the doctrine of three bodies, where *dharmakāya* is referring to Buddhahood in its totality, having three functional modes, *svābhāvika*, *sambhogika* and *nairmāṇika*. There are then actually no more than three Buddha-bodies, if the texts are correctly understood. Makransky also quotes *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* as proof that the doctrinal position of both *Mādhyamika* and *Yogācāra* Buddhism are that there are three bodies of the Buddha, not four.⁷⁴⁸ The interpretation that there are four separated bodies came from Haribhadra, who wrote a commentary to the AA in the late eighth century. Haribhadra interpreted the above cited verse as follows:

The essence (*svābhāvika*) [body], with the enjoyment [body], the manifestation [body], and the body of *dharmas* (*dharmakāya*) with its activity as well: as fourfold are [they] proclaimed.⁷⁴⁹

According to this interpretation there are four bodies, with the *svābhāvīkākāya* as the fourth. This is clearly the tradition that was in vigour in the setting of the *Kālacakra Tantra*, because in this *tantra* the bodies of the Buddha are clearly interpreted as four, although Bu-ston in his commentaries to the KCT and the VP tries to interpret these places as representing the three-body theory following the *Sa-skyapa* tradition in Tibet.⁷⁵⁰

I will also quote the AA 8.1, which together with the following, has been a source of interpretative controversy among Indian and Tibetan commentators:

sarvākārāṃ viśuddhiṃ ye dharmāḥ prāptā nirāśravāḥ

⁷⁴⁵ Makransky. 1997:5-6.

⁷⁴⁶ As quoted in Makransky. 1997:164.

⁷⁴⁷ Translation by Makransky. 1997:164.

⁷⁴⁸ Makransky. 1997:164-67.

⁷⁴⁹ Haribhadra. 1932-35:914.

⁷⁵⁰ See Newman. 1987a:368-69.

The embodiment of the Sage (*muni*) in his essence (*svābhāvikakāya*): Its identity is the primordial nature (*prakṛti*) of the undefiled *dharma*s which are obtained in utter purity.

Makransky continues his analysis of the concept of *svābhāvikakāya* which is here defined as the primordial nature of the undefiled Buddha *dharma*s. The list of the *dharma*s is then presented in verses 8.2 – 8.6. and at the end comes the constatation that *iti dharmakāyo abhidhiyate*, “thus the *dharmakāya* is denominated.” This would then define the *svābhāvikakāya* as another way of naming the *dharmakāya*.⁷⁵²

Historically, there were two traditions for interpretation of the AA in this context. The first is to interpret the texts (AA I.17 and 8.1-6) as that there really exists no more than three bodies of the Buddha. The interpretation of these bodies can differ in various traditions, but if a fourth body (*svābhāvikakāya*) is mentioned it is only another name for *dharmakāya*, or is a sort of collective denomination of the three together.

The other line of interpretation is that there exists four bodies of the Buddha and the fourth is the *svābhāvikakāya* (essence body). In *Yogācāra* texts the *svābhāvikakāya* was described as unconditioned and had connections with the *Tathāgatagarbha*. I have found no mentioning of the fourth body as *śuddhakāya* or *sahajakāya*, as in the *Kālacakra*, in the material of Makransky on the AA texts. Consequently, the treatment of the concept of the four bodies is quite different in a late *tantric* text like the *Kālacakra Tantra* compared to earlier *Mahāyāna* texts.

The conclusion from the work of Makransky is that the main tradition of the Indo-Tibetan Buddhism has a tradition of three bodies of the Buddha, but that there exists another tradition which counts on four bodies. This tradition of four bodies is present in the *Vimalaprabhā*, including quotations from the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*. Paul Harrison has written an interesting article on the *Dharmakāya*.⁷⁵³

Vesna A. Wallace has written the most recent contribution to the discussion on the four bodies in the *Kālacakra Tantra*.⁷⁵⁴ In a chapter of her dissertation from 1995, she claims that Buddha's four bodies are indestructible and supreme manifestations of the *Paramādibuddha*. She also remarks that the *Paramādibuddha* was the one who first attained enlightenment by means of the unchanging bliss (*akṣarasukha*), as is stated in the introductory part of the VP (see p.104 of this work).⁷⁵⁵ She also writes that the four bodies of the Buddha can be interpreted as the four different manifestations of *vajrayoga*. The *sahajakāya* is identified as the *viśuddhayoga* (purified yoga) consisting of wisdom and method and which is a single union of *viśuddha* and *jñāna*. She notes that sometimes the fourth body is named *svābhāvikakāya* (nature body) and that this refers to the body of the *prajñāpāramitā* and, in consequence, with the indestructible *Ādibuddha*, identified with the *Bhagavān Kālacakra*.⁷⁵⁶ She holds that, in order to attain the unchanging bliss and the

⁷⁵¹ Haribhadra. 1932-35:914.

⁷⁵² Makransky. 1997:170-71.

⁷⁵³ Harrison. 1992.

⁷⁵⁴ Wallace. 1995:103-125 and Wallace. 2001:143-170.

⁷⁵⁵ Wallace. 1995:103-104.

⁷⁵⁶ Wallace. 1995:109 and VP Vol.I. 1986:42-43.

body of the Buddha and the *jñāna*, it is necessary to hold the view of the *Mādhyamikas* and have the right insight into the nature of emptiness (*sūnyatā*). I would not be so categorical in the necessity of holding this view, as it seems possible to be adherent to the *Kālacakra* being, for example, an adherent to the “substantialistic” *gzhan-stong* theory as does *Dol-po-pa*.

The second work of Wallace has reached me at a late stage in my work, but I will comment on some of her theories. She attempts to demonstrate that the *Kālacakra* tradition in India is an authentic gnostic tradition of Indian Buddhism and that gnosticism manifested itself in a great variety of forms. Following John Newman, she translated *jñāna* as “gnosis”. She also used the definition of gnosticism formulated by Hans Jonas that the emphasis is on gnosis as the means for attaining liberation, or as the form of liberation itself and the claim to the possession of gnosis.⁷⁵⁷ She applied this definition to the *Kālacakra Tantra* and also to other *anuttara-yoga-tantras*. I think that her arguments for comparing the *Kālacakra Tantra* to gnosticism are good. There is a stress on knowledge (*jñāna*) which is very important in the texts. The concept of the supreme unchanging knowledge (*paramākṣara-jñāna*) is of great importance, as will be shown in the following chapter. Concerning the theory of the four bodies of the Buddha, Wallace describes the sixteen aspects of the four bodies and names the fourth body *sahajakāya*. She also describes the location of the four bodies of the Buddha in the human body in a similar way as to how they are described below.⁷⁵⁸

5.2. THE FOURTH BODY OF THE BUDDHA IN THE KĀLACAKRA TEXTS.

5.2.1. The four bodies in the introductory parts of the *Vimalaprabhā*.

As early as in the introductory part of the text *Vimalaprabhā*, the four bodies are mentioned. The four bodies, with *sahajakāya* as the highest, are treated in the text below. On the same page it is given as a fact that:

sarvajñaṃ jñānakāyākhyam marttaṇḍavapuṣaṃ vibhum /
padmapatrāyatākṣaṃ taṃ tattvaṃ śoḍaśabhedataḥ //
*catuḥkāyātmakaṃ buddhaṃ vajrasīṃhāsane sthitaṃ /*⁷⁵⁹

Homage to the omniscient one, the one called *jñānakāya*, the body like the sun, lord, the eye of the spreading lotus petals. He [the omniscient one, *Ādibuddha*] is the Buddha consisting of the four bodies due to the division of the sixteen realities. He sits on the *vajra* lion throne.⁷⁶⁰

⁷⁵⁷ Wallace. 2001:144 and Jonas. 1963.

⁷⁵⁸ Wallace. 2001:156-159.

⁷⁵⁹ *Vimalaprabhā* Vol.I. 1986:2, line 23-25.

⁷⁶⁰ Translated in Newman. 1987a:225. The sixteen aspects of reality are explained in *Vimalaprabhā* Vol.I. 1986:45 (transl. in Newman. 1987a:376-377). They are the four joys (*ānanda*) connected in different ways with the *jñāna*, mind, speech and body. All these aspects are called *Sahajakāya*, which is the highest among the four bodies. It is also explained in *Vimalaprabhā* Vol.I (Newman. 1987a:236) where they are quite different from the explanation above.

In the following text of the *Vimalaprabhā* is found, a commentary on KCT I:1, the actual expression *svābhāvīkākāya* for the first time in the context of when the *Ādibuddha* is equalled to *svābhāvīkākāya*.⁷⁶¹ A very interesting connection with the *Mahāyāna*-text *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* I:18 is then made at the same page of the *Vimalaprabhā*.

*svābhāvīkaḥ sasambhogo nairmāṇiko 'paras tathā /
dharmakāyaḥ sakāritraḥ caturdhā samudīritaḥ //*⁷⁶²

The *svābhāvīka[kāya]* together with the *sambhoga[kāya]* likewise the *nirmāṇa[kāya]* [are] the *dharmakāya*. Together with activity (*kāritra*) it is rightly said to be fourfold.⁷⁶³

Then follows:

*sa eva bhagavān mantranaye phalalakṣaṇe sahaajānandaḥ sahaajākāya ity ukto*⁷⁶⁴

This very *Bhagavān* is called *sahaajānanda* and *sahaajākāya* in the *mantra* system that is characterized as the effect.

*Haribhadra*⁷⁶⁵ writes that “these informations about the *dharmakāya* are fourfold, *svābhāvīkākāya*, etc.” This first (and highest) body is characterized by “purity”. Perhaps one of the reasons why it is later in the KCT called “the pure body” (*śuddhakāya*). The body has the nature of *svabhāva* before it has arisen. This *svabhāva* is not created (absolute), consequently the *svābhāvīkākāya* is a way of saying non-created, absolute and pure.⁷⁶⁶ All things (*dharma*s) in their pure (*viśuddha*) form are *svābhāvīkākāya*. Buddha has such a body that can be realized by others. Then *Haribhadra* comments directly on the verse that is cited in the *Vimalaprabhā* and says that it actually means that there are only three bodies, but that it is contradicted in other places. For example, in *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* 8:1 the fourth body is clearly distinguished and the marks of its essential nature are actually the other three bodies *dharma*, *sambhoga* and *nirmāṇa*.⁷⁶⁷

As a conclusion, it can be said that *Haribhadra* already gives some of the most essential characteristics of *svābhāvīkākāya* and the *Ādibuddha* as these concepts are used in the *Kālacakra* literature. Coming back to the *Vimalaprabhā*, on the following page the

⁷⁶¹ *Vimalaprabhā* Vol.I. 1986:43; Newman. 1987a:368.

⁷⁶² Sanskrit text of AA. I:18 in *Vimalaprabhā* I.5 in VP Vol.I. 1986:43, line 5-6, where it is written *sasambhogo* and not *sasambhogo* which is more correct.

⁷⁶³ *Vimalaprabhā* Vol.I. 1986:43; Newman. 1987a:368 and note 4 where Newman remarks that Bu-ston in his commentary supports the three-*kāya*-theory but *Haribhadra*. 1932-35:914-916 interprets this verse as teaching four *kāyas*. See also the dissertation by John Makransky on the four bodies in Buddhism (Makransky. 1990 and 1997).

⁷⁶⁴ *Vimalaprabhā* Vol.I. 1986:43, line 8.

⁷⁶⁵ Dated to the late 8th century (Nakamura. 1987:283 note 88 and Makransky. 1997:7).

⁷⁶⁶ *Haribhadra*. 1932-35:914.

⁷⁶⁷ Conze. 1954:96 and *Haribhadra*. 1932-35:914.

Bhagavān (Ādibuddha) is equalled to *sahajakāya*, it has abandoned object and subject and it is not localized in existence or *nirvāṇa*.⁷⁶⁸ Consequently, in these pages there is another connection between *Ādibuddha*, *svābhāvīkākāya* and *sahajakāya*.

Later on in the text there is again a mention of *sahajakāya* as the supreme body. In the long introductory commentary on KCT I:1:

(p.45:13) *ṣoḍaśākāraṃ tattvam iti sa eva saḥajakāyaḥ śūnyatāvimokṣaśiśuddho jñānavajraḥ sarvajñah prajñopāyātmako viśuddhayoga*⁷⁶⁹ / *sa eva dharma-makayo 'nimittavimokṣaśiśuddhaḥ cittavajraṃ jñānakāyaḥ prajñopāyātmako dharmayoga ity uktah* / *sa eva sambhogakāyaḥ aprāṇīhitavimokṣaśiśuddhaḥ vāgvajraṃ dinakaravapuḥ prajñopāyātmako mantrayoga ity uktah* / *sa eva nirmāṇakāyo 'nabhisamskāravimokṣaśiśuddhaḥ kāyavajraṃ padmapatrāyātākṣaḥ prajñopāyātmakah samsthānayoga ity uktah* / *evam etaṃ vajrayogaṃ caturvidhaṃ buddhaṃ pṛccheda vajrapāṇi iti* / *śūnyatāvimokṣaśiśuddho jñānavajraḥ prajñopāyātmakah saḥajakāyaḥ sarvajñatāpṛptaḥ sarvajñah sarvadarśitvāt* / (p.45:20) *animittavimokṣaśiśuddhaḥ cittavajraḥ prajñopāyātmako dharmakāyaḥ mārṅgākārajñātāpṛpto jñānakāyaḥ paramākṣarasukhenāvasthitatvāt* (p.45:21) /⁷⁷⁰

(p.45:13) As for the essence of the sixteen aspects, [it is] the *sahajakāya* purified by the emptiness liberation,⁷⁷¹ *jñānavajra*, the omniscient one, the one that consists of wisdom and method, the pure *yoga*. Just that *Dharmakāya* is called, purified by the signless liberation, the mind-*vajra*, the *jñānakāya*, the one that consists of wisdom and method and the *dharmayoga*. That very *Sambhogakāya* (enjoyment body) is called, purified by the wishless liberation, the *vāgvajra* (speech *vajra*), the body of the day-maker sun, the one that consists of wisdom and method and the *mantra yoga*. That very *Nirmāṇakāya* (transformation body) is called, purified by the non-constructed liberation, the *kāyavajra*, the eye like spreading lotus petals, the one that consists of wisdom and method and the *samsthānayoga* (the shape *yoga*). *Vajrapāṇi* asked the Buddha for such a four-fold *yoga*. (p.45:20)

As for the one purified by the emptiness liberation, the *jñānavajra*, the *Sahajakāya* that consists of wisdom and method and the one that has obtained omniscience; because it sees everything it is the omniscient one. As for the one purified by the signless liberation, the *cittavajra* (mind-*vajra*), the *Dharmakāya* that consists of wisdom and method, the one that has obtained knowledge of the aspects of the path. It is the *jñānakāya* because it abides by means of the bliss of the supreme unchanging (*paramākṣarasukha*) (p.45:21).

⁷⁶⁸ Vimalaprabhā Vol.I. 1986:43; Newman. 1987a:369.

⁷⁶⁹ Vimalaprabhā I.5 in VP Vol.I. 1986:45, line 13.

⁷⁷⁰ Vimalaprabhā I.5 in VP Vol.I. 1986:45, line 13-21. Translated in Newman. 1987a:378-79.

⁷⁷¹ The four liberations are mentioned, 1 *śūnyatā vimokṣa* (emptiness liberation), 2 *animitta vimokṣa* (signless liberation), 3 *Aprāṇīhita vimokṣa* (wishless liberation), 4 *An-abhi-samskāra-vimokṣa* (non-constructural liberation). In the Pāli canon only three *vimokṣas* are mentioned. The fourth here corresponds to the fourth body concept introduced later. In this context there are also mentioned the four *yogas*: 1 *viśuddha-yoga* (purity), 2 *dharmā-yoga*, 3 *mantra-yoga*, 4 *samsthāna-yoga* (configuration *yoga*). They also correspond to the four bodies beginning with *sahajakāya*.

This is part of a brief explanation of the *vajrayoga* which actually is an explanation of that which has gone beyond existence and non-existence and is non-dual.⁷⁷²

One can again see the similarities with the characteristics given to *Ādibuddha* in the *Kālacakra* texts. In connection with this, the *svābhāvīkākāya* is defined as “the omniscient one,” *dharmakāya* as “*jñānakāya*,” *sambhogakāya* as “the body of the day-maker sun,” *nirmāṇakāya* as “having eyes like spreading lotus petals.” Here we have once more the identification of “the omniscient one” with *svābhāvīkākāya* and the above also shows that *sahajakāya* is equalled to *sarvajñā*, which means that it is equalled to *svābhāvīkākāya* and in consequence with *Ādibuddha*.⁷⁷³

5.2.2. The fourth body as *śuddhakāya* (the pure body) and *svābhāvīkākāya* (the self-existent body) in the *Kālacakra* texts.

In various places in the texts of the *Kālacakra Tantra*⁷⁷⁴ it is expressed that in this context one can see the concept of *Ādibuddha* as equal to the concept of a fourth body of the Buddha, the *svābhāvīkākāya* (tib. *ngo-bo nyid-kyi-sku*), also called *sahajakāya* (tib. *lhan-cig skyes-pa'i sku*), *śuddhakāya* (tib. *dag-pa'i sku*) and *saṃśuddhakāya* in the *laghutantra* and the *Vimalaprabhā*. I am now going to show how this is done in these two texts.

In the *Śrī Kālacakra-tantra-rāja* (KCT) we can find the concept of the fourth body mentioned as *śuddhakāya* or *sahajakāya*, while I have not found a mention of it as *svābhāvīkākāya*. The second chapter of KCT, the *Adhyātmapaṭala*, treats the human body as a microcosmos of the description of the outer world (the macrocosmos). In the first chapter, *Lokadhātupaṭala*, there is found an interesting description of the four bodies. Here follows a quotation from KCT II:14:

*garbhe saṃśuddhakāyaḥ prasavaṇasamayād dāntabhāvo'rtha dharmāḥ
dāntānāṃ vai prapātaḥ prabhavati nṛpa sambhogakāya jinaśya /
tasmān nirmāṇakāyaḥ prakāṭitanīyato mṛtyusimno narāṇāṃ
garbhe bāhye caturdhā bhavati punar asau jñānavijñānabhedāt //14//*⁷⁷⁵

Oh King, in the womb the *śuddhakāya* [the pure body], until the birth, when the *dharmā* [kāya] emerges [and stays there] until the time when the teeth emerges [at about six months]. The *sambhogakāya* of the *jina* emerges [and stays there] until the time of the falling of the teeth [at the age of 6-7]. After that, the *nirmāṇakāya* is fixed and made evident until the time of death. In the matrix, and outside, emerges the fourfold [the four *kāya*s], departing from the division into *jñāna* and *vijñāna*.

⁷⁷² Vimalaprabhā I.5 in VP Vol.I. 1986:43, line 28-29. Translated in Newman. 1987a:372. See also Newman. 2001:589-90 for a discussion of the concept of *vajrayoga*, which by Newman is seen as a concept similar to *Ādibuddha/Kālacakra/Vajrasatva*.

⁷⁷³ Vimalaprabhā I.5 in VP Vol.I. 1986:45, line 30- p.46, line 1. Newman. 1987a:380.

⁷⁷⁴ See the chapter below on “*Ādibuddha* in the *Kālacakra*” for information on the *Kālacakra* texts.

⁷⁷⁵ KCT II:14 Banerjee. 1985:47; Vimalaprabhā II.1 in VP Vol.I. 1986:163, line 16.

Here the word *śuddhakāya* is used for the kind of consciousness which emerges at the moment when an embryo has been brought into existence. Then it stays in the womb until the child is born. From the time of birth until about six months, *dharmakāya* is prevalent in the child. From six months up to 6/7 years of age, *sambhogakāya* reigns and for the rest of the life it is *nirmāṇakāya*. All this must be a way of comparing the microcosmos of the human body to the concepts of the four bodies of the Buddhas. The first one, the *śuddhakāya*, is hidden and the other three are more or less visible. Consequently, *śuddhakāya* can signify the unmanifested, *Ādibuddha*. In the following two verses KCT 15-16, *śuddhakāya* refers to the fourth body:

*vijñānaṃ candrasūryāv api kamalatāḥ śuddhakāyaḥ sa garbhe
dhātuskandhodbhavo yo bhavati daśavidho dharmakāyo jinasya /
tasmāt sambhogakāyo bhavati guṇavaśāc chotraśābdādijāte
tasmāt keśādijāte prasavanasamayaś cātra nirmāṇakāyaḥ //15//⁷⁷⁶*

[When the three] *vijñāna* (VP: *ālayavijñāna*), moon (VP: the male seed) and the sun (VP: the female menstruation blood) have come together, in the womb [there is] *śuddhakāya*. Then when the elements and the *skandhas* have emerged, the 10-fold *dharmakāya* of the *jinas* emerges. Then the *sambhogakāya* emerges when the ears and the sound have been born under the influence of the *guṇas*. After that, when the hair has emerged, [at] the time of birth [emerges] *nirmāṇakāya*.

The commentaries are from the *Vimalaprabhā*. It can also be said that the moon is the left channel, *lalanā*, the male and *upāya* (method); *ālayavijñāna*⁷⁷⁷ stands for the middle channel, *avadhūti*, the sun stands for the right channel, *rasanā*, the female and *prajñā* (wisdom). When these three channels meet, *mahāsukha* (the great bliss) occurs.⁷⁷⁸

The subject of when the four bodies emerge from conception up to birth is treated. The highest body, *śuddhakāya*, emerges in the matrix, and then, in sequence, the other three. The last one, *nirmāṇakāya*, emerges at the very moment of birth. Consequently, this verse draws the microcosmic resemblance one step further. The fact of how the four bodies can be said to exist within the womb is treated. The *śuddhakāya* is said to come into existence at the moment of conception. It is the first level of existence. Comparison to what can be found on the four bodies in the fifth chapter is evident. There the fourth body is the first level of existence and not completely identified with the *Ādibuddha*.

The following level of existence is the 10-fold *dharmakāya* of the five *jinas*. Probably here are counted the female consorts of the five *jinas*: *Vairocana/Vajrasattva*, *Akṣobhya*, *Amitābha*, *Ratnasambhāva* and *Amoghasiddhi*. It may also be the ten *śaktis* or *nimitta*. Here follows the KCT II:16:

*jāte śvāsodbhavo yaḥ prabhavati nirguṇaḥ śuddhakāyaḥ sa eva
tasmāt dantodbhavo yo 'sphuṭam api vacanaṃ dharmakāyas tathaiva /*

⁷⁷⁶ KCT II:15; Banerjee. 1985:47; Vimalaprabhā II.1 in VP Vol.I. 1986:163, line 17.

⁷⁷⁷ Comparing this concept to the concept of *ālayavijñāna* in the *Yogacārā* school, it is an entirely different concept.

⁷⁷⁸ This is stated in other places in the text. Also, generally in the higher *tantras*. See Dasgupta. 1974 (1950).

*tasmāt pāto dvijānām prabhavati nṛpa sambhogakāyo jinasya
dantebhyah mṛtyusimne bhavati jinapater bāhyanirmāṇakāyah //16//⁷⁷⁹*

[When in the outer the four bodies] are born, (first) when one begins to breathe, *śuddhakāya* which is without characteristics, (emerges in the middle channel [*avadhūti*]). Thereafter *dharmakāya* [exists until] the emergence of the teeth, that is, that which is unclear speech. After that comes the fall of the teeth, oh King, and that is the *sambhogakāya* of the *jina*. After [the loss of] teeth until death, the *nirmāṇakāya* of the *jinapati* (the master of *jinās*) emerges in the outer.

The wording “Oh King” shows the context, that here *Buddha Śākyamuni* is explaining the *Kālacakra* to king *Sucandra*. This verse is a continuation of the fore-going one, it is explained in the outer how the four bodies are related. Here the four bodies in relation to the inner body of the human being already born are treated.

The *śuddhakāya* emerges at the time when the breathing emerges, and it is without characteristics. According to the *Vimalaprabhā*, the *śuddhakāya* is placed in the middle channel (*avadhūti*) and is without characteristics, which corresponds well with the characteristics of the *Ādibuddha*.

This sort of inner *dharmakāya* emerges when the teeth are emerging in the child.

The *sambhogakāya* emerges when the milk-teeth are falling, and the *nirmāṇakāya* is then there for the rest of the life.

Jinapati here possibly corresponds to *Ādibuddha*, and in that case, the *nirmāṇakāya* is the outer manifestation of the *Ādibuddha*. In many other places in the KCT, *jinapati* stands for *Ādibuddha*. These three verses give different interpretations of how to find correspondence to the four bodies and the human body. The four bodies can be characterized as follows from these verses:

Śuddhakāya - the transcendent level, without characteristics, the unmanifested level
Dharmakāya - in some ways the first manifested level of existence
Sambhogakāya - associated with sound and hearing, the sound and speech level
Nirmāṇakāya - more the physical existence, the normal body.

I will return later to comparing these concepts with others related to the *Ādibuddha* concept. The following verse KCT II:17 also has connotations with *śuddhakāya*:

*garbhe śrīkāyavajram prathamam iha bhaved vāksvarūpaṃ prasūte
cittaṃ dantodbhave vai punar api patanād udbhave jñānavajram /
jñānaṃ vijñānamīśraṃ raviśaśisahitaṃ jñānavajrādi sarvaṃ
garbhe rūḍhaṃ kramena prabhavati balavat kāyavajrādīn ca //17//⁷⁸⁰*

First, in the matrix, the *śrī kāyavajra* emerges, then the *vāksvarūpa* is born (is, according to VP: *vāgvajra*, that is, the emergence of *prāṇa*). Then, when the first teeth have fallen, the *citta* [-*vajra*] emerges. The *jñānavajra*

⁷⁷⁹ KCT II:16; Banerjee. 1985:47; Vimalaprabhā II.1 in VP Vol.I. 1986:164, line 1-4.

⁷⁸⁰ KCT II:17. Banerjee. 1985:48; Vimalaprabhā I.1 in VP Vol.I. 1986:164, line 28-31.

emerges when the new teeth have grown out. Then the *jñāna* is mixed with *vijñāna* (VP: *ālayavijñāna*), and gets provided with the moon and the sun. The *jñānavajra*, etc, everything, grown up in the womb, it [the *jñānavajra*] emerges successively. It becomes like a child because of the *kāyavajra*, etc.

Jñāna and *vijñāna* are in the *Vimalaprabhā* compared to *sahajānanda*⁷⁸¹ which is the highest of the four joys. *Vāgvajra* (word-*vajra*) equals *dharmakāya*, *cittavajra* (mind-*vajra*) is the same as *sambhogakāya*. In this verse, the series of concepts *kāya* (body) – *vāk* (speech) – *citta* (mind) – *jñāna* (wisdom) is treated. *Śrīkāyavajra* (“body”-*vajra*) is here clearly to be associated with the concept of *śuddhakāya*, as they both come first in the line of concepts including also *jñānavajra*. The other correspondences and *jñānavajra* (knowledge-*vajra*) are the same as *nirmāṇakāya*. This is not very clear, as one would expect the knowledge-*vajra* to correspond to *śuddhakāya* and not to the “body”-*vajra*.⁷⁸²

These four verses with their commentaries are different ways of indicating the correspondences between the microcosmos, the human body in the womb and after the birth, and the macrocosmos with the emergence of the whole universe as it is treated in chapter five. From these quotations, one can see that *śuddhakāya* corresponds to the fourth and highest body, which has characteristics similar to the *Ādibuddha* concept. It is the first to emerge in the matrix and also, as in verse II:16, it is the first functionally (the breathing). As we shall see later it is also found in the *Vimalaprabhā*.

The verses following after these treat the emergence of the elements and the five *skandhas* in the human body at the microcosmic level. The same subject is treated on a macrocosmic level in chapter V:89 and following verses, with the emergence of the universe. I will return later to this subject. The following verse treats the *śuddhakāya* in the fourth chapter of the KCT and VP, KCT IV:95:

*idānīm catuḥkāyapariśuddhir ucyate:
divyā buddhā ca vidyāḥ satarusakalāśā śuddhakāyo jinasya
krodhendrā bodhisattvāḥ khalu rasakulīṣā dharmakāyāḥ sa eva //95//*⁷⁸³

Here is described the complete purification of the four bodies:
The *śuddhakāya* of the *jina* that consists of parts [is] divine
knowledgeable Buddhas. Even the *dharmakāya* is really the
master of *krodhas*, the *bodhisattvas* and the six “diamonds”
(*rasakulīṣā*).

Rasa means “six” and there are six of something which could be six *vatras* or possibly the six *jinas* or the lord of the six clans. Six is an important number in the *Kālacakra* and there are also six *cakras*. Next, from the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary to this verse:

*śuddhakāyo jinasya maṇḍalādhipateḥ / tato bāhyapute cittamaṇḍaladvāreṣu
krodhendrā vighnāntakaḥ prajñāntakaḥ padmāntakaḥ yamāntakaḥ uṣṇīṣaḥ /*⁷⁸⁴

⁷⁸¹ For a thorough evaluation of the *sahaja* concept, see Kvaerne. 1975:109-110.

⁷⁸² According to a communication from Newman (June -04) the usual correspondences are *jñāna* - *śuddhakāya*; *citta*-*dharmakāya*; *vāk*-*sambhogakāya*; *kāya*-*nirmāṇakāya*

⁷⁸³ KCT IV:95, line 3-4. Banerjee. 1985:164; *Vimalaprabhā* IV.3 in VP Vol.II. 1994:194, line 17- 19.

The *śuddhakāya* of the *jina* is the master of the *maṇḍala*. Therefore, in the outer section, in the mind-*maṇḍala* [is] *Krodhendra* (the master of *krodhas*), *Yamāntaka*, *uṣṇīṣa* (the crown *cakra*), *Vighnāntaka*, *Prajñāntaka*, *Padmāntaka*, [*antaka* means: the end, limit, one who prepares the end or death].

This verse is in the subchapter that treats the purification of the four bodies of the Buddha.⁷⁸⁵ It can be remarked here that the *Śuddhakāya* of the *Jina* is the master/Lord/ruler of the *maṇḍala*, that is, *Kālacakra/Ādibuddha*. I will now quote another verse in the same sub-subchapter, KCT IV:97:

*śāstā divyādikumbhāḥ sahajajinatanur maṇḍale garbhamadhye
buddhādyā dharmakāyaḥ khalu rasakulīśādyāś ca sambhogakāyaḥ /
krodhā⁷⁸⁶ nirmāṇakāyo bhavati kulavaśān maṇḍale garbhasaṃkhyāḥ
cāmuṇḍādyāṣṭadevyāḥ parijanasahitāḥ śuddhakāyo hi bāhye //97//⁷⁸⁷*

Beginning from the divine ruler and the vases, in the middle of the core (*garbha*) of the *maṇḍala*, [there is] the body of the innate *jina* (*sahajajinatanu*); beginning from the Buddha [there is] indeed the *dharmakāya*; and beginning with the *rasakulīśa* (thunderbolt) [there is] the *sambhogakāya*. The *krodha* is the *nirmāṇakāya*. In the *maṇḍala* is the order according to the family calculated after the core (*garbha*) [of the *maṇḍala*]. Because beginning from *Cāmuṇḍa* the eight deities accompanied by their retinue are the *śuddhakāya* in the outer.

This is a way of arranging the deities in the *maṇḍala*. The context is the same as in the foregoing passage and it can be interpreted that the *sahajakāya* is the centre and the beginning of the *maṇḍala*. *Śuddhakāya* is mentioned as being connected with *Cāmuṇḍa*, the spouse of *Śiva*.

The concept of *śuddhakāya* is also found in KCT V:124 where it is again mentioned as the highest among the four bodies. I begin by translating the previous verse, KCT V:123, in order to understand the context.⁷⁸⁸

*idānīm catuṣkāyānām ṣoḍaśaprabhedā ucyante ____
kāma nirmāṇakāyaḥ prabhavati niyatas tasya vāgeva pūrṇā
jvālā nirmāṇacittam paramasukhakarām jñānam evāśya coḍrā⁷⁸⁹ /
ānando bhogakāyaḥ sa paramaviramānandam asya kramena
vākcittam jñānavajram bhavati hi sahajānandam evāśya śambhoḥ //123//⁹⁰*

⁷⁸⁴ Vimalaprabhā IV.3 in VP Vol.II. 1994:195, line 3-4.

⁷⁸⁵ Vimalaprabhā IV.3 in VP Vol.II. 1994:194, line 17 to 198, line 26.

⁷⁸⁶ In accordance with the structure of the text, I here follow Banerjee's edition who has *krodhā* instead of *krodha*.

⁷⁸⁷ KCT IV:97. Banerjee. 1985:165; Vimalaprabhā IV.3 in VP Vol.II. 1994:195, line 17-20.

⁷⁸⁸ Concerning this and all the translations from chapter 5 of the Vimalaprabhā, I initially worked with the Tibetan translation and later made a correction of the translation from the Sanskrit. When I started working with these texts the Sanskrit edition did not yet exist.

⁷⁸⁹ *ca - uḍra*. This could be the name of the region of Orissa?

Here the division into sixteen parts of the four bodies is stated:

Passion (*kāma*) is the *nirmāṇakāya*, restrained it is its very speech. Fire is the mind of transformation (*nirmāṇacitta*) creating supreme bliss, the knowledge of these is the *uḍra* [the Orissans]. Joy (*ānanda*) is the [*saṃ*]bhogakāya, it [becomes] gradually the supreme joy (*paramānanda*) and the joy of cessation (*viramānanda*). Speech and mind (*citta*) become the knowledge (*jñāna*)-*vajra*, because [it is] the very simultaneously-arisen joy (*sahajānanda*) of this *Śambhu* (lord).⁷⁹¹

Kāmā, *pūrṇa*, *jvala* and *uḍra* are technical term for states of sexual excitement. There are sixteen terms altogether. Here the *nirmāṇakāya* is treated and the subject of the four joys *ānanda*, *paramānanda*, *viramānanda* and *sahajānanda* is commented upon. They are connected with the four bodies. Kværne translates these terms as joy, perfect joy, joy of cessation and simultaneously-arisen joy.⁷⁹² What is then the meaning of the term *Śambhu*? It is not evident from the context, but it could be a way of designating the superior entity in this *tantra*, the concept of *Ādibuddha*. Next follows the verse KCT V:124:

*kampā vai dharmakāyas tribhuvanānimitas tasya vāgudbhavaḥ syād
ghūrmā vai dharmacittaṃ bhavabhayaṃ mathanaṃ jñānaṃ asyaiva nidrā /
varṇo vai śuddhakāyaḥ svararāhitakalā bindunādāḥ kramena
vākciṭṭaṃ jñānavajraṃ trividhabhavadagataṃ śuddhakāyasya śambhoḥ //124//⁷⁹³*

The tremblings are the *dharmakāya*, honored by the three worlds; by it there occurs the origination of speech. The *ghūrmā*s indeed, are the *dharma*-mind (*citta*), the knowledge which destroys the fear of existence, from this indeed, is sleep. The syllable, indeed, is the *śuddhakāya*, the *bindu*-sounds of the parts that are gradually [becoming] without sound. Speech and mind (*citta*) [become] the knowledge (*jñāna*)-*vajra*, located in the three-fold world, from the *śuddhakāya* of the *Śambhu*.

These two verses are part of the subchapter where the four bodies of the Buddha are treated (KCT V:89-126). The four *kāyas* each have body, speech, mind and *jñāna* and therefore there are sixteen. Here, *Śambhu* might represent more explicitly the *Ādibuddha* as it stands for "the Lord" and is used as a name for *Brahma*, *Viṣṇu* and *Śiva* in other contexts. It means "benevolent, causing happiness."⁷⁹⁴ In the fore-going verse it is also stated that *Śambhu* possesses the quality of the simultaneously-arisen joy, *sahajānanda*, also a qualification which can be assigned to the *Ādibuddha* concept. *Śambhu* also has a purified body, which, in other contexts, is used as corresponding to the *sahajākāya*. Consequently, a possibility is that here there is *śuddhakāya* (the purified body) as the body of *Ādibuddha*. Finally, there is one more quotation in this context. KCT V:193-194 with the VP

⁷⁹⁰ KCT V:123; Banerjee. 1985:230; Vimalaprabhā V.2 in VP Vol.III. 1994:58, line 3. Tibetan: Bu-ston. 1965c:98, line 2-7.

⁷⁹¹ "beneficient, kind etc." Also a name for several gods like *Śiva*, *Brahma* and *Viṣṇu*. (Monier-Williams)

⁷⁹² Kværne 1975:109-110.

⁷⁹³ KCT V:124 Banerjee. 1985:230; Vimalaprabhā V.2 in VP Vol.III. 1994:58, line 17. Tibetan in Bu-ston. 1965c:98, line 7 – p.99, line 6.

⁷⁹⁴ See Monier-Williams. 1976 (1899):1055.

commentary:

*idānīm buddhanirmāṇam ucyate —
eteśāṃ muktihetoḥ sasutajinapatīḥ karmabhūmyāṃ praviśya
garbhādhānaṃ hi kṛtvā paramakaruṇayā bodhim utpādayitvā /
mārakleśān nīpātya kṣititalanīlaye dharmacakram pravartya
kṛtvā nirmāṇamāyāṃ punar api bhagavān śuddhakāyaḥ sa eva //193//*⁷⁹⁵

Here is described the transformation [body] (*nirmāṇa*) of the Buddha. For the sake of liberation of these [living beings], the master of *jinās* with sons; after having entered into the *karma*-world; after having descended into the womb; after having produced the *bodhi* (awakening) by the highest compassion; after having defeated the defilements of *Mārā*; after having started to turn the wheel of *dharma* on the surface of the earth and after having made the illusion of supernatural creation, again, this *Bhagavān* is just this *Śuddhakāya*.

Here is stated that the *Bhagavān* (who *Bu-ston* later identifies with *Buddha Śākyamuni*) is identified with the *śuddhakāya*. It is also said that the *jinapati* with sons, which ought to be interpreted as the *Ādibuddha* with the *jinās*, is more or less descending on earth in order to liberate the beings. This is not in harmony with how the *Ādibuddha* is described in other parts of this text. Could it be interpreted that the *Śākyamuni Buddha* is equalled to the *Ādibuddha*? In the VP very little is written on this verse, only that the *Bhagavān* possessing a *śuddhakāya* is a *Tathāgata*.⁷⁹⁶ The Pure body (*śuddhakāya*) consequently is a measure of the state of purity of a Buddha who then is considered a *Tathāgata*. One can suppose that the Buddha had attained a purified body after having awakened to liberation from the limitations. *Bu-ston* has nothing to add in his commentary. KCT V:194 follows:

*tasmā jāto na naśtas tribhavam api gataḥ śuddhakāyo jinasya
sattvārthaṃ sarvadā na tyajati jinapatīḥ karmaṇā bādhyate na /
evaṃ lokaśvaro 'haṃ tribhuvanānilaye karmabhūmyāṃ sthito 'rka
sattvānāṃ mārgadātā narakabhayaḥaro nānyadevaḥ kadācit //*194//⁷⁹⁷

Translation, with some important commentaries of *Bu-ston*.⁷⁹⁸ There is no commentary in the VP.

Therefore, born, not lost, even being in the three existences, there is the *śuddhakāya* of the *jina*. He does not abandon at any time the well-being of the living beings. The master of *jinās* is not hindered by *karma*. So, I the lord of the world (*lokeśvara*)⁷⁹⁹ [*Bu-ston*: who is one who possesses

⁷⁹⁵ KCT V:193. Banerjee. 1985:248; KCT in Tibetan: *Bu-ston*. 1965a:277-78.

Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:130, line 12; VP in Tibetan. *Bu-ston*. 1965c:261, line 1-4.

⁷⁹⁶ Vimalaprabhā in VP Vol.III. 1994:130. The VP commenting on verse KCTV:193.

⁷⁹⁷ KCT V:194; Banerjee. 1985:248; Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:130. Tibetan: *Bu-ston*. 1965a:278, line 2-5. There is no commentary in the VP to this verse.

⁷⁹⁸ *Bu-ston*. 1965a:278. The commentary on the *laghutantra* (KCT).

⁷⁹⁹ The Tibetan translates *Lokeśvara* with *bCom-lan-'das*, which is the same translation as for *Bhagavan*.

the *śuddhakāya*], am standing in the abode of the three worlds, in the *karma*-world, Oh *Sūrya*, giver of the way [Bu-ston: of liberation] of the beings, who takes away the fear of hell, there is never another god.

KCT V:194 is even more interesting than verse 193. Here it is stated that the *śuddhakāya* of the *jinas* is not being born from the beginning (*ādyanutpanna*, *niḥsvabhāva*), it is uncorrupted, and it does not have any desire, and finally, it does not have any form. Also, the *śuddhakāya* is not bound by any *karma* bonds. All these characteristics are quite similar to the ones given to the *Ādibuddha* in other parts of the *Śrī Kālacakra* and the *Vimalaprabhā*. However one can also see that the concept of *śuddhakāya* is more complicated. It appears that *Buddha Śākyamuni* could be qualified with this word. *Arka* is *Sūryaratha* and here this must be *Yaśas* speaking to *Sūryaratha*.

5.2.3. Sahajakāya as the supreme body.

In the following, the concept of *sahajakāya* will be treated as it is found in *Kālacakra* texts. The first example is from KCT II:27:

idānim ādhārādheya samudāya ucyate guhyetyādina _____
guhyoṣṭiṣe ca nābhau sahaajajinatanur niḥsvabhāvasvabhāva
hṛccakre dharmakāyo bhavati hi nṛpa sambhogacakra jinasya ⁸⁰⁰ /
bindau nirmāṇakāyo bhavati guṇavaśāc cādhidaivakrameṇa
hṛccakraṃ kañṭhacakraṃ śirasi ca kamalaṃ dharmasaṃbhogaśuddhaṃ //27// ⁸⁰¹

Here is described the origination of the support (*ādhāra*) and the supported (*ādheya*) (Bu: *ādhāra* = the six *cakras*; *ādheya* = the four bodies), beginning with “in the secret” and so forth. The *Sahaajajinatanu*, which is without nature and with nature, [arises] in the secret, crown and navel [*cakras*]. Due to the efficacy of the properties [of the *cakras*], the *Dharmakāya* arises in the heart *cakra*, Oh king, in the *sambhogacakra* of the *jina*. The *Nirmāṇakāya* arises in the *bindu* (drop). According to the succession of presiding deities the heart-*cakra*, the throat-*cakra* and the lotus on the head [are] the *Dharma* [*kāya*], the *Sambhoga*[*kāya*] and the *Śuddha*[*kāya*].

VP II.2. The *Vimalaprabhā* commentary:

iha śarīre ṣaṭ cakrāṇy ādhārabhūtāni catvāraḥ kāyā ādheyāḥ teṣu sahajakāya
trikamaleṣu svabhāvāsvabhāvabhēdena / ato guhyakamale uṣṇīṣakamale
nābhīkamale viśuddhakāyo 'dhidevatā niḥsvabhāva akalpanāsvabhāva
pratisenopamā / hṛdaye dharmakāyaḥ kañṭhābje sambhogakāyo
'dhidevatā kāyabhēdena / bindāv iti śiraso 'bje śuddhacakra nirmāṇakāyo

⁸⁰⁰ Banerjee has: *ca kañṭhacakra api sambhogakāyaḥ*.

⁸⁰¹ KCT II:27. Banerjee, 1985:50; *Vimalaprabhā* II.2 in VP Vol.I. 1986:170, line 12-25. Tibetan: Bu-ston. 1965a:54; Bu-ston. 1965c:332. Translated by Wallace. 1995:183.

*'dhidevatā / kāyabhedena nābhau nirmāṇacakre nirmāṇakāyo 'dhidevatā
iti kāyabhede niyamaḥ / guṇavaśād iti cakrāṇāṃ guṇaḥ jñānākāśabhūmi-
guṇaḥ saḥajakāyādhārāṇāṃ vāyugūṇo dharmakāyādhārasya tejogūṇaḥ sambho-
gakāyādhārasya udakagūṇo nirmāṇakāyādhārasyeti ādhārādheya-
bhāvah / uktakrameṇa hṛccakraṃ kaṇṭhacakraṃ śīrasi ca kamalaṃ dharmasambho-
gaśuddham iti /*⁸⁰²

Here in the body the six *cakras* are the support and the four bodies are the supported. The simultanely-arisen body (*sahajakāya*) is in those three lotuses [*cakras*] due to the classification of own nature (*svabhāva*) and the lack of own nature (*asvabhāva*). Hence, in the secret-lotus (*guhya*), in the crown-lotus (*uṣṇīṣa*) and in the navel-lotus (*nabhi*) the pure body (*viśuddhakāya*) is the presiding deity (*adhidevatā*), who is without own nature (*niḥsvabhāva*), whose nature is non-conceptualization (*akalpanā*) and who is like divination (*pratisenā*).⁸⁰³ The *dharma*-body (*dharmakāya*) is in the heart. The enjoyment body (*sambhogakāya*) is the presiding deity in the lotus of the throat due to the classification of the bodies. In the drop (*bindu*), that is, in the lotus of the head, in the pure *cakra*, the emanation body (*nirmāṇakāya*) is the presiding deity. Due to the classification of the bodies, the emanation body is the presiding deity in the navel, that is, in the emanation-*cakra*. This is an exact description with regard to the classification of the [four] bodies. "Due to the efficacy of the properties" [implies] the qualities (*guṇa*) of the *cakras*. The quality (*guṇa*) of primordial wisdom (*jñāna*), space (*akāśa*) and earth (*bhūmi*) belongs to the supports of the simultanely-arisen-body (*sahajakāya*). The quality of the wind (*vāyu*) belongs to the support of the *dharma*-body. The quality of fire (*tejas*) belongs to the support of the enjoyment-body. The quality of water (*udaka*) belongs to the support of the emanation-body. This is the condition of the support and the supported. According to the described order, the heart-*cakra*, the throat-*cakra* and the lotus (*cakra*) in the head are the *dharma* [-body], the enjoyment [-body] and the pure [body] (*śuddhakāya*).

Here there is a very systematic and interesting analysis of the correspondences between the four bodies and the six *cakras*, as they are defined in the *Kālacakra cakra* system. First the four bodies are defined with reference to the concept of *svabhāva*, that is, "own nature /intrinsic nature / the essential nature of the concept".

Sahajakāya / Śuddhakāya - in the crown, navel, and secret *cakra*
Dharmakāya - in the heart-*cakra*
Sambhogakāya - in the throat-*cakra*
Nirmāṇakāya - in the head-*cakra* (pure *cakra*); also in the navel-*cakra* according to the classification of the body

Sahaja-jina-tanu (another way of saying *sahajakāya*) is here defined as the one that as its own nature is without own nature(*svabhāva*). The fact that it is defined in this way with

⁸⁰² VP II.2 in VP Vol.I. 1986:170, line 12-25.

⁸⁰³ *Pratisena* appears to be a Sankritized form of *prasena* which according to Böthlingk. 176:2 means "eine Art Gauklerai" (a kind of conjuring). See Newman. 1988:133.

reference to the word *svabhāva*, also shows that it might be identified with the *svābhāvīkākāya*. In chapter two of the KCT it is said that the mind has two natures. It is *sasvabhāva* “with nature” which means that it has the characteristics of waking state and sleep. It is also *niḥsvabhāva* “without nature” which means that it has the characteristics of deep sleep and is without sense-faculties.⁸⁰⁴ The context is also very clear. Here the correspondences between the *cakras* in the human body and the four *kāyas* are described. Consequently, the *sahajakāya* is placed in the *uṣṇīṣa* (at the top of the head) and the navel-*cakra* and the *guhya-cakra* (the genital region), the *dharmakāya* in the heart-*cakra*, the *sambhogakāya* in the throat-*cakra* and the *nirmāṇakāya* in the *bindu*-point in the fore-head (the third eye). As this is the microcosmos, one would expect to find the same correspondence in the first chapter *Lokadhātupaṭala*, but there is no such evident correspondence. There is another classification of the four bodies according to the *guṇas*, which in this context appears to mean the six elements of the *cakras*.

	<i>guṇa</i> (quality, property)	<i>cakra</i>
<i>Sahajakāya</i>	- <i>jñāna</i> (primordial wisdom)	in the crown- <i>cakra</i>
	<i>ākāśa</i> (space)	in the navel- <i>cakra</i>
	<i>bhūmi</i> (earth)	in the secret <i>cakra</i>
<i>Dharmakāya</i>	- <i>vāyu</i> (wind)	in the heart <i>cakra</i>
<i>Sambhogakāya</i>	- <i>tejas</i> (fire)	in the throat- <i>cakra</i>
<i>Nirmāṇakāya</i>	- <i>udaka</i> (water)	in the fore-head- <i>cakra</i>

These correspondences describes aspects of the four bodies. In the final line of the verse the following concluding correspondences are to be found:

<i>Śuddhakāya</i>	- in the head (fore-head) <i>cakra</i>
<i>Dharmakāya</i>	- in the heart <i>cakra</i>
<i>Sambhogakāya</i>	- in the throat <i>cakra</i>

It is not easy to find a clear meaning from these correspondences, but I think that concerning the fourth body, the *Sahajakāya* or *Śuddhakāya*, it is in the human body principally placed in the head, both in the *uṣṇīṣa cakra* and the *cakra* in the fore-head (the third eye-*cakra*). The question also arises why this body is sometimes called *Sahajakāya* and sometimes *Śuddhakāya* (or *Viśuddhakāya*). In this verse, they seem to be used as similar concepts as in verse II:27; *Sahajakāya* is placed in the crown, navel and secret *cakras*. In the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary, *Viśuddhakāya* is placed in the same three *cakras*. Consequently, there is no difference. Here follows a quotation from KCT I:21:

idānīm dikpālsthānam ucyate ____
pūrve śakro 'gnir agnau yamadanuvāruṇā yāmyadaityāpareṣu
vāyur yakṣo haraś cāniladhanadahaṣeṣūrdhvaḥbāge tv adhaś ca /
brahmā viṣṇuḥ samastāḥ parījanasaḥitāḥ svasvadigrakṣapālās
*tanmadhye kālacakro jinavarājanako 'nāhato vajrakāyaḥ //21//*⁸⁰⁵

⁸⁰⁴ KCT 2:19cd in VP Vol.I. 1986:165, lines 27-28 translated in Wallace. 1995:169.

⁸⁰⁵ KCT I:21 Banerjee. 1985:6; Banerjee. 1959:50; *Vimalaprabhā* I.8 in VP Vol.I. 1986:73, line 25-29.

Now are stated the sites of the direction protectors:

Śakra is in the east, *Agni* is in the southeast, *Yama*, *Danu*, and *Varuṇa* are in the south, south-west and west. *Vāyu*, *Yakṣa* and *Hara* are in the northwest, north and northeast. Also, *Brahmā* and *Viṣṇu* are in the upper portion and below. Armed, together with their retinues, they guard and protect their respective directions. In the middle of them is *Kālacakra*, the progenitor of the best of the *jinās*, indestructible (*anāhata*), the *Vajrakāya*.⁸⁰⁶

In this verse there can be found a definition of *Kālacakra* as “the one who produces the foremost among the *jinās*, he is indestructible and he is the *vajrakāya*,” and, as mentioned in the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary to KCT I:21.

*teṣāṃ madhye kālacakro jinānāṃ janako 'nāhato vajrakāyo dīpālānāṃ
prabhur ity arthaḥ* /⁸⁰⁷

In the middle of them is *Kālacakra*, the progenitor of the *jinās*, the indestructible *vajrakāya*, he is the overlord of the direction protectors.

Bu-ston has an interesting commentary to this text as follows:

*de dag rnam kyī dbus - nang dang snying ga'i rtsa bcu'i dus dang ga
las g'yon gyi rlung bcu'i lte pa lan chad 'khor lo lnga'i dbus su thig le gnyis 'gro
'ong byed pa'i dbus - su dus kyī 'khor lo - rdo rje sems dpa' rtsa dbu ma rlung
'gag pa thig le 'dzag pa med pa lhan skyes kyī ye shes phung po rnam bsgrib bral
du shyed par shyed pas - rgyal ba rnam kyī skyed mdzad gzhom du med pa
rdo rje'i sku ste / phyogs skyong rnam kyī gtso bo shes bya ba'i don to // 21*

Kālacakra is in the middle of them in the outer. He is in the middle of the inner and the ten channels of the heart. He is in the middle of that which causes the going and coming of the two drops in the middle of the five *cakras* – the navel (*cakra*) upwards – of the ten right and left winds. Since “*Kālacakra*” /*Vajrasattva*, the cessation of the winds in the middle channel, the non-emission of the drop (*bindu*), the *sahajajñāna* (innate wisdom) - generates the separation of the aggregates (*skandha*) from obscurations (*āvaraṇa*), he is the “progenitor of the *Jinās*.”⁸⁰⁸

Important here is that *Kālacakra* is defined in this way, which corresponds to the much more detailed descriptions in other places in the great commentary, the *Vimalaprabhā*. The *Vajrakāya* is here the same as the *svābhāvikakāya*, the *sahajakāya* and the *sūddhakāya* and also consequently the *Ādibuddha*.⁸⁰⁹ Very interesting is that Bu-ston here regards the *jinās* as a result of the separation of the *skandhas* from the obscurations (*kleśa*). *Kālacakra/Vajrasattva* (and even *Ādibuddha*!) then generates the *jinās* in that way. The generation being the process of taking away the *kleśas* from the *skandhas*. This is clearly a

⁸⁰⁶ Translated in Newman. 1987a:513.

⁸⁰⁷ *Vimalaprabhā* I.8 in VP Vol. I. 1986:74, line 1-2.

⁸⁰⁸ Bu-ston. 1965a:470, line 2.

⁸⁰⁹ See my chapter on the *Ādibuddha* concept above.

process going on in the inner as a microcosmos which has its correspondence in the outer as the deities *Kālacakra/Vajrasattva/Ādibuddha*. Consequently, this verse and its commentaries treats the concept of “*Ādibuddha*”, although the word is not mentioned.

B. Banerjee in his dissertation⁸¹⁰ takes this verse as an indication to strengthen the theory presented by B. Bhattacharya⁸¹¹ that the *Kālacakra* tantra was presented as teaching aimed at uniting the Hindus and Buddhists against the invading Muslims. This verse treats the guardians of the ten directions, who are Indian deities. They are all placed under the dominion of *Kālacakra*, so according to these Indian scholars, the syncretistic *Kālacakra* teaching was composed in order to unite the Indians against the Muslims.

5.2.3.a. The subchapter on the four bodies, KCT V:89-90, the corresponding *Vimalaprabhā* and Tibetan commentaries.

A very interesting part of the fifth chapter treats the four bodies in an *uddeśa* in KCT.V:89-126, which also contains an extensive commentary in the *Vimalaprabhā* and is further commented on by the Tibetan commentators. This part of the text gives all the basics for the understanding of the system of the four bodies. I will start here by giving a translation of verse 89 with the *Vimalaprabhā* and the commentaries by *Bu-ston* and *Zhang-zhung Chos-dbang grags-pa*, the disciple of *mKhas-grub-rje*. I have given a translation of KCT.V:123-124 above in the context of writing about the quotations on the concept of *Śuddhakāya* (p.153). Here follows KCT V:89:

*na prajñā nāpy upāyaḥ saḥajatanur iyaṃ dharmakāyo babhūva
prajñopāyasvarūpaḥ khalu vigatatamo jñānavijñānabhedāt /
so 'yaṃ sambhogakāyaḥ pratiravaka ivānekasattvārthakartā
sattvānāṃ pākahetor bhavati punar asau buddhanirmāṇakāyaḥ //89//*⁸¹²

That which is neither *prajñā* nor *upāya*, the *saḥajatanu*⁸¹³ became the *dharmakāya*. *Prajñā* (wisdom) and *upāya* (means) are its own nature, indeed lacking darkness (*tamas*), because of the division into *jñāna* and *vijñāna*. So, [becoming] this *sambhogakāya*, resounding like an echo, and being the agent for the sake of many intelligent beings, for the sake of maturing the living beings, it [becomes] the *Buddha-nirmāṇakāya*.

The context of this verse is that chapter V:89-126 of the KCT treats the subject of the four bodies of Buddha. It gives the principle of the *Sahajakāya*, which is beyond the duality of wisdom and method (*prajñā* and *upāya*). *Dharmakāya* is divided into wisdom and method and the partition into *jñāna* and *vijñāna* is the origin of *Sambhogakāya*, which also has sound. In chapter II:27 it was actually said that *Sambhogakāya* is situated in the throat-

⁸¹⁰ Banerjee. 1959:50-51.

⁸¹¹ Bhattacharya. 1958:109.

⁸¹² KCT.V:89. Banerjee. 1985:222; *Vimalaprabhā* V.2 in VP Vol.III. 1994:45, line 18.

⁸¹³ Tib. *lhan-cig skyes-pa* 'i sku; which is the usual translation of the Sanskrit *saḥajakāya*, consequently, – *tanu* is another word for *kāya*.

cakra as far as the human body is concerned. In order to help human beings, the *Nirmāṇakāya* of the Buddha is necessary.

Sahajakāya - beyond *prajñā* and *upāya*
Dharmakāya - the division into *jñāna* and *vijñāna*
Sambhogakāya - sound; acts for the human beings
Nirmāṇakāya - makes the human beings mature

This system will later be compared to other material on the four bodies.

In the following, I have translated selected parts of the verses and commentaries concerning the four bodies. I have used the original Sanskrit text as published in India in 1994, but I have first translated them from the Tibetan, as the original Sanskrit text was not available to me when I initiated this work. I have also used Bu-ston's commentaries when they have added something of interest to the text. Bu-ston's commentaries are placed within parentheses. I start with the commentaries to verse KCT V:89, which is very important for understanding the theory of the four bodies in the *Kālacakra*.

Translation of the Vimalaprabhā commentary to KCT V:89 with the commentaries of Bu-ston:

(p.45:14) *na san nāsan na sadasan*⁸¹⁴ *na cāpy anubhayātmakam /*
catuṣkoṭīvinirmuktaṃ natvā kāyaṃ mahāsukham //
uddhṛtaṃ mañjuvajreṇa ādibuddhān niranvayāt /
lakṣaṇaṃ buddhakāyānāṃ caturṇāṃ tad vitanyate //

[Here is inserted the text of the verse KCT V:89, translated on the fore-going page]

(p.45:22) *na prajñety ādi / iha prajñā pañcadaśakalātmakāḥ śuklapakṣaḥ*
kṛṣṇapakṣaś candrakalāhānir upāyaḥ / evaṃ śuklo rātriḥ kṛṣṇo divā /
ataḥ sahajakāyo na prajñā nāpy upāyaḥ sahajatanur iyaṃ buddhānām /
evaṃ na sac chuklapakṣaḥ nāsat kalābhāvaḥ kṛṣṇaḥ na sadasad anayoḥ
parasparavirodhato melāpako nāsti / na cāpy anubhayātmakam iti na
*cābhyāṃ śuklakṛṣṇapakṣābhyām*⁸¹⁵ *vinā tat sahasasukham / evaṃ*
catuṣkoṭīparīśuddhā śoḍaśī kalā śūnyatādharmiṇī sahajatanur ucyate
niḥśyandalakṣaṇāt turyākṣayato yoginām / (p.46:1) evaṃ napuṃsakam
iti siddham / iha sahajatanuḥ svārthasampat parārthasampade
dharmakāyo babhūva susuptakṣayataḥ / sa ca prajñopāyasvarūpaḥ khalu
vigatatamo jñānavijñānabhedād iti / iha jñānaṃ grāhakacittaṃ yoginaḥ vijñānaṃ
paracittajñānaṃ grāhyaṃ jñeyalakṣaṇam / evaṃ grāhakacittaṃ prajñā
kalpanārahitatvāt yoginām upāyo grāhyacittaṃ parikalpitaṃ karuṇālakṣaṇam /
(p.46:5) tena grāhakagrāhyabhedena prajñopāyasvarūpaḥ parārthakartā
dharmakāyaḥ / sa ca sahaśād babhūveti / evaṃ niṣyando nābhau sahaśaḥ
dharmacakre hrdaye vipākāḥ so 'yaṃ dharmakāyaḥ sambhogakāyaḥ
parārthasampade pratiravaka ivānekasattvārthakartā / iha divyacaṣṣuṣā

⁸¹⁴ This is a quotation from *Mūlamadhyamakārikā* of Nāgārjuna, Chapter 1, verse 7. See Kalupahana. 1991:110.

⁸¹⁵ The Vimalaprabhā text has *-kṛṣṇapakṣa* but from the context it must be *-kṛṣṇapakṣa*.

yad atītānāgataṃ rūpaṃ dṛṣṭaṃ pratibimbākāraṃ svaccham tasmin śabdo
yo niścarati sa pratiśabdah sambhogakāyāḥ prajñopāyasvarūpaḥ / (p.46:9)
divyaśrotreṇa divyavijñānaṃ grāhakam pratiśabdo grāhyah /
tenātītānāgatakālasaṃkhyāṃ jñāti 'mukakalpe 'mukayuge 'mukavarṣe
'mukamāse 'mukapakṣe 'mukadināḍike 'muko bhūtaḥ amuko bhaviṣyati /
tena sattvā vaineyā iti svapnāvasthāḥṣayataḥ kañche puruṣakāraḥ
sambhogakāyā ūrdhva retasaḥ / sattvānāṃ pākahetor bhavati punar asau
sambhogakāyo nirmāṇakāyo bhavati prajñopāyātmakaḥ / (p.46:14) eko
'pi sattvānāṃ nānānirmāṇadarśanato 'nekaḥ / evam ekānekayor yogo
vivṛtyā prajñopāyāḥ saṃvṛtyā ekānekavirodhaḥ / sa ca jāgradvasthāḥṣayato
lalāṭe vaimalyo nirmāṇakāyāḥ aśeṣarūpasandarśī ratnaketur mahāmañiḥ
(nā sā 8.24)⁸¹⁶ iti / evam ekaḥ saḥajāḥ sa eva dharmāḥ sambhogo nirmāṇas
ceti caturdheti (p.46:17) // 89 // ⁸¹⁷

(tib. p.80:1; skt. VP vol.III 1994 p.45:14)
[The Sanskrit text in translation:]

There is no existence or existence and no existence or non-existence and there is even no [existence] of the essence of the two together. After having paid respect to the body with the great bliss and which is beyond inherent existence and [the statement] that something is, is not, both is and is not, neither is or is not⁸¹⁸. Drawn out from the *Ādibuddha* without connection (unconnected)⁸¹⁹ by *Mañjuvājra*, the characteristic of the four bodies of the Buddha is to be explained.

[Here is inserted the earlier translated verse KCT V:89]

(p.45:22) “There is no *prajñā*, etc.” As for this *prajñā*, it is the essence

⁸¹⁶ Wayman. 1985:93, Davidson. 1981:30,57.

⁸¹⁷ KCT.V:89. Banerjee. 1985:222; Vimalaprabhā V.2 in VP Vol.III. 1994:45, line 18-21. From Bu-ston's edition of this text in Tibetan. Bu-ston. 1965c Part 3, p.80, line 1 – p.82, line 3. Skt. Vimalaprabhā V.2 in VP Vol.III. 1994:45, line 22 - p.46, line 17.

⁸¹⁸ See Edgerton 1972 (1953):223. *Catuṣkoṭi* is a short way of saying what is said in the former sentence, namely “that something is, is not, both is and is not, neither is nor is not.” This paradoxical statement is typical of *Nāgārjuna*'s text. He expresses contradictions and it is often not very clear what he means.

⁸¹⁹ The translation of the word *niranvaya* is problematic. It can be translated as “without family, unconnected, without causal connection, without partiality, without parts, etc.” The translation is important for the interpretation of the word *Ādibuddha*. All the translations have the same meaning of giving the meaning of something beyond. But if it is translated as beyond causal connection, etc., it signifies an interpretation of the word *Ādibuddha* as a cosmic concept, as an entity beyond everything in the world and it has no causal connection with this world, but it is anyway in some way at the origin of this world. The expression *Ādibuddho niranvayaḥ* was already used in the MNS (as treated in this work on p.74 and notes 473 and 474) and the expression is crucial for the interpretation of the *Ādibuddha* concept in the whole of the KCT and the VP. This is one of the best indications found for the cosmic interpretation of the concept. There exists another possible interpretation. *Ādibuddha* simply could be taken as the root-tantra and the author of the KCT *Mañjuśrīyaśas* has drawn out the characteristics of the four bodies of the Buddha from that text and in that case there is no room for a cosmic interpretation. My conclusion is that it probably is the cosmic concept which is aimed at in this text, because in the MNS 100 it definitely is the cosmic concept that is described. The word *niranvaya* as describing the *Ādibuddha* is used in both MNS and the VP and it is most probable that the author of the VP has quoted from the MNS, as this text is of fundamental importance for the *Kālacakra* texts.

of the fifteen parts (*kalās*)⁸²⁰ of the month which is the bright part of the month. *Upāya* is the dark half of the month and it is the decreasing [of the fifteen] lunar parts (*kalās*). Accordingly, the bright part is the night and the dark part is the day. Subsequently, the *sahajakāya* is not *prajñā* and is not even *upāya*, it is the *sahajatanu* of the Buddhas.⁸²¹ Accordingly the bright part of the month [the first half of the month] is non-existent, there is also not a dark [half of the month] as it is consisting of unreal parts (*kalās*); neither is real or unreal. As there is no existence and non-existence, they are not brought together, because there are contradictions of the two opposing ones (Bu: the two of them are imputed phenomena). (tib. p.80:5) As for “there is not even the non-existence of the two together”, that is, the bright and dark halves of the month are not deprived of the *sahajasukha* (the simultaneously-arisen bliss). (p.45:26) Thus, the *sahajatanu* is said to be the complete purification that something is, is not, both is and is not, neither is nor is not,⁸²² and the sixteen parts of the month (*kalās*) and possesses the characteristics of the voidness; and because it is characterized by flowing, and because of the imperishable fourth [state] of the yogins. (p.46:1) In that way, it is proven that it is neither male nor female.

Thus, from the *sahajatanu* being accomplished for the sake of itself, and being accomplished for the sake of others, became the *dharmakāya*, the sleep having ended. And, that one [the *dharmakāya*] has as its very nature *prajñā* and *upāya*, indeed, being without darkness (*tamas*), due to the classification into *jñāna* and *viññāna*. Here, *jñāna* is the mind which has been grasped by the *yogin* and *viññāna* is known as the *jñāna* of another’s thought and [it has] the characteristics of that which is to be known and that which is to be grasped. In this way, the mind which grasps is *prajñā*, because it is lacking in mental constructions; the *yogin*’s *upāya* is perceptible thought, determined, characterized by compassion. (tib. p.81:3; p.46:5) By the classification into that which has been grasped and that which is going to be grasped, the *dharmakāya*, with the own nature of *prajñā* and *upāya*, is the maker of benefit for others. And that one [the *dharmakāya*] has originated from *Sahaja* [-kāya].

Thus, *sahaja*, because it is flowing in the navel, now it has been ripened in the *dharmacakra* [and] in the heart it is this *dharmakāya*, as it is excellent in doing benefit for others, it becomes the *sambhogakāya*, who, like an echo acts for the good of many living beings. (p.46:8) Here, with the divine eye, the form without past or future is seen as a reflected form, perfectly transparent; in that [perfectly transparent form] the sound that is the echo, the *sambhogakāya*, and the very own nature of *prajñā* and *upāya*. (p.46:9) With the divine ear, the divine consciousness (*viññāna*) is the subject and the

⁸²⁰ According to Hartzell, this is 15/60th of a degree (Hartzell. 1997:1206). This refers to 15 parts of each lunar fortnight, 15 segments of waxing/waning moon.

⁸²¹ Accordingly the Buddhas (plural!) have a *sahajatanu* (a simultaneously-arisen or innate body), that is, something beyond the duality of the existence.

⁸²² The earlier mentioned *catuskoṭi* (note 818).

echo is the object. Therefore, the calculation of time in the past and in the future is known, in such a *kalpa*, in such a *yuga*, in such a year, in such a month, in such a fortnight, in such a day and so on. Such and such occurred, such and such will be (p.46:12). Therefore, the living beings are to be taught; through the dissolution of the imperishable sleep (the dream state), in the throat, human effort is the *sambhogakāya*, because of [keeping] the semen above. (tib. p.81:7) For the sake of maturing the living beings, this one again becomes the *sambhogakāya*, it becomes the *nirmāṇakāya*, the essence of *prajñā* and *upāya*. Though one of the living beings, because of seeing its various emanations, [it appears to be] many. Thus, the union of one and many is evidently *prajñā* and *upāya*. (p.46:14) As for the relative truth (*saṃvṛtya*), it is contradictory one and many. It is also, through the dissolution of the waking state, in the fore-head [*cakra*] *nirmāṇakāya* deprived of impurities, (Bu: The own nature (*svabhāva*) of *mahāsukha* is in accordance with the thought of being disciplined [by *dharma*]), "the completely visible form, the Ratnaketu, the great gem, (Bu: Because it is placed in the great gem)".⁸²³ (Bu: For the sake of accomplishing all beings, the characteristics of the precious gem of bliss [have been given].)

(tib. p.82:3) Thus, *Sahaja* [-*kāya*] is one, and there are four separate kinds: this very one (Bu: *sahajakāya*), the *dharma*[-*kāya*], the *sambhoga*[-*kāya*] and the *nirmāṇa*[-*kāya*]. (p.46:17)

(Here is the end of the translation of the commentaries to verse 89).

Strangely enough, in this text it is given that the four bodies are placed in the human body in the following way: *Sahajakāya* is placed in the navel-*cakra*, *Dharmakāya* is placed in the heart-*cakra*, *Sambhogakāya* is placed in the throat-*cakra* and finally, the *Nirmāṇakāya* is placed in the *cakra* in the fore-head. This is reversed from the order which is found in the second chapter, but is in accordance with the division found in KCT II:27 with commentary.

In the following some characteristics of the bodies found in this text, especially the *Sahajakāya* and the *Dharmakāya*. There is a correspondence between the concepts of *prajñā* and *upāya* and the month divided into two parts. The first fifteen days, the bright part of the month, corresponds to *prajñā* (wisdom) and the last fifteen days, the dark half of the month, to *upāya* (method, skillful means). *Sahajakāya* is neither part of the month and belongs to the Buddhas. There also exists a concept called the sixteenth part of the month which is completely pure (*suddha*) and has a connection with the *Sahajakāya* concept. The sixteenth part of the month must mean something beyond normal existence, as it does not really exist, as there are only 2 times 15 days in the month.

Later on in the text (p.80:7; p.46:1), there is something very interesting. It is said that the *Sahajatanu* (-*kāya*) was made into perfection for the benefit of itself. Another confirmation of the transcendence of the concept. *Sahajakāya* does not need anything or anyone else. It is beyond these concepts. It is said to be in a sort of sleeping state and waking up

⁸²³ This is a quotation from the *Nāmasaṅgī* 9.24. See translations by Davidson. 1981:30, 57 and Wayman. 1985:93.

from sleep it becomes the *Dharmakāya*. Having become *Dharmakāya*, this body can be made into perfection for the benefit of others. It is a change of state of a Buddha. The classification into that which grasps (*grāhaka*) (subject) and that which is going to be grasped (*grāhya*) (the object) is the *Sahajakāya* and the own nature (*svabhāva*) of *prajñā* and *upāya* is the *Dharmakāya*. It is clearly said in the commentary that the *Dharmakāya* has its origin in the *Sahaja* [-kāya]. *Sahaja* was caused by a former life in the navel-*cakra* and in the following it ripens in the heart-*cakra*. This could be an indication of the concept of something indestructible, continuing from life to life.

When the *dharmakāya* actually is doing benefit for others it becomes *sambhogakāya*, who acts like an echo, that is, sound is involved. This information can be connected with the information cited above from chapter II, which places the *sambhogakāya* in the throat *cakra*.

Before continuing with an analysis of this text, I will treat another commentary which is of interest for clarifying certain themes. It is the commentary by *Zhang-zhung Chos-dbang grags-pa*⁸²⁴ who became abbot of a monastery in Chamdo in 1458 and died in 1469.⁸²⁵ He was a disciple of *mKhas-grub-rje* (1358-1438) who was a disciple of the great reformer of Tibetan Buddhism *Tsong-kha-pa* (1357-1419). His commentary forms part of the collected works of *mKhas-grub-rje* and is probably the interpretation of the *Kālacakra* as put forward by *Tsong-kha-pa*, who had the *Kālacakra* tradition from *Bu-ston*. *Tsong-kha-pa* himself wrote very little on the *Kālacakra* and left it to his disciples, principally to *mKhas-grub-rje* to comment on this tantra. This commentary to the fifth chapter the *Jñānapāṭala* of the *Vimalaprabhā*, is very voluminous, containing 463 pages, compared to *Bu-ston*'s 293 pages. The commentary to the 2nd *mahā-uddeśa*, which treats the four bodies, etc., is 72 pages, compared to *Bu-ston*'s 21 pages. A very interesting feature of this commentary is that it claims in several places that it reveals things about the subject that have not been written before. Some important information from the text follows:

Translation and summary of the commentary on KCT V:89 by Zhang-zhung Chos-dbang grags-pa.

Tibetan text:

(p.290:7) *gnyis pa sku bzhi la sogs pa'i rnam par* (p.291:1) *dag pa nges pa'i mdor bsdus la gsum / mchod par brjod cing brtsam par dam bca' ba / mdor bsdus kyi gzhung bshad pa / mdor bsdus kyi mtshan bstan pa'o / dang po ni rang bzhin gyis yod pa ma yin pa med par rang bzhin gyis* (p.291:2) *grub pa ma yin / yod med gnyis ka rang bzhin gyis grub pa min cing yod med gnyis ka'i bdag nyid min pa'ang rang bzhin gyis grub pa min par mtha' bzhi las ni rnam par grol ba'i bden stong dang bde ba chen po grub bde dbyer med 'bral mi rung du* (p.291:3) *tshogs pa ngo bo nyid kyi sku la phyag 'tshal nas zhes pa ni ngo bo nyid kyi sku la bde stong gnyis yod pa'i bden pa'i mtha' bzhi las grol ba'i tshul yin la / bde chen mtha' bzhi dang bral ba ni 'og 'grel pas 'chad pa'i skabs su 'byung ngo // dang po'i* (p.291:4) *sangs rgyas ris med las / zhes pa nas / mtshan nyid de ni dgrol bar bya / zhes pa'i bar go sla'o //*

⁸²⁴ Zhang-zhung Chos-dbang grags-pa in *Mkhas-grub-rje*, Vol.5, 1983:161-623.

⁸²⁵ *Bod-rgya tshig-mdzod chen-mo*, Beijing, 1985: 3249-3250.

(p.290:7) [the commentary on verse KCT V:89 starts]

In the second *uddeśa* on the instruction (*niyama*), the purity and the perfection of the four bodies etc., there are three parts: [1] the homage and promise to compose the texts [2] the explanation text of the *uddeśa*, [3] the explanation of the name *uddeśa*.

[1] As for the 1st, there is no existence in its own nature and there is no existence in its own nature, and there is no state of perfection (p.291:2). The two, existence and non-existence, not having perfection in their own nature, even when not being the essence of two, existence and non-existence, there is no perfection (*siddhi*) of its own nature. The truth, which is entirely beyond the belief in the inherent is that the void (*śūnya*) and the Great Bliss (*Mahāsukha*) are inseparable as the bliss that arises from the union with *śūnyatā*. After having paid homage to the *svābhāvikakāya* in which they have come together, it is unsuitable for them to be separated; here is the way of being freed from the belief in the inherent, which is the truth that has the two, *mahāsukha* and *śūnyatā*, in the *svābhāvikakāya* and as for the *mahāsukha* being deprived of the belief in the inherent, because it is going to be commented upon below, it will be put forward in the chapter of explanation (p.291:3). From the unconnected *Ādibuddha* (tib. *ris-med*; skt. *niranvaya*), from what is said like this, it is going to be liberated from the characteristics. This is easy to understand.⁸²⁶

(End of direct translation. The following is a short condensation of the rest of this subchapter which treats how the fourth body is related to the other ones. There are no direct quotations.)

On p.291:7 the text continues treating the *sahajakāya*. Inner, outer and other *Kālacakra* have *prajñā* and *upāya*. Then on (p.293:2) the text continues to explaining the essence of *sahajakāya*. From the body-side of the *Sahajakāya* there is the body provided with the dharma of the emptiness image (tib. *stong-gzugs*; skt. *śūnyatā-bimbam*) and from the mind-side of the *Sahajakāya* there is the great bliss (*Mahāsukha*) which is unchanging and *sahaja* (=innate, simultaneously-arisen). These two are inseparable as the water is from the wet and this kind of body is called *Sahajakāya*. Consequently, from the side of the body it is called *Śūnyatā-bimba-kāya* (tib. *stong-gzugs-kyi-sku*), void-form-body and from the side of the mind (tib. *thugs*, skt. *citta*) it is called *Mahāsukhakāya* (*bde-ba chen-po'i sku*), the body of the great bliss, and *Sahajakāya* (tib. *lhan-cig skyes-pa'i sku*), the simultaneously-arisen body. The object of experience of the mind has two purities, from that side it is called the *Svābhāvikakāya* (tib. *ngo-bo nyid-kyi sku*), the self-existent body. If this *Sahajakāya* has the form of *svābhāvikakāya*, it needs to have the two purities (tib. *dag-pa*, skt. *śuddha*).

Therefore *svābhāvikakāya* is like composite existence (p.293:5).

⁸²⁶ Zhang-zhung Chos-dbang grags-pa, p.290:7 – 293:1 in mKhas-grub-rje, dGe-legs-dpal-bzang-po. *The Collected Works of mKhas-grub-rje*, Vol.5, 1983:161-623 (This is the commentary on KCT V:89 and the commentary on that verse VP V.2.).

Now, the next subject is that on top of the *bindu* of the Fourth state there is something like an atomic level. The one composite existence which has the potential that is born out from the *Mahāsukha* (the great bliss). This has been said before in the commentary of the text (*rdzogs-rim*) *rnal-'byor chen-po'i bshad-pa* by *rJe-btsun bla-ma* (*Tsong-kha-pa*).

Zhang-zhung considered that earlier scholars had not explained this clearly, and that he explained it to satisfaction. When someone reaches the *samādhi*, ultimate stage of the six-limbed yoga, he has piles of *bindu* stacked on each other in the central (*avadhūti*) channel and they do not have the substance of own nature. The great bliss comes out of this. It is the Fourth State (of sexual bliss). This bliss is created from the sexual experience. It is like real bliss or like the *bīja*-bliss on an ordinary level. Here again, the author states that noone has previously stated this about the *svābhāvikakāya*. When one reaches that state one obtains the *bindu*, and by practising this unchanging great bliss one reaches the fourth stage (p.294:1). One can then see the differences between the *sambhogakāya* and the *svābhāvikakāya*. The first mentioned has more of the body-side and the second one has more of the great bliss. They are not male or female. *Sahajakāya* is more for the benefit of oneself and it has two parts, body/the void (*śūnya*/ body and mind/*mahāsukha*), and here it has been told about the mind-side.

(The explanation of the characteristics of the other three bodies follows):

Void-form-body is *upāya* and the body-side and the Great Bliss is the mind-side and *prajñā*. There are different opinions about the relationship between *prajñā* and *upāya*. Someone (*Dol-po-pa*) says that on the absolute level there is no rejection between *upāya* and *prajñā*, they are equal. Then another person, *Ka-ye shes-pa-can* explains that they are not equal at all.

(p.296:2) Explanation of *Dharmakāya*: when one stays in a state of sleep, one is the *Dharmakāya*, which is not dharma and not form. From *dharmakāya* one can be divided into *ye-shes* and *rnam-shes* (*jñāna* and *vijñāna*). With *jñāna* one can go into Buddhahood and the great bliss. *Vijñāna* is the *sTong-gzugs* (empty form) side which is aimed more for helping others.

(p.297:1) The mind and bliss side in union is *sahajakāya*. When *prajñā* and *upāya* comes into action for other beings, it is *dharmakāya*. *Sahaja* is connected with the navel in the body. *Sahajakāya* is staying by itself and when it tries to turn for the benefit of others, then turns it into *dharmakāya*. When in some way sound (tib. *gsung*; word, sound, voice) comes into the context, *dharmakāya* turns into *sambhogakāya*.

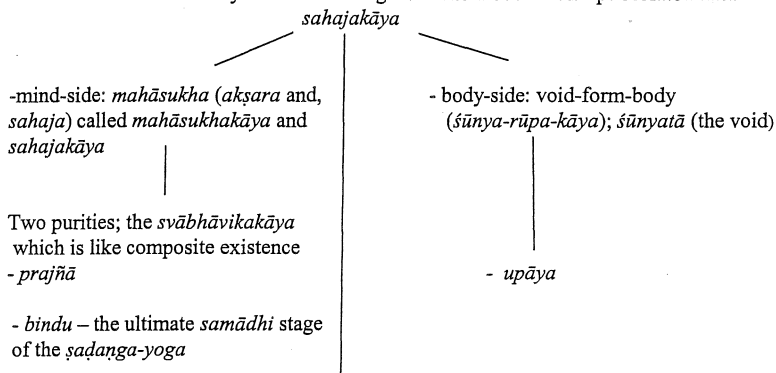
On p.300 there is a short passage which tells about how the three other bodies come out from the *sahajakāya*. By the main male (*Kālacakra*), the five Buddhas are manifested which are the purified *skandhas*. By the main female (*Viśvamāta*), the five "mothers" (female aspects of the *jinas*) are manifested which are the purified *dhātu*'s. The main male and female makes manifest the object and subject.⁸²⁷

⁸²⁷ The entire Tibetan text is given as Appendix 1 to this dissertation. *Zhang-zhung Chos-dbang-grags-pa*, p. 291:4 – 297:2.

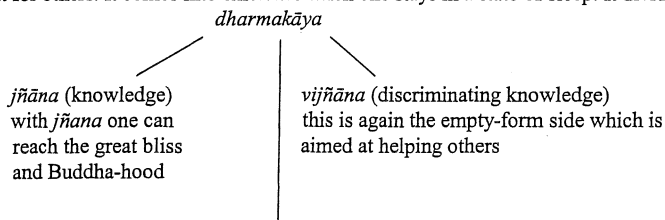
The text by *Zhang-zhung Chos-dbang grags-pa* states some interesting points.

There exists some original unity called *svābhāvikakāya*, *sahajakāya* or *ādibuddha* and it contains the two sides *mahāsukha* and *śūnyatā* or *prajñā* and *upāya*. *Sahajakāya* contains two sides, the body-side and the mind-side

sahajakāya – is existing by itself and the great bliss (*mahāsukha*)-side and the void(*śūnya*)-side are united in the *sahajakāya* as the water is from the wet. It can be seen as another way of denominating the content of the concept of *Ādibuddha*



dharmakāya – comes into existence when the *sahajakāya* is turning into benefit for others. It comes into existence when one stays in a state of sleep. It divides into:



sambhogakāya – is when the sound comes into existence. The level when the sound begins to be transferred to the living beings.

nirmāṇakāya – is the definite level where the teachings for maturing the living beings can be done.

This analysis of the text of *Zhang-zhung Chos-dbang-grags-pa* corresponds well with the above presented text of KCT V:89 with the VP commentary. The main principle is that the four “bodies” (*kāya*) of the Buddha are presented in a cosmological context where these

“bodies” have special characteristics. The original level of *sahajakāya* can be compared to the concept of an original principle as the concept of *Ādibuddha*. This concludes the commentaries to verse KCT V:89. The following verse is also very interesting for the four bodies, so here verse KCT V:90 is quoted:

*eko 'sau vajrasattvaḥ pralayaghananibho heruko vai babhūva
raudrāṇāṃ pācanārthaṃ sa ca samayajino mohitānāṃ sukhārthaṃ /
ratneṣo duḥkhitānāṃ sa ca kamaladhara rāgiṇāṃ rāgaḥetor
vighnānāṃ dhvaṃsanārthaṃ tv asikarakamalo 'moghasiddhir babhūva //90//*⁸²⁸

One is this *Vajrasattva*, who is like the cloud of universal destruction, [he] is indeed *Heruka*; He is also the *samayajina*, for the sake of maturing the *raudras* and for the happiness of the confused. [He is] the jewel-master [*Ratnasambhava*] of the tormented, and the lotus holder for the sake of the passion of the passionate. For the sake of the destruction of the hindrances, he is also *Amoghasiddhi*, with sword and lotus in hand.

In the commentary of *Zhang-Zhung chos-dbang grags-pa* it is said that *Vajrasattva* and *Kālacakra* are essentially one. The black *Heruka* originates like a cosmic cloud in the *maṇḍala* of *Cakrasaṃvara* and others.⁸²⁹ *Heruka* is, according to Tucci, an independent deity with his own *maṇḍala* and also a generic head of the Buddha-families of the *anuttara-yoga-tantras* and can be referred to in the context of *Cakrasaṃvara*, *Hevajra* and *Kālacakra*.⁸³⁰ In this context, he is used as a denomination of *Vajrasattva*. Thus, by *Vajrasattva*, *Cakrasaṃvara-Vajrasattva* has been manifested and by the main male *Kālacakra-Vajrasattva* the other four families have been manifested. This is the pure essence of the five Buddhas. In Davidson's article it is noted that *Heruka* is an emanation of *Vajradhara* on the same level as the deity *Maheśvara*. Essentially, all these deities are the *Mahāvajradhara*.⁸³¹ In the *Cakrasaṃvara Tantra*, *Śrī Heruka* signifies non-dual experience, the void, uncompounded and not abiding anywhere. These are qualifications which also can be applied to *Kālacakra/Ādibuddha*.⁸³²

*rJe blo-gros chos-skyong*⁸³³ explains in his commentary to this verse how the Buddhas emerge from the four bodies. First, the five *jinās* emerge, then their female counterparts, then the *bodhisattvas*, then the *kroḍhas*. He also states that all these together are the *Dharmakāya*.

From the *Sahajakāya*, *Vajrasattva* emerges in the form of the black *Heruka*, who has come from the black cloud. From *Sahajakāya -Vajrasattva* emerges *Heruka - Vajrasattva* and after that the five *jinās*.⁸³⁴

⁸²⁸ KCT. V:90. Banerjee. 1985:222; Vimalaprabhā V.2 in VP Vol.III. 1994:46, line 18-21.

⁸²⁹ Tucci. 1988: XV-XVII, 61-62; Davidson. 1991:203-214; Schumann. 1986:212, 277; Abhayākara Gupta. 1949 (*Niṣpannayogāvali*), p.20; Wayman. 1973:234-235.

⁸³⁰ Tucci. 1988:XV-XVI.

⁸³¹ Davidson. 1991:208.

⁸³² Shrichakrasambhara Tantra. 1919:3.

⁸³³ *rJe blo-gros chos-skyong* has like *Zhang-zhung Chos-dbang-grags-pa* written a commentary on this chapter which is included in the collected works of *mKhas-grub-rje*. He was a disciple of *mKhas-grub-rje*.

⁸³⁴ *rJe blo-gros chos-skyong*. 1983, p.135:6 - p.136:2.

mKhas-grub-rje writes in his “*Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras*”⁸³⁵ that the *svābhāvikakāya* of a Buddha means the same as the *Tathāgatagarbha* (the embryo of the *Tathāgata*). He cites *Bu-ston* as a defender of this theory. In his final analysis, *mKhas-grub* says, though, that the *svābhāvikakāya* is not the *Tathāgatagarbha*. In another context *mKhas-grub* states that *Ānandagarbha* says in the *Śrī Paramādīptikā*⁸³⁶ that the four bodies correspond to the four *jinas*, *svābhāvikakāya* is *Vairocana*. Here some similarities can be noted to the *Ādibuddha*/*Mahāvairocana*-concept in the Japanese *Shingon*-buddhism.

5.3. CONCLUSIONS.

I have tried above to analyse the theories of the fourth body and its connection with the *Ādibuddha* concept and will this analysis not be repeated here. It is possible to see some lines of development of the *Ādibuddha* concept in connection with the *svābhāvikakāya*-system of the four Buddha-bodies. Already in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, and especially in the commentary to this text by *Haribhadra*, one can find information on the *svābhāvikakāya* that point forward especially to the concept *śuddhakāya* (the pure body) which is found in the main *Kālacakra* text. As yet, I have not seen in any literature that the fourth body should be named *śuddhakāya*, as in the *Kālacakra* texts. *Haribhadra* writes about the fourth body that it is *viśuddha* (pure). There is a line leading back to these texts, over the developed concept of *svābhāvikakāya* (self-existent body) to the *Ādibuddha*-concept. The *sahajakāya* is here also said to be beyond the duality of *prajñā* and *upāya* and can consequently be seen as being on the level of the *Ādibuddha* principle.

Compared to the Japanese *Shingon*-Buddhism where *Mahāvairocana* is regarded as the *dharmakāya* in the three-*kāya*-system,⁸³⁷ in the *Kālacakra* texts *Ādibuddha* is probably to be identified with the *svābhāvikakāya* in the four-*kāya* system. The *Kālacakra*-texts have not been translated into Chinese, and therefore have not been able to have any influence on the Japanese *Shingon*-Buddhism.

⁸³⁵ Lessing & Wayman. 1968

⁸³⁶ Toh.2512.

⁸³⁷ *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*. Transl. by C. Yamamoto. 1990.

6. PARAMĀKṢARA – THE SUPREME UNCHANGING. ITS RELATION TO THE ĀDIBUDDHA CONCEPT AND THE SAHAJAKĀYA.

6.1. THE SUPREME UNCHANGING AS PRESENTED IN KCT V:127 AND THE VIMLAPRABHĀ COMMENTARY.

In the *Jñāna-paṭala* (the chapter of knowledge), chapter V of the *laghutantra Śrī-Kālacakra-tantra-rāja* (KCT), and the commentary *Vimalaprabhā* (VP): The *mahoddeśa* (subchapter), *Paramākṣara-jñāna-siddhi* (The supreme unchanging perfection of knowledge). KCT V:127, with the VP commentary.⁸³⁸ Tibetan: *Vimalaprabhā* in Bu-ston's edition.⁸³⁹

Without comparison, this is the verse which has the most extensive commentary in the whole text of the KCT. It has a commentary of 60 pages in the Sanskrit original of the VP and 114 pages in Bu-ston's Tibetan edition. I have worked with this text using at first the Tibetan translation as I first had access to the Tibetan and only later to the edited Sanskrit text. The following is a presentation and translation of verse KCT V:127 and a partial translation of the commentary *Vimalaprabhā*. The commentary is the third subchapter within the fifth main chapter.

This verse treats the concept of *paramākṣara*, the supreme unchanging; *paramākṣara-jñāna*, the knowledge of the supreme unchanging; *paramākṣara-jñāna-siddhi*, the perfected knowledge of the supreme unchanging; *paramākṣara-sukha*, the bliss of the supreme unchanging; *paramākṣara-sukha-jñāna*, the knowledge of the bliss of the supreme unchanging. This concept of the supreme unchanging approaches the concept of *Ādibuddha* which has been characterised in other contexts in these texts as unchanging, beyond duality, etc.⁸⁴⁰ The Sanskrit word can be analysed as *parama - akṣara*, "the supreme" and "the imperishable or unchanging" or, in French, "inalterable, qui ne passe pas."⁸⁴¹ The word *akṣara* can be analysed as *a-kṣara*, a negation of *kṣara* which means "melting away, perishable."⁸⁴² Consequently the word *paramākṣara* can mean "the indestructible" or, as I have interpreted the word, as "the unchanging." The meaning is practically the same. In the word "unchanging" is also implicit the meaning that it is something that cannot be destroyed.

Before treating verse KCT V:127 and the accompanying VP text, some parts of the introductory part of the *Vimalaprabhā* will first be presented. In the introductory verses of homage in the *Vimalaprabhā*, *Paramādibuddha* is described as:

⁸³⁸ *Vimalaprabhā*, chapter V, subchapter 3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:60-103.

⁸³⁹ Bu-ston. 1965c:101, line 3-216.

⁸⁴⁰ See the previous chapter on "*Ādibuddha* in the *Kālacakra Tantra*".

⁸⁴¹ See Stchoupak, Nitti, Renou, *Dictionnaire Sanskrit-Français*.

⁸⁴² See Monier-Williams 1976 (1899).

utpādayavyavarjito 'kṣarasukho

the unchanging bliss and the abandonment of origination and annihilation...⁸⁴³

Later in the introductory part:

*paramādibuddhenetiparamādibuddhaḥ
ekakṣaṇapañcākāraviṃśatyākāramāyājālābhisambodhilakṣaṇo-
'kṣarasukhaḥ paramaḥ tenādibuddha paramādibuddhaḥ tena
paramādibuddheneti / niranvayeneti /*

The *Paramādibuddha* is the unchanging bliss that is characterized by perfect enlightenment in a single instant, in five aspects, in twenty aspects, and by the net of illusion; it is supreme (*paramaḥ*; *mhog*). The one who first obtained Buddhahood (*ādibuddha*) by that [bliss] is the *Paramādibuddha*. The *Paramādibuddha* [taught the *tantra*].⁸⁴⁴

From these two quotations it can be seen that the *Paramādibuddha* in this text not only is the root-*tantra* or the *maṇḍala*, but also is actually the one who first obtained Buddhahood and the unchanging bliss. It is even indicated that it was *Paramādibuddha* who taught the *tantra*. This should not be interpreted that *Paramādibuddha* is Śākyamuni Buddha. Rather, it is that Buddha when he was teaching the *Kālacakra* at the *Dhānyakaṭaka stūpa* appeared in the shape of *Kālacakra/Ādibuddha*. *Paramādibuddha* here really emerges as a kind of personified principle that first obtained Buddhahood. These are quite strange ideas for mainstream *Mahāyāna* buddhism. It presents serious problems as to who really obtained Buddhahood, as the *Ādibuddha* is supposed to be timeless. Is there a beginning in time? Further on in the same chapter is written:

*kālo 'kṣarasukhajñānam upāyaḥ karuṇātmakaḥ /
jñeyākāraṃ jagac cakraṃ śrī prajñā śūnyatātmikā //*

Time (*kāla*) is the wisdom (*jñāna*) of unchanging bliss - the method consisting of compassion. The wheel (*cakra*) is the world in the aspects of objects of knowledge - the splendid wisdom (*prajñā*) consisting of emptiness.⁸⁴⁵

Later, there is an explanation of the word *Kālacakra*:

*kālāḥ paramākṣaro mahāsukhalakṣaṇaḥ tenotpāditaṃ nirāvaram
skandhadhātṛvādikaṃ cakraṃ yasya śārīraṃ asau kālacakraḥ /*

⁸⁴³ Vimalaprabhā I.1. in VP Vol.I. 1986:1, line 4; Newman. 1987a:222; Bu-ston. 1965a:302.

⁸⁴⁴ Vimalaprabhā I.2 in VP Vol.I. 1986:17, line 9-11; Newman. 1987a:270; Bu-ston. 1965a:333; see p.78-79 for the Sanskrit text.

⁸⁴⁵ Vimalaprabhā I. in VP Vol.I. 1986:11, line 13-14; Newman. 1987a:243; Bu-ston. 1965a:316.

Time (*kāla*; *dus*) has the characteristics of the great bliss of the supreme unchanging. One whose body is generated as a wheel (*cakra*; 'khor-lo) of unobscured *skandhas* (aggregates), elements, and so forth by means of that [bliss] is *Kālacakra*.⁸⁴⁶

From these two quotations one can see that Time is a key concept in the text. It is the supreme unchanging bliss which places the concept on the same level as the *Pa-ramādibuddha*, beyond the transforming world. This is in harmony with the statement at the beginning of the first chapter of the *laghutantra*, where time is at the origin of the emanation of the world.⁸⁴⁷

There is an interesting section in the fifth subchapter of the first chapter of the *Vimalaprabhā* which treats the *Vajrayoga* and the problem of the ultimate truth. I have translated part of this subchapter in the chapter on the *ādibuddha* in this work (p.84-85). The supreme unchanging (*paramākṣara*) is equalled to the union of wisdom and method, the *vajrayoga*, *Ādibuddha* and *Kālacakra*.

Next a quotation from the VP commentary on KCT I:1:

*asau viśuddho vajrayoga ekakṣaṇābhisambuddhaḥ san mahārthaḥ
paramākṣaraḥ sahañānandaḥ na kāmabhava sthitaḥ na rūpabhava
sthitaḥ nārūpabhava sthitaḥ*⁸⁴⁸

This pure *vajrayoga*, the highest, perfect Buddhahood in one moment, the noble great aim, the supreme unchanging, the *sahañānanda* does not abide in the desire existence. It does not abide in the [sixteen] form existences. It does not abide in the [four] formless existences.

This *vajrayoga* seems to be a concept that signifies the transcendent. All the enumerated concepts are descriptions of the *vajrayoga* which is the practice.⁸⁴⁹ The supreme unchanging is consequently not a part of any form of existence.

Another place where the concept of *paramākṣara* is treated is the following commentary on KCT I from the VP I.5:

*ihaikakṣaṇābhisambodhir nāma paramākṣarasukhaḥ iti / asau
ekakṣaṇasambuddhaḥ sarvakṣaṇavibhāvako bhavati śvāsasaṃkhyāntaṃ
yāvat / tataḥ pūrṇas tasmin kṣaṇe 'bhisambuddhaḥ samyaksambuddha
iti / iha yasmin pūrṇakṣaṇe sarvatathāgatā abhisambuddhās tasmāt
kṣaṇāt sarvadharmāṇāṃ notpādo na sthitir na bhaṅgaḥ niranvayatvāt*⁸⁵⁰

Here, the so-called highest, perfect enlightenment in one moment is a moment of supreme unchanging bliss. This highest, perfect Buddhahood in one moment

⁸⁴⁶ Vimalaprabhā I. In VP Vol.I 1986:17, line 12-14; Newman. 1987a:271; Bu-ston. 1965a:333.

⁸⁴⁷ KCT I:4. In VP Vol.I. 1986:53, line 26. "Because of time (*kāla*), from the voids, wind, fire, water...originate in the middle of the void..." See the fore-going chapter 3.1, p.79.

⁸⁴⁸ Vimalaprabhā I.5 in VP Vol.I. 1986:44, line 6-7.

⁸⁴⁹ See Newman. 2000/2001 for an investigation of "Vajrayoga in the Kālacakra Tantra."

⁸⁵⁰ Vimalaprabhā I.5 in VP Vol.I. 1986:44, line 12-15. Translated by Newman. 1987a:374.

is the person developing all the moments through to the end of the count of the breaths. Then, the highest, perfect Buddhahood in that moment of completion is the true, perfect Buddha. Here, after that moment of completion (Bu: of the 21,600 supreme unchanging moments) in which all *Tathāgatas* obtain highest, perfect Buddhahood, all phenomena do not originate, do not abide and do not disintegrate, for they are unconnected (*nirānvaya*).

Another quotation from VP I.5, a commentary on KCT I:1:

*evaṃ paramārthasattabhāvād ekakṣaṇo nāsti ekānekavirodhād iti /
iha yad ekakṣaṇābhīsambuddhaḥ sarvakṣaṇavibhāvaka⁸⁵¹ iti tat
prathamam paramākṣarasukhakṣaṇābhīsambuddhaḥ saṃ
ekarvīṣṭatisahasraṣaṭṣataparamākṣarasukhakṣaṇabhāvakaḥ⁸⁵²*

Thus, “since absolute being does not exist, there is no single moment because one and many are contradictory.” Here, regarding that “highest, perfect Buddhahood in one moment the person developing all the moments”: is the first, highest, perfect Buddhahood by means of a moment of supreme unchanging bliss for the person developing the 21,600 moments of supreme unchanging bliss.

Here allusion is made to 21,600 moments of the supreme unchanging bliss. This can seem strange but it is a way of describing the passing of these moments through the central channel (*avadhūti*) in the body. There is also a stress on the fact that the supreme unchanging bliss exists at one moment, but at many consecutive moments. This kind of reasoning perhaps approaches the concept of instantaneous illumination which exists in the Chinese Cha’n Buddhism. The highest, perfect Buddhahood is reached in one moment.

There is an interesting annotation by *Bu-ston* to a quotation from the *Mañjuśrī-nāmasaṃgīti*.⁸⁵³ There he states that the supreme unchanging is the same as that all matured beings have a single taste.

The *Vimalaprabhā* commentary to KCT V:127 gives a word by word commentary on the first ten pages and then continues with a long discussion of this and other related subjects. The 114 pages do not only treat the unchanging but also other subjects. I have drawn from the text all the passages where the word *paramākṣara* (the supreme unchanging) is to be found. I have translated the surrounding text and finally analysed the content.

In order to understand the following chapter on the supreme unchanging and verse KCT V:127, it is necessary to study KCT V:126 which treats the very important concept of *bindu*. The verse KCT V:126 is the last verse of the second subchapter in the the fifth chapter of the KCT and the VP. That chapter is the one that treats the four bodies of the Buddha that I have previously treated in chapter five. Verse 126 is a bridge to subchapter three. Here follows KCT V:126:

⁸⁵¹ This is a quotation from the MNS 141cb (Davidson 1981:35) and MNS VIII:23bc in Wayman. 1985:106 and Davidson. 1981:21.

⁸⁵² *Vimalaprabhā* I.5 in VP Vol.I. 1986:44, line 23-25. Newman. 1987a:375.

⁸⁵³ VP Vol.I. 1986:58, line 23-24. Newman. 1987a:441-442. Bu-ston. 1965a:435, line 2-6.

*evaṃ cittam caturdhā trividhabhavadagatam prāṇinām bindumadhye
yogindrai rakṣaṇīyaṃ samasukhaphaladaṃ vyāpakaṃ mokṣahetoḥ /
bindor mokṣe kva mokṣo gataparamasukhe yoginām janmabīje
tasmāt saṃsārasaukhyakṣaṇa iha yatibhiḥ sarvadā varjaṇīyaḥ // 126 //*⁸⁵⁴

In this way, as for the fourfold mind (*citta*), residing in the three existences, and residing in the middle of the *bindu* of the sentient beings; by the skilled *yogins* the ⁸⁵⁵ [*bindu* (semen)] is to be protected and provide the fruit of equal bliss, the all-pervasive, for the purpose of liberation. In the *bindu*'s liberation [emission], where is the liberation. It is in the birth-seed (*bīja*) of the *yogis* who have lost the supreme bliss; Therefore, for this reason, the moment of bliss in *saṃsāra* is always to be shunned by the ascetics.

In this verse *bindu* is introduced in the current context. It seems to mean the male semen, although it also seems that the *bindu* is contended in the *bīja* (seed) of the yogin. Consequently, *bindu* is the drop in the semen. In the *bindu* is the *citta*. All this is also a "hidden language" which has other connotations, as will be seen in the commentaries.

6.1.1. The third subchapter of chapter V: Paramākṣara-jñāna-siddhi - The perfection of knowledge of the supreme unchanging.

Tibetan: mChog-tu mi-'gyur-ba'i ye-shes grub-pa shes-bya-ba'i mdor-bsdus chen-po.⁸⁵⁶

This subchapter treats verse KCT V:127 and the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary. The Sanskrit text is found on p.60-103 in the Indian edition from 1994.⁸⁵⁷ These pages have been searched in order to find a clue to understand the concept of *paramākṣara*, the supreme unchanging and all the passages containing the word *paramākṣara* have been translated. KCT V:127:

Sanskrit text of the verse:

*ekatvaṃ hy ādikādyoḥ śaśīdinakarayor āsanam vajriṇo na
hūmkāreṇaiva cihnam pariṇatam aparaṃ neṣyate varnarūpaṃ /
utpannasākṣareṇa kṣaranidhanagatasyāśya divyendriyasya
sarvākārasya bindoḥ paramajinapater viśvamāyādharaśya //127 //*⁸⁵⁸

⁸⁵⁴ Banerjee. 1985:230 and *Vimalaprabhā* V.2 in VP Vol.III. 1994:59.

⁸⁵⁵ Banerjee has *bhogindrai* but this reading from VP seems more correct.

⁸⁵⁶ The key concept of this chapter evidently is *paramākṣara*-(*sukha*) which I translate as the "supreme unchanging or the "supreme unchanging bliss", depending on the context. Hartzell (Hartzell. 1997:1254) translates it as "the supremely indestructible" or "the supremely indestructible bliss". I still opt for the translation "the supreme unchanging" because of the context and connection with the *Ādibuddha* concept. "Unchanging" better translates the connection with time. Another translation for *akṣara* is "imperishable".

⁸⁵⁷ VP Vol.I. 1986:60-103.

⁸⁵⁸ Banerjee. 1985:231 and *Vimalaprabhā* V.3 (chapter V, subchapter 3) in VP Vol.III. 1994:60, line 7-10.

Tibetan:

gang phyir a sogs ka sogs ri bong can dang nyin byed gcig nyid
rdo rje can gyi gdan min zhing /
Huh yig nyid kyiss mtshan ma dang ni yongs su gyur pa gzhan pa kha dog
gzugs dag mi 'dod de /
'gyur med dag gis bskyed cing 'gyur ba nyams par gyur pa mchog gi dbang
po dang ldan pa ni / rnam pa kun ldan thig le mtha' dag rgyal ba' bdag po
*sna tshogs sgyu ma 'dzin pa 'di la'o //*⁸⁵⁹

Therefore, because of the unity between vowels and consonants, that is, the unity of the moon and the sun, there is no seat (*āsana*) of the *vajrin*. The sign is completely transformed by the syllable HŪM, the other [sign] is not desired as a form of the syllable. [The sign of] that which is produced by the unchanging, [of that] which is in the perishable receptacle, [of that] which is the divine sense, and [of that] which is the *bindu* which has created all aspects, [of he who is] the supreme master of *jinas* and [who is] the carrier of all illusions.

This verse is difficult. What is meant by the word *vajrin*? From other places in the text, the following can be derived: In KCT II:161, *vajrin* means the Buddha Śākyamuni⁸⁶⁰. In II:48 and following, it is the *Raudracakrin* who is going to fight the *mlecchas* in the final war as king of Shambhala.⁸⁶¹ In II:53, it is the *jinapati* “master of the *jinas*”⁸⁶² and in II:92, *vajrin* is *khavajrin* (sky-*vajrin*), which is pure consciousness and in the end *śūnyatā* (the Void).⁸⁶³ In KCT IV:1, *vajrin* is equated to *Kālacakra* according to the adjoining commentary.⁸⁶⁴ In this context, one could probably think of *vajrin* as that which is beyond the *sahajakāya*, that is, “*Ādibuddha*”.

The Vimalaprabhā commentary to KCT V:127:

namaḥ śrīvajrasattvāya / namo mahāmudrāyai paramākṣarasukhāya /
namo gurubuddhabodhisattvebhyaḥ / namaḥ krodharājavajradāka-
vajradākinībhyāḥ /
idānīm akṣarodbhavasahajakāyasyālikālipadmacandrād ity āsa-
nahūmkāraparīnatācihnotpādarūpavarṇabhujasamsthānaparikalpanā-
dharmaopravedho hi yasmāt tasmād bhagavataḥ paramākṣarajñānasiddhir ucyate

(Here the earlier translated verse KCT V:127 is quoted).

ekatvam ity ādinā / ekatvaṃ hy ādikādyor iti / ādir akārādisvarasamūho
hakārāś candraḥ pratyekaṃ svaraś ca / kakārādir vyañjanasamūhaḥ
kṣakārāḥ sūryaḥ pratyekaṃ vyañjanam ca / tayoṛ ādikādyoḥ śaśīdinakarayor
hakārakṣakārayor vā / akārapakārayor ekatvam ekikaraṇam āsanam
ādhārāḥ / pakāravyañjanātmakam padmam / akārātmakam candra-

⁸⁵⁹ Bu-ston. 1965c:Part 3, p.101

⁸⁶⁰ Vimalaprabhā II.7 in VP Vol.I. 1986:255; translated in Wallace. 1995:428.

⁸⁶¹ Vimalaprabhā II.3 in VP Vol.I. 1986:183-184; translated in Wallace. 1995:220.

⁸⁶² Vimalaprabhā II.3 in VP Vol.I. 1986:186, line 23 to p.187, line 5; Translated in Wallace. 1995:230.

⁸⁶³ Vimalaprabhā II.5 in VP Vol.I. 1986:219, line 17-28; Translated in Wallace. 1995:329.

⁸⁶⁴ Vimalaprabhā IV.1 in VP Vol. II. 1994:149, line 24 – p.150, line 8.

*maṇḍalam hakārātmakam vā repḥātmakam sūryamaṇḍalam kṣakārātmakam
vā / ādheyasya vajriṇaḥ vajram abhedyasya paramākṣarasukhasya jñānam
acyutam tad asminn astīti vajrī tasya vajriṇa ādheyasya /*⁸⁶⁵

Translation with Bu-ston's commentaries within brackets. I will here use Bu-ston's commentaries in order to clarify some points:

(skt. VP p.60:1; tib.Bu: p.101:3)

Homage to *Śrī Vajra* [Bu: by examining the wisdom of the fruit, the grasped and that which grasps and the non-dual, because they are inseparable] *sattva* [Bu: because the three existences became into one essence]

[Bu: These two became inseparable]. Homage to *Mahāmūdra*, [Bu: The way and *prajñā*, the parts were like the brilliance of a mirror gone beyond the *dharma*-essence of the indivisible particles, they became the complete void (*viśva-śūnyatā*)] the supreme unchanging bliss [Bu: [which is] the great bliss which has stopped the defilements which flow out of a man from the *upāya* void-body (*śūnyatā-bimba*)].

Homage to the gurus, the Buddhas and the *bodhisattvas*

[Bu: who teaches that]. Homage to the *Krodharājas*, the *Vajradākas* and the *Vajradākinīs*. (VP p.60:4) Now, therefore. Therefore, from the *sahajakāya* produced from that which is unchanging⁸⁶⁶, there is a perceiving of the *dharma*s that assume the form of syllables situated on the arms, etc. and [forms] coming from the transforming sign of the *hūṃkāra* on the vowels and consonants of the moon and sun places of residence; Because this is the case, the *Bhagavan*'s perfection of (*paramākṣara-jñāna-siddhi*) knowledge of the supreme unchanging is described.

(Here, the verse V:127 translated on the fore-going page is quoted in the commentary).

(VP p.60:11) As for the "unity", etc., because there is the unity of the vowels and consonants. As for A-etc., (Bu: the vowels) they are the set of vowels with the letter A, etc. The HA-letter is the moon and individually it is a vowel. The KA-letter etc [the consonants] is the assembly of consonants; and the KṢA-letter is the sun and individually it is also a consonant.

These vowels and consonants, the moon and the sun are the HA-letter and the KṢA-letter. There is unity of the A-letter and the PA-letter, the unifying seat (*āsana*) is the basis. The manifested essence of the consonant PA is the lotus. The lunar *maṇḍala* has the essence of the A-letter or the HA-letter. The solar *maṇḍala* has the essence of the RA or the essence of the KṢA-letter. Of the one designated, of the *vajrin*, the *vajra* of the indivisible one is the non-transmigrated [or: imperishable?] (tib. *mi-'pho-ba*; skt. *acyuta*) knowledge of the supreme unchanging bliss. That is in him, therefore he is a *vajrin* and is referred to as *vajriṇa* (skt. VP: p.60:16; tib. Bu: p.102:4).

⁸⁶⁵ Skt.: Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:60, line 1-16. Tib.: Bu-ston. 1965c:101, line 3– p.102, line 4.

⁸⁶⁶ Here it is interesting to compare with KCT V:89 and the whole subchapter on the four bodies vv.89-124. There it is written that *sahajakāya* is drawn out from the *Ādibuddha*. Here, it has originated from the unchanging. Consequently, *Ādibuddha* corresponds to the unchanging if a comparison is made.

Here, the supreme unchanging has various connotations. First, the author pays reverence to the supreme unchanging bliss (*paramākṣarasukha*) in the same way that he pays reverence to Buddhas, *gurus*, *krodharājas*, etc., and compares the concept with the concept of *Mahāmudrā*. Then it is mentioned that *sahajakāya* has its origin in the unchanging (*akṣara*). This is another indication of the theory that the *sahajakāya* is a level of existence which is secondary to the level of unchanging, or supreme unchanging.

The wisdom of the supreme unchanging is then referred to as being at the origin of the alphabet. This has some logic, because *jñāna* –wisdom/knowledge is more the intellectual side of wisdom. Also, of course, because *paramākṣara* can be translated as “the supreme syllable”.

The last mention of the supreme unchanging in this part of the text is when it is referred to as the wisdom of the supreme unchanging bliss which is imperishable (*acyuta*). Here again, the word *acyuta* (tib. *mi-'pho-ba*), which can be interpreted in different ways. The actual meaning of the word is “not fallen”, but another meaning is “imperishable, permanent, firm”.⁸⁶⁷ The normal translation of the word *'pho-ba* from Tibetan into Sanskrit seems to be *saṃkrānti* or *saṃcāra*⁸⁶⁸ and the meaning of *'pho-ba* is “to change place, migrate”. The translation of *mi-'pho-ba* as *acyuta* is not found in the dictionaries, except in one place in the *Mahāvīyutpatti* where it is used in the very interesting expression:

“*acyutānūṭpannāḥ sarvadharmāḥ*”, in Tibetan “*chos thams-cad-ni 'chi 'pho-ba-med cing ma skyes-pa*”, which could be translated as “all the *dharma*s are not produced and do not die (are not transmigrated)”. This quotation is found in the chapter on the thirty-two great compassions of the *Tathāgata* and is one of the thirty-two⁸⁶⁹. If, in this context *dharma*s signifies the small *dharma*-particles, it means that the *dharma*s are the same through different lives. This is approaching the concept of *mi-'pho-ba/acyuta* in these texts.

The usual meaning of *acyuta*, though, is “imperishable, permanent”.

In the Das dictionary a quotation of interest in this context is found: *Kālacakra* is “*'pho-med thog-ma tha-ma-med*”, translated as “there is no migration and there is no beginning and no end”.⁸⁷⁰ This line of thought is similar to the expression in the modern Tibetan commentary on the *Kālacakra* by Geshe Ngawang Dhargyey that there is something indestructible that lives on from life to life.⁸⁷¹ Consequently, there is no real rebirth. Here, the meaning is perhaps that the supreme unchanging is that which is born again in another body. This line of thinking comes close to the traditional Indian concept of *ātman*, but it is difficult to draw any definitive conclusions. Perhaps there is a Tibetan tradition of interpretation of the word *acyuta* as *mi-'pho-ba*, thereby connected to the well-known Tibetan

⁸⁶⁷ See Monier-Williams. 1976(1899):9.

⁸⁶⁸ Das. 1976 (1903), p.849. The meaning of *saṃkrānti* is “going from one place to another, transference to” (Monier-Williams. 1976(1899):1127.

⁸⁶⁹ Mahāvīyutpatti 1972, Part I, nr.166, p.13.

⁸⁷⁰ This quotation is found in Das. p.849. It is, according to Das, taken from the text *mNgon-brjod mkhas-pa'i rma-rgyan*, a Lhasa blockprint in 80 leaves by *Ngag-dbang 'jig-rten dbang phyug grags-pa'i rdo-rje* from *Sa-skya Pan-chen's* text *Tshig-gter*, which is a Tibetan translation of *Amārkoṣa* and other lexicons. I have searched for this text to the present, without result. In the *Tshig-gter* and the *Amārkoṣa*, I have found nothing of interest.

⁸⁷¹ Dhargyey. 1985:91.

practice of 'pho-ba, "consciousness transference", which is one of the six yogas of *Nā-ro-pa*. In the following passages the word *acyuta*/ *mi*- 'pho-ba is used several times and will be commented upon.

The commentary on KCT V:127 continues (p.63; p.110) with commentaries to the text word by word. In continuation, translation and comment will only concern the parts of the commentary that treat the concept of *paramākṣara*, that is, the supreme unchanging. A continuation of the commentary to KCT V:127 follows:

*paramārthataḥ svaravyaṅjanasamūho 'kṣaro na bhavati / akṣarāśabdena*⁸⁷² *paramākṣarasukhaṃ jñānaṃ vajrasattva iti / tathā manastrāṇabhūtātvaṃ mantrō 'pi paramākṣarajñānaṃ ucyate* /⁸⁷³

(VP 60:22; Bu 103:2) Neither the vowel nor the consonant group is unchanging from [the side of] ultimate reality (*paramārtha*). By the word unchanging [is meant] the knowledge that is the supreme unchanging bliss (*paramākṣarasukhaṃ jñānaṃ*), the *Vajrasattva*. Accordingly, since it has the purpose of protecting, the mind (*manas*), [and] the mantra are called the supreme unchanging wisdom (*paramākṣarajñānaṃ*).

(line 25) *sahajatanur ity ucyate jinaiḥ /*
(VP 60:27; Bu 103:4) *paramākṣarasukhasvabhāvau paramāṇu-dharmatāḥ itau ādarśapratiseṇāsvapnatulyau paramākṣarasvarūpāv iti / atrākṣarāṇīti rūpavedanāsaṃjñāsaṃskāravijñāni nirāvaraṇāni pañcākṣarāṇi mahāśūnyāni uktāni / tathā prthvyaptejovāyavākśādhātavo nirāvaraṇāḥ* (VP p.61:1) *pañcākṣarāṇy uktāni / ṣaḍākṣarāṇi caṣṭṣaḥ śro-traghnāṇajihvākāyamanāṃsi nirāvaraṇāni pratyekasvasvasvīyasya-grahanavarjitāni / tathā rūpaśabdagandharasasparśadharmaḍhātavo nirāvaraṇāḥ ca* (VP p.61:3) *ṣaḍākṣarāṇy uktāni / etāni skandha-dhātvyātatanāny ekasamarasibhūtāni binduśūnyo bhavati / sa ca bindur acyutaḥ saṃ paramākṣara ucyate / paramākṣaro 'py akāro 'kārasambhavaḥ samyak-sambuddhaḥ prajñopāyātmako vajrasattvo napuṃsakapadam saḥajakāya ucyate jñānajñeyātmakaḥ hetuphalayor abhedyatvāt / sa ca kālacakro bhagavān paramākṣarasukhapadam ity uktaṃ bhagavatā nāmasaṅgītyāṃ vajradhātumahāmaṇḍalastave prathamāślokena –*
(VP p.61:7) *tadyathā bhagavān buddhaḥ sambuddho 'kārasambhavaḥ / akāraḥ sarvavarṇagryō mahārthaḥ paramākṣaraḥ*⁸⁷⁴ //⁸⁷⁵

(VP p.60:25; Bu p.103:4)

As for *sahajatanu*, it is described by the *jinās*...

(VP p.60:27) ..the two [*Vajrasattva* and *Buddhamātr*] who both have the

⁸⁷² The translation of this word poses some difficulty. *Akṣara* could mean "imperishable, unalterable or unchanging", but also "letter, syllable" (Monier-Williams 1976(1899):3). Here, it would seem logical to translate it as "syllable", but the meaning of the word in this context could also be "imperishable, unchangeable". The underlying meaning of the concept is very similar in both cases.

⁸⁷³ Skt. Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:60, line 22; Tib. Bu-ston. 1965c:103, line 2

⁸⁷⁴ The last two lines are quotations from the text *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṃgīti* (MNS) Chapter 5, verse 1; Verse 28 in Davidson's edition. See text and translation in Wayman. 1985:68 and Davidson. 1981:22 and 51.

⁸⁷⁵ Skt. Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:60, line 25, 27- p.61, line 9; tib. Bu-ston. 1965c:103, line 4 – 104, line 4

supreme unchanging bliss as their own nature, both have transcended the nature of indivisible particles (*paramāṇu*), both are like a dream and a divination (*pratisenā*), both have the proper form of the supreme unchanging.

Here are the unchangings (*aṅśara*), they are the five unchangings: form (*rūpa*), sensation (*vedanā*), perception (*saṃjñā*), imagination (*saṃskāra*) and consciousness (*viññāna*): the five unchangings that do not have obscurities, known as the great voids (*mahāśūnya*).

(VP p.61:1; Bu p.103:6) Accordingly, the earth, water, fire, wind and space, the elements (*dhātu*) without obscurities⁸⁷⁶, are called the five unchangings. As for the six unchangings, they are eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body and mind, and are without obscurities, each of them having abandoned grasping their individual sense domains. (Bu p.104:1) Accordingly, form, sound, smell, taste, feeling and *dharma* without obscurities are called the six unchangings. (VP p.61:3) As for *skandhas*, *dhātus* and *āyatanas* having become into one taste, they become the drop-void (*binduśūnya*). And that imperishable (non-transmigrated) *bindu* (tib. *mi-'pho-ba*; skt. *acyuta*),⁸⁷⁷ is called the supreme unchanging (*paramāṅśara*). (Bu p.104:2) The supreme unchanging is also presented as the letter A. Complete enlightenment has emerged from the letter A, consisting of *prajñā* and *upāya*, *Vajrasattva*, in the androgynous state called *Sahajakāya*, consisting of knowledge (*jñāna*) and the knowable (*jñeya*), because of the inseparability of the cause and the fruit. It is also the *Bhagavān Kālacakra* which is called the place of the supreme unchanging bliss (*paramāṅśarasukha*) by the *Bhagavan* in the *Nāmasaṅgīti*, and in praise of the great *maṇḍala* of *Vajradhātu* with the first verse (*śloka*) [it was said]: (VP p.61:8) "Accordingly, the *Bhagavān*, the Buddha, the awakened, is arisen from the letter A. A is the first of the letters, of the great purpose, the supreme unchanging (*paramāṅśara*)."⁸⁷⁸

⁸⁷⁶ Skt. *nirāvaraṇa*, tib. *sgrib-pa med-pa*. This word poses some problems. I have translated it as "without obscurities" referring to a special state of these concepts when they are completely pure. This interpretation is also based on the Tibetan translation which makes a point in translating the word *āvaraṇa* with the word *sgrib-pa* which is translated as obscuration or something similar. Hartzell translates these passages as "unveiled" which is perhaps the easiest translation, looking at the word purely linguistically (Hartzell. 1997:1257) but the Tibetan translation does not have this meaning. See also Edgerton 1972(1953):107 in the *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* where he states that *āvaraṇa* is (darkness, obscuration) standardly rendered with *sgrib-pa* in Tibetan.

⁸⁷⁷ See the discussion on *mi-'pho-ba* and *acyuta* above (p.177). Here an interpretation of *acyuta* both as imperishable and non-transmigration is possible from the context. The less controversial translation is "imperishable".

⁸⁷⁸ I have used the translations of Wayman. 1985:68 and Davidson. 1981:22 and consequently from the context translated the word *paramāṅśara* with "the supreme syllable". It is interesting to note this other meaning of the word and that it does not necessarily mean "the supreme unchanging". In the context of this quotation from the 5th chapter of the *Vimalaprabhā*, it is obviously there in order to legitimize the reasoning with the letters of the alphabet. *Aṅśara* means both "imperishable, unchanging" and "syllable". The author of the text wants to point to the fact that the word was used in the, for the tradition very valuable, text MNS and in the figurative sense, even in the MNS, the word is used for something original, the letter A. The Buddha also has his origin in that letter, or in another meaning, from the "supreme unchanging" (Wayman. 1985:68). Wayman comments in the following way: "in Chapter IV, A is the first of the twelve stages. "Accordingly", all of those in higher stages and in the Buddha stage can be said to have "arisen from A".

Here an analysis of the relationship between the translation of *paramākṣara* as “the supreme syllable” and the translation as “the supreme unchanging” is presented. The imperishable *bindu* is called supreme unchanging. This *bindu* could possibly be seen as part of the *Ādibuddha* concept. There is also a discussion of the different types of unchangings (or indestructibles). They are the five *skandhas*, the senses, etc., without obscurities. They are the normal phenomena, but purified in some way.

The supreme unchanging is the a-letter/sound which consists of *prajñā* and *upāya* and also *Vajrasattva* and *Sahajakāya* and other correspondances. The sound of the vowel A is in the beginning which makes it the principle of origin.

The commentary continues with mention of the “unchanging” and the “supreme unchanging”:

*tathā mūlatanetre 'py uktam tad yathā -
ādikādisamāyogo vajrasattvasya viṣṭaraḥ /
akṣarodbhavaśāyasya humkārdyaṃ na cesyate //*⁸⁷⁹

(VP p.61:15; Bu p.104:7) Accordingly, in the root-*tantra* it is stated as:
“the union of the vowels and the consonants is
the sacrificial seat (*viṣṭara*) of *Vajrasattva*, and the letter HUM, etc., is
not accepted as the body arisen from the unchanging (*akṣara*).”

*sa paramākṣaro 'cyutakṣaṇaḥ kāla ity abhidhīyate / tad eva vajrajñānam iti /
tasya kālasya nirāvaraṇaṃ skandhadhātāvāyatanam cakram tribhavaśyaikatvaṃ
nirāvaraṇaṃ jñeyam iti / tad eva vajradhātumahāmaṇḍalam ity ucyate
sarvākāraṃ sarvendriyaṃ bindurūpaṃ viśvamāyādharam*⁸⁸⁰

(VP p.61:19; Bu p.105:2) The supreme unchanging is the
imperishable (not transmigrated) (tib. *mi-'pho-ba*; skt. *acyuta*)⁸⁸¹ moment;
it is designated as time (skt. *kāla*; tib. *dus*).⁸⁸² The essence of this is
vajra-knowledge (*jñāna*). The unveiling of that time (Bu: the supreme
unchanging), is the *cakra*, [that is], *skandhas*, *dhātus* and *āyatanas* (p.105:3);
and the unity of the unobscured three worlds is knowable.
As for the essence of that, it is called the great *maṇḍala* of *Vajradhātu*.
It is of universal form, of all the sense-organs, of the *bindu*-form,
sustaining the universal illusion.

Here, the concept of *paramākṣara* is designated both as the moment of being imperishable and as time (*kāla*). Here is also explained how the concept of “supreme unchanging” is actually “time”. A philosophy of time is inherent in the *Kālacakra Tantra* and here it is actually expressed. “Time” can be seen as being unchanging.

⁸⁷⁹ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994 p.61:15-17; Bu-ston. 1965c:104, line 7.

⁸⁸⁰ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994 p.61:19-21; Bu-ston. 1965c:105, line 2-3.

⁸⁸¹ Here again is the word *acyuta* which, in this context, actually could be interpreted as the “non-transmigrated”.

⁸⁸² The Sanskrit original text here gives a simple *kāla* (time), while the Tibetan has *dus-shes*, which in this case is only the translation of skt. *iti*.

The “supreme unchanging knowledge” has consumed all obscurations and , as can be seen from other places in this text, these unobscured *skandhas*, etc., are unchanging. The supreme unchanging is also designated as imperishable (or not transmigrated) moment. That moment is consequently beyond everything transcended. It is also designated as “time”, which means that time is in some way at the origin of all things in the worlds. This was already stated clearly in the fourth verse of the KCT (see above, p.79).

The VP commentary on KCT V:127 continues:

punaḥ sa eva kālacakro bhagavān prajñopāyātmako jñeyajñānasambandhenoktaḥ / atra paramākṣarajñānaṃ sarvāvaraṇakṣayahetubhūtaṃ kāla ity ukta upāyaḥ / jñeyam traidhātukam anantabhāvalakṣaṇam cakram tad eva prajñā / jñānajñeyayor ekatvaṃ kālacakram iti /⁸⁸³

VP p.62:7; Bu p.106:3) Once again, he alone is *Bhagavān Kālacakra* who consists of the very essence of *prajñā* (wisdom) and *upāya* (method) described by the relationship of what is to be known (*jñeya*) and knowledge (*jñāna*). (p.106:4) Here the supreme unchanging knowledge (*jñāna*) becomes the cause which consumes all obscurations. The method (*upāya*) is described as time (*kāla*). That which is to be known (*jñeya*) consists of the three realms, characterized by unlimited existence, the *cakra* (wheel). That indeed is wisdom (*prajñā*). The unity of knowledge (*jñāna*) and that which is to be known (*jñeya*) is called *Kālacakra*.

Here it is stressed that *Kālacakra* is the union/essence of *prajñā* and *upāya*, which is classical *madhyāmika* philosophy. *Kālacakra* is also the union of *jñāna* (knowledge, gnosis) and *jñeya* (the knowable). *Upāya* is also described as “time” and *prajñā* is described as *cakra*.

*kālasya jñānarūpasya jñeyalakṣaṇam cakram anayor jñānajñeyayor ekatvaṃ kālacakram iti / anenoktakrameṇa sa eva kālacakro bhagavān evamkāro vajrasattvaḥ sarvatantreṣu saṃgīto jinaiḥ / uktaṃ bhagavatā mūlatanetre pañcame paṭale –
 abhedyam sarvato jñānam vajram ity abhidhīyate /
 tribhavasyaikatā sattvo vajrasattva iti smṛtaḥ //
 tasmād asyākṣarotpānnasya sarvākārasya bindoḥ saḥajakāyasya sakalajīnapater viśvamāyādharaśyādhārādheyasambandho neśyate mahāmudrāsiddhyartham / yathā laukikasiddhisādhanaṁrtham ādhārādheyasambandha īsyate tathā paramākṣarasukhasādhanaḥbhiratena yoginā* ⁸⁸⁴

(VP p.62:16; Bu p.107:1) The *cakra* of time (*kāla*), that has this form of knowledge (*jñāna*) (Bu: the knowledge of the supreme unchanging bliss), [it has] the characteristics of that which is to be known (*jñeya*). The unity of these two, *jñāna* and *jñeya*, is *Kālacakra*. (p.107:2) By this sequence of statements, the very essence of *Bhagavān Kālacakra* and the letters: E (Bu: *jñeya*) VAM (Bu: *jñāna*) is *Vajrasattva*, and by the *jinās* it is praised in all the *tantras*.

⁸⁸³ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:62, line 7; Bu-ston. 1965c:106, line 3-4.

⁸⁸⁴ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:62, line 16-23; Bu-ston. 1965c:107, line 1-5.

By the *Bhagavān*, it was stated from the fifth chapter of the root-*tantra*:
“- The knowledge (*jñāna*)⁸⁸⁵ that is in every way indivisible is designated as
vajra. (p.107:3)

- The living being that is the unity of the three worlds is known
as *Vajrasattva*.”

Therefore, from the *bindu* of universal form that arises from the
unchanging, from the *sahajakāya* of the master of *jinas* (*jinapati*), who is
the support (*ādhāra*) of universal illusion (*māyā*), the relationship of the
support and the supported is not considered as for the sake of the perfection
of the *mahāmudrā*. Since for the sake of the practice of the worldly *siddhis*,
a relationship of the support and the supported is accepted (VP p.62:23;
Bu p.107:5), therefore, for the yogin who rejoices greatly in the practice of
the supreme unchanging bliss, [such a relationship] is not accepted.

Here is a quotation from the unknown root-*tantra* where it is stated that the *sahajakāya* is
arisen from the *bindu* and, in consequence, from the unchanging. This state of the “un-
changing” corresponds actually to the *Ādibuddha* concept. It can be noticed that the su-
preme unchanging bliss also is a state that can be achieved by someone who practises the
śaḍaṅgayoga.

An important analysis of the word *Kālacakra* is also given (see above, p.80 for a
commentary on that word). *Kālacakra* is analysed as knowledge and the knowable, and
knowledge (*jñāna*) is by Bu-ston described as “the knowledge of the supreme unchanging
bliss”. Consequently, *jñāna* in this context has a special meaning as being connected with
the concept of the “supreme unchanging” and the bliss resulting from this.

*prajñopāyātmakena bodhicittasthirikaraṇaikaadakṣeṇa pa-
ramāksaramahāsukhaprajñājñānamārgopadeśalabdheṇa
ādhārādheyacihnavarṇabhujasaṁsthānamāṇḍaladevatā-
parikalpanādharmo neṣyate*⁸⁸⁶ *iti* /⁸⁸⁷

(VP p.63:3; Bu p.108:4) ...by [the one who, i.e. the *yogi*,] consists of
the essence of *prajñā* and *upāya*, for whom one moment establishes the
bodhicitta, who has obtained the instruction of the way of *prajñājñāna*
(wisdom and knowledge) [that leads to] the supreme unchanging great bliss;
the *dharma* property of the deity of the *maṇḍala* who is established in the
shape, colour and arm by means of the syllables as the characteristics of
the support and the supported.

Here, once more it is mentioned that the way/union of *prajñā* and *upāya* leads to the su-
preme unchanging great bliss. This state is possible to be reached by a trained *yogin*.

*iha rāga utpādakālāḥ cyutir nirodhakālāḥ tayoh samāpattir akṣarakālāḥ*⁸⁸⁸

⁸⁸⁵ *jñāna* (skt.) = *ye-shes* (tib.). Bu-ston states that *ye* is the bliss of the supreme unchanging.

⁸⁸⁶ Although in the VP it is written *neṣyate*, because of *sandhi*-rules, I here interpret it as *neṣyate*.

⁸⁸⁷ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:63, line 3; Bu-ston. 1965c:108, line 4.

⁸⁸⁸ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:75, line 20; Bu-ston. 1965c:145, line 2.

(VP p.75:20; Bu p.145:2) Here passion is the time of birth and the perishable/ejaculation (*cyutir*, tib. *pho-ba*) is the time of death; the meeting of the two is the unchanging time.

Here passion and the perishable/ejaculation meet and create unchanging time. Ejaculation as death could be an allusion to the sexual yoga in the *Kālacakra*, which implies that it is absolutely forbidden to ejaculate in the yoga in order to reach the goal of liberation.

*evam ubhayoh pratyekajñāne satyadvayajñānābhavaḥ advayajñānābhāvād
buddhatvasyāpy abhāvo bhavati viśuddhaparamākṣarajñānarahitatvād iti /
atha prajñāyā jñānaṃ prajñājjñānaṃ yadi tadā upāyasya jñānaṃ upāyajñānaṃ
iti evaṃ pūrvavad doṣa iti / uktam bhagavatā nāmasaṅgityāṃ pratyavekṣaṇā-
jñānastave śattrimṣatimādislokadvayena viśuddham paramākṣarajñānaṃ /
tadyathā -*

[34] *sambuddhavaṃsraparyāṅko buddhasaṅgīdiharmadhṛk /
buddhapadmodbhavaḥ śrīmān sarvajñajñānakośadhṛk //*

[35] *viśvamāyādharo rājā buddhavidyādharo mahān /
vajratīkṣṇo mahākhaḍgo viśuddhaḥ paramākṣaraḥ* ⁸⁸⁹ // ⁸⁹⁰

(VP p.79:30; Bu p.157:7)

So, since there is a missing of the true pairs of knowledge in the individual knowledges, and because there is a missing of non-dual knowledge, even the Buddha-essence is non-existent. Therefore it [each individual knowledge] does not have the completely pure (*viśuddha*) knowledge of the supreme unchanging. (VP p.79:31) Moreover, if the knowledge of *prajñā* (wisdom) is the *prajñājjñāna* (wisdom-knowledge) the knowledge of the *upāya* (means) is the *upāyajñāna* (means-knowledge). So, there is the prior fault. The completely pure knowledge of the supreme unchanging was described by the *Bhagavān*; it was stated in the *Nāmasaṅgīti* and with the reflection-knowledge⁸⁹¹ by the two verses before verse thirty-six (VP p.80:2); It is like this:

[Here follows the translation of the MNS VIII:34-35 (110-111)]:

[34] Having the *vajra* leg posture of a complete Buddha, maintaining the versified *dharma* of the Buddhas, glorious arising of the lotus-like Buddha, maintaining the treasury of omniscient knowledge (*jñāna*).

[35] The King provided with all the illusions, the great one provided with the Buddha's magic charm (*vidyā*); has a great sword sharp as a *vajra*, the completely pure supreme syllable/unchanging (*paramākṣara*).⁸⁹²

Here the possibility of interpreting the concept of *paramākṣara* as the supreme syllable is treated (compare with VP vol.III, p.61:8, this text p.179). Probably, the word can be inter-

⁸⁸⁹ These two verses, 34-35, (Davidson 110-111) are from the *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti*. For the text and the translation, see Wayman. 1985:96 and Davidson. 1981:57 and 32.

⁸⁹⁰ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:79, line 30–80, line 3; Bu-ston. 1965c:157, line 7–158, line 1.

⁸⁹¹ *pratyavekṣaṇā* is one of the five kinds of *jñāna*, "reflection", see Edgerton 1972 (1953):376.

⁸⁹² Translated by Wayman. 1985:96 and Davidson. 1981:32.

puted in the same way in more places. The essential meaning of the two meanings of the word is similar. A is the first, and in that way also the supreme syllable. The other meaning as “the supreme unchanging” or “the unchanging of the supreme” can be compared to the concept of *Ādibuddha*, which also means “the first (original) Buddha”. This can be compared to the first syllable A. It should be noted that the Tibetan almost exclusively use the expression *mchog-tu mi-‘gyur-ba* for the word *paramākṣara*, even when it, in Sanskrit, can be interpreted as “the supreme syllable”. At some places the Tibetan uses *yi-ge-mchog*. It is also mentioned that the *paramākṣara-jñāna* has already been described in the *Nāma-saṅgīti*. The individual knowledge is not the completely pure knowledge of the supreme unchanging, but this knowledge is found in the *Nāma-saṅgīti*. This could have some relation with that the fourth body of the Buddha sometimes being called the *Śuddhakāya* (the pure body). Below follows a quotation from the root-*tantra* on *paramākṣara*:

*mūlatantre ‘pyuktam –
karmamudrāṃ parityajya jñānamudrāṃ vikalpitām /
paramākṣarayogena mahāmudrāṃ vibhāvayet //*
*ato bhagavato niyamāt karmamudrāsukhaṃ samantabhadraparamākṣar-
asukhaṃ na bhavati tathā maṇḍalacakraḥ bhāvanāvikalpitaprajñāsukhaṃ
samantabhadraṃ paramākṣarasukhaṃ na bhavati* ⁸⁹³

(VP p.80:19; Bu p.159:1) In the root-*tantra* it is also said:
“Having abandoned the *karmamudrā* and the mentally constructed *jñānamudrā*,
by union with the supreme unchanging, one should produce the *mahāmudrā*.”
Therefore, from what has been established by the *Bhagavān*, the bliss of the
karmamudrā is not the bliss of the completely good (*samantabhadra*)⁸⁹⁴ supreme
unchanging (p.159:2). Accordingly, as for the bliss of *prajñā*, which has been
mentally created by meditation on the *maṇḍala-cakra*, it is not the completely
good (*samantabhadra*) supreme unchanging great bliss.

Here, the fact that the union with the supreme unchanging produces the *mahāmudrā* is mentioned. This could be a designation for the ultimate state that can be reached by the *yoga* in the *Kālacakra Tantra*, the *yoga* of six limbs. I have previously treated the problem with the 21,600 moments of supreme unchanging. It is connected with the teaching that in the central channel in the body, the *avadhūti*, there are piles of *bindus* which are moments of supreme unchanging bliss.

Samantabhadra is one of the most important *bodhisattvas*. He could also be an *Ādibuddha* as in the Tibetan school of *rNying-ma-pa*,⁸⁹⁵ however *Samantabhadra* could also simply mean something very good.

*nanu yadī samantabhadraṃ paramākṣarasukhaṃ tad eva caturthaṃ
mahāmudrājñānaṃ mahāmudrārahitaṃ na bhavati /* ⁸⁹⁶

⁸⁹³ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:80, line 19; Bu-ston. 1965c:159, line 1-2.

⁸⁹⁴ The word *samantabhadra* is used here. It is possible that it could also mean the *Samantabhadra* as the *Ādibuddha*-figure in the *rNying-ma-pa* school. Such an interpretation is interesting but perhaps not credible. Hartzell translates this as “the completely good” (Hartzell. 1997:1323).

⁸⁹⁵ Schumann. 1986:109.

(VP p.80:28; Bu p.159:5) In case of [that there is] just the completely good (*samantabhadra*) supreme unchanging bliss, that very fourth, the knowledge of *mahāmudrā*, does not exist without the *mahāmudrā*.

iha sattvā yena rāgeṇa cyutena pralayaṃ maraṇaṃ upagataḥ tenaivācyutena paramākṣarabhūtena tāyino buddhā muktā bhavanti /⁸⁹⁷

VP p.81:8; Bu p.160:3) In this sense, living beings who [otherwise] have gone to dissolution at death, that is, reached the final destruction, by means of that fallen (ejaculated) passion; they can become liberated Buddhas, saviours, by means of the non-fallen [non-ejaculated passion] that becomes the supreme unchanging.

Here again, allusion is made to the sexual yoga and it is stressed that in practising the non-ejaculated passion one can become the supreme unchanging, and, in consequence, a liberated Buddha.

evaṃ yogino 'pi paramākṣarasukhābhyāśavaśād bāhyacyutisukhaparityāgāt kumārikāvasthāntaragatā ato tānāgatavartamānaṃ paśyanti /⁸⁹⁸

(VP p.88:27; Bu p.180:2) Accordingly, the *yogins*, through the influence of practising the bliss of the supreme unchanging, and through the abandonment of the bliss of falling in the outer (external ejaculation), enter a virginal state⁸⁹⁹ and see the past, future and present.

Once more it is mentioned that the *yogin* can do a practice called “the supreme unchanging bliss.” The sexual *yoga* is here quite explicitly explained. The abandonment of ejaculation leads to the supreme unchanging bliss.⁹⁰⁰ The practitioner of the sexual *yoga* of *Kālacakra* consequently can see into the past and into the future, in that way transcending time (*kāla*). This is one of the characteristics of the time philosophy contained in the *Kālacakra Tantra*.

nanu paramākṣarasukhābhyāśaṃ vinā 'brahmācāriṇo 'py aneke kaivalyaṃ deśayanti tasmād brahmācāryaṃ vinā mantradevatādhiṣṭhānaṃ bhavati /⁹⁰¹

(VP p.88:30; Bu p.180:3) Objection [of opponent], without exercising the bliss of the supreme unchanging, there are also many non-*brahmācārins* who teach about absolute unity (*kaivalya*; isolation); therefore, without [being] a *brahmācārīn* there may still be the empowerment of the *mantra* deity.

Again the bliss of the supreme unchanging is something that is practised and leads the way to absolute unity (isolation, *kaivalya*). This expression is rare in the *Kālacakra* texts. It

⁸⁹⁶ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:80, line 28. Bu-ston. 1965c:159, line 5.

⁸⁹⁷ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:81, line 8; Bu-ston. 1965c:160, line 3.

⁸⁹⁸ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:88, line 27; Bu-ston. 1965c:180, line 2.

⁸⁹⁹ This refers to a divination simile.

⁹⁰⁰ The sexual *yoga* in the *Kālacakra Tantra* has been extensively treated in Hartzell. 1997:910-932.

⁹⁰¹ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:88, line 30; Bu-ston. 1965:180, line 3.

seems like it is more a way of expressing the classical manner of absolute or final liberation? This word, isolation, is used in the classical *yoga-sūtras* of *Patañjali*. By this practice it is probably meant the practice of sexual *yoga*.

*evaṃ sarve kṣudramantradevatā 'dhiṣṭhānakramā mārāṇāṃ paramākṣara-jñānābhīratāir yogibhir vicāranīyāḥ / ebhiḥ kṣudramantrādhiṣṭhānair vajrāveśo na bhavati /*⁹⁰²

(VP p.89:32; Bu p.183:2) In this way, all of them, having *kṣudramantra*-deities⁹⁰³ following the authority of the *Māras*, are going to be discerned by these *yogins* who take pleasure in the knowledge of the supreme unchanging. By these ones established by the *kṣudramantras*, there is no taking possession of the *vajra*.

Here is mentioned that the *yogins* take pleasure in the knowledge of the supreme unchanging.

*ataḥ sattvopakāraḥ puṇyasambhārārthaṃ kartavyaḥ jñānasambhārārthaṃ paramākṣarajñānabhāvanā kartavyā / sattvārthaṃ vinā puṇyasambhāro na bhavati paramākṣarajñānabhāvanayā vinā jñānasambhāraś ceti tathāgataḥ dayam /*⁹⁰⁴

(VP p.90:24; Bu p.184:7) Therefore, for the sake of assistance of the living beings the gathering of merit is to be made and for the sake of gathering knowledge (*jñāna*) meditation on knowledge of the supreme unchanging is to be performed. Except for the sake of [helping] living beings, no gathering of merit occurs. Except for meditation on the knowledge of the supreme unchanging, [no] gathering of knowledge (*jñāna*) [occurs]; such is the heart of the *Tathāgata*.

Here, the importance of knowledge of the supreme unchanging for the gathering of knowledge is stressed. The knowledge (*jñāna*) is not possible without combination with the supreme unchanging. Knowledge of the supreme unchanging precedes other knowledge. The supreme unchanging is consequently at the origin of knowledge, which is something that comes close to the concept of the unchanging *Ādibuddha* at the origin of everything.

*ato bhagavato vacanād yoginā paramākṣaramahāmudrāyogena svacittasādhanaṃ kartavyaṃ mokṣārthaṃ anyathā gurvājñayā mokṣo na bhavati /*⁹⁰⁵

(VP p.91:4; Bu p.185:4) Therefore, according to the *Bhagavān*'s word, by the yogin, by the union with the *mahāmudrā* and the supreme unchanging, the *sādhana* of his own mind is to be performed for the sake of liberation; otherwise, by the authority (*ājñā*) of the *guru*, the liberation does not occur.

⁹⁰² Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:89, line 32; Bu-ston. 1965c:183, line 2.

⁹⁰³ *kṣudra* means very small, little. Consequently, *Kṣudramantra* means the small *mantra*.

⁹⁰⁴ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:90, line 24; Bu-ston. 1965c:184, line 7.

⁹⁰⁵ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:91, line 4; Bu-ston. 1965c:185, line 4.

In order to reach the liberation (*mokṣa*), it is necessary for the yogin to be in union with the female counterpart and “the supreme unchanging”. This is a place where the concept of “the supreme unchanging” stands alone without the bliss or knowledge. This concept then must be another word for the totally transcended state reached in connection with the state of being in union with the *Ādibuddha*.

The following is a verse that is quoted from the *mūlatantra*:

*śivatattve kāmattattve viṣatattve tridhā bhavet /
vedho gurvājñayā puṁsām paramākṣarasukhaṁ na ca //*⁹⁰⁶

(VP p.91:29) As for the real nature (*tattva*) of Śiva, the real nature of desire (*kāma*), the real nature of poison (*viṣa*), it [the *tattva*] may be threefold; yet, by the command of the *guru*, the supreme unchanging bliss for the human beings, is not [produced].

The supreme unchanging bliss cannot be reached by human beings on the guru’s command. This state must be reached by the *yogin* himself. Also, a guru is normally not really qualified to lead the disciple to liberation. A real *bodhisattva* is needed.⁹⁰⁷

The following text is placed just after the quotation from the *mūlatantra* and is a sort of conclusion of the quotation.

*ato bhagavato vacanāt paramākṣarajñānamahāmudrābhāvanā kartavyā
mokṣārthaneti //*⁹⁰⁸

(VP p.92:11; Bu p.188:1) Therefore, according to the words of the *Bhagavān*, the meditation with the *mahāmudrā* for the sake of the knowledge of the supreme unchanging, is to be performed by the one who desires liberation.

The *mahāmudrā* could be a type of wisdom/knowledge. It is very important in order to reach the liberation to actually desire that liberation honestly. Here it should be noted that these meditations are to be practised for the sake of the knowledge of the supreme unchanging, without adding the bliss. In this verse *paramākṣara* stands for itself, something that underlines that this is a concept of its own and not a qualification of other concepts.

*tad eva saṁsārarakram tan na kasmāt bhagavataḥ paramākṣara-
vidyādharatvāt / iha hi bhagavān vajrasattvaḥ paramākṣaramahā-
vidyādharāḥ saṁsāravāsanātīkrāntaḥ tad vaidharmyeṇa saṁsāriṇaḥ
kṣaravidyādharāḥ saṁsāravāsanāgrastāḥ / tasmāt paramākṣaro
mahārāgo vidyā avidyā ihānādirāgavāsanā sattvānām tayā rāgapravṛttiḥ
rāgo ’pi kṣaraḥ kṣarād virāgaḥ //*⁹⁰⁹

(VP p.97:23; Bu p.202:5) Just that wheel of *saṁsāra* is not [the *pratitya-*

⁹⁰⁶ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:91, line 29; Bu-ston. 1965c:186.

⁹⁰⁷ See this reasoning in Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:92 and in Hartzell. 1997:1358-1359.

⁹⁰⁸ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:92, line 11; Bu-ston. 1965c:188, line 1.

⁹⁰⁹ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:97, line 23 –27; Bu-ston. 1965c:202, line 5.

samutpāda]; Why? Because the *Bhagavān* holds the science of the supreme unchanging. Because the *Bhagavān*, in this regard, [is] the *Vajrasattva* who is the great science-holder of the supreme unchanging, who has transcended the *karmic* imprints of *saṃsāra*. Because their *dharma* differs from him, the people living in *saṃsāra* are holders of the knowledge of destruction and are seized by the *karmic* imprints (*vāsanā*) of *saṃsāra*. Therefore, the supreme unchanging, the great passion, is science, and there is non-science, in this sense, by the living beings with beginningless *karmic* imprints of passion, and from that [state] there is the source of passion, and from passion, destruction, and from destruction, aversion.

This part of the commentary on KCT V:127 treats the decisive battle engaged by the *Kalkin*, the king of *Shambhala* described in the KCT I:150-170 and in KCT II:48-50. Verse KCT I:48 is again quoted just before this quotation.⁹¹⁰ These texts were discussed at length in the chapter on *Shambhala* above (p.79-85).

It is clear that *Vajrasattva* and the *Bhagavān* (*Śākyamuni Buddha*?) know about the supreme unchanging and they are beyond the reach of *karma* and the wheel of life. *Vajrasattva* has a connection with the *Ādibuddha/Kālacakra* as he has knowledge of the supreme unchanging. This is another indication of the transcendence of the concept of supreme unchanging. The *karmic* imprints (*vāsanā*) are the impressions giving *karma* in former lives and affecting the present life. In several places in the KCT and the VP, this concept is mentioned. It is very important for being able to perform the liberating meditations and *yogas* in the *Kālacakra Tantra*. It is also important that the concept of *paramākṣara* is treated as independent from bliss or knowledge.

*ato bhagavato vacanāt saṃsārakarmāṃ kṣararāgo 'vidyeti / iha yadā
kṣararāgo naṣṭas tadā paramākṣaro bhavati / paramākṣaro mahārāgaḥ /
mahārāgād virāgo naṣṭaḥ / virāgo nāma dveṣaḥ / dveṣakṣasyān
mahādvēṣo bhavati* /⁹¹¹

(VP p.98:22; Bu p.205: 4) Therefore, according to the words of the *Bhagavān*, the cycle of *saṃsāra* is the passion for the perishable, the non-science. In this sense, the passion for the perishable is destroyed, then the supreme unchanging comes to exist. The supreme unchanging is the great passion. From great passion aversion is destroyed. That which is called deprivation of passion is hatred. From the destruction of hatred, comes the great hatred (*doṣa*). The hatred having been consumed, it becomes the great hatred.

This passage is quite enigmatic. The supreme unchanging seems to be a state when the passion has changed quality and reached the state of unchanging. Consequently, the supreme unchanging is the passion transcended. This idea has been expressed earlier in the text when, for example, the five *skandhas* could change their state of being in that way, being

⁹¹⁰ See Hartzell. 1997:1374-1376; Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:97.

⁹¹¹ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:98, line 22; Bu-ston. 1965c:205, line 4.

equalled to the unchanging when they are without defilements.⁹¹² Here also the concept of *paramākṣara* is treated as independent.

*eṣāṃ uktānām kāyavākcittāvidyāmārāṇāṃ janakaḥ kṣaraḥ kṣanaḥ
kāmadevo 'bhidhīyate / sa tathāgatenā vidhvastaḥ paramākṣarakṣaṇena
tasya bhaṅgo mārabalabhaṅgo rāṇa'⁹¹³ dveṣamohakrodhānām avidyārūpāṇām
kṣayaḥ / iha kṣaravāsanānirodhād rāgaḍveṣamohakrodhanirodhaḥ eṣāṃ
nirodhād avidyānirodhaḥ / evaṃ kramaśo dvādaśāṅgānām nirodhaḥ
dvādaśāṅganirodhād bhavacakrasya nirodhaḥ bhavacakranirodhād
buddhatvaṃ nirāvarenaṃ bhavātīti / eṣu śrāvakaṇāṃ pāramitāmantranayeṣu pa-
ramākṣarahṛdayaṃ vajradharabhagavato nāmasaṅgityāṃ tathāgatena
deśitam / asyārtham ajānanto 'sadguravo naṣṭāḥ paramākṣarajñānabhraṣṭā
anāgate 'dhvani bhaviṣyanti / tair vinaṣṭaiḥ sattvā
vināṣayitavyāḥ / tena mūlatantre pañcākārājñānastave
pañcaślokaḥ pañcākārābhāvanā bhagavatoktā /
tadyathā - śūnye bhāvasamūho 'yaṃ kalpanārūpavarjitaḥ /
dr̥ṣyate pratiseneva kumāryā darpaṇe yathā //
iti lokottarasatyē rūpaskandhādarśajñānam
sarvabhāvasamo bhūtvā eko bhāvo 'kṣaraḥ sthitaḥ /
akṣarajñānasambhūto nocchedo na ca śāśvataḥ //
iti vedānāskandhaḥ samatājñānam⁹¹⁴*

(VP p.100:21; Bu p.210:1) The perishable moment that is the progenitor of these ones called the *māras* of the ignorance of body, speech and mind is described as *Kāmadeva*. By the *Tathāgata*, by a moment of the supreme unchanging, he was destroyed; his destruction was the destruction of the power of *Māra*, the destruction of the ignorance forms of passion, hatred, mental darkness and anger. Here, through the cessation of the karmic inclination for the perishable, there is cessation of passion, hatred, mental darkness and *krodha* (anger); through the cessation of these, there is the cessation of ignorance. In this way, gradually, the twelve limbs are suppressed and from the cessation of the twelve limbs the wheel of existence is suppressed and through the cessation of the wheel of existence Buddha-hood without obscurities comes into existence. Among these *śrāvakas* [*Theravāda*], *pāramitās* [*Mahāyāna*] and [followers of] the *mantra*-system [*Vajrayāna*], the supreme unchanging heart of the *Bhagavān Vajradhara* was explained in the *Nāmasaṅgīti* by the *Tathāgata*. Due to no knowledge of the meaning of this and false *gurus* who are ruined, and have deviated from the knowledge of the supreme unchanging will occur in the future. The living beings are going to be destroyed by those destroyed [*gurus*]. Therefore, in this root-*tantra*, in the praise of the knowledge of the five forms and by the five *ślokas*, the meditation on the five forms was described by the *Bhagavan* like this:

⁹¹² Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:60, line 25 – 61, line 3. Present text p.178-79.

⁹¹³ Should be corrected to *rāga*, according to the context in the following sentence.

⁹¹⁴ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:100, line 21 – 101, line 6; Bu-ston. 1965c:210, line 1 to p.211, line 2.

“In the void (Bu: which has gone beyond the indivisible particles), the entirety of existence has abandoned imagined form. This (Bu: emptiness image which has all the parts) can be seen (Bu: for example) like a prognostic image in the mirror by a young maiden. Thus in the truth beyond the material world (the *lokottara* truth), there is the mirror-knowledge of the form aggregate (*skandha*). The entire existence having become the same, the single existence is established as (Bu: supreme) unchanging. The knowledge and the unchanging being united, there is no cutting off (Bu: following the existence of the void), nor is it [the existence] eternal (Bu: gone beyond the indivisible particles). Thus, the *skandha* of sensation, the equality knowledge (*jñāna*).”⁹¹⁵
(VP p.101:6; Bu p.211:2).

Here a moment of the supreme unchanging is mentioned, which consequently, is just unchangeable and contains an eternal moment. It is also written that the supreme unchanging heart of *Vajradhara* was explained in the *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti* (MNS). This could mean that the indestructible drop in the heart of *Vajradhara* is explained. *Māra* and *Kāmadeva* are destroyed by using the moment of the supreme unchanging and all the constituents of the world are suppressed. Ignorance is also suppressed and likewise, the chain of the twelve limbs is suppressed. If the *yogin* abandons the knowledge of the supreme unchanging, he is going to deteriorate.

*tathā nāmasaṅgītyāṃ vajradharabhagavataḥ paramākṣarajñānaṃ
buddhabodhisattvānāṃ hṛdayabhūtaṃ tathāgatena prakāśitaṃ
dvāṣaṣṭyadhikaśataiḥ ślokaḥ sādhyeṣaṇaiḥ* /⁹¹⁶

(VP p.102:1; Bu p.212:4) Accordingly, in the *Nāmasaṅgīti* the supreme unchanging knowledge of the *Bhagavān Vajradhara* that is the heart of the *Buddhas* and *Bodhisattvas*, was perfectly taught by the *Tathāgata* with the 162 *ślokas* together with the solicitations for instruction (Bu: on the position of the six *cakras* which are provided with the six root-families).

It is stated here that the supreme unchanging knowledge is at the heart of *Vajradhara* and the *Buddhas* and the *bodhisattvas*. It is similar to the indestructible *bindu* in the heart. The text MNS consists of 162 *ślokas*.

In the following page, there are many verses where information about different deities is to be found. At the end of this passage is the following:

*ebhir dvāṣaṣṭyadhikaśataślokaḥ sarvayāneṣūddhṛtya saṅgrhītaṃ
vajradharabhagavato hṛdayaṃ samantabhadraṃ paramākṣara-
mahāsukhaṃ ākāśadhātuparyantaṃ samantād avabhāsamānaṃ
viśuddhajñānasambhārasambhūtaṃ* /⁹¹⁷

⁹¹⁵ *śamatājñāna* is one of the five *jñānas*.

⁹¹⁶ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:102, line 1-2; Bu-ston. 1965c:212, line 4.

⁹¹⁷ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:102, line 16-18; Bu-ston. 1965c:214, line 4.

(VP p.102:16; Bu p.214:4) Having been drawn out from all the *yānas* by these 162 verses and gathered together, the *Bhagavān Vajradhara's* heart [is described as], being extended in all directions in the space realm, completely good (*samantabhadra*), [as] the great bliss of the supreme unchanging (*paramākṣaramahāsukha*), [and as] provided with materials for the completely pure knowledge (*viśuddhajñāna*) and shining forth in every direction.

In this passage there is a continued worship of the formerly mentioned text, *Nāmasaṅgīti*. The supreme unchanging is there, but it can also, as in another place in the MNS text, mean the supreme syllable. Here the heart of *Vajradhara* is considered to be the supreme unchanging great bliss and has also other qualifications.

*etad eva tribhuvanamahānīyaṃ yogijñānaṃ svasaṃvedyaṃ
paramākṣarasukhaṃ yoginā na tyaktavyam iti tathāgatānīyamaḥ
/ asya bhāvanā mūlatantranrāje jñānapaṭale tathā tathāgatenoktā /
tadyathā -
dhūmādīn bhāvayitvā tu cittam kṛtvā tu niścalam /
madhyamāyām śodhayitvā bhāvayet paramākṣaram //
padme vajraṃ pratiṣṭhāpya prāṇaṃ bindau niveśayet /
binduṃś cakreṣu bindūnaṃ spandaṃ vajre nirodhayet //
stabdhalingaḥ sadā yogi ūrdhwaretāḥ sadā bhavet /
mahāmudrāprasāṅgena vajrāveśair adhiṣṭhitaḥ //
eka viṃśatsahasraś ca śaṣṭatīḥ paramākṣaraiḥ /
kṣaṇatīḥ pūrṇair mahārāja vajrasattvaḥ svayaṃ bhavet //*⁹¹⁸

(VP p.102:23; Bu p.215:2) This itself is receiving offerings in the three worlds, the self-knowable perception of *yoga*, the supreme unchanging bliss, not to be abandoned by the *yogin*, [Thus it is] established by the *Tathāgata*. The meditation on this, in the *jñāna* (knowledge)-chapter of the *mūla-tantra-rāja* (root-tantra), has been described like this by the *Tathāgata*:

“- After having meditated on smoke, etc., (Bu: by *Pratyāhara*, “individual convergence”⁹¹⁹ [the 1st limb]),
- and having made the mind (*citta*) immovable (Bu: by *dhyāna*, “individual stability” [the 2nd limb of *śaḍaṅgayoga*]),
- After having purified [the *citta*] in the middle [channel] (by the *prāṇāyama*, “life-effort” (the 3rd limb) and the *vajra*-recitation)⁹²⁰, one should cause the supreme unchanging to be made into existence.
And having placed the *vajra* (Bu: wind-mind;) in the lotus
(Bu: of the six root-*cakras*), one should make the *prāṇa* (life-) (Bu: -wind), enter into the *bindu* (drop) (Bu: abiding in the forehead [that was the 4th limb, *dhāraṇā*,

⁹¹⁸ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:102, line 23-33; Bu-ston. 1965c:215, line 2-6.

⁹¹⁹ The 1st limb of the *śaḍaṅga-yoga*; the six- limbed *yoga* of the completion stage of the *Kālacakra Tantra*.

⁹²⁰ “*Vajra*-recitation” is meditation of the completion stage with the goal of drawing the 10 energies into the central channel (*avadhūtī*) , and then into the indestructible drop (the *nāda* in the *bindu*) at the heart. (Dhargyey. 1985:137).

“retention”)).

- (Bu: By the uttering of HA and by the *gtum-mo* (inner heat)⁹²¹

in the *anusmṛti*, “recollection” [the 5th limb]), and [make] the *bindus* [enter into] the *cakras*; the motion of the *bindus* (drops) in the *vajra*, in the *cakras* of the *bindus* (Bu: of the root of the six *cakras*) should be halted.

- (p.215:5) (Bu: Through the *samādhi*, “concentration”, [the 6th limb of the *ṣaḍaṅga-yoga*]) the *liṅga* of the *yogin* is always immovable, and [Bu: by the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga*] [his] semen should always be held back.

By being engaged in embrace with the *mahāmudrā* and with the penetrations of his *vajra*,

- With the 21,600 supreme unchangings, and by the accomplished moments, he himself should become, Oh great King, the *Vajrasattva* (Bu: who has obtained the twelfth earth (*bhūmi*)).”

These verses from the root-*tantra* seem to be very important in defining the supreme unchanging. This place is also at the very end of the commentary to KCT V:127. It describes the practise of the six-folded *yoga* which is the ultimate practise of the whole *Kālacakra Tantra*. The sexual *yoga* is clearly described in connection with stage 4-6 of the six-folded *yoga*. The semen should be held back and that will lead to the moment of the supreme unchanging and to the *Vajrasattva* who, according to Bu-ston, has obtained the twelfth *bhūmi* of the *bodhisattva* path. Here 1,620 supreme unchangings are mentioned. This is important because it establishes the *paramākṣara* as an independent concept, not necessarily attached to *sukhā* or *jñāna*. The supreme unchanging in this context seems to be the experience of the immovable bliss attained by this *yoga*. There are 1,620 of these moments experienced in this exercise of the 6th limb of the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga*. This number can be recognized as the number of divinities in the *Kālacakra maṇḍala* treated earlier in this work. There are 1,620 deities in the *maṇḍala*.⁹²² I have not seen this correspondence mentioned before. It seems to have a connection with the many “unchangings” that are placed in the central (*avadhūti*) channel and where the experience of these unchangings take place.⁹²³

The meditation is the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* described as a way of establishing the *paramākṣara* in the yogi’s body. First, it is established in the *prāṇāyama* of the first limb. Then mention is made of the *paramākṣaras*, corresponding to the 21,600 moments of bliss occurring in the body when the *prāṇa* is mounting in the central channel (*avadhūti*) of the body. *Vajrasattva* has reached the last and highest stage of the twelve stages on the way of becoming a *bodhisattva*.

The conclusion of this is that the supreme unchanging (moments!) can be many, but probably it is only meant that the supreme unchanging can unfold in many ways in the practise of the six-folded *yoga*.

The very last place where the word *paramākṣara* is mentioned in the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary to KCT V:127 is the following:

*sattvaṃ padmaṃ prajñā evaṃ vajrasattvaḥ / uktaṃ
bhagavatā tantrarāje jñānapāṭale - prajñopāyāmbujam*

⁹²¹ This is the “inner heat”, skt. *cāṇḍalī*, which has been made known as one of the six *yogas* of *Nāropa* (Evans-Wentz. 1968:155-250).

⁹²² See this work, p.118-19.

⁹²³ Compare with Dhargyey. 1985:91. I have treated this text earlier in this work (p.173).

*vajraṃ sādharādheyam ucyate /
 taylor dvandvaṃ samāpattir vajrayogo 'dvayo 'kṣaraḥ //
 caturdhā vajrayogaṃ taṃ kālacakraṃ namāmy aham /
 kalāpe nirgato rājā paṇḍariko 'bjadhṛk svayam // 127 //*⁹²⁴

(VP p.103:14; Bu p.216:4; to the end of this subchapter)
 Wisdom [is] the living being [and] the lotus, thus [is] *Vajrasattva*.
 This was stated by the *Bhagavān* in the *Tantrarāja*, in the chapter of
 knowledge (*jñānapaṭala*):
 “The water-born (lotus) (Bu: is the void which has all parts,
 and is a being) of wisdom (*prajñā*) and method possessing the *vajra* is
 called the support and the supported [that which has gone beyond the
 support and has not come]. Those two (Bu: *upāya-prajñā* and support-
 supported) is the meeting (*samāpatti*), (Bu: into the same taste), the
vajrayoga, the non-dual [and] the unchanging.
 I pay respect to that fourfold *vajrayoga*, the *Kālacakra*. In *Kalāpa* the
 king *Puṇḍarīka* has emerged, possessing the water-born (lotus) himself.”
 (VP p.103:18; Bu p.216:6)

This last passage of the third subchapter *mahoddeśa* of the fifth chapter (*jñāna-paṭala*) of the commentary to the KCT, *Vimalaprabhā*, contains a short resumé of the essence of the chapter in stressing the non-dual and the unchanging character of the *Kālacakra* and the *vajrayoga* which seems to be a term resuming all the tendencies of unity of opposites which occur in this *tantra*. The unchanging is the non-dual and that which has come together. Consequently, when the *upāya* and *prajñā* have merged, the unchanging emerges. There is in these texts a movement in two directions. Both a principal of origin when the world emerges from the unmanifested “*Ādibuddha*”, and the other way around in the mind of the yogin when he reaches a merging with the unmanifested principle seen as an “*Ādibuddha*”.

6.1.2. Commentary. What is the concept of the *paramākṣara*, the supreme unchanging?

An analysis will now be made of the concept of *paramākṣara*, the supreme unchanging, on the basis of the texts translated here and other material.

The concept of *ākṣara* is also important in Indian philosophy in general. P.M. Modi has written on this concept in the *Bhagavadgītā* and other Hindu texts and he gives a number of possible translations of the word, especially “the imperishable”, “the immutable”, “*brahman*”, “the supreme *ātman*” and “the liberated soul”.⁹²⁵

The main concept in verse KCT V:127 seems to be the concept of *bindu*; (tib. *thig-le*; drop, small point, “essence”). *Bindu* has in other *tantras* basically the meaning of the point at the centre of the *maṇḍala* where all thought-creation (*bhāvanā*) is absorbed. Hence, it

⁹²⁴ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:103, line 14-18; Bu-ston. 1965c:216, line 4-6.

⁹²⁵ Modi. 1932:2-3.

represents the void (*sūnyatā*) or the moon, which is the *bodhicitta* in its absolute aspect. It can also mean *bodhicitta* in its relative aspect as white *bindu* (the semen) and red *bindu* (the woman's menstrual blood).⁹²⁶ It is not evident that this description is valid for the *Kālacakra Tantra* because its content has been quite unknown among western scholars until recently. *Bindu* is introduced in this part of the *tantra* in verse KCT V:126 and there it is said that the fourfold *citta* is placed in the middle of *bindu* of all the sentient beings. The *bindu* is then said to be liberated and gone to the superior bliss (*paramasukha*) in the *bīja* (seed, semen) produced by the *yogin*. Then the *bindu* is thrown out in all directions.

The concept of *bindu* is explained in different places in the *Kālacakra*. In the *Vimala-prabhā*, *bindu* is explained in connection with the letters. *Bindu* is the small point above the half moon in for example the seed syllable HŪM when written in Tibetan.⁹²⁷ Above it is the *nāda* which is formed like flame (or crest).⁹²⁸ These concepts are used in the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* of the completion stage (*utpannakrama*). To end a meditation, the half-moon of *visarga* merges in the *bindu*, then the *bindu* merges into *nāda*, and subsequently, this dissolves into the Void.⁹²⁹

Bindu also indicates *bodhicitta*.

In the present, verse KCT V:127, this concept of *bindu* is said to have its origin in the unchanging (skt. *aśvara*, tib. 'gyur-med). *Bindu* has also gone to the end of change, something that expresses the same idea as the foregoing. *Bindu* is the master of all the *jinās* which is a quite strange expression. Normally in this text the master of *jinās* is the "Ādibuddha"-type of deities like *Kālacakra*, *Vajrasattva*, *Vajradhara*. *Bindu* has taken a very wide meaning here. It can be considered equal to the *Kālacakra*. To conclude, it is implied in the text that *bindu* is behind the illusion of this material world, which can mean that the material world has its origin in *bindu*. Perhaps it could be that *bindu* in the heart *akra* produces the illusion in the microcosmos perspective.

But *bindu* is not the "absolute", because, as is explained in the great commentary (VP) in another place in this text: "Therefore, *Sahajakāya* has originated from the unchanging."⁹³⁰

This leads to the conclusion that *bindu* and *sahajakāya* can be put on equal basis.

One can see from comparing with parts of the subchapter on the four bodies that *sahajakāya* also has its origin from something else that is called "Ādibuddha"⁹³¹ In order to understand this, it is necessary to compare with the description in the completion stage of the six-limbs-*yoga* where it is told that consciousness comes into existence from the indestructible drop.⁹³²

This concerns the human body and it can be noticed that there is a "forever indestructible drop" which refers to the "extremely subtle consciousness and energy (or wind)" inside "the drop" (*bindu*) which is indestructible for the duration of life and is located in the

⁹²⁶ Snellgrove. 1959: Part 1, p.135.

⁹²⁷ *Vimalaprabhā* I.2 in VP Vol.I. 1986:58, line 18; Newman. 1987a:440. The annotations by Bu-ston are translated by Newman. 1987a:441-442, Bu-ston. 1965a:435, line 2-6.

⁹²⁸ *Vimalaprabhā* I.2 in VP Vol.I. 1986:56, line 4-5; Newman. 1987a:429.

⁹²⁹ Dhargyey. 1985:94-95.

⁹³⁰ *Vimalaprabhā* V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:60, line 11; Bu-ston. 1965c:101, line 5.

⁹³¹ *Vimalaprabhā* V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:45, line 14; Bu-ston. 1965c:80, line 1. See above, p.159-60.

⁹³² Dhargyey. 1985:91.

heart-*cakra*. This *bindu* is actually totally indestructible throughout all the existences (life, death and intermediate stage).⁹³³ This might give a key to the statement in the VP of the KCT V:89 that the *Sahaja* was caused in a former life in the navel, so now it has ripened in the *dharmacakra* of the heart as the *Dharmakāya*. As the indestructible drop is situated in the heart, it manifests as the active principle of *Dharmakāya* in the heart.⁹³⁴

This kind of philosophical basis is perhaps difficult to accept from a *Mādhyamika* point of view of there being nothing permanent and indestructible. Here perhaps this *tantra* introduces something new in Buddhist doctrine. In analogy with the macrocosmos-microcosmos perspective of the whole *tantra*, this is also valid for the outer world. Perhaps here can be seen the idea of something which is beyond everything, indestructible and eternal and sometimes called *Ādibuddha*, although these texts mostly treat the first manifestation level of the world expressed in this *tantra* as *Sahajakāya*/*Suddhakāya*, *Kālacakra*/*Viśvamātā*, *prajñā/upāya* and the supreme unchanging bliss of wisdom (*jñāna*) which results from contact with this indestructible that exists eternally. Perhaps a reason that this concept of something indestructible is not discussed very much in this *tantra*, is that it is beyond description. It could also be suspected that it was not emphasized because it is not really an orthodox doctrine of the dominating buddhist philosophical school of *Mādhyamika* thought. Here the origin of the *Jo-nang-pa* school of Buddhism being what has been called substantialistic might be found. The Void is free from an absolute substance and this teaching is called the “*gzhan-stong*”-doctrine. It could be that it was *Dol-po-pa* (14th century) and his predecessor *Yu-mo* (beginning of 13th century) who understood the true essence of *Kālacakra*. It seems from the basic texts that there is something “absolute” in this philosophy.

Probably, though, the concept of *Ādibuddha* is many times purely temporal and stands for the one who obtained buddhahood first. The crucial point is that there is something before and behind the *sahajakāya*.

Returning to the VP of the KCT V:127, there is the concept of non-transmigration or permanence (skt. *acyuta*, tib. *mi-'pho-ba*) which is mentioned above⁹³⁵ and there is a possibility of interpreting this word as describing a continued existence over life, intermediate stage and death. There exists also the possibility that the idea of transmigration is produced in the Tibetan translation, that there is a difference of interpretation. In the *Kālacakra* texts there can be found indications that there really exists something, a continuum of the extremely subtle consciousness and energy that exists as the basis of an indestructible drop (*bindu-nāda*), which continues to exist from life to life. Considering the existence of such a phenomena, it is possible to affirm that there is not really transmigration in the *Kālacakra*, because something always continues to exist. So, it does not mean that there is not reincarnation, but that there is an infinitely small *bindu* which continues from one life to another.

Earlier in the text⁹³⁶ it is said that the knowledge (*jñāna*) of the supreme unchanging bliss is not transmigrated. What is meant by that? If this wisdom is not transmigrated it must be continued, eternal? Later in the text it is said that *bindu* (drop), when it is in the

⁹³³ Dhargyey. 1985:91.

⁹³⁴ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:46, line 5; Bu-ston. 1965c:81, line 3. See above, p.163-64.

⁹³⁵ It is mentioned in the beginning of the present chapter (p.176-77). Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:60, line 16; Bu-ston. 1965c:102, line 4. Das. 1976(1903):849.

⁹³⁶ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:60, line 16; Bu-ston. 1965c:102, line 4. See above, p.176.

supreme unchanging, does not become transmigrated.⁹³⁷ Here *bindu* in this meaning is also having a continued existence. It is a special kind of *bindu* which also is said to have become the Void. If this is correct, then the Void (*śūnya*) is the supreme unchanging. Later on in the text it is stated that the supreme unchanging is the moment of not being transmigrated. The momentaneous supreme unchanging is consequently outside of the wheel of existence.⁹³⁸

Still further on, it is again stated that if a *yogin* is skilled in the supreme unchanging bliss, he has abandoned the bliss of transmigration.⁹³⁹

In consequence, it is plausible to say that it is possible to abandon transmigration with a technique using the *bindu* of the unchanging bliss.

There exists 3,600 drops (*bindu*) of white *bodhicitta* in each of the six *cakras*. These drops are drawn up through the subtle body and in the end are drawn into the crown *cakra* where the special *Kālacakra* eleventh and twelfth *Bodhisattva* grounds are attained. In all, there are 21,600 drops of the white *bodhicitta* and consequently also 21,600 unchanging blisses which act as antidotes for the material components in the body.⁹⁴⁰ All these components and active energies have to be exhausted. For that purpose, one experiences a supreme unchanging bliss which exhausts all the material components and also the red and white *bodhicitta*.⁹⁴¹ Here, there is a mixture of the *bindu* (drop), the *akṣara-sukha* (the unchanging bliss) and the *paramākṣara-sukha* (the supreme unchanging bliss). The conclusion that can be drawn from this, is that there is a difference between “unchanging bliss” and “supreme unchanging bliss”, the former being manifold and related to the channels and drops in the so called “subtle body”. The second concept is only one, there is really only one supreme unchanging bliss.

Returning to the VP on KCT V:127, it is mentioned that through the sound of the unchanging (or: the syllable), the knowledge (*jñāna*) of the supreme unchanging bliss is *Vajrasattva*.⁹⁴² This can be systematised as follows:

paramākṣara - the supreme unchanging
+ the sound of the unchanging

—————
Vajrasattva

There are also several unchangings, two groups of five and six corresponding to the elements and senses deprived of obscurities (tib. *sgrib-pa*). Consequently, the unchanging is the purified elements, etc. The elements in themselves are beyond change. Later in the text

⁹³⁷ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:61, line 4; Bu-ston. 1965c:104, line 1.

⁹³⁸ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:61, line 19; Bu-ston. 1965c:105, line 2.

⁹³⁹ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:88, line 27; Bu-ston. 1965c:180, line 2.

⁹⁴⁰ Compare with the earlier treated (p.132) discussion on the 21,600 *paramākṣaras*. See Vimalaprabhā I.5 in VP Vol.I. 1986:44, line 23-25; translated in Newman. 1987a:375 and VP Vol.I. 1986:44, line 12-15; translated in Newman. 1987a:374.

⁹⁴¹ Dhargyey. 1985:144-145. For this discussion see also Geshe Lhundrup Sopa. 1985:148-150.

Also published as “An Excursus on the Subtle Body in Tantric Buddhism.”, Sopa. 1982:

⁹⁴² Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:60, line 22 and Bu-ston. 1965c:103, line 2.

it is stated that the *skandhas*, *dhātus* and *āyatanas* become one in the *bindu* in the body (see above, p.161). This *bindu* becomes the void (*śūnya*). This *bindu*, as it is not transmigrated, is revealed in the supreme unchanging. *Sahajakāya* is described as without sexual distinction and on that level *Vajrasattva* is also to be found. *Kālacakra* is on the level of supreme unchanging bliss.⁹⁴³ As this is the level of bliss, it is already not the supreme unchanging, but the level where sexual distinction occurs (*Kālacakra/Viśvamāta*).

In another way it can also be said that the knowledge (*jñāna*) of the supreme unchanging bliss is that which is achieved by purifying the drop (*bindu*) situated in the navel *cakra*, which is related to the bliss resulting from sexual union. When this has been purified one achieves the *vajra* knowledge (*jñāna*).

A good overview of the problem if there exists an immobile, permanent self or not in the Indian religions has recently been published by Johannes Bronkhorst where he states that permanence has been a theme in Indian religions since ancient times. There is a strong tradition of the immobile self (*ātman*) and the immobile absolute principle (*brahman*) in different traditions of Hinduism but in Buddhism, the different theories of the small *dharma* entities are dominant.⁹⁴⁴ This normally leaves no place for any absolute self or absolute eternal principle, but in the *Kālacakra Tantra* there seems to be some sort of idea of an absolute self and an absolute principle like the *Ādibuddha*

6.2. CONCLUSIONS – THE RELATION OF PARAMĀKṢARA (THE SUPREME UNCHANGING) TO SHAJAKĀYA AND THE ĀDIBUDDHA.

The above quoted material can be summarised as follows from the *Vimalaprabhā* p.60 up to p.80:28⁹⁴⁵:

Transcendent level:

The Supreme unchanging - *Paramākṣara* (contains the *bindu* transmigrated)/ A /The moment of no transmigration.

- It has passed beyond the *dharma*'s of indivisible particles. -It is the cause which has consumed all the obscurities.

The first manifestation level:

Sahajakāya - Vajrasattva (= the essence of *prajñā* and *upāya*)

-The most perfect Buddha

-The *bindu* of all beings

- *Jinapati* (= master of *Jinas*)

⁹⁴³ *Vimalaprabhā* V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:61, line 4 and Bu-ston. 1965c:104, line 1.

⁹⁴⁴ Bronkhorst. 2003:81-105.

⁹⁴⁵ See *Vimalaprabhā* V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:80, line 28 and Bu-ston. 1965c:159, line 5. See above, p.174-84.

- *Samantabhadra* - has the supreme unchanging bliss which is the wisdom of the *mahāmudrā* and the essence of the fourth bliss.
- The Buddha-essence is non-existence and attached to the knowledge of the completely pure *supreme unchanging bliss*.

The next level of manifestation:

Kālacakra / [*Viśvamāta*] - The supreme unchanging bliss
 [Bu-ston:] The knowledge of the supreme unchanging bliss (= the own nature of knowledge characterised by Time)⁹⁴⁶

E	VAM
<i>jñāna</i>	<i>jñeya</i>

Vajrasattva is the union of *E* and *VAM* and also of *jñāna* and *jñeya*.

From a later passage there follows some quotations that treat how a *yogin* can practice in order to achieve the supreme unchanging bliss. For the sake of liberation, a *yogin* should meditate on the supreme unchanging wisdom and the *mahāmudrā*. The supreme unchanging knowledge (*jñāna*) is something that can be achieved by a *yogin*.⁹⁴⁷

6.2.1. Some remarks on the last part of the commentary on KCT V:127.⁹⁴⁸

In the last two quotations, the three causes for the world of cyclic existence to go around, i.e. *rāga* (desire-attachment), *dveṣa* (anger-hatred) and *moha* (mental darkness) are treated. It is considered that there exists one great *rāga*, *dveṣa* and *moha*. A very remarkable thing is that the concept of the supreme unchanging is equated to the concept of Great Desire-attachment. Something similar can be considered here, as in former passages where the unchanging is compared to elements, etc., without obscurities. When the desire-attachment is destroyed, it becomes the supreme unchanging. Then it is the Great desire-attachment. This is perhaps just a way of saying that when the desire-attachment, etc., are without obscurities, they are like the supreme unchanging.

Later on, there is an interesting passage where it is said that the desire (tib. 'dod-pa) is subdued by the moment (tib. *skad-cig*; skt. *kṣaṇa*) of the supreme unchanging. This means that the *karmic* imprints (tib. *bag-chags*; skt. *vāsanā*) of change have been stopped. Time as the moment here plays a crucial role in the meaning that the stopping of Time leads to the supreme unchanging.⁹⁴⁹

⁹⁴⁶ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:62, line 16; Bu-ston. 1965c:107, line 1-3.

⁹⁴⁷ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in Vol.III. 1994:88, line 27; Tib. Bu-ston. 1965c:180, line 2.

⁹⁴⁸ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:97, line 23-27; Tib. Bu-ston. 1965c:202, line 5; and p.98, line 22; Tib. Bu-ston. 1965c:205, line 4.

⁹⁴⁹ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:100, line 2; Bu-ston. 1965c:210, line 1.

In this context, is also mentioned that it is the *Bhagavān Vajradhara* (tib. *rDo-rje 'dzin-pa*) in whose mind these methods have been conceived. *Vajradhara* in his turn taught it to the *Tathāgatas* (the five *jinās*). Who is then *Vajradhara* in this context? It could be another name for the “*Ādibuddha*”-concept, although *Vajradhara* is a seldom used word in the *Kālacakra* texts. Later, especially in the Tibetan Buddhist school of *bKa'-brgyud-pa*, *Vajradhara* takes on the role of “*Ādibuddha*”, but in these texts the concept is not so clear. Below is also mentioned that “the supreme unchanging knowledge of the *Bhagavān Mahāvajradhara* is transformed into the mind of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas”.⁹⁵⁰ This could mean that *Vajradhara* (or *Mahāvajradhara*) is identified with the supreme unchanging and could be seen as a personified *Ādibuddha*. There are problems with this identification because the Tibetan word *rDo-rje 'dzin-pa* in the text can be used for *Vajradhara*, but can also mean “the one who grasps the *vajra*”. The later conventional translation of *Vajradhara* to Tibetan is *rDo-rje 'chang*, and this translation is not used in these texts. This is all the more striking as in the *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti* (MNS), which is basic for the *Kālacakra Tantra*, *Vajradhara/rDo-rje-'chang* is mentioned in several places. In the MNS, *Vajradhara* is equalled to *Vajrapāṇi* and it was only later that the two divinities became separated and *Vajradhara* became the “*Ādibuddha*” of the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* and other *tantras*.

Later it is mentioned that the mind of *Vajradhara* is the great bliss of *Samantabhadra paramākṣara* (the supreme unchanging).⁹⁵¹ Here perhaps an identification of the supreme unchanging is made with *Samantabhadra* who later was identified with the “*Ādibuddha*”-concept in the *rNying-ma-pa* school of Tibetan Buddhism, but in other parts of the KCT and the VP I have not found this name. *Samantabhadra* can also mean “the completely good”.

I have written more on the relationship between the *Kālacakra* texts and the MNS above in the third chapter above. Here can only be mentioned that in MNS verse 111, “*viśuddhaḥ paramākṣara*” is translated as “he is pure with the supreme syllable”.⁹⁵² The Tibetan “*yi ge mchog ste rnam par dag*” is different from the translation as “the supreme unchanging.” But it is interesting that the same Sanskrit expression is used.

Finally, a comment deserves to be made on another earlier translated text.⁹⁵³ There seems to exist a way of saying that the supreme unchanging is beyond everything, even the eternal does not exist. There is no descendance from the Void. But there exists something beyond the indivisible particles (tib. *rdul-phra*; skt. *paramāṇu*). The relationship of the supreme unchanging to the Void is not clear in this context. There is a contradictory statement here that even the eternal (tib. *tag-pa*) does not exist. A solution to this could be that this is another way of saying that it is really impossible to say anything positive about “the absolute”.

The last part of the VP commentary on KCT V:127 tells about the relationship between the six-limbed *yoga* (*ṣaḍaṅga-yoga*), which is the essence of the practice of *Kālacakra*, and the concept of the supreme unchanging. The experience of the supreme

⁹⁵⁰ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:102:1-2; Tib. Bu-ston. 1965c:212, line 4.

⁹⁵¹ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol. III. 1994:102:16-18; Tib. Bu-ston. 1965c:214, line 4.

⁹⁵² Davidson 1981:18.

⁹⁵³ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:101, line 4-5 and Bu-ston. 1965c:211, line 1. See above, p.190.

unchanging bliss in the sixth limb of that *yoga* has a relationship with the retention of the semen.⁹⁵⁴ This has to do with the ultimate goal of this *yoga* which is to stop every motion and to stop time (*kāla*). When one has reached that goal, one will experience the great bliss, which in this context is the same as the supreme unchanging bliss.

7. FINAL CONCLUSIONS.

I have made conclusions after each chapter and I will not repeat everything here. The historical part of this work establishes the dates of the introduction of *Kālacakra* to Tibet as some time between 1030 and 1040 by the Indian *Bhadrabodhi* and his Tibetan translator *Gyi-jo Zla-ba 'od-zer*. Then the two schools of *Kālacakra*, the *'Bro* and *Rva* took shape. During the first three centuries of the existence of this teaching in Tibet it was partly dominated by members of the *Jo-nang-pa* school of Buddhism. This means that the *Kālacakra Tantra* played a crucial role in the formation of the *gZhan-stong* theory of emptiness from something. *Bu-ston* himself seems to have disregarded this influence as he was an adherent of the *rang-stong* theory of emptiness from itself. The *dGelug-pa* school, and today, the present Dalai Lama has their tradition from *Bu-ston*, not the *Jo-nang-pa*.

It is not an easy task to find a solution of how to define the doctrine of *Ādibuddha* in the *Kālacakra* texts. A comparatively simple solution is to hold that *Ādibuddha* is just another way of describing the *tathāgatagarbha* concept, which means that there is a Buddha-seed in human beings which is always there. In that case, it is a way of saying that one must strive to obtain the state of Buddha-hood. It can also be a way of describing the Void (*śūnyatā*) which is also present everywhere.

Despite the above mentioned arguments, it is still possible to state that there is a concept of an original idea of a "Buddha" out of which everything originated. In that way the connection with the concept of the fourth body which is drawn out from the *Ādibuddha* is evident. The fourth body, *Sahajakāya* or *Śuddhakāya*, is a sort of primordial manifestation in the world. Of course, then the fourth body has many other connotations more on the personal level, but the cosmological level is also there, connected with the origin of the five *jīnas*.

The concept of the supreme unchanging bliss, *paramākṣara-sukha*, can possibly be regarded as a qualification of the Fourth body. The supreme unchanging then should still be on the level of the teachings of non-transmigration and represent the *bindu* that is eternal from life to life in a human being.

The *Ādibuddha* concept is qualified with various epithets as shown above. The most important being:

omniscient, without qualities, master of *jīnas*, without mental constructions, unchanging, or indestructible, bliss (*akṣarasukha*), non-dual, progenitor of the Buddhas, simultaneously-arisen master of *jīnas*, beyond origination and dissolution, non-dual wisdom and method, pure *yoga* (*śuddhayoga*), without causal connection (*nirānvaya*), supreme (*parama*), the

⁹⁵⁴ Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:102:23-33; Tib. Bu-ston. 1965c:215.

one who first (*ādi*) obtained Buddha-hood, without beginning in time, without termination, indivisible *vajrayoga*, endless Buddha, the supreme unchanging (*paramākṣara*) (see above, p.139-140).

All these qualifications are strong evidence of there existing a concept of something transcendent beyond the existing world and this transcendent concept could be called the “*Ādibuddha*”. Actually, these qualifications can also be applied to other deities or principles, though the importance is that there exists such a concept.

As found in KCT V:127, there also exists a concept of *bindu* which can be compared to the *Ādibuddha* concept on the individual level of the human body. The *bindu* stands for the indestructible or unchangeable in the heart cakra of the human body. This indestructible drop is described in a similar way as the *Ādibuddha*. Consequently, it is shown how the concept of *Ādibuddha* has a macrosmic and microcosmic interpretation.

The fourth body of the Buddha, the *sahajakāya*, *śuddhakāya* and *svābhāvikakāya* can also be associated with pure, unchanging mind which is beyond everything. *Sahajakāya* being beyond *prajñā* and *upāya*, wisdom and method.

Finally, the concept of the knowledge (*jñāna*) of the supreme unchanging (bliss), *paramākṣarasukha jñāna*, can be compared to the transcendent concept of something unchanging or indestructible. This last concept is more of a personal concept describing the final state of bliss which can be reached.

APPENDIX 1.

The Tibetan text of Zhang zhung chos dbang grags pa's commentary on KCT V:89 on the four bodies.

I will here quote the Tibetan text of Zhang zhung chos dbang grags pa 1983, p.291:4 – 297:2.

(p.291:4) *gnyis pa mdor bsdus kyi gzhung bshad pa la gsum / 'bras bu'i sku dang gnas dang 'phrin las bshad pa / rgya dbang dang lam gyi rnam gzhag bshad pa / sku bcu drug gi rab dbye bshad pa'o //*

dang po la gsum / lhan cig skyes pa'i sku'i mtshan nyid rgyas par bstan pa / sku de dag gang du bzhugs pa'i gnas bstan pa / (p.291:5) 'phrin las kyi de nyid rgyas par bshad pa'o // dang po la gnyis / sku bzhi'i mtshan nyid bshad pa dngos / sku gcig las sku du ma spro ba'i tshul lo // (p.291:6) dang po la gsum / lhan cig skyes pa'i sku'i mtshan nyid bshad pa / sku lham ma gsum gyi mtshan nyid bshad pa / rigs drug dag pa dang sbyar te bshad pa'o // dang po ni tshigs su bcad pa gya dgu pa nas brgya bcu gcig pa'i rkang pa gsum pa yan chad ni ye shes kyi dkyl 'khor spro ba'i ngo bo nyid kyi gnas pa bdun pa yin la / (p.291:7) kha cig (dol phyogs)⁹⁵⁵ shes pa dang shes bya rnam pa kun gyi bdag nyid kyi gnas pa dgu pa la 'chad

(p.292:1) de dag pa sogs ni le'u 'grel bshad du gsungs zin to // shes rab ma yin zhes pa la sogs pa ste 'dir phyi nang gzhan gsum la thabs shes zung re bzhag ste / de yang nang bskyed rim dang rdzogs rim gyi skabs 'gar 'dzag pa'am g.yo ba'i dga' ba bzhi la bcu drug tu phyé ba'i tshe / (p.292:2) shes rab ni cha dang po bco lnga'i bdag nyid de dkar po'i phyogs so // thabs ni nag po'i phyogs te zla ba khu ba'i cha bcu drug nyams pa'i phyir ro // de la dkar phyogs shes rab dang nag phyogs thabs su byas pa ni bsam pa'i sgo nas bzhag pa ste / (p.292:3) de'i rgyu mtshan yang khu ba'i cha nyams ma nyams kyi dbang gis yin par 'grel pa las gsungs pa 'di nyid do // nang dang gzhan gnyis ka la yang dgos pa'i dbang gis cha bcu drug pa'i tha snad yod la / gzhi dus kyi cha bcu drug pa (p.292:4) nyams pa ni gsang chen gyi phyi rol tu khu rdul 'dzag pas nyams pa yin kyang lam gyi 'dzag bde'i cha bcu drug pa ni thig le gsang gnas kyi phyi rol tu 'dzags pas nyams pa min gyi thig le gnas gzhan du g.yo ba'i phyir mi 'gyur ba'i bde chen la bltos te (p.292:5) nyams par bzhag pa tsam mo // de bzhin du dkar po'i phyogs ni mtshan mo ste zla ba'i cha bco lnga yod pa'o // nag po'i phyogs ni nyin mo ste nyi mas zla ba'i 'od zer zil gyis mnan pas zla ba'i 'od zer med pa'o // de'i phyir lhan cig skyes pa'i sku ni shes rab cha bco (p.292:6) lnga'i rang bzhin ma yin la / thabs cha bcu drug nyams pa nyid kyang ma yin pa 'di ni sangs rgyas rnam kyi lhan cig skyes pa'i sku ste de ltar 'bras dus kyi mi 'gyur ba'i bde chen ni yod pa dkar po'i phyogs cha bco lnga'i 'dzag bde'i mthar ltung ba min no //

med pa ste cha (p.292:7) bcu drug pa'i dngos po med pa nag po'i phyogs kyi mthar ltung ba man no // dkar phyogs nag phyogs yod med de gnyis ka yin pa'i mthar ltung ba min te / dkar phyogs nag phyogs 'di dag phan tshun 'gal ba'i phyir / de gnyis gzhi mthun du

⁹⁵⁵ *Dol phyogs* is short for *Dol-po-pa* and *Jo-nang Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal*. It is not *Bo-dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal*. See Stearns. 1999:192, note 193.

tshogs pa med do // (p.293:1) yod med gnyis ka'i bdag nyid min pa'ang min zhes pa ni /
dkar po dang nag po'i phyogs 'di dag ma gtogs pa cha bcu drug pa'i 'dzag bde yang lhan
cig skyes pa'i mi 'gyur ba'i bde ba de min no // de ltar mtha' bzhi yongs su (p.293:2) dag
pas cha bcu drug pa ste / de'i cha bcu drug ji ltar byed pa ni tshigs su bcad pa don drug
pa'i skabs su bshad zin la / stong pa nyid kyi bzugs kyi chos can gyi sku dang ni thugs
lhan cig skyes pa mi 'gyur ba'i bde chen chu dang gsher ba bzhin du grub bde dbyer
(p.293:3) med 'brel mi rung du tshogs pa'i sku na lhan cig skyes pa'i sku ru gsungs te / de
yang sku'i cha nas stong gzugs kyi sku zhes brjod la / thugs kyi ngos nas bde pa chen po'i
sku dang lhan cig skyes pa'i sku zhes brjod cing / thugs de'i yul dag pa gnyis (p.293:4)
ldan gyi cha nas ngo bo nyid kyi sku zhes bya ste / de la ska ma gnyis kyi khyab par
bzhag tu mi rung ba ni dag pa gnyis ldan du der 'jog pa'i dbang gis so / / de'i phyir ngo
bo nyid skur gyur pa'i 'dus byas dang / de'i rigs 'dra bzhi pa'i (p.293:5) thig le'i steng na
rdul du ma grub pa'i cha gcig dang / bde chen sgyur rung gi nus pa'i cha 'dus byas gcig
'jog dgos te rje tsun bla mas rdzogs rim rnal 'byor chen po'i bshad par gsungs shing /
'di nyid kyi gong 'og rnams su yang bshad (p.293:6) do // snga ma dag gis sku 'di'i rnam
gzag cham yang dpyis phyin par ma bshad do // rnal 'byor pa ting nge 'dzin gyi yan lag
thob pa yan chad rnams kyi rten thig le'i brtsegs pa dang / brten pa bde chen ni bzhi pa'i
gnas skabs (p.293:7) shyod byed yin la / de gnyis rdul dang dre ma ma las par zad pa las
rgyu mthun pa'i mtshan nyid do // de ni lam gyi mi 'gyur ba'i bde chen gyis kyang gong
gi mtha' bzhi dang bral bar rigs 'dra ba ste / der ma zad bde pa'i rigs 'dra ni dngos dang
sa (p.294:1) bon ci rigs kyi sgo nas gzhi dus su yang yod de / des longs sku dang 'di gnyis
kyi khyad par yang shes par nus te / de'i stong gzugs kyi cha yod kyang bde chen yul yul
can shas mi che bas so // de lta na sku 'di ni ma ning ngo / zhes grub bo // 'dir lhan cig
skyes pa'i (p.294:2) sku ni bsam pa'i cha nas rang gi don phun sum tshogs pa'o //
snga ma mtha' dag gis gnyis ka min pa'ang min pa ngos 'dzin pa ni tshig dngos su 'gal ba
snga zhing don gang yin ma shes la / 'dzag pa'i cha bco lnga pa min pa dang / bcu drug
pa nyams pa min pa ni (p.294:3) 'dzag bde'i cha bcu drug pa ste / de yang min pa zhes
pa'i don du bya (Bu-ston: rang dol sogs) dgos par mngon te da dung dpyad par bya'o //
gnyis pa la gnyis / mtha' cung zad dpyad pa dang / tshig gi don no // dang po ni / gal te
'dir chos sku gzhan don phun tshogs dang / de la (p.294:4) shes pa dang shes bya gnyis
su phyed ba'i shes bya stong gzugs chos skur bzhag cing stong gzugs de nyid kyang thabs
su byas pa dang / 'dzin pa ye shes shes rab tu gsungs pa 'di dag ni shin tu mi rigs te /
rgyud dang 'grel pa'i gong 'og rnams su chos sku rang (p.294:5) don phun tshogs dang
stong gzugs gzugs sku dang shes rab kyi phyogs dang / 'dzin pa bde ba chen po'i ye shes
thabs su lan cig ma yin par gsungs pa rnams dang dngos su 'gal ba'i phyir ro dang de ltar
gsungs pa de dag gi don rigs pas 'grub pas 'dir (p.294:6) bshad pa 'di dag la rigs pa yang
dag gis gnod pa'i phyir dang / phyogs de gnyis ka khas blangs pa na 'bras ba'i rnam
gzag 'chol bar 'gyur ba'i phyir ro zhe na / bden mod kyi de la snga ma kha cig (dol
'brang) / don dam 'gal 'du skyon med la thabs gang yin pa de nyid shes (p.294:7) rab la
sogs pa yin pa'i phyir pan tshun ldog ste gnas pas sngar bstan pa rnams dang brjod tshul
mi mthun yang skyon med do zhes zer ro // ka ye shes pa can dag khyod cag 'bras dus su
rang rigs kyi thabs shes mi rung bar 'dod pa mi rigs te / don ngan (p.295:1) 'gal 'du skyon
med yin pa'i phyir thabs kyi thabs la 'khyud pa dang de las ldog pa yang ci'i phyir mi
smra

Zhang-zhung Chos-dbang grags-pa, p.290:7 – 297:2 in mKhas-grub-rje, dGe-legs-dpal-
bzang-po. *The Collected Works of mKhas-grub-rje*, vol.5, 1983:161-623 (This is the
commentary on KCT V:89 and the commentary on that verse VP V.2.).

APPENDIX 2.

Table of Contents of the KCT and the Vimalaprabhā.

In order to obtain a more systematic knowledge of the content of the two basic texts of *Kālacakra*, I present a translated Table of Contents of the KCT and the *Vimalaprabhā*.

I. The Śrī Kālacakra-tantra-rāja (KCT).

The KCT consists of five chapters in the following order:

1. Lokadhātupaṭala, "The outer world chapter."
2. Adhyātmapaṭala, "The inner world chapter."
3. Abhiṣekapaṭala, "The initiation chapter."
4. Sādhanaṭala, "The sādhana chapter."
5. Jñānapaṭala, "The knowledge chapter."

II. The Vimalaprabhā.

This text is also divided into five chapters in the same way as the KCT, although it also includes a division, *mahā-uddeśa* ("great brief accounts"). To organize and translate this information is a necessary step, not done previously, in order to obtain an overview of the contents of the texts and teachings of *Kālacakra*.

The *Vimalaprabhā* commentary also reproduces the text of the KCT.

1. Lokadhātupaṭala.

Skt. VP I 1986:1-156, IASWR ed. p.1 - 89b;

Tib. Toh.1347 Nyīngma/Derge ed., vol.40, p.943-1171; Peking 2064, p.121-1-1 to 174-5-5; VP and Bu-ston's commentary, Bu-ston 1965a:301-603.⁹⁵⁶ English transl. by Newman 1987a:221-654.

1st mahoddeśa: *sakalamāravighnavināśataḥ parameṣṭadevatāḥ sanmārga niyamoddeśaḥ prathamah*. "The brief account that destroys all devils and obstructors: The precept on the supreme chosen deity and the noble path."

Skt. VP I 1986:1-11; Transl. Newman 1987a:221-244

2nd mahoddeśa: *abhidheyābhidhānasambandha prayojanaprayojana saṃvikṣyabhagavatāḥ tantradesanoddeśaḥ dvitīyaḥ*. "The *Bhagavān*'s teaching of the tantra, having observed the subject, the discourse, their relation, the purpose, and the ultimate purpose." VP I 1986:12-22; Newman 1987a:245-291.

3rd mahoddeśa: *deśakādādhyeṣakamūlatantralaghutantra sambadhoddeśaḥ tṛtīyaḥ*. "The relationship between the teacher and the requestor, and the Root Tantra and the Abridged Tantra." VP I 1986:22-30, Newman 1987a:292-316.

4th mahoddeśa: *sarvajñetyādīnā tantrarājadeśaka adhyeṣakasāadhanoddeśaḥ ca-turthaḥ*. "Establishing the teacher and the requestor of the *Tantra-rāja* (King of Tantra) by means of "The Omniscient One, and so forth." VP I 1986:30-42; Newman

⁹⁵⁶ I normally use *Bu-ston's* text as it is almost always identical with the canonical text, and it is useful to have the commentary and the text in one place.

1987a:317-366. [In the beginning of this uddeśa the commentary to KCT I:1 begins. The former three *uddeśas* have been a sort of introduction to the whole tantra].

5th mahoddeśa: *deśakādisaṃgrahoddeśaḥ pañcamah.* “A summary of the teacher and so forth.” VP I 1986:42-46; Newman 1987a:366-384; (A continuation of the commentary on the KCT I:1)

1st subchapter: A summary of the Vajrayoga. Newman 1987a:366-381.

2nd subchapter: A summary of the Dharma teaching. Newman 1987a:381-382.

3rd subchapter: A summary of the purpose and the ultimate purpose. Newman 1987a:382-384.

6th mahoddeśa: *maṇḍalābhiṣekādisaṃgrahoddeśaḥ saṣṭhaḥ.* “A summary of the *maṇḍalas*, initiations, and so forth.” VP I 1986:47-52; Newman 1987a:385-412. A commentary on KCT I:2.

7th mahoddeśa: *lokadhātusaṃgrahoddeśaḥ saptamah.* “A summary of the cosmos.” VP I 1986:52-65; Newman 1987a:413-470. A commentary on KCT. I:3-9

(KA) subchapter: *prativacanasaṃgrahoddeśaḥ.* “A summary of the reply [of the Śākyamuni Buddha.]” VP I 1986:52-53; Newman 1987a:413-419. A commentary on KCT. I:3.

(KHA) subchapter: *lokadhātusaṃgrahoddeśaḥ.* “A summary of Cosmos (Lokadhātu).” VP I 1986:53-55; Newman 1987a:419-426. A commentary on KCT. I:4.

(GA) subchapter: *vajrakāyasaṃgrahoddeśaḥ.* “A summary of the *Vajrakāya*.” VP I 1986:55-56; Newman 1987a:427-432. A commentary on KCT. I:5

(GHA) subchapter: *rāhvādyutpādasamgrahoddeśaḥ.* “A summary of the origin of *Rāhu* and so forth.” VP I 1986:57-58; Newman 1987a:433-441. A commentary on KCT I:6-7.

(NGA) subchapter: *candrakalādiviśvamantrasaṃgrahoddeśaḥ.* “A summary of all the *mantras* - the digits of the moon and so forth.”

VP I 1986:58-64; Newman 1987a:442-466. A commentary on the KCT. I: 8.

(CA) subchapter: *svarāṇām janmasthananirdeśaḥ.* “A specification of the places of birth of the vowels.” VP I 1986:64-65; Newman 1987a:466-470. A commentary on the KCT. I:9.

8th mahoddeśa: *lokadhātumānasaṃgrahoddeśaḥ aṣṭamah.* “A summary of the measurements of the cosmos.” VP I 1986:65-76; Newman 1987a:471-530.

A commentary on the KCT.I:10-25.

9th mahoddeśa: *vyotijñānavidhīnyamamahoddeśaḥ.* “The formula for knowing astronomy.” VP I 1986:77-123; Newman 1987a:531-542 (Newman’s translation ends with the commentary on KCT. I:26-27). A commentary on the KCT.I:26-94. There exists a translation to German of this part of the KCT, without the commentary VP, by Banerjee 1959:58-136⁹⁵⁷.

10th mahoddeśa: *svarodayayantravidhīnyamamahoddeśaḥ.* “The precept on the procedure for the *Svarodaya*⁹⁵⁸ and the machines (*yantra*).” VP I 1986:123-152; Newman

⁹⁵⁷ Banerjee. 1958:58-136.

⁹⁵⁸ *Svarodaya* “describes various arrangements (*cakras*) of letters associated with time division and astrological entities, magical pictures of animals and objects (also called *cakra*), and arrangements

1987a:543-577 (Newman here translates only the commentaries to the verses in KCT. I:128-149.) A commentary on the KCT. I:95-149,⁹⁵⁹

11th mahoddeśa: *mlecchadharmotpātabuddhadharmapratisthāpanādi*. “The eradication of the *mleccha-dharma* and the establishment of the *Buddha-dharma* and so forth.” Verses 150-170 from the KCT. There is no commentary in the *Vimalaprabhā* on these verses. The *Vimalaprabhā* states only: “Now, the great *cakravartin*’s eradication of the barbarian *dharma*, his establishment of the *Buddhadharma*, and so forth, is easily understandable; therefore, it will not be mentioned in the commentary.”⁹⁶⁰ (The verses treat the eschatology of the *Kālacakra*, the coming war between the kings of *Sambhala* and the *Mlecchas*, that is the Muslims.) VP I 1986:152-156; Newman 1987a:578-654.

2. The Adhyātmapaṭala.

Sanskrit: *Vimalaprabhā* Vol.I 1986:157-272 and IASWR ed. p.94 A to 172 B 1; Tibetan: Nyingma/Derge Toh.1347, vol.40, p.1172-1337; Peking 2064, vol.46, p.174-5-6 to 215-1-1 (fol.131b⁶-227a⁵); VP and Bu-ston’s commentary, Bu-ston 1965b:1-229. English transl. by Wallace 1995:143-474. French transl. by Stril-Rever 2000: sub-chapt.1 68-94, subchapt.2 119-147, subchapt.3 179-196, subchapt.4 227-274, subchapt.5 297-327, subchapt.6 355-407.

1st mahoddeśa: (IASWR ed.p.94A:) *kāyavākcittotpattiduhkha mārga samudayani-rodha satyanirṇaya mahoddeśaḥ prathamah*. (Upadhyaya:) *kāyavākcittotpatticaturāryanirṇaya-mahoddeśaḥ*. “The emergence of body, speech and mind, and the investigation of the four noble truths.”

A commentary on KCT. II:1-26; VP I 1986:157-170; Bu-ston 1965b: 1-28:6; Wallace 1995:143-182.

2nd mahoddeśa: *samudayasatyādimahoddeśaḥ dvitīyaḥ*. “The truth of the emergence of all [the factors of existence of the human beings].”

A commentary on KCT.II:27-47; VP I 1986:170-183; Bu-ston 1965b:28:6-52:6; Wallace 1995:183-219.

3rd mahoddeśa: *adhyātmani cakravartimlecchayuddha kālacakrakulatantra nāḍikulotpatti mahoddeśaḥ tṛtīyaḥ*. “The emergence of the *nāḍis*, of the fight between the *cakravartin* and the *mleccha* and the *tantra* of the family of *Kālacakra*.”

A commentary on the KCT.II: 48-60; VP I 1986:183-190; Bu-ston 1965b: 52: 6-68:2; Wallace 1995:220-243.

4th mahoddeśa: *ariṣṭamarāṇalakṣaṇa nāḍicchede mahoddeśaḥ caturthaḥ*. “Fatal signs of death, and the ramification of the *nāḍis*.”

of *nakṣatras*, months and numbers relative to the directions (*bhūmis*). All of which promote military victory to their user.” (Pingree. 1981:77).

⁹⁵⁹ The verse KCT I:149 is verse 148 in the Tibetan translation by Bu-ston and in the translation by Banerjee in his dissertation (Bu-ston. 1965a:38; Banerjee. 1959:205). The whole of chapter I has one verse less in both editions.

⁹⁶⁰ *Vimalaprabhā* vol.I. 1986:152; Newman. 1987a:578. This is an understatement, as these verses are not at all easy to understand. They have been commented upon by Bu-ston in his commentary to the KCT and by later Tibetan commentators and translated by Newman and Banerjee.

A commentary on KCT.II: 61-81. VP I 1986:190-214; Bu-ston 1965b: 68:2-127:2; Wallace 1995:244-312.

5th mahoddeśa: *lokasāhṃvṛtyotpādānirodhahetubhūta kṣaṇalakṣaṇa kālacakranīyama mahoddeśaḥ pañcamaḥ*. "The definition of the characteristics of the momentary in the Kālacakra." A commentary on KCT.II: 82-106; VP I 1986:214-227; Bu-ston 1965b: 127: 2-155:6; Wallace 1995:313-358.

6th mahoddeśa: *rasāyanādibālatantra mahoddeśaḥ ṣaṣṭhaḥ*. "Alchemy etc. and the pediatrics-tantra."

A commentary on KCT.II:107-160; VP I 1986:228-255; Bu-ston 1965b:155:6-197:6; Wallace 1995:359-475. Of note here is that in Bu-ston's text and the canonical edition of sDe-dge (Dharma ed.), the commentary applies to verses KCT.II:107-154, but verse 154 corresponds to verse 160 in the Sanskrit text. Consequently, as in the fore-going *mahoddeśa*, counting the verses corresponding between the Tibetan and Sanskrit texts, it must be that somewhere between verses 107-154 in the Tibetan text, 6 verses have been excluded by the Tibetan translators or by later editors of the canonical texts.⁹⁶¹

The verses excluded in the Tibetan edition are verses 116-121 as noted by Fenner in his dissertation on alchemy in the *Kālacakra Tantra*.⁹⁶²

7th mahoddeśa: *svaparadarśananyāyavicāra mahoddeśaḥ sapṭamaḥ*.

"Arguments for own and other kinds of philosophies."

A commentary on KCT. II:161-180; VP I 1986:255-271;

Bu-ston 1965b: 197:6-229. In agreement with what has been stated above the text by Bu-ston ends with verse 174.

3. The Abhiṣekapaṭalaḥ.

Skt. IASWR ed. fol.162a¹-250b¹¹; VP II 1994:1-248.

Tib.: Toh.1347 Nyingma/Derge ed. vol.40, p.1338-1456; Peking 2064, vol.46, 215-1-1 to 257-4-3(fol.1-103b2),⁹⁶³ VP and Bu-ston's commentary, Bu-ston 1965b:231-473.

1st mahoddeśa: Skt: *vajrācāryādi sarvakamaprasara sādhanālakṣaṇa mahoddeśo abhiṣekapaṭale prathamaḥ*.

Tib: *sLob-dpon la-sogs- pa dang las rab-'byam thams-cad-kyi sgrub-thabs kyi mtshan-nyid kyi mdor-bśdus chen-po*. Transl.,

"The characteristics of the *sādhana*s of the complete diffusion [of the teachings] from the *vajrācāryas* and others."

A commentary on KCT.III:1-22. Skt. IASWR fol.162a¹-172b¹; VP II 1994:1-21; Tib. Peking 2064, vol.46, 215-1-1 to 222-4-8 (fol.1-16a⁸); Bu-ston 1965b:232¹-267³.

⁹⁶¹ See also the edition of the KCT by Bu-ston. (Bu-ston. 1965a: Part 1, 83 and 88; The Nying-ma edition Toh.362 and Toh.1346, where it is also clear that there are only 174 verses in the Tibetan translation.

⁹⁶² See Newman. 1987a:191-192 reviewing Fenner. 1979:116-117. It is also noted by Banerjee. 1985:72, where he states that these verses are also missing in the Sanskrit Patna manuscript.

⁹⁶³ I refer in what follows to the Peking edition of the *bsTan-'gyur* for the 3rd and 4th chapters. For some reason, in the Derge edition the order of these two chapters has been reversed so that chapt. 3 in the Nyingma edition is the *Sādhanaḥ* and the fourth is the *Abhiṣekapaṭala*. That makes referencing difficult. The Peking print from the Otani university is generally of better quality than the Nyingma edition.

2nd mahoddeśa: Skt. *raṅśācakra-pūrvāṅga ma bhūmyādisaṃgraha mahoddeśa śo abhiṣekapaṭale dvitīyaḥ*.

Tib. *bSrung-ba* 'i *'khor-lo sngon- du 'gro-ba-can sa la-sogs-pa gzung-ba* 'i *mdor bsdus chen-po*. Transl. "The attributes of the guardian deities arranged in order, and the earth and so on." A commentary on KCT.III:23-35. Skt. IASWR fol.172b²-187a⁴; VP II 1994:21-43; Tib. Toh.1347 Nyingma/Derge ed. vol.40, p.1338-1345; Peking 2064, vol.46, 222-4-8 to 230-1-1 (fol.16a⁸-34b¹); Bu-ston 1965b:267³-313².

3rd mahoddeśa: Skt. *maṇḍalava(r)ttāna nāma mahoddeśas tṛtīyaḥ*. Tib. *dKyl- 'khor bri-ba śes-bya-ba* 'i. Transl. "The drawing of the *maṇḍala*."

A commentary on KCT.III:36-70. Skt. IASWR ed. fol.187a⁵-203a¹²; VP II 1994:44-69; Tib. Peking ed. 230-1-1 to 236-3-4 (fol.34b¹-50b⁴); Bu-ston 1965b:313²-353³.

4th mahoddeśa: Skt. *yāṃ maṇḍalābhiṣeka mahoddeśās caturthaḥ*. Tib. *dKyl- 'khor-du dbang-bskur-ba* 'i *mdor bsdus chen-po*. Transl. "Initiation into the *maṇḍala*."

A commentary on KCT.III:71-103. Skt. IASWR ed. fol.203b¹-221b¹; VP II 1994:70-98; Tib. Peking ed. p.236-3-4 to 245-4-5 (fol.50b⁴-73b⁵); Bu-ston 1965b:353³-405⁵.

5th mahoddeśa: Skt. *pratiṣṭha-gaṇacakraavidhiyogacaryā mahoddeśaḥ pañcamah*. Tib. *Rab-tu gnas-pa dang tshogs-kyi 'khor-lo* 'i *cho-ga dang rNal- 'byor-gyi spyod-pa* 'i *mdorbsdus chen-po*. Transl. "Consecration, ritual feast and yogic conduct." A commentary on KCT.III:104-161.

Skt. IASWR ed. fol.221b¹-240a¹²; VP II 1994:98-131; Tib. Peking ed. p.245-4-5 to 253-1-5 (fol.73b⁵-92a⁵); Bu-ston 1965b:405⁵-451⁶.

6th mahoddeśa: Skt. *mudrādrṣṭimaṇḍala visarjanavīrabhojyavidhimahoddeśaḥ ṣaṣṭhaḥ*. Tib. *Phyag-rgya dang lta stangs dang dKyl- 'khor gshegs-su gsol-ba dang dPa- 'bo* 'i *ston-mo* 'i *mdor bsdus chen-po*. Transl. "*Mudrā* and *lta-stangs*⁹⁶⁴ and a request for going to the *maṇḍala* and a *vidhi*(ceremony) of reverence for the heroes." A commentary on KCT.III:162-203. Skt. IASWR ed. fol.240b¹-250b¹¹; VP II 1994:131-148; Tib. Peking ed. p.253-1-5 to 257-4-3 (fol.92a⁵-103b³). Bu-ston 1965b:451⁶-473⁷.

4. The Sādhanaṣaṭalāḥ.

Skt. IASWR ed. fol.251a¹-312a⁶; VP II 1994:149-241;

Tib.: Toh.1347 Nyingma/Derge ed., vol.40, p.1457-1646; Peking 2064, vol.46, p.257-4-3 to 282-4-3(fol.103b³-166a³); VP and Bu-ston's commentary, 1965b:476-623.

1st mahoddeśa: Skt. *sthānarakṣā pāpadiśanādi*. Tib. *gnas-bsrung sdig-bshad la-sogs*. Transl. "Explication of protectory and terrifying divinities, etc." A commentary on KCT.IV:1-7.

Skt. IASWR ed. fol.251a¹-254b³; VP II 1994:249-254; Tib. Toh.1347 Nyingma/Derge, vol.40, p.1457-1482; Peking 2064, p.257-4-3 to 259-2-7 (fol.103b³-107b⁷). Bu-ston 1965b:476¹-486⁶.

⁹⁶⁴ In Tibetan this means a powerful look employed in order to subdue demons, a method used in *tantric* practise.

2nd mahoddeśa: Skt. *utpattikramena kāyaṇiṣṭhā*. Tib. *skyed-pa'i rim-pas sku rdzogs-pa*. Transl. "The perfection of the body by the generation stage."

A commentary on KCT.IV:8-49 and half of 50.

Skt. IASWR ed. fol.254b⁴-268b⁸; VP II 1994:155-178; Tib. Peking 2064 Vol.46, p.259-2-7 to 266-1-5 (fol.107b⁷-124b⁵). Bu-ston 1965b:486⁶-523⁵.

3rd mahoddeśa: Skt. *prāṇadevatotpāda*. Tib. *srog dang lha skyed-pa*. Transl. "The generation of living beings and gods." A commentary on KCT.IV:second half of 50-109.

Skt. IASWR ed. fol.269a¹-283b⁸; VP II 1994:178-204; Tib. Peking 2064 Vol.46, p.266-1-5 to 272-1-5 (fol.124b⁵-139b⁵). Bu-ston 1965b:523⁵-559³.

4th mahoddeśa: Skt. *utpatyutpannakrama-sādhana*. Tib. *sKyed-pa'i rim-pa dang rdzogs-pa'i rim-pa'i sgrub-thabs*. Transl. "Sādhana of the generation stage and the completion stage." A commentary on KCT.IV:110-133.

Skt. IASWR ed. fol.284a¹-292b⁸; VP II 1994:204-219; Tib. Peking 2064 vol.46, p.272-1-5 to 276-2-2 (fol.139b⁵-150a²). Bu-ston 1965b:559³-588⁴.

5th mahoddeśa: Skt. *nānāsādhana*. Tib. *sna-tshogs-pa'i sgrub-pa'i thabs*. Transl. "Various sādhanas." A commentary on KCT.IV:134-234.

Skt. IASWR ed. fol.292b⁹-312a⁶; VP II 1994:219-251; Tib. Peking 2064 vol.46, p.276-2-2 to 282-4-4 (fol.150a²-166a⁴). Bu-ston 1965b:588⁴ - 623².

(Note, the verses 191-230 are not commented on at all).

V. The Jñāna-paññalaḥ.

"The chapter on wisdom." Skt. Vimalaprabhā Vol.III 1994:1-156⁹⁶⁵

Tib. Toh.1347 Nyingma/Derge ed., vol.40, p.1647-18...Peking 2064, p.282-4-4 to 335-1-6(fol.166a⁴ - 296b⁵); Bu-ston 1965c:1-294.

1st mahoddeśa: Skt. *yoginītantrādispharaṇamahoddeśaḥ*. Tib. *rnal-'byor-ma'i rgyud la-sogs-pa spro-ba'i mdor-bśdus chen-po*. Transl. "The spreading(energy?) of the yoginī-tantras and others." A commentary on KCT.V: 1-88.

Skt. VP III 1994:1-45; Tib. Peking 2064, p.282-4-4 to 295-3-5 (fol.166a⁴-198a⁵). Bu-ston 1965c:1-80¹.

2nd mahoddeśa: Skt. *catuḥkāyādisuddhinirṇayamahoddeśaḥ*; Tib. *sku-bshi la-sogs-pa'i rnam-par dag-pa nges-pa'i*. Transl. "The real and very pure four bodies and others." A commentary on KCT.V:89-126.

Skt. VP III 1994:45-59; Tib. Peking 2064, p.295-3-5 to 299-2-7 (fol.198a⁵-207b⁷). Bu-ston 1965c:80¹-101³.

3rd mahoddeśa: Skt. *paramākṣarajñānasiddhirnāma*; Tib. *mchog-tu mi-'gyur-ba'i ye-shes grub-pa shes-bya-ba'i mdor-bśdus chen-po*. Transl. "The completion of the wisdom of the supreme unchanging."

⁹⁶⁵ I did not have access to the Sanskrit text until late in my work. Before the publication of Vimalaprabhā vol. 3, 1994, the only text that existed was the manuscript that Vimalaprabhā vol.3 is based on. It is the only complete manuscript that exists of chapter 5 of the VP, but it is written in an old Bengali script difficult to read. My solution was to read the text in Tibetan using the texts in Bu-ston. 1965c and then compare with the Sanskrit.

A commentary on KCT.V:127.

Skt. VP III 1994:60-103; Tib. Peking 2064 299-2-7 to 321-1-3 (fol.207b⁷-262a³). Bu-ston 1965c:101³-216⁷.

4th mahoddeśa: Skt. *nānopāyavineyamahoddeśaḥ*; Tib. *thabs sna-tshogs-kyis 'dul-ba'i mdor-bśdus chen-po*. Transl. "The disciplining (*vināya*) by various skilful means (*upāya*)."
A commentary on KCT.V:128-247.

Skt. VP III 1994:103-155; Tib. Peking 2064, p.321-1-3 to 335-1-6 (fol.262a³-297a⁶). Bu-ston 1965c:216⁷-292⁶. (Verses V:248-261 are not commented upon).

APPENDIX 3.

The commentarial texts on the Kālacakra Tantra in the *bsTan*-'gyur.

Below are given the titles of the commentaries to the *Kālacakra* texts from the *bsTan*-'gyur. I have included the Tohoku numbers from the sDe-dge edition of the Tibetan canon (Toh.), and also the numbers from the Peking edition (P.)

Toh. 1348, P.2065 *Śrī-paramārthaseva* by *Padma dkar-po* (*Puṇḍarīka*), 20 fols., transl. by *Somanātha*.

Toh. 1349, P.2066. *Śrīmad-vimalaprabhā-tantrāvatāraṇivādācala-hṛdayāloka*, 52 fols., transl. by *bLo-gros brtan-pa*.

Toh. 1350, P.2067. *Padmini-nāma-pañjikā* by *Kālacakramahāpāda*, 148 fols., transl. by *Somanātha*.

Toh. 1351, P.2068. *Paramārthasaṃgraha-nāma-sekoddeśa-ṭīkā* by *Nāropa*, 69 fols., transl. by *Dharmadhara* and *Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan*.

Toh. 1352, P.2069. *Sekoddeśaṭippaṇī* by *Sādhuputra Śrīdharanandana*, 14 fols., transl. by *Vanaratna* and *gZhon-nu dpal*.

Toh. 1353, P.2070. *Sekoddeśaṭīkā-nāma* by *Dus-kyi 'khor-lo*, 27 fols., transl. by *Somanātha* and *'Bro Shes-rab grags*.

Toh. 1354, P.2071. *Sekoddeśapañjikā*, 13 fols., transl. by *Bu-ston*.

Toh. 1355, P.2072. *Śrī-Kālacakratantrarājasekaprakriyā-vṛtti* by *Dārīka*, 31 fols., transl. by *Shes-rab grags*.

Toh. 1356, P.2073. *Śrī-Kālacakracaturāṅgasādhana-nāma* by *Dus-shabs-pa*, 10 fols., translators *Viśvaśrī*, and *Gyi-jo Zla-ba'i 'od-zer*.

Toh. 1357, P.2074. *Śrīmad-nakṣatramāṇḍala-sādhana-ekādaśāṅga-nāma* by *Kālacakrapāda*, 15 fols., transl. by *Somanātha* and *Shes-rab grags*.

Toh. 1358, P.2075. *Śrī-Kālacakra-sādhana-nāma* by *Sādhuputra*, 24 fols., transl. by *Vāgiśvaragupta* and *Chos-rab*.

Toh. 1359, P.2076. *Śrī-Kālacakra-maṇḍala-vidhi*, by *Sādhuputra*, 38 fols., transl. by *Vāgiśvaragupta* and *Chos-rab*.

Toh. 1360, P.2077. *Śrī-Kālacakra-maṇḍala-vidhi* by *Kālapāda*, 10 fols., transl. by *Vaniśrī* and *Chings Yon-tan 'bar*.

- Toh. 1361, P.2078. *Śrī-Kālacakra-sahaja-sādhana* by *Kālapāda*, 2 fols., transl. by *Bud-dhaśrījñāna* and *Byams-pa*'i *dpal*.
- Toh. 1362, P.2079. *Śrī-Kālacakra-kṣaṇa-sahaja-sādhana-nāma* by *Lalitavajra*, 2 fols., transl. by *Vāgīśvara* and *Rva Chos-rab*.
- Toh. 1363. *Śrī-Kālacakra-sādhana-yogapradīpa-nāma* by *Maitrī*, 15 fols., transl. by *Dharmapālabhadra* and *Sha-lu lo-tsa-ba*.
- Toh. 1364, P.2080. *Ṣaḍaṅgayoga-nāma* by *Vajrapāṇi*, 4 fols., transl. by *Subhūtiśānti* and *Ting-nge-'dzin bzang-po*.
- Toh. 1365, P.2081. *Śrī-kālacakra-garbhālaṃkāra-sādhana-nāma* by *Bram-ze bSod-snyoms-pa* (*Pinḍo*), 10 fols., transl. by *Bhadrabodhi* and *Gyi-jo Zla-ba*'i 'od-zer.
- Toh. 1366, P.2082. *Kālacakropadeśa* by *Kālacakramahāpāda*, 2 fols., transl. by *Buddhākarabhadra* and *Gyi-jo Zla-ba*'i 'od-zer.
- Toh. 1367, P.2083. *Ṣaḍaṅgayoga-nāma* by *Anupamarakṣita*, 10 fols., transl. by *Vibhūticandra* and *Mi-mnyam bzang-po*.
- Toh. 1368, P.2084. *Ṣaḍaṅgayoga-tīkā* by *Nyi-ma*'i *dpal ye-shes* (*Raviśrījñāna*), 9 fols., transl. by *Vibhūticandra*.
- Toh. 1369, P.2085. *Śrī-kālacakropadeśa-sūryacandra-sādhana-nāma*, 5 fols., transl. by *Vibhūticandra*.
- Toh. 1370, P.2086. *Jñānacakṣu-sādhana-nāma* by *Kālapāda*, 2 fols., transl. by *Vibhūticandra*.
- Toh. 1371, P.2087. *Triyogahrdaya-prakāśa-nāma* by 'Jam-dpal rgyal-po grags (*Mañjuśrīrājayaśas*), 2 fols., transl. by *Somanātha* and 'Bro Shes-rab-grags.
- Toh. 1372, P.2088. *Ṣaḍaṅga-yogopadeśa* by *Kālacakrapāda*, 3 fols., transl. by *Somanātha* and 'Bro Shes-rab-grags.
- Toh. 1373, P.2089. *Śrī-kālacakropadeśa-ṣaḍaṅgayoga-tantra-pañjikā-nāma* by *Avadhūti-pa*, 24 fols., transl. by *Candrakīrti*.
- Toh. 1374, P.2090. *Ṣaḍaṅgayogopadeśa* by *Cilupa*, 1 fol., transl. by *Samantaśrī* and *Rva Chos-rab*.
- Toh. 1375, P.2091. *Yogaṣaḍaṅga-nāma* by *Śābarīśvara*, 2 fols., transl. by *Vibhūticandra*.
- Toh. 1376, P.2092. *Yogamālā* by *rTsa-mi Sangs-rgyas grags-pa*, 2 fols., transl. by *Shes-rab dpal*.
- Toh. 1377, P.2093. *Antarmañjarī-nāma* by *Vibhūticandra*, 12 fols., transl. by *Vibhūticandra*.
- Toh. 1378. *Hṛdaya-vajrapāda-nāma* by *Śabari-pa*, 1 fol., transl. by *Vanaratna* and *bSod-nams rgya-mtsho*.
- Toh. 1379, P.2094. *Kālacakra-vajrayāna-mūlāpatti* by *Bodhisattva*. 2 fols.
- Toh. 1380, P.2095. *Śrī-kālacakroddāna* by *Abhayākara*, 2 fols., transl. by *Jo-bo Ri-pa* (*Parvata*) and *Khe'u-gad 'Khor-lo grags*.
- Toh. 1381, P.2096. *Śrī-kālacakra-daṇḍaka-stuti-nāma* by *Sādhukīrti*, 4 fols., transl. by *Vinayaśrimitra* and *Tshul-khrims seng-ge*.
- Toh. 1382, P.2097. *Aṣṭāṣṭakena-catuhṣaṣṭiyoginī-balividhi-nāma*, 4 fols., transl. by *Kīrticandra* and *Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan*.
- Toh. 1383, P.2098. *Kālacakrāvātāra-nāma* by *Abhayākara Gupta*, 8 fols., transl. by *Abhayākara Gupta* and *Ding-ri Chos-grags*.
- Toh. 1384, P.2099. *Śrī-kālacakra-gaṇanopadeśa-nāma* by *Śākyaśrībhadra*, 2 fols.

- Toh. 1385, P.2100. *Sūryacandragrahaṇa-gaṇita* by Śākyaśrībhaddra, 1 fol.
- Toh. 1386, P.2101. *Pañcagraha-prthaggaṇanopadeśa-nāma* by Śākyaśrībhaddra, 3 fols.
- Toh. 1387, P.2102. *Ṣaḍaṅgayoga* by Anupamarakṣita, 18 fols., transl. by Vibhūticandra and Mi-mnyam bzang-po.
- Toh. 1388, P.2103. *Guṇabhāraṇī-nāma-ṣaḍaṅgayoga-ṭippanī* by Nyi-ma'i dpal ye-shes (Raviśrījñāna), 25 fols., transl. by Vibhūticandra and bLo-gros brtan-pa.
- Toh. 1389, P.2104. *Sekoddeśa-ṭippanī* by rNam-par-rgyal-ba dbang-po, 20 fols., transl. by dPang bLo-gros brtan-pa.
- Toh. 1390, P.2106. *Vajrapadagarbha-saṃgraha-nāma* by Śākyaśrī, 4 fols., transl. Śākyaśrī and dPyal Chos-kyi bzang-po. This text is also known as *Ṣaḍaṅgayogopadeśa*.⁹⁶⁶
- Toh. 1391, P.2107. *Vajrapadagarbha-saṃgraha-nāma-pañjikā* by Śākyaśrī, 3 fols., transl. by Śākyaśrī and dPyal Chos-kyi bzang-po. This is an autocommentary to 1390.
- Toh. 1392, P.2108. *Śrī-kālacakra-supraṭiṣṭhā-vidhi* by Kālacakrapāda, 5 fols., transl. by Vāgīśvara and Rva Chos-rab.
- Toh. 1393, P.2109. *Śrī-kālacakra-gaṇacakra-vidhi* by Kālacakrapāda, 4 fols., transl. by Vāgīśvara and Rva Chos-rab.
- Toh. 1394, P.2110. *Śrī-Kālacakra-homavidhi* by Kālacakrapāda, 4 fols., transl. by Vāgīśvara and Rva Chos-rab.

⁹⁶⁶ Catalogue of the rNyingma edition. 1982 vol.3:185.

Abbreviations.

AA - *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*.

CAJ – Central Asiatic Journal.

KCT - *Paramādibuddhoddhṛta-Śrī-Kālacakra-nāma-tantra-rāja (the laghutantra)*

Toh.362, 1346. Editions by B. Banerjee 1985 and in the *Vimalaprabhā* editions 1986, 1994 and 1994.

VP - *Vimalaprabhā-ṭīkā* Toh. 1347

VP vol.I, VP vol.II and VP vol.III - The corresponding Sanskrit editions of the *Vimalaprabhāṭīkā* from 1986, 1994 and 1994.

MNS - *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti* Toh. 361

Nyingma ed. – Nyingma 1982

P. = Otani – The Tibetan Tripitaka 1962

Toh. – The Tohoku Catalogue 1934

* A sign for a word in Sanskrit which is reconstructed from the Tibetan.

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