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Signature
Typed name Leonard van der Kuip, Chair

Signature
Typed name Jack Engler

Signature
Typed name Masatoshi Nagatomi

Signature
Typed name Nur Salman

Date May 12, 1997

KĀLACAKRA
TEXTUAL AND RITUAL PERSPECTIVES

A thesis presented
by
Jensine Andresen
to
The Committee on the Study of Religion

in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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in the subject of
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ABSTRACT

Kālacakra, "The Wheel of Time" -- my dissertation investigates this tantric system of multivalent text and elaborate ritual. Utilizing an interdisciplinary methodology, I describe Kālacakra's manifestations in India, Tibet and the West, focusing on social, psychological, economic and political factors that have propelled this tradition forward. Fundamentally interested in patterns of cultural and religious transmission, I examine the manner in which potent themes inherent to both textual and ritual Kālacakra -- threats of apocalypse; projections of utopia; pronouncements of curse; promises of fulfillment; and the aesthetic resonance of melothesia -- have made this tradition adaptable to changing historical and cultural contexts.

Chapter I discusses role of the Dalai Lama in using the Kālacakra Empowerment as a vehicle for the globalization of Tibetan Buddhism and as a catalyst for world peace. Focused on method, Chapter II reviews recent work in the field of Translation Studies; theoretically, I combine Lawrence Venuti's discussion of "foreignizing" and "domesticating" translation strategies with Buddhist Studies' reconstructive scholarship. Chapter III surveys Kālacakra's textual history. Here I argue that the *Śrī Kālacakra* was authored in Bengal and that Khotan served as the prototype for the "Sambhala" mentioned in Kālacakra texts. Chapter IV, based upon my preliminary translation of the third chapter of the *Śrī Kālacakra*, highlights the manner in which the Tibetans reinterpreted the *Śrī Kālacakra* in order to fit their own ritual and cultural parameters; this local point dovetails with my central thesis, that Kālacakra's elasticity and resilience reflects its syncretism and inclusiveness.

Chapter V provides preliminary notes on Kālacakra's history in Tibet, whereas Chapter VI describes contemporary Kālacakra enactment. As the Kālacakra tradition accommodates to One World, the role of women in the tradition is changing significantly, an issue discussed in Chapter VII. In the Postscript, Kālacakra's Cyber presence is considered, e.g., a video rendition of the empowerment served as one of ethnographic medium used in this project. Kālacakra's postmodern manifestations are harbingers of a media-intensive slippage much more fundamental than that between "text" and "ritual;" now its Fifth Element promises to replace community-based and live "sacred" encounters with videotaped initiations and Cyber gurus. Who knows.

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CHAPTER I: A GLOBAL, ARCHETYPAL KĀLACAKRA

Pluralistic Rituals

In the last fifty years, the Kālacakra Empowerment¹ has distinguished itself as the most high-profile ritual enactment in the Buddhist world. Indeed, as enactment of the Kālacakra Empowerment is becoming increasingly theatricalized during this time, the very signifier "ritual" is becoming increasingly obsolete.² The event is comprised of three days of Buddhist teachings and three additional days of initiation rites, during which time participants chant, socialize, view the officiant lama, and visualize the Kālacakra *maṇḍala* with its central deities, Kālacakra and Viśvamātā.

In this dissertation, I propose that Kālacakra's synthetic character accounts for this tradition's historical and cultural resiliency. Particular elements of the Kālacakra tradition have been emphasized in different places at different times in accordance with the needs and agendas of local populations. According to Tibetan historiography, the Buddha taught Kālacakra in India;³ here, I present evidence supporting the hypothesis that the earliest Kālacakra texts were authored in Bengal during the early eleventh century and that Khotan was the model for Sambhala, the supposed repository for Kālacakra texts during the years after Buddha's redaction to Sucandra. Nevertheless, the malleability and elasticity of the Kālacakra amalgam has resulted in its exceptional textual

¹ The word "Kālacakra" is a Sanskrit term that is translated into Tibetan as "dus kyi 'khor lo" and into English as "the Wheel of Time." According to Carelli (1941: 21-23), in a text called the *Sekoddeśaṭkā*, the Indian scholar Naḍapāda (Nāropā) comments extensively on the meaning of the Sanskrit syllables that comprise the term "Kālacakra." According to Newman (1987a: 1-2), in the eleventh-century *Vimalaprabhāṭkā*, the term "Kālacakra" refers to a cycle or revolution of time. It is also said to designate a non-dual state of mind characterized by unchanging bliss and the realization that all phenomena are "empty" — phenomena lack intrinsic existence and are said to be ontologically present only inasmuch as they are connected together in a network of "dependent origination."

² Schechner (1985; 1988a; 1988b; 1990); Tambiah (1985); Turner (1982a; 1981b; 1982c; 1984)

³ For more on the general history of Buddhism, see Bechert (1984); Hirakawa (1990); L. Joshi (1977); Lamotte (1974; 1988); Lopez (1977); Nakamura (1987); and Ray (1994).

and ritual adaptability.

When applied to Kālacakra, textual-translation and ritual-observation techniques highlight the blurred boundaries between text and ritual, primarily the slippage of both categories in the twentieth-century, postmodern and electrified milieu. Kālacakra also presents blurred boundaries with respect to patterns of gender-participation. For the first thousand years of this tradition's history, textual and ritual participation were the exclusive domain of men. In the past twenty years, however, women have increased their participation in various aspects of this tradition.

Common patterns characterize the contemporary globalization of Tibetan Buddhism and the last millennium's Tibetanization of Indian Buddhism. Monasteries are being founded in the West, disciples congregate around roving tantric Buddhist teachers, large-scale empowerments are being conferred, and Buddhist art is being exhibited for the aesthetic enjoyment of the general population.⁴ In the ritual arena, the Kālacakra Empowerment has served as a vehicle for the dissemination of Buddhism throughout the world. In Asia, this empowerment has been performed in both India and Mongolia, while conferrals of the Kālacakra Empowerment have become regular occurrences in major cities in the United States, Europe and Australia. Although his empowerments draw the largest crowds, the Dalai Lama is not the only contemporary

⁴ In the United States, Namgyal Tibetan Buddhist monastery was founded in Ithaca, New York in May of 1992. Tibetan tantric Buddhist teachers have also attracted large bands of Western followers. Chögyam Trungpa founded the Shambhala "Tail of the Tiger" center in Barre, Vermont in 1970. This center was renamed Karma Choeling in 1974 by the His Holiness the Sixteenth Karmapa. With Alan Ginsberg in 1974, Chögyam Trungpa founded the Naropa Institute in Boulder, Colorado, which now enrolls approximately eight hundred students, about thirty percent graduate and seventy percent undergraduate. The Institute is accredited and grants B.A. in Religious Studies and M.A. in Buddhist Studies degrees. In addition, Sögyal Rinpoche founded the Rigpa Foundation, which is now headquartered in Watsonville, California. In addition, major exhibits of Tibetan Buddhist art now grace the Newark Museum in New Jersey, the Jacques Marchais Museum on Long Island, and the San Francisco Art Museum.

Tibetan Buddhist teacher to confer the Kālacakra Empowerment in the West. Another Tibetan teacher, Kalu Rin po che of the Bka' brgyud lineage, also conferred the Kālacakra Empowerment. In addition, Penor Rin po che, a Rnying ma lama, conferred the Kālacakra Empowerment in Nova Scotia during the summer of 1995.

Although today the Kālacakra Empowerment is catalyzing the spread of Tibetan Buddhism through the world, the present Dalai Lama's frequent conferrals of the Kālacakra Empowerment is a somewhat unique policy among Dalai Lamas. According to biographical sources, Bskal bzang rgya mtsho (1708-1757), the Seventh Dalai Lama, was the first Dalai Lama to confer the Kālacakra Empowerment. 'Jam dpal rgya mtsho (1758-1804), the Eighth Dalai Lama, also conferred the Kālacakra Empowerment, but there then exists a lacuna until the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, Thub bstan rgya mtsho (1876-1933), bestowed the Kālacakra Empowerment in the early twentieth century. Nevertheless, Bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho, the current, Fourteenth Dalai Lama, has chosen to emphasize Kālacakra's role in the globalization of Tibetan Buddhism.

The present Dalai Lama requested Kālacakra oral lineage instructions from Kirti Mtshan zhabs rin po che, the Kālacakra lineage holder within the Dge lugs pa tradition. Being too humble to accept the role of teacher *vis-à-vis* the Dalai Lama, the latter conferred the Kālacakra oral lineage instructions on the Dge lugs pa scholar Gser khong Rin po che, who then conferred them on the Dalai Lama. Gser khong Rin po che was considered an appropriate conduit because he "sees His Holiness directly as the four-armed Avalokiteśvara" without having to visualize this image-transfer. In the United States, Gser khong Rin po che led a Kālacakra retreat at Deer Park, near Madison, Wisconsin, and he also helped the Dalai Lama comment upon the significance and meaning of the Kālacakra tradition during the latter's conferral of the Kālacakra Empowerment at Deer Park in 1981. Because Gser khong Rin po che had a vision of

the Dalai Lama at Da bu (Tabo) Monastery in Spiti, Northern India, His Holiness conferred the Kālacakra Empowerment there in 1981.⁵

Large-scale conferrals of the Kālacakra Empowerment appear to contradict traditional tantric norms. Beginning with the earliest dissemination of Highest Yoga Tantras from India into Tibet in the late eighth and early ninth centuries, empowerment has been granted selectively based on the qualifications of potential students. In addition, empowerments were traditionally restricted due to the believed power of tantric teachings. Although the Kālacakra Empowerment does function to prepare a small number of individuals for tantric practice, it also is conferred upon large groups of people, the vast majority of whom are not prepared to perform actual tantric practices. Paradoxically, then, although Kālacakra is considered by many Tibetans to be the pinnacle of Highest Yoga Tantra, this is the only Highest Yoga Tantra empowerment that is bestowed upon the general public.

Although injunctions have existed historically in the Indo-Tibetan Buddhist tradition against making the details of tantra widely known, the present Dalai Lama justifies his own twenty-three conferrals⁶ of the Kālacakra Empowerment by citing

⁵ Samten (1996)

⁶ Despite the extensive meditative preparations required, the present Dalai Lama has conferred of the Kālacakra Empowerment in: 1) Norbulingka, Lhasa, Tibet (May, 1954); 2) Norbulingka, Lhasa, Tibet (April, 1956); 3) Thakchen Choeling, Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh, India (March, 1970); 4) Bylakuppe, Karnataka, India (May, 1971); 5) Bodh Gaya, Bihar, India (December, 1974); 6) Leh, Ladakh, Jammu & Kashmir India (September, 1976); 7) Madison, Wisconsin (July, 1981); 8) Dhirang, Bomdila, Arunachal Pradesh, India (April, 1983); 9) Tabo Monastery, Spiti, Himachal Pradesh India (August, 1983); 10) Rikon, Switzerland (July, 1985); 11) Bodh Gaya, Bihar, India (December, 1985); 12) Pipethang, Zaskar, Jammu & Kashmir, Ladakh (July, 1988); 13) Santa Monica, California (July, 1989); 14) Sarnath, Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh, India (December, 1990); 15) New York City (October, 1991); 16) Peo, Kinnaur District, Himachal Pradesh (August, 1992); 17) Gangtok, Sikkim (April, 1993); 18) Barcelona, Spain (December, 1994); 19) Mundgod, Southern India (January, 1995); 20) Ulan Bator, Mongolia (August, 1995); 21) Tabo Monastery, Spiti, Himachal Pradesh, India (June, 1996); 22) Sydney, Australia (September, 1996); and 23) Saliguri, West Bengal, India (December, 1996). Namgyal (1995) notes that His Holiness often chooses December 25 as a date for the empowerment because it marks the anniversary of the passing (December 25, 1984) of His Holiness' Senior Tutor, Thubten Lungtok Namgyal Thinley. The Venerable Thubten Lungtok composed a six-limbed yoga manual for Kālacakra.

Kālacakra's unique role *vis-à-vis* Sambhala.⁷ Because the kings of Sambhala taught Kālacakra to their subjects, Tibetans believe that this system was widely disseminated, and thus the social significance of this tradition is used as historical justification for the mass conferral of its empowerment.

In 1953, at the age of eighteen, the Dalai Lama received the Kālacakra Empowerment himself; only one year later, he conferred his first Kālacakra Empowerment in Lhasa, Tibet.⁸ The present Dalai Lama has given the Kālacakra Empowerment only twice in Tibet, in Lhasa in May of 1954 and in April of 1956. After his exile, he began conferring the ritual in India, and in January of 1974, numerous exiled Tibetans, Sikkimese, Ladakhis, Indians, Bhutanese, Nepalese, Burmese, Sri Lankins, Japanese, and Westerners gathered in Bodh Gayā, India to participate in the Dalai Lama's conferral of the Kālacakra Empowerment there. A decade later, in December of 1985, a reported three hundred thousand people congregated in Bodh Gayā, India as the Dalai Lama again bestowed the Kālacakra Empowerment. Approximately ten thousand Tibetan pilgrims undertook great personal and financial sacrifice to make the difficult and dangerous journey from Tibet to Bodh Gayā. In 1995, thousands again gathered in Mungdod, Southern India as the Dalai Lama again imparted the Kālacakra Empowerment, and more recently, to mark the one ythousand-year anniversary of the oldest monastery in India's Spiti Valley, the Dalai Lama bestowed the Kālacakra Empowerment to a gathering of some one hundred thousand people at the Tabo Monastery in

For more on the Kālacakra Empowerment, see "Barcelona" (1994); Berzin (unpublished manuscript); Chakaravarthi (1993); Cabezón (1988); Dorjee (1985); T. Gyatso (1991b); "His Holiness" (1994); "Kalachakra" (1993; 1994; 1994; 1995); Kalu Rinpoche (1991); and Riviere (1985).

⁷ As Grönbold (1991: 390-391) notes, in the Sanskrit texts of the Kālacakra tradition, and in the Hindu *Sambhala-māhātmya* (New Delhi, 1985), this kingdom is usually referred to as "Sambhala." In contrast, Tibetan texts refer to the kingdom as "Śambhala," replacing the "S" with an "Ś" because it agreed with their own etymological explanation. Further, the Tibetans interpret the first syllable as the indeclinable "śam" and thus translate "samvara" as "bde mchog" and "Sambhala" as "bde 'byung."

⁸ T. Gyatso (1990: 80)

Himachal Pradesh in June of 1996.

Like India, Mongolia has also been an important venue for the Kālacakra Empowerment. After lengthy political negotiations with the Mongolian government, the Dalai Lama was finally permitted to bestow the Kālacakra Empowerment in front of the Kālacakra temple at Ganden Hliid Monastery in Ulan Batar in August of 1995, one year after the Mongolian government had canceled the event. Kālacakra's connection with Mongolia began with the interest of the Sa skya lamas in tantra, especially Kālacakra, during the late medieval period. Historically, the Sa skyas maintained a close connection with various Mongolian rulers, and in the thirteenth century, certain Sa skya monks residing at the Mongol court performed rites and initiations associated with Kālacakra. In addition, U rgyan pa Rin chen dpal (1230-1307) requested a manuscript of the *Śrī Kālacakra*, and blocks of this text were carved *circa* 1300.⁹ The Fourth Dalai Lama himself was Mongolian, and the Thirteenth Dalai Lama spent considerable time in Mongolia, possibly conferring the Kālacakra Empowerment there. Today, Kālacakra's popularity in Mongolia is arguably as strong as it was in Tibet before 1959, and approximately twenty thousand Mongols gathered at Ganden Hliid monastery to celebrate the first public enactment of a Buddhist ritual in their country since Communism. The last conferral of the Kālacakra Empowerment in Mongolia occurred in 1936, just before the purges, so the recent Empowerment there in 1995 was cathartic for Mongolian Buddhists long-restricted in the public display of their religious rituals.¹⁰

An easy and relaxed atmosphere permeates conferrals of the Kālacakra Empowerment in Asia, and the audience eases into the four-day ritual marathon quite

⁹ van der Kuijp (in preparation)

¹⁰ Cherniack (1996; 1997)

gracefully. Families sit together on the ground, children run about, and picnics are common, with people talking, laughing and stretching back on their elbows. In India they eat *tsampa*, while in Mongolia mutton is the staple -- mutton with noodles, mutton with pickled vegetables, boiled mutton, tea with mutton, and araq to wash down the mutton.¹¹ By way of contrast, a pious, puritanical atmosphere often hangs over North American renditions of the Kālacakra Empowerment. Though fidgety, most Westerners are resigned to the lengthy ritual performance that contrasts dramatically with a one-, two- or three-hour Catholic Mass, Protestant Communion service, or visit to the synagogue. No, this Tibetan chanting and ceremonial text-moving goes from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. on three consecutive days, followed by a "short," fourth day from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. After the scenery wears off, those very same Westerners who now forego traditional Western worship services, often because they are perceived to include too much "empty ritual," sit glued to their seats, immaculately quiet, not daring to leave. During an especially long series of chants, one woman seated next to me at the Madison Square Garden empowerment confided that she had "donated" five thousand dollars for her seat; at that price, I would have thought twice before getting a cup of coffee, too!

Central to the Asianization of Tibetan Buddhism, the Kālacakra Empowerment also has promoted the Westernization of Tibetan Buddhism. In 1981, the Dalai Lama bestowed the first Western rendition of the Kālacakra Empowerment in Madison, Wisconsin. Eight years later in 1989, a pluralistic group¹² of approximately two thousand Americans, Canadians, Europeans, and Tibetans attended the Dalai Lama's conferral of the Kālacakra Empowerment in Santa Monica, California.¹³ And in 1991, a special

¹¹ Cherniack (1996)

¹² As Tambiah (1985: 125) notes, any single performance of a ritual is contextualized by the social characteristics and circumstances of its actors.

¹³ Of the myriad rituals that color the Tibetan Buddhist world, the Kālacakra Empowerment catalyzes the largest response. In contrast to the enormous popularity of Kālacakra, less than five hundred people con-

New York City version of the Kālacakra Empowerment was held at Madison Square Garden in conjunction with the festivities that surrounded "The Year of Tibet." Approximately four thousand people attended this gathering, which was characterized by the surreal juxtaposition of colorful Tibetan scenery balanced above the unpredictable vibrations of the New York City subway system. Just three years later in 1994, the Dalai Lama bestowed a "continental" Kālacakra to a gathering in Barcelona, Spain, and more recently in September of 1996, the Dalai Lama conferred the Kālacakra Empowerment to approximately two thousand people in Sydney, Australia.

Sometimes catalyzed by the "natives,"¹⁴ sometimes catalyzed by "foreign missionaries,"¹⁵ and sometimes associated with permanent Tibetan transplants to the United States,¹⁶ the Kālacakra Empowerment in the United States belies Nattier's¹⁷ typological distinctions between categories of "Elite Buddhism: Transmission via Import," "Evangelical Buddhism: Transmission via Export," and "Ethnic Buddhism: Transmission via Baggage." Its pluralistic composition of participants also belies categorical demarcations between "white Buddhism" and "Asian Buddhism" in North America. For example Lobsang Samten, the ex-Namgyal monk who supervised the construction of some fifty sand *maṇḍalas* in the United States and now the director of a thriving Tibetan Buddhist center in Philadelphia, represents both of these categories.

Cosmopolitan audience composition illustrates the Kālacakra Empowerment's

gregated in 1989 for the Dalai Lama's conferral "Great Completion" (Tib. *rdzogs chen*) teachings in Santa Monica.

¹⁴ For example, Richard Gere requested that the Dalai Lama to confer the Kālacakra Empowerment at Madison Square Gardens in 1991.

¹⁵ Snow Lion Publications (1997) includes many advertisements for lamas conferring Kālacakra Empowerments in the United States.

¹⁶ Many of the Tibetan participants in American renditions of the Kālacakra Empowerment have moved to the United States and attained citizenship through the Congressional Tibetan Resettlement Project.

¹⁷ Nattier (1995: 42-49)

role as the often wealthy Westerner's alternative to the Grateful Dead. Observing the 1995 Kālacakra Empowerment in Mongolia, David Cherniack, a documentary filmmaker and a practicing Buddhist, contrasted the mood of "serious practitioners (mostly monks and Westerners) and the general public, "for whom the event took on the characteristics of a faith healing":¹⁸

The serious Western students probably numbered around 50, and most of them were Kālacakra practitioners. Khyongla's students made up almost the entire North American contingent -- 8 or 9 of us. There were a few from England, two French women, a large group of Italians, and a few scattered from elsewhere. Then there were about another 50 who seemed mostly tourists attracted by the spectacle.

The pluralistic and cosmopolitan transformation of ritual participants in the Kālacakra Empowerment both is motivated by and reflects a grim concatenation of political, economic and social realities. Politically, the Kālacakra Empowerment has become a venue for education on human rights abuses in Tibet; economically, Western patronage of Kālacakra provides an important source of financial support for exiled Tibetans; and socially, global enactments of the Kālacakra Empowerment are vehicles of Buddhist outreach -- mounts upon which the "winds" of Tibetan religio-culture are riding into the twenty-first century.

The present Dalai Lama cites Kālacakra's perceived role in promoting world peace as a justification for his reinterpretation of injunctions pertaining to tantra's secrecy. Many Tibetans believe that the Buddha prophesied that Kālacakra would have special significance for this particular generation. The Dalai Lama believes that his conferrals of the Kālacakra Empowerment assists in the spread of world peace during these "degenerate" times,¹⁹ and this conviction has caused him to bestow this initiation

¹⁸ Cherniack (1996)

¹⁹ According to Buddhist cosmology as articulated in the third chapter of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, during the first age of gold, a thousand Buddhas appeared, Śākyamuni Buddha being the fourth in this succession. Following the age of gold, however, there began a period of decline through the silver, copper, and now, the iron ages. During the age of gold, people were meritorious, and disease and sickness were rare, but through a process of degeneration, people began to commit non-

more frequently during the last decade.²⁰ Kālacakra's eschatology, especially its discussion of Sambhala's role in a future Armageddon and revival of Buddhism, is widely accepted and considered important during the present age.²¹

On the connection between Kālacakra and world peace, the Dalai Lama provides the following comments:²²

This is one of the most important initiations in the Tantric tradition, with special significance for world peace. And, unlike other Tantric rites, it is given before large public audiences. ... Nevertheless, even in those places where Buddhism is quite new, I have, for the benefit of those wishing to participate, performed ceremonies on a few occasions. For example, I have given the *Kālacakra* initiation in more than one country outside India – my motive for doing so being not only to give some insight into the Tibetan way of life and thinking, but also to make an effort, on an inner level, in favor of world peace.

The theme of Kālacakra's connection to world peace is echoed in a brochure describing the Kālacakra empowerment held in Barcelona in December of 1994:²³

Although the *Kālacakra Tantra* is meant for practitioners of the highest faculty, it also has a special connection with all the people of this planet. For that reason, the initiation is traditionally given openly, giving ordinary people the opportunity to establish a karmic link with Kālacakra. His Holiness has explained that the initiation is a powerful force for the realization of world peace.

In addition to its perceived role in promoting world peace, the Kālacakra Empowerment is conferred by the present Dalai Lama to provide a forum in which Westerners may learn about Buddhism. Empowerments conferred in the West generally are preceded by three days of basic Buddhist teachings, while more extensive

virtuous deeds. This process was attenuated by the coming of a Buddha who brought renewal through religious teachings. See de La Vallée Poussin (1988).

²⁰ As seen in Bell (1988: 370-374), this form of justification is also apparent in the example of the fifth-century Taoist rituals performed by Master Lu during a period of political and social struggle between northern Taoism and southern mediumistic cults. Master Lu appealed to traditional frameworks for defining a socioreligious crisis, the first of which invoked a sweeping succession of cosmological eras and provided the context for his interpretation of public events.

²¹ Jackson (1985b: 40)

²² T. Gyatso (1990: 80,204)

²³ "Kalachakra for World Peace" (1994)

teachings by lamas representing the four orders of Tibetan Buddhism were given before the Kālacakra Empowerment in New York City in 1991.

According to Namgyal Monastery gossip, the current Dalai Lama combed the journals and other writings of previous Dalai Lamas to accumulate evidence to support his conviction that a strong connection has existed historically between the Dalai Lamas and Kālacakra. According to monastic heresy, this information helped the Dalai Lama prevail in a dispute with his junior tutor over the direction of his studies and featured in the Dalai Lama's decision to highlight Kālacakra's role in the globalization of Buddhism. The Dalai Lama recounts that he was inspired by a dream in which the goddess Tārā encouraged him to spread the teachings of Kālacakra widely, and this dream caused His Holiness to emphasize the Kālacakra Empowerment's role in the globalization of Tibetan Buddhism.

Archetypal Motivators

Diverse reasons motivate people to participate in the Kālacakra Empowerment. Some participants in the Kālacakra Empowerment hope to receive blessings and spiritual instruction from the Dalai Lama, while others use the ceremony to prepare for tantric practice. Many Tibetans believe that favorable circumstances such as a future auspicious rebirth in Sambhala will accrue to those who attend the Kālacakra Empowerment. Furthermore, it is commonly believed that those who attend the same Kālacakra Empowerment ceremony are spiritually connected to one another after the ceremony is over, either as common recipients of a tantric empowerment from the same spiritual guru or *via* the *sādhana* practice of a tantric deity they share in common. Others believe that they accumulate merit by listening to the description of the Kālacakra *maṇḍala* and its deities and by gazing upon this *maṇḍala*.²⁴

What makes Kālacakra so compelling, and why do many Tibetan Buddhists consider the Kālacakra Empowerment to be the most auspicious ritual they can attend during the course of their entire lives? Beginning with its early incarnations in eleventh-century India and late-medieval Tibet, and stretching to present electronic incarnations in the West, dramatically-different sociocultural manifestations of the Kālacakra tradition arise like a ceaseless, unbroken continuity of consciousness threading its way endlessly through one incarnation after another.²⁵ Although the Kālacakra tradition is neither unified nor static, its manifestations are flagged with archetypal markers that have rendered its dissemination unusually successful.

Kālacakra's ability to activate archetypal themes in human consciousness -- particularly potent archetypal "memes"²⁶ of utopia, apocalypse, curse, melothesia and fulfillment -- contributes to its transnational popularity and significance, both historically and today. Furthermore, Kālacakra employs an historically-successful transport system for these themes -- influential and dominant men. Memetically speaking, Kālacakra's archetypal motifs have become affixed to economically- and socially-powerful "carriers," resulting in Kālacakra's global popularity today.

Regarding the archetypal theme of "utopia," the origin story for Kālacakra invokes the Kingdom of Sambhala, a renowned dominion with a vivid history in

²⁴ Blofeld (1987a: 46)

²⁵ Writing on the Western reception of Tibetan Buddhism, Bishop (1993: 54-55) describes *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, a saga in which the liberative potential of the "clear light" (Tib. 'od gsal) is pitted against human fears, the individual's journey through rebirth, the "in-between" (Tib. bar do), and yet another rebirth. For more on the Westernization of Tibetan Buddhism, see Batchelor (1994); Bernstein (1997); Bishop (1989; 1993); Carrington (1997); Feigon (1996); and Klieger (1989).

²⁶ Dawkins (1989) uses the term "meme" to designate a unit of socio-cultural transmission that functions analogously to the "gene" in the realm of biological transmission. Brodie (1996) employs the concept of "memetic transmission" to discuss the propagation and dissemination of ideas in general.

Indian, Tibetan and Western consciousness. The utopian kingdom of Sambhala has been mythologized as an earthly paradise, a sanctuary hidden from the view of all but the most spiritually adept. Magic characterizes the Kālacakra-Sambhala connection, with parallel universes, sacred time, and prophetic vision dancing like sugar plum faeries before one's eyes:²⁷

One of the reasons His Holiness the Dalai Lama gives the Kalachakra initiation many times is that in the future the twenty-fifth Propagators will rule throughout the Universe and spread once more its teachings. At that time all those who have received this initiation will be reborn fully prepared to attain Enlightenment through this meditational practice. We are now in the reign of the twenty-first Propagator of Kalachakra. Very soon the era of the twenty-second will begin.

Different Central Asian kingdoms may have stood in for Sambhala at different periods of Indian and Tibetan history. In India, Sambhala was a Buddhist shrine in the north;²⁸ in Tibet, it became the privileged destination of spiritual travelers; and in the West, it became the prototype for the Shangri-la made famous by John Hilton's novel *Lost Horizon*.²⁹ Attaining political prominence, "Shangri-la" became the name for Franklin Roosevelt's hideaway in the hills of Maryland.³⁰ In contrast, the earlier Viṣṇuite tradition of the *Mahābhārata* and various *Purāṇas* describes a modest Sambhala, a village of indeterminate location in which the last incarnation of Viṣṇu will reincarnate as the son of Viṣṇu-Yaśaḥ using the name Kalkin and destroying the

²⁷ Dhargyey (1985b: 13)

²⁸ According to Bernbaum (1980: 2-5), in the earliest texts, Sambhala lies north of Bodhgayā, a Buddhist shrine in northern India – "Hindu mythology looks north of the Himalayas for Meru, the mystical mountain at the center of the world, where Indra, King of the Gods, is supposed to have his jeweled palace." See also Fux (1969).

²⁹ According to Lopez (1994a; 1994b: 39-41), in a type of projective fantasy, Shangri-la becomes in *Lost Horizon* the repository for highly-valued products of European culture such as first editions of great books, priceless works of art, musical scores, etc. – all herded together by a Catholic missionary in order to protect them from an impending world conflagration. And in Frank Capra's film *Lost Horizon*, the bodies of those who dare leave Shangri-la wither and turn to dust. In the West, Sambhala became the prototype for the Shangri-la made famous by John Hilton's novel *Lost Horizon*. Written in 1933, Hilton's novel was based upon the accounts of the 19th-century Catholic missionary Abbé Huc. It portrays Sambhala as a Tibetan monastery hidden behind snow peaks in an idyllic valley where people live for hundreds of years without growing old.

³⁰ Bernbaum (1980: 3); Lopez (forthcoming)

barbarians at the end of the current degenerate age. Like the earlier Viṣṇuite legend, however, Kālacakra's Sambhala is a fantastic kingdom at the center of a vast empire of ninety-six great lands and nine hundred and sixty million villages in which reign the Kalkī kings. The *Śrī Kālacakra* predicts that Raudracakrin, the last Buddhist king and son of Mañjuśrī-Yaśaḥ, will lead the mighty army of Sambhala against the forces of Islam and reestablish Buddhism at the end of the Kaliyuga.³¹ Nevertheless, according to Tibetan histories, many sages in Sambhala found Kālacakra teachings too lengthy and complex, so they left Sambhala to follow another tradition. Drawing them back through the power of meditation, Mañjuśrīkīrti, the eighth king of Sambhala, taught them a condensed and simplified version of Kālacakra, which they adopted.³²

Especially fond of Kālacakra, the inhabitants of Sambhala are said to spend much of their time practicing Buddhism, and though they are credited with advanced scientific developments, it is believed the inhabitants of Sambhala only use their scientific technology for spiritual purposes:³³

Tibetan medical texts believed to have come from the kingdom describe human anatomy and physiology, sophisticated theories and methods of diagnosis, and ways to cure and prevent serious diseases such as smallpox. Other Kalacakra texts from Shambhala have provided Tibetans with their systems of astronomy and astrology, as well as one of the calendars they use today. According to descriptions of the King's palace at Kalapa, special skylights made of lenses act like high-powered telescopes to reveal life on other planets and solar systems. The King also possesses a glass mirror in which he can see scenes of whatever is happening for miles around. Descriptions of "stone horses with the power of wind" suggest Shambhala has the technology to make aircraft of metal. Other texts describe techniques for transmuting one chemical substance into another and ways of harnessing the energy of natural forces such as the wind. Each region of the kingdom is supposed to specialize in a particular field of knowledge, such as psychology or philosophy.

³¹ According to Orofino (1994b: 11), KT II. 48-50 suggests a metaphoric, microcosmic reading of this prophecy in which Kalkin represents right knowledge, his fourfold army the four "immeasurable Virtues," Muhammad the tempting demon, and the murder of the heterodox their conversion.

³² According to Bernbaum (1980: 14), Hoffmann believes this story evidences a significant conflict between a foreign religion and Buddhism in Central Asia.

³³ Bernbaum (1980: 11)

Kālacakra and Sambhala have influenced significantly Tibetan politics, religion and culture. Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa (1357-1419), founder of the Dge lugs pa sect, had a particular interest in Kālacakra and supposedly went to Sambhala in a vision to receive instruction from one of the kings there. The largest and most powerful monastery in Tibet, 'Bras spungs (henceforth Drepung), was named after Dhānyakāṭaka, where Buddha first preached the Kālacakra. The myth of Sambhala was also used for political purposes -- Dorjiew, the Siberian tutor of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, persuaded him and other high Tibetan officials that Russia and Sambhala were the same country. Great Britain and Russian were vying for control over the mountain ranges that separate their empires in a struggle of espionage and intrigue that became known as "The Great Game," and when the Dalai Lama began exchanging gifts with the Czar, the British dispatched the Younghusband Expedition to Lhasa in 1903 to force a trade treaty on Tibet. The Communists also used the myth of Sambhala for political purposes -- belief in Sambhala was strong in Mongolia, and during the struggle for independence from Chinese and White Russian control, Sukhe Bator, the modern national hero credited with founding the Mongolian People's Republic in 1921, composed a marching song for his troops that said "Let us die in this war and be reborn as warriors in of the King of Sambhala."³⁴

Sambhala came to the attention of a larger audience during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Many followers of the Russian Madame Blavatsky believed that "the Lord of the World" resided in Sambhala, an invisible oasis in the Gobi Desert that served as the source of Theosophical doctrines. An interesting connection also existed between Sambhala and the Roerich Pact -- the Russian émigré Nicholas Roerich, inspired by his study of Tibetan mythology and his subsequent belief that Sambhala was the symbol binding the prophecies of all religious traditions, created

³⁴ Bernbaum (1980: 17-18)

and promoted the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace, a treaty endorsed by the representatives of twenty-one nations. This treaty was signed at the White House in the presence of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and it was endorsed by notable personalities such as Albert Einstein. Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace became enthralled with Sambhala, sending Roerich on a government-sponsored expedition to Central Asia. According to *Newsweek*, while officially members of this expedition were searching for drought-resistant grasses, "around the Department of Agriculture the Secretary's assistants freely admitted that he also wanted Roerich to look for the signs of the Second Coming." This implies that Wallace associated prophecies concerning the future King of Sambhala with those heralding the second coming of Christ.³⁵

In addition to providing a utopian vision, Kālacakra literature promises an idealized future to follow a grand apocalypse. This archetypal, apocalyptic theme captivated eleventh-century Indian and Central Asian populations that had experienced a Muslim siege. Armageddon sells tickets, and though sublimated, messianism still flavors current renditions of the Kālacakra Empowerment. Many members of Kālacakra's global audience currently are experiencing disenfranchisement, and participating in the Kālacakra Empowerment ritual is a traditional salve for the wound of dislocation -- simply put, the ceremony "just feels good."³⁶

The Kālacakra tradition itself has strangely apocalyptic karma. Significant efforts to preserve tantric knowledge during the eleventh century inspired the authorship and translation of monumental treatises such as the *Śrī Kālacakra* and the *Vimalaprabhāṅkā* (henceforth *Vimalaprabhā*), and although our media has evolved

³⁵ Bernbaum (1980: 20-21); Pitocco (1977)

³⁶ Hopkins (1996) has made an analogous point regarding the building of ornate monasteries in the midst of squalor in a reconstructed Tibet. Despite the inequities clearly present, contribution to the construction of these facilities evidently makes members of the local population "feel good."

technologically, modern efforts to translate, publish, tape-record and videotape aspects of the Kālacakra tradition have been impelled by an historical echo of medieval political strife, the Communist occupation of Tibet.

In tandem with Kālacakra's promise for an idealized future, a curious "curse" mentality surrounds scholarship on Kālacakra. According to Reigle:³⁷

In his book *Shambhala*, the Russian scholar Nicholas Roerich states, "Csoma de Koros reaped misfortune. And Grünwedel ... became insane; because they touched the great name of Shambhala out of curiosity, without realizing its stupendous significance. It is dangerous to toy with fire" (p. 17). He continues, "How shall we know what knowledge can be revealed without harm, and what -- perhaps the most exalted -- may be divulged but to a few. This is the knowledge of Kalachakra" (p. 26). In these passages, Roerich is referring to Albert Grünwedel, who went insane before completing his translation of the Third Pañchen Lama's *Śambhala'i Lam-yig*. In addition, a Russian scholar, Andrei Ivanovich Vostrikov (1904-1937), was killed by a firing squad after he began work on a Sanskrit edition of the *Śrī Kālacakra*. The German scholar Helmuth von Glasenapp (1891-1963) also died in an accident while planning a Sanskrit edition of the *Śrī Kālacakra*. Although the Indian scholar Raghu Vira (1902-1963) managed to complete his Sanskrit edition of the *Śrī Kālacakra*, he was killed in a car accident in Delhi while it was being printed. In 1986, the Indian scholar Jagannātha Upādhyāya (?? - 1986) also died suddenly after a brief and unexpected illness while his edition of the first two *paṭalas* of the *Vimalaprabhā* was being published.

Were one to survey the fates of scholars in any particular segment of Indo-Tibetan studies, it is possible that a similar list of tragedies would be forthcoming. What is interesting here is the significance imputed to the previous string of events by people associated with Kālacakra Studies. Reigle continues:

People at Univ. Wisc. were so spooked that they did not even want to check this volume [the *Śrī Kālacakra*] out from the library. Thus it was stressed to me that one must receive the Kālacakra initiation before undertaking work on these texts, and that I may not be safe to publish them.

Despite this reported perception of danger, however, John Newman,³⁸ who studied at the University of Wisconsin, has done considerable research on the Kālacakra tradition.

³⁷ Reigle (1995)

³⁸ Newman (1985; 1987a; 1987b; 1988; 1992; 1995; 1996a; 1996b; 1997; forthcoming; in preparation)

"Curse" mentality associated with Kālacakra is evident in the connection between secrecy and danger described by Dhargyey:³⁹

Sale and distribution of this book is restricted. We urgently request that only initiates into Highest Yoga Tantra and preferably into the Kālacakra system itself should read it. This caution is customary to the tradition, but to disregard it can only be detrimental. That said, we hope that the work will be of benefit to those serious students interested in practising this impeccable path to Buddhahood for the welfare of living being.

Eliciting this mixture of pious devotion, scholarly enterprise, psychological hope, and profound fear, and carrying projections of reverence, deep-seated yearnings, consternation and terror, Kālacakra illustrates how something supremely-desired may simultaneously be supremely-feared.

Kālacakra's archetypal melothesia -- the conflation of macrocosm and microcosm in an "ordering grid ... of sufficiently tight mesh"⁴⁰ -- has drawn the attention of many academics in the field of Kālacakra Studies.⁴¹ Macrocosmic-microcosmic homologies have long been popular in the history of the world's religions,⁴² but in Kālacakra, macrocosm *is* microcosm, and microcosm *is* macrocosm, a proposition highlighted by the symmetrical textual arrangement of the *Śrī Kālacakra* itself. While echoing a macro-micro homology of cosmos and family found in other contexts,⁴³ Kālacakra's homology of conventional and ultimate levels of reality expands in two directions -- outward to encompass all planetary bodies, and inward to encompass the most minute levels of subtle-body physiology.⁴⁴ Tantra's valuation of the physical is

³⁹ Dhargyey (1985a: iii)

⁴⁰ Smith (1978: 293)

⁴¹ Newman (1987a; 1996b); Brauen (1992)

⁴² Couliano (1987)

⁴³ Smith (1978: 293)

⁴⁴ In Kālacakra intersect a phenomenological ritual theater and a cognitive theater of mind. Macrocosm and microcosm mutually reflect and mirror one another such that our outer theaters of ritual action originate, play out, and dissolve interdependently with our inner theaters of mind. Empowerment and subsequent practice of Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga (Skt. *ṣaḍāṅga-yoga*; Tib. *sbyor ba yan lag drug pa*, abb. *sbyor drug*) empower disciples to actualize the union of macrocosm and microcosm, and techniques such as *maṇḍala* visualization and deity yoga assist practitioners in merging outer and inner worlds. Using Western neurocognitive terms, Laughlin, Jr. et al. (1992) suggest that these techniques may

apparent here -- as the repository of male and female principles, the body is seen both as the source of spiritual experience and as a microcosm of the entire universe, which likely contributed to tantric-alchemical efforts to render deathless the human body.⁴⁵

In the contemporary Tibetan Buddhist context, the present Dalai Lama describes Kālacakra's melothesia in the terminology of "outer," "inner" and "alternative" aspects of Kālacakra:⁴⁶

Outer *Kalachakra* is comprised of the elements of the universe in which we live. Inner *Kalachakra* is the psychophysical aggregates, the sensory and psychic capacities of the living being, and so forth. Thirdly, alternative *Kalachakra* is the path of the generation and completion stage yogas, the yogic methods that have the power to purify the above two *Kalachakras*. Outer *Kalachakra* is generally explained in the context of this universe. Then when one meditates on the *maṇḍala*, inner *Kalachakra* is seen as the body, faces, hands, feet, and so forth (of *Kalachakra* and Consort), as well as all the surrounding deities of the *maṇḍala*, conceived as symbols of the stars, planets, constellations and so forth. From this we can know that *Kalachakra* has a special connection with all the living beings of this world system.

Outer, inner and alternative Kālacakras are linked to the bases and methods of yogic purification:⁴⁷

Outer and inner *Kalachakras* are the bases to be purified, whereas alternative *Kalachakra* refers to the yogic practices that effect this purification and produce the three purified results. External *Kalachakra* is comprised of the outer world which is the vessel supporting the living beings. Thus it includes the planets of this solar system, as well as the sun, moon, stars, and so on. Inner *Kalachakra* refers to the living beings of the world, such as human beings, who are born from a womb, and who possess the six elements. Here the basis to be purified includes the aggregates, spheres of perception, channels, mystic drops, and so forth of these beings. These are all incorporated into the symbolism of the path. One meditates upon these two *Kalachakras* in order to free them from obscurations.... Alternative *Kalachakra* has three aspects: the methods of purifying the internal bases; those for purifying the external bases; and the methods of proceeding in the generation stage yogas as a means to prepare the mind for the completion stage.

facilitate "portalling" and "symbolic penetration," both of which would assist the practitioner in experiencing a non-dual melothesiastic integration.

⁴⁵ N. Bhattacharyya (1982: 25); White (1996)

⁴⁶ T. Gyatso (1981a: 168)

⁴⁷ Druppa (1991: 222-223)

In both "outer" and "inner" Kālacakra, numerological symbolism relating to human and astronomical periodicity revolves around the number sixty and its multiples.⁴⁸

The realization of melothesia apparently brings fulfillment to tantric practitioners, and a quote from Eliade⁴⁹ highlights the "fulfillment" promise of the tantras generally, even as it applies to tantric scholars:

Le corps humain ne perd jamais sa corporéité, mais par la discipline tantrique, le corps physique se lide, se cosmise, se transsubstantialise. La condition physique et psychologique de l'homme profane est dépassée, sinon abolie; les activités sensorielles sont étendues dans une proportion alluciante, à la suite d'innombrables identifications d'organes et de fonctions physiologiques, aux régions cosmiques, aux astres, aux dieux, etc. ... Le tantrisme non seulement retrouve le corps, mais il en amplifie les possibilités mystiques et le tient pour une condition *sine qua non* de la délivrance

Enlightenment is sought in Tibetan tantric practice through the union of "method" (Skt. *upāya*; Tib. *thabs*) and "wisdom" (Skt. *prajñā*; Tib. *shes rab*). Method is often translated as "skillful means," the manner by which one attempts to assist sentient beings. In Buddhism, method is demonstrated *via* "compassion" (Skt. *karuṇā*; Tib. *sn̄yig rje/thugs rje*). Conjoined with method, wisdom is described as the cognitive and experiential realization of "emptiness." During tantric empowerment and practice, the union of method and wisdom is symbolized by the union of the central deity of the tantra with his or her consort; practitioners are instructed to utilize subtle levels of consciousness arising from this union in order to realize emptiness.⁵⁰

Fulfillment is conceptualized in the Buddhist tantric tradition as the realization of non-dual perception in which conventional distinctions between phenomena are perceived at the same time as is their interdependence.⁵¹ The Indian philosopher

⁴⁸ Newman (1987a)

⁴⁹ Masui (1949: 139); Torella (1989: 50-51)

⁵⁰ T. Gyatso (1981a: 5-8); T. Gyatso et al. (1981: 48-51); Jackson (1985b: 19, 30); Sopa (1985a: 98)

⁵¹ According to T. Gyatso (1991: 15), ultimately, phenomena are said to exist in the sense of "dependent origination" (Skt. *pratītyasamutpāda*; Tib. *rt̄en 'brel*), which is another way of describing "emptiness." According to this doctrine, "all phenomena, both subjective experiences and external objects, come into

Nāgārjuna succinctly captures the union of conventional and ultimate in his statement, "There is no distinction at all of *samsāra* from *nirvāṇa*. There is no distinction at all of *nirvāṇa* from *samsāra*."⁵² In order to cultivate non-dual perception of conventional and ultimate, tantric practitioners attempt to generate within themselves the qualities of enlightened Buddhahood. These qualities are differentiated into the Buddha's qualities of "body" (Skt. *kāya*; Tib. *sku*), "speech" (Skt. *vāc*; Tib. *gsung*), and "mind" (Skt. *citta*; Tib. *thugs*). The Buddha's qualities of body are divided into those of the "truth body" (Skt. *dharmakāya*; Tib. *chos sku*) and those of the "form body" (Skt. *rūpakāya*; Tib. *gzugs sku*).⁵³ In the Tibetan tradition, the realization of emptiness is the underlying cause of the realization of the Buddha's truth body. In comparison, Tibetans believe there are two underlying causes for the realization of the Buddha's form body -- the primary cause is *bodhicitta*, and the secondary cause is the practice of "deity yoga."⁵⁴

Kālacakra's archetypal memes of utopia, apocalypse, curse, melothesia and fulfillment historically have ridden comfortably on the backs of economically and socially powerful carriers, which has insured this tradition's status and successful propagation. From its earliest reception in Tibet to its current manifestation in the West, Kālacakra has enjoyed the patronage of powerful men with institutional positions of authority,

existence in dependence upon causes and conditions; nothing comes into existence uncaused." According to Newland (1992: 189), if everything arises from causes and conditions, phenomena themselves lack inherent existence. Therefore, something is said to exist as a "mere conventionality" insofar as it arises in dependence upon causes and conditions. See also Kapstein (1992).

⁵² Thurman (1984: 159)

⁵³ According to Williams (1989: 167-179), early differentiation of the Buddha's bodies into the "truth body" and the "form body" occurs in the eight thousand-verse *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*. Later, Asaṅga's *Mahāyānasamgraha* mentions three bodies, the "truth body" (Skt. *dharmakāya*; Tib. *chos sku*), the "enjoyment body" (Skt. *sambhogakāya*; Tib. *longs spyod rdzogs pa'i sku*), and the "emanation body" (Skt. *nirmāṇakāya*; Tib. *sprul pa'i sku*). The non-tantric portion of the Dge lugs tradition divides the "truth body" into two aspects, the "essence body" (Skt. *svābhāvikakāya*; Tib. *ngo bo nyid kyi sku*) and the "wisdom body" (Skt. *jñānānakāya*; Tib. *ye shes kyi sku*).

⁵⁴ Samten (1989)

often monastic personalities who held positions of both secular and religious power. Significant enthusiasm was forthcoming when Kālacakra entered Tibet from India, and Sgra tshad pa Rin chen rnam rgyal, one of the chief disciples and biographer of Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290-1364), provides us with the following quote attributed to Bu ston on the subject of Kālacakra:⁵⁵

He exhorted his listeners saying: 'Such a broad and deep doctrine has been preached by the Buddhas, collected by the collectors of the Teaching (Tib. *sdud byed*), explained by paṇḍits and adepts, translated by lo tsā bas and paṇḍits, and arranged by scholars; the practice of the exposition (Tib. *bshad pa'i srol*) is continuous, the stream of consecration is uninterrupted and there is no adulteration or mixing and no deterioration; the bridge of adepts handing down the tradition (Tib. *bka' brgyud grub thob*) is unbroken and the cloud of sustaining-benediction (Skt. *adhiṣṭhāna*) has not dispersed ... Attend to the great benefit of yourselves and of others.'

In the fourteenth century, this kind of a sound bit from a renowned master such as Bu ston likely created a stir, exactly what would have assisted Kālacakra's integration into Tibetan culture.

The present Dalai Lama's interest in Kālacakra exists within the context of a broader historical pattern of Kālacakra-patronage by the Dalai Lamas and Panchen Lamas of Tibet.⁵⁶ Because state religion and secular political leadership are united in the institution of the Dalai Lamas, Kālacakra's patronage by various Dalai Lamas gave it a memetic edge. According to Jackson:⁵⁷

The *Kalachakra* is universally conceded to be the most complex and recondite of all Buddhist teachings, and it is studied in detail by very few. Each tradition has a few masters who are expert in it. The Panchen and Dalai Lamas traditionally have studied and transmitted it, and its practices are the specialty of the small monastic college most closely associated with the Dalai Lamas, rNam rgyal (Namgyal).

Rnam rgyal (henceforth Namgyal) Monastery has been the Dalai Lamas' personal monastery since it was founded by the Second Dalai Lama, Dge 'dun rgya mtsho

⁵⁵ Ruegg (1966: 88-89); Wylie (1959)

⁵⁶ Bskal bzang rgya mtsho (1985); Bsod nams rgya mtsho (1985); Dge dun grub (1985); Dge dun rgya mtsho (1985); "The Eleventh" (1995); Goodman (1986); Klieger (1989); Tucci (1949)

⁵⁷ Jackson (1985b: 40)

(1476-1542).⁵⁸ Although Namgyal Monastery incorporates practices and teachings from all of the orders of Tibetan Buddhism, the monastery is a Dge lugs pa institution. As one Namgyal monk described it to me, the monastery is "seventy-five percent Dge lugs and twenty-five percent the other systems." Therefore, the Namgyal interpretation of Kālacakra is textually and ritually a Dge lugs one. In contrast, monks from Rgyud stod (Gyuto) and Rgyud med (Gyume) Monasteries, two important Dge lugs colleges that specialize in the tantras, develop expertise in the Guhyasamāja, Cakrasamvara and Yamantaka/Vajrabhairva systems, but they do not study Kālacakra.⁵⁹

Powerful men have spurred the dissemination of Kālacakra teachings through the vehicle of the "oral lineage" (Skt. *upadeśa*; Tib. *man ngag*). The authentic essence of tantric teachings is believed only to be transferred from master to master, and an unbroken lineage is believed to make practice more effective. In the Tibetan tradition, one must have the "oral lineage" pertaining to a particular tradition to insure successful spiritual practice -- just as a river must return to the snow mountain as its source, so too must the practitioner trace his or her oral instructions on a certain tantric practice back to Śākyamuni Buddha, or, more commonly, to Vajrapāṇi or a manifestation of Buddhahood.⁶⁰ Two levels of oral lineage instruction may be conferred -- minimally a blessing (Tib. *byin rlabs*), but more comprehensively, the "true meaning" of the teachings, including instructions on how to practice deity yoga, meditations on the channels, winds, drops and seed syllables. Further, conferrals of oral lineage instructions often are tailored to account for disciples' specific backgrounds, dispositions, and capacities.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Lodro and Russell (1988)

⁵⁹ Jackson (1985b: 40); Namgyal (1995)

⁶⁰ Samten (1996) According to Haas and Minke (1976: 31), many Tibetan scholars believe that Kālacakra came to the present Dalai Lama through an unbroken lineage of teachers.

⁶¹ Samten (1996)

In the Kālacakra tradition, Bu ston's disciple, Chos kyid pal wa, passed the oral lineage to Tsong kha pa, the latter of whom is said to have performed a full meditation retreat on the six-limbed yoga of Kālacakra's completion stage. At the conclusion of this retreat, Tsong kha pa is reported to have received a true vision of Kālacakra, who prophesied that Tsong kha pa would be like another Sucandra in terms of propagating Kālacakra teachings widely.⁶² In the past century, Gser khong Rin po che, now deceased, had the oral-lineage instructions on Kālacakra. Currently, Kir ti Mtshan zhabs rin po che, who lives in Dharamsala, India, is the Dge lugs oral lineage holder for Kālacakra. Concerned that the "inner instructions" (Tib. *lung*) on Kālacakra would be lost if the oral lineage on the *Śrī Kālacakra, Vimalaprabhā* and Bu ston's commentarial tradition were not passed on to the current generation, the Dalai Lama requested Kir ti Mtshan zhabs rin po che to pass this tradition of oral instruction along to others. This he did, giving the *lung* to Rgyal Lam rim pa, Kir ti Rin po che, and two others in 1986 or 1987. Later in 1988, Rgyal Lam rim pa, the Abbot of Namgyal Monastery, spent approximately eight months passing the *lung* to B. Alan Wallace, the first Westerner to have received this transmission.⁶³

The archetypal appeal of Kālacakra's memes has helped insure this tradition's successful dissemination across cultures and times. By evoking the earthly paradise of Sambhala, heralding a successful apocalypse, igniting adrenal juices with threat of a curse, proffering the wisdom of a macrocosmic-microcosmic homology, and promising eternal fulfillment, Kālacakra responds to human desires for meaning and order. Like other "maps of the world,"⁶⁴ Kālacakra guarantees meaning and value through struc-

⁶² Dhargyey (1985b: 12-13)

⁶³ B. Wallace (1997) notes that the Dutch monk Hermes Brandt, a disciple of Lama Yeshe, also may have received some oral transmission on Kālacakra.

⁶⁴ Smith (1978: 292-293)

tures of congruity and conformity. An ideal space is created in which anomalies are forced to the periphery, and the uncomfortable realities of disenfranchisement and dislocation are sublimated beneath the hypnotic rubric of future times. Our locative maps of the world, our cosmologies and homologies, all structure our experience, whether we be eleventh-century tantric authors or contemporary academic harbingers of knowledge. Although historical contexts are fluid and diverse, the human pattern of imposing order to insure meaning through coherence and congruity remains predictably the same.

In the late twentieth century, entertainment, theatricality, advertising, and information betray a postmodern orientation towards the Kālacakra Empowerment. Many Tibetan monks today rely on ritual handbooks without consulting the root tantra or learning the intricacies of Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga. The economic realities of life in exile have attenuated traditional patron-priest relationships,⁶⁵ and now Tibetan monks may be found seated behind makeshift display counters at coffee houses in Vermont while the snow just keeps on coming down.

⁶⁵ Steinkellner (1991); Waldron (1996)

CHAPTER II: METHOD IN THE STUDY OF TANTRA

Textual Ritual and Ritual Text

The historical study of Tantrism has been handicapped, complicated and conditioned by the preoccupations of the writers in this field. It is perhaps inevitable, because the vision of the historian is always circumscribed by the dominant outlook of his own age.⁶⁶

This dissertation employs both philological and anthropological methods to examine Kālacakra's "textual" and "ritual" aspects.⁶⁷ Ethnographically, I conducted many interviews with Tibetan monks who specialize in Kālacakra ritual arts, and during the Spring of 1989, Lobsang Samten and I co-authored an English companion text to Samaya Foundation's thirty-six hours of video coverage of the Dalai Lama's 1985/86 conferral of the Kālacakra empowerment in Bodh Gayā, India.⁶⁸ In the tradition of blurred genres, then, my fieldwork itself was based upon an increasingly-ubiquitous, plastic and postmodern tradition -- video text; digital initiation; and Cyber Gurus, the newest form of Sambhogakāya deities.

My interest in Kālacakra increased, and I spent a portion of the Summer of 1989 at Namgyal Monastery in Dharamsala, India where I worked with the Venerable Lobsang Dhargyay and the Venerable Wangchen. More recently in 1995, the Venerable Tsering Namgyal and I worked together on the translation of textual materials relating to Kālacakra while he was stationed at the American branch of Namgyal Monastery in Ithaca, New York. Having attended the Kālacakra Empowerment many times himself, Tsering was one of the handful of monks who constructed the Kālacakra sand *maṇḍala* in preparation for these ceremonies. I have participated in the

⁶⁶ N. Bhattacharyya (1982: v)

⁶⁷ Turner (1977); Turner and Bruner (1986)

⁶⁸ Samaya Foundation (1985/86). Samaya Foundation is a non-profit organization in New York dedicated to preserving the Tibetan arts. For other videos on Kālacakra, see Cherniack (1991) and Meridian Trust (1985).

Dalai Lama's conferral of the Kālacakra Empowerment twice, during the summer of 1989 at the Santa Monica Civic Center in California, and during the fall of 1991 at Madison Square Garden in New York City.

The third chapter of the eleventh-century *Śrī Kālacakra* is the *locus classicus* for the textual description of the practices comprising empowerment into the practice of Kālacakra is the third chapter of the eleventh-century *Śrī Kālacakra*. My primary source for the Sanskrit text of the third chapter of the *Śrī Kālacakra* and its foremost commentary, the *Vimalaprabhā*, is the Sarnath edition, the *Vimalaprabhāṭkā* of Kalkin *Srīpuṇḍarīka* on *Śrīlaghukālacakratantrarāja* by *Śrīmañjuśrītyāśas*.⁶⁹ This edition of the text was printed in 1994 by the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies in Sarnath, Varanasi as part of the Bibliotheca Indo-Tibetica Series and the Rare Buddhist Texts Research Project.⁷⁰ The Sarnath edition was compiled from six manuscripts,⁷¹ the oldest of which is written in eleventh-century Bengali script and apparently dates to the late-eleventh or early-twelfth century.⁷²

⁶⁹ The Sarnath edition of the *Śrī Kālacakra* and the *Vimalaprabhā* consists of three volumes. Volume I contains the first and second chapters of these texts, Volume II contains the third and fourth chapters, and Volume III contains the fifth chapter.

⁷⁰ In addition to the Sarnath edition described here, Banerjee (1985) also claims to have produced a "critical edition," i.e., one that lists all variant readings from the collated manuscripts. According to Reigle (1995), this edition is collated from five Sanskrit manuscripts and was checked against the Tibetan. Though errors in Tibetan block prints are fairly common, a reading in a specific Tibetan edition may confirm a reading from one of the Sanskrit manuscripts. Also, because in recent centuries the manual labor of copying manuscripts was often left to scribes, errors in late Nepalese paper manuscripts of Sanskrit texts are rampant. For a description of partially-edited yet extant editions of the Sanskrit redactions of the *Śrī Kālacakra* and *Vimalaprabhā*, see Newman (1987a: 660-661). Because Banerjee (1985) does not list all variant readings, and because the Sarnath edition often adopts readings not listed by Banerjee without providing their sources, Reigle (1996) is producing a new critical edition of the *Śrī Kālacakra* based upon all available palm-leaf, paper, printed and microfilm versions of both Sanskrit and Tibetan redactions of the text. Therefore, Reigle's protocol includes checking the Sanskrit against the Tibetan versions of the text. VC (1966) utilizes two Sanskrit manuscripts to produce the Sanskrit text contained therein, though it was not checked against the Peking edition of the Tibetan redaction printed in the same volume.

⁷¹ Upadhyaya (1986: xxix-xxxi); V. Wallace (1995: 1-3)

⁷² Upadhyaya (1986: xx)

My primary source for the Tibetan redaction of the third chapter of the *Śrī Kālacakra* and *Vimalaprabhā* is the Peking edition of the Tibetan text.⁷³ The Tibetan translation of the *Śrī Kālacakra* by Somanātha and 'Bro Shes rab grags is preserved in various editions of the Tibetan Bka' 'gyur (henceforth Kanjur) and in the Sde dge edition of the Bstan 'gyur (henceforth Tanjur).⁷⁴ An annotated revision by Bu ston⁷⁵ is entitled "the great commentary on the empowerment chapter" (Tib. *dbang gi le'u'i 'grel chen*). The Tibetan translation of the *Vimalaprabhā* by Shong ston Rdo rje rgyal mtshan is preserved in the Sde dge Kanjur and in various editions of the Tanjur.⁷⁶

In the Tibetan Kanjur and Tanjur collections, the two pairs of Kālacakra translators Somanātha/'Bro Shes rab grags and Samantaśrī/Rwa Chos rab sometimes produced two different Tibetan translations of the same Sanskrit text. For example, Samantaśrī and Rwa Chos rab produced translations of the *Sekaparakriyā* and the *Sekodeśa*, while Somanātha and 'Bro Shes rab produced different translations.⁷⁷ Because the texts offer different interpretations of the material being translated, it is likely that the authors belonged respectively to the two recognized traditions of the Kālacakra school -- Rwa and 'Bro -- and that differences in translation therefore reflect two different lines of doctrinal transmission.⁷⁸

My translation of the third chapter of the *Śrī Kālacakra* has been supplemented by material from the Tibetan redaction of the *Vimalaprabhā* (Tib. *Bsdus pa'i rgyud kyi*

⁷³ VC (1966)

⁷⁴ The Kanjur contains the Buddha's instructions and precepts, while the Tanjur contains commentarial and instructive materials mostly translated from Sanskrit and Chinese into Tibetan. For more on the history of the Tibetan Kanjur and Tanjur, see Harrison (1996); van der Kuijp (1996); and Orofino (1994: 25-29).

⁷⁵ BTA (1965)

⁷⁶ Orofino (1994b: 12); Eimer (1989: 60)

⁷⁷ The former is found in the "tantra" (Tib. *rgyud*) section of all known editions of the Kanjur, and the latter is preserved in the Peking Tanjur and in the "tantra" section of the Phu brag Kanjur. See also Nihom (1984).

⁷⁸ Orofino (1994b: 37)

rgyal po dus kyi 'khor lo'i 'grel bshad rtsa ba'i rgyud kyi rjes su 'jug pa stong phrag bcu gnyis pa dri ma med pa'i 'od). Based on his reading of the Tibetan redaction of the third section of this text, the Venerable Tsering Namgyal from Namgyal Monastery provided verbal commentary for this translation.⁷⁹

To complement my translation of the third chapter of the *Śrī Kālacakra*, I consider historical sources on the transmission of Kālacakra teachings from India to Tibet and the dissemination of these teachings within Tibet itself. I focus particularly on those factors that contributed to Kālacakra's significance within Tibetan culture, and I discuss religious leaders' attribution of cosmological and yogic authority to this tradition's Sanskrit texts. As a segue into the contemporary dimensions of Kālacakra's ritual enactment, I describe Tibetan reinterpretations of Kālacakra ritual prescriptions based on later Tibetan authorship of Kālacakra ritual handbooks. These texts eventually replaced the original *Śrī Kālacakra* as the descriptions of Tibetan ritual form relating to this tradition. In addition, drawing upon ethnographic fieldwork, I provide a detailed description of the Kālacakra Empowerment ceremony.

The blurring of the distinction between "text" and "ritual" in the Kālacakra tradition begins in the eleventh century, and by tracing the historical development of Kālacakra from its early Indian setting through medieval Tibet to contemporary North America, it is possible to see how these fundamental categories dissolve into a more fluid field of lived experience in the Kālacakra tradition. Although "Kālacakra" refers to a Sanskrit Indian tantric treatise of great import in the history and development of Indo-Tibetan Buddhism, almost everything about this text and its numerous Tibetan translations and commentaries bespeak ritual -- the staged apocalyptic warfare of the

⁷⁹ BTG (1965)

first chapter, the intricate tantric yoga of the second chapter, the burnt offerings, *maṇḍala* arts and postural attitudes of the third chapter, and the advanced meditative practices of the fourth and fifth chapters -- all serve to eclipse the line between word and practice, text and ritual. Similarly, during the contemporary performance of the Kālacakra Empowerment, textual materials are integral ritual contrivances to be conveyed reverentially, recited from, and otherwise gracefully handled, and this deferential deportment signals to assembled participants and spectators the authority and gravity attributed to these texts by high-ranking ritual officiants.

Bell⁸⁰ has problematized the term "ritual" by showing that it not easily defined, even in English, and she argues that it is important to dissolve such categories because they contain within them the process of analysis and of derived history. Although a previous, textual preoccupation has driven scholars towards "ritual" as the current corrective in the study of religion, Bell⁸¹ discusses the manner in which "ritual," too, is a constructed category juxtaposed against "text," a category with its own history in Greek and Western thought.

A complex network of so-called tantric "rituals" exists in the Tibetan community.⁸² Although it is impossible to create direct equivalences between English, Tibetan, and Sanskrit terms that roughly denote the same thing, namely a form of enactment, the general Tibetan conception of "ritual" falls under the designation *cho ga*, often abbreviated as *chog*. This term combines the nuances of two Sanskrit terms, *upacāra* and *vidhi*. Following the meaning of *upacāra*, a Tibetan *chog* is a method of doing something, a mode of practice, behavior, and conduct used to proceed towards a

⁸⁰ Bell (1992)

⁸¹ Bell (1995) See also Smith (1987).

⁸² According to Holt (1978: 42-53), while the ordination ceremony for Tibetan monastics proceeds according to the Mūlasarvastivāda tradition, most Tibetan Buddhist ritual is tantric in nature.

goal. Following the meaning of *vidhi*, a Tibetan *chog* includes the instructions used to perform the event itself. *Chog* also refers to the methods of accomplishing something outside the ritual context, as for example in giving birth. Distinguished from ritual in general, tantric ritual is further designated in Tibetan by the phrase *gsang sngags kyi cho ga*. Although tantric ritual may be performed by any qualified person, the "teacher" (Skt. *guru*; Tib. *bla ma*) is the primary tantric ritual specialist in Tibetan society.⁸³

Over the past decade or so, there has been a trend among historians of religion to consider the religious texts with which they traditionally have been bedeviled, not as abstract manuscripts containing the written "truths" of various traditions, but as elements in a much broader practical, societal, political, and economic field. This movement within the history of religions reflects the attempt to break free from the perceive 'theological' agenda underlying phenomenological, morphological, and perennial philosophical approaches to religious texts. In describing the potential pitfalls of approaching a text through a study of its historical milieu, Bell claims that relying upon certain assumptions concerning the relationship of the text to its context, namely the idea that text is cast as a particular human *representation* of its context, can cause us to disregard other important features of, and relating to, the text itself. According to Bell:⁸⁴

We can lose the whole dimension of the textual medium itself. That is, the use of a textual medium and a specific textual format to communicate are taken for granted, even though these aspects have a profound effect on the message being formulated, communicated, and understood.

Though a "text-in-context" approach may direct our attention away from the textual medium, it need not do so. To the contrary, by broadening our very conception of "context" to include aesthetic culture (music, drama, dance, poetry, visual art, etc.)

⁸³ Jorden (1991)

⁸⁴ Bell (1988: 367-368)

and the historical development thereof,⁸⁵ we can actually use a "text-in-context" approach to *illuminate* features of the textual medium rather than eclipse them. By extending the net of "context" beyond the perimeters of political and socioeconomic processes, then, we can use Bell's "text-in-context imperative" to our advantage.

Bell also argues that relying upon certain assumptions concerning the relationship of the text to context can cause scholars to disregard other salient processes relating to a text and its agency. According to Bell:⁸⁶

We also tend to lose sight of the significance of the broad economic issues involved in the production and distribution of texts, in other words, how texts as objects of determined cultural and economic value function within social arrangements that both depend upon and promote this value. By viewing the text as an entity that merely expresses a particular perspective on its time, we may miss how the text is an actor in those times.

Significant texts such as the *Śrī Kālacakra* and the *Vimalaprabhā* were commanding actors in medieval Asia, especially the Tibeto-Mongolian world. No small amount of effort was expended in translating these difficult texts numerous times, and members of aristocratic political families -- those powerful members of society who determined how Kālacakra's texts function as objects of cultural and economic value within a matrix of complex social arrangements -- commissioned block carvings that facilitated Kālacakra's cultural propagation.⁸⁷

Bell makes the further point that texts sustaining some relationship to ritual, either describing it or employed during it, introduce their own unique methodological

⁸⁵ Examining the metrical elements of the *Śrī Kālacakra* in the context of the historical development of Indian aesthetic culture provides a case in point. In medieval India as in medieval Europe, and in stark contrast to the environment announced by modernity, specialization was probably more the exception than the rule. In classical Indian culture, a poet could be a philosopher could be an astronomer -- could be a Buddhist, especially a tantric one. A renaissance approach to Kālacakra therefore must consider the important elements of aesthetic culture that define and embellish Kālacakra's textual medium, thereby helping to intone both its meaning and function.

⁸⁶ Bell (1988: 368)

⁸⁷ van der Kuijp (in preparation)

challenges. Because Kālacakra presents a Romeo-and-Juliet setting in which text envelopes ritual and ritual embraces text, both perspectives on this relationship apply. Bell lays out the case for texts describing ritual:⁸⁸

We read both primary and secondary texts for their adequate or inadequate depictions and explanation of ritual activity. Then we go on to generate further textual accounts of these activities. We frequently analyze ritual as expressing or acting out a text. ... Recognition of a gap between their text and their rite, their rite and our text, or even their rite and our rite, still fails to ask a more underlying set of questions. What is the significance or functional effect of writing ritual down, both vis-à-vis ritual and as a written text? How does writing a text or depicting ritual in a text act upon the social relations involved in textual and ritual activities? Ultimately, how are the media of communication *creating* a situation rather than simply reflecting it; how are they restructuring social interactions rather than merely expressing them?

Certainly in the Kālacakra tradition, many layers of textual composition provide instructions for the intricate ritual network that surrounds the empowerment process. But a vast disjunction exists between the textual depiction of empowerment rituals as they are described in the *Śrī Kālacakra* and the procedures described in later Tibetan ritual manuals. This disjunction is correlated with the ebb and flow of power relations relating to who was, and who was not, invested with the authority to interpret and validate the correct performance of ritual activity on behalf of the broader community.

In the dyslexic version of this situation, when texts are used during rituals, the roles of texts in carrying ideological tenets and ritual prescriptions are subsumed under the symbolic function of text-*cum*-sacred object. Here, texts function as wholes, as ritual implements, a function heavily dependent upon perceived content. Whether or not the texts actually say what people *think* they say is irrelevant -- the perception is the message, a perception that provides a template upon which all manner of efficacy and/or danger relating to content may be projected. In the case of Kālacakra, the sacred-object role of text is quite pronounced. Not one of the monastic informants with

⁸⁸ Bell (1988: 368-369)

whom I worked had ever seen the Tibetan redactions of the *Śrī Kālacakra* and *Vimalaprabhā* before I brought the texts to them. Nevertheless, each of these monks had strong preconceptions concerning what they would find inside, preconceptions that inevitably turned out to be incorrect.

But just as the boundaries between the tantric Romeo-and-Juliet pair are ultimately dissolved into the *zung 'jug* union of "two-in-one," so, too, do text and ritual dissolve in the lived reality of the Kālacakra tradition. For the most part, the monks did not really care what was in the texts of the *Śrī Kālacakra* and *Vimalaprabhā*. Generally, the monks preferred their projected preconceptions to a difficult afternoon's exegesis, because, as one monk decisively explained to me, they were fundamentally much more concerned with meditative practice than with Western-style scholarship. That their meditative practice depended upon an oral-lineage tradition only tangentially connected to the texts in question was a disconcerting possibility they preferred not to discuss.

Access to texts and their oral tradition, and the ability to read and write text, are all means of validating authority.⁸⁹ Therefore, competition often exists between ritual specialists for such access. Control over the production and distribution of text can also be used as a method of validating authority and consolidating socioeconomic power. In the case of Kālacakra, authority over the production and distribution of liturgical materials occurred within the context of monastic-royal liaisons that spanned at least three countries -- India, Tibet and Mongolia -- and that endured for over a thousand years. Furthermore, the ritual manipulation and recitation of text is often used to signal that those *not* so manipulating or reciting are players in the tradition. In contrast, text also breaks doesn't prerogatives of expertise because now lay channels of reli-

⁸⁹ Bell (1995); Graham (1987)

giosity are opened and individuals gain the ability to know sacred material on their own.

Notes on Previous Scholarship

Despite the dearth of systematic analysis on tantra, scholars have not been shy about publishing their own impressions of the topic, impressions often replete with vague observations and supposed analogies.⁹⁰ Like much Buddhological and Indological scholarship of the past century, tantric scholarship may be typologized according to various heuristic stages: 1) a "heathen" phase,⁹¹ in which tantra was perceived as morally inferior to other forms of Buddhism and/or as a form of black magic; 2) an "historical" phase, in which a murky pan-Indian substratum is identified as the ubiquitous stew from which members of tantric cults select tasty morsels for their own particular pots; 3) a "sectarian" phase, in which scholars define the locus of tantric ideas by pointing to identifiable groups comprised of members aware of their own sectarian identity; and 4) a so-called "feminist" phase,⁹² in which women's perceived agency in tantric life is highlighted.

Cross-cutting these five trends, both particularist and generalist methodologies have permeated tantric scholarship. On the particularist side, scholars have selected a tantric text and have edited it and/or translated it;⁹³ or they have observed tantric rituals and written about them.⁹⁴ On the generalist side, scholars have drawn on local

⁹⁰ Dasgupta (1974); Eliade (1969); N. Bhattacharyya (1982)

⁹¹ Snellgrove (1959a: 42) claims, "To dislike the *tantras*, is but to dislike the worst tendencies in man, and of the terrible existence of these tendencies we have ample experience in every generation."

⁹² Shaw (1994a; 1994b)

⁹³ B. Bhattacharyya (1931); George (1974); de La Vallée Poussin (1896); Shāstrī (1933); Skorupski (1983); Snellgrove (1959a)

⁹⁴ Beyer (1978)

textual and ritual data in an attempt to sketch out the contours of a quintessential, tantric form.⁹⁵ Not surprisingly, particularist and generalist strategies produce translations of tantric texts with little or no context and general accounts sporting chapter titles such as 'The Primitive Substratum.'⁹⁶

Twentieth-century scholarly disagreement over the correct approach to tantra is typified by an interchange between Eliade and Torella.⁹⁷ The absent Eliade is portrayed as the typical pattern-seeking generalist, while Torella himself advocates a more local, philologically-grounded method. Eliade writes that "one is a historian of religions not by virtue of mastering a certain number of philologies, but because one is able to integrate religious data into a general perspective." In contrast, Torella criticizes Eliade for relying too heavily on secondary sources, resulting in "too coherent" a view of tantra:

[His writings on tantra] appear to be the fruit of an outstanding mastery of an extensive secondary literature from which he obtained almost all the sources cited. This procedure, which is not in itself blameworthy, becomes so, in my opinion, when applied to a field such as this, which is still only partially explored and has a huge literature, in editions that are not always reliable or more often only to be found in manuscript form. Resigning himself to working on what is already known little befits a scholar who went to India with the express purpose of learning Sanskrit in order to be able to read the Tantric texts.

Torella argues further that a historian of religion need not master an indefinite number of philologies, "but, I should say, at least one, any one, so that [s]he is instilled once and for ever with a sense of the density of the document [s]he is working on, and the delicacy required in handling it, if, in using it, [s]he wants to avoid the risk of reducing it to its bare bones."

⁹⁵ According to Snellgrove (1959a: ix), "the cause for this is always the same, that we are attempting to generalize on a vast subject, in which there is no lack of material, by short-cutting the longer task of examining these texts in detail and in their own context."

⁹⁶ N. Bhattacharyya (1982: 108)

⁹⁷ Torella (1989: 52-54); Eliade and Kitagawa (1959: 90-91)

Still, in both particularist and generalist approaches, text is emphasized to the exclusion of other types of data such as archaeological, epigraphic and art historical evidence. Although the historical divide between anthropological scholarship focusing on ritual and religious studies/philological scholarship focusing on texts is gradually narrowing, much previous tantric scholarship betrays a methodological divide that has limited both our understanding of the use of texts in the practice of tantric cults and the effects of practice on shaping texts.⁹⁸

While early Western scholars describe in great detail the complex network of tantric rituals that existed in the Tibetan community, they provide little analysis concerning their social significance and meaning.⁹⁹ More recently, while anthropologists have begun to formulate social analyses of Tibetan tantric rituals in their Nepalese context,¹⁰⁰ most of this research focuses on ceremonies used to appease and control the local Buddhist pantheon of deities and spirits.¹⁰¹ In contrast, with the exception of a few works,¹⁰² there is an almost total dearth of anthropological scholarship on tantric empowerment ceremonies despite their visibility and significance within Tibetan culture. The descriptions of these events that we do possess are devoid of analytical commentary and are often replete with vague and incorrect suppositions concerning the

⁹⁸ T. Lewis and Riccardi (1995)

⁹⁹ Waddell (1967; 1972). Snellgrove (1957: 245-261) describes in detail a tantric offering ceremony at Jiwong Monastery in Nepal, and Tucci (1980) describes the calendrical ritual sequences that affect the monastic community, but neither provides much commentary on these events.

¹⁰⁰ For example, Ortner (1978) provides symbolic and social analyses of Tibetan Buddhist Sherpa rituals dealing with marriage, exorcism, and offering; Ekvall (1964) discusses offering, salutation and circumambulation rituals; Mumford (1989) examines the interrelationship between the rituals performed by Tibetan lamas and Gurung shamans, focusing on rituals of exorcism, death, and offering; and R. Paul (1982) offers a psychoanalytic interpretation of funerary rites and the transition to senior status during the Mani Rimdu ceremony among Nepalese Sherpas. See also Cantwell (1985); T. Lewis (1994), Gellner (1992), and Ortner (1989). For the proceeds of the 1990 Zürich international seminar on anthropology and ethnography in the field of Tibetology and Himalayan studies, a seminar organized to address the imbalance caused by the focus on textual and philological research, see Ramble and Brauen (1993).

¹⁰¹ Beyer (1978: xi)

¹⁰² Ström (1995); Hoetzlein (1991)

symbolism of the events.¹⁰³ In the case of the Kālacakra Empowerment, another genre of "insider" exposition has been written by both Tibetan¹⁰⁴ and non-Tibetan practitioners.¹⁰⁵

In contrast to the lack of anthropological scholarship on tantric empowerment ceremonies, most academic work on Buddhist Tantra has been textual. Contemporary Tibetan scholars have contributed to the general Western understanding of Kālacakra through a variety of summary articles available in English. The present Dalai Lama has written on Kālacakra,¹⁰⁶ and he has collaborated with the American scholar Jeffrey Hopkins on the production of a text describing the Kālacakra *maṇḍala* and empowerment ceremony.¹⁰⁷ Geshe Lhundub Sopa¹⁰⁸ discusses Kālacakra, focusing predominately on the yogic practices outlined therein. Geshe Ngawang Dhargyey has also written texts on Kālacakra, including one intended exclusively for those who have received the Kālacakra Empowerment.¹⁰⁹ In addition, K'am-trül Rinpoche's¹¹⁰ account of his mystical journey to Sambhala has been transcribed by the American

¹⁰³ See for example Gold (1994: 215):

Like the Night Way, which harnesses the powers of darkness to bring in the dawn of Beauty, the Kalachakra, or Wheel of Time tantric initiation, and its path of practice use the raw energies of bodymind to transform the individual. For this reason, the deity who is the emblem of this pathway to enlightenment is dark and fierce in character. The Lord of the Wheel of Time has bared fangs, glowering eyes, a dark blue body, and potent implements in his many moving hands. His dark powers of bodymind (dark signifies conquering power) are harnessed to perfect the individual and to dispel ignorance in the world. Perhaps it is for these reasons that the Wheel of Time initiation is being given so freely around the world these days by its lama masters, who consider it to be an agent of world peace.

¹⁰⁴ Yeshe (1991: 118-129), Ötrul (1988: 56-73) and Dhargyey (1975: 72-77; 1985b: 12-14)

¹⁰⁵ Haas and Minke (1976: 29-31)

¹⁰⁶ T. Gyatso (1981a; 1981b; 1985a; 1985b; 1986; 1991b)

¹⁰⁷ T. Gyatso (1985b)

¹⁰⁸ Sopa (1983; 1985a; 1985b); Sopa et al. (1985)

¹⁰⁹ Dhargyey (1975; 1985a; 1985b) Interestingly, the aforementioned texts by T. Gyatso and Hopkins, Dhargyey and Sopa et al. were all published in 1985, a few years after the Dalai Lama conferred the Kālacakra Empowerment in Madison, Wisconsin.

¹¹⁰ K'am-trül (1978)

scholar Edwin Bernbaum,¹¹¹ and Todd Fenner¹¹² has written on alchemy in the Kālacakra tradition.

Western scholarship on Kālacakra includes works written by the German scholar Helmut Hoffmann,¹¹³ the Russian scholar Georges de Roerich,¹¹⁴ and the British scholar L. Austine Waddell.¹¹⁵ More recently, American scholars John Newman,¹¹⁶ Vesna Wallace¹¹⁷ and James Hartzell¹¹⁸ have translated the first, second and fifth chapters of the *Śrī Kālacakra* and *Vimalaprabhā*, respectively, and Roger Jackson¹¹⁹ has written on the history and practice of this tradition. The Dutch-Canadian scholar Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp¹²⁰ has written on the history of the dissemination of Kālacakra in Mongolia, and the American Cyrus Stearns¹²¹ has written on Kālacakra and its connection to the Jo nang pas. In Europe, the German scholar Martin Brauen has completed studies on the Kālacakra *maṇḍala*,¹²² the German scholar Günter Grönbold¹²³ has written on the calendrical reckoning, six-limbed yoga, and other aspects of the Kālacakra tradition. and Italian scholars Mario Carelli,¹²⁴ Raniero Gnoli, and Giacomella Orofino¹²⁵ have edited, translated, and commented upon Kālacakra texts. In addition, Michael Broido's¹²⁶ work on tantric hermeneutics and Daniel

¹¹¹ Bernbaum (1980)

¹¹² Fenner (1979)

¹¹³ Hoffmann (1951; 1958; 1960; 1961; 1964; 1969; 1973). It is rumored that Hoffmann translated the *Śrī Kālacakra* in its entirety, though he did not allow other scholars to see his work.

¹¹⁴ Roerich (1932)

¹¹⁵ Waddell (1967); N. Bhattacharyya (1982: 243)

¹¹⁶ Newman (1987a) does not translate KT I. 28-127.

¹¹⁷ V. Wallace (1995)

¹¹⁸ Hartzell (1997)

¹¹⁹ Jackson (1985a; 1985b)

¹²⁰ van der Kuijp (in preparation)

¹²¹ Stearns (1996a; 1996b; in preparation)

¹²² Brauen (1992; 1994)

¹²³ Grönbold (1969; 1983; 1991; 1992; 1996)

¹²⁴ Carelli (1941)

¹²⁵ Orofino (1994a; 1994b; 1996)

¹²⁶ Broido (1982; 1988)

Cozort's¹²⁷ research on tantric yoga draw on data from the Kālacakra tradition. In addition to this scholarship by Westerners, the Indian scholars S. Dasgupta¹²⁸ and N. Bhattacharyya¹²⁹ also mention Kālacakra in their work.

Drawing on the aforementioned foundation of textual scholarship on Kālacakra, an interdisciplinary methodology will enable tantric scholars to unravel relationships relating to the use of texts in tantric practice together with the effects of practice on shaping texts. Lewis¹³⁰ describes a utopian methodology that, in a universe free of time constraints, would incorporate language study, social science history, ethnography, intellectual history, popular narratives, archaeology, art history, and economic relations. This interdisciplinary methodology, Lewis argues, would enable scholars to probe the way in which institutional forms developed cross-culturally and how both monasteries and monks mediated texts *via* interlocking ritual, medical and meditative activities. Arguing that a privileging of certain types of textual sources has skewed our view of social history, Lewis advocates incorporating popular narratives and ritual texts in order to form an accurate view of social history. In the case of Kālacakra, superimposing the Western notion of intellectuals divorced from ritual upon medieval Tibetan society simply does not hold. Like the placement of ritual at the pinnacle of the Confucian education system, ritual was central for scholar-elites such as Bu ston and Bo dong Paṇ chen Phyogs las rnam gyal (1375-1451), both of whom authored Kālacakra texts and commentaries.

An interdisciplinary approach to tantra that considers both text and ritual will enable Western scholars to undo the projectional enterprise that superimposes Western

¹²⁷ Cozort (1986)

¹²⁸ Dasgupta (1974: 64-69)

¹²⁹ N. Bhattacharyya (1982: 243)

¹³⁰ T. Lewis (1996)

categorical distinctions upon realities long past. By considering how text and ritual interpenetrate one another, Western categorical distinctions between "text" and "ritual" themselves may be problematized. How does textual doctrine shape the performance and experience of ritual action, and how does experienced ritual catalyze a reinterpretation of text? What are the doctrinal implications of meditative practices such as *maṇḍala* construction, tantric empowerment, and deity visualization? To what extent are the participants and officiants in tantric rituals actively engaged in transforming doctrine? In answering these and similar questions, categorical boundaries become blurred, thus revealing more nuanced interpretations of tantric experience.

Demystification and Dialogue

Romantic and projectional scholarship robs people and cultures of their history. As Said and others¹³¹ observe, the "orient" has been prone to this type of romanticization by Western scholars who create the realities they purport to describe, and as Lopez¹³² notes, Tibetan Buddhism has been a particularly popular screen upon which Western notions of the "holy" and the "demonic" are projected. Lopez suggests that the conceptual dualism dividing the "Western Occident" from the "Eastern Orient," a dualism glaringly present in pre-postmodern Indological and Tibetological scholarship, may have its source in the "Western" perception of a lack within itself and a resultant projectional fantasy concerning an "Eastern" answer. Tibet becomes "a constituent of a Romantic Orientalism in which the Orient is not debased but exalted as a surrogate self endowed with all the West lacks." According to Lopez:

With the Tibetan diaspora that began in 1959, Tibetan Buddhist culture has been represented as if it were itself another artifact of Shangri-la, as an entity existing outside of time and history, set in its own eternal classical age in a lofty Himalayan keep. ... The Tibetan diaspora made widely available to the

¹³¹ Said (1978); Rushdie (1994)

¹³² Lopez (1994: 38-43; forthcoming)

universities of Europe and North American (largely through the efforts of the Library of Congress office in New Delhi) a great flood of autochthonous Tibetan Buddhism literature, heretofore unstudied. This literature, scorned by L. Austine Waddell at the end of the last century as 'contemptible mummery,' was now hailed by Orientalists of a new age, both professional and amateur, as a repository of ancient wisdom whose lineage, as the lamas claimed, could be traced back to the Buddha himself. In the Victorian period, the authentic texts of 'original Buddhism' had been exalted above the superstitious practices of Buddhists. Now, the opposition remains but the places are reversed. It is Tibetan Buddhism that is hailed as original and pristine, a living tradition rather than a dead text. And once again the agency of the Tibetans is denied, as a new generation of Westerners take upon themselves the role of conservators of this living fossil.

Such scholarly projection cheats Tibetans out of their own history and also cheats Western scholars out of any real connection to themselves.

Indeed, a recent article in the "New York Times Magazine"¹³³ sensationalizes the academic battle for and against projectional scholarship by pitting Robert A.F. Thurman, Jey Tsong Khapa Professor of Indo-Tibetan Buddhist Studies at Columbia University, against Donald S. Lopez, Jr., Professor of Buddhist and Tibetan Studies, Department of Asian Languages at the University of Michigan. In this article, Thurman is depicted as the great Western savior of Tibetan Buddhism, while Lopez, Jr., to whom much less coverage is given, is depicted as the "demystifier" -- the voice of caution against the whole-hog incorporation of a romanticized, Tibetan Buddhist "wisdom." Even within Buddhist Studies, the players (*sic* professors) are blown up to heroic proportions, harbingers of a call to enlightenment. Battle lines are drawn within the academy, sometimes by the scholars themselves, but also by those with their noses pressed up against the windowpane.

Like it or not, Western scholars of Tibetan Buddhism comprise an elite segment of society afforded access to the esoteric realities of Tibetan texts and traditions by virtue of source-language competence. Charged by the media, society and students

¹³³ Kamenetz (1996)

with interpreting the meaning of Tibetan Buddhist texts and practices, this priestly, academic class falls right back into an hierarchical, elite/subaltern pattern of the type described by Lopez:¹³⁴

But traditional Tibet, like any complex society, had great inequalities, with power monopolized by an elite composed of a small aristocracy, the hierarchs of various sects (including incarnate lamas), and the great Gelugpa (dGe lugs pa) monasteries. The subaltern members of the society included non-aristocratic laymen, non-Buddhists, and women.

When we consider Tibetan Buddhist life from privileged positions within the Western academy, how many subaltern voices are actually heard in and of themselves?

Dialogic scholarship may help avoid the pitfalls of projection. According to Eck,¹³⁵ religious traditions are "marbled," both historically and today. The rites and practices of one tradition often flow together with those of another, and the texts of one tradition often comment upon, or respond to, the doctrines of another. Religious marbling also applies to scholars' inner landscapes, as beliefs and attitudes are reassessed as information is exchanged with the outside world. Addressing religious traditions diachronically and dynamically as opposed to synchronically and statically requires a methodology that problematizes the very idea of a "religious tradition" *per se* and instead accommodates the ebb and flow of actual, lived experience. Eck suggests a "dialogic" method, one that combines critical self-awareness with sustained interaction with the "other" in order to articulate the other's point of view in one's own voice. Eliciting the "voices" of a religious tradition -- the conscious, articulated ones, but also those that are, or have been, submerged -- is the lynch pin of the dialogic method. Adopting a critical stance towards voice means we must also learn to recognize, and allow for, plurality -- sometimes contradictory plurality -- in our own internal voices and in the voices of the "other." Inasmuch as one must always approach a religious

¹³⁴ Lopez (1994b: 43)

¹³⁵ Eck (1996)

tradition from a particular standpoint, Eck's dialogic method applied even to a single religious tradition is, by necessity, comparative, and the scholar's self-reflexive location in a particular tradition, outside of it, or somewhere on the liminal boundary between the two becomes critical to both textual and contextual study.

In the case of Kālacakra Studies, application of a dialogic method obviates the need to crystallize what Kālacakra means or what it is. Instead, one is left with the gentler undertaking of enjoying the scenery along the river running from medieval India to modern New York. Kālacakra cannot be defined, nor are its doctrines, beliefs and practices unified in place or time. Indeed, Kālacakra can be considered a thematic tradition only inasmuch as the concept of "tradition" itself is softened to allow for diversity and change, both practically and in terms of meaning. Even the signifier "Buddhist" may be inappropriate to Kālacakra writ large. Neither historically nor today was the study and practice of Kālacakra restricted to those who eschewed all other religious and spiritual affiliations. Indeed, Kālacakra's early context suggests a remarkably syncretic stance, one that included elements loosely characterized as Buddhist, Hindu, and Islamic.¹³⁶ Wallace¹³⁷ has suggested that proselytism may account for this syncretism, and it is also possible that Kālacakra's amalgam may reflect an adaptable orientation to fluid ritual and practical contexts.

The breadth of the Kālacakra tradition necessitates an interdisciplinary methodology, and reaching into an O'Flaherty-style Toolbox,¹³⁸ I use whatever seems to work -- ethnographic fieldwork, "ancient texts," interpretive strategies focusing on religion's linkages to greater social forces,¹³⁹ theories of memetic and cultural transmis-

¹³⁶ Hoffmann (1960; 1969); Newman (forthcoming)

¹³⁷ Wallace (1995)

¹³⁸ O'Flaherty (1980: 5-7)

¹³⁹ Bell (1988; 1992; 1995)

sion,¹⁴⁰ commentaries on contemporary culture,¹⁴¹ discussions of women and religion,¹⁴² and postmodern visions.¹⁴³ The postscript to this dissertation is written as a critique, one in which I flag commodification, gender insensitivity, and the electronic canning of the sacred. Objectivity is a mirage, and as scholars negotiate their relationships to the material they study, they never are able to sort themselves out of the whole business, an agenda that, even if it were possible, would probably lead to sterile and narcoleptic writing. Perhaps our own transformation, wrought through the mutually-nuanced reflections of one culture in another and oneself in one's subject, is one of the most valuable outcomes of the scholarly process in general. Apparent here is Kālacakra's melothesia -- microcosm and macrocosm reflect one another in the correlation between our physico-psycho-social beings and the ever-expanding cosmological spheres in which we are contextualized.¹⁴⁴ In this sense, it is quite possible that a personal experience of interpretive encounter may constitute at least some small measure of what Tambiah refers to as "interpretive success."

Thoughts on Translation and Interpretation

In the parade of various translation theories that colorfully lines the opening chapter of his recent book, Lawrence Venuti draws our eyes to the political agendas above which float seemingly innocent reworkings of "foreign" texts into our own English target language. Despite an anarchical agenda of his own -- accented by his own editors' comment that "rewriting is manipulation, undertaken in the service of power,"¹⁴⁵ Venuti's militant metaphor does succeed in invoking the violence that often

¹⁴⁰ Brodie (1996); Dawkins (1989)

¹⁴¹ Heim (1993)

¹⁴² Butler (1990); Gross (1977; 1996); Haddad (1985); Holm (1994); Kristeva (1982; 1984)

¹⁴³ Haraway (1989; 1996); Lyotard (1984); Milner (1988); Schrag (1997)

¹⁴⁴ Obeyesekere (1990); R. Paul (1989)

¹⁴⁵ Venuti (1995: vii)

underlies the process of translation. The attraction of his words is almost demonic -- something lurks beneath the surface of all translations, something powerful, but something, perhaps, that is not quite right.

Venuti¹⁴⁶ attacks translation strategies that he calls "domesticating" -- those that measure accuracy according to the generation of an equivalent effect in the target-language culture. Domestication concealed beneath the rubric of fluency answers finally to target-language cultural values. Assaulting further the embedded perils of a fluent translation strategy, guilt by association, Venuti provides us with this quote from the 1969 *Times Literary Supplement* -- "The translation is a pleasantly fluent one: two chapters of it have already appeared in *Playboy* magazine."

Venuti's discussion of domesticated translation shares concerns of power and politics with Hallisey's¹⁴⁷ discussion of "the rhetorical strategy of authorial transparency," the tendency of nineteenth-century European translators to legitimate their research by emphasizing its close connection to the originals they were translating. Perhaps not coincidentally, authorial transparency often existed in the very texts translated by European scholars, and each text portrayed itself as a translation of yet another. Texts' original authors frequently associated with decentered authority in a way later echoed by European translators, as for example in the case of the *Śrī Kālacakra*. Not wishing to cloud Buddha's authorship, or perhaps legitimating their own texts by invoking this connection, the author(s) of the *Śrī Kālacakra* is so transparent that we do not even know who he was.

By denying the political, economic and social realities of authorship, realities permeated by relations of power, translation strategies that are "domesticating" and

¹⁴⁶ Venuti (1995: 3-22)

"transparent" amplify the intractable Orientalism of a textualized Buddhist Studies in the West. As Foucault¹⁴⁸ argues, this movement coincided with the creation of "Buddhism" within the broader context of the eighteenth-century colonial formation of Western fields of study in general, Buddhist Studies in particular emerging from the traditional fields of philology and Sanskrit.¹⁴⁹ As Almond and Hallisey have remarked,¹⁵⁰ control of Buddhism's textual past enabled the essence of Buddhism to be transferred from an Orient 'out there' to the West. Hence by the beginning of the 1850s, Buddhist Studies discourse was created in which textual analysis was the major scholarly task and in which the myriad aspects of Oriental culture were described and classified. Texts were objectified and possessed by the West, and this ownership implied ideological control.

The nineteenth-century "textualization of Buddhism" meant that by the middle of the century, "Buddhism" had become an edited and translated textual object based in Western institutions. Its ancient texts were compared to newer ones from the Orient, which, inevitably, did not measure up to "ideal textual exemplifications contained in the libraries, universities, colonial offices, and missionary societies of the West." A Western-textual Buddhism was positively evaluated against the then-contemporary Eastern tradition, and according to Almond, textual analysis by various scholars -- Klaproth, Schmidt, Rémusat, and Landresse on Chinese and Mongolian texts; Hodgson on Sanskrit and Tibetan texts; Alexander Csoma de Körös on the Tibetan Kanjur -- cemented the idea of a textualized North Asian Buddhism, thus progressively transforming Buddhism from a living religion in contemporary China, Tibet, Nepal and

¹⁴⁷ Hallisey (1995: 41-42)

¹⁴⁸ Foucault (1972)

¹⁴⁹ Lopez (1995)

¹⁵⁰ Almond (1988); Hallisey (1995)

Mongolia to a textually-bound religion of the past.

Though certainly a living tradition, the Buddhist Studies of today continues to perpetuate a "Buddhism as artifact" mentality, one that somewhat predictably leads to the "salvage mentality" (to borrow Marcus' phrase) that often characterizes the approach to texts within Indo-Tibetan Buddhist Studies.¹⁵¹ Spurred by the desire to preserve texts from perceived obliteration at the hands of the Communist Chinese and perceived extinction in the heat of an Indian exile, scholars often approach translation and exegesis as redeemer figures determined to bring precious textual relics into the fluorescent light of a Western day. In collecting textual knowledge, an essential element of the academic enterprise, we also exercise power -- post-collection, we are awarded the privileged positions of recreating knowledge through our translations and ultimately disseminating this recreation, if we are lucky, through our publications. A post-Orientalist Buddhology? I really don't think so.

What to do? Though Ricoeur's hermeneutics-of-suspicion injunction to consider the underlying rules of our construction and dissemination of knowledge is valid, Hallisey's suggestion that we reconstruct scholarship on Buddhist thought and practice in order to heal the divide between "the West" and "the Orient" is well taken. To reconstruct scholarship in this way, Hallisey advocates exploring connections between cultures, not just their differences, in order to demonstrate the heterogeneity of interests within communities as they encounter one another. He also suggests looking for relations between "the West" and "the Orient" that are not characterized by negation or inversion but instead represent a form of "intercultural mimesis" in which the "aspects of a culture of a subjectified people influenced the investigator to represent that culture

¹⁵¹ Indeed, many Tibetans internalize such a "salvage mentality" themselves, leading to the theatricalization and not insignificant commercialization of Tibetan sacred arts in the West. "Buddhism as artifact" leads, quite predictably, to postmodern "Buddhism as spectacle."

in a certain manner."¹⁵² Also useful to a reevaluation of Orientalist knowledge construction and dissemination and subsequent scholarly reconstruction is an emphasis on historical subjects' agency and the self-reflexive application of this inquiry to the roles played by scholars themselves.

"Foreignizing" translation strategies, which resist dominant target-language cultural values in order to highlight the linguistic and cultural differences of foreign texts also may help counter "colonialism" in the translation of Buddhist textual materials. "Foreignizing" translation acts as an antidote to the dominant Anglo-American tradition of domestication and faulted fluency. Venuti¹⁵³ uses Philip Lewis' concept of "abusive fidelity" to demonstrate features of a resistant, foreignizing translation technique:

[Abusive fidelity] acknowledges the abusive, equivocal relationship between the translation and the foreign text and eschews a fluent strategy in order to reproduce in the translation whatever features of the foreign text abuse or resist dominant cultural values in the source language. Abusive fidelity directs the translator's attention away from the conceptual signified to the play of signifiers on which it depends, to phonological, syntactical, and discursive structures, resulting in a "translation that values experimentation, tampers with usage, seeks to match the polyvalencies or plurivocities or expressive stresses of the original by producing its own" (Lewis 1985: 41). Such a translation strategy can best be called resistancy not merely because it avoids fluency, but because it challenges the target-language culture even as it enacts its own ethnocentric violence on the foreign text.

Venuti also rejects determining a translation's station according to its use of fluent terminological equivalences; this, he believes, amounts to appropriating the foreign text for domestic purposes. Rather, by employing resistant tactics, Venuti strives to make his own translations strange -- "the resistant strategy of my translations gives them a different, and perhaps more intense, strangeness in the target-language culture."

¹⁵² Hallisey (1995: 32-33); Burghart (1990: 266)

¹⁵³ Venuti (1995: 23-24, 300); P. Lewis (1985: 41)

Resistant translation strategies draw readers further into the target-language translation and compel them to engage the very fact of translation itself as they attempt to glean meaning from texts. How is meaning constructed, and is it nothing more than a tool with which we appropriate? Text and reader are both prodded, poked and provoked by a conversion process not content to reduce source-language ambiguity and difference under the rubric of a comfortable target-language translation.

Though not thoroughly ensnared by the strange and opaque in and of itself, I do attempt to bring the translation process into *bas-relief* throughout this dissertation. Although postmodern scholarship emphasizes the negative element of appropriation in translation and suggests the effective strategy of "foreignizing" translation as an antidote, reconstructive theory emphasizes the positive elements of translation.¹⁵⁴ When approached sensitively, translation may serve as a form of hospitality in which texts are welcomed into new cultural contexts. Here may be added to healthy resistance a translation's status as qualified and incomplete, both adjectives underscoring the fact that the texts we are translating are not dead -- their ancestors continue to live today, and encounter with them need not remain the exclusive domain of an academic elite.

In translating the third chapter of the *Śrī Kālacakra*, numerous visual markers and conscious textual layout reinforce my text's self-identification as a translation. The myriad visual markers punctuating my translation break up the translated line and hence draw readers' attention to the fact, and workings, of the translation process. I use braces {to designate inclusion from the *Vimalaprabhā*}, double braces {{to designate Bu ston's commentary, BTG}}, and brackets [to designate my own inclusions]. Staccato footnotes draw the reader back to the original Sanskrit and Tibetan terms and help

¹⁵⁴ Bassnett-McGuire (1991); P. Lewis (1985); Lefevere (1992)

negotiate voice and authorship issues by highlighting contemporary Tibetan monastic interpretations of the Sanskrit text. These footnotes, in which I provide in their declined form the original Sanskrit and Tibetan terms for a chosen English word, also highlight grammatical transpositions between the three languages. All of these visual markers qualify my English renderings. Here, I wish to emphasize the provisional nature of the process of translation itself; the jagged and unrelenting manner in which I have broken up the translated line serves to underscore the fact that translation is never finished; indeed, translation itself is a conventional activity, one thoroughly contextualized by constraints inherent to both target and source, languages and cultures. In Indo-Tibetan tantra, translation contingency is further mediated by tradition-acknowledged hermeneutical complexity involving polysemous, textual layering.

The use of specific textual media and formats has a significant effect on the message being formulated, communicated and understood. My translation is laid out like a musical score, with each "movement" (verse) of "music" (translation) showing a Sanskrit treble clef, Tibetan bass clef, and English double bass clef. As with a musical score, the format of the text communicates visual information that impacts how a text actually functions.¹⁵⁵ This "parallel format" textual layout¹⁵⁶ is used symbolically to underscore what is missing from my English translation -- namely, the metrical arrangement of signifiers in both the Sanskrit and Tibetan renditions of the text. Simultaneously, by employing the symbolic visual imagery of a musical score, this textual layout implies the musical character of the text itself. The metrical precision of the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts is glaringly absent in my English translation,¹⁵⁷ and much is

¹⁵⁵ Lutgendorf (1991: 13-18) explores these issues in his recent study of the *Rāmcaritmānas*, a sixteenth-century North Indian epic. Because he is concerned the actual performance of the *Rāmcaritmānas*, Lutgendorf pays close attention to the metrical and narrative structure of this text.

¹⁵⁶ Swanson (1995) provides a translation of the Greek Gospels utilizing "parallel format," a structure that provides access to all variants and their significance, orthographical variants, scribal errors, erasures and other discrepancies between manuscripts.

¹⁵⁷ How we translate a text, not simply the words we choose but also the aesthetic concerns of the enter-

lost in a translation that privileges grammatical exactness over aesthetic criteria such as metre -- the music of the text is left behind, not an insignificant determinant of meaning in the text's original context judging by the attention accorded it by Tibetan translators.¹⁵⁸ In addition to grammatical and syntactical discernment, successful translation must be sensitive to the sensual and aesthetic dimensions of the languages involved. Especially in the tantric context, certain words and phrases often simultaneously carry sensual, visceral and philosophical connotations.¹⁵⁹

Though there do exist works within the genre of Indian aesthetic theory that comment upon the function and practice of metre,¹⁶⁰ I am unaware of any Sanskrit or Tibetan sources that comment upon the meaning and function of metre in the context of the *Śrī Kālacakra* itself. Nevertheless, speculating on the value of metre at the practice

prise, influences significantly our derivation of meaning. As Barnstone (1993) notes, many challenges are posed by the attempt to convey in one's target-language translation the aesthetic form and flavor of a poetic original. Although a metrical translation of the third chapter of the *Śrī Kālacakra* theoretically would preserve the aesthetic dimensions of the text's meaning, my ability to manipulate both target- and source-languages is not sufficiently developed. As translators of poetry attest, preserving metre in translation requires a great deal of linguistic finesse. Structurally, the embeddedness of case within Sanskrit nouns and the syntactical designation of case in Tibetan mesh well in at least one respect -- in many cases, save for example the locative in Tibetan, neither Sanskrit nor Tibetan require extra syllables to designate case. But English does, and hence, when attempting a metrical translation, one is left with the tricky business of choosing more compact English nouns in order to leave room for prepositions such as "to," "for," etc. Hence, in contrast to Sanskrit's efficient case structure, because extra syllables are required for prepositions in English, grammatical precision often must be sacrificed to preserve metre.

¹⁵⁸ Unlike Western philological privileging of grammar and syntax, the Tibetan translators of the *Śrī Kālacakra* were not obsessive about preserving the grammatical and syntactical structure of the Sanskrit original in their Tibetan translation. Rather, aesthetic elements such as metre were accorded a higher priority. Though due to differences in the linguistic structure of the two languages, metre as a category is more loosely construed in Tibetan than in Sanskrit, the Tibetans adhered absolutely to the syllabic aspects of metre throughout their translations. Witnessing this attention line after line and verse after verse, one must conclude that the Tibetans perceived an important level of "meaning" encoded in the rhythm of the text. See Kane (1971) and Watkins (1996).

¹⁵⁹ According to Reigle (1995), "Verse works such as the *Kālacakra Tantra* are more metrical lists of code words than actual sentences." Certainly, this issue of prose *versus* verse is not insignificant in the Buddhist tradition in general. For example, the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* states that Buddha instructed gods and humans differently, using verse with the former and prose with the latter.

¹⁶⁰ Abhinavagupta (1968); Barlingay (1991); S. Bhattacharyya (1963); Dange (1987); Daumal (1982); De (1963); Hahn (1971); Haney II (1993); Kapoor (1988); Krishnamoorthy (1986); Shastri (1986); Vidyakara (1965)

level, it is plausible, if not likely, that the *Śrī Kālacakra* was chanted in its original ritual context, and that the process of chanting the text was probably believed to be efficacious in various respects.¹⁶¹ Due to its intricate and long line, the twenty-one-syllable per *pāda sragdharā* metre¹⁶² adds a high degree of musical complexity to the *Śrī Kālacakra*. Possibly, the prolonged rhythmic chanting of the text may have induced certain shifts in consciousness,¹⁶³ perhaps intentionally so.

The term "tantra" designates a genre of literature, one that never admits to being local.¹⁶⁴ A tantra consists of a basic root text (Skt. *mūlatantra*; Tib. *rtsa rgyud*) often complemented by commentaries and liturgical texts. Other texts associated with a tantric school include ritual manuals (Skt. *sādhana*), texts on initiation (Skt. *dikṣa*), and explanatory tantras (Skt. *vyākhyātantras*).¹⁶⁵ Each tantra focuses on a particular tantric deity believed to be a manifestation of the Buddha, e.g., Kālacakra, Guhyasamāja or Hevajra. Tantric Buddhist texts were composed in at least four languages -- Sanskrit, Apabhraṃśa, East Indian "Old Bengali," and Khotanese. The majority of tantric literature, however, was written in Sanskrit.¹⁶⁶ Some Tibetan practitioners may have read

¹⁶¹ Wayman (1985)

¹⁶² According to Acharya (1996), *sragdharā* means "garland-wearing girl," and this metre was especially popular for the exposition of royal subject matter during the Licchavi period of Newar Buddhism. Repetition of certain syllables was common, e.g., "tra" and "ja" in verses pertaining to the king, and the same sound was repeated at the beginning and end of the same *pāda*. Meaning was contained in rhythm and in the sounds themselves. The "poetic figure" (Skt. *alaṃkāra*) in these verses can be analyzed either phonologically, grammatically, or syntactically, and euphonic alliteration is featured, e.g., the instrumental plural may be used due to the phonological and morphological ornamentation of the sound "aiḥ." Patterns across *pādas* also exist, such as an alteration of "s," "ś," and "ṣ" sounds in verses about *nāgas*, and these patterns may be represented visually. In the *sragdharā* metre, each verse is comprised of four lines, and each line is written in a metre comprised of twenty-one syllables arranged into three groups of seven syllables, as follows:

long, long, long, long, short, long, long
short, short, short, short, short, short, long
long, short, long, long, short, long, long.

¹⁶³ See Laughlin et al. (1992) for a discussion of the function of repetitive, rhythmic stimulation. See also Laughlin et al. (1985) and Engler (1983; 1986).

¹⁶⁴ Wallis (1996)

¹⁶⁵ George (1974: 1)

¹⁶⁶ Newman (1988: 123)

Sanskrit root tantras such as the *Śrī Kālacakra* solely for the blessing of reading these texts aloud. This accords with Jan's observation that "From an insider's viewpoint, the power of recitation is extremely powerful, and in certain cases, it is claimed to be even more powerful and preferable than either a philosophical understanding or the excellence in moral disciplines."¹⁶⁷

Attention to the aesthetic nuances of a text may be eclipsed by commentarial traditions. In tantra, oral transmission supplements commentaries, which in turn serve as the basis for sub-commentaries, sub-sub-commentaries, and, eventually, Western academic studies. As Reigle¹⁶⁸ notes, "Commentaries are even more necessary with the Tibetan translations because of the fact that they follow Sanskrit syntax rather than Tibetan. This is why such texts are studied in Tibetan monasteries *via* native Tibetan commentaries and *yig-chas* which put the ideas into Tibetan syntax." Nevertheless, the tantric commentarial tradition elides the importance of rhythmic meaning by privileging "melody," i.e., the "explicit level of meaning" in tantric hermeneutical parlance. Just one short step away from the *Śrī Kālacakra* in the *Vimalaprabhā*, metre has completely vanished. While commentaries "gloss" ambiguous or obscure references in root tantras, a valid and important function, they often direct attention away from the meaningful aspects of aesthetic form. Rhythmic features of the root verses and "harmonic" nominal ambiguities contained therein carry multivocal leitmotifs of the texts themselves, ones often subsumed by the melody line.

In Poetry Studies, translation seeks to convert the entire structure of an original, not just its grammatical content. For example, Robert Mandelstain's translation of the poem "Stone" attempts to preserve both rhyme and metre. And despite the meth-

¹⁶⁷ T. Lewis (1996); Jan (1977: 299)

¹⁶⁸ Reigle (1995)

odological shortfalls of using Biblical comparison to legitimate source texts, John Muir,¹⁶⁹ a late nineteenth-century Western author, takes up the difficult task of fashioning metrical translations of various Sanskrit verses selected from the *R̥gveda*, *Atharvaveda*, *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, and *Mahābhārata*. Poetry scholars' attempt to translate elements of form such as rhyme and metre has led to discussions of "translation" *versus* "creation," but the obvious middle term is "interpretation." Just as a pianist interprets the nuances of a Mozart sonata, interpretation is present in every act of translation. In many cases, precise equivalents do not exist between Sanskrit and English words, or between Tibetan and English words. Instead, as Cabezón and Jackson¹⁷⁰ note, an "ethnocentric fallacy," whereby words must conform precisely to the narrowest Western definitions of that term, "betrays an essentialist notion of definition that, at least since Wittgenstein, has been found increasingly wanting." These authors suggest that we look to Wittgenstein's ideas on "family resemblances," so that if a certain concept taken from the native context does not meet Western essentialist standards, it still may have enough "family resemblances" to be intelligible. Additionally, by its similarities to and differences from the Western concept, the native concept can help inform the Western counterpart. Ideally, the outcome is "a conceptual cross-fertilization" in which non-Western concepts enrich Western understanding and Western terms are applied to non-Western contexts without violating their integrity.

¹⁶⁹ According to Muir (1879: xiii-1), "It will be noticed that not a few of the religious and moral maxims which are metrically rendered in this volume bear a striking resemblance to some of the most admired texts of the New Testament." Muir translates a passage from the *Atharvaveda* x. 8, 44:

The happy man who once has learned to know
The self-existent Soul, from passion pure,
Serene, undying, ever young, secure
From all the change that other natures show,
Whose full perfection no defect abates,
Whom pure essential good for ever sates, --
That man alone, no longer dreading death,
With tranquil joy resigns his vital breath.

¹⁷⁰ Cabezón and Jackson (1996: 19-29)

In his discussion of "cultural translation," translating the traditions of one culture into the language of another, and reminiscing Wittgenstein's ideas on "family resemblances," Putnam¹⁷¹ uses the distinction between "concept" and "conception" to argue that it may be possible to trace the contours of similar conceptions between two traditions even though it may not be possible to determine one-to-one equivalences between their concepts. By including a partial glossary at the end of the translation, I attempt to sketch the contours of key terms throughout the text, thereby incorporating Putnam's broader idea of conception as opposed to concept. This glossary also speaks to the unfinished business of translation by encouraging additional reflection on the original Sanskrit conceptions that embellish the text and by encouraging readers to consider other plausible translations of the verses.

The *Śrī Kālacakra* is replete with grammatical irregularities, including long for short vowels and short for long; locative (Skt. *saptamī*) for ablative (Skt. *pañcamī*); genitive (Skt. *ṣaṣṭhī*) for dative (Skt. *caturthī*); verbs in the *ātmanepada* form instead of the *parasmaipada* form; neuter used for masculine and masculine used for neuter; and the interchange of singulars and plurals.¹⁷² Noting such frequent grammatical irregularities in Sanskrit renditions of Buddhist tantric literature, some scholars have concluded that the tantras contain "barbarous" or substandard Sanskrit usage. In the case of the *Śrī Kālacakra*, however, Newman argues that this conclusion is false, for although Buddhist tantric Sanskrit is certainly not Pāṇinian Sanskrit, the language of early Kālacakra literature is neither substandard Sanskrit nor a form of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (Skt. *ārṣa*). As certain passages within the *Vimalaprabhā* indicate, grammatical irregularities were intentionally introduced into the *Śrī Kālacakra* to counteract arrogance in the form of strict adherence to grammatical rules. According to the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary on I.3:

¹⁷¹ Putnam (1981)

A *yogi* should understand ungrammatical words like these, and others too, by reading the sacred texts. Likewise, I (*Kalki Puṇḍartka*) must write the (*Vimalaprabhā*) commentary relying on the meaning, in order to destroy conceit in correct language.

Here, grammatical irregularities insure that those who study Kālacakra attend to its meaning rather than merely to its words.

Despite the grammatical irregularities of the root text, the Tibetan translators of the *Śrī Kālacakra* were exceedingly systematic in their translation of various Sanskrit words and phrases. In the third chapter, for example, Sanskrit prefixes and longer, recurrent phrases are translated systematically into Tibetan.¹⁷³ Systematic translation intimates Tibetan respect for the precision of the Sanskrit original as Tibetan translators attempted to preserve the perceived inherent power and efficacy of Sanskrit texts.¹⁷⁴

Despite their systematic approach to translating Sanskrit, however, Tibetan translators often made different grammatical choices than those indicated in the Sanskrit root text. Granting that Sanskrit author(s) themselves intentionally may have been creative with respect to case endings, at least three possibilities present themselves to account for the Tibetan choices: 1) the Tibetan translators were "correcting" the grammatical creativeness of the Sanskrit author(s); 2) the Tibetan translators wished to produce a smooth, flowing translation in their native Tibetan, hence heightening their own "authorial transparency;" and/or 3) the Tibetan translators made certain grammatical choices in order to preserve metre, e.g., the Tibetan particle *dag*, often an indicator of the dual number, is frequently employed throughout the third chapter of the *Śrī Kālacakra* to complete lines that otherwise would be short one syllable.

¹⁷² Upadhyaya (1986: xxiv); Vacek (1986)

¹⁷³ For example, the Sanskrit *ṣṭitalanilaye* is translated consistently as *sa yi mthil gyi gnas*.

¹⁷⁴ As Prusek (1938: 384) observes, "Apparently in the eyes of the social classes for which these narratives were intended, as well as in the minds of their authors, the essential value of the religion was tested only by the magical powers which it gave to believers." See also Kawamura (1978).

Despite the systematic efforts of Tibetan translators, nominal reduction from Sanskrit to Tibetan counteracts systematic word- and phrase-equivalents, resulting in an apparent loss of translation precision.¹⁷⁵ Making metre in Sanskrit is a much more complicated endeavor than it is in Tibetan, and it is quite possible that this aesthetic criteria necessitated that Sanskrit authors perform synonymic gymnastics while such feats were not exacted from their Tibetan neighbors. Ironically, then, it is likely that in using English synonyms to translate apparent Sanskrit synonyms, I am introducing connotative nuances into the English translation of the text not intended by Indian authors and Tibetan translators.

The Tibetans were well aware that the successful translation of Buddhist texts from India required a clear understanding of the grammatical and syntactical relationship between Sanskrit and Tibetan. Common scholarly interchange between Indians and Tibetans led eventually to the production of the four thousand five hundred and sixty-nine texts that comprise the Sde dge Kanjur and Tanjur. A supplement to the Tanjur reports that one hundred and seven Indian and two hundred and twenty-two Tibetan translators were involved in this work, though only the names of the leading translators are mentioned. Since many translations in the Tanjur are anonymous, it is likely that thousands of Indian and Tibetan translators and assistants were employed. Tibetan scholars studied the collections of homonyms and synonyms preserved in Sanskrit lexicons, and elaborate rules were devised to insure that accurate Tibetan equivalents for Sanskrit terms were employed, that sentences were constructed with proper verbal juxtapositions, and that metrical rules pertinent to the Tibetan rendering of Sanskrit poetical texts were followed. Regarding word choice, translators were advised

¹⁷⁵ For example, the Sanskrit nouns *kṣiti*, *mahī*, and *bhūmi* all translated by the same Tibetan noun *sa*.

to confine themselves to the bilingual vocabularies compiled by Tibetan scholars, and the translation of prefixes was relatively inflexible. Particular Sanskrit religious or philosophical expressions were often translated methodically according to extensive vocabularies of homonyms and synonyms compiled along the same lines as those adopted by ancient Indian lexicographers. Lexicons addressing metre were also compiled, and extant remain the Tibetan translations of Amarasimha's metrical *Amarakoṣa* and its commentary, the *Kāmadhenu*.¹⁷⁶

Following the lead of the Tibetan translators, my translation is systematic -- when the Tibetan translator(s) render a specific Sanskrit term with a single Tibetan term, I attempt to follow suit by using a single English term. When I make a different word choice, I explicitly note this fact, together with my rationale, in a footnote. In cases in which the Tibetan translation renders multiple Sanskrit terms with a single Tibetan term, I have selected those English terms I believe best fit the nuances of the Sanskrit terms. A systematic, philological approach to both Sanskrit and Tibetan renditions of the Sanskrit highlights a number of findings that pertain to grammar, aesthetic valuation, and the cultural translation of the text into ritual form. For example, in some verses, Tibetan translators substituted their own ritual objects for Indian ones when they translated the *Śrī Kālacakra* into Tibetan, while in other verses, such cultural substitution does not occur and the name of the Sanskrit ritual object is simply transliterated into Tibetan.¹⁷⁷

Because the boundary between translation and interpretation is often unclear, I have applied certain aspects of Varela's¹⁷⁸ neurophenomenological method throughout

¹⁷⁶ Namgyal Institute (1961); Bira (1986)

¹⁷⁷ See Chapter IV of this dissertation.

¹⁷⁸ Varela (1996)

my research. Varela describes phenomenology as a style of thinking that insists on the irreducible nature of conscious experience, which means that experience itself becomes the guiding thread throughout any inquiry. The benefit of phenomenology is that it does not oppose the subjective to the objective. Instead, by recognizing that an individual's consciousness is inseparably linked to that with which it interacts, consciousness itself is used to shed light onto how notions such as subjective and objective arise in the first place. In order to achieve a disciplined examination of experience, Varela proposes that we adopt an attitude of reduction, which is constituted by a suspension of beliefs about what is being examined. By systematically bracketing our habitual tendencies to elaborate current interpretations based on pre-set structuring, the ubiquitous background of our approach to anything, we are lead to intimacy with the phenomenon itself. Varela believes this direct, experiential intimacy constitutes an aspect of "intuition," which he believes may be cultivated in a systematic manner. About intuition, Varela writes:

Intuitive capacity does not refer here to some elusive, mystical state. It is, on the contrary a basic human ability which has been widely discussed in many analyses of creativity or art. ... We take this capacity for granted but do little to cultivate it in a systematic manner. ... Clearly there is no contradiction here with reasoning and inference, but a complementary mode present in ordinary human activity.

Training oneself in stability of mind relative to the cultivation of the reductive attitude and intuition Varela believes imperative due to the fragile nature of the attitudes of reduction. He writes, "If one does not cultivate the skill to stabilize and deepen one's capacity for attentive bracketing and intuition, examination remains prey to our habitual pre-assumptions, which Phenomenology calls the Natural attitude."

In addition to the tendency to fall prey to habitual preconceptions, interpretation of tantric texts is challenging due to their liberal use of *sandhyābhāṣa*, sometimes referred to as "twilight language" or "intentional language."¹⁷⁹ Throughout tantric

texts, word choice and syntactical arrangement are highly ambiguous, and the ambiguity of tantric discourse enables a single verse simultaneously to carry multiple levels of meaning. Most scholars agree that linguistic ambiguity in tantra is intended to protect the esoteric content of the texts from those not properly initiated,¹⁸⁰ and the multivocal Sanskrit verses of the *Śrī Kālacakra* incorporate various levels of meaning pertaining to astronomy and astrology, alchemy, yogic practice, and ritual arts. In the case of the third chapter of the *Śrī Kālacakra*, however, the *Vimalaprabhā* tends to focus on the ritual meaning of the verses.

A rich, conscious and articulated Tibetan commentarial and hermeneutical tradition exists to assist in sorting out the ambiguous, multivocal and grammatically-irregular nature of tantric language.¹⁸¹ Broido¹⁸² notes that there are two ways in which a Western work interpreting Buddhist texts may be concerned with hermeneutics. First, the Western scholar acts as an interpreter and applies his or her own hermeneutical techniques to the materials; and second, because it was expected that they would be subject to and/or would require interpretation, tantric texts were written with a certain degree of hermeneutical self-consciousness. This, Broido claims, makes it imperative that Western scholars follow the Buddhist hermeneutical tradition when interpreting tantras. Furthermore, surveying the "explanatory methods" (Tib. *bshad thabs*) used in Tibet, Broido argues that some make similar distinctions to those found in Western theories of meaning and speech-acts, e.g., explanation by "intention" (Tib. *dgongs bshad*).¹⁸³

¹⁷⁹ Bharati (1961); Bucknell and Stuart-Fox (1986); Elder (1976)

¹⁸⁰ T. Gyatso (1995); Jackson (1992: 89)

¹⁸¹ Cabezón (1981; 1992); Harman (1971); Jackson (1988); Kapstein (1988); Reugg (1981; 1989a); Steinkellner (1978)

¹⁸² Broido (1982: 5-13; 1983; 1984; 1988); Thurman (1978; 1988)

¹⁸³ Broido (1982) employs terms such as "Hevajra code" and "Guhyasamāja code" to sidestep the problem of translating the Sanskrit term "*sandhyābhāṣa*." Using Padma dkar po's (1527-1592) commentary on the *Hevajratantra*, Broido distinguishes: 1) the notion of a sign (Tib. *brda*) in general; 2) the notion and purposes of signs; and 3) particular types of signs, e.g., bodily signs (Tib. *lus kyi brda*) and speech

An example from Broido's provocatively entitled article, "Killing, Lying, Stealing, and Adultery: A Problem of Interpretation in the Tantras" illustrates the multi-dimensional nature of passages within a particular tantra. Using Kālacakra literature as an example, Broido selects verses that presumably advocate activities such as killing, lying, stealing, adultery, drinking wine, and loving women of low caste. However, using commentarial material and the hermeneutical dialectic of "interpretable" and "definitive," Broido provides two interpretations for each of these passages. For example:¹⁸⁴

Interpretable (Skt. *neyārtha*; Tib. *drang don*): A Buddha may kill those who are really committing the five immediacies, who break their vows, and who damage the teaching. But a mantrin who has not attained the five special knowledges (Skt. *abhijñā*; Tib. *mngon shes*) should not perform such fearful actions.

Definitive (Skt. *ntārtha*; Tib. *nges don*): Holding the semen (Skt. *retas*; Tib. *khu ba*) at the top of the head.

The extent to which later Tibetan interpretations are based upon earlier Indian commentarial literature is an important area of future research, one that may consider the manner in which both Indian and Tibetan commentaries relate to verse-meaning in the context of the *Śrī Kālacakra*.

Reconstructing Tantric History

Judging from the probable dates for much tantric literature, the late medieval period of India history was the heyday of textual and ritual aspects of Indian tantra. Scholars still debate the precise dates of the tantric movement's inception and diffusion,

signs (Tib. *ngag gi brda*). According to Padma dkar po, a sign communicates by speech or gestures that do not follow normal conventions. Furthermore, signs are often related to secrecy such that "the yogins recognize each other but cannot be recognized by outsiders."

¹⁸⁴ Broido (1988: 73)

though it appears that tantra may have achieved a self-identifiable form during the third or fourth centuries.¹⁸⁵ As a corpus of esoteric thought and practice, tantra continued to develop in fifth- to seventh-century India, and later, from the late seventh to the early thirteenth centuries, tantra's textual genre was greatly expanded. "Tantra" itself is more an amalgam than an entity, combining as it does Vedic ritual,¹⁸⁶ *mantra* recitation, Upanšadic theory, *haṭha-yoga*,¹⁸⁷ *kunḍalini-yoga*,¹⁸⁸ Śaivite iconography, and Śākta beliefs.¹⁸⁹

Tantric cults were common to Buddhism, Hinduism, Jainism and Kaśmirī Śivaism.¹⁹⁰ From about the third to the ninth centuries, it appears that "mainstream" Mahāyāna Buddhists in India recognized as authentic and embraced a corpus of tantric texts. Since the Tibetan reception of Indian Buddhism occurred when much of this incorporation had already taken place, it is not surprising that the tantric section of the Tibetan canon contains almost five hundred tantric texts and more than two thousand commentaries and explanatory works translated from Sanskrit.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁵ Sanderson (1990: 1) uses the term "tantric" "to denote a form of religious practice which is distinguishable from the rest of Buddhism principally by its ritual character, only secondarily by soteriological doctrine, and hardly at all by specific theories of ultimate reality." Eliade (1969: 399-403; 1974: 200-201) identifies tantra as a philosophical and religious movement that arose during the fourth century C.E. and achieved what he "pan-Indian popularity" by the sixth century." A partial list of sources on tantra include: Asvaghosa (1975); Banerji (1988); Bernard (1992); Bernbaum (1974); Bharati (1975); Bharati (1975); B. Bhattacharya (1988); Blofeld (1970); D. Bose (1956); Bottéro (1991); Brooks (1990); Chang (1963); Chandra (1965); Daniélou (1991); Dargyay (1979); Davidson (1981); Goswami (1986); Goudriaan and Schoterman (1988); Guenther (1972b); J. Gyatso (1986); K. Gyatso (1982); T. Gyatso (1975; 1988; 1991a); T. Gyatso et al. (1991); Hopkins (1984; 1985; 1990); Isayeva (1995); de Jong (1984); Kiyota (1982); Kværne (1975); de La Vallée Poussin (1922); Lessing (1942); Lorenzen (1972); Matsunaga (1964; 1965); Muses (1982); Nihom (1994); Pandey (1986); Pandit (1957; 1964); Rastogi (1979; 1992); Riviere (1989); Ruegg (1984); Samuel (1989); Schopen (1983); Shinici (1974); Sanderson (1992); Srinivasan (1987); Stalbein (1980); Takasaki (1966); Tāranātha (1983); Tharchin (1988); Thrangu (1994); Tsong kha pa (1982; 1987a; 1987b); Tsuda (1982); Tucci (1931); van Tuyl (1979); Walker (1982); Wayman (1980; 1993); and Yeshe (1987; 1995).

¹⁸⁶ Oguihenine (1983)

¹⁸⁷ Sinh (1915); Svatmarama (1975)

¹⁸⁸ Sastri (1968)

¹⁸⁹ Sinh (1915); Shaw (1994b: 31)

¹⁹⁰ The tantras of the Vaiṣṇavas, Śaivas and Śāktas are called "Samhitā," "Āgama," and "Tantra," respectively.

¹⁹¹ Eliade (1969: 399-403; 1974: 200-201); Sanderson (1990: 1). According to Snellgrove (1959a: 3-

Confusion exists concerning the origin of tantric ideas and practices in India. Some authors have chosen to locate the source of tantric ideas in an "Indian religious substratum" from which the tantric tradition took its impetus. According to this view, similarities between tantric Buddhism and tantric Hinduism are explained as independent derivations from a common source.¹⁹² The Oxford scholar Alexis Sanderson¹⁹³ takes another approach, and he argues that Hindu tantra and Kaśmirī Śaivism are the source of Buddhist tantric ideas. While not claiming that a Buddhist tantric system stripped of its doctrinal and soteriological content is identifiable with a Śaivite system *per se*, Sanderson claims that the authors who composed the Buddhist tantras, especially the Highest Yoga Tantras, drew heavily on Śaiva textual materials from a specific section of the Śaiva canon. Sanderson argues that Buddhist tantric authors then

4), from the seventh to the twelfth centuries, major creative activity was focused on the tantras, a point evidenced by the composition of texts in the Tibetan canon. Approximately one-quarter of the Kanjur's one hundred volumes is comprised of tantric texts. In the Tanjur, sūtric commentaries (Tib. *mdo 'grel*), mostly produced during the period of Mahāyāna development from the second to the eighth centuries, comprise about half of the approximately two hundred and twenty-five volumes, while tantric commentaries (Tib. *rgyud 'grel*) produced from the seventh to the twelfth centuries, especially during the middle of this period, comprise approximately one-quarter of these volumes. For more on the Tibetan canon, see Eimer (1980; 1983; 1992).

¹⁹² Eliade (1969); Snellgrove (1987)

¹⁹³ Sanderson (1990) does not favor this idea, and he writes, "The problem with this concept of a 'religious substratum' or 'common cultic stock' is that it is by its very nature an entity inferred by never perceived. Whatever we perceive is always Śaiva or Buddhist, or Vaiṣṇava, or something else specific. Derivation from this hidden source cannot therefore be the preferred explanation for similarities between the specific traditions unless those similarities cannot be explained in any other way." Sanderson also claims that the Hindu tantric tradition is "positive and identifiable" while the Buddhist tantric tradition is not. He attempts to substantiate his conclusion concerning Śaiva influence on Buddhist Tantra from a reading of early Śaiva tantric literature authoritative at the time of the emergence of the Heruka cults. He states, "That the redactors of the Buddhist Yogānuttaratantras depended on these Śaiva works was always obvious enough to those Śaivas who knew the literature." Sanderson uses the following argument to support his overall argument: "Belief in the existence of this substratum is perhaps encouraged by the not uncommon notion that what differentiates Hindu Tantrism from orthodox Hinduism and Buddhist Tantrism from orthodox Buddhism is that both have their roots deep under the "śāstric" ground in the autochthonous religious traditions of the lower castes and tribals. I am sure that one aspect of Hindu Tantrism is that it imposes itself on and colonizes such religion. However, I am equally sure that, even if these traditions were a source of raw materials for some Hindu tantric traditions, [and by extension, I would suppose some Buddhist traditions], they reached the "Vajrayāna" directly from highly esoteric forms of "Śaivite Tantrism" cultivated in circles fully conscious of their sectarian identity."

reassembled this material into texts identical to no one particular Śaiva system but resembling all Śaiva systems from a particular section of the canon in their general structure and method. Although a full-scale comparison of Kaśmirī Śaivite and Highest Yoga Buddhist tantras is necessary to test Sanderson's claim, similarities do exist between the *Śrī Kālacakra* and an early Kaśmirī Śaivite text from north India, the *Viṇāśikha Tantra*.¹⁹⁴

Though denounced by Victorian Western and revisionist Indian scholars during the Indian colonial period, tantra has emerged within the last thirty years as a viable and increasingly-popular area of study within the broader study of Asian religions. Critical translations and studies of Hindu and Buddhist tantric texts from India, Tibet, China, Japan, and Southeast Asia have been published, and the bibliography of secondary sources pertinent to Tantric Studies is expanding rapidly. The partial tantric history recently being constructed suggests that tantra may have been mainstream within both elite and popular forms of medieval Hindu and Buddhist religious life, and in scholarly vogue are studies on Hindu and Buddhist subtle-body "mapping" and South-Asian tantric hagiography.¹⁹⁵

Understanding of the function of texts such as the *Śrī Kālacakra* as important pieces of literature within a complex, historical and literary milieu is an important methodological first step before attempting far-reaching sociological interpretations of how these texts functioned in tantric communities.¹⁹⁶ The *Śrī Kālacakra* was composed within a rich literary context, and many of its ideas and terminology had currency in other aspects of Indian culture. Having first considered the *Śrī Kālacakra* self-

¹⁹⁴ Andresen (1996)

¹⁹⁵ "April" (1996)

¹⁹⁶ Kapstein (1997)

referentially, we can later complement this understanding with a layered method that considers its connections: 1) to other tantric material dating from the same period, including Buddhist, Hindu, Śaivite, Kāpālikas, and Kālāmukhas works; 2) to other Buddhist "Highest Yoga" tantras; 3) to Buddhist tantras in general; 4) to Hindu tantras, especially Kaśmirī Śaivite works; 5) to pan-Indian cultic elements that may have informed various forms of tantra, e.g., references to Indian alchemy,¹⁹⁷ astronomy,¹⁹⁸ astrology,¹⁹⁹ omenology,²⁰⁰ and to the classical Indian healing system of Āyurveda;²⁰¹ and 6) to historical documents on other forces, e.g., social, political, economic,²⁰² that may have influenced ideas in tantric text and ritual practice. Such a layered methodology may dissolve the Western distinction between didactic philosophy and doctrine on the one hand, and narrative structure and practice on the other. Only after considering these multifaceted aspects of tantra's literary context is it appropriate to attempt to interpret textual data sociologically, e.g., by considering cross-culturally the function of similar genres of ritual action.

¹⁹⁷ Banerji (1992); Faivre (1993); Jung (1944); Lahiri (1968); Lindsay (1970); Mahdihassan (1979); Pereira (1989); White (1984; 1996); Zabala (1991)

¹⁹⁸ In order to understand texts such as the *Śrī Kālacakra*, we must consider other texts with which its authors may have been in contact, e.g., Varāha-mihara's *Bṛihat Saṃhitā*. See Bhat (1982); Burgess (1860); Clark (1930); Neugebauer (1983); Sarma (1977; 1979; 1986); Iyengar (1980); Iyer (1884); Petri (1968); Pingree (1978); Shukla (1969); Subbarayappa and Sarma (1985); Thurston (1994); Wilkinson (1861).

¹⁹⁹ Dreyer (1990); Pingree (1976); Santhanam (1984)

²⁰⁰ Reiner (1975; 1981)

²⁰¹ Chandra (1971a; 1971b); Chattopadhyaya (1986); Dash (1975); Joshi (1984); Nandi (1973); Nityanatha (1991); Rosu (1986); Sde srid Sang rgya mtsho (1970); Staal (1993); Tripāthī (1939); Vagbhata (1939); V. Wallace (1995; 1995/6); Zimmerman (1979); Zysk (1991; 1995/6)

²⁰² Chapela (1992)

CHAPTER III: TEXTUAL KĀLACAKRA

Kālacakra's Textual Divisions

The *Śrī Kālacakra* and the corresponding 12,000-verse *Vimalaprabhāṅkā* commentary are divided into five main sections in both Sanskrit and Tibetan redactions: 1) cosmology, i.e., the realm-space section (Skt. *lokadhātupaṭāla*; Tib. *'jig rten gyi khams nam*); 2) physiology, i.e., the inner-self section (Skt. *adhyātmapaṭāla*; Tib. *nang nges pa*); 3) initiation, i.e., the empowerment section (Skt. *abhiṣekapaṭāla*; Tib. *mngon par dbang bskur ba*);²⁰³ 4) generation stage, i.e., the practice section (Skt. *sādhanaṭāla*; Tib. *sgrub thabs*); and 5) completion stage, i.e., the gnosis section (Skt. *jñānaṭāla*; Tib. *ye shes*).²⁰⁴

Focusing on astrology, geomancy, geography, history and eschatology,²⁰⁵ the first section of the *Śrī Kālacakra*, which is sometimes referred to as "Outer Kālacakra" (Tib. *phyi'i dus 'khor*), presents a cosmological alternative to traditional Buddhist cosmology as it is presented in Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*. The second section of the tantra is sometimes referred to as "Inner Kālacakra" (Tib. *nang gi dus 'khor*), and it outlines the physiology of the "subtle body" (Skt. *śukṣmadeha*), including its structure and function. This section of the tantra also addresses the time-cycle of breaths taken by a person during a day; here, the temporal divisions of the universe are said to be situated in the body *via* the vital-wind processes, which tantric practitioners seek to control. Perhaps related, the sixth chapter of Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka* discusses how to keep oneself above the whirl of time (Skt. *kāla*) by using yoga to control

²⁰³ The title of this section is "The third chapter, known as the Empowerment" (Skt. *abhiṣekonāmatrīyahpaṭāla*).

²⁰⁴ Sopa (1985a: 92); Dwivedi and Bahulkar (1994: 20)

²⁰⁵ Jackson (1985b: 31)

vital wind in the channels.²⁰⁶

The third to fifth sections of the *Śrī Kālacakra* are sometimes referred to as "Alternative Kālacakra" (Tib. *gzhan gyi dus 'khor*). Beginning with an explanation of the qualifications necessary for both guru and disciple, the third section of the tantra addresses "empowerment" into the practice of Kālacakra. It then describes the activities that precede the empowerment, which include examining the site, accumulating ritual materials, taking control of the site, creating a protective circle, and constructing the Kālacakra *maṇḍala*. It continues to describe disciples' progress through the *maṇḍala*, the guru's conferral of the empowerment, and the concluding rituals that follow the empowerment ceremony.

The fourth and fifth sections of the *Śrī Kālacakra* focus on the practice of Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga (Skt. *ṣaḍaṅgayoga*; Tib. *rnal 'byor yan lag drug pa*). These practices are divided into "generation stage" (Skt. *utpattikrama*; Tib. *bskyed rim*) and "completion stage" (Skt. *niṣpannakrama*; Tib. *rdzogs rim*) yogas. In contemporary settings, when then Kālacakra empowerment is conferred to large groups, only those empowerments that enable practitioners to engage in "generation stage" practices are conferred. The "higher empowerments" (Tib. *dbang gong ma*) necessary for "completion stage" yogas are bestowed infrequently in large public gatherings. These "higher empowerments" are divided into two categories -- the four "conventional worldly" empowerments (Tib. *kun rdzob 'jig rten pa*) and the "transmundane" empowerment (Tib. *nges don 'jig rten las 'das pa*), sometimes referred to as the "fourth" empowerment.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁶ Abhinavagupta (1968); Dasgupta (1969); Pandey (1935)

²⁰⁷ Sopa (1985a: 94-95, 116)

The *Śrī Kālacakra* is a relatively late tantra that references earlier Indian traditions, e.g., the Sāṃkhya tradition.²⁰⁸ Kālacakra's discussion of the "four drops" implies familiarity with the four states described in the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* and Gauḍapāda's *Kārikā*.²⁰⁹ Nevertheless, though it draws on well-known works from the Indian tradition, the *Śrī Kālacakra* itself is an exceptionally self-referential work. In contrast to many examples from Indian literature in which later chapters imply separate authorship, e.g., the *Kāuśika Sūtra*, the *Śrī Kālacakra*'s stylistic consistency implies authorial continuity. Clear authorial intention regarding content is also present, and as Puṇḍarīka notes in the *Vimalaprabhā*, there is a progressive sense of building towards the fifth chapter.

Kālacakra's History in Sambhala

According to Bu ston's *Dus 'khor chos 'byung*, Nāropā's *Paramārthasaṃgraha*, and the *Śrī Kālacakra* itself,²¹⁰ Śākyamuni Buddha taught the *Paramādibuddha* (the *Kālacakramūlatantra*)²¹¹ in the Dharmadhātu *maṇḍala* at Śrīdhānyakaṭaka in southern India. Dhānyakaṭaka, which is regarded in the Kālacakra tradition as the source of all

²⁰⁸ Frauwallner (1957; 1982; 1984); Garbe (1894); Larson (1969); Radhakrishnan (1957); Sāṃkhya (1987)

²⁰⁹ Reigle (1995)

²¹⁰ Orofino (1994b: 11)

²¹¹ The full title of this text, which is no longer extant in either Sanskrit or Tibetan, is *The Kālacakra Root Tantra: The Primordial Buddha* (Skt. Kālacakramūlatantrarājaparamādibuddhanāma; Tib. Dpal dus 'khor rtsa rgyud dang po'i sangs rgyas). Scholars are uncertain about the original length of the "Paramādibuddha," or that a complete text ever existed. According to Orofino (1994b: 13-14), in addition to verses of the "Paramādibuddha" found in the "Sekoddeśa," many fragments of it exist in Kālacakra's exegetical literature, thus demonstrating that other sections of the text were circulating in India during the early spread of the tradition. The first chapter of the "Vimalaprabhā" quotes seventy-two verses from the "Paramādibuddha" that do not belong to the "Sekoddeśa," and other verses from the "Paramādibuddha" are found in other chapters of the "Vimalaprabhā." Additional verses from the "Paramādibuddha" are found in Vajrapāṇi's "Lakṣābhīdhānoddhṛtalaghutantrapīṇḍārthavivarāṇa," in Vajragarbha's "Hevajrapīṇḍārthāṭikā," and in Sādhuputra Śrīdhārānanda's "Sekoddeśaṭippaṇī." Nāropā also quotes verses from the "Paramādibuddha" in both his "Paramārthasaṃgraha" commentary on the "Sekoddeśa" and in his "Vajrapādaśārasaṃgrahapañjikā" commentary on the "Hevajratāntra," the latter of which is extant only in Tibetan.

tantric teachings, has been located in the proximity of the Indian village of Amarāvātī in the Guntur District of Āndhra Pradesh. This area was the site of a marble *stūpa* of considerable dimension that probably dates to the second century or earlier.²¹² According to the Tibetan tradition, Buddha's emanation as Kālacakra is believed to have been his highest emanation during which he taught his most profound and comprehensive doctrines and practices.²¹³

In the *Śrī Kālacakra*, the central deity Kālacakra is one form taken by the "Primordial Buddha."²¹⁴ From the *Sekoddeśaṅkā* of Naḍapāda,²¹⁵ alias Nāropā, the Primordial Buddha (Skt. *ādibuddha*) is defined as follows:

The word *ādi* means without beginning or end, and *buddha* means being enlightened with regard to the *dharma*s, free of all false conceptions. So being *ādi* and being *buddha*, he is *Ādi Buddha*, with no origin and no decrease, omniscient.

Buddha is said to have taught the *Paramādibuddha* at the request of Sucandra, the king of Sambhala. In the Tibetan tradition, Sucandra is believed to be an emanation of Vajrapāṇi. Sucandra is then said to have redacted the 12,000 verse (Skt. *śloka*) text in a volume and returned with it to Sambhala where he taught and transmitted it. When Sucandra returned to Sambhala, he is said to have written the *Stainless Light*

²¹² Macdonald (1970); Orofino (1994b: 11-12); VC (1966: 6); Newman (1985: 53; 1987a: 71-75). Upadhyaya (1986: xxi) claims that the *Śrī Kālacakra* itself indicates that it may have been preached at Kalāpagrama or Aḍakavātī in Sambhala. See Mus (1978) and Tucci (1957; 1988) for a discussion of the cosmological and psychological significance of the *stūpa* and *maṇḍala*, both of which link macrocosm and microcosm.

²¹³ Jackson (1985b: 2). While T. Gyatso (1995: 93-97) claims that Buddha taught certain higher tantras such as the *Śrī Kālacakra* after having assumed the form of the tantra's central deity in union with consort, he proposes a revisionist approach to the traditional Tibetan view:

We need not presume that all of the teachings were propounded by the Buddha during his historical lifetime. Rather, I think that the teachings of *tantra* could have also emerged through the extraordinary insights of highly realized individuals who were able to explore to the fullest extent the physical elements and the potential within the human body and mind. ... When we reflect on tantric teachings, we should not limit our perspective by rigid notions of time and space.

²¹⁴ de Kőrös (1883); Wayman (1973: 53)

²¹⁵ Carelli (1941); Snellgrove (1987: 205)

(Skt. *Vimalaprabhā*), a 60,000-verse commentary on the *Paramādibuddha*.²¹⁶

Neither the *Paramādibuddha* nor Sucandra's *Vimalaprabhā* remain extant in Sanskrit, and we have no evidence that these texts were ever translated into Tibetan. Indeed, even Bu ston remarked that the *Paramādibuddha* no longer existed in the early eleventh century.²¹⁷ The *Paramādibuddha* was a late text, one which reflected earlier Buddhist Tantric literature of the seventh and eighth centuries, texts such as the *Guhyasamājatantra*, the *Hevajatantra*,²¹⁸ and the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti*. In addition, Nāropā's *Paramārthasaṃgraha* includes a quotation from the *Paramādibuddha* that corresponds to the initial stanza of the *Ḍākinīvajrapañjaratantra*, a tantra that, according to Bu ston's tantric catalogue, belongs to the cycle of the *Hevajatantra*.²¹⁹

According to the Tibetan literary tradition, two groups of kings existed in Sambhala, the seven religious kings (Skt. *dharmarāja*; Tib. *chos rgyal*), and the twenty-five "kalkī" (Tib. *rigs ldan*), and the names of both sets of kings appear in the *Vimalaprabhā* as a citation from the *Paramādibuddha*.²²⁰ These kings are called "kalkī" by Mañjuśrīyaśas, who is an incarnation of Mañjughoṣa. They also are called "kalkī" because, as it is stated in the *Paramādibuddha*, the four castes were unified into a "kalka," literally a paste, called "vajrakula."²²¹ Followers of Kālacakra, each of the

²¹⁶ Newman (1987b); Orofino (1994b: 11)

²¹⁷ Grönbold (1991: 389-390)

²¹⁸ Snellgrove (1959a); de Jong (1960); Farrow (1992). According to Orofino (1994b: 13-17), the *Hevajatantra* and *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* are interpreted in light of the doctrines of the Kālacakra tradition.

²¹⁹ Orofino (1994b: 14)

²²⁰ Grönbold (1991: 392-393); Newman (1988: 134-137) The numbers seven and twenty-five may be symbolic, and as Grönbold suggests, "seven" may refer to the seven planets, while there are twenty-seven or twenty-eight lunar mansions in the Kālacakra tradition.

²²¹ According to Orofino (1994b: 12) and Newman (1987b: 94; 1988: 132), the term "kalkī" designates Yaśaḥ's activity in binding the four castes in unity by conferring tantric empowerment upon them. According to Grönbold (1991), although the term "kalkī" was retranslated into Sanskrit as "kulika," the *Paramādibuddha* uses the term "kalkī." The tenth avatar of Viṣṇu is also called "kalkī," but the connections are not clear.

Kalkī kings reigned for one hundred years. In Tibetan literature, the kings' names are mentioned in commentarial texts, chronological works, and religious histories.²²²

After the seven religious kings, the eighth king, Yaśaḥ, who was believed to be the first Kalkin of Sambhala and an emanation of Mañjuśrī, is credited with writing the *Śrī Kālacakra* (the *Laghukālacakratantra*, a.k.a. the *Kālacakra Tantra*), an abridged version of the *Paramādibuddha*.²²³ The *Śrī Kālacakra*, which is extant in both Sanskrit and Tibetan, is traditionally believed to have consisted of 1030 stanzas. King Yaśaḥ is also said to have written a prophetic addendum to the *Śrī Kālacakra* called the *Śrī Kālacakra Tantrottara Tantrahṛdayam*.²²⁴ The original *Kālacakra Tantra* is no longer extant. According to the Indian and Tibetan traditions, however, *Śrīmañjuśrīyasas*, the eighth Kalkī of Sambhala, composed a summary of the *Kālacakra* system called *The Abbreviated Kālacakra Tantra* (Skt. *śrīlaghukālacakratantrarāja*; Tib. *Dpal dus 'khor bsdus rgyud*). This text is now commonly referred to as the *Kālacakra Tantra*.

Yaśaḥ's son, Kalkin Puṇḍarīka, authored the *Vimalaprabhāṭikā*, which like the *Śrī Kālacakra* upon which it comments, is also extant in Sanskrit and Tibetan.²²⁵ The *Vimalaprabhāṭikā*, which was named after the original *Vimalaprabhā* written by Sucandra, appears to follow the *Paramādibuddha* while directly commenting upon the *Śrī Kālacakra*.²²⁶ This text alternates between prose and variable metrical feet (7-, 11-

²²² The list of kings does not start immediately with Sucandra – his parents Sūryaprabha and Vijayā are mentioned, as are eleven descendants of Raudracakrī. Comparing the list of Sanskrit names from the *Paramādibuddha* with the list found in Tibetan works, Grönbold (1991: 392) shows that with one king certainly, and partially with two, the Tibetans separate the composite, and one name they did not even recognize as such. Thus, from the beginning, the Tibetans handed down an incorrect line of kings, although Indian scholars pointed this fact out to them in the thirteenth century. See also Reigle (1986).

²²³ Newman (1987b: 93-94)

²²⁴ Newman (1985: 63)

²²⁵ Orofino (1994b: 12)

²²⁶ Newman (1987b)

and 19-syllables) and contains many interspersed quotations. Unlike the Sanskrit redaction, the Tibetans translation includes a topical outline (Tib. *sa bcad*) with the text. By the fourteenth century, the *Śrī Kālacakra* had been translated into Tibetan approximately fifteen or sixteen times and the *Vimalaprabhāṅkā* had been translated into Tibetan more than ten times.²²⁷

Fragments of the *Paramādibuddha* are scattered throughout the *Vimalaprabhāṅkā* and throughout portions of other commentarial literature on Kālacakra. In addition, although we no longer have extant Sanskrit or Tibetan redactions of the *Paramādibuddha*, one section of this text, the *Sekoddeśa*, exists in both Sanskrit and Tibetan. The *Sekoddeśa* itself consists of 174 stanzas in the *anuṣṭubh* metre and is rendered in classical Tibetan, seven-syllable quatrains in both its Tibetan translations. Though no longer extant in its entirety, the Sanskrit text of the *Sekoddeśa* has been reconstructed by Raniero Gnoli through the intermediary of Tibetan exegetical literature. Colophons to the various Kanjur versions of the *Sekoddeśa* indicate that the text was revised by Rin chen rgyal mtshan on the basis of the commentary by Nāropā.²²⁸

The *Sekoddeśa* was translated into Tibetan twice during the second half of the eleventh century. The first translation was undertaken by the Kaśmirī Paṇḍit Somanātha together with the Tibetan Lo tsā ba 'Bro Dge slong Shes rab grags (a.k.a. 'Bro Shes rab); the second revised translation, completed by the Nepalese Paṇḍit Samantaśrī and the Tibetan Lo tsā ba Rwa Chos rab near the end of the eleventh century, is preserved in the independent tradition of the Phug brag Kanjur recovered recently from Western Tibet.²²⁹ As Newman and Orofino have noted,²³⁰ it is not easy

²²⁷ Newman (1985a: 65-76); Stearns (in preparation)

²²⁸ Orofino (1994b: 25); Carrelli (1941)

²²⁹ Orofino (1994b: 9)

to determine where the *Sekoddeśa* may have appeared within the text of the *Paramādibuddha*, though they speculate that it was a section from the fifth chapter. The original Sanskrit redaction of the *Sekoddeśa* is the earliest known text representing the Kālacakra tradition, and extrapolating from the commentaries written on it by important religious figures of the period, this text circulated independently in India during the first half of the eleventh century.

It generally is agreed that the *Śrī Kālacakra* and the *Vimalaprabhā* were probably composed during the sixty-year cycle from 967 to 1026.²³¹ The issue of *where* these texts were written, however, is a debated point. Western scholars tend to favor the idea of an Indian origin for early Kālacakra literature, hypothesizing that the Muslim onslaught mentioned in both texts refers to Maḥmūd of Ghazna's numerous invasions of northwest India during the first few decades of the eleventh century.

Western Kālacakra scholars also have speculated about possible geographical locations for Sambhala, and many possibilities have been raised, including the Kushan Empire. Two popular suggestions are the Uighur kingdom of Khocho and the Buddhist kingdom of Khotan. Bernbaum²³² hypothesizes that of all the regions of Central Asia,

²³⁰ Newman (1987b: 94-97); Orofino (1994b: 15)

²³¹ Newman (1987a: 102; 1988) and Orofino (1994b: 15-24) both refer to I.27 of the *Śrī Kālacakra* and the corresponding commentary in the *Vimalaprabhā*. This verse asserts that the *dhruvaka* corresponds to the nineteenth year of the Jupiter cycle, which falls forty-one years before the end of the sexagenary cycle, and Orofino therefore concludes that the astronomical era of the Kālacakra *laghukaraṇam* corresponds to 805 of the Gregorian calendar. Newman suggests an East Indian origin for the early Kālacakra literature, and he bases this claim on the fact that Mahīpāla is listed in the *Vimalaprabhāṭkā* as the sixteenth Kalkin of Sambhala. Newman argues here that this could serve as a tribute to the monarch Mahīpāla who reigned in eastern India during the period when Kālacakra was introduced. Orofino suggests that the abundant references to military conflict and Muslims in the *Śrī Kālacakra* and *Vimalaprabhā* suggest a northwestern Indian origin for the early Kālacakra literature.

²³² Because guidebooks point north, Bernbaum (1980: 45) hypothesizes that the Kushan Empire, which was responsible for the creation of Buddhist art and the spread of Buddhism through Central Asia, may be a possible location for Sambhala. Because nomads dominated this territory, however, we know little about its history. Nevertheless, Uighur ruins found north of the Tien Shan Mountains suggest that a developed kingdom may have existed there.

the Uighur kingdom of Khocho in the Turfan Depression, located beneath the Tien Shan Mountains, is one of the most likely locations for Sambhala. Bernbaum bases this statement on directions to Sambhala described in Tibetan guidebooks, which report that Turfan lies north of the Śītā River. Bernbaum believes that the Tarim Basin southwest of Turfan comes closest in size and shape to Tibetan descriptions of Sambhala. Because this basin is oval in shape and enclosed by the Kunlun, Pamir, and Tien Shan ranges, it easily could have been symbolized by a large lotus blossom surrounded by a ring of snow mountains. Furthermore, small kingdoms that likely existed in the numerous oases sprinkled around the fringes of the basin may have provided the model for the ninety-six principalities in the outer region of Sambhala. While Buddhism was flourishing in the Tarim Basin, Manicheism and Nestorian Christianity influenced the development of Buddhist art and thought in the area *via* Silk-Road caravans following the route to China.²³³ Though it was an active center of Manicheism and Nestorian Christianity, the Uighur kingdom of Khocho was predominantly Buddhist, and many Buddhist monasteries existed there. At the time the Kālacakra appeared in India, the arts were well-developed in this kingdom and its inhabitants enjoyed a high standard of living. Bernbaum²³⁴ suggests that Sambhala may be composite of many different countries and cultures, including the sophisticated Uighur kingdom of Khocho, the size and shape of the Tarim Basin, the various religions of Central Asia, and the Hindu influences of Kashmir.

Newman²³⁵ suggests that precise geographical descriptions of Sambhala present in Kālacakra literature suggest that this kingdom existed historically. Though he does not provide a precise citation to support this point, he claims that the Kālacakra litera-

²³³ Geng (1985); Uray (1983; 1987)

²³⁴ Bernbaum (1980: 44-46)

²³⁵ Newman (1985: 83-84; 1987a: 75, 362; 1996a: 487-494)

ture locates Sambhala north of India and the Śītā River. Following descriptions of the Śītā by Hsüan-tsang and others, Newman identifies the Śītā with the Tarim River in eastern Turkestan. Further, he interprets a passage on astronomy (*Vimalaprabhā*: 40a1-2) -- *boṭa li ca cīnādideśesu ... sambhalaviṣayāntam* -- to mean that Sambhala is north of Tibet, Khotan, and China. Newman also concludes that "the appearance of the Tibetan word *li* ("Khotan") in the Sanskrit text of the *Vimalaprabhā* ... indicates its author was familiar with, and perhaps had contact with, Tibetans." He adds that other sections from the *Vimalaprabhā* support this hypothesis. Combining these statements, that Sambhala lies north of both China and the Tarim River, Newman concludes, as does Orofino,²³⁶ that Sambhala was located in Central Asia north of the Tien Shan. He also proposes that Sambhala may actually have been a special name for the Uighur kingdom centered at Khocho that flourished *circa* 850-1250.

According to Grönbold,²³⁷ the Buddha proclaimed the text of the *Mūlatantra*, which is supposed to have consisted of 12,000 verses (Skt. *śloka*), to Sucandra, one of the kings of Sambhala. Sucandra later redacted it in his kingdom, and he is also said to have written a commentary of 60,000 verses in the language of Sambhala. Sambhala, Grönbold claims, was north of the Śītā river, or just in the north (Tib. *byang*). As mentioned, since they identified the Śītā with the Tarim, scholars have focused on Central Asia as a location for Sambhala, though Indian locations also have been proposed. Grönbold claims that one should not neglect the possibility that Sambhala may have been in India, because the *Padminīnāmapaṇjikā* by Kālacakrapāda, a short commentary on the *Śrī Kālacakra*, claims that Sambhala is "north of Śītā and south of Himavat." Grönbold concurs with Newman that the existence of Sambhala probably is not mythical. For example, the colophon of the *Vajrapāṇiguhyābhideśatantra* states that

²³⁶ Orofino (1994b: 11-12)

²³⁷ Grönbold (1991: 395-397)

Balacandra, a great guru from India, and the translator Glan chung Dar ma tshul khrims translated this text according to a book from Sambhala in the north. Later, it was compared to a text from Magadha (Tib. *yul dbus*) and one from Kashmir. Nevertheless, Grönbold claims that, even if it did originate outside of India, the *Śrī Kālacakra* is Indian in character.

Although it may be tempting to look far to the north to find Sambhala, I believe that Khotan represents a more likely locale for the "Sambhala" that inspired the authors of the *Śrī Kālacakra*. This possibility has been noted by Bernbaum and others:

Shambhala may have corresponded historically to the Tarim Basin as a whole or to one of the major oases such as Yarkand, Kashgar, or Khotan. Some scholars have singled out Khotan, the largest and most fertile oasis on the southern rim of the basin. Watered by melting snows of the Kunlun Mountains, it supported a thriving center of Buddhist learning, a people who loved music and culture... According to archaeological evidence, Khotan was colonized by Indians around the 3rd century B.C.E. According to a Tibetan legend, a member of the Buddha's clan named Shakya Shambha fled north from India, crossed many mountains, and came to a land he conquered that later became known as "Sambhala." Because of the similarity, the Tibetan legend may have come from the Khotanese tradition, suggesting a possible link between the hidden kingdom and Khotan.

Bernbaum's major objection to the Sambhala-cum-Khotan theory centers on tallying Khotan's geographical location with directions to Sambhala given in Tibetan guidebooks. If "Śītā" is an old name for the Tarim River, then the location of Khotan and the Tarim Basin south of this river contradicts the guidebooks to Sambhala, one of which Bernbaum claims mentions Khotan and tells the traveler to go through it on the way north to the Śītā. Furthermore, commentarial literature on the *Śrī Kālacakra* divide Asia into six zones and place Sambhala north of "li," the third zone, which Bernbaum and Newman claim corresponds to the region around Khotan. Bernbaum concludes, "the teaching may still have come from Khotan but disguised its place of origin as a mysterious kingdom farther to the north."

While Bernbaum's objections to identifying Sambhala with Khotan revolve

around Tibetan guidebooks, to specify the Sambhala that inspired the *Śrī Kālacakra*, we need only look for consistency with material found in the *Śrī Kālacakra* itself; we have no assurance that the *locus classicus* for Sambhala did not shift during the years between the composition of the root text and the composition of commentaries upon it. My hypothesis that Khotan inspired the "Sambhala" mentioned by the authors of the *Śrī Kālacakra* is based on two main points. First, Khotan was the most influential Buddhist kingdom that existed around the year 1000;²³⁸ and second, drawing on Khotanese regnal records, I correlate the "reign dates" for the most influential Khotanese king, Viśa Sambhava, (r. 912-966), to the eve of *Kālacakra*'s first sexagenary cycle, 967, the date given for the *Śrī Kālacakra*'s entrance into India from Sambhala.

Scholars²³⁹ have shown that Khotan was a flourishing Buddhist kingdom at the time the *Śrī Kālacakra* was authored. In the Tarim Basin of the Śītā River, the name of Khotan is recorded in the early fourth century in a Kharoṣṭhī document (no. 661). Because the title for the Khotanese ruler was highly Indianized, Bailey concludes that Buddhism reached the Śītā early. According to the legend of Mingdi, Chinese scholars were sent to Khotan for Buddhist learning in the first century, and Tibetan sources indicate that sixty-eight Buddhist colleges (Skt. *viḥāra*; Tib. *gtsug lag khang*) existed in Khotan. A list of these institutions together with the names of their founders is preserved in a Tibetan text from the Tanjur, and this text records the many beneficent

²³⁸ For more on Buddhism in Khotan, see Skjaervo (1991; forthcoming). For more on Central Asian tantra, see Bailey (1965); Stein (1987). For more on Buddhism in Central Asia, see Andrews (1981); Bailey (1971; 1979; 1982); Barfield (1989); Beckwith (1980, 1987); Blum (1994); Brownell (1994); Cadonna (1992); diCosmo (1994); Forte (1993); Gabain (1973); Gaulier (1976); Giles (1944); Grousset (1970); Hage (1987); Hamilton (1988); Klimkeit (1980; 1982; 1987a; 1987b; 1993); Lin (1992); Mailard (1973, 1983, 1987); Merzbacher (1905); Nāzim (1931); Okladnikov (1990); Piotrovsky (1993); Roth (1993); Schmidt-Glinter (1987); Sinor (1990); Stein (1948; 1981); Vandier-Nicolas (1983); Vohra (1993); Waley (1931); Weller (1928); Whitfield (1996); Wushu (1992); Ying-Hui (1976); and Zieme (1983; 1992).

²³⁹ Bailey (1982); Emmerick (1967)

acts of the kings, queens, and ministers of Khotan.

In the Buddhist center of Khotan, Sanskrit was written and spoken during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Many Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts were compiled in Khotan, and the Fourth Buddhist Council was held there. Tantric texts written in native Khotanese also date to the same period as the *Śrī Kālacakra*.²⁴⁰ Skjaervo²⁴¹ has begun translating Khotanese fragments recovered in 1907 from the caves of Dunhuang in Chinese Turkestan, a huge bowl of sand surrounded on three sides by high mountains but open towards the east to the Kansu corridor. Geographical conditions have resulted in two caravan routes, to the north and to the south of the desert, branching out at Kashgar and meeting again at Dunhuang. In addition to the traders who frequented this route came missionaries and "zealous proselytizers." Indians and West Iranians brought Buddhism, which quickly gained general diffusion in Central Asia and from there penetrated into northern China. The Sogdian merchants introduced Zoroastrianism, which never gained great popularity, and Nestorian Christianity. Dunhuang itself was a Chinese frontier town at the end of the Silk Road, a commercial and military center of great importance. The Tibetans occupied most of the Dunhuang district in 781, and the conditions of the local people and of the influential Buddhist community are fairly well known given the documents and texts found in the famous "Caves of the Thousand Buddhas."²⁴²

Skjaervo currently is translating various Khotanese fragments from Dunhuang. One fragment, a letter written by Nāgai'drravarrda, a Buddhist monk, to the monastery in Gūśa'mdā, dates to the tenth century and reflects the amalgam of Buddhist life in Khotan during this period. Recounting anecdotes about the lives of members of the

²⁴⁰ Skjaervo (1996); Andresen (1997)

²⁴¹ Skjaervo (in preparation)

²⁴² Petech (1992: 1-13)

Gūṣa'mḍā monastic cohort, Nāgai'drravarṛda's letter provides useful information on the lives of Khotanese Buddhist monks during this time. Reflecting the syncretic nature of Buddhism in Silk-Road-fed Central Asia, various monks emphasized different aspects of Buddhist practice depending upon their abilities and dispositions. From Nāgai'drravarṛda, we learn that the Daishis Vimalaśīla and Dai-vai-sū followed a more typical Nikāya and Mahāyana lifestyle -- instructed in the three *pitakas*, they focused on charity and right action, and they are said to have performed correct contemplation. In contrast, other monks reportedly were well-versed in Tantra. For example, singling out two of his monastic comrades, Nāgai'drravarṛda tells us that Daide Bvaidaśīla was a "follower of the Vajrayāna" and that Daide Dairāhasū was "learned in the Vajrayāna."

What exactly does this mean, to be a "follower of the Vajrayāna" or "learned in the Vajrayāna" according to the protocols and rituals of Khotanese monastic Buddhist life? To answer this question, we may turn to another fragment from the same textual corpus, one written in the tenth century and entitled "Homage of Hūyī Kīma-Tcūna." Who Hūyī Kīma-Tcūna is, we no longer know, but his "Homage" invokes multifarious Buddhas arranged in the directions of a tantric *maṇḍala*. Hūyī continues his homage by giving reverence to another long list of Buddhas, many of whom appear in other texts, and both Hūyī's "Homage" and other tantric fragments imply that reciting the names of the Buddhas, a practice was prevalent in Khotanese Buddhist culture, was believed efficacious in Khotanese tantra. Skjaervo's preliminary translation of Hūyī's text follows:²⁴³

In the eastern direction, I revere Akṣobhya and the many trillions of Buddhas beginning with Mañjuśrī. // In the southern direction, I revere the exalted Ratnaketu together with his entire assembly, the first of whom is Ākāṣa-garbha. // In the Western direction, I revere Amitāyū and a so-numerous

²⁴³ Skjaervo (in preparation)

assembly that there, one cannot determine its number. Those great bodhisattvas of the ten stages (Skt. *bhūmi*) beginning with Lokiteśvara are sitting in the ... — all of them I revere. Reverence! // In the northern direction, I revere the exalted Dundubhisvara together with his entire assembly, the first of whom is Samantabhadra. // In the first subdirection (i.e., the northeast), reverence! I revere the all-knowing Buddha Dharaṇīdhara, the exalted one together with his entire assembly. // In the second subdirection (i.e., the southeast), I revere the all-knowing Buddha Nārāyaṇa, great in powers, together with his entire assembly. // In the western subdirection (i.e., the southwest), I revere the all-knowing Buddha Candraprabha, the exalted one together with his entire assembly. In the fourth subdirection (i.e., the northwest), I revere the all-knowing Buddha Śāntendriya, the exalted one together with his entire assembly. // In the upward subdirection, I revere — reverence! — the all-knowing Buddha Bhadrāsī. In the downward direction, I revere the Buddha Vairocana together with his entire assembly.

From where these Buddhas come, why are they arranged in this particular configuration, and what do these textual antecedents tell us about the nature of the tantric tradition as it was practiced in medieval Khotan? More specifically, one can ask whether or not the directional orientation of the Buddhas corresponds to other tantric material from India. A proto-tantric *maṇḍala* is described in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*, which probably dates to sometime before the fifth century and which reflects the early transition from Mahāyāna to Vajrayāna Buddhism in India. In this text, the Buddhas are arranged in the four major directions, and by substituting "Amitābha" for "Amitāyu," an identical configuration to that which is found in Khotan is produced.

A survey of various Indian tantras, the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, the *Guhyasamājatantra*, the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*, the *Hevajatantra*, and the *Śrī Kālacakra*, reveals a shifting configuration of the arrangement of the Buddhas in the four major directions. By the eighth century, Dundubhisvara appears to have been replaced by Amoghasiddhi in the north, and Ratnaketu appears to have been replaced by Ratnasambhava in the south. These changes suggest that the primary configuration of Buddhas in the four major directions in Khotan reflects an early India transmission, probably sometime between the fifth and seventh centuries. Concerning the Buddhas inhabiting the subdirections in the Khotanese configuration, Dharaṇīdhara in the

northeast is one of the names of Viṣṇu or Kṛiṣṇa. In the southeast, Nārāyaṇa is identified with Brahma, Viṣṇu or Kṛiṣṇa. In the southwest, Candraprabha, who appears in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana*, and the text of the *Thousand Buddha Names*, refers to an *arhat* in the Jain tradition, to a semi-divine spirit (Skt. *yakṣa*), and to a king. Śāntendriya in the northwest and Bhadrāśrī in the upward subdirection are mentioned by Chandra.²⁴⁴ Vairocana, in the downward subdirection, appears in both the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* and the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra*.

In addition to *maṇḍala*-like configurations of Buddhas, other tantric elements appearing in the Khotanese fragments include omens and portents, seed syllables, and the concept of the ten *bhūmis*. The section on omens concerns the interpretation of bodily signs and probably reflects the incorporation of *Atharva Veda* material from India into both Indian and Khotanese tantric practice.²⁴⁵ According to an eighth-century Khotanese fragment, "He whose right side of the head twitches, the signs should be known as good. When the left side of the head twitches Those whose right ear twitches shall know, 'I shall obtain a good dwelling,' etc."²⁴⁶

The eight *akṣaras*, or sacred seed syllables, are also described in a Khotanese text commonly referred to as *The Book of Vimalakīrti*,²⁴⁷ not to be confused with the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. This text quotes from the *Anantamukhanirhārasūtra* and explicitly correlates seed syllables with cognitive states along the path. The interpretation given to the *akṣaras* here appears dissimilar to the invocation of seed syllables in tantras such

²⁴⁴ Chandra (1988)

²⁴⁵ Bolling (1909); Van Den Bosch (1978); S. Dange (1979); Goudriaan (1986); J. Joshi (1978); Kloppeborg (1983); Magoun (1889); Saravati (1905); Schoterman (1992); Whitney (1962)

²⁴⁶ Skjaervo (in preparation)

²⁴⁷ The eight "akṣaras" from *The Book of Vimalakīrti* include: 1) "pa," unobstructed, selfless, empty, extinguished; 2) "la," marks/characteristics (Skt. *lakṣaṇa*); 3) "ba," pure equality; 4) "ka," recognition of the fruits of actions; 5) "ja," birth, aging, death; 6) "dha," spells/chants (Skt. *dhāraṇī*); 7) "śa," calm-abiding (Skt. *śamatha*); and 8) "kṣa," extinguished, empty, without essence; pure *nirvāṇa*.

as the *Guhyasamāja*, *Hevajra*, and *Kālacakra*, in which seed syllables are placed at various cakras along the subtle body and their vocalic resonance is correlated with the shifting distribution of winds, drops and minds that results from the practice of meditative visualization. In the Khotanese text, no explicit mention is made of placing the *akṣaras* along the subtle body.

Other tantric fragments from Khotan invoke the ten *bhūmis*, and here, the context appears to be both Mahāyānic and tantric. This is seen in the following quote from Skjaervo's preliminary translation:²⁴⁸

I go in reverence with my forehead to the exalted buddha body of the Law, pure may he deign the body in the ten *bhūmis*. May they succeed by these merits and roots of goodness. When he writes to you, for him are fulfilled the six *pāramitās*, the ten *bhūmis*, the ten powers -- his wishes are fulfilled, all living beings will become buddhas in the world. O great prince, deign thereafter to realize the all-supreme *bodhi* of the buddhas.

It is difficult to determine to what, precisely, the term "bhūmi" refers in this context. It may refer either to the ten stages in the career of the *bodhisattva*, one who has taken a vow to seek enlightenment for the sake of others; or possibly to the ten divisions of the central channel in which the subtle drops are stacked during tantric meditation. Further contextual research on the roles played by tantric texts in the daily ritual life of Khotanese Buddhists is necessary before a clear determination may be made one way or the other.

While tantra certainly was an aspect of Khotanese Buddhism, determining Kālacakra's connection to Khotan necessitates revisiting tenth-century Khotanese political history, which, we have seen, involved Chinese and Turks.²⁴⁹ During the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, Muslim forces from the western city of Kashgar waged a forty years' war against the primarily-Buddhist inhabitants of Khotan.²⁵⁰ In

²⁴⁸ Skjaervo (in preparation)

²⁴⁹ Bailey (1982: 3-4).

958, the Khotanese king Li Şang-t'ien sent an embassy to China, and in 966, his own son became king of Khotan. From 971 to the end of the century, the Turks of Kāshgar were involved in a violent struggle with Khotan. By the year 1006, around the time that the *Śrī Kālacakra* was authored, Khotan had fallen to the Muslims from Kashgar, Yūsuf Qadir Khān was in possession of Khotan, and a Muslim embassy came to China from Khotan in 1009. This accords well with the *Śrī Kālacakra*'s mention of Muslim invaders. The Turks, who are documented frequently in the extant Khotan diplomatic dispatches, eventually extinguished the Buddhist kingdom of Hvatanza.

The Muslim onslaught against Khotan occurred during the reign of a monarch by the name of "Viśa Saṃbhava." Viśa Saṃbhava was an extremely influential Buddhist ruler, and portraits depicting him have been found in the Dunhuang Buddhist caves. He reigned in Khotan for fifty-four years, in contrast to his successors' shorter reigns of ten, four and twenty-three years, respectively. "Viśa...", a term repeated many times in the *Śrī Kālacakra* and *Vimalaprabhā*, is the surname of the Khotanese royal family that ruled Khotan for some one thousand years, perhaps the longest family dynasty in Asian history. In Prakrit, this term is "vijita," in Sanskrit, it is "viśta," and in Latin and English it is "victor." Following Viśa Saṃbhava, we have the reigns of Viśa Śura (r. 967-977), Viśa Dharma (r. 978-982), and Viśa Saṃgrāma (983-1006).²⁵¹

Perhaps not coincidentally, Viśa Saṃbhava reigned from 912 to 966, which corresponds exactly to the eve of Kālacakra's first sixty-year cycle. According to Pulleybank and Hamilton,²⁵² the Chinese name of Viśa Saṃbhava is Li Shengtian, and his regnal year is Tong Qing (Khot. *thūkhi*). According to Zhang and Rong,²⁵³ this king

²⁵⁰ Emmerick (1967)

²⁵¹ Zhang and Rong (1982: 202)

²⁵² Pulleyblank's (1954) chronology for the Khotanese kings was revised by Hamilton (1979), and, more recently, by Zhang and Rong (1982).

²⁵³ Zhang and Rong (1982: 202)

used three different names for his regnal year, deriving from Chinese originals -- the first is Tong Qing/thū-khī, from 912-949; then Tian Xing/thyina-hīna from 950-963; and finally Tian Zun/thyaina-śiva from 963-966. This corresponds perfectly to the purported return of the *Śrī Kālacakra* to India from Sambhala in 967.

It is likely that we are witnessing some slippage between geographical names and personal names. After all, it takes only two short linguistic steps to move from the name of the Khotanese king "Saṃbhava" to the name of the kingdom, "Sambhala;" one need only replace the *anusvāra* with an "m" and the "v" with an "l," and both of these transpositions are common between Khotanese and Sanskrit.²⁵⁴ This type of geographical/surname slippage exists elsewhere in the *Kālacakra* tradition. According to Bu ston's account, the *Kālacakra* teachings and a trilogy of texts the Tibetans refer to as the "Bodhisattva Corpus" (Tib. *byang chub sem dpa'i 'khor*)²⁵⁵ appeared in India during the simultaneous reigns of three kings -- Dehapāla in the East, Jaugaṅgapa in the South, and Kanauj in the West. Dehapāla may correspond to Devapāla, the Pāla king who reigned in the first half of the ninth century. The remainder of this quote suggests geographical referents. "Kanauj" obviously refers to the imperial capital of Bengal during the Pāla period, while "Jaugaṅgapa" could be construed as a stand-in for Jambudvīpa.²⁵⁶ Given this nominal and geographical correlation, Khotan provides a likely candidate for the "Sambhala" mentioned in the *Śrī Kālacakra*.

²⁵⁴ Skjaervo (1996)

²⁵⁵ The three texts that comprise the "Bodhisattva Corpus" are Vajrapāṇi's *Lakṣābhīdhānoddhṛtalaghutantrapīṇḍārthavivarāṇa*, Vajragarbha's *Hevajrapīṇḍārthaṭṭka*, and Puṇḍarīka's *Vimalaprabhā*, texts that comment on the abridged (Skt. *laghu*) versions of the Cakrasaṃvara, Hevajra, and Kālacakra cycles, respectively.

²⁵⁶ Newman (1987a: 77); Orofino (1994b: 17)

Kālacakra's History in India

Early scholars such as Hoffmann²⁵⁷ hypothesized that Kālacakra entered India from Central Asia and was practiced in the Indian provinces of Bengal and Kashmir. But even if a Central Asian kingdom such as Khotan did serve as the model for the "Sambhala" mentioned in the *Śrī Kālacakra*, a Khotan-cum-Sambhala could have been invoked to legitimate the *Śrī Kālacakra* and the *Vimalaprabhā*, while these texts still could have been authored in India. As mentioned previously, it is probable that at least some portion of the *Paramādibuddha*, minimally the *Sekoddeśa*, circulated in northern India during the early part of the eleventh century, the height of the importation of Buddhist texts, practices and institutions into Tibet.²⁵⁸ Regarding the era of composition and dissemination of other Kālacakra texts, Newman²⁵⁹ claims that a prophecy from the *Śrī Kālacakra* and *Vimalaprabhā* I. 27 states that this literature was composed in India during the sexagenary cycle from 967 to 1026.²⁶⁰ Although *Śrī Kālacakra* I.

²⁵⁷ Hoffmann (1961: 125); Bernbaum (1980: 40-41)

²⁵⁸ Newman (1987a: 532-533; 1987b: 97-100)

²⁵⁹ According to Newman (1987a: 538), this verse employs "number symbols" (Skt. *bhūtasāṅkhyā*; Tib. *grangs brda*), which, according to Pingree (1981: 1), are "common objects that appear or are understood to appear in the world in fixed quantities as synonyms for those quantities." As Newman notes, when they occur together, number symbols should be read backwards. As Wayman (1977: 63) reports, Buddhist tantric texts, especially Highest Yoga Tantras, often employ numerological symbolism. In the *Śrī Kālacakra*, six-fold correspondences are common, in which the five elements of earth, water, fire, wind and space are complemented by the addition of the wisdom element. In addition, many nouns in the text are actually numerical designations for certain measurements of the maṇḍala. The following nouns often appear in the text, and commentaries often provide their corresponding numerical values: sky (0); moon (1); hand (2); fire (3); world (3); quality (3); time (3,4 or 6!); age (4); ocean (4); water-treasure (4); arrow (5); element (5); seal (6); season (6); taste (6); mountain (7); sage (7); weekday (7); nāga (8); wealth (8); sun (12); and fault (18).

²⁶⁰ According to Orofino (1994b: 14-16), KT I. 27 and the VP commentary on this verse mention that the end of the sexagenary cycle falls "403 years" (Skt. *vahnau khe 'bdhau*; Tib. *me mkha' rgya mtsho*) after the "Hijra" -- "the year of the lord of the barbarians" (Skt. *mlecchendravarṣam*; Tib. *kla klo'i dbang po'i lo*). "Lord" here refers to Muhammad and "the barbarians" refers to the Muslims. Though Newman (1987b: 100) has argued that linguistic usage from the KT and VP suggests that the year 403 should be calculated according to the Muslim lunar calendar Hijra chronology (i.e., 1012/1013), Orofino is correct that the year 403 should be calculated according to lunisolar chronology based on stabilized sexagenary Jupiter cycles (i.e., 1027). Orofino therefore concludes that the end of the sexagenary cycle corresponds to 1026, which means that the sexagenary cycle began in 967, 403 years after the elapse of the Hijra in 622. She also notes that the first year of the sexagenary cycle is referred to as "prabhava." According to Grönbold (1991: 397-398), KT I. 26 states that Kalkī Yaśas will reign six hundred years

27 does not cite India as the locus of authorship, the *Vimalaprabhā*²⁶¹ commentary to this verse states "ihāryaviṣaye," which may be translated as either "Here in the land of the Aryans..." or "Here, in the land of the Aryans..." In his dissertation, Newman opts for the former interpretation and claims that the *Vimalaprabhā* cites India as the land of its origin. More recently, however, Newman notes that Puṇḍarīka often introduces new subjects with the term "iha," and hence the statement is ambiguous.²⁶² Judging from Puṇḍarīka's style, I favor the second interpretation -- neither the *Śrī Kālacakra* I. 27 nor the commentary on this verse from the *Vimalaprabhā* actually mention India *per se* as the locus for their authorship.

Other evidence also supports the hypothesis that the *Śrī Kālacakra* and perhaps even the *Vimalaprabhā* may have been written during the first few decades of the eleventh century, concurrent with Maḥmūd of Ghazna's raids into northern India. First, no historical references to the Kālacakra tradition exist before the early eleventh century, and the masters responsible for Kālacakra's propagation probably lived during this period. Second, the *Śrī Kālacakra* and *Vimalaprabhā* make abundant reference to the Muslim Tajiks. And third, Tibetan historiographical sources support the hypothesis that the Kālacakra tradition originated in a movement that spread in certain regions in east and north India during the sexagenary cycle preceding 1027. For example, Tāranātha Kun dga' snying po (1575-1634) mentions that the *yogi* Piṇḍo introduced Kālacakra into Tibet during the time of King Mahipāla (977-1027).²⁶³

after the KT was proclaimed. Eight hundred years after that, in 622, the religion of the "mleccha" in the land of "Mekka" will begin. This date is one of the fixed points of Kālacakra time reckoning, and the period from 624 to 1027 is 403 years. This period is half of 806, a number extremely important in Kālacakra time reckoning. The epoch for the calculation of the KT is the beginning of the month Caitra of in 806. At that point, a simplified "karaṇa" reckoning begins in the Kālacakra calendar. From 624 to 806, the hundred-year cycle of row of Kings of Sambhala was interrupted.

²⁶¹ Upadhyaya (1986: 78)

²⁶² Newman (1987a; 1987b: 100; 1997)

²⁶³ Orofino (1994b: 23); Chimpa and Chattopadhyaya (1970). For more on Indian history during this period, see H. Bhattacharyya (1937) and Wink (1990).

Scholars are uncertain where in India the authors of the first Kālacakra treatises lived; some evidence suggests they may have lived in eastern India, while other evidence points northwest. The idea of an eastern-Indian origin for early Kālacakra literature is supported by the fact that Mahīpāla is listed in the *Vimalaprabhā* as the sixteenth Kalkin of Sambhala. As Newman and Orofino have indicated,²⁶⁴ this could be a tribute to the monarch Mahīpāla who reigned in eastern India during the period when Kālacakra was introduced. Abundant references to military conflict and Muslims in the *Śrī Kālacakra* and *Vimalaprabhā* suggest a northwestern Indian origin for the early Kālacakra literature. Starting with the chronological reference point of the Hijra (I. 27), the texts also describe various rituals to promote military victory (Skt. *svarodaya*), an array of military weaponry including siege machines (I. 128-149), an apocalyptic conflict between the *Cakravartin* and the barbarians at the end of the age, a list of the prophets of the Judeo-Christian-Islamic traditions (I. 154), and the customs of the *Mleccha* (I. 155). Given this evidence, Orofino logically concludes that Kālacakra's early exponents probably lived in a region undergoing intense military conflict, and she surmises that this region may have been northwestern India, which was raided incessantly by Maḥmūd of Ghazna during the first decades of the eleventh century. Also noting the routine contact between eastern and northern India during this period, she further speculates that the originators of the Kālacakra literature may have been wandering *yogīs*.

Working from a combination of textual, archaeological and epigraphic evidence, I suggest that the *Śrī Kālacakra* was probably authored in Bengal.²⁶⁵ The fifth subsec-

²⁶⁴ Newman (1987a: 102); Orofino (1994b: 23-24)

²⁶⁵ For general information on Bengal, see Chowdhury (1967); Hussain (1968); Maitreya (1987); Majumdar (1943; 1971); Niyogi (1980); P. Paul (1939-40). For more on tantra in Bengal, see Banerji (1978); M. Bose (1930); and Kapstein (1995).

tion of the third chapter, Verses 130 to 136, correlates various types of female *yoginīs* with thirty-six occupational castes common in Bengal during the Pāla period. Caste and sub-caste distinctions corresponding to trade and craft guilds were prevalent in Bengal.²⁶⁶ Although the four primary castes -- Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras -- may have existed in ancient times, by the time Bengal adopted Aryan culture, numerous castes and sub-castes had evolved in association with the different arts, crafts and professional guilds and also in association with tribal, racial and religious factors. The caste situation in Bengal is described in the *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa, a twelfth-century text. According to this text, the non-Brāhmaṇa population of Bengal was divided into thirty-six castes, the conventional number castes that exists even today in Bengal, and all were described as Śūdras. This tiered caste system was characteristic of Bengali society and distinguished it from the rest of North India. The *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa describes scribes and office workers; physicians; warriors; messengers; weavers; dealers in spices; barbers; writers; blacksmiths; dealers in betel nut; potters; workers in copper and brass; conch-shell workers; florists; carpenters; fishermen; dancers; boatmen; leather workers; etc.²⁶⁷ Although forty-one castes are enumerated in this text,²⁶⁸ the castes are said to number thirty-six, so five must be regarded as later additions. The thirty-six occupations listed in the *Śrī Kālacakra* dovetail with the castes famous in Bengal, and Witzel²⁶⁹ has suggested that the names of the *yoginīs* suggest a locus on the border of middle India and Bengal.

Many of the thirty-six castes were well-known in the late nineteenth century,²⁷⁰ and many of these must have developed as distinct castes before the close of the Hindu

²⁶⁶ Majumdar (1943: 565-567; 1971: 342-419)

²⁶⁷ Majumdar (1971: 342-343, 416-419)

²⁶⁸ See Appendix B.

²⁶⁹ Witzel (1996)

²⁷⁰ Risley (1891); J. Bhattacharya (1896)

period. The gradual disappearance of a distinct Kṣatriya caste, the progressive assimilation of the Vaiśya with the Śūdra, and division of the last into "sat" and "asat" (higher and lower) applied to Bengal during the Hindu period and to the evolution of the caste system in India in general. Majumdar²⁷¹ sums up status between castes as follows:

As regards the status of the different castes, the Kārṇas and the Ambashṭhas are given the positions of pre-eminence. The Ambashṭhas are equated with the Vaidyas, and the Kārṇas were identical with or the forerunners of the Kāyasthas. The predominance of Kāyasthas and Vaidyas, among the castes other than the Brāhmaṇas, forms a distinctive and characteristic feature of the social life in Bengal even today. Such castes as Śaṁkhakāra, Dāsa (cultivator), Tantuvāya, Modaka, Karmakāra, and Suvarṇa-vaṇik are well-known in Bengal but are not generally met with in other parts of India. These considerations support the view that the *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa reflects the condition of Bengal.

The list of Saṅkara or mixed castes given in the *Brahma-vaivarta* Purāṇa closely resembles that of the *Bṛihad-dharma* Purāṇa, though there are certain differences in detail.

The caste system in Bengal was fluid, and the number, designation and relative status of the different castes varied over time. References exist in which the Pāla kings are said indirectly to have maintained the caste system, which implies that royal authority was invested with the right and duty to maintain the status quo.²⁷² Socially, though intra-caste marriage was the preferred rule, men often married women from lower castes, as is evidenced by the Tippera copper-plate of Lokanātha, though apparently this practice became less acceptable over time.²⁷³

²⁷¹ Majumdar (1943: 571-572); Ghurye (1923: 91)

²⁷² Majumdar (1943: 573)

²⁷³ Majumdar (1943: 575-577); Brinkhaus (1978). In terms of Bengali social relations, those whose father and mother both belong to the four early castes are in the *uttama* (High) category; those whose mothers alone belong to one of the early castes but father belong to the *uttama* category form the *madhyama* (Intermediate) category; and those whose father and mother both belong to any mixed caste are relegated to the *adhama* (Low) category. Practically, these principles were not always followed, so that a Chāṇḍāla born of a Śūdra father and Brāhmaṇa mother has been classed with the "antyajas." Similarly, among the "antyajas," some are born of *madhyama* Saṅkara males and Vaiśya or Śūdra females.

The *Śrī Kālacakra*'s pervasive mention of thirty-six castes may actually be the clue that *rules out* Khotan-cum-Sambhala as the place where this text was authored. No finely subdivided caste structure is mentioned in any of the Khotanese economic and social documents currently available.²⁷⁴ Epigraphic and archaeological evidence also supports the hypothesis that the *Śrī Kālacakra* was authored in Bengal. The text specifically mentions geographical units called *bhukti*, *viśaya*, *maṇḍala*, *bhāga*, and *grāma* -- terms, according to one particular copper-plate inscription described by Majumdar, used by the Pāla kings of Bengal to describe their administrative units.²⁷⁵ The *Śrī Kālacakra* also uses the term *mantri*, which according to land grants and epigraphic records was the title for the ministers who assisted the Pāla kings. According to a pillar inscription at Bādāl, the *mantri* was accorded high status, something along the lines of the current position of minister.²⁷⁶ By betraying their familiarity with a thirty-six-tiered caste structure and other Bengali administrative terminology, then, the authors of early Sanskrit *Kālacakra* literature actually may reveal themselves as Bengalis; perhaps these authors merely claimed Sambhala as the place of origin for the *Śrī Kālacakra* and *Vimalaprabhā* in order to distinguish these texts from others circulating in Indian Buddhist tantric communities.

²⁷⁴ Skjaervo (1996); Stein (1907)

²⁷⁵ According to Majumdar (1971: 308), the territory administered by the Pāla kings was divided into administrative units called *bhuktis*, *viśayas*, and *maṇḍalas*, and smaller units called *khaṇḍala*, *avṛitti* (subdivided into *chaturakas*), and *bhāga* (subdivided into *pāṭakas*). Scholars are uncertain exactly what certain of these designations imply, for example sometimes the *viśayas* comprise the *maṇḍalas* and sometimes vice versa. A *pāṭaka*, which was the smallest administrative unit named in the epigraphic records, was apparently half of a *grāma* (i.e., village). It probably served as the origin of the modern division of Bengali villages and towns into *pāḍās*, which denote areas inhabited by a particular group of people belonging to a social or professional unit.

²⁷⁶ According to Majumdar (1971: 303-306), Pāla rule in Northern India was characterized by a highly developed and stable administrative system. At the top of the system was a strong hereditary monarch with great power. A group of officials headed by the Ministers (*mantri* or *sachiva*) assisted the king in his duties. For more on daily life in Bengal, see Auboyer (1961).

Kālacakra in Bengal

The first historically-identifiable people associated with the Kālacakra tradition lived and worked in Orissa, Bengal, Bihar and the Himalayan regions of Kashmir and Nepal.²⁷⁷ Historical sources for the early phase of Kālacakra's transmission include: Bu ston's *Rgyud sde'i zab don sgo 'byed rin chen gces pa'i lde mig*; Mkhas grub rje Dge legs dpal bzang po's (1385-1438) *Dus 'khor ṭik chen* (c. 1434); 'Gos Lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal's (1392-1481) *Blue Annals (Deb ther sngon po)* (c. 1478);²⁷⁸ and Tāranātha's *Dus 'khor chos skor*. Although Bu'ston account is the earliest, dating to the second decade of the fourteenth century, it probably refers to an earlier oral tradition.²⁷⁹

Bu ston's account describes two different histories for the introduction of Kālacakra into India, which correlate to different Tibetan transmission lineages. According to the Rwa tradition, Kālacakra teachings were introduced into India together with the Bodhisattva Corpus. During the simultaneous reigns of the three kings mentioned by Bu ston, Dehapāla, Jaugaṅga, and Kanauj, it is reported that Paṇḍit Cilu (Tib. *tsi lu*) was born in Orissa.²⁸⁰ He studied Buddhism at the Ratnagiri *viḥāra* (in Cuttak district, Orissa); at Vikramaśilā (possibly in Bihar); and at Nālandā (in Bihar), and he is said to have distinguished himself in the study of Buddhism. Convinced of the importance of tantric teachings, especially the method outlined in the Bodhisattva Corpus, he set off to find those teachings believed to be extant in Sambhala. *En route*, he was met by an emanation of Mañjuśrī, who conferred on him

²⁷⁷ Orofino (1994b: 23)

²⁷⁸ Wylie (1957)

²⁷⁹ Orofino (1994b: 17)

²⁸⁰ According to Orofino (1994b: 19-20), the Tanjur contains two works attributed to this author, the *Ṣaḍaṅgayogapadeśa*, which was translated into Tibetan by Rwa Chos rab and Samantaśrī; and the *Ratnavṛkṣaṇāmaraḥasyasamājavṛtti*, a commentary on the *Guhyasamājatantra*.

all the initiations and teachings of the Bodhisattva Corpus. Later, residing in Kaṭaka in Orissa, he transmitted those teachings to Piḍo or Piṇḍi Acārya (a.k.a. Piṇḍa Ācārya), who was born in Bengal. Piḍo then transmitted the teachings to *Kālacakrapāda the Elder, who was born in Varendra (northern Bengal). *Kālacakrapāda the Elder transmitted them to *Kālacakrapāda the Younger, who taught Kālacakra to many disciples at Nālandā, among them the Kaśmirī Paṇḍit Somanātha.²⁸¹

Later, the Paṇḍit Samantaśrī of Ye rang (Patan in Nepal) heard the Kālacakra doctrines and became the disciple of Mañjukīrti. The Paṇḍit Samantaśrī then worked together with the Tibetan translator Rwa Chos rab to translate many Kālacakra texts, including the *Sekoddeśa*. Rwa Chos rab was the nephew of the famous Tibetan translator Rwa Lo tsā ba Rdo rje grags (1016/17-?), which dates the major translation effort for texts on the Kālacakra tradition to the early eleventh century. Completing most of his studies in Nepal, Rwa Chos rab worked primarily on the Highest Yoga Tantras of Kālacakra, Saṃvara, Samputa, Vajradākinī, and Heruka. Rwa Chos rab himself is also reported to have been present at a council organized by King Rtse lde in 1076, and he is said to have played a role in generating support for Highest Yoga Tantras among scholar-practitioners in Tibet.²⁸²

According to the 'Bro tradition, the Kālacakra teachings were introduced into India at the time of Kalkin Śrīpāla, the seventeenth Kalkin according to *Vimalaprabhā*

²⁸¹ Orofino (1994b: 17-20) entertains Newman's suggestion that this may been *Piṇḍo (Bsod nyoms pa), the itinerant monk from Yavadvīpa (Java) mentioned by the Bengali master Atiśa in his *Bodhimārgapradīpapañjikā* as Atiśa's teacher of the Great *Ādibuddhatantra*. Also in this text, Atiśa credits the Bhikṣu Bsod nyoms pa with originating a moral reformation of monastic discipline and tantric practitioners' behaviour, ascribing to him the rule prohibiting monks from taking the *Ādibuddhatantra*'s higher initiations – the *guhyābhiṣeka* and the *prajñābhiṣeka* – both of which include tantric union.

²⁸² Orofino (1994b: 17-18). Another famous translator of the same period, 'Gos Lo tsā ba translated a number of tantras, including the *Hevajatantra*, though he mainly was interested in the *Guhyasamāyatantra* and in the *Śrī Kālacakra*, both of which were considered Yoga tantras during this period.

I. 3. In this account, a young *yogi* was met by Kalkin Śrīpāla, who initiated him into the teachings of the Bodhisattva Corpus and the Highest Yoga Tantras. Upon his return, he became renowned as an emanation of Mañjuśrī and was called *Kālacakrapāda. He then transmitted the lineage to many disciples, including Nālendrapa (a.k.a. *Kālacakrapāda the Younger).²⁸³ *Kālacakrapāda the Younger then transmitted the tradition to Somanātha, who had been sent to Magadha by his teacher, the Kaśmirī Paṇḍit *Brāhmaṇapāda, after having received the *Sekoddeśa* and a commentary on the *Sekaparakriyā*.²⁸⁴ Later, about sixty years after the appearance of the *Śrī Kālacakra* and *Vimalaprabhā* in India, the Indian teacher Somanātha went to Tibet, transmitting there the Kālacakra tradition and its system of measuring time. For this reason, the Tibetan calendar begins in 1026, the year in which Somanātha brought Kālacakra to Tibet.²⁸⁵ In addition, during the sexagenary cycle beginning in 1027, Gyi jo Lo tsā ba, a Tibetan translator of the Kālacakra texts, introduced Kālacakra's calendric system into Tibet.²⁸⁶

According to 'Gos Lo tsā ba's *Deb gter sngon po*, Somanātha was one of the disciples of the Kaśmirī scholar *Brāhmaṇapāda or Sūryaketu, who taught during the middle of the eleventh century. Kālacakra literature was unknown in Kashmir during this period -- Bu ston, Mkhas grub and 'Gos Lo tsā ba all agree that the *Sekoddeśa* and a commentary on the *Sekaparakriyā* (the actual text itself, in 'Gos Lo tsā ba's account) were first introduced into Kashmir when *Vinayākaramati sent these texts to Sūryaketu.

²⁸³ According to Orofino (1994b: 18-21), the eighteenth-century Tibetan scholar Padma dkar po identifies Nālendrapāda with Nāropā, the author of the *Paramārthasamgraha* commentary on the *Sekoddeśa* and a well-known vajrācāryas from Nālandā monastic university, where he was abbot for eight years. See also Reigle (1986: 10).

²⁸⁴ This text on Kālacakra empowerment rites is no longer extant in Sanskrit. According to Orofino (1994b: 19), the commentary mentioned by Bu ston and Mkhas grub is probably Dārikā's *Śrī Kālacakratāntrarājasekaparakriyā*.

²⁸⁵ Orofino (1994b: 19); Bernbaum (1980: 16)

²⁸⁶ Orofino (1994b: 16-22)

Sūryaketu is then said to have shown these texts to his disciples, among them Somanātha. After having met *Kālacakrapāda the Younger in Madhyadeśa, Somanātha is said to have travelled to Tibet and spread the teachings there. In Tibet, he was received by certain benefactors, including Dge bshes Lce ba and his son from Bzang yul in G.yor po, and Dge bshes of 'Phan yul Dkon mchog bsrung. The Kaśmirī Paṇḍit Somanātha then worked with the Tibetan 'Bro Shes rab grags to translate several texts of the Kālacakra tradition preserved in the Tibetan canon.²⁸⁷

Bu ston also mentions other Indian *yogīs* connected with Kālacakra transmission lineages including Dārika, Anupamarakṣita, and Sadhuputra Śrīdharānandā, who can be dated to the beginning of the eleventh century, if not earlier. The work of these scholars is preserved in the Tibetan Tanjurs. Later, in the second half of the eleventh century and during the beginning of the twelfth, Abhayākaragupta and Raviśrījñāna worked on Kālacakra materials. At the end of the twelfth century and during the first half of the thirteenth century, Śākyaśrībhadrā (1127-1225) and Vibhūticandra (c. 1200) spread the Kālacakra tradition in India and Tibet. As will be discussed further in Chapter V, Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga was introduced into Tibet about 1200, primarily through Vibhūticandra, who came to Tibet with the Kaśmirī Paṇḍit Śākyaśrībhadrā (c. 1127-1225).

Despite the decline of tantric Buddhism in eastern India due to the Turkish invasions of Madagha and Bengal at the beginning of the thirteenth century and the destruction of the great Buddhist monastic universities of Nālandā, Uddāṇḍapura, and Vikramaśīlā, colophons to Indian manuscripts of the *Śrī Kālacakra* indicate that the text was still copied in India during the fifteenth century.²⁸⁸ In addition, 'Gos gzhon nu

²⁸⁷ Orofino (1994b: 21-22); Naudou (1968: 162)

²⁸⁸ Orofino (1994b: 22-23); Newman (1987a: 112); Tucci (1931: 690-691)

dpal reports that the Bengali Paṇḍit Vanaratna (1384-1468), himself a student of the Buddhist Paṇḍits *Buddhaghoṣa (Sangs rgyas dbyangs) and Sujātaratna, was an expert in the praction of the six-limbed yoga according to the methods of Kālacakra and Anupamarakṣita.²⁸⁹

Syncretic Kālacakra

The *Śrī Kālacakra* incorporates many elements from Indian culture at large, resulting in a synthetic mixture of classical Indian astronomy and astrology, the Indian Āyurvedic tradition, Hindu tantra, and elements of ritual practice traceable back to the Vedic period. Various religious traditions influenced Kālacakra. Roerich²⁹⁰ cites possible Manichean and Near Eastern influences on the Kālacakra tradition *via* Kashmir; and Hoffman²⁹¹ discusses the *Śrī Kālacakra*'s references to three monotheistic religions -- Christianity is represented by Jesus ("Isha"); Manicheism is represented by Mani ("the man with the white garment"); and Islam is represented by Mohammed ("Madhumati"). Bernbaum²⁹² hypothesizes that monotheism in these traditions may have influenced the Kālacakra's conception of a supreme, primordial Buddha, and he also suggests that prophecies concerning Sambhala may draw on the Christian prophecy of the second coming of Christ and the Manichean doctrine of warfare between the forces of light and those of darkness. He also observes that the Muslims served as the prototype for the barbarians mentioned in Kālacakra literature, who will attempt to conquer Sambhala. Finally, he suggests that Kālacakra shares with Manicheism the influence of Gnostic and Zoroastrian mysticism, along with numerical symbolism featuring groups of five.

²⁸⁹ Orofino (1994b: 23)

²⁹⁰ Roerich (1932)

²⁹¹ Hoffman (1960; 1969)

²⁹² Bernbaum (1980: 42)

The dissemination of the Persian founder Mani's doctrine in Central Asia reached a peak in 762-763 when Manicheism was declared the state religion of the Uighur Turks by an official act of their king Bögü Khan (760-780), who had become acquainted with an adherent of the religion of light in Loyang (China). The huge steppe kingdom of the Uighurs was shattered in 840 by the Kirghiz, but Manicheism was able to maintain itself in eastern Turkestan until the Mongols established a presence there in the early thirteenth century. Its penetration was greatest in the Turfan region, where a Uighur kingdom at Khoco maintained itself into the thirteenth century. The Manicheans of Central Asia adopted Buddhist symbolism while simultaneously reversing its forms, e.g., the Manichean cleric raises his left (as opposed to right) hand in the attitude of teaching (Skt. *vitarka-mudrā*).²⁹³

A link may exist between Manicheism and the four-faced forms common to tantric iconography. According to Klimkeit,²⁹⁴ Hindu four-faced forms cover a Manichean theology. Greek texts refer to "the Father with the Four Faces," and in Iranian Manicheism, these four divine faces are identified with four Persian deities. It therefore is not surprising to find in Central Asia a four-fold god disguised as four Hindu deities, Śiva, Brahma, Viśnu in his incarnation as a Boar, and Ganeśa. The four-fold god appears in Turkic texts in the form of Hindu gods, which implies that Indian religions in Khoco influenced the Manichean court just as they did the courts of Buddhist monarchs in inner and eastern Asia.

Like the four-fold god of Manicheism, Kālacakra, too, is depicted iconographically with four faces. Kālacakra is shown with twenty-four principal hands and twenty-

²⁹³ Klimkeit (1982: 8-35)

²⁹⁴ Klimkeit (1982: 35)

four thousand subsidiary hands. He is often seen wearing a tiger skin and dancing in the heroic (Skt. *ālīḍha*) posture on the bodies of Āṅga and Rudra. On his right side, Kālacakra's four blue hands hold the vajra, sword, trident (Skt. *trisula*), and skinning knife (Skt. *kartari*); the four red hands hold the fire, arrow, vajra and goad. His four white hands hold the discus, knife, rod and axe. On the left side, his four blue hands hold the vajra-marked bell, the plate, the tantric *yogi's* staff (Skt. *khatvāṅga*) with gaping mouth, and the skull (Skt. *kapāla*) full of blood. His four red hands on the left hold the bow, noose, jewel and lotus; the four white hands hold a dharmacakra, vajra, chain and severed head of Brahma.²⁹⁵

²⁹⁵ N. Bhattacharyya (1982: 243) evidently describes the Sa skya iconographic take on Kālacakra, in which B. Wallace (1997) notes that a mirror replaces the dharmacakra, reflecting perhaps a difference in the Indian explanatory lineage. Smith (1997) describes a detailed Kālacakra *sādhana* written by the Sa skya Chos rgyal 'phags pa in the late thirteenth century, the *Dus 'khor thugs dkyil gyi mngon rtogs* (Volume Pa, Folios 312a-329b of the 1736 Sde dge edition of the Sa skya Bka' 'bum). Kālacakra's ritual implements, which arise from *mantras*, are listed on Folio 317a of this text: sword, trident, curved knife, bow, goad, drum, hammer, wheel, spear, club, axe, bell, armor, staff, skull, arrow, noose, jewel, lotus, conch, mirror, iron chain, and Brahma's head. See also Rhie and Thurman (1991: 480-481).

CHAPTER IV: NOTES ON KĀLACAKRA IN INDIA

To examine the early praxis history of Kālacakra in India, we must reconstruct the rich ritual and cultural context that surrounded the production *Śrī Kālacakra* and the *Vimalaprabhā*. What were the contours of Kālacakra ritual communities in eleventh-century India? Did bands focused exclusively on Kālacakra even exist? Was there a definable form of Kālacakra ritual and yogic-cum-meditative practice apart from general tantric practice? Who actually read the *Śrī Kālacakra* and the *Vimalaprabhā*? Was the *Śrī Kālacakra* restricted in its dissemination, or did communities of people recite it and perform its rituals? What patterns characterized the symbiotic emergence of Kālacakra as practical cult and textual doctrine? To what extent did Kālacakra and other religious cults influence one another? Although the absence of extant first-hand accounts from Indian tantric practitioners leaves many of these questions unanswered, data from the *Śrī Kālacakra* itself, together with other literary sources enables us partially to reconfigure dimensions of the aesthetic, ritual field of medieval tantric communities. The following chapter, then, surveys extensively the contents of the third chapter of the *Śrī Kālacakra* with the aforementioned goal.

Despite the lacunae in historical documents describing Indian tantric communities that may have engaged the Sanskrit version of the *Śrī Kālacakra* before its transmission to Tibet, ritual, the visual arts, music, and dance were emphasized generally in Pāla-period India. Kālacakra texts likely were authored so as to make comfortable their Indian adherents and patrons, and this accommodation of the preexisting traditions and rituals of the local population probably served to increase Kālacakra's appeal and popularity *vis-à-vis* other religious traditions vying for membership.

Certain passages within the third chapter of the text suggest a rich, syncretic and

inclusive ritual setting that emphasized: 1) the central role of the guru; 2) a systematic approach to ritual action; 3) elaborate burnt offering practices; 4) a well-developed understanding of *maṇḍala* construction; 5) a complex network of empowerments; 6) the presence of thirty-six types of *yoginIs* correlated with thirty-six occupational castes; 7) the symbolic exercise of postural attitudes; and 8) stylized interactions between *yoginIs* and *yogIs*.

Blurred boundaries between text and ritual are evident in the third chapter of the *Śrī Kālacakra*, which enfolds elaborate ritual sequences between the involved cosmology and sacred human geography of the first two chapters and the mysterious psycho-sexual yoga of the fourth and fifth chapters. The third chapter of the *Śrī Kālacakra* is divided into six sub-sections:²⁹⁶

1) VERSES 1-22: Sucandra's request for instructions concerning the *Kālacakra maṇḍala* and the Buddha's reply; an examination of the qualities of proper and improper tantric teachers; and examination of the qualities of the highest, middle and lowest level disciples; characteristics of the site for the performance of the empowerment; the directions for the performance of the eight ritual actions; the characteristics of the "hearths" (Skt. *kuṇḍa*) for the eight ritual actions; "nails" (Skt. *klaka*) for nailing the evil spirits to the ground; characteristics of the flasks (Skt. *ghaṭa*); times for the performance of the ritual actions; directions in which the teacher's seat is to be arranged; rules for spreading the colored powder (Skt. *rajovidhi*); characteristics of the deity, the string (Skt. *sūtra*), and the chaplet (Skt. *akṣasūtra*); the drawing of the diagram (Skt. *yantra*);

2) VERSES 23-35: Rites for the protection of the teacher; generation of the "wrathful" (Skt. *krodha*) deities in the protective circle (Skt. *rakṣācakra*); purification and protection via Vajravega rituals; invocation to the earth for purification of the site; auspicious days for purifying the site; protection of the disciples and others;

3) VERSES 36-70: Procedure for drawing the *maṇḍala*; the ritual of burnt offerings (Skt. *homa*);

4) VERSES 71-103: Characteristics of the hearths; the ritual of burnt offerings and subsequent rites; entering the *maṇḍala*; the seven worldly empowerments (Skt. *laukikābhiṣeka*);

5) VERSES 104-169: Consecration of the deities (Skt. *pratiṣṭhā*); the higher

²⁹⁶ Dwivedi and Bahulkar (1994: 20-21)

empowerments (Skt. *uttarābhiṣeka*); offerings to the deities (Skt. *gaṇacakra*); rules for the conduct of the *yogi*;

6) VERSES 170-203: Hand gestures (Skt. *mudrā*) symbolizing the thirty-six deities; the eye signs representing various intentions and feelings (Skt. *dṛṣṭisamketa*); glances and other secret signs (Skt. *chomaka*) used by the *yogis* and *yoginis* for secret communication; the concluding *maṇḍala* rites; offerings; placement of the *maṇḍala* powder into the river; feeding the monks, nuns and others.

These subsections of the third chapter of the *Śrī Kālacakra* will be described in more detail in the following pages.

The Role of the Guru

The role of the guru is extremely important in Buddhist tantra. Empowerment must be conferred by a guru whose lineage is traceable back in an uninterrupted fashion to the Buddha himself. According to the Dalai Lama, "this is necessary in order for the empowerment ceremony, as conducted by the guru, to activate the latent potentialities in our minds and enable us to actualize the resultant state of Buddhahood."²⁹⁷ According to Tibetan belief, an empowerment imprints students' minds with the necessary predispositions towards enlightenment. At the conferral of the 1989 Kālacakra empowerment in Santa Monica, the present Dalai Lama stated that because the guru transfers an "inspiring force" into the continuum of the disciple during an empowerment, a disciple must receive the empowerment from an "experienced master." Indeed, in the Tibetan system, one is not permitted to practice the yoga of a particular deity without first having received the empowerment of that deity from a qualified master who is able to trace his or her own empowerment lineage back to Śākyamuni Buddha.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁷ T. Gyatso (1995: 108)

²⁹⁸ Jackson (1985b: 23)

Tantric doctrines and instructions for practice traditionally have required proper initiation and have been passed tightly "from mouth to ear" in "teacher lineages" (Skt. *guruparamparā*). After the destruction of the great monasteries in Bihar and Bengal around 1200, tantric teaching lineages shifted from India to Tibet, where they have been transmitted until the present.²⁹⁹ Historically, two contemporaries sometimes initiated different teacher lineages; masters such as Bu ston kept lists called "records of [teachings] received" (Tib. *gsan yig/thob yig*), which detailed the lineages through which various teachings were received. Various Kālacakra six-limbed yoga lineages existed, and one of the most influential followed Anupamarakṣita.³⁰⁰

In his commentary on Kālacakra, Dhargyey³⁰¹ attributes to Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182-1251), the fourth patriarch of the Sa skya school, a metaphorical description of the guru in which the blessings of the Buddhas are likened to the rays of the sun and the guru is likened to a magnifying glass:

If one has some firewood, no matter how strongly the sun might be shining, the firewood does not burst into flame. One has to have a magnifying glass in order to ignite the actual flame. Likewise, even though the Buddhas are very powerful and are able to bestow great blessings, it is impossible to receive them without a guru. The guru and one's relationship to the guru are indispensable.

Due to the immense importance of the guru in conveying the essence of tantric teachings, tantric texts are replete with warnings against false gurus who proffer false teachings.³⁰² Further, whenever a tantric practice is explained, there are two modes of explanation -- that given to a large gathering of disciples, and that given in the context of a particular guru-disciple relationship.³⁰³

²⁹⁹ Grönbold (1996: 35)

³⁰⁰ Grönbold (1969: 124; 1974: 20-24; 1996: 35-43) has compiled a pedigree for the Kālacakra six-limbed yoga teachings drawing from various historical accounts.

³⁰¹ Dhargyey (1985a: 122)

³⁰² N.N. Bhattacharyya (1982: 145)

³⁰³ T. Gyatso (1995: 130)

Generally within Buddhist tantra, the nine qualities of the guru include external and internal commitments. Externally, one must ingest only the five nectars -- excrement, blood, red and white drops, marrow, and urine. Internally, one must abstain from: 1) the fourteen root tantric downfalls;³⁰⁴ and 2) the four binding factors. One should also uphold the twenty-five modes of behavior of disciples (Skt. *vrata*; Tib. *brtul shugs*).

In the *Śrī Kālacakra*,³⁰⁵ the fourteen root tantric downfalls³⁰⁶ include: 1) disturbing the mind of the vajra master (Skt. *vajrācārya*); 2) breaking the command or the word of the vajra master; 3) speaking of the faults of a vajra brother or sister; 4) abandoning loving-kindness for sentient beings; 5) allowing the flower-like white *bodhicitta* to emerge; 6) making a distinction or discriminating between emptiness as it is revealed in the Mahāyāna and Tantric traditions; 7) disclosing tantric secrets to those not yet ripened; 8) abusing the aggregates; 9) abandoning or rejecting emptiness; 10) maintaining a contradiction between one's mind and one's mouth in terms of loving-kindness; 11) improper understanding or doubt regarding the tantric union between the vajra master and his consort; 12) directly speaking of the faults of an authentic and fully-qualified *yogi/yogini* or disparaging him/her; 13) not devoting oneself to the

³⁰⁴ According to Dhargyey (1985a: 15-26), the fourteen root tantric downfalls include: 1) abusing or having contempt for one's spiritual mentor; 2) contemptuously disregarding the training; 3) disparaging or speaking of the faults of a vajra brother or sister; 4) abandoning loving-kindness (Skt. *maitrī*; Tib. *byams pa*); 5) rejecting the yearning-bodhicitta and the engaging-bodhicitta; 6) abusing the dharma of the sūtras or tantras; 7) disclosing tantric secrets to those not yet ripened; 8) abusing the aggregates; 9) abandoning emptiness; 10) devoting oneself to evil friends; 11) not recollecting the view; 12) defeating the faith of others; 13) not devoting oneself to the tantric pledges; and 14) disparaging women.

³⁰⁵ Dhargyey (1985a: 26-28); BTG (1965: 235-236)

³⁰⁶ As Stearns (1996b: 152) has shown, following the tradition of the Indian *mahāsiddha* Virūpa, the Sa skya tradition considers the *Rtsa ltung 'khrul spong* of Rje btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1148-1216) to be the definitive text on the nature of the fourteen sacred tantric commitments (Skt. *samaya*, Tib. *dam tshig*). Tsong kha pa refuted this text in his *Gsang sngags kyi tshul khrims kyi rnam bshad dngos grub kyi snye ma*, which was, in turn, refuted by the Sa skya scholar Gser mdog Paṇ chen Shākya mchog ldan in his *'Khrul spong gyi brgal lan rnam par nges pa'i dam tshig*.

tantric pledge, i.e., not accepting the offering of meat (Skt. *bala*) and alcohol (Skt. *amṛta*) during the feast (Skt. *gaṇacakra*; Tib. *tshogs*); and 14) disparaging women.

Also in the Kālacakra tradition,³⁰⁷ the four binding factors are: 1) not regarding the downfall as disadvantageous or as a fault; 2) not having the attitude of turning away from such action in the future; 3) taking delight in that action; and 4) doing so without any sense of shame and having no consideration for others. The twenty-five modes of behavior of disciples include avoiding/abandoning: 1-5) the non-virtues of killing; stealing; adultery; lying; taking alcohol; 6-10) the secondary non-virtues of gambling; eating meat in the three cases of seeing, hearing or suspecting that the animal was killed specifically for one's own consumption; idle gossip; mistaken commemoration of one's parents with offerings of blood and flesh; offering animal sacrifices; 11-15) the five types of killing of a cow; children; women; men; and destroying representations of the Buddha's body, speech and mind; 16-20) the five angers of rejecting faith in the Buddha and Dharma; anger towards one's companions; anger towards one's master; anger against the monastic community; and deceiving or misguiding those whom have placed their confidence or trust in you; and 21-25) the five types of attachment to visual form; sounds; smells; tastes; and tactile objects.

The early verses of the third chapter of the *Śrī Kālacakra* describe the characteristics of an appropriate guru and emphasize the need to avoid false teachers. The second verse of the third chapter of the *Śrī Kālacakra* expounds upon the proper qualifications of a guru:

VERSE 2: Now with the second verse, he [the Buddha] describes the examination of the vajra master for the purpose of honoring the guru, beginning with "in the beginning."

In the beginning, indeed the guru is to be served. One who holds the commit-

³⁰⁷ Dhargyey (1985a: 29-40)

ments, mounted on the tantric vehicle, who meditates upon the principles³⁰⁸ {practices that result in the worldly and transworldly accomplishments}, who is not attached {indifferent towards one's family and towards one's own body}, whose impurities have vanished, one with the disposition of patience, who makes a path {to complete Buddhahood},

who gives the path to the disciples, who destroys the fear of hell, who is actually a celibate, who wields the vajra staff against the Māras³⁰⁹ -- he is well-known as Vajrasattva on the surface of the earth.³¹⁰

The characteristics of false gurus are described in the third verse:

VERSE 3: Now, by means of the third verse, he [the Buddha] describes here the purpose of examining the faults of a bad teacher, beginning with "one who possesses pride."

One who possesses pride, who is overcome with anger, without the commitments,³¹¹ greedy for material goods and who is unlearned {a fool devoid of the teaching of the true path}, whose purpose is deceiving disciples, whose mind has fallen with respect to the state of highest joy, and who is not consecrated/empowered,³¹²

one who is attached to enjoyments, who is drunken, whose speech is harsh, who possesses desire due to the sense faculties³¹³ {the two sexual organs}, by his disciples, he indeed is to be avoided as hell [is avoided] by wise people, for the purpose of complete enlightenment.

The fourth verse of the third chapter describes the characteristics of a good disciple:

VERSE 4: Now the character of the good disciples is described for the purpose of the wisdom and gnosis empowerments, beginning with "profound."

[One whose] mind is deep and lofty, who delights in the precepts³¹⁴ of the teacher, who has the disposition of renunciation, a "knower of the qualities" {one who has faith in the three jewels}, one who seeks liberation, one who is devoted to tantra, one whose mind also is unwavering, and one who is well-guarded with respect to the truths that have been attained,

only one whose attachment to bad things is destroyed, only he is to be gathered by the well-skilled guru for the sake of the wisdom empowerment, etc. {"etc." means that he alone is qualified for the fourth empowerment}.

³⁰⁸ (Skt. tattvadhāyī; Tib. de nyid bsgoms) VC reads "who meditates on emptiness."

³⁰⁹ According to Lhalungpa (1993), the four Māras are: 1) the demon of mental afflictions / negative emotions; 2) the demon of death; 3) the demon of celestial gods, who tempts disciples with sensual pleasures, etc.; and 4) the demon of the aggregates.

³¹⁰ (Skt. dharanītaḥ; Tib. 'dzin ma'i gzhi)

³¹¹ (Skt. samaya; Tib. dam tshig)

³¹² (Skt. siktah; Tib. dbang ma bskur)

³¹³ (Skt. kāmukaścendriyārthaḥ; Tib. dbang po'i don du 'dod ldan pa)

³¹⁴ (Skt. niyama; Tib. nges pa)

However, there is another [disciple] of middling capacity appropriate for the [path of the accumulation of] merit {for the seven empowerments [of childhood]}.³¹⁵ But if he propitiates his guru, the [disciple] of lowest capacity is to be gathered for the five "teachings,"³¹⁶ but not if he causes harm.}

Verses enjoining disciples to find proper gurus are understandable given the critical role played by the guru during the conferral of the empowerment and during the subsequent explanation of tantric practice. For example, during the conferral of the empowerment, the guru assumes the position of "tantric master" (Skt. *vajrācārya*; Tib. *rdo rje slob dpon*). After identifying with the main deity of the tantra, the guru then leads disciples through the deity's *maṇḍala* abode, teaches disciples the deity's mantric speech, and transforms disciples into the deity by giving them symbolic clothing, by placing sacred seed syllables on the energy centers of their bodies, and by transferring the deity's wisdom to them.³¹⁷

In the context of contemporary tantric empowerments, the guru officiates over many rituals in his or her role as "ritual master," which is attained after one has completed a sequence of tantric rituals. First, the "purification of the disciple" (Skt. *vaganānta*; Tib. *khrus dang bgegs bkrad*), a necessary prerequisite for empowerment, is undertaken to exorcise negative forces from the disciple. This process has two parts. The disciple is washed symbolically with water, and the ritual master recites a *mantra* while ringing a bell and pouring water from a vase into a small receptacle. Students sit

³¹⁵ Unlike other Highest Yoga Tantras such as the *Hevajratāntra*, the *Śrī Kālacakra* describes a total of eleven empowerments. The first "seven empowerments of childhood" (Tib. *byis pa'i dbang bskur bdun*) are the water, crown, crown pendant, vajra and bell, conduct, name, and permission empowerments. In Dhargyey (1985a: 6-8), the names of these empowerments have been translated as water, headdress, crown-banner, vajra and bell, thumb-vajra, name, and permission. Four higher and four highest empowerments follow these seven empowerments of childhood. Each of these two sets of four empowerments is comprised of a vase, secret, wisdom, and fourth empowerment. To arrive at the eleven Kālacakra empowerments, these eight empowerments are counted as four: 1) the two vase empowerments; 2) the two secret empowerments; 3) the two wisdom empowerments and the fourth higher empowerment; and 4) the fourth highest empowerment.

³¹⁶ (Skt. *śikṣa*)

³¹⁷ Newman (1987a: 8)

quietly in a meditation pose while visualizing the water being poured over their heads. During the second component of the ritual, the ritual master recites a *mantra* while circling a thunderbolt around his or her head, an attendant swings incense, and monks play ritual instruments, including horns, cymbals, and a type of flute (Tib. *rgya gling*). All of these actions are designed to dispel negative forces from the disciples by means of the power of the "Triple Gem" (Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha). Meanwhile, students visualize negative forces leaving their bodies.

After the purification of disciples, the ritual master makes offerings (Skt. *pūjā*; Tib. *mchod pa*), which may be distinguished typologically into two categorical sets. The first group are the "fire offerings" (Skt. *homa*; Tib. *sbyin sreg*). The second group are the "cake offerings" (Skt. *gaṇacakra*; Tib. *tshogs mchod*, or *tshogs kyi 'khor lo*), which may be made to the deities, the Triple Gem, the *bodhisattvas*, the *arhats*, and the local divinities. Offerings involve the recitation of *mantras*, the utterance of words, and the use of ritual gestures. A second division of tantric offerings distinguishes between "outer offerings" (Tib. *phyi'i mchod pa*), "inner offerings" (Tib. *nang gi mchod pa*), and "secret offerings" (Tib. *gsang ba'i mchod pa*). Outer offerings include incense, flowers, various types of water, food, butter lamps and music. Inner offerings are visualized in the mind of the disciple and then offered, and secret offerings refer to the inseparability of method and wisdom that is offered by the disciple during the process of deity yoga. During empowerments, offerings are made by the ritual master. In general, however, any individual can perform offerings.³¹⁸ After empowerment, the disciple must perform "preliminary rituals" (Skt. *pūrvaka*; Tib. *sngon 'gro*)³¹⁹ and enter retreat (Skt. *sīmā*; Tib. *mthsams*).

³¹⁸ Snellgrove (1957: 257-262); Wayman (1973: 72-73)

³¹⁹ According to Jorden (1991), these consist of "The 400,000 Preliminary Practices." First, 100,000 repetitions of the refuge vows in Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha are offered with individual prostrations; next, 100,000 mandala offerings are made; then, 100,000 recitations of the Vajrasattva mantra are performed; and finally, 100,000 repetitions of "guru yoga" are performed.

In addition to empowerment rituals, the ritual master may perform various types of tantric ceremonies comprising at least four main categories. First, "consecration" (Skt. *pratiṣṭhā*; Tib. *rab gnas*) rituals³²⁰ are performed to evoke divinities from their transcendental abodes in order that they may dissolve into objects and sites, thus imbuing them with "great root" (Tib. *rtsa ba chen po*). During these rituals, the lama recites *mantras* and anoints what is being consecrated by throwing rice and sprinkling water. There also exist tantric rituals designed to increase the life span of lamas and sick members of the community (Tib. *tshe chog*). One class of tantric rituals offers protection against local spirits (Tib. *gdon bgegs las bsrung ba*), and another class is used to guide the consciousness of those whom have recently died (Tib. *gshin chog*).³²¹

Ritual Actions and Burnt Offerings

Drawing on a broad range of textual materials relating to medieval ritual practice, I suggest that, among the texts canvassed,³²² the text closest to the *Śrī Kālacakra* in terms of its description of ritual action is actually a Hindu Tantra, namely a Kaśmirī Śaivite text called the *Vīṇāśikhatantra*.³²³ The *Śrī Kālacakra* offers a systematic

³²⁰ Ötrul (1987a); Swearer (1996)

³²¹ Jorden (1991)

³²² These include the Vedic *Samhitās*, the *Kausikasūtra* of the Atharva Veda, the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra*, the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*, the *Vīṇāśikhatantra*, and the *Hevaj-ratantra*.

³²³ According to Goudriaan (1985: 27, 138) and Goudriaan and Gupta (1981: 37), this intriguing text, originally authored in India, was later redacted and taught by Śaiva specialists in Southeast Asia. Concerning the etymology of its name, a *vīṇā* is an Indian lute, an instrument usually having seven strings raised upon nineteen frets or supports fixed on a long, rounded board. *Śikhā* designates "a wavy string or line or a tuft that winds itself upwards." Goudriaan hypothesizes that term *śikhā* also may have referred to a little-known collection of tantras now almost entirely lost. Snellgrove (1959a: viii-ix) critiques Sir John Woodroffe's statement that the Buddhist tantras are identifiable with the śākta tantras by stating that such a conclusion, "if indeed justified, should have followed from an examination of the texts and traditions on both sides." Nevertheless, providing little proof for his claim, Sanderson (1990) argues that Buddhist tantra, especially Highest Yoga Tantra, depends upon Kaśmirī Śaivite ideas. Here, I attempt to substantiate such a claim *via* the direct comparison of texts.

approach to ritual action. In the first twenty-two verses of the third chapter, eight ritual actions are mentioned:

- 1) pacification (Skt. *śānti*; Tib. *zhi*)
- 2) expansion (Skt. *puṣṭi*; Tib. *rgya*)
- 3) murder (Skt. *māraṇa*; Tib. *bsad*)
- 4) banishment (Skt. *uccāṭana*; Tib. *bskrad*)
- 5) subjugation (Skt. *vaśya*; Tib. *dbang*)
- 6) attraction (Skt. *ākṛṣṭi*; Tib. *dgug*)
- 7) immobilization (Skt. *stambhana*; Tib. *rengs*)
- 8) obscuration (Skt. *mohana*; Tib. *rmong*)

Often mentioned in pairs, these eight actions serve as a ceremonial mechanism connecting the symbolism of the hearth used as the basis for burnt offering and the *maṇḍala* used as the basis for empowerment rituals. Indeed, it is possible that the sectioning of the hearth and the *maṇḍala* according to the eight directions may have inspired the expansion of traditional threefold and fourfold groupings of ritual actions to eight, the number required to correspond to the eight directions of the hearth and *maṇḍala*.

Burnt offering (Skt. *homa*) rituals, elaborated in three- and fourfold typologies,³²⁴ were intended to promote the realization of "accomplishments" (Skt. *siddhi*), which included averting evil by appeasing the deities, increasing prosperity, and overpowering enemies. Later, when *homa* rituals became popular in Buddhism, they were combined with a Buddhist ethic. For example, the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitāntra* states: "A person possessing great love and great compassion can perform the appeasement *homa*. One possessing sympathetic joy can perform the prosperity *homa*. With the wrath-fire one may practice dreadful magic."

In the *Śrī Kālacakra*, the eight ritual actions require: 1) performances at partic-

³²⁴ Wayman (1973: 224). A set of four *homās* is still practiced in the Japanese Shingon and Tendai sects.

ular times each day and night; 2) burnt offerings (Skt. *homa*) with particular substances and hearths (Skt. *kuṇḍa*) in specific geometric forms; 3) certain directions and colors used in the construction of the hearths, in the construction of the *Kālacakra maṇḍala*, for the seat (Skt. *āsana*) of the teacher, and for the various manifestations of the *Kālacakra* deity; 4) particular types of stakes (Skt. *klakam*) to secure the site (Skt. *bhūmi*); 5) certain colors of dust (Skt. *rajas*) for the hearths and for the *maṇḍala*; 6) specific yogic postures; 7) particular types of rosaries (Skt. *sūtra*) for *mantra* recitation; and 8) specific implements for drawing the mystical diagram (Skt. *yantra*), and prescribed rules for using it during yogic practice.

While the third chapter of the *Śrī Kālacakra* draws upon a well-established tradition of delineating ritual action,³²⁵ a tradition common to Vedic, Hindu and Buddhist texts, the *Śrī Kālacakra* is more systematic in its approach to ritual action. First, each ritual action is assigned a color and a direction that apply both to the hearth and to the *maṇḍala*. In Verse 8, pacification and expansion are white; murder and banishment are black; attraction and subjugation are red; and immobilization and obscuration are yellow. In Verse 9, directional correlates are assigned -- pacification and expansion are northeast and north; murder and banishment are southeast and east; subjugation and attraction are southwest and south; and immobilization and obscuration are northwest and west.

In Verses 10 and 11, the hearths have a particular geometric shape, "essential symbol" (Skt. *garbhachina*; Tib. *snying po'i mtshan ma*), and measurement for each of

³²⁵ Before the eight ritual actions are mentioned, the fifth verse of the third chapter of the *Śrī Kālacakra* sets the stage by designating the proper astronomical time at which the vajra master draws the *maṇḍala*, confers the empowerment, and teaches tantra; and also at which the *yogins* perform veneration (Skt. *pūjā*). These are to be performed at the end of the month of Caitra, on the full-moon day. Caitra is the name of the second spring month, during which time the full moon stands in the constellation Citrā. Caitra is also the name of the sixth year in the Jupiter cycle, so it is possible that an astronomical reference may also be intended.

the eight separate ritual actions: pacification (circle/lotus/one cubit); expansion (square/wheel/two cubits); murder (semi-circle/sickle/one-half cubit); banishment (pentagon/sword/one cubit); subjugation (heptagon/arrow/forty finger-widths); attraction (triangle/iron prod/twenty finger-widths); obscuration (sexagon/snake/thirty finger-widths); and immobilization (octagon/iron shackle/sixty finger-widths). Also in Verse 11, the hearth hole (Skt. *khāniś*) is one-half cubit, and the altar (Skt. *vedī*) is six cubits.

In Verse 12, the earth/site/level (Skt. *bhūmi*; Tib. *sa*)³²⁶ is staked according to the eight ritual actions. There are eight types of stakes (Skt. *kīlakam*) and eight types of pitchers (Skt. *kumbhā*), and although there is no explicit commentary linking the stakes to the ritual actions, by extension from the commentary on the pitchers in the second half of this verse, it is possible to conclude that they correspond to the eight ritual actions as follows: pacification (banyan wood stake/glass pitcher); expansion (*Ficus Religiosa* tree wood stake/best silver pitcher); murder (bone stake/skull pitcher); banishment (iron stake/iron pitcher); attraction (*Acacia Catechu* hardwood stake/copper pitcher); subjugation (mango wood stake/gold pitcher); obscuration (*Aegle Marmelos* wood-apple tree stake/wood pitcher); and immobilization (*Calotropis Gigantea* plant stake/earthen pitcher).³²⁷

³²⁶ This term may refer to: 1) the earth, perhaps corresponding to "outer" Kālacakra; 2) the site for the maṇḍala, perhaps corresponding to "inner" Kālacakra; 3) and one of the twelve "levels" in which the drops are accumulated in the central channel, perhaps referring to "other/alternative/secret" Kālacakra. According to Druppa (1991: 321), the Tibetan term "sa bdun" may designate either the seventh bodhisattva "level" or the seventh "stage" in Kālacakra empty-body yoga. This verse is ambiguous because the Sanskrit term "bhūmi" is used to introduce the verse, while the Sanskrit/Tibetan pair "mahī/sa" are used in the verse itself. According to Bokenkamp (1990: 123) and Dayal (1932: 270-291), the idea of ten stages (Skt. *daśabhūmi* in the *bodhisattva*'s spiritual development toward Buddhahood follows an early Mahāyāna formulation in which the four stages are outlined in the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. A seven-stage path is described in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi-sūtra*. Later, the *Mahāvastu-sūtra*, *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, and *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* fix the number of stages at ten, often describing the eighth stage as one from which the *bodhisattva* can no longer regress. Nevertheless, scholarly disagreement exists concerning which of the ten stages should receive priority.

³²⁷ While particular woods may have been correlated with the ritual actions according to qualitatively-analogous properties (e.g., the natural propensity of the *Ficus* to "expand"), the *Vimalaprabhā* notes that wood from the *udumbara* tree may be used as a substitute in all ritual actions, perhaps due to the limited availability of particular species of wood in certain areas.

Verse 13 describes the vases (Skt. *ghaṭa*) -- in pacification and expansion, the vase's circular section is sixteen finger-widths, the height is twenty finger-widths, the spout is two finger-widths, the neck is six finger-widths, and the face is eight finger-widths. White is also deemed appropriate for this pair of actions, though neither the root verse nor the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary indicate exactly what is supposed to be white.

The second half of Verse 13 instructs the practitioner to divide the day into eight sessions that corresponds to the eight ritual actions. A "session" (Skt. *yāma*) is one-eighth of a full day and is approximately equal to three hours. The practitioner is directed to divide the "daytime" into eight half-sessions and the "nighttime" into eight half-sessions, each of which is one and one-half hours. Each ritual action is performed twice daily, once in the morning series of eight half-sessions, and once in the evening series of eight half-sessions. The text enjoins practitioners to avoid inauspicious planetary conjunctions for pacification and expansion because these are "well-known to cause the fear of death." Verse 14 instructs the practitioner to avoid mid-day and mid-night for pacification. However, the *Vimalaprabhā* notes that expansion should be performed at these times. Thus the two sets of half-sessions must occur on a rotating basis according to the relative positions of sun and earth, such that expansion always falls precisely at noon and at mid-night.

The *Śrī Kālacakra* also requires specific accouterment for each ritual action. Beginning in the second half of Verse 14, the text indicates that five hundred sticks from milky-sap-tree-wood (Skt. *kṣīrā*) are used during pacification and expansion.

Human bone is used for murder, and the tail-feathers from a crow are used for banishment. Subjugation and attraction require the flowering branch of the hardwood tree, immobilization requires five hundred sticks from a wood-apple tree, each a half cubit long, and obscuration requires five hundred sticks from a thorn-apple tree, each a half cubit long. All of the sticks are twelve finger-widths.

The second half of the Verse 15 describes the substances used during the burnt offerings -- milk and grass are used for pacification; melted butter and grain for expansion; blood together with poisonous meat for murder; a mixture of human fat, *Sinapis Ramosa* plant, and salt for banishment; sweat and red flowers for subjugation; saliva together with a garland of wilted flowers (Skt. *nirmālya*) for immobilization; beer and very golden flowers for obscuration; and urine together with the leaves, fruit or grain from a wood-apple tree (Skt. *bilva*) for attraction.

Verse 16 correlates the construction of the hearth used in burnt offerings and the construction of the *maṇḍala* used as the basis for the conferral of the empowerments. Further, the construction of the hearth and the construction of the *maṇḍala* are correlated with the "seat" or "posture" (Skt. *āsana*) of the teacher, such that in both of these constructions, the seat of the teacher is oriented in certain directions and assumes various colors. For pacification, the seat faces south; for expansion, southwest; for murder, west; for banishment, northwest; for subjugation, north; for attraction, north; for immobilization, east; and for obscuration, southeast.³²⁸

For both the construction of the hearth and the construction of the *maṇḍala*, the color on the master's seat is white for pacification and expansion, black for murder and

³²⁸ These directions do not correspond to the previous correlation between ritual actions and directions in Verse 9: pacification (northeast); expansion (north); murder (southeast); banishment (east); subjugation (southwest); attraction (south); immobilization (northwest); and obscuration (west).

banishment, red for subjugation and attraction, and yellow for obscuration and immobilization. Around the exterior,³²⁹ the site is colored in the east, south, west and north. The *Vimalaprabhā* commentary on this verse describes the rule for depositing the colored dust (Skt. *rajas*) for the hearths and for the *maṇḍala*. Pacification and expansion require white dust, murder and banishment require black dust, subjugation and attraction require red dust, and obscuration and immobilization require yellow dust. In every ritual action, green may be used alone or may be mixed with each of the four colors, respectively. The commentary also correlates the colors of the dust and the different colors of the face of the Kālacakra deity.

Verse 17 describes various guest-offering bowls (Skt. *arghapātra*) used in the ritual actions. For pacification, one uses a glass bowl in the shape of an eight-petaled lotus. For expansion, one uses a silver bowl in a square shape similar to a supplicatory hand gesture; for murder, a skull bowl; for banishment, an iron bowl; for subjugation, a gold bowl; for attraction, a copper bowl; for immobilization, a wooden bowl; and for obscuration, an earthen bowl. Verse 18 describes the various manifestations of Kālacakra in connection with the ritual actions and colors: a quiescent (Skt. *śānta*) Kālacakra is white, a wrathful (Skt. *krūra*) Kālacakra is black, a passionate (Skt. *sarāga*) Kālacakra is red, and an immovable/fixed (Skt. *stabdha*) Kālacakra is yellow.

The second half of Verse 19 describes the yogic postures used during the ritual actions. The *paryāṅka* posture is a particular sitting posture in which the legs are placed one upon the other with the soles of the feet rendered invisible -- this posture is used in pacification. The thunderbolt (Skt. *vajra*) posture is used in expansion, the demon (Skt. *daitya*) posture in murder, and the fierce (Skt. *utkaṭa*) posture in banish-

³²⁹ This may refer to the teacher's seat, to the *maṇḍala*, or to both.

ment. Further, there are two divisions of what is called the half *paryāṅka* posture. The first, in which the left foot is bent to the right, is used in subjugation. The second, in which the right foot is bent to the left, is used in attraction. And there are two postures in which each of the feet is located on the anus -- the left foot is located on the anus for immobilization, and the right foot is located on the anus for obscuration.

Verse 20 describes the counting rosaries (Skt. *akṣasūtra*)³³⁰ used during *mantra* recitation with the various ritual actions. The rosary is made of glass for pacification; of pearls for expansion; of sharp human teeth for murder; of bones for banishment; of the "souls of sons" (Skt. *putrajīva*) for subjugation; of a lotus fashioned from drops of red sandal paste for attraction; of the "lord" (Skt. *īśa*) for immobilization; and of the "injuries of the eyes" (Skt. *akṣa-riṣṭa*) for obscuration.³³¹ Verse 20 also describes propitiations to be performed with very fragrant white and red-yellow flowers together with their thorns and buds. Incense from a Nimba tree is used for pacification and expansion. The latter two varieties of incense are accompanied with honey and blood. A powerful or violent (Skt. *ugra*) incense is used for subjugation and attraction; and an astringent (Skt. *kaṣāya*) incense ground from a yellow myrobalan tree together with molasses is used for obscuration and immobilization.

Finally, Verse 21 provides systematic prescriptions for the *yantra*, the diagram used during meditative and yogic practice. For pacification, the *yantra* should be drawn on a fig leaf, it should be drawn with sandalwood ink, and the writing implement should be made of *dūrva* grass. For expansion, the *yantra* also should be drawn on a fig leaf, it should be drawn with water ground together with rice, and the writing

³³⁰ These are rosaries made from wood of the pipul tree.

³³¹ "Putrajīva," "īśa," and "akṣariṣṭa" probably are colloquialisms for substances used during the performance of ritual actions.

implement should be a branch from the *Nimba* tree. For murder, the *yantra* is drawn on cloths from corpses at a funeral pyre, coals from the pyre are used as ink, and human bone is the writing implement. For banishment, the *yantra* also should be drawn on cloths from corpses at a funeral pyre, blood mixed together with poison is the ink, and human bone is the writing implement. For both subjugation and attraction, the *yantra* is drawn on a leaf from a birch tree, cool saffron flowers create the ink, and gold is the writing implement. For obscuration, the *yantra* should be drawn on a leaf from the *Calotropis Gigantea* plant, yellow ointment made from the sap of the three myrobalans mixed together with *kuśa* grass is the ink, and wood from the wooden-apple tree is the writing implement. Finally, for immobilization, the *yantra* also should be drawn on a leaf from the *Calotropis Gigantea* plant, red sandal paste is the ink, and wood from the *Calotropis Gigantea* plant is the writing implement.

Verse 22, the last verse in this first sub-section of the third chapter, discusses the prescriptions for the *yantra* -- "now a regulation concerning the exterior of the *cakra* is stated for the *yantra* that has been drawn." In this context, the term *cakra* may refer both to an external wheel and also to the *cakras* of the subtle body. The practitioner is directed as follows: for pacification, one should wind the *cakra* around the exterior of the body of the moon, by means of the *maṇḍala* of the moon; for expansion, one should lift the *cakra* by means of a row and "one should wind it around" (Skt. *veṣṭayet*) the elephant so that the *cakra* is on the body of the elephant; for murder, one winds the *cakra* around the hungry ghost; for banishment, the camel; for subjugation, the "wild animal" (Skt. *mṛga*); for attraction, the horse; for obscuration, the cow; and for immobilization, the tortoise.³³²

³³² According to Namgyal (1994), having drawn the *yantra* on various materials, the practitioner then folds it and surrounds it with clay shaped in the form of various animals. The term "tortoise" echos the name of one of the subtle "winds" (Skt. *prāṇa*; Tib. *rlung*) described in Chapter II of the *Śrī Kālacakra*.

Great importance has been placed on the performance of burnt offering rites (Skt. *agnihotra*) throughout the Hindu-Buddhist world,³³³ and these rites connect Vedic and Buddhist culture, the Āgamas and Tantras. Only the terms "homa" and "agnihotra" refer to fire offerings, and the fire is found either on a *staṇḍila*, a level area of ground, or in a *kuṇḍa*, a jar, pitcher, hole in the ground, or fire-pit surrounded by three *mekhalā* or girdles. Like the *Śrī Kālacakra*, Balinese sources specify solid and liquid fuels, certain kinds of sticks, and the directions they represent. *Kuśa* and *darbha* grass are also offered, and these offerings are connected with the directions of the compass.

The burnt offering rituals described in the *Śrī Kālacakra* share recognizable features with earlier Vedic and classical Hindu rituals. I hypothesize that earlier Vedic literature, especially the *Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa* (henceforth ŚB),³³⁴ may have, ultimately and then *via* intermediaries, provided the model for the eight directions designated in the *Śrī Kālacakra* (henceforth SK):

East: In Vedic literature, east is the most auspicious direction and is called "the quarter of the gods," as in ŚB 3,1,1,2,6, etc. In the SK, east is referred to as *indra/pūrva/sura* and is black.

North: In Vedic literature, this is the "pacified" (*śānta*) quarter, as in *Taittirīyasamhitā* 5,2,5,3. It is also called the "region of men," as in ŚB 3,1,1,7, 14,1,2,2. In the SK, north (white) is referred to as *dhanada/uttara/Kubera/Yakṣa/vāma*.

Northeast: In Vedic literature, northeast is "unconquerable" (*aparājita*). It is "the quarter of gods and men" in ŚB 6,6,2,3 and "the direction of the sun" in ŚB 14, 2,2,29. In the SK, northeast is called *īśa/īśana/aiśānya/Rudra/Śiva*.

West: In Vedic literature, this is hope or expectation (*dāśa*), as in ŚB 11, 1,6,23. In the SK, west (yellow) is *vāruṇya/Varuṇa/jala/pāścima/apara*.

South: In Vedic literature, south, southeast and southwest are considered "objectionable" (*nindita*), as in *Āśvalāyanagr̥hyasūtra* 1,22,21. South is asso-

³³³ D. Bhattacharya (1984); Hooykaas (1983); Ötrul (1987b); Payne (1991); Saso (1991); Sharpe (1987); Staal (1983)

³³⁴ Gonda (1980: 52-56)

ciated with ceremonies sacred to the father, as in ŚB 3,6,4,12; ŚS 1,1,14; it also is connected to contact with the deceased, as in *Gobhilagr̥hyasamgrahapariṣiṣṭa* 1,42. For this reason, one establishes the fire on a surface oriented towards the south in the *anvaṣṭakya* ritual. In the SK, south (red) is referred to as *yāmya/Yama/dakṣiṇa*.

Southeast: In Vedic literature, this is also associated with the father, as in *Śaṅkhāyana Gr̥hyasūtra* 1,7,3. In the SK, southeast is *agni/agneya/śikha*.

Southwest: In Vedic literature, this is the region of Nirṛti, the goddess of decay, as in ŚB 7,2,1,8,; 11. In the SK, southwest is *nairṛtya/daitya/danu*.

Northwest: In the SK, it is called *vāyu/vayavya/pavana*.

While ritual action becomes progressively more systematized from the Vedic period to the medieval period, it is actually an early Kaśmirī Śaivite tantra, the *Vīṇāśikhatantra*, that is most similar to the eleventh-century *Śrī Kālacakra* in terms of its description of ritual action. And unlike other Buddhist works such as the *Hevajratantra*, the *Śrī Kālacakra* adopts a systematic approach to eight specific ritual actions, correlating them to the eight directions of the hearth used for burnt offerings and to the eight directions of the *maṇḍala* used for the empowerment.

Kālacakra's Network of Empowerments

As described previously, eleven sub-empowerments comprising the overall Kālacakra Empowerment. The first "seven empowerments of childhood" (Tib. *byis pa'i dbang bskur bdun*) include the: 1) water; 2) crown/headdress; 3) crown pendant/crown banner; 4) vajra and bell; 5) conduct/thumb-vajra; 6) name; and 7) permission (Tib. *rjes gnang*) empowerments.³³⁵ Each of these seven empowerments refer to past life-cycle changes that presumably occurred during the disciple's childhood:³³⁶

The seven initiations themselves are modelled on important events in childhood, after emergence from the womb. The water initiation corresponds to a

³³⁵ Dhargyey (1985a: 6-8); BTG (1965: 246)

³³⁶ T. Gyatso (1985b: 118-119)

mother's washing her newborn child; the crown initiation corresponds to fixing up the hair on the top of a child's head; the silk ribbon initiation corresponds to piercing the ears of a child and hanging on adornments; the vajra and bell initiation corresponds to a child's laughing and talking; the conduct empowerment corresponds to a child's enjoying the five sense objects of the Desire Realm; the name initiation corresponds to naming a child; the permission initiation corresponds to a father's giving reading and so forth to a child.

Four higher and four highest empowerments follow the seven empowerments of childhood, each set of which contains a vase, secret, wisdom, and fourth empowerment. These seemingly eight empowerments are actually counted as four, to arrive at the eleven Kālacakra empowerments as follows: 1) the two vase empowerments; 2) the two secret empowerments; 3) the two wisdom-gnosis empowerments and the fourth higher empowerment; and 4) the fourth highest empowerment. A final "vajra master empowerment" (Skt. *ācāryābhiṣeka*; Tib. *rdo rje slob dpon gyi dbang*) concludes the ceremony.³³⁷

Contemporary account of empowerment into the practice of Kālacakra is more complex and elaborate than the textual description of the empowerment process described in the eleventh-century *Śrī Kālacakra*, a fact that is less than surprising given the centuries, oceans and cultural contexts separating the traditions. Verses 99 to 129 of the *Śrī Kālacakra* are the textual locus for the description of Kālacakra's network of empowerments. Verse 99 describes the seven empowerments of childhood:

VERSE 99: Now, the purification of the empowerment is described.

The water {empowerment}, the goddesses such as Tārā, etc., the crown {empowerment} here, the Victors, the śaktis, the throne³³⁸ of the hero {empowerment}, the vajra and bell {empowerment}, and both the sun and moon, also the vow {empowerment}, the sense objects, the name {empowerment}, the yoga of friendship, etc.,

the permission {empowerment}, she who is the beauty of enlightenment {in the turning of the wheel of dharma}, who crushes the fear of existence and who is intertwined with Kālacakra -- these empowerments of the seven [stages of childhood], which remove stains and dirt, should be given {to the disciples by

³³⁷ Jackson (1985b: 31-32)

³³⁸ (Skt. *paṭṭo*; Tib. *dar dpyangs*)

the teacher} in the maṇḍala.

Verse 100 describes the results of the seven empowerments of childhood:

VERSE 100: Now the result of the empowerments is described.

One who is sprinkled by the empowerment of the seven [stages of childhood] attains lordship of the seven levels³³⁹ from the power of goodness. Even more, he necessarily enters [the state] of no further transformation when he is consecrated in the secret of the pitcher.³⁴⁰

Having been consecrated by means of wisdom and gnosis, he goes to the state of Mañjughoṣa,³⁴¹ which subdues³⁴² the fear of existence. Sometimes he enacts the root transgressions from the power of deceit {the power of the activity of the ten root transgressions}, and this is hell, which is suffering.

Verse 101 mentions the water, flask, secret, and wisdom/gnosis empowerments.

VERSE 101: Now the purification of the root transgression is described.

Purifying the root transgression, he is one who possesses qualities³⁴³ and who participates in the empowerment of the seven [stages of childhood]. In the pitcher, which is the secret place, in accordance with the vows and precepts, sometimes {there is purification due to the accumulation of merit and virtue},³⁴⁴ and in the higher [empowerment], there is no purification.

He who has undergone a root transgression, who enters again this maṇḍala for the sake of purification, having obtained the permission,³⁴⁵ indeed he, who {previously} was called the eldest, further attains lightness³⁴⁶ {he becomes the youngest} in the family of the groups³⁴⁷ {in the middle of the family}.³⁴⁸

The extent to which the complexity of the contemporary empowerment process reflects the historical development of the ritual, its interpretation in Tibet, or merely the explicit description of ritual events contained in an Indian oral-lineage tradition is uncertain.

Verses 102 and 103 describe the root transgressions, and beginning in the fourth subsection of the third chapter of the *Śrī Kālacakra*, Verse 104 establishes the rules for

339 (Skt. sapta-bhūmi; Tib. sa bdun gyi)

340 (Skt. kumbha-guhya-abhiṣiktaḥ; Tib. bum pa gsang bas mngon par dbang bskur)

341 (Skt. mañjughoṣatvam; Tib. 'jam dbyangs nyid)

342 (Skt. mathanaṃ; Tib. 'joms pa'i 'jam)

343 (Skt. guṇinaḥ; Tib. yon tan ldan pa)

344 (Skt. śīla)

345 (Skt. ājñāṃ; Tib. rjes su)

346 (Skt. laghu-tvam; Tib. chung ba nyid)

consecration. Verses 105 outlines the water, flask and secret-place empowerments and the higher empowerment of wisdom and gnosis. Ritual activities ensue in Verses 106 to 108, and Verse 109 describes the manner in which the Buddhas arise from the vowels and consonants at the various *cakras*. The practitioner becomes of "one taste" with the deity in Verse 110, and seed syllables are placed at the *cakras* in Verses 111 to 114. The second half of Verse 114 begins the consecration of smearings on the *stūpa*, and the deity is venerated with smells and flowers in Verse 115. Having completed the burnt offering in Verse 116, offerings are made to the guru in Verse 117. Verses 118 and 119 discuss the highest empowerment, which involves a female *mudrā*. In Verse 120, the teacher is joined with the *mudrā*, after which she is given to the student. Verse 121 describes qualities to be avoided in a *mudrā*, while Verse 122 describes a desirable *mudrā* and the experiences she engenders. Verses 123 and 124 outline the sixteen blisses, while Verse 125 describes the purification of the action *mudrā*. Verse 126 presents the *mudrās* of body, speech and mind, while Verses 127 and 128 describe the consort and teacher. Finally, Verse 129 explains that the merit deriving from offerings to the teacher accrues to the *mudrā*.

Thirty-Six Yoginīs and Occupational Castes

In the fifth subsection of the third chapter of the *Śrī Kālacakra*, Verses 130 to 136 describe a complex series of correlations based on the numbers four, six, eight, and ten. More specifically, these verses correlate the various types of female *yoginīs* with thirty-six occupational castes. The actual key to these correlations is contained in Verse 135, which states that the *yoginīs* assume thirty-six forms that are correlated with the thirty-six castes according to the following arrangement: the *yoginīs* of the four

³⁴⁷ (Skt. *gaṇa-kule*; Tib. *tshogs kyi 'dus par*)

³⁴⁸ (Skt. *gotra-madhye*).

major castes; the six sense *yoginIs*; the eight *yoginIs* who give birth to spirits; the ten wrathful *yoginIs* worshipped by the *yogI*; and the eight types of extremely wrathful *yoginIs* with animal faces (4+6+8+10+8=36). It is these *yoginIs* who are responsible for punishing bad *yogIs* by tying them up and rewarding good *yogIs* by granting them the twelve great *karmas*, probably referring to the twelve "siddhis," i.e., extraordinary accomplishments such as precognition and clairaudience. Bad *yogIs* are those who break the vows due to ignorance, and good *yogIs* are those who keep the vows and practice their yoga. Various types of *yoginIs* are said to reside on the surface of the earth in the tantric meeting place, in the best village, and in the auspicious forest.

Verse 130 of the *Śrī Kālacakra* begins by correlating the families of Tārā with the various castes:

VERSE 130: The fourfold Tārā is a laborer on the surface of the earth.³⁴⁹
Pāṇḍarā is a warrior, and the three types of the earth ones³⁵⁰ are merchants.
She born from the family of the twice-born {priests} should be the seven-fold
Māmākī.

In his commentary on the third chapter of the *Śrī Kālacakra*,³⁵¹ and more specifically in his commentary on this verse, Bo dong tells us that within the lowest caste of laborers, there are four divisions of *yoginIs* corresponding to four occupations, those who: 1) plow the field; 2) herd the cows; 3) work with mud; and 4) work with wood at home sites.³⁵²

³⁴⁹ (Skt. bhuvi; Tib. sa)

³⁵⁰ (Skt. kṣmā; Tib. sa)

³⁵¹ See BDNN (1973). Although it is also possible that this text was incorporated from another source yet attributed to Bo dong, certain stylistic features, such as the use of the term "ascertaining" (Tib. *mam nges*), point to Bo dong himself as its author. Bo dong composed this particular commentary on *Kālacakra* in the Tibetan year "kun jin," month "sa ga," and day "white." This text is extant in the form of a Delhi reproduction of the original blockprints of a text entitled *Ascertaining the maṇḍala ritual of Bhagavan Kālacakra*.

³⁵² See Appendix B.

The second half of Verse 130 and the first half of Verse 131 describe female *yoginIs* correlated with the six senses:

VERSE 130 (cont'd): She who is called the Speech {Vajra} is the worker of copper, indeed. She who is the Taste Vajra is the female wine-seller, indeed. She who is the Form Vajra is the female goldsmith, O Lord of Men. She who is the Smell Vajra on the earth

VERSE 131: is well-known as a *mālā* maker. In accordance with her qualities and nature, she is the Touch Vajra, a weaver. She who is the Dharma Realm Vajra, indeed she should be a jeweler and well-known on the earth.

The second half of Verse 131 and the first half of Verse 132 describe the eight types of *yoginIs* who give birth to spirits. Bo dong also tells us that ten types of *yoginIs* should be venerated by the yogi. And Verse 135 describes eight types of extremely-wrathful *yoginIs* with animal faces.³⁵³

Verse 136 complicates the system of correspondences between *yoginIs* and occupational castes by describing a second subdivision of 4, 6, 10, 8, and 8:

VERSE 136: The four divisions of the Buddhas, indeed and again, the six divisions of the bodhisattvas, the {ten} divisions of the directions of the wrathful protectors [are] on the abode of the surface of the earth.³⁵⁴ Likewise the eight divisions of hungry ghosts [are also on the abode of the surface of the earth].³⁵⁵

The eight divisions of the demons, located in the realm of the *Nāgas*, should be understood by the yogi. Each one on the abode of the three realms of the Lord of All³⁵⁶ is the pervader³⁵⁷ of the auspicious families.

Symbolically, these verses suggest that the occupational caste distinctions correlated with the thirty-six female *yoginIs* may refer symbolically to aspects of Kālacakra's meditative yoga and may have been transposed to the level of inner yogic practice. The clues are discreet -- for example, Bo dong tells us that Cāmuṇḍa is located on the speech *cakra* and Jambhanī is located on the body *cakra*. Perhaps all thirty-six *yoginIs*

³⁵³ See Appendix B.

³⁵⁴ (Skt. *kṣīti*; Tib. *sa*)

³⁵⁵ (Skt. *preta*; Tib. *dvags dbye ba rnam*)

³⁵⁶ (Skt. *viśva-bhartuḥ*; Tib. *sna tshogs gtso bo*)

³⁵⁷ (Skt. *vyāpakāḥ*; Tib. *khyab byed*)

were mapped to different *cakras* of the subtle body.³⁵⁸ Indeed, because they were ubiquitous in the external social environment, occupational caste distinctions may have been employed mnemonically to facilitate visualization practices that depended upon the detailed elements of tantric physiology.

Kālacakra's *yoginī*-symbolism may be related to earlier cultic practices surrounding the mother goddess, though transposition of the original meaning of these practices is likely. According to Sircar,³⁵⁹ archaeological evidence suggests that the pre-Aryan people of Northwestern Bhāratavarṣa honored a Father-god and a Mother-goddess. In his *Brhatsaṃhitā* (LX. 19), Varāhamihira, the Maga-Brāhmaṇa astronomer of the Ujjayinī school, refers to the worship of the Divine Mothers by the phrase "knower of the *maṇḍala* of the mothers" (Skt. *mātr-maṇḍala-vidah*) or by the phrase "knower of the custom of the *maṇḍala*" (Skt. *maṇḍala-krama-vidah*).³⁶⁰ The early Cālukyas of Badami also were said to be nourished by "the mothers of the seven worlds" (Skt. *sapta-loka-mātr*). These seven³⁶¹ Divine Mothers, probably known as the Circle of Seven, are: 1) Brāhmī; 2) Māheśvarī; 3) Kaumārī; 4) Vaiṣṇavī; 5)

³⁵⁸ According to Wayman (1973: 47-48), symbolism for Kālacakra's generation stage practices is connected to the Buddha families, while symbolism for the completion stage is connected to various yoginīs: 1) "Crow-Faced Woman" corresponds to "withdrawal" (Skt. *pratyāhāra*); 2) "Owl-Faced Woman" corresponds to "meditation" (Skt. *dhyāna*) on the nature of the five Tathāgatas; 3) "Dog-Faced Woman" corresponds to "wind control" (Skt. *prāṇāyāma*), i.e., control of the winds in five colors, with tantric vocalizations (Skt. *vajrajāpa*); 4) "Boar-Faced Woman" corresponds to "retention" (Skt. *dhāraṇā*), the five signs, mirage, etc., with purification of mind (Skt. *citta-viśuddhi*) and personal blessing (Skt. *svādhiṣṭhāna*); 5) "Yama's Female Messenger" corresponds to "recollection" (Skt. *anusmṛti*), so as to proceed in the reverse order, together with "revelation-enlightenment" (Skt. *abhisambodhi*); 6) "Yama's Female Cremation Ground" corresponds to "concentration" (Skt. *saṃādhi*), the consummation of knowledge, with "yuganaddha," the pair united.

³⁵⁹ Sircar (1971: 94-96)

³⁶⁰ Utpala explains "*maṇḍala-krama*" as "*maṇḍala-pūjā-krama*" ("custom regarding the worship of the *maṇḍala*." The term "*mātr-cakra*" sometimes stands in for "*mātr-maṇḍala*." This term "*mātrṇām loka-mātrṇām maṇḍalam*" occurs in a sixth-century inscription from Udaygiri (Jhansi District, U.P.) recording the construction and consecration of a temple of the mothers, and this appears to be the same as the "*mātr-gaṇa*" ("group of Divine Mothers") mentioned in the records of the early Kadamba kings.

³⁶¹ Although the number of the Divine Mothers is often given as eight and sometimes also as nine and sixteen, originally there were seven goddesses.

Vārāhī; 6) Indrāṇī/Aindrī/Māhendrī; and 7) Cāmuṇḍā.³⁶²

Sircar³⁶³ also reports that the Mother goddesses were important in Western-Indian religious life. Tantric elements in the mother-goddess cult of that area occur in an Aulikara inscription of 423, an epigraph recording the construction and consecration of the god Viṣṇu by a person who had both Śākta and Vaiṣṇava leanings. The temple of the Mothers is described as an abode of *ḍākinīs* (Skt. *ḍākinī-samprakīrṇa*) and the goddesses are represented as uttering loud shouts and stirring up the oceans.³⁶⁴ In contrast to eastern Indian areas like Bengal in which Hindu tantra and the later phases of Buddhism were closely interrelated, this epigraph indicates that later Buddhism did not influence tantra to any great degree in Western India.

Postural Attitudes

The sixth subsection of the third chapter of the *Śrī Kālacakra*, Verses 170 to 185, elaborates an assortment of *mudrā* in multivalent, symbolic terms that denote both external ritual positions and internal process/states. These *mudrā* require a precise positioning and interlocking of fingers together with the placement of the hands at various points on the body.³⁶⁵ In Verse 170, the five fingers are listed -- the thumb,³⁶⁶ the forefinger,³⁶⁷ the middle finger,³⁶⁸ the "nameless one"³⁶⁹ (i.e., the fourth finger), and the pinkie.³⁷⁰ Bo dong provides the following correlations:

³⁶² According to Sircar (1971: 97-102), different lists introduce different goddesses, so that even the popular list of eight deities, Yāmī, Caṇḍikā, Carcikā, Nārasimhī, etc. are introduced from the *Śabdakalpadruma*; and Vāruṇī and Kauberī are introduced by Utpala.

³⁶³ Sircar (1971: 97)

³⁶⁴ Herrmann-Pfandt (1992)

³⁶⁵ Tsong kha pa (1981)

³⁶⁶ (Skt. *aṅguṣṭhas*; Tib. *mthe bo*)

³⁶⁷ (Skt. *tarjanī*; Tib. 'dzum mo dag)

³⁶⁸ (Skt. *madhyamā*; Tib. *gung mo*)

³⁶⁹ (Skt. *anāmikā*; Tib. *ming med*)

³⁷⁰ (Skt. *kaniṣṭhā*; Tib. *mthe chung mtha' dag*)

Finger	Element	Sense
Thumb	Earth	Smell
Forefinger	Water	Form
Middle finger	Fire	Taste
Fourth finger	Wind	Touch
Pinkie	Space	Sound

Verses 171 and 172 describe the *mudrās* of the six Buddhas. In Verse 171, the *mudrās* of Vajrasattva, Akṣobhya, Padmapaṇi, and Amitābha are described. In Vajrasattva's *mudrā*, one clenches both hands into fists and places them on top of the right and left thighs. In Akṣobhya's *mudrā*, one assumes a cross-legged³⁷¹ posture, puts the upward palm of the left hand on the lap, and places the right hand on the side of the right knee until the fingers touch the ground. In Padmapaṇi's *mudrā*, one assumes the cross-legged posture, puts the fingers of the right hand on top of the left hand, and turns the right hand upwards, levelly. Amitābha's *mudrā* is described as one of "concentration."³⁷²

In Verse 172, the *mudrās* of Amoghasiddha and Vairocana are described. In the *mudrā* of Amoghasiddha, one places the left palm upwards on top of the cross-legged posture and the palm of the right hand on top of the right knee. In the *mudrā* of Vairocana, one places the right fist on the left knee and extends one of the fingers of the left hand. Having inserted the left finger into the cavity of the clenched fist of the right hand and placed it on top of the right knee, one then moves this *mudrā* to the region of one's heart. Bo dong also states that the *Rwa mangs* [a text presumably written by Rwa Lo tsā ba] describes an alternate *mudrā* of Vairocana called the "dharmacakra *mudrā*." Here, one joins the left hand with the forefinger and thumb of the right hand, forming a sort of bracelet. The middle finger is extended and the fourth finger and pinkie are a little on top in the direction of the heart.

³⁷¹ (Skt. paryāṅka; Tib. dkyil dkrung)

³⁷² (Skt. samādhi)

Verse 173 describes the divine, highest *mudrā*. Here, a moon disk marked with fifteen short vowels -- *a, i, ṛ, u, ḷ, a, e, ar, o, al, ha, ya, ra, wa, la* -- is held in the left hand. A sun disk with fifteen long vowels -- *lā, wā, rā, yā, hā, āl, ai, ār, ō, āl, ḷi, aū, rī, ī, ā* -- is held in the right hand. A fear-producing vajra³⁷³ born of the wrathful ones is placed at the juncture of the sun and moon disks. The five tips of this vajra are visualized as emanating out of the letter *hum*. Beginning with the crown and continuing to the feet, one touches all the limbs with a vajra *mudrā*. This *mudrā* of the auspicious, exalted Kālacakra, the "King of the Gods of the *Maṇḍala*," protects against all obstacles and removes the impurities of sin.

Verse 174 describes the commitments of the earth-born, water-born, womb-born and sweat-born beings. The commitment of one born from wetness is possessed in the Ku ba family.³⁷⁴ Likewise, one with food, drink and energy has the commitment of Amoghasiddhi. The substances of the commitment together with meat, which contribute to the efficacy of the *mudrā*, should be burned generously. And having walked on the shadow of the lama or on the image of the god, the "*mudrā*," i.e., the female practitioner, should touch her foot. The various substances should be touched with the *mudrā* of the Buddha "families" (Tib. *rigs*). Furthermore, the *yogi* prepares the *maṇḍala* on the site of the earth, steps on the image of the god, and is touched by the exalted female practitioner.

Verse 175 describes the *mudrā* of Vajrabāla, the Lord of the Wrathful Ones. The left hand is on top of the palm of the right hand, and the back of the palm of the left hand is under the right hand. The vajra, which is on top of the left shoulder, is

³⁷³ (Skt. *bhayakarakuliśam*; Tib. 'jigs byed rdo rje)

³⁷⁴ This Tibetan term refers to an unidentified Buddha family.

placed above the palm. Clenching the vajra fist and also the left hand, the right shoulder is placed above the palm. Furthermore, in the *mudrā* of complete victory from the three worlds, which is located at the site of the heart and mouth, one binds the forefingers together in the shape of an iron hook. The two thumbs are also bound together in this way. Having joined the back of the hand, the thumbs are bound inside the clenched fist.

Verse 175 also describes the *mudrās* of the "serpent deities" (Skt. *nāgas*). Here, the right elbow is on top of the joint of the left elbow. Having bound the left elbow, the right hand is surrounded from underneath and is placed above the joint of right elbow. Having placed together the tips of the right and left thumbs, the remaining fingers are extended in the form of a wavering hood of a snake pointed towards the right. Having turned the right hand to the left and having touched the tip of the left thumb, it becomes the *mudrā* of the serpents to the left.

Verses 176 to 186 describe the *mudrās* of the implements held by Kālacakra. In the five-tipped vajra *mudrā*, one joins the palms of the hands, the thumbs, and both pinkies. These are then fashioned into the shape of a lotus petal. Having joined the tips of both middle fingers, they are extended in the center and both forefingers are joined to resemble a half moon that is half bent towards the back of the middle finger. The two fourth fingers are contracted underneath and come onto the palm of one's hand. Next, the five fingers are made to resemble prongs, both hands are located in the middle of the middle finger, and all the other fingers stand erect.

Verse 177 describes the vajra-bell *mudrā*. The right fist is placed on top of the left fist, and one puts the thumbs inside a "fist" made with the pinkies and the fourth fingers. Then, having stacked and joined the forefinger and the middle finger, which

have been made into a half "fist," the arrangement transforms into the sword *mudrā*. The forefingers, middle fingers and fourth fingers are then extended in the shape of three tips.

Verse 178 describes the arrow *mudrā*. Here, the fist is clenched above the ear, and the thumb is placed above the middle finger and below the forefinger. Similarly, in the *mudrā* of the iron hook, the fist that is clenched is placed levelly in the form of an iron hook above the forefinger "fist." Likewise, at the base of the finger, by means of the pinkie and fist, the half "fist" is made to resemble the sword *mudrā*, the arrow is joined evenly above the forefinger, and the thumb is placed below the fourth finger. In the spear *mudrā*, the middle finger is placed on top of the previously-mentioned fingers and is extended like a spear. In the staff *mudrā*, one makes a fist and extends it outwards from one's shoulder.

Verse 179 describes the *mudrā* of the hide of the elephant. Both fists are above the right shoulder to the left of the head, and the forefinger is extended on top of both fists. For the *mudrā* of the tusk of the elephant, the fists are clenched inwards towards the palms of both hands and one places them on one's mouth. In the shield *mudrā*, the forearm is extended to the left and the palm of the hand faces upwards. In the armor *mudrā*,³⁷⁵ the left elbow is extended straight and the palm of the hand supports it. In the skull club *mudrā*, the thumb is joined to the forefinger, middle finger and fourth finger. The thumb is extended, and by means of the three demons, i.e., the thumb, middle and forefingers, the right fist is pushed down.

Verse 180 describes the skull *mudrā*. Here, the fingers of the hand are placed together and the hand is placed on the auspicious skull, a lotus petal is above an image,

³⁷⁵ Although Bo dong describes this *mudrā*, it is not mentioned in the *Śrī Kālacakra*.

and the hand is extended to the back. In the bow *mudrā*, the fist and left forearm are extended and the right hand reaches towards the back. In the vajra-noose *mudrā*, the joint of the middle finger is placed above the left fist and the forefinger is lifted up and drawn forward. A cavity is formed in the center of both the middle finger and forefinger. In the sling *mudrā*,³⁷⁶ the left hand becomes a hook. In the jewel *mudrā*, the five fingers of the left hand are joined and one places the middle finger in the center of the five fingers, which are then brought together. In the lotus *mudrā* of the left hand, the thumb and pinkie are joined and are placed on a single petal. The forefingers, etc. are spread in various directions like lotus petals. In the *mudrā* of the small drum,³⁷⁷ the middle finger and the fourth finger form a fist, the forefinger is joined on top of the tip of the thumb like an iron prod, and the half pinkie is raised. Likewise, in the hammer *mudrā*,³⁷⁸ the fist is clenched, and all the fingers in the circle are extended like the sections of a spoke.

Verse 181 describes the conch *mudrā*. Here, the forefinger and thumb are joined, and the pinkie is placed below the thumb. The other three fingers are made into a fist, and the thumb and the forefinger are joined and extended. In the mirror *mudrā*, the finger in the front points to the palm of the hand, which is very level, and no space exists between the fingers. In the *mudrā* of the iron fetter, having gestured with the forefinger, the end of the little finger is held in a circular form, and the middle finger is placed on top of that. The fourth finger is on top of the middle finger, and the little finger is on top of the fourth finger. In the *mudrā* of Brahma's head, the first four fingers, including the thumb, are joined levelly into the shape of a head, and the little finger is contracted downwards.

³⁷⁶ Bo dong again describes a *mudrā* not mentioned in the *Śrī Kālacakra*.

³⁷⁷ (Tib. da ma ru) Again, this *mudrā* is not mentioned in the *Śrī Kālacakra*.

³⁷⁸ This is the last *mudrā* described by Bo dong that is not mentioned in the *Śrī Kālacakra*.

Verse 182 describes the crown *mudrā*. This requires that one make the conch *mudrā* in each of the hands and then join both hands. In the *mudrā* of the nose ornament, the palms of both hands are joined and extended. Each of the five fingers is joined on the back of the two hands. In the necklace *mudrā*, a tightened vajra is extended, and the fingers on the back of the hand are arranged successively and raised. In the belt *mudrā*, a belt is formed from the three fingers of both the right and left hands. The fourth finger, middle finger, and forefinger are assembled on top of one another. One then draws in the little finger and thumb and clenches the fist. Verse 183 describes the anklet *mudrā*. The two thumbs and two middle fingers are joined and made into a circle, and the remaining fingers are joined into a fist. Likewise, for the bracelet *mudrā*, the thumb and the forefinger are joined in a circle. This concludes the section on the *mudrās* of Kālacakra's hand symbols.

The second half of Verse 183 begins the section on the eight *mudrās* corresponding to beings born from eight families. All of these *mudrās* are fashioned with the left hand. First, in the *mudrā* of the *ḍākinīs*, the thumb is placed on top of the vajra fist. In the *mudrā* of the "secret ones," i.e., the *yakṣas*, the forefinger is extended on top of the vajra fist. Putting the two *mudrās* together in succession, one forms the *mudrā* of the Gandharvas, which requires that one extend the middle finger after having clenched the fist.

Verse 184 describes the *mudrā* of the hooded serpents. Here, the fourth fingers are shown after they have been removed from the fist. In the *mudrā* of the "malevolent spirits" (Skt. *bhūta*), one removes the pinkies from the fist and shows them. In the *mudrā* of the meat-eating demons, a "fist" is made with the forefingers except for the thumb. Having clenched the fist, this becomes the *mudrā* of "the accomplished ones"

(Skt. *siddha*). Showing the joints of the elbows is the *mudrā* of the "beneficial spirits" (Skt. *asuras*); showing the surface of the back of the hand is the *mudrā* of the cannibal demons; and showing the elbow and hand joint is the *mudrā* of the zombies.

Now, the *mudrās* of those with animal faces are described. In the palm of one or two hands, the five fingers are bent in the *mudrā* of the family of those with animal claws. Having made a fist, on top of the fist of both hands, two crooked forefingers are placed in the form of a half moon on the head, and this is the *mudrā* of the horned ones. Verse 185 enjoins the practitioner to join the back of each hand to the palm of the other hand and to join both pinkies into a circle. The two thumbs are joined, and the forefinger, middle finger and fourth finger are split apart. This is the *mudrā* of the winged ones born from an egg. In the *mudrā* of the hooded ones, a snake ornament is placed on the head, and one contracts the joints of the tips of the five fingers. In the burning *mudrā* for inviting the *ḍākinīs*, one extends the ends of the forefinger, middle finger, fourth finger and pinkies. One then bends both forefingers and places them on top of the head. In the flaming *mudrā*, which is the highest, the other fingers are joined with the thumbs below the mouth and the thumbs are joined on the blazing palms of the best hand.

Stylized Dialogue between a Yoginī and a Yogī

The second half of the sixth subsection of the third chapter of the *Śrī Kālacakra*, Verses 186 to 198, describes the ceremonial interaction between *yogīs* and *yoginīs* during the practice of Kālacakra's yoga. The language used in the text to describe this interaction is highly formalized, reflecting the interlocking levels of ritualization that characterize text, language, action, and interaction in the tantric tradition.

VERSE 186: Now the *mudrās* of the hero's and goddesses' mutual conversation are described.

The seeing of the forefinger, indeed, and the greeting of the yogī also should be spoken. An excellent greeting {is spoken} by both {the forefinger and middle finger}. The lovely woman speaks peace from the binding of the thumb.

From the snapping of the finger, the best practitioner tells what is prescribed. "You, here -- I prepare something refreshing for you from the thumb and fourth finger, together with the spirituous liquor of the commitment."³⁷⁹

In his commentary on this verse, Bo dong tells us that it is the *yoginī* who directs the conversation to the *yogī* in these verses. He also explains that in this "well-expressed" *mudrā*, the practitioners are satisfied by the tantric commitments involving food and drink.

VERSE 187: The lovely woman greets the yogīs by expanding the tips of all her fingers. By touching the limb on the left, she clarifies, "You always are my single relation."³⁸⁰

Having touched [her] vagina,³⁸¹ the Lord also scratches [her] lips³⁸² and [her] pair of nipples with [his] nails. From the mutual binding³⁸³ of the fingers, he utters the commitment by extending his thumbs and middle fingers.

Moving to Verse 188, the *yoginī* is depicted as strong, powerful, authoritative, domineering, and, at times, even belligerent. In contrast, the *yogī* is described as lacking subtlety. Bo dong tells us that verses 188 to 190 describe "threatening *mudrās*," and Verse 191 describes the "limitless wrathful *mudrā*." In these four verses, Bo dong states that the *yoginī* assumes a "belittling" stance *vis-à-vis* the *yogī*, and she apparently has the power to legitimate the naive him.

VERSE 188: Now the threatening *mudrās* are described.

With respect to the crooked lips, eyebrows and eyes, on the head that he is scratching, the complete fool³⁸⁴ speaks.

[When] the smallest finger [is placed] on the middle of the teeth and the forefinger is on the heart and mouth,³⁸⁵ it clarifies fear.

³⁷⁹ (Skt. *samaya*; Tib. *dam tshig*)

³⁸⁰ (Skt. *bandhur-eko*; Tib. *gnyen gcig pu*)

³⁸¹ (Skt. *yonau*; Tib. *skye gnas dag la*)

³⁸² (Skt. *adhara*; Tib. *mchu*)

³⁸³ (Skt. *anyonya-bhandhāt*; Tib. *phan tshun bcings*)

³⁸⁴ (Skt. *atimūrkho*; Tib. *shin du rmongs pa*)

³⁸⁵ (Skt. *hṛnmukhe*; Tib. *snying kha kha ru*)

By clenching the thumb in the fist, [I pound] on the earth.³⁸⁶ Rubbing the feet and hands, I eat food by the touch of the tongue. Indeed, beating³⁸⁷ the belly and the tooth is a sign of eating or not eating.

Bo dong's commentary on this verse is amusing -- he tells us that the *yogī* is referred to as a "complete fool" essentially due to his clumsiness in bed -- first he messes up the *yoginī*'s eyebrows and eye makeup, but then he commits the ultimate *faux pas* -- messing up her hair.

In Verse 189, the *yoginī* begins to speak, and she takes control of the situation by telling our poor, befuddled *yogī* exactly what he should do.

VERSE 189: Using the back side of the hand, she declares that which is prescribed, "Go!" With respect to the face-to-face [position], "Stand!, Stand!" Indeed, by pressing his knee with her thigh, the lovely woman communicates, "Right now, you should stop."

Stretching her foot out, [she says] "Make sleep for me and make love {to me}." Spreading her knees apart, [she says] "When all the limbs³⁸⁸ are being touched [and your] hand is located on [my] mouth, there is no uniting³⁸⁹ of me {with you}."

VERSE 190: Clasping his hand, she says "A meeting of cakras occurs at my home, today.³⁹⁰ From the tip of the thumb and fourth finger, by means of many kinds of commitments,³⁹¹ we satisfy³⁹² according to desire."

When the foot is being scratched, sexual union occurs. By uniting the exterior, a mutual binding³⁹³ of the forefingers [occurs]. But she removes fear [by saying], "Today, you are [my] vajra friend."

VERSE 191: Now the mudrās of the limitless wrathful ones are described.

Having cut her hair with his own teeth, she says, "O Beast among Men, you here are felled. I grind my teeth, and this flesh of yours should be eaten by me, now."

Fondling her tongue and lips,³⁹⁴ indeed he says, "I drink the blood in your

³⁸⁶ (Skt. *bhuvi*; Tib. *sa la*)

³⁸⁷ (Skt. *tādite*; Tib. *bsnun pa dag gis*)

³⁸⁸ (Skt. *sarvāṅge*; Tib. *yan lag kun la*)

³⁸⁹ (Skt. *melāpako*; Tib. *'dus pa*)

³⁹⁰ (Skt. *cakramelāpako*; Tib. *'khor lo 'dus pa dag*)

³⁹¹ (Skt. *samayais*; Tib. *dam tshig rnam kyis*)

³⁹² (Skt. *tarpayāmo*; Tib. *'dod par*)

³⁹³ (Skt. *anyonyabandhe*; Tib. *phan tshun bcings*)

³⁹⁴ (Skt. *lālīte*; Tib. *gyo bar byed*)

body." Also, biting her lip,³⁹⁵ [he says], "Now we eat your entrails,³⁹⁶
which are located in your belly."³⁹⁷

Continuing in this vein, Verses 192 and 193 describe a series of other sexual situations, the *mudrās* of: dancing girl; laughter; multifaceted dancing; instrumental music; singing; smell; rosary; incense; lamp; and vessel.

The next three verses, from 194 to 196, describe the meaning of certain subtle glances directed towards the *yogī* by the *yoginī*.

VERSE 194: And by means of the oblique glance, the female messenger {*yoginī*} says to the fortunate one, "You have come from whence?" With his left hand on his head, the *yogī* should reply, "Indeed, those directions are in the glance."

With an upward glance, she says, "Peace to you, again." [With a glance] directed downward to the surface of the earth,³⁹⁸ she says, "You stand, relax!" With a crooked glance, she says, "Go, you!" And with a passionate glance, the messenger says, "Make love!"³⁹⁹

VERSE 195: With a soft glance, she says, "{You} are my friend." She makes clear her fear with a wrathful glance and furrowed brow. "I am fierce,"⁴⁰⁰ she says with a hair-[tossing] glance. By means of these gestures, she reveals to the fortunate one [his] own inherent nature.

With a wool glance, she makes clear "I am supreme."⁴⁰¹ The *yoginī* clarifies her good quality by means of a nose glance. And with a lip glance, she declares her happiness.⁴⁰² Upon looking at {her own} pair of nipples, she states, "I am an excellent *mudrā*."

VERSE 196: With a heart glance, she states, "My self is revealed."⁴⁰³ Upon looking at {her} pair of arms, she states, "I am strong." She says, "I am powerful" with a shoulder glance. Looking at the surface of her hands together with her nails she also says, "I am a demoness."⁴⁰⁴

Looking at her back,⁴⁰⁵ she says, "But I am a snake." With a navel glance,

³⁹⁵ (Skt. *sandaśyamāne*; Tib. 'debs par byed)

³⁹⁶ (Skt. *antram*; Tib. *rgyu ma*)

³⁹⁷ (Skt. *udara*; Tib. *lto bar*)

³⁹⁸ (Skt. *kṣiti*; Tib. *sa*)

³⁹⁹ (Skt. *suratam*; Tib. *shin du dga' ba*)

⁴⁰⁰ (Skt. *krūrā*; Tib. *rungs par*)

⁴⁰¹ (Skt. *uttamā*; Tib. *mchog*)

⁴⁰² (Skt. *saubhāgyam*; Tib. *skal pa bzang*)

⁴⁰³ (Skt. *bhāvitātmā*; Tib. *bsgoms pa'i bdag nyid*)

⁴⁰⁴ (Skt. *rākṣasī*; Tib. *srin mo*)

⁴⁰⁵ (Skt. *prṣṭhāloke*; Tib. *rgyab tu lta*)

she says, "I am a commitment-holder, O Lord of Men." Also, with a glance at her secret area, she says, "I am also pure."⁴⁰⁶ And with a glance at her thighs, she says, "I am difficult to conquer"⁴⁰⁷ with respect to lovemaking."⁴⁰⁸

VERSE 197: Upon looking at her knees, she says, "I am accomplished." Upon glancing at her foot, she says, "Necessarily,"⁴⁰⁹ I bestow success." But upon looking downward at her big toes, she says, "Also, in the realm,"⁴¹⁰ I am the single heroine of the vajra body."

With a glance at the tips of all her fingers, on the abode of the three realms, she says, "I go everywhere – I am the mother of everything." On the abode on the surface of the earth⁴¹¹ the glance of the messengers should be understood by the yogī.

These subtle glances, directed towards the *yogī* by the *yoginī* provide the means by which tantric practitioners recognize and communicate with one another.

Reading the aforementioned verses as examples of female agency in Buddhist tantra would be superficial. Dialogic passages in Kālacakra literature, passages in which the female *yoginī* appears to take on a dominant role in psycho-sexual yoga, actually may gloss over a situation in which privileged and ultimately powerful men in Kālacakra's tantric cult are the ones constructing the "dominant-submissive" dialogue. Nevertheless, much additional primary-source research is necessary before any substantive conclusions are possible.

⁴⁰⁶ (Skt. *śuddha*; Tib. *dag pa*)

⁴⁰⁷ (Skt. *durjayā*; Tib. *gdul bar dka'*) The Sanskrit term "jayā" also refers to one of the subtle channels.

⁴⁰⁸ (Skt. *surate*; Tib. *shin du dga' la*)

⁴⁰⁹ (Skt. *niyatam*; Tib. *nges par*)

⁴¹⁰ (Skt. *bhuvane*; Tib. *srid par*)

⁴¹¹ (Skt. *kṣiti*; Tib. *sa*)

CHAPTER V: NOTES ON KĀLACAKRA IN TIBET

Considered by many Tibetans to be the *sin quo non* of the Buddha's teachings, the Kālacakra tradition has contributed to Tibetan culture in diverse areas such as astronomy, cosmology, physiology, medicine, ritual arts, and yogic practice. From the time of its introduction into Tibet in the eleventh century until the present, Tibetans have displayed great reverence for Kālacakra and marked enthusiasm for its rituals. Kālacakra's textual and ritual genres are blurred in Tibet, and massive translation efforts occurred simultaneously with the transmission of Kālacakra *via* ritualized "teacher lineages" and with primarily monastic-*cum*-royal empowerments. The Tibetan canon is replete with texts relating to the Kālacakra tradition, and many renowned Tibetan scholars have commented upon its meaning. Depending upon the needs and agendas of local populations, particular elements of the Kālacakra tradition have been emphasized in different places at different times, though Tibetan interest in Kālacakra's utopian vision and its practical six-limbed yoga has remained constant.

From the eleventh century to the present, much textual evidence suggests that the Kālacakra tradition was tied to influential male monastic personalities such as Bu ston and Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan (1292-1361). Kālacakra also was linked to the Mongol rulers of the Yüan Dynasty, whose elite patronage, encouraged by the connection between royal inductions and tantric empowerments, insured Kālacakra's successful dissemination. Forceful Sa skya monastic leaders granted the Kālacakra Empowerment, and the desire of powerful royals and others to receive this empowerment further enhanced the status of Kālacakra. The decision of monks such as Dol po pa and various Dalai Lamas to confer the Kālacakra Empowerment to large gatherings helped solidify Kālacakra's central position in Tibetan culture at large. Further, the elite movement to have Kālacakra texts copied, retranslated, and printed supported the

continued dissemination of the Kālacakra tradition and helped make it a classic within Tibetan monastic culture.

Medieval Tibetan masters adopted a syncretic approach to the Buddhist material they imported from India. Although Buddhism in medieval India is described traditionally according to its monastic and tantric manifestations, these two orientations overlapped to a great extent in the lives of Tibetan practitioners. Though officially Buddhist monks were forbidden from engaging in sexual rites, monks visualized sexual union during popular Highest Yoga Tantra practice. Around the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, the Bka 'gdams pa order instituted a vast wave of monastic reforms intended specifically to counter perceived lapses in monastic discipline with respect to the "tangibility" of tantric practice. Earlier in India history, too, many great monastic personalities were actually great tantric scholars and in some cases non-celibate practitioners, e.g., Atiśa reportedly was a non-celibate tantric adept before his entry into monastic life.

In India, monastic Buddhism was supported *via* the royal patronage of the Pāla kings of Bengal in renowned institutions such as Sārnāth, Nālandā, Vikramaśīla, and Vajrāsana. In Tibet, too, monasteries became the primary centers for Buddhist education, and Tibetan hermits schooled by Indian *siddhas* continued to transmit esoteric tantric teachings to bands of disciples. In addition, Buddhist *maṇḍala* arts, ritual dance, and thanka painting were all introduced into Tibetan following their Indian models.⁴¹²

Having first remarked on Tibetan classification of the tantras and Tibetan textual scholarship on Kālacakra, this chapter discusses the political backdrop that

⁴¹² Snellgrove (1959a: 2)

accompanied Kālacakra's introduction into Tibet. The roles played by Bu ston, the Jo nang pas and the Dge lugs pas in the dissemination of Kālacakra are discussed, as is Vibhūticandra's and Vanaratna's transmission of Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga. Throughout this discussion, particular patterns of socio-cultural interaction are examined, e.g., Bu ston's life illustrates medieval syncretism with respect to tantric study and practice, while that of Dol po pa demonstrates the manner in which the potent Kālacakra-Sambhala symbolic cluster was employed to legitimate one's status as a scholar-practitioner. Such successful profiling in the intellectually-competitive environment of medieval and pre-modern Tibet insured political, economic and social payoffs. A brief comment relating to Kālacakra's current presence in Tibet concludes the chapter. Because primary research on Kālacakra's history in Tibet is nascent, however, this chapter's comments are provisional.

Tibetan Classification of Tantras⁴¹³

Since Bu ston's systematization of the Buddhist Canon in the fourteenth century, Buddhist tantras have been grouped into four categories: 1) Action (Skt. *kriyā*; Tib. *bya rgyud*); 2) Performance (Skt. *cārya*; Tib. *spyod rgyud*); 3) Yoga (Skt. *yoga*; Tib. *rnal 'byor rgyud*); and 4) Highest Yoga (Skt. *anuttarayogatantra*; Tib. *rnal 'byor bla med kyi rgyud*), sometimes called Great Yoga (Skt. *mahāyoga*). While the original division of tantras in India may have been threefold with "Yoga Tantras" and "Highest Yoga Tantras" combined into a single group, a separate category of Highest Yoga Tantras may have arisen in northeast India sometime between the tenth and twelfth centuries.⁴¹⁴

⁴¹³ The following discussion draws on Snellgrove (1987: 463-505) and T. Gyatso (1995: 103-106, 131).

⁴¹⁴ According to Snellgrove (1987: 463-507), Bu ston generally is credited with bringing the compilation of the Tibetan canon to its conclusion in the fourteenth century. During this period, Buddhism had already disappeared from northern India and the Tibetans were engaged in consolidating and categorizing the vast Buddhist literature they had accumulated and translated over the prior six centuries. Tsong kha

In Tibet, the classification of tantras was still very fluid from the tenth to the twelfth centuries, with some references to five classes (*kriyā*, *upayoga*, *yoga*, *mahāyoga*, and *yoginī* or *prajñā* tantras). Though the Bka' gdams pa monastic order favored *yogatantras*, they also accepted certain other tantras, notably the *Guhyasamājatantra* and the *Śrī Kālacakra*, although they did not classify them separately as Highest Yoga Tantras. From the tenth century onwards, the term "*mahāyogatantra*," which presumably was used by Buddhist and Śaivite tantric *yogīs* of eastern India, became current in Tibet as eastern India became the major source of Buddhist teachings for Tibetan scholars.

In the eleventh century, the term "Highest Yoga Tantra," which designates a genre of literature introduced to the Tibetan practitioners Khyung po, 'Brog mi, and Mar pa by the tantric *yogīs* or *mahāsiddhas* of Nepal and northeast India, was not generally used in Tibet. Instead, most of the tantras later grouped into this class were called "*yoginītantra*." As a growing Tibetan connection to Nepal and northeast India began to replace the earlier close relationship between Tibet and the Kaśmīrī Buddhist groups in northwest India during the eleventh century, the Highest Yoga Tantras began to replace the Yoga Tantras as those held in highest esteem by the Tibetans.

Since the time of Bu ston, four tantric categories have been differentiated according to their emphasis on external ritual *versus* internal yoga.⁴¹⁵ Action Tantra emphasizes the external actions of cleanliness, cleansing, and symbolic postural atti-

pa describes the rituals of the four tantric divisions in his tantric compendium, the *Sngags rim chen mo*. And although we do not know when it was written, the *Vajra-Tent Tantra* (Skt. *Vajrapañjaratantra*) clearly describes a fourfold division of tantras. See T. Gyatso (1995: 103-106); Tsong kha pa (1981); and Mkhas grub rje (1978).

⁴¹⁵ Snellgrove (1988)

tudes. Performance Tantra emphasizes inner and outer aspects of yogic practice equally. Yoga Tantra focuses on the inner cultivation of meditative stabilization, and Highest Yoga Tantra emphasizes forms of inner yoga involving union with the deity.⁴¹⁶ Today, Tibetans believe that the four classes of tantra coincide with a hierarchical level of spiritual practice. For example, the present Dalai Lama has stated that the Highest Yoga Tantras constitute the pinnacle of tantric development. Each of the seven primary Highest Yoga Tantras in the Tibetan system -- *Kālacakra*, *Guhyasamāja*, *Hevajra*, *Yamāntaka*, *Cakrasaṃvara*, *Vajrayoginī*, and *Vajrakīlāya* -- is considered appropriate for practitioners with specific mental dispositions, natural inclinations and physical characteristics.⁴¹⁷

Differing uses of desire also differentiate the four tantric categories -- the desire that accompanies a man and woman gazing at one another is employed in Action Tantra; the desire that accompanies a man and woman smiling at one another is used in Performance Tantra; the desire that accompanies a man and woman embracing and touching one another is utilized in Yoga Tantra; and the desire that accompanies complete union is engaged in Highest Yoga Tantra. According to the present Dalai Lama, sexual imagery is cultivated on the tantric path because of its primordial power for human beings,⁴¹⁸ not for the sake of conventional sexual gratification. As explained

⁴¹⁶ T. Gyatso (1995: 103)

⁴¹⁷ According to George (1974: 1), the five root tantras of the Highest Yoga Tantra class are *Guhyasamāja* (a.k.a. *Tathāgataguhyaka*), *Vairocanaṃyājāla*, *Buddhasamayayoga*, *Candraguhyatilaka*, and *Mañjuśrīkrodha*.

⁴¹⁸ According to "Mind and Life I" (1991: 165), the Dalai Lama explains that sexual imagery is used because orgasm is the strongest of the four ordinary occasions in which the "clear light" (Skt. *prabhāsvara*; Tib. 'od gsal) appears. Sexual imagery is used during meditation to extend the experience of the emergence of clear light, to clarify the experience, and to make it more vivid. According to "General Discussion" (1989: 130-132), in tantric theory, the clear light subtle state of awareness ordinarily is not present, though it does manifest to varying degrees during orgasm, sneezing, yawning, and deep sleep without dreaming. Both practical and scientific evidence supports the tantric contention that these four states are associated with alterations in consciousness. Two global shifts -- changes in oxygen delivery to and distribution within the brain, and vast chemical changes -- occur during each of the four states. In addition, orgasm has been shown to change oxygen delivery to the brain, which is associated with changes in breathing patterns, changes in heart rate, sweating, vasodilation, and complex changes in

by the Dalai Lama, tantric union generates a "blissfully withdrawn consciousness" that is used by practitioners to realize "emptiness" (Skt. *śūnyatā*; Tib. *stong pa nyid*); hence desire is used to destroy the possibility of desire by inducing this experience.⁴¹⁹

Tibetan Textual Scholarship on Kālacakra

Kālacakra's significance in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition is evidenced by the vast amount of literature on Kālacakra in the Kanjur and the Tanjur, the two textual collections that comprise the Tibetan canon. Versions of the Tibetan canon have existed in both block-print and manuscript form.⁴²⁰ Three editions of both the Kanjur and Tanjur were carved into blocks -- the Sde dge (in 1750), Narthang (in 1766), and Peking (in 1780). Of the several editions of the Peking Kanjur, two variations were printed in red and black ink, respectively. In addition, a block print of the Tanjur was produced in Cone in 1770. Many manuscript editions of both Kanjur and Tanjur have also existed. These include the Stog Palace Kanjur compiled during the early eighteenth century; the Lhasa Kanjur, compiled in 1920; and the Urga Kanjur compiled in 1980, which is currently held in the Ulan Batar State Library. The Them spangs ma

chemical mediators including dopamine, serotonin, acetylcholine, and endorphins. A change also occurs in a variety of chemical substances that directly affect the actions of neurons in the different circuits of the brain. While sneezing, yawning and orgasm are all phasic, occurring rapidly, the neural mechanisms involved in deep sleep without dreaming are of longer duration.

⁴¹⁹ T. Gyatso (1985: 34). According to Williams (1989: 55-75), different Buddhist philosophical schools offer various interpretations of the concept of "emptiness." For example, the Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka (Tib. *dbu ma thal 'gyur*) interpretation occurs within the Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka theory of two levels of existence, which are sometimes referred to as the "two truths" of "conventional" and "ultimate" levels of reality. "Conventional" reality corresponds to saṃsāra, and "ultimate" reality corresponds to nirvāṇa. In this two-nature theory, it is argued that things exist in the "mere" sense of conventional, conceptual and verbal designation. Ultimately, however, reality is "empty" in the sense that things are not inherently separate from one another -- instead, all phenomena are said to be "devoid of intrinsic reality and identity" (Tib. *rang bzhin gyis grub pa'i ngo bo med pa*). According to T. Gyatso (1995: 148) and V. Wallace (1995), the *Śrī Kālacakra* discusses a specific form of "emptiness" in which the emptiness of all forms of materiality is understood from both "objectified" and "non-objectified" perspectives.

⁴²⁰ van der Kuijp (1996); Harrison (1996); Orofino (1994b: 25-29)

Kanjur, i.e., "not over the threshold," was compiled in the fifteenth century at a monastery in Rgyal rtse, and copies of it remain extant in A mdo and Buryata. Further, the "Yongle" edition was produced at the request of the Yongle emperor in *circa* 1410. The Lhasa Kanjur (1943) is based on the Snar thang edition, though it includes some readings from the Sde dge edition. The Stog Palace manuscript Kanjur retained in the royal Palace of Stog in Ladakh was recently reprinted. During the first half of the eighteenth century, a hand-written copy of this manuscript probably was copied from a Bhutanese original stemming from the Them spangs ma edition. This text is divided into twelve sections, the last of which, the "tantra" (Tib. *rgyud*) section, contains four hundred and thirty titles in eighteen volumes.⁴²¹

The Peking edition of the Kanjur contains five works on Kālacakra, and the Peking edition of the Tanjur contains many texts devoted to Kālacakra's rituals, yoga, and astronomy.⁴²² The Stog Palace Kanjur contains two works on Kālacakra, the *Śrī Kālacakra* and the *Srī Kālacakra Hṛdaya*. Reflecting the importance of Tibetan translations of the *Śrī Kālacakra* and the *Vimalaprabhā*, various extant Tibetan "religious histories" (Tib. *chos 'byung*) also contain chapters on Kālacakra.⁴²³ In addition to Kālacakra's presence in the Tibetan canon and in Tibetan religious histories, a voluminous corpus of secondary literature on Kālacakra was written in Tibet. For example, Bu ston composed a tantric catalogue (Tib. *rgyud 'bum gyi dkar chag*) delineating the number of *maṇḍalas* in various tantric cycles including Kālacakra,⁴²⁴ and he compiled many works on Kālacakra in which he synthesized the approaches of the Rwa and 'Bro lineages.⁴²⁵

⁴²¹ Skorupski (1985)

⁴²² VC (1966: 7-9)

⁴²³ Roerich (1932)

⁴²⁴ Ruegg (1966: 26)

⁴²⁵ Newman (1985a: 65-76)

According to 'Gos Lo tsā ba's *Blue Annals*,⁴²⁶ written in 1478, Bu ston and Dol po pa were the two greatest Kālacakra masters in medieval Tibet. Nevertheless, in a telling anecdote from the '*Brug pa chos 'byung* of Padma dkar po (1526-1592), a 'Brug pa Bka' brgyud scholar, these two masters also were portrayed as great rivals. According to this work, Dol po pa visited Bu ston in Ri phug in order to discuss doctrine and interpretation, but Bu ston was unable to sustain these discussions.⁴²⁷

Other Tibetan scholars also have commented upon Kālacakra. At the request of 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235-1280), the fifth Sa skya patriarch, and Dpon chen Shākya bzang po, Shong ston Rdo rje rgyal mtshan⁴²⁸ prepared a revision of the previous translation of the *Śrī Kālacakra* by 'Bro and Somanātha on the basis of the two Sanskrit manuscripts available at the time. Since 'Phags pa was in Tibet from 1265 to 1267, it is likely that this work occurred sometime during this period. Shong ston also translated the *Vimalaprabhā* into Tibetan. Dol po pa wrote extensively on Kālacakra, and 'Gos Lo tsā ba's *Blue Annals* itself contains a full chapter on the history of the dissemination of Kālacakra up to the fifteenth century, at which time Mkhas grub rje and Bo dong wrote extensive commentarial literature on this tradition. A synthetic and free thinker, Bo dong also composed a treatise on alchemy (Skt. *rasayāna*; Tib. *bcud len*). Also in the fifteenth century, the biography of Byams gling Paṇ chen Bsod nams rnam rgyal (1400-1475) mentions that he wrote an eight-volume commentary on the *Śrī Kālacakra*.⁴²⁹

Later Kālacakra masters of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries included the Sa skya pa Zhu chen Tshul khriṃs rin chen (1697-1774); the Rnying ma pa Kaḥ thog

⁴²⁶ 'Gos Lo tsā ba (1976: 755)

⁴²⁷ Ruegg (1966: 12)

⁴²⁸ As Ruegg (1966: 87) notes, it is necessary to distinguish Shong ston Rdo rje rgyal mtshan from Bu

Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu (1698-1755); the Dge lugs pas Ngag dbang chos kyi rgya mtsho (1680-1736) and Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi'nyi ma (1737-1802); and the Bka' brgyud pas Karma pa XIII Bdud 'dul rdo rje (1733-1797), Zhwa dmar X Chos grub rgya mtsho (1742-1792), and Si tu Paṇ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1770-1774). In the eighteenth century, Klong rdol bla ma composed a series of notes on Kālacakra.

In the nineteenth century, a non-sectarian (Tib. *ris med*) movement in Khams was catalyzed by Tshe dbang nor bu's and Si tu Paṇ chen's revival of Jo nang pa teachings, which included the "other-emptiness" (Tib. *gzhan stong*) view.⁴³⁰ One master important to this movement, 'Jam mgon Kong sprul (1813-1899), was devoted to Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga, which he practiced in accordance with the tradition of Dol po pa and Tāranātha. Other non-sectarian teachers, 'Jam dbyangs Mkhayen brtse'i dbang po (1820-1892) and Mi pham rgya mtsho (1846-1912), also formed transmission lineages for the practice of Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga and for other-emptiness teachings, and Mi pham wrote an extensive commentary on the Kālacakra.⁴³¹

The Political Backdrop⁴³²

Beginning in the eleventh century, Kālacakra was introduced into Tibet both textually and as a series of oral instructions on the practical performance of its six-limbed yoga. The literary apparatus that served as the vehicle for the propagation of textual Kālacakra included a cottage-industry of monastic translators and exegetes. Following the persecutions of Glang dar ma in Central Tibet, the translation of Buddhist

ston's master, Rdo rje rgyal mtshan.

⁴²⁹ van der Kuijp (1997)

⁴³⁰ Stearns (1995)

⁴³¹ Stearns (1996a: 117-118)

⁴³² This section draws on Ruegg (1966) and Stearns (1996a).

texts again was actively pursued in Western Tibet by Lo tsā ba Rin chen bzang po (958-1055) and his collaborators. After Atiśa's arrival in Tibet in 1042, this translation activity spread back to central and southern Tibet. Gyi jo Lo tsā ba Zla ba'i 'od zer and Somanātha from Kashmir translated the *Śrī Kālacakra* and *Vimalaprabhā* into Tibetan, as did a dozen or so others. But the two foremost traditions of the *Śrī Kālacakra*'s textual transmission derive from 'Bro Lo tsā ba Shes rab grags and Rwa Lo tsā ba Chos rab.

In the thirteenth century, the Sa skya pas formalized relations with the Yüan-dynasty Mongol rulers under the rubric of the "patron-priest" model.⁴³³ As Ruegg⁴³⁴ surmises, from the perspective of the Yüan emperors, the lay-client/princely-supporter prototype probably made the Sa skya hierarchs resemble feudatories. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Sa skya pas emphasized political, economic and social relations with the Central Asians and the Chinese. Tibet was occupied by the Mongols during this period, and Tibeto-Mongolian relations supplanted to a certain extent previous close relations between Tibet and the Indo-Iranian world. Under Sa skya overlordship, Tibet's temporal power fell to the commander-in-chief (Tib. *dpon chen*), who was both appointed by the Sa skya hierarchs, *via* the Mongol imperial court, and chief of the thirteen myriarchs (Tib. *khri dpon/khri skor*), administrative units consisting of approximately ten thousand households. This arrangement enabled the Sa skya leader to focus on religious and spiritual matters.

The Mongols made the leaders of the Sa skya pas both their spiritual guides and the nominal viceroys of Tibet. Sa skya Paṇḍita (1182-1251) himself was summoned to visit the Mongol prince Godan. Arriving at Liangzhou in 1246, and accompanied by

⁴³³ The Sa skya hierarchs assumed the role of "priest" (Skt. *purohita*; Tib. *mchod gnas*) *vis-à-vis* the Mongol role of "lay supporter" (Skt. *dānapati*; Tib. *yon bdag/sbyin bdag*).

⁴³⁴ Ruegg (1966: 1-39); Steinkellner (1991)

his nephews 'Phag pa (1235-1280) and Phyag na rdo rje (1239-1267), Sa skya Paṇḍita became Godan's spiritual guide. Later, *circa* 1256, Karma pakši (1204?-1283) became the preceptor of the emperor Möngke (rg. 1251-1259). 'Phags pa became the chaplain (Tib. *mchod pa*) of the Mongol emperor Quabilai Qan, and around 1265, in exchange for religious instruction and empowerments, 'Phags pa received the thirteen myriarchies into which Central Tibet had been divided by the Mongols. 'Phags pa became head of Buddhist institutions and internal affairs in Tibet, and he is reported to have allowed Tibetans to follow their own religious systems (Tib. *chos lugs*).

High demand for Kālacakra teachings during the thirteenth century is associated with the figure of Vibhūticandra, as will be discussed later in the chapter. By the fourteenth century, splinter groups began to form, most notably the Jo nang pas, and scholarly attention turned to "Buddha nature" (Skt. *tathāgatagarbha*) and its implications for practical and exegetical traditions. It was during this period that Kālacakra became especially popular in Tibet -- prominent masters were involved in the practice and teaching of the *Srī Kālacakra* and the *Vimalaprabhā*, and many of these were often direct contemporaries, sharing the same teachers and disciples. Chos kyi 'od zer (1214-1292), Karma pa III Rang byung rdo rje (1284-1339), Bu ston, Dol po pa, Bo dong, Klong chen Rab byams pa (1308-1364), Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan (1312-1375), and 'Ba' ra ba Rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1310-1391) -- all studied Kālacakra and practiced it, and their interpretations did not always agree. For example, Bu ston and Dol po pa, direct contemporaries from Gtsang, shared many of the same teachers, yet judging from comments made by 'Brug pa Padma dkar po, it is possible that they rivalled one another for the respect and loyalties of students.

As the Yüan dynasty was declining in China during the first half of the fourteenth century, the Phag mo gru pa myriarch Byang chub rgyal mtshan solidified his

power in the midst of struggles between Tibet's religious and lay leaders. The Sa skya hierarchs routinely had solicited the support of the Phag mo gru pa prince Byang chub rgyal mtshan, but they were eventually supplanted by the Phag mo gru pas and by another rival clan, the 'Bri gung pa. In 1344, when Dol po pa was fifty-two years old, the Mongolian imperial envoys Dzam bha la tu shri and Bha the tshe dben arrived in Gtsang with imperial decrees from the Yüan dynasty emperor Toghon Temür (Shun Di Emperor, r. July 19, 1333 to September 10, 1368) to invite Dol po pa, Bu ston, and others to China. Choosing instead to retreat into meditation, neither Dol po pa nor Bu ston accepted the imperial invitations. The Mongol emperor was displeased, and afraid that another invitation would arrive, Dol po pa stayed in isolated areas for four years. The emperor then sent word that Dol po pa could remain in Tibet and work on behalf of the Buddhist doctrine there.⁴³⁵

Role of Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290-1364)⁴³⁶

The renowned Tibetan master Bu ston took an active role in the transmission and exposition of various tantric cycles upon which he wrote both commentaries and "religious histories." Among other accomplishments, Bu ston is known as the author of the most detailed religious history on Kālacakra.⁴³⁷ Bu ston's collected works contain three surveys of the Buddhist tantras and one survey of the Yogatantras,⁴³⁸ and he

⁴³⁵ van der Kuijp (1993)

⁴³⁶ The following section draws on Ruegg (1963; 1966) and Stearns (1996a).

⁴³⁷ Bu ston's compositions on Kālacakra include: 1) Dus 'khor chos 'byung; 2) Rgyu mtshan rtsis; 3) Sgra sgrub; 4) Mdor bsdus dang po'i ṭikā; 5) Nges don snye ma; 6) Thugs dkyil gyi sgrub thabs; 7) Yongs rdsogs kyi sgrub thabs; 8) Yongs rdsogs kyi bstod pa; 9) Dus tha ma'i cho ga; 10) Dkyil chog; 11) Rab gnas; 12) Las bzhi'i sbyin sreg; 13) Zhi ba'i sbyin sreg; 14) Dkyil chog gi bshad pa; 15) Ahi ba'i sbyin sreg; 16) Dkyil chog gi bshad pa; 17) Dbang mdor bstan gyi ṭikā; 18) Khrid kyi sngon 'gro; 19) Thog dge, bar dge, and mthar dge; 20) Nyo sprod; 21) Bsdus don; 22) 'Gal spong; 23) Thig rtsa; 24) Lag len gnyis; and 25) Mchod phreng.

⁴³⁸ Lessing and Wayman (1978: 1)

composed a tantric catalogue delineating the number of *maṇḍalas* in various tantric cycles and indicating both the number of chapters in, and his preferred classification of, these texts.

Born only a few years before the death of Quibilai Qan (rg. 1260-1294) and living during the later period of Sa skya paramountcy and the ascendancy of their rival, the Phag mo gru pa chief Byang chub rgyal mtshan, Bu ston lived and wrote a spirited cultural and political juncture in Tibet's history; his biography (Tib. *nam thar*) therefore provides excellent information on this period of dynamic political and theocratic transition in Tibet. According to this biography, which was written by one of Bu ston's chief disciples, Sgra tshad pa Rin chen nam rgyal, Bu ston studied medicine (Tib. *sman dpyad*), arts (Tib. *bzo rig*), alchemy (Skt. *rasāyana*; Tib. *bcud len*), and 'secret treatment' (Tib. *mkyud spyad*).

Bu ston's biography describes his involvement with Kālacakra. He travelled down the Stag la to Gla yon and 'Dang kar rivers to meet his teacher, Mkhan chen Thar pa Lo tsā ba, who maintained an interest in Kālacakra. After remaining with his teacher for fourteen months, Bu ston offered a golden *maṇḍala* to him and requested instruction into Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga -- "the profound instruction conferring Awakening in one life and in a single body." After first performing Kālacakra's highest empowerment, the teacher granted Bu ston's request. According to the biography, "while the sense of the consecration was being explained, he attained many 'Gates of samādhi.'" The prologue to Bu ston's biography also states, "When listening to the secret mantras from De va pu ṇa (Devapuṇya?), he clearly saw the countenances of the three tutelary deities Hevajra, Saṃvara and Kālacakra together with their attendant divinities."

According to 'Brug pa Padma dkar po, Bu ston later requested Kālacakra's "performance of the practice" (Tib. *phyag len*) according to the method of Rwa Lo tsā ba from Lama Dpal ldan seng ge. Dpal ldan seng ge had synthesized the opinions of Rwa and 'Bro Lo tsā bas on the "empowerment instructions" (Tib. *dbang bka'*) of the Kālacakra.⁴³⁹ Later, intending "to practice" (Tib. *thugs sbyong mdsad pa*) the Kālacakra, Bu ston travelled to Rong together with the Lama Ye shes dpal and some others. From Rdo rje rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1283-1325), an accomplished master in the text and exegesis of Kālacakra and a student of Rong pa Shes rab seng ge (1251-1315),⁴⁴⁰ Bu ston received the entire "explanatory teachings" (Tib. *bshad bka'*) on Kālacakra, including the teachings of Rwa and 'Bro Lo tsā bas and various "methods" (Tib. *bzhed tshul*) for Kālacakra practice. Bu ston remained with Rdo rje rgyal mtshan for nine months, during which time he completed Kālacakra's "explanatory teachings" and "pointing-out instructions" (Tib. *mdzub 'khrīd*) twice. Bu ston is reported to have become a formidable master in Kālacakra text and exegesis. Also according to his biography, Bu ston is said to have believed that Kālacakra's "*maṇḍala* instruction" (Skt. *maṇḍala-vidhi*) was more difficult than that found in other tantric commentaries and that its "talismán" (Skt. *raṁṣā-cakra*; Tib. *srung 'khor*)⁴⁴¹ was greater than the "*maṇḍala* instruction" of other tantras.

At Zhwa lu, Bu ston is reported to have laid out more than seventy *maṇḍalas* of Kālacakra and the Yogatantras, chiefly the Vajradhātu. From Bu ston's three most eminent disciples, Chos kyi dpal ba, Khyung lhas pa, and Sgra tshad pa, Tsong kha pa heard the Kālacakra, the Saṁvara and the Yogatantra cycles. Near the end of his life,

⁴³⁹ Roerich (1932: 18)

⁴⁴⁰ Rong pa Shes rab seng ge also taught Skyi ston 'Jam byangs, the teacher of Dol po pa.

⁴⁴¹ Riviere (1972)

Bu ston's biography reports that he performed the "site rituals" (Skt. *bhūmi-vidhi*; Tib. *sa chog*) of the "tantric practice and the making of offerings" (Tib. *sgrub pa dang mchod pa*, a.k.a. *sgrub mchod*) on the full moon day in a Kālacakra temple (Tib. *lha khang*). After his death, his disciples are reported to have consecrated, or *opened the doors of, (Tib. *zhal 'byed pa*) various *maṇḍalas*, principally the complete body-speech-mind *maṇḍala* of Kālacakra and the great *maṇḍala* of the auspicious diamond realm (Skt. *śrīvajradhātu*).

Bu ston focused on tantric thought and liturgy, a fact reflected in his three works on tantric classification and his numerous treatises on individual tantric cycles.⁴⁴² Bu ston discusses tantric empowerment in his "medium-sized" tantric survey, citing Atīsa's *Bodhipathapradīpa* and auto-commentary:

There are two kinds of 'initiations' – those based on homelife, and those based on the pure life (brahmacarya). The ones based on the homa are all of them, to the extent stated in the Tantras. The ones based on the pure life omit among them the Secret Initiation and Insight-Knowledge Initiation.

Bu ston's attention to ritual is reflected in the titles of some of his commentarial texts on the Kālacakra:

1) The elucidation of the main Kālacakra empowerments, the secret, wisdom and fourth empowerments (Tib. *dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i dbang gong ma chen po'i cho ga -- dbang don rab gsal*),⁴⁴³

2) The offering instructions of the thirty-seven *yoginī* families in the feast described in the empowerment section (Tib. *rigs sum cu rtsa bdun gyi rnal 'byor ma mchod pa'i cho ga*),⁴⁴⁴

3) The method of arranging the deities in the outer zone, called 'vāyumaṇḍala' (Tib. *rlung gi dkyil 'khor*), of Kālacakra's cosmogram (Tib. *dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i phyi'i khor yug gi lha 'god tshul*),⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴² Unlike similar lists contained in Bu ston's *Chos 'byung* (fols. 172a-179b), this tantric catalogue is arranged according to volumes and is slightly more detailed. In addition to Bu ston, other Sa skya lamas such as Bsod nams rtse mo (1142-1182), Rje btsun rin po che Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147-1216), and 'Phags pa (1235-1280) also composed tantric classifications.

⁴⁴³ BTB (1965: 325-346)

⁴⁴⁴ BTH (1965: 565-572)

⁴⁴⁵ BTC (1965: 325-328)

4) *Maṇḍala* preparation and the hearth for the burnt offering (Tib. *sku gsung thugs yongs rdzogs dang sbyin sreg gi thig rnams*);⁴⁴⁶

5) A detailed supplement to the chapter on the method of consecrating the ground in Kālacakra's empowerment section (Tib. *dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i sa chog rgyas pa'i lhan thabs*);⁴⁴⁷ and

6) The ritual dancing of the twelve goddesses in the Kālacakra cosmogram (Tib. *dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i lha mo bcu gnyis kyi mchod gar*).⁴⁴⁸

Bu ston taught the empowerment instructions of the *Śrī Kālacakra* and *Vimalaprabhā*, the "summary instructions" (Tib. *khrid bka'*) on Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga, and the "reading instructions" (Tib. *lung bka'*) with its related ancillaries (Tib. *cha lag phyogs mthun*) to the national preceptor, Kun dga' rin chen rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (who belonged to the Bzhi thog branch of Sa skya and died in 1399) and also to Byang chub rgyal mtshan tai si tu chen po and to 'Jam pa'i dbyangs Śākya rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po pa (the second lha btsun and the successor of Byang chub rgyal mtshan). Bu ston taught his own commentaries to the *Prajñāpāramitā* and other texts during the summer and winter terms, while he taught his "notes" (Tib. *mchan bu*) on the Kālacakra and *Vimalaprabhā* during the autumn and spring.

Imperial and local aristocratic patronage was the primary form of economic support for influential, medieval Tibetan masters. Bu ston's immediate patrons were the *Sku zhang* princes of Zhwa lu, a myriarchy in Gtsang province. These Zhwa lu princes ruled one of the thirteen myriarchies into which the Mongols had divided parts of Dbus and Gtsang and which Qubilai had presented to 'Phags pa. These princes were at the same time feudatories of the Mongol emperor and dependents of the Sa skya hierarchs, who were the spiritual and temporal regents and titular lords of Tibet. Zhwa lu was the scene of Bu ston's principal activity, and the Zhwa lu pa school he established there was named after the place. The members of this school are mostly distinguished as followers of the methods of Bu ston (Tib. *bu lugs*).

⁴⁴⁶ BTA (1965: 329-338)

While the distinction between sūtric and tantric practice may be more academic than real, tantric systems themselves were not considered mutually exclusive -- Tibetan practitioners invariably were familiar with, and practiced, more than one tantric system at a time. Bu ston affords a prime example of a renaissance tantric practitioner. Under the direction of his teacher Yang rtse ba Rin chen seng ge, Bu ston is said to have studied many different types of tantric material, including the empowerment of Dril bu pa, and the tantric cycles of Saṃvara, Bde chen ral gcig, Yamāntaka, Vajrapāṇi, Tārā, and Vārāhī. On the advice of Lama Rong po, with whom he had once discussed the Kālacakra, Bu ston reportedly undertook a search for 'Phags pa, a yogic specialist in Guhyasamāja.⁴⁴⁹

Thar po Lo tsā ba is reported to have taught Bu ston the six-limbed yoga cycles beginning with the *Sbyor drug* of Anupamarakṣita (Tib. *Dpe med 'tsho*), the cycle of Kālacakra beginning with the Uttaratantra, the cycle of Hevajra including the *Rdo rje snying 'grel*, the great Commentary of Nāropā, the *Bzang po yongs bzung*, the cycle of Saṃvara (Tib. *rdo rje mkha' 'gro* and *phyag rdor stod 'grel*), the cycle of Catuspīṭha (Tib. *gdan bzhi'i rgyud*), the cycle of Yamāntaka (Tib. *gshed dmar bcu gsum ma*), the *Mi g.yo bla med*, other tantras, and the Sādhana of the White and Red Sarasvatī (Tib. *dbyang can ma dkar dmar*). A number of late medieval Indian texts employ a six-limbed yoga, the majority of which belong to the Kālacakra tradition and two of which were written by Anupamarakṣita, a contemporary of Naḍapāda or Nāropā (956-1040).⁴⁵⁰ Anupamarakṣita's teacher-pupil tradition (Skt. *guru-paramparā*) was one of

⁴⁴⁷ BTE (1965: 339-350)

⁴⁴⁸ BTF (1965: 351-354)

⁴⁴⁹ Ruegg (1966: 69-97) describes other tantric material studied by Bu ston.

⁴⁵⁰ According to Grönbold (1996: 19, 31), existent are *Ṣaḍaṅgayoga* Bstan 'gyur Rgyud IV, 33, Tohoku catalog Nr. 1387, Peking ed., Nr. 2102, Vol. 47; and *Ṣaḍaṅgayoganāma*, Bstan 'gyur Rgyud IV, 14, Tohoku catalog Nr. 1367, Peking ed., Nr. 2083, Vol. 47.

the most significant within the Kālacakra tradition. Its lineage includes Tsong kha pa and remains unbroken through the Tibetan historian 'Brug pa Padma dkar po and beyond.

Not only did medieval Tibetan masters study a wide variety of both sūtric and tantric materials, but they also studied the methods of schools and lineages other than their own. For example, Bu ston studied the *Don zhag* according to the Bka' gdams pa method, and the *Bshad bka'* of the *Pramāṇavārttika* according to the Sa skya pa method. In addition to writing important commentaries on Kālacakra, Bu ston also was one of the chief masters in the Guhyasamāja transmission line. Furthermore, his expositions on the *Hevajratantra* and *Samputatantra* influenced the Sa skya pa tradition descending through Grags pa rgyal mtshan, and his analysis of the Action Tantras was also influential throughout Tibet. Though he favored the Highest Yoga Tantras in his later "collected writings" (Tib. *gsung 'bum*), Bu ston still exhibited expertise in the Yoga Tantras, especially the *Nāmasaṃgīti*. This tantra was introduced into Tibet before the *Śrī Kālacakra*, and it has continued to be popular with Tibetan commentators despite its status as a Yoga Tantra.

Kālacakra's Six-Limbed Yoga⁴⁵¹

Six-limbed yoga plays a prominent role in Kālacakra texts and practice and, indeed, a prominent role in Hindu and Buddhist tantra in general.⁴⁵² Buddhist texts

⁴⁵¹ The following section draws on Grönbold (1969; 1996) and Stearns (1996b).

⁴⁵² Pensa (1969: 528); S. Gupta et al. (1979: 165). Zigmund-Cerbu (1963) contends that a six-limbed system of yoga predates the eight-limbed yoga (Skt. *aṣṭāṅga-yoga*) described in Patañjali's *Yoga Sūtra*. According to Grönbold (1996: 3-15), six-limbed yoga practices are mentioned in the *Maitrāyaṇīya-Upaniṣad*; the *Amṛtanāda-Upaniṣad*; the *Vaikhānasa-smārtasūtra* (I. 10), which belongs to Viṣṇuism; Dattātreya's *Avadhūta-gītā* (I. 48), which is connected to the Gorakṣa texts; the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa* (2,3,15,28); the *Samādhikrama*; the *Yogasārasamuccaya*, which is believed to be identical to the *Akulāgama-mahātantra*; the *Sanat Kumāra-saṃhitā* IV (Rṣirātra) (1,14) and V (3,59); and in a *Pañcarātra* inscription from Cambodia. Indirect mention of a six-limbed yoga is made in the

such as the *Guhyasamājatantra*⁴⁵³ and the *Śrī Kālacakra* both employ six-limbed yoga traditions self-reflexively traced back to Vajradhara. The six-limbed yoga of the *Śrī Kālacakra*, however, is very different from that of the *Guhyasamājatantra*.⁴⁵⁴ According to Grönbold's recent study, six-limbed yoga practice was transmitted in an unbroken manner throughout India and Tibet.⁴⁵⁵ Grönbold believes that the six-limbed system connects the yoga of the Upaniṣads and the medieval Haṭha-yoga texts. Before beginning six-limbed yoga practice, initiation by a guru is required.

Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga contains the following stages:⁴⁵⁶

- 1) Individual Withdrawal (Skt. *pratyāhāra*; Tib. *so sor sdud pa* or *so sor gcod pa*). One withdraws individual consciousness from the five sense organs and their five sense objects, resulting of certain signs, or "empty forms" (Skt. *śūnyābimba*; Tib. *stong gzugs*).
- 2) Mental Stability (Skt. *dhyāna*; Tib. *bsam gtan*). The mind becomes stable and firmly fixed upon its new points of reference, the "empty forms."
- 3) Stopping Vitality (skt. *prāṇāyāma*; Tib. *srog rtsol*). The "wind" (Skt. *prāṇa*; Tib. *rlung*) is drawn into the central channel (Skt. *avadhūti*; Tib. *rtsa dbu ma*), which assists the practitioner in gaining control over the energies of the body and quieting the movements of ordinary consciousness.
- 4) Retention (Skt. *dhāraṇā*; Tib. *'dzin pa*). One prevents the movement of the winds and perfects the retention of the reproductive fluids.
- 5) Subsequent Mindfulness (Skt. *anusmṛti*; Tib. *rjes dran*). Various yogas are practiced together with an actual or visualized sexual partner. The meditations of the "inner fire" (Skt. *caṇḍālī*; Tib. *gtum mo*) are included here. The blazing appearances of "inner fire" form a basis for the occurrence of the special "empty forms" that elicit the experience of immutable bliss and emptiness.
- 6) Meditative Concentration (Skt. *samādhi*; Tib. *ting nge 'dzin*). This is the same as Subsequent Mindfulness, but there is an increase of immutable bliss, the actual dematerialization of the physical body, and the actualization of an enlightened body of nondual gnosis.

Anupamarakṣita's teaching tradition of Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga came to Tibet via the Indian *mahāpaṇḍita* Vibhūticandra in the thirteenth century and, again,

Mālinivijaya- or *Mālinivijayottara-tantra* (17,18).

⁴⁵³ Referred to as "Samājottara," a system of six-limbed yoga is described in Chapter 18 of the *Guhyasamājatantra*, which probably was appended to the original tantra.

⁴⁵⁴ Tucci (1934-35; 1978)

⁴⁵⁵ Hütwohl (1996: vii)

⁴⁵⁶ Stearns (1996a); Orofino (1996); Grönbold (1983)

with Vanaratna in the early fifteenth century. On the side of oral instructions and practical performance, Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga was introduced into Tibet about 1200, primarily through Vibhūticandra, who came to Tibet with the Kaśmīrī Pandit Śākyaśrībhadrā, himself invited to Tibet by Khro phu Lo tsā ba Byams pa'i dpal (1172-1236). According to Tāranātha, Anupamarakṣita was an eleventh-twelfth century contemporary of Abhayākara-gupta who was born in Magadha and was learned in the Śrī Kālacakra.

Vibhūticandra (Tib. *Rnal 'byor zla ba*) was born in Varendra in East India and studied at Vikramaśīla, where he may have met his first guru, the Kaśmīrī *mahāpaṇḍita* Śākyaśrībhadrā. The two travelled to the Bengali monastic complex of Jagaddala. Vibhūticandra also studied with Vikhyāta-deva and *Dharmadāsa. From these three teachers, he received Kālacakra empowerments, reading transmissions, explanations, and oral instructions. According to Khro phu Lo tsā ba, Vikhyāta-deva was Buddhaśrī's main tantric teacher, and Khro phu studied with Buddhaśrī for five years. Vibhūticandra himself arrived in Tibet in 1204 and actively began his work transmitting and translating sūtra and tantra teachings, an undertaking that lasted several decades. One of the works he translated into Tibetan, the *Rnal 'byor yan lag drug pa* (Skt. *Yogaśaḍaṅga-nama*), was revealed to him by the *mahāsiddha* Śavaripa. This text is important to the Jo nang transmissions of Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga, and it still represents an important living transmission of tantric practice.

Shortly after they had arrived in Tibet, Śākyaśrī and Vibhūticandra travelled to Central Tibet and spent the summer retreat of 1206 at Srin po ri. A temple was constructed on Drang srgon Srin po ri, at which Tāranātha reports that between 1590-1600, an exceptional iconic representation of the Kālacakra *maṇḍala* was kept. This was believed to have been one of Vibhūticandra's personal meditation objects.

Śākyaśrī stopped at Sa skya Monastery in 1209, and he spent the rainy season retreat to the Rin chen sgang palace. During this period, he met with Rje btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147-1216), the third patriarch of Sa skya, and he taught Rje btsun's nephew Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (a.k.a. Sa skya Paṇḍita, 1182-1251).

Beginning around 1213, when his teacher Śākyaśrī travelled from Khro phu west to Mnga' ris and spent his summer retreat in Pu rang, Vibhūticandra translated a number of brief tantric works in collaboration with Glo bo Lo tsā ba Shes rab rin chen at a location referred to as "the royal citadel of Nyi gzungs" (Tib. *sku mkhar nyi gzung/nyi gzugs*). The reputed Glo bo Lo tsā ba was an important teacher of Chos rgyal 'Phags pa (1235-1280), to whom he gave many empowerments and teachings. Most of his translations that are included in the Tanjur were translated at Sku mkhar nyi (ma) gzugs, identified as "the palace of a religious king" (Tib. *chos kyi rgyal po'i pho brang*). This is the citadel built at Pu rang in the early tenth century by Skyid lde Nyi ma mgon, the son of the Tibetan king Dpal 'khor btsan (c. 892). Vibhūticandra completed his translation with Glo bo either in Pu rang or Kathmandu, so the two may have travelled together from Tibet to Nepal.

Vibhūticandra collected and synthesized various six-limbed yoga traditions deriving from different tantric cycles. A second diffusion of practical instructions on six-limbed yoga occurred when Vanaratna brought Kālacakra and Guhyasamāja strands to Tibet from eastern India, where they had inspired commentarial series. In Tibet, Vanaratna gave the teachings of the Anupamarakṣita school,⁴⁵⁷ to thirty-two Piṭakadharas,⁴⁵⁸ and to others.⁴⁵⁹ According to Tsong kha pa, the Anupamarakṣita

⁴⁵⁷ 'Gos Lo tsā ba (1976: 800)

⁴⁵⁸ These include Bsod nams mchog grub (from Snar thang), Grags bzang pa, Blo gros rgyal mtshan, Kun rgyal ba (from Thel pa), and Chos kyi grags pa.

⁴⁵⁹ According to Grönbold (1996: 42) and 'Gos Lo-tsa-ba (1976: 802-811), at Yar klungs these included Kun dga' legs pa, Smra ba'i dbang phyug Bsod nams rnam par rgyal ba (a.k.a. Byams gling Paṇ chen)

and Śābari traditions were "short lineages," while the tradition of 'Bro Lo tsā ba was a "long lineage" (Tib. *'bro pa'i sbyor drug*). Ko brag is associated with the *Lam 'bras* tradition in the lineage of Ma gcig Zhwa ma, and also with the six-limbed yoga tradition of Vibhūticandra.

Drawing on excerpts from the accounts of Tāranātha, Padma gar dbang, and Stag tshang Lo tsā ba, Vibhūticandra stayed in Tibet for three years, two of which were in Ding ri. Vibhūticandra was accepted into Tibet by Ko brag pa Bsod nams rgyal mtsho (1170-1249), who was at Ding ri glang 'khor. According to Padma gar dbang, at Ding ri, Vibhūticandra bestowed the Kālacakra empowerment, the explanation of the tantra, and the oral instructions for meditation to a large gathering of Tibetans. He taught Śavaripa's six-limbed yoga to Ko brag pa and six others: Dpyal A mo gha; Nyeg po Chos ldan; Lho pa Tshul gzhon; Mar ston G.yangs 'bar; G.yung phug pa Rgyal mtshan bde ba; and Gnyal ba Mi mnyam bzang po. While at Ding ri glang 'khor, Vibhūticandra and the Tibetan translator Mi mnyam bzang po translated Anupamarakṣita's six-limbed yoga and other Sanskrit works.

At Ding ri, it is probable that the 'Brug pa Bka' brgyud master Rgod tshang pa Mgon po rdo rje (1189-1258) came to receive teachings from him. Vibhūticandra also traveled again to Srin po ri in Central Tibet. Rgwa lo Rnam rgyal rdo rje (1203-1282) invited Vibhūticandra to Rong Dben dmar in Gstang and to Kyog po monastery and Sham bhar, and he requested all of Kālacakra's initiations and instructions. Vibhūticandra also was invited by Kun mkhyen Chos sku 'od zer (1214-1292) to Gser sdings in the upper Nyang valley of Gtsang. He bestowed upon Chos sku 'od zer many empowerments, including the Kālacakra and Cakrasaṃvara, and the Kālacakra six-

Bsod nams rgya mtsho, and probably Gzhon nu dpal.

limbed yoga transmitted to him by Śavaripa (Tib. *Sha wa ra dbang phyug*). Śavaripa's six-limbed yoga instructions were based upon the mystical songs (Skt. *dohā*) of the *mahāsiddha* Saraha, who, according to Tāranātha, based his own spiritual practice on the six-limbed yoga. In Tibet, Vibhūticandra translated works at the ancient royal palace in Pu hrang, at 'Bring mtshams in Gtsang, at Ding ri glang 'khor near the border with Nepal, and at Srin po ri in Dbus.

After teaching the Kālacakra three times at Ding ri, Vibhūticandra fell seriously ill. He was cured by Ko brag pa, who utilized both medicinal treatments and techniques for removing "impediments" (Tib. *gegs sel*) in yoga, the latter being a technique for which Ko brag is reputed in the *Lam 'bras* literature. Ko brag is known to have written texts combining *Lam 'bras* teachings and Vibhūticandra-style six-limbed yoga system of tantric practice. In addition to the traditional techniques for removing impediments according to the *Lam 'bras* teachings, Ko brag wrote many texts about previously unknown techniques that were revealed to him when he perceived the network of energy pathways in the vajra body during meditation. The most famous of his works is the *Gegs sel lha dmigs rgya mtsho*.⁴⁶⁰ He also authored a text on the elimination of illnesses and demonic influences (Tib. *nad gdon dbyung ba'i man ngag*). A grateful Vibhūticandra requested various empowerments, textual transmissions, and oral instructions in the *Lam 'bras* from Ko brag pa, and this is one of the few times an Indian master is reported to have requested extensive tantric teachings from a Tibetan.

After three years in Tibet, Vibhūticandra returned to Nepal where he lived for many years. There, he translated at Stham Bihar in Kathmandu, the famous Newar monastery that continues to flourish. In the Kathmandu valley, Vibhūticandra studied

⁴⁶⁰ Both Ko brag pa and Kun spangs pa's disciple, La stod Dbang rgyal (c. 1300) wrote texts on the removal of impediments (Tib. *gegs sel*) associated with yogic practice.

with the Newar Buddhist master Buddhaśrī, from whom he received textual and oral instructions. Under the Newar teacher *mahāpaṇḍita* Ratnarakṣita, Vibhūticandra studied Kālacakra and Cakrasaṃvara, receiving from him the Kālacakra six-limbed yoga in the tradition of the Indian *mahāsiddha* Anupamarakṣita. This later became known in Tibet as "the sequential lineage" (Tib. *ring brgyud*) of Vibhūticandra. According to Tāranātha, Kālacakra appeared to Anupamarakṣita in the form of a mendicant and said, "Son, this is reality," thereby catalyzing an instant perfection of the experimental realization of Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga.

The six-limbed yoga spoken by *mahāsiddha* Śavaripa to Vibhūticandra at Stham Bihar in Kathmandu is perhaps the most important root text for the direct transmission (Tib. *nye brgyud*) of the six-limbed yoga perfections stage of the *Śrī Kālacakra* practiced in Tibet.⁴⁶¹ The most influential root text for the sequential transmission (Tib. *ring brgyud*) of the six-limbed yoga in Tibet is the *Sbyor ba yan lag drug gi man ngag rje dus 'khor zhabs kyi mdzad pa'i snyan rgyud zhal gyi gdams pa* (*Ārya-kālacakrapāda-sampradāya-nāma-ṣaḍaṅgayogapadeśa*) of *Kālacakrapāda (Tib. *Dus 'khor zhabs*), translated in the eleventh century by the Kaśmirī paṇḍita Somanātha and the Tibetan Lo tsā ba 'Bro Shes rab grags. The succinct verse definitions of each of the six branches of the practice found in this short work are quoted as authoritative in virtually every six-limbed yoga instruction text written in Tibet.

While he was in the Kathmandu valley, Vibhūticandra concentrated on the *Vimalaprabhā*. Vibhūticandra's annotations to the *Śrī Kālacakra* and the *Vimalaprabhā* were very influential in Tibet, and Bu ston frequently cited them in his annotated editions of both texts. Vibhūticandra's annotations were the primary source for Bu ston's

⁴⁶¹ This text, the *Rnal 'byor yan lag drug pa* (*Yogaṣaḍaṅga*), was spoken by Śrī Śavareśvara and translated by Vibhūticandra, probably at Ding ri.

revised translations, which were themselves accepted in the last revision of the Tibetan translation made in 1334 by Ma ti paṇ chen Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1294-1376) and Jo nang Lo tsā ba Blo gros dpal (1299-1353).

During three separate trips to Tibet, Vibhūticandra made significant contributions to the transmission of Buddhist knowledge from India and Nepal at a time when it was being destroyed by the Islamic invasions of India. In particular, the practice of the six-limbed yoga of the Kālacakra, as taught to him by the immortal *mahāsiddha* Śavaripa, has continued until the present day to be of special importance for the Kālacakra traditions maintained in Tibet. A number of Vibhūticandra's compositions and translations are preserved in the Tibetan Tanjur, including his compositions on the *Śrī Kālacakra* and Śāntideva's *The Guide to the Bodhisattva's Way of Life* (Skt. *Bodhicaryāvatāra*).

Vibhūticandra is reported to have practiced Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga extensively, gaining control of the subtle channels and energies and resulting in exceptional experiential realizations. Vibhūticandra became abbot of the Stham Bihar in Kathmandu (a.k.a. Vikramaśīla-Bihar), and he emphasized the intense study and practice of Kālacakra for his Indian and Nepalese students. According to Tāranātha, Vibhūticandra had visions of Kālacakra and other tantric deities, and many extraordinary signs accompanied his bestowal of empowerments for these practices.⁴⁶² According to Tāranātha, Vibhūticandra achieved the *siddhi* of indivisibility and the realization of the total integration of bliss and emptiness through his perfection of "retention," the fourth branch of Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga; at death, he is said not to have left a body.

⁴⁶² Grönbold (1991: 393) discusses Vibhūticandra's opinion on the identification of some Sambhala kings.

Precise translations were deemed critical to the correct practical application of yoga from textually-derived knowledge. For example, Rong pa Shes rab seng ge (1251-1315) and Rdo rje rgyal mtshan (1283-1325) levelled critiques against Vibhūticandra. According to Tāranātha, this was because of a awkward translation by Vibhūticandra of his own anthology of teachings on Kālacakra, the *Nang gi snye ma* (*Antarmanjari*). Vibhūticandra's critics had found what they considered to be serious mistakes in meaning, but according to Tāranātha, the translation's lack of fluency had prevented these scholars from comprehending correctly Vibhūticandra's intended meaning.

The special importance of *Kālacakrapada's transmission for the Jo nang pa tradition is underscored by the fact that Kun spangs Thugs rje brtson grus, the founder of the Jo nang monastery, wrote the only commentary to it. Kun spangs pa, who gathered all the extant lineages of the six-limbed yoga in Tibet and then disseminated them throughout Tibet; ultimately, the transmission lines of these teachings were received by both Bu ston and Dol po pa. Kun spangs pa received and practiced seventeen different lineages of the six-limbed yoga and then synthesized them. According to Tāranātha, many of these seventeen lineages are associated with the different Tibetan translators of the *Śrī Kālacakra* and the *Vimalaprabhā*. Later, 'Jam mgon Kong sprul (1813-1899) copied Tāranātha's discussion of the history of the six-limbed yoga in Tibet. Kun spangs pa wrote a number of important texts on Kālacakra and its six-limbed yoga, which are listed by Bu ston in his *Bla ma dam pa rnams kyis rjes su bzung ba'i tshul bka' drin rjes su dran par byed pa*.

Kun spangs pa's *Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i rnal 'byor yan lag drug gi 'grel pa snying po bsdus pa* is the earliest available Tibetan text on the six-limbed yoga. In con-

tains the scattered oral instructions (Tib. *man ngag kha 'thor ba*) of the teaching Śavaripa bestowed upon Vibhūticandra. Instructions from this work, especially those on the first branch of yoga, also appear in Tāranātha's instruction manual called the *Zab lam rdo rje' rnal 'byor gyi 'khrīd yig mthong ba don ldan*. This text is the earliest available Tibetan commentary on Kālacakra and is the only commentary on the teachings of the six-limbed yoga passed down in Vibhūticandra's direct transmission (Tib. *nye brgyud*). However, the oldest available Tibetan treatise concerning the sequential transmission of the six-limbed yoga is the *Dus kyi 'khor lo'i gegs sel mig gi sgron me* written by Kun spangs pa's disciple La stod Dbang rgyal (a.k.a. Gnyos Dbang rgyal). This instruction manual addresses the last four branches of the six-limbed yoga and focuses on methods for removing impediments that may arise during the advanced practice of these yogas.⁴⁶³

In addition to Kun spangs pa, Dol po pa also was influential in interpreting Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga. Upon returning to Jo nang, Dol po pa began another strict retreat during which he meditated upon the six-limbed yoga for one year and is reported to have realized the first four levels of the six-limbed practice. This retreat catalyzed his move to revise certain Kālacakra tenets to accord with Jo nang doctrine, e.g., Dol po pa interpreted signs of the first branch of Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga, "individual withdrawal," as manifestations of "Buddha nature" (Skt. *tathāgatagarbha*).

In the eleventh century, Kālacakra master Yu mo ba Mi bskyod rdo rje's collection entitled the *Gsal sgron skor bzhi* discusses the correct practice of the six-limbed yoga of Kālacakra's perfection stage. A prayer to the masters in the transmission line of the Kālacakra teachings according to the Jo nang lineage is appended to the first text.

⁴⁶³ Lo stod's synthesis of the *Lam 'bras* teachings and the six-limbed yoga was rejected by Sa skya pa lineage holders of the *Lam 'bras*. See La stod Dbang rgyal (1969).

Yu mo ba discusses the arising of "empty forms" (Skt. *śūnyābimba*; Tib. *stong gzugs*) during the practice of Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga and refers to the experiential nature of emptiness in the context of meditation.

Six-limbed yoga also was central to the Zhwa lu school. Bu ston received the six-limbed yoga via Vibhūticandra's transmission, and there are seven works on the six-limbed yoga in the third volume of his *Collected Works*. Two works on the six-limbed yoga are contained in his *Gsang sngags rgyud sde bzhi'i gzungs 'bum*. Tsong kha pa also followed Vibhūticandra's six-limbed yoga transmission, and he wrote extensively on Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga. The notes of at least three of Tsong kha pa's students, Rgyal stengs pa, Shar kha ba Rin chen chos rgyal, and Rnam dkar bsod nams, are still available. Tsong kha pa's chief students also composed texts on Kālacakra and its six-limbed yoga, e.g., Rgyal tshab Dar ma rin chen (1364-1432) wrote the *Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i mal 'byor yan lag drug gi khrid bsodus pa*. Mkhas grub taught the six-limbed yoga of Kālacakra's generation stage, and this teaching was recorded by his student Rgya ma ba under the title *Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i rdzogs rim*.

Relying on sources stretching back to the Ko brag, the Bo dong pa school also cultivated Kālacakra and its six-limbed yoga. Bo dong's *Collected Works* contain four influential texts, one of which is comprised of instructions for two of the six yogic limbs. Diverse statements concerning works on Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga are found in 'Gos Lo tsā ba's *Blue Annals*, and Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1333-1379) wrote an instruction manual of the six-limbed yoga entitled *Sbyor drug gi khrid yig ngo sprod*. Furthermore, Dharmasvāmin Bsod nams rgyal mtshan, Man lungs pa (a.k.a. Man lung guru, 1239-?) and Vanaratna also wrote guides to the six-limbed yoga.

'Jam mgon Kong sprul's *Gdams ngag mdzod* collection includes a series of texts devoted to the six-limbed yoga. These include a summary, possibly prepared by Vibhūticandra, of Anupamarakṣita's *Ṣaḍaṅgayoganāma*, which appears in the Tanjur; an annotated work by Kālacakrapāda from the Tanjur; Śabari's instructions to Vibhūticandra, also contained in the Tanjur; and Brub chen Yu mo ba Mi bskyod rdo rje's *Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i rnal 'byor yan lag drug gi 'grel pa snying po bsdus pa*. 'Jam mgon Kong sprul himself wrote two major texts on the Kālacakra.

Role of the Jo nang pas and the Dge lugs pas⁴⁶⁴

Having received teachings from the Kaśmīrian paṇḍit Somanātha, Yu mo Mi bskyod rdo rje⁴⁶⁵ is said to have originated the Jo nang pa doctrine. From Somanātha's disciple Sgro ston Gnam la brtsegs, Yu mo heard the *Vimalaprabhā* (referred to as the *Tantravṛtti*), together with its "instructions" (Skt. *upadeśa*). He also composed manuals on the Kālacakra. According to 'Gos Lo tsā ba's *Deb ther sngon po*, Somanātha completed Tibetan translations of the *Vimalaprabhā*, the *Sekoddeśaṭkā*, the *Sahajasiddhi*, and the *Sekaparakriyā*. Yu mo's chief disciple, the scholar Dharmeśvara, was born when Yu mo was fifty-six. Dharmeśvara was a student of logic, Mādhyamika philosophy, Guhyasamāja, and Kālacakra. Dharmeśvara's main disciple was Nam mkha' 'od zer, and his pupil was Dharmeśvara's son, Se mo che ba Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan. 'Gos Lo tsā ba also reports that during her childhood, Dharmeśvara's daughter, Jo 'bum, was influenced by her mother and became proficient in the practice of magic, causing the death of many enemies. She also practiced Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga, and she is reported to have become a natural *yoginī*, one who had attained the stage of "the path of seeing" (Skt. *darśanamārga*). The next

⁴⁶⁴ The following section draws on Ruegg (1963; 1966; 1971) and Stearns (1996a).

⁴⁶⁵ Ngag dbang blo gros grags pa states that Yu mo was born in the first Tibetan calendrical cycle beginning in 1027 and ending in 1087. He died at age eighty-two.

scholar in the line after Dharmesvara's son was 'Jam gsar Shes rab 'od zer, after whom it is said that the scripture (Skt. *āgama*) of the Kālacakra became more widespread in its diffusion. 'Jam gsar's pupil was the anchorite Thugs rje brtson 'grus, who composed a treatise on Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga. According to the *Grub mtha' shel gyi me long* completed by Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma (1737-1802) in 1801, the first monastery at Jo mo nang, at which Dol po pa settled, was founded by the anchorite Kun spangs Thugs rje brtson 'grus (1243-1313). Yon tan rgya mtsho was a pupil of both Chos sku 'od zer and Thugs rje brtson 'grus, and Yon tan's most famous disciple was Dol po pa.

The Jo nang pas maintained a special interest in the Kālacakra, though their approach was quite different from that of Bu ston. An affiliate monastery of the Sa skya school, the Jo nang pa connection to Kālacakra is seen clearly in the figures of Dol po pa She reb rgyal mtshan (1292-1361) and Tāranātha. Tāranātha compiled a list of Indian and Tibetan Kālacakra masters, privileged the 'Bro and Somanātha traditions, which he believed to be more reliable than others. According to Tāranātha, Kālacakra first became widely known around the time of Se mon che ba.

According to the *Grub mtha' shel gyi me long*, only after Dol po pa and others formally articulated Jo nang pa philosophical theories did the Jo nang order emerge as distinct from the Sa skya school. Both groups were centered in Gtsang province, and this early linkage was reinforced by the fact that Jo nang pa masters frequently studied in prominent Sa skya monastic colleges. Partially due to their common interest in Kālacakra, the Jo nang pas were connected to the Zhwa lu pas and to Bu ston -- indeed, the Jo nang pa master Mnga' ris Phyogs las rnam rgyal (1302-1381) is said to have studied under Bu ston, who, together with his disciple Sgra tshad pa Rin chen nam

rgyal, formulated refutations against the Jo nang pa philosophical methods and views.⁴⁶⁶ Mnga' ris also received instruction from Dol po pa -- "he heard in their entirety numerous expositions of Sūtra and Mantra, and above all the *dbang khrid* [empowerment instructions] of the Kālacakra." Mnga' ris was "dharma master" (Tib. *chos dpon*) at the monastery of Byang Ngam ring(s). This monastery, apparently founded in 1225, was restored by Byang Ta'i dben under the permission of Dol po pa. Byang Ta'i dben belonged to the family of the princes of Ngam ring who were closely linked to Kālacakra teachings, and Ngam ring(s) itself was a famous center for Kālacakra study.

Until about 1322, Dol po pa spent the first thirty years of his life studying Buddhist literature, philosophy and practice according to the Sa skya tradition; he also taught at the Sa skya monastery for most of the decade between his twenties and thirties. Kālacakra was a prominent theme in Dol po pa's life, and his teachers' interest in Kālacakra shaped significantly Dol po pa's own views and practices. Dol po pa's main preceptor, Skyi ston 'Jam dbyang grags pa rgyal mtshan, had studied Kālacakra under Rong pa Shes rab seng ge (1251-1315) and Lo tsā ba Mchog ldan.⁴⁶⁷ From Skyi ston, Dol po pa received many teachings at Sa skya, among them the *Śrī Kālacakra* and *The Bodhisattva Trilogy* (Tib. *sems 'grel skor gsum*). Skyi stong's reverence for the Kālacakra and confidence in its six-limbed yoga inspired monks to engage in tantric meditation. Having received initiations, textual explanations, and esoteric instructions on the Kālacakra, Dol po pa was esteemed as an expert in this tradition and served as

⁴⁶⁶ Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma also claims that the doctrines of the Jo nang pas are comparable to the doctrines of the Brāhmanical schools, and he critiques their theories according to the Dge lugs pa Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamika method. He also claims that Jo nang pa doctrines are similar to those of the Sāṃkhya tradition. Nevertheless, this work ends with a tribute to Jo nang pa masters for their role in the dissemination of instructions on Kālacakra.

⁴⁶⁷ Lo tsā ba Mchog ldan was a disciple of Shong ston Rdo rje rgyal mtshan and his brother and became the teacher of Dpang Blo gros brtan pa.

Skyi ston's teaching assistant (Tib. *zur chos pa*) for several years. Dol po pa also studied the *Vimalaprabhā* under Skyi ston and later received teachings on it from Kun spangs Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1263?-1347?).

By 1321, when he was twenty-nine years old, Dol po pa had studied with more than thirty teachers; he received some seventy empowerments and teachings from Skyi ston alone. At the age of thirty-one, Dol po pa went to Jo mo nang and heard many consecrations and instructions from Yon tan rgya mtsho, especially the empowerment instructions of Kālacakra. Through his practice of the six-limbed yoga, the sign of "stopping vitality," the third element of the six-limbed yoga, appeared. Dol po pa also was invited to Sa skya by Ti shri Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1310-1358) of the 'Khon family line and bestowed upon him the Kālacakra empowerment.

Returning to Jo nang in 1326, Dol po pa was installed upon the teaching throne as Yon tan rgya mtsho's successor and the new Jo nang throne-holder (Tib. *gdan sa pa*). Among other topics, he taught the *Śrī Kālacakra* and *The Bodhisattva Trilogy*. In 1361, Dol po pa left to visit Sa skya. During this visit, he is reported to have explained the "Ten Powerful Aspects" (Tib. *rnam bcu dbang ldan* -- the famous anagram of the Kālacakra *mantra* in Lañtsa script -- to his disciples.

Dol po pa himself called attention to the importance of *The Bodhisattva Trilogy*, especially the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary on the *Śrī Kālacakra*, in the formulation of his other-emptiness philosophical perspective, which the Tibetan scholar Kun dga' grol mchog sees preceded in the teachings of the Kashmiri paṇḍita Sañjana. The Jo nang pas linked their "gzhan stong" theory to the *āḍibuddha* doctrine of Kālacakra. Dol po pa's "gzhan stong" teachings are described as:⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁸ Ruegg (1971)

a positive and quasi-substantialistic notion of absolute reality as Voidness (*śūnyatā*) which, though empty of all non-intrinsic factors, is nevertheless not empty of Own Nature since it is constituted by its inseparable and intrinsic qualities and possesses all excellent modes.

According to the Sa skya pa master 'Jam mgon A myes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams (1597-1659), certain Sa skya pa scholars believed that Dol po pa's other-emptiness view contradicted foundational Sa skya teachings, and these teachings therefore received much criticism. Tibetan sources credit Dol po pa with conferring the instructions on the profound path (Tib. *zab lam gyi khrid*) of the six-limbed yoga to many teachers from different monasteries. According to Tāranātha's *Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i chos bskor gyi byung khungs nyer mkho*, Dol po pa gave instructions on the six-limbed yoga seven times in Lhasa -- at first to fifty, one hundred, or two hundred people, but more than eighteen hundred people are reported to have attended the last "vast instruction" (Tib. *'khrid mo che*). Tāranātha also credits Dol po pa with bestowing the Kālacakra Empowerment upon many thousands of people.

According to Lha'i rgyal mtshan, Dol po pa was invited to Tshal Gung thang monastery, where he conferred the Kālacakra Empowerment and many other teachings upon the master Bde legs. According to Tāranātha's *Myang yul stod smad bar gsum gyi ngo mtshar gtam gyi legs bshad mkhas pa'i 'jug ngogs*, Dol po pa also bestowed the Kālacakra Empowerment on the battlefield (Tib. *g.yul thang*) of Rdzing kha, where he spread out a large silk Kālacakra *maṇḍala*. Dol po pa reportedly had a vision of the palace of Sambhala on the mountain slope of Rtse chen, and he prophesized that a monastery dedicated to the practice of Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga would be built there. Later in 1366, 'Phags pa Dpal bzang laid the foundations of Rtse chen monastery at this site.

Dol po pa taught extensively, and the *Grub mtha' shel gyi me long* reports that he preached both the *Vimalaprabha*, referred to as the *Tantravṛtti*, and the "gzhan stong" theory -- "in general, more than 2000 religious and about 1000 adepts gathered together." Though many disciples studied with Dol po pa, his two foremost "spiritual sons" were Blo gros dpal and Mati paṇ chen. Together they may have revised the Tibetan translation of the *Śrī Kālacakra*.

Having received instructions from Mati paṇ chen and from disciples of Bu ston, Tsong kha pa inaugurated the Dge lugs pa Kālacakra lineage. Tsong kha pa passed this Kālacakra transmission to his disciple Mkhas grub rje and to many others. After an invitation to visit the Chinese capital in 1408, Tsong kha pa sent his disciple Byams chen Chor rje there to teach Kālacakra. Mkhas grub rje composed extensive commentaries on both the *Śrī Kālacakra* and the *Hevajratantra*. He also wrote an extensive survey of the Buddhist tantras, probably borrowing from Bu ston's earlier tantric surveys.⁴⁶⁹

The Jo nang pas maintained close relations with Indian teachings and teachers, to the extent that E. Obermiller has called them "Brahmanists" in Tibet. Yu mo, the founder of the Jo nang order and the spiritual ancestor of Dol po pa and his lineage, reportedly received his doctrine at Kailāsa. The regions of Kailāsa and Mānasarovar were places of pilgrimage for ascetics and *yogīs* from India. Therefore, encounters with them may have had some kind of influence on the doctrinal tendencies of the Jo nang pa masters. Dol po pa probably came from the Dol po region near the Nepalese frontier; now a part of Nepal, this region previously was considered part of the Mnga' ris province, and the appellation "Dol po pa" applied to Shes rab rgyal mtshan means that he came from the Dol po region of Stod mnga' ris. According to 'Gos Lo tsā ba's

⁴⁶⁹ Lessing and Wayman (1978: 1-4)

Deb ther sngon po, a link existed between Yu mo and several lamas with the "Dol pa" surname.

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Tāranātha, an elder contemporary of the Fifth Dalai Lama, the latter of whom maintained close relations with the Mongols, pursued multifaceted interests in philosophy, ritual, iconography, architecture and grammar. Tāranātha's *Life of the Buddha* and his *Histories of the Kālacakra and Tārātantra* (Tib. *dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i chos bskor gyi byung khungs nyer mkho*) begin with a brief statement of the doctrinal and ritual position of the Kālacakra within tantra. Tāranātha belonged to the Jo nang pa school, which, like those of Zhwa lu pa and Bo dong pa, practiced Kālacakra. Tāranātha traces the history of the *Śrī Kālacakra* and some of the works on Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga. Two works included in the *Gdam ngag mdzod* are *inter alia* a *Rnal 'byor yan lag drug pa'i rtags tshad kyi yi ge* and a *Sbyor drug gegs sel*. Si tu Padma nyin byed dbang po has written a *Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i sbyor drug gi sngon 'gro chos spyod kyi ngag 'don zung 'jug them skas*. And 'Brug pa Padma dkar po from the 'Brug pa school wrote a *Dpe med 'tsho'i lugs kyi rnal 'byor yan lag drug pa'i khrid rdo rje'i tshig 'byed*. A series of works on the six-limbed yoga is also named in the bibliographical catalogue *Dpe rgyun dkon pa 'ga zhig gi tho yig* (abb. *tho yig*) of A khu rin po che Shes rab rgya mtsho (1803-1875), which contains at least eight major works on Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga.⁴⁷⁰

Tāranātha classifies the Kālacakra as one of the six types of "mother tantras" (Tib. *ma rgyud*) instead of as "non-dual tantra" (Tib. *gnyis med rgyud*). According to Tāranātha, the category of "non-dual tantra" is spurious within the family of Highest

⁴⁷⁰ Grönbold (1971; 1996)

Yoga Tantras. After these introductory remarks, Tāranātha provides an account of the Buddha's preaching of the *Śrī Kālacakra* at Dhānyakaṭaka one year after his enlightenment and records that it was preserved in Sambhala, a realm north of the Sītā River that is ruled by King Sucandra.

In an untitled text, Tāranātha states that the Jo nang pa Kālacakra transmission lineage is separate from the Jo nang pa transmission lineage for the "gzhan stong" Middle Way view. This text lists the teachers who taught the "gzhan stong" view based upon the teachings found in the tantras, specifically the *Śrī Kālacakra* and its related literature. Stearns argues that in this Jo nang pa Kālacakra lineage transmission, the definitive aspect of the teachings was emphasized long before the time of Dol po pa, most prominently in the *Gsal sgron skor bzhi* collection of Yu mo ba.⁴⁷¹

The history of the Jo nang pas and their eventual decline in power is connected to the political and social history of the Gtsang province. According to the *Grub mtha' shel gyi me long*, the Sa skya pas increased the political prominence of Gtsang, but later the Rin spungs princes, who maintained relations with the Zhwa dmar hierarchs and the Karma pas, also patronized the Jo nang pas. The decline of the Jo nang pas may be related to the downfall of Karma Bstan skyong dbang po, who was defeated by Gu shri Khan on behalf of the Fifth Dalai Lama. In combination with certain Himālayan and ultramontane connections that supported local separatist movements in southwestern Tibet, the Jo nang pas therefore may have been targeted due to the unorthodoxy of their teachings. After the conversion of the Jo nang pa monasteries to Dge lugs pa establishments in Gtsang, the only Jo nang pa monasteries that have survived are found in eastern Tibet.

⁴⁷¹ Stearns (1996a: 65-69)

Jo nang pa beliefs and practices have been incorporated into Bka' brgyud pa and Rnying ma pa traditions. For example, several Rnying ma and Bka' brgyud masters from Khams have continued to teach Dol po pa's views. The Rnying ma master Tshe dbang nor bu lived and taught in Khams where he introduced Jo nang theories on Kālacakra and other-emptiness to leading Bka' brgyud teachers of his time. Tshe dbang nor bu was recognized as the rebirth of Dol po pa's disciple, Ma ti paṇ chen Blo gros rgyal mtshan, one of the pair of translators responsible for the revised Jo nang translation of the *Śrī Kālacakra* and the *Vimalaprabhā*. In 1728, Tshe dbang nor bu received from the *yogi* Kun bzang dbang po the Kālacakra empowerments, the complete teachings of the six-limbed yoga, and instructions on "gzhan stong." Since Kun bzang dbang po lived in Gtsang, this supports the idea that the Jo nang teachings on Kālacakra survived not only in eastern A mdo, but also in the original Gtsang areas near Jo nang. Tshe dbang nor bu later spread these teachings in the central region of Dbus, where he conferred Jo nang transmissions of the Bka' brgyud hierarchs Karma pa XIII Bdud 'dul rdo rje (1733-1797) and Zhwa dmar X (1742-1792). He also taught the Si tu Paṇ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1770-1774). Beginning approximately a century later, elements of the Jo nang pa tradition were also incorporated in the non-sectarian movement led by 'Jam mgon Kong sprul and his followers.

According to an account by the Fifth Dalai Lama, Tāranātha's Jo nang monastery of Rtag brtan phun tshog gling was taken over by the Dge lugs pa tradition in 1650. In 1658, Dge lugs pa authorities expelled the former Jo nang monks to other monasteries and renamed the monastery "Dga' ldan phun tshogs gling." From this time onwards, the Jo nang order was suppressed as an independent school in Central and Western Tibet, though the teachings of the "gzhan stong" and the Jo nang pa lineage of Kālacakra did continue in those areas.

Like Bu ston, Jo nang pa masters also practiced a syncretic mixture of tantric material. For example, Dol po pa studied many different tantric systems including the Kālacakra, Guhyasamāja, and Cakrasaṃvara. In the sixteenth century, the Jo nang pa master Kun dga' grol mchog emphasized the Jo nang six-limbed yoga tradition, and he studied this system while simultaneously following Sa skya *Lam 'bras* teachings. Like Kun dga' grol mchog, Tāranātha also practiced and taught a wide variety of tantric teachings from different lineages. Though he adopted a non-sectarian approach, he emphasized Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga after the manner of Dol po pa. During the sixteenth century, relations between the Jo nang pas and the Sa skyas were harmonious, and the Sa skya tantric master Tshar chen Blo gsal rgya mtsho received instructions on the Jo nang version of the six-limbed yoga from Sgo rum pa together with Sa skya *Lam 'bras* teachings.

Kun spangs Chos grags dpal bzang (1283-1363) attributes to Dol po pa many visions of pure lands and tantric deities, and, as is seen in the following anecdote provided by Kun spangs, Dol po pa's life provides an example of legitimation *via* the symbolism of Kālacakra and Sambhala. In 1322 at the age of thirty, Dol po pa left Sa skya and returned to Jo nang to meet the master Yon tan rgya mtsho (1260-1327) and to request from him the complete Kālacakra transmission and its various six-limbed yoga lineages.⁴⁷² Yon tan is said to dreamt that Kalkī Puṇḍarīka of Sambhala raised the Buddhist victory banner at Jo nang. This dream inspired Yon tan to confer the complete Kālacakra empowerments on Dol po pa, in addition to *The Bodhisattva Trilogy* transmission and the "profound instructions" (Tib. *zab khrid*) of Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga. Having received these teachings, Dol po pa immediately entered into a medita-

⁴⁷² Stearns (1996a: 25) gives Kun spang pa's list of the six-limbed yoga transmissions and the Tibetan treatises on the six-limbed yoga received by Dol po pa.

tion retreat at the hermitage of Mkha' spyod bde ldan. Later, Dol po pa would be considered an emanation of Kalkī Puṇḍarīka, who in turn was believed to have been an emanation of Avalokiteśvara.

Kun spangs also claims that Dol po pa "beheld" (Tib. *nye bar gzigs*) the pure land of Sambhala, and that in 1335, Dol po pa travelled to Sambhala by visionary means. An active practitioner of the six-limbed yoga of Kālacakra's perfection stage, Dol po pa is said to have visited Sambhala during an evening meditation session. Later, he is reported to have given his disciples a teaching on the layout of Sambhala, its relation to the rest of the universe, and instructions on the *Śrī Kālacakra*. After seeing Sambhala, Dol po pa composed verses praising it. In one of these verses, Dol po pa claimed that he alone had an exclusive understanding of the precise manner in which Sambhala and Kailash exist.

In part because Dol po pa identified himself with Puṇḍarīka of Sambhala, he used Kālacakra as an interpretive lens through which he viewed and taught other teachings -- "[Dol po pa] is said to have taught all these texts in accord with Kalkī Puṇḍarīka's great commentary upon the *Kālacakra tantra*." Furthermore, believing that previous interpreters of the Kālacakra literature were mistaken, Dol po pa ordered new translations of the *Śrī Kālacakra* and the *Vimalaprabhā* with the ostensible purpose of making the definitive meaning of the texts more accessible to Tibetan scholars and practitioners. In addition, by aligning himself with the inhabitants of Sambhala, Dol po pa implicitly elevated himself above other Tibetan scholars. This is evident in Stearns'⁴⁷³ translation of a quote from Dol po pa's *Nye gnas dad*:

The Kalkī resides in Sambhala to the north. In the Dharma palace of Kalāpa [the Kalkī emperors' court in Sambhala] many reside who understand experi-

⁴⁷³ Stearns (1996a: 73)

ences like this. //

In the kingdom of snowy Tibet only I understand experiences like this.

In his *Gshag 'byed bsdus pa*, Dol po pa states:⁴⁷⁴

Then, as a result of the entrance of a little of the blessing of having encountered the definitive meaning of the great root *tantras*, the oral instructions of glorious Kalāpa, the uncommonly profound heart-advice of the Kalkīs on the tenth spiritual level, I discovered many profound essential points which have not been discovered, have not been realized, and have not been mastered by egotistical *paṇḍitas*, most great meditators endowed with experience and realization, and most of those who are arrogant as great upholders of secret *mantra*.

Various economic benefits accrued to Dol po pa when this authority-by-association aspect of Kālacakra-Sambhala symbolism. For example, when Yon tan died in 1327, Dol po pa decided to construct a *stūpa* at Jo nang based upon descriptions found in the *Vimalaprabhā* "so that upon its completion it fulfilled all the criteria necessary to be considered the same as the *Dpal ldan rgyu skar gyi mchod ldan*, or the *Glorious Stūpa of the Planets* in which the Buddha first taught the *Kālacakratantra*." By undertaking to build this *stūpa*, which was consecrated on October 30, 1333, Dol po pa amassed economic rewards -- "As word of Dol po pa's project spread, great offerings of gold, silver, copper, iron, silk, tea, cloth, medicines, and so forth began to flow into Jo nang from all over the Tibetan world."

Benefits to his doctrinal reputation also accrued to Dol po pa when he employed Kālacakra-Sambhala symbolism. For example, during the *stūpa* construction, Dol po pa first openly taught his other-emptiness doctrine, the realization of which he related to the *Śrī Kālacakra* and to the Jo nang *stūpa*:⁴⁷⁵

Alas, my share of good fortune may be inferior, but I think a discovery such as this is good fortune.

Is this discovery by a lazy fool due to the blessing of the Kalkī emperor?

⁴⁷⁴ Stearns (1996a: 86)

⁴⁷⁵ Stearns (1996a: 33)

Although I have not physically arrived at Kalāpa [court], has the Kalkī entered [my] faithful mind, or what?

In his remarks, Dol po pa counterbalances a lead-in inferiority rhetoric with a direct appeal to one of the most potent symbolic clusters in Tibetan culture, Kālacakra-Sambhala. Whether or not this was intentional, Dol po pa was playing the popular authority-by-association game among competing Tibetan masters in which the first jab disarms one's listeners while the second one enhances one's own reputation. This game had real material and psychological payoffs – not only did Dol po pa receive many gifts of gold, silver, copper, iron, silk, tea, cloth, medicines, but he also furthered his own doctrines and status within Tibetan intellectual and lay communities.

Self-aggrandizement, very thinly veiled under the rhetoric of self-effacement, served as a savvy political strategy to enhance one's reputation in a competitive socio-religious environment. Because competition existed in medieval Tibet for a limited supply of disciples, material resources, and economic patronage, Tibetan masters who were graceful, smooth and skilled in self-presentation inevitably enhanced their own status and reputations. Regardless of whether or not claims to interpretive authority can be substantiated *vis-à-vis* connection to a symbolic cluster as robust as Kālacakra-Sambhala, these claims certainly had tangible consequences. Because he was considered one of the foremost Buddhist masters in Tibet, Dol po pa received offerings of gold from the Sa skya Ti shri Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, a golden *maṇḍala* from Karma pa III, Rang byung rdo rje, and letters of praise from the Sa skya master Don yod rgyal mtshan.

Explicit doctrinal competition between masters for the allegiance of followers manifests indirectly as competition for material resources and royal patronage. For example, Tāranātha recounts an incident previously mentioned in Padma dkar po's *Chos 'byung* concerning Dol po pa's desire to discuss certain controversial points of

doctrine with Bu ston. According to Jo nang pa history, Bu ston was unable to sustain such a discussion. According to Kun spangs pa's biography of Dol po pa, however, Dol po pa and Bu ston did meet. After receiving a letter from Bu ston, Dol po pa reportedly went to Zhwa lu to hold doctrinal "discussions" (Tib. *gsung gleng byed pa*), ostensibly "for the benefit of the Buddhist doctrine and sentient beings." Kun spangs pa claims that Bu ston and his disciples were afraid, especially when during their textual-divination on the outcome of the meeting, they were confronted with a passage prophesizing Dol po pa's appearance in the world. In accordance with the cultural niceties of the period, this fear became the impetus for offerings -- "everyone was frightened by this event, and after some discussion, three white conch shells, two gold images, and many other offerings were presented to Dol po pa."

Concerning Dol po pa's apparent self-aggrandizement, Stearns writes:⁴⁷⁶

This is not simple arrogance. Dol po pa was a master *yogin* of the *śaṅgayoga*, the perfection stage of the *Kālacakra-tantra*. He was inspired by the Kalkī emperors of Shambhala and was generally viewed as an incarnation of the Shambhala emperor Kalkī Puṇḍarīka (*Rigs ldan padma dkar po*), the author of the *Vimalaprabhā*.

Though Dol po pa believed himself to be a master of Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga, and others believed him to be an incarnation of Sambhala's Puṇḍarīka, it perhaps is inappropriate for scholars considering this material nearly a thousand years later to reify such imputed claims as fact. That such claims had significant social, political and economic implications, however, is without doubt.

Kālacakra literature sometimes was employed as a pawn in the game of establishing interpretative dominance, which itself was a reliable route to political status and economic support in medieval Tibet. The assumption of interpretive authority on the part of certain medieval Tibetan scholars was used to legitimate one doctrinal inter-

⁴⁷⁶ Stearns (1996a: 42)

pretation over another, often with the secondary effects of enhancing the reputation of the scholar who claimed interpretive superiority; this, ultimately, served as a magnet for economic patronage. Scholars revised, annotated and even ordered new rival translations of the *Śrī Kālacakra* and the *Vimalaprabhā*, an activity legitimated under the rubric of clarifying the true meaning of the texts. As Stearns notes, sometime before 1334, Bu ston had completed his own annotations on the thirteenth-century Tibetan translations of the *Śrī Kālacakra* and the *Vimalaprabhā* produced by Shong ston Rdo rje rygal mtshan, itself a revision of an earlier Tibetan translation by 'Bro Lo tsā ba,⁴⁷⁷ and he taught these texts and annotations every year.

In 1334, Dol po pa ordered his disciples Lo tsā ba Blo gros dpal and Sa bzang Ma ti paṇ chen 'Jam dbyangs blo gros rgyal mtshan to prepare a new translation of the *Śrī Kālacakra* and the *Vimalaprabhā*.⁴⁷⁸ At the request of his disciple Kun spangs Chos grags dpal bzang, Dol po pa then composed a topical outline (Tib. *sa bcad*) and annotations (Tib. *mchan bu*) to the *Vimalaprabhā*. In his biography of Rigs ldan Rnam rgyal grags bzang (1395-1475),⁴⁷⁹ the Kālacakra adept Kun dga' grol mchog, one of Dol po pa's successors on the throne of Jo nang Monastery, records the opinions of Byams gling Paṇ chen Bsod nams nam rgyal concerning the Jo nang translation of the Kālacakra texts ordered by Dol po pa, which like Bu ston's annotations, were based upon Shong ston's thirteenth-century translations of these texts. According Kun dga' grol mchog, Bu ston believed that there were about thirty points from the *Śrī Kālacakra* and *Vimalaprabhā* that needed correction. Dol po pa therefore ordered two translators to create a "new Jo nang translation" (Tib. *Jo nang gsar 'gyur*) of these texts leaving

⁴⁷⁷ Stearns (in preparation)

⁴⁷⁸ Other lo tsā bas in Dol po pa's environs who were scholar-practitioners of the Kālacakra and its six-limbed yoga included Kun spangs Chos grags dpal and 'Bri gung lo tsa ba Ma ṇi ka śrī.

⁴⁷⁹ Rnam rgyal grags bzang viewed Dol po pa as the final authority on Kālacakra; the former wrote many works on Kālacakra, though none presently are available.

intact the revised translation in Bu ston's earlier annotations. According to Kun dga' grol mchog, this revised translation:⁴⁸⁰

treated the ultimate [topics] exclusively with their own language, while emphasizing reliance upon the [definitive] meaning. After nailing it down with the Dol annotations themselves, [Dol po pa] opened up the clearest of the clear chariot-ways with extensive commentaries upon the true meaning, such as the *Nges don rgya mtsho*, the *Bstan pa spyi 'grel*, and the *Bka'bsdu bzhi pa*. I am confident there is no one who has commented upon the *Śrī [Kālacakra] tantra* better than this, even to the north in Shambhala. The production of explication and composition in regard to all the general fields of the doctrine was somewhat greater for Bu ston, but in the context of gathering together the definitive secrets of the *Kālacakra* alone, he could not match the rain of Dol bu pa.

Dol po pa's explicitly-stated motivation for composing a "synopsis" (Tib. *bsdus don*) and "exceptional annotations" (Tib. *mchan bu khyad 'phags*) on the *Vimalaprabhā* was "to prevent mistakes in regard to the basic treatise." Yet he was well aware that great status was accorded to the master who produced careful annotations -- Lha'i rgyal mtshan refers to Dol po pa's annotations to the *Vimalaprabhā* as if they were the most important of his thirty-eight works on the *Kālacakra*. Dol po pa himself also held an elevated opinion of his own annotations:⁴⁸¹

Looking at the annotations to the *Rgyud 'grel chen po*, the Dharma Lord [Dol po pa] himself exclaimed, "Ah la la! Whose work are all these? They're incredible!" Joining his palms together again and again, he said, "When I look at this kind of an understanding of the profound definitive meaning, I wonder who I [really] am.

Kālacakra in Contemporary Tibet

Although the *Śrī Kālacakra* is undoubtedly the *locus classicus* for descriptions of Kālacakra's rituals, handbooks were authored offering more detailed descriptions of ritual activity and reinterpreting this activity to fit the contours of Tibetan culture. For example, a handbook used by the Namgyal monks, *Bcom ldan 'das dpal dang po'i sangs rgyas dus kyi 'khor lo'i dbang chen gtsal skabs nyer mkho'i zin bris dbangs gsal*

⁴⁸⁰ Stearns (1996a: 40)

⁴⁸¹ Stearns (1996a: 42)

me long, describes the manner in which the Kālacakra *maṇḍala* is constructed and a series of preparatory rituals is conducted during the empowerment.⁴⁸² In addition, both Bu ston and Bskal bzang rgya mtsho (1708-1757), the Seventh Dalai Lama authored ritual handbooks on Kālacakra.

During the nineteenth century, many monasteries in Tibet and Mongolia specialized in Kālacakra instruction. Tashilhunpo Monastery is said to have offered a three- or four-year course in Kālacakra studies, and so did Sku 'bum byams pa gling around the year 1825.⁴⁸³ Sku 'bum byams pa gling is located near Xining, southeast of lake Kōkenor, in Quinhai Province, somewhat near the birthplace of the current Dalai Lama. Located at the site of the birthplace of Tsong kha pa, Sku 'bum is a Dge lugs pa monastery, and it was built in 1588 by 'Özer rgya mtsho in accordance with the wishes of the Third Dalai Lama, Bsod nams rgya mtsho (1543-1588).⁴⁸⁴ A German scholar by the name of Wilhelm Filchner (1877-1957) took an active interest in Sku 'bum, and he authored two books on the topic.⁴⁸⁵

In 1904, Filchner made his first excursion to Tibet and spent his free time researching Sku 'bum, taking photos, outlining its architectural plans, and filming dances. Filchner himself discusses claims that the name "Sku 'bum Dschamba Ling" refers to the world of Maitreya with one hundred thousand pictures. "Ling" refers to continent, or large island (Skt. *dvīpa*); whereas "Sku 'bum" refers to the pictures on the leaves of the sacred tree that marked the birthplace of Tsong kha pa. The leaves and bark of this sandalwood tree portray deities and Tibetan letters, most notably the one hundred depictions of the Buddha Sīṃhadvani (Tib. *seng ge nga ro*), who appears in Tsong kha pa's biography.

⁴⁸² Namgyal (1995)

⁴⁸³ Roerich (1932)

⁴⁸⁴ Batchelor (1987)

In addition to Filchner, a Buryat scholar by the name of Gonboshab Cybikov, a Cyber version of Nabakov, also writes about Sku 'bum's "magic tree" in his diary of Tibetan Expeditions dating to the period 1899/1902. Cybikov mentions that "on every tree there are many pictures of Buddha. Outside of the temple in front of the veranda there is a tree. On the branches of this tree, which is encased in the temple of the golden roof, there are gold-colored Tibetan letters -- *ka, da, ba, ma, sa.*" But neither Cybikov, nor another scholar Bāsa Bakschi, who visited Sku 'bum in 1891, obtained any information on the origin of the golden letters.⁴⁸⁶

Regarding the history of the founding of Sku 'bum, Filchner writes that in 1560, one hundred and forty-three years after the death of Tsong kha pa, a few cells were built by a lama and ten monks were housed there. Eleven years later in 1571, twenty more cells were built, and seventeen years after this second addition, in 1588, Sku 'bum monastery was built next to the *stūpa* honoring Tsong kha pa. In 1659, the Tantric Faculty was founded at Sku 'bum. Filchner mentions that membership in Sku 'bum's Tantric Faculty dropped from three hundred monks in 1904 to only forty in the late 1920s.

At the time Filchner visited Sku 'bum in 1927, he estimated that approximately five thousand monks resided there, and that the Grand Assembly Hall, the largest building at Sku 'bum, housed about thirty-five hundred monks. Cybikov provides a more conservative estimate of the number of monks at Sku 'bum, claiming that no more than two thousand monks were in residence there around the year 1900. Cybikov

⁴⁸⁵ Filchner (1906; 1933); Karsten (forthcoming)

⁴⁸⁶ Filchner (1906: 38)

also claims that most of these monks were from southern Mongolia. At the time of Filchner's last visit, however, in 1927, there were fewer Mongolians in residence, while more monks came from Buryat.⁴⁸⁷

In the early twentieth century, Gser tog blo bzang tshul krims rgya mtshos (1845-1915), a contemporary of Filchner, wrote a text entitled "The Succession of Abbots from Sku 'bum byams pa gling Monastery, Brahma's Meaningful Melody."⁴⁸⁸ Gser tog's text follows an earlier history of Sku 'bum byams pa gling Monastery in Amdo written by the second 'Jam byangs bzhad pa, Dkon mchog 'Jig med dbang po, who lived during the eighteenth century. Gser tog himself composed "The Succession of Abbots from Sku 'bum byams pa gling Monastery" in 1903, three years before Filchner's first book. One chapter of Gser tog's text, the "Inner Meaning in Brief," outlines the events surrounding a public conferral of the Kālacakra Empowerment. Gser tog mentions many monastic personalities, including Shing bza' paṇḍita blo bzang dar rgyas rgya mtsho, a.k.a. Skyabs rje shing bza' rin po che (1759-1824) and Mkhan po che shos rin po che.

In 1820, a Kālacakra College (Tib. *grwa tsang*) was founded at Sku 'bum, and Stag mtsher Ngag dbang skal bzang was appointed its first abbot. A preliminary translation of an excerpt from Gser tog's "Inner Meaning in Brief" follows:

In the town of Sku 'bum, there is monastery called Sku 'bum byams pa gling, which is a religious institution, and which is well known on this earth. Rje btsun Tsong kha pa was born in this area, on the morning of the tenth day of the tenth month of the Fire-Bird year. There are four divisions in the monastery. Among those four, the fourth one, which is called Rigs ldan blo gsal gling, is the Kālacakra College. There, when the Abbot Shing bza' rin po che was enthroned, he established the Kālacakra College within the monastery. During the opening religious ceremonies at the Kālacakra College, he prayed in front of the image of the body of the Kālacakra deity.

⁴⁸⁷ Filchner (1906: 377-378)

⁴⁸⁸ (Tib. sku 'bum byams pa gling gi gdan rabs don ldan tsangs pa'i dbyangs snyan)

During these opening ceremonies, many monks and reincarnate lamas were present. They asked the Paṇḍita how to increase the size of the monastery. The monastery would run as usual, he replied, but gradually when the time came, it would increase in size. There was also discussion concerning establishing seniority levels for the monks.

After that, in the Fire-Mouse year, the "manager of the monastery" (Tib. *zhal ngos*), the discipline master and other dignitaries made devotions, and by unanimous consensus, they decided to invite someone to come to the monastery for the "consecration" (Tib. *rab gnas*) ceremony. They invited Skyabs rje shing bza' rin po che to perform the ceremony. He returned to the monastery, which he had visited previously. He spent a few months at the monastery, where he took the leading position in the Kālacakra college. Then Dpal ldan bshad sgrub gling lead the "qualification" (Tib. *smiṅ grol la*) of monks with good qualities, so they were qualified to perform rituals to consecrate the monastery. Many monks and high dignitaries together performed the rituals consecrating the monastery. The consecration was successful, and after it had been performed, the Kālacakra College was considered a proper religious institution.

After that, in the third month of the Fire-Mouse year, Gdan sa'i mkhan rin po ches organized the monastery for the conferral of the Kālacakra Empowerment. Thousands gathered from all over Tibet to attend this public Kālacakra Empowerment, which was conferred by Skyabs rje shing bza' rin po che. The Kālacakra *maṇḍala* was constructed, and Skyabs rje bestowed all three parts of the empowerment -- the preliminary rites, the empowerments used as the basis for generation stage of Kālacakra's meditative yoga, and empowerments used as the basis for the completion stage practices. The ceremony took five days, and the Vajramaster Empowerment was conferred at the conclusion of the ritual.

Then, the Abbot of the monastery, Mkhan po che shos rin po che, gathered together with many other lamas and teachers, including Stag mtsher dge bshes ngag dbang skal bzang,⁴⁸⁹ Dpa' ris lha rams pa blo bzang chos dar,⁴⁹⁰ A rigs dge bshes byams pa 'od ldan, and Rab 'byams pa bsod nmas gong 'phel dogs. There were ten thousand monks of every age, and they assembled in the Kālacakra College. During this assembly, they decided to form disciplinary codes for the monastery. They also divided the monks into pitch levels for chanting.

Then some others, including Mkhan po las thog pa dam pa rang nyid, Mtsher mkhan chen blo bzang mkhas drub nyi ma, and the Dge lugs pa Tog mkhan chen ye shes thhub bstan rgya mtsho decided that the disciplinary code for the monastery should resemble ripples in the water, (i.e., that respect should be based on seniority).

Afterwards, they collected donations in the amount of 7400 "dong tshe chon" from the people to expand the monastery. They constructed an assembly hall

⁴⁸⁹ Born in Stag mtsher, he came to Central Tibet where he studied subjects including Kālacakra at Drepung Monastery.

⁴⁹⁰ Born in the direction of 'Ju lag dpa' ris, he resided at Drepung Monastery. There he studied the five volumes of scripture (Tib. *bka' pod lnga*), he meditated, and he met many other teachers from whom

and a veranda outside; and they added various types of ornamentation: 1) pillar ornaments (Tib. *'phan rgyan*); 2) corner ornaments (Tib. *rgyal mi shan*); 3) a wheel (Tib. *'khor lo*); 4) a dharmacakra (Tib. *ri dwags pho mo*); 5) a flag-staff (Tib. *thug nag*); and 6) a pennant (Tib. *dar shing*).

Then, they made a seat (Tib. *bzhugs khr̥*) for the auspicious rinpoche. Then they made the brocaded cloths for the ceiling (Tib. *kun dga' ra ba*). Then they made arrangements for common use at the monastery. Many thanks to Mkhan po las thog pa dam pa rang nyid, who had the necessary initiative to make these improvements to the monastery. Afterwards, these lamas appointed a discipline master, Byams pa 'od ldan. At this point, the entire structure of the Kālacakra College was complete.

Gser tog concludes his text by commenting that he wrote it on the basis of what he heard from his teacher, Rdo rje 'chang, and the secretary to monastery, Chos rje ngag dbang bsam gtan. In conjunction with Gser tog's 1903 account the "Inner Meaning in Brief," Wilhelm Filchner's *Sku 'bum Dschamba gling* provides an important historical description of Kālacakra practice in Tibet around the year 1820. The German scholar visited Sku 'bum in the winter of 1927/28. Due to illness, he states that his research only should serve as the basis for further research. In the foreword to the book, Filchner comments that it was difficult for him to perform the fieldwork since the monks were suspicious of him.⁴⁹¹ According to Filchner, one of the main temples at Sku 'bum received a Golden Roof in 1993. Filchner also mentions the presence of the Kālacakra deity, who is pictured above other deities, in the Tantra Hall at Sku 'bum. He associates the Kālacakra Faculty with the studies of the Flower Temple, a large hall he specifies on his enclosed map of the area.

Filchner reports that Sku 'bum was attacked during a period of Islamic incursions into the province of Kan su in 1895. Since the monks knew that the cloister would be plundered, both by the Muslims and by other monks in the region, they erected a fort. Kum bum and Bla brang both managed to weather the Islamic attack, while the other monasteries in the region fared less well. Bertold Laufner, who wrote

he studied tantra.

⁴⁹¹ Filchner (1906: 5-11)

one of the forewords to Filchner's tome, remarks that during his own visit to the monastery in 1932, eight years after Filchner's visit, the monks looked undernourished and were shabbily clothed, and that much had changed from the time of Filchner's previous account.⁴⁹²

Now, despite current religious persecution within Tibet itself, the practice of Kālacakra continues at Jo nang and Dge lugs retreat centers in 'Dzam thang and Abba. The Jo nang pa order has continued to survive in Tibet, most notably in the 'Dzam thang enclave in Khams. A Jo nangs monastic center in 'Dzam thang houses approximately one thousand monks, with one hundred of these involved in retreat practice involving Kālacakra. Further, approximately eight hundred monks are in residence at the Tse Monastery in Abba, another Jo nangs monastic center. About thirty of these monks are in full retreat, Kālacakra being central to their practice. At both Jo nangs monasteries, in 'Dzam thang and Tse, a handful of monks are reported to be qualified in the complete oral commentary on the *Vimalaprabhā*.⁴⁹³ A Jo nang pa monastery called 'Dsi ka dgon pa also exists in the 'Dsi ka dgon district of the Rnga pa region of A mdo, though it is unclear what level of involvement its monks maintain with Kālacakra study and practice.

In addition to the current Jo nangs practice of Kālacakra in Abba, Dge lugs monasteries there also support Kālacakra practice. Kir ti Monastery, located near Tse Monastery, currently houses approximately two thousand monks, some of whom are involved in the study of Kālacakra. Today, Dge lugs involvement with Kālacakra in

⁴⁹² Filchner (1906: 4-29)

⁴⁹³ Ngawang Pedma Namgyal Palzang po, the Chief Abbot from the monastery in Tse, visited the United States during the Spring of 1997 at the invitation of Jo nangs Tulku Tashi, one of the Jo nangs Kālacakra adepts from Abba currently residing here. Sangye Khandro interpreted for the abbot during his tour.

Tibet does not include significant retreat practice, yet it is reported that one monk at Kir ti Monastery is proficient in the *Vimalaprabhā*. In addition, a Dge lugs lama holding the Kālacakra oral transmission is reported to preside over a Kālacakra college at Amdo Tashi Khyil.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹⁴ B.A. Wallace (1993; 1997)

CHAPTER VI: CONTEMPORARY KĀLACAKRA RITUALS

Ritual Theater East and West⁴⁹⁵

Kālacakra's contemporary tenacity has depended upon its ability to become more visible in a globalized world. In the last decade, textual translation and oral-lineage transmission have been subsumed in the more flamboyant activity of large-scale ritual enactment, which though reflecting the needs and agendas of Tibetans also dovetails favorably with the increasingly face-paced and theatrical nature of religious enactment during these postmodern days of our lives.

The modern setting for the bestowal of the Kālacakra Empowerment is distinctively pluralistic. Historically, the Kālacakra Empowerment was predominately a Tibetan affair and served to unify the monastic and lay communities in the geographically-insular kingdom. Since the diaspora of Tibetans in 1959, the diffusion of Buddhism to the West has steadily increased. Now, whether given in India or in Santa Monica, the Kālacakra Empowerment attracts an ethnically-plural audience consisting of displaced Tibetans, other Asian Buddhists, and a large contingent of new Western Buddhists. The Kālacakra Empowerment also brings this plural Buddhist community together with many non-Buddhist Westerners who support Tibetan political and human rights objectives.

In December of 1985, nearly three hundred thousand Buddhists congregated in Bodh Gayā, India to participate in the Dalai Lama's eleventh conferral of the Kālacakra Empowerment. The majority of participants came from India, Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim, but other countries were represented as well. Regardless of their place of origin, all shared similar desires -- to see His Holiness the Dalai Lama, to hear his

⁴⁹⁵ The following section draws on Blofeld (1987a).

teachings, and to participate in the empowerment. This was the second time that the Dalai Lama had conferred the Kālacakra Empowerment in Bodh Gayā, one of the most revered Buddhist pilgrimage sites, and this empowerment was especially noteworthy because it was combined with the Great Prayer Festival (Tib. *smoṇ lam chen mo*), one of the most celebrated annual religious happenings in Old Tibet. All in all, over a year of planning was required to stage the 1985 event, and many preparations were needed to accommodate the crowds. Pilgrims stayed in two large camps of tents, and to reduce the spread of disease, immunizations against cholera and typhoid were made available.

Approximately ten thousand Tibetan pilgrims made the difficult journey from Tibet to Bodh Gayā, many being supported financially by Tibetan refugees in India. Women wore heavy woolen aprons with bright stripes, called *chupas* in Tibetan, while nomadic men from the province of A mdo promenaded in sheepskin jackets. Khampas, Mōnpas, Kunnuwas, Spitipas, Gasharwas and Ladakhis were also present, wearing elaborate and turquoise-bedecked head dresses, hats and jewelry. And the monastic community was well-represented -- ten thousand monks and four hundred nuns in total attended the ceremony. Eighteen buses were chartered to transport monks to Bodh Gayā from Sera monastery in southern India, and monks also flocked to the ceremony from the other monasteries in India. Approximately one thousand Westerners attended the empowerment, sitting in a separate section in order to hear the simultaneous translation of the ritual and teachings into English. The teachings and empowerment itself were held outdoors in a large field. The Dalai Lama, ritual assistants, high lamas and religious dignitaries all assembled in a small pavilion before the crowds. To the sides of His Holiness were lower thrones for the heads of the four Tibetan Buddhist orders. Monks and nuns also sat on the stage in front of the Dalai Lama.

The Kālacakra Empowerment in Bodh Gayā was preceded by a series of other rituals, ceremonies, and teachings. The site for the *maṇḍala* was consecrated, and a ritual fire offering was made for peace. Following the Great Prayer Festival, which lasted two days, the Dalai Lama gave five days of teachings on the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*. The actual preliminary ceremonies for the Kālacakra Empowerment began on December 24th. Preliminary preparations consisted of the construction of a sand *maṇḍala* and intensive meditation by the Dalai Lama. In addition, the monks of Namgyal Monastery performed a Kālacakra ritual dance.

From the perspective of disciples, the empowerment involved one day of preparation and two days of empowerment. Afterwards, the public was invited to view the Kālacakra *maṇḍala*. The crowds were so anxious to see the *maṇḍala* that it took three hours for Tibetan stewards to contain them in a line and two days for them all to view the *maṇḍala*. At the conclusion of the empowerment, the Dalai Lama addressed the crowds before their departure, and many cried. Gradually, pilgrims began to leave, food and handicraft stalls were dismantled, and volunteers began the job of cleaning the area. Later, cows and buffalo sauntered in, chewing as hay what previously were the mats of the devout.

Western performances of the Kālacakra Empowerment differ markedly from their counterparts in India. During July of 1988, three thousand Westerners and Tibetans gathered at the Santa Monica Civic Center in California to participate in the Kālacakra Empowerment conferred there. The event was organized by Thubten Dhargye Ling, a group of Western Buddhists led by a Tibetan lama and headquartered in Los Angeles. In addition to Americans, many Westerners and Tibetans came from

Canada and Europe to participate in the ceremony. In stark contrast to the Bodh Gayā event, which was held outdoors, this conferral of the empowerment was given inside a modern, air-conditioned auditorium.

Many Westerners stayed in the dormitories at UCLA during the empowerment, fully taking advantage of the beautiful outdoor pool and tennis courts. At the Civic Center, they lounged on the grass and walked along the beach across the street. The group included people from all walks of life -- what Jack Kerouac refers to as "dharma bums" intermingled with well-dressed business people and wealthy Taiwanese-Americans. The jeans and suits of Western women contrasted sharply with the *chupas* of Tibetan women, virtually all of whom took this opportunity to dress in their traditional clothing. The Westerners attending the empowerment in Santa Monica represented diverse interests and backgrounds. Although devout Western Buddhists offered full prostrations at the entrance of the Dalai Lama, many politically-motivated Westerners also attended the event, and they used breaks during the ceremonies to make professional contacts and further their current projects relating to Tibetan sovereignty and human rights.

On the stage in Santa Monica, the Dalai Lama was seated on a high throne, while other high-ranking lamas occupied lower thrones. The monks of Namgyal Monastery were seated to the right of the Dalai Lama, with the "chanting master" (Tib. *dbu mdzad*) at the fore. Many of the Namgyal monks were ritual assistants during the ceremony. Approximately twenty monks and nuns occupied an area on the stage to the left of the Dalai Lama. Three days of teachings by His Holiness on Rgyal sras Thogs med's *The Thirty-Seven Practices of the Bodhisattva* and a ceremonial offering dance preceded the actual empowerment. The empowerment itself lasted three days. On the

last day, the *maṇḍala* was available for viewing, but in sharp contrast to the Bodh Gayā event, not all Westerners availed themselves of the chance to see it. To conclude the ceremonies, a Long Life empowerment was conferred. Offerings of a Buddha-image, Buddhist texts, and a *stūpa*, representing respectively the body, speech, and mind of the Buddha, were also given to the Dalai Lama.

Tibetan Empowerment Ceremonies

Before engaging in tantric rituals such as entering the *maṇḍala* and participating in deity yoga, practitioners first must undergo "empowerment" (Skt. *abhiṣeka*; Tib. *dbang bskur*). The Sanskrit term "abhiṣeka" has a broad spectrum of connotations, including anointing, consecrating (often by sprinkling water), religious bathing, and ablution. In the Indian Buddhist social context, *abhiṣeka* refers to the spiritual ointment used to anoint *bodhisattvas* who seek enlightenment for the sake of all sentient beings. Ritually, the term refers to coronation ceremonies during which a future king is transformed internally and invested with the sacred power that will enable him to govern as a divine ruler.

Two types of empowerment exist in the contemporary Tibetan context -- the "great empowerment" (Tib. *dbang chen*); and the "authorization/permission" (Skt. *anujñā*; Tib. *rjes gnang*). This distinction probably originated around the fifteenth century, and before that time, no evidence exists to suggest that the term *dbang chen* was used. According to the Tibetan interpretation, the Sanskrit term *abhiṣeka* only refers to "great empowerments" into the practice of high-status deities such as Kālacakra. In contrast, initiations into the practice of other deities are called rituals of "authorization." There are three levels to the tantric initiation process: ritual

empowerment (Skt. *abhiṣeka*); reading transmission (Skt. *āgama*); and secret oral instruction (Skt. *upadeśa*).⁴⁹⁶ In contrast, during "authorization" ceremonies, which are bestowed only upon persons with empowerments into the practice of a Highest Yoga Tantra deity,⁴⁹⁷ the guru verbally grants disciples permission to recite the *mantra* of the respective deity.⁴⁹⁸

During an empowerment, tantric practitioner are said to receive "a special potential power to attain any of the four Buddha bodies" from the guru or from other "holy beings."⁴⁹⁹ The empowerment also has been described as "the meeting of two minds," during which the guru and student both identify with the *maṇḍala* deity. Following this identification, the student is crowned and enthroned, taking on the attributes of the particular tantra's symbolism.⁵⁰⁰ Buddhist empowerment ceremonies are modelled after ancient Indian rites of "royal consecration" (Skt. *rājastīya*).⁵⁰¹ Just as these ceremonies are believed to empower the crown prince to attain the status of king, tantric consecration is believed to empower the disciple to attain the status of a tantric deity.⁵⁰² Traditionally in India, princes underwent rites of passage performed by Brahmins to accede to royal power. Analogously, an initiation empowers the disciple to practice tantra in order to attain Buddhahood.⁵⁰³

During the early period of Highest Yoga Tantra dissemination from India into Tibet in the eleventh century, empowerment was granted very selectively. Before conferring an empowerment, the guru would analyze the student to determine whether or

⁴⁹⁶ Shaw (1994b: 16)

⁴⁹⁷ T. Gyatso (1995: 154)

⁴⁹⁸ Beyer (1978: 401-402)

⁴⁹⁹ K. Gyatso (1994: 252); Harrison (1992); Nagao (1973)

⁵⁰⁰ Guenther (1972a: 78)

⁵⁰¹ Snellgrove (1959b)

⁵⁰² Newman (1987a: 7)

⁵⁰³ Ötrul (1988: 69)

not he or she were qualified to receive a particular empowerment. This determination was made according to: 1) the student's ability to engage in the "three trainings" (Skt. *triśikṣā*; Tib. *bslab pa gsum*) of moral discipline (Skt. *śīla*; Tib. *tshul khrims*), wisdom (Skt. *prajñā*; Tib. *shes rab*), and mind (Skt. *citta*; Tib. *sems*); and 2) the student's perceived ability to keep the "vows" (Skt. *saṃvara*; Tib. *sdom pa*) and "commitments" (Skt. *samaya*; Tib. *dam tshig*) taken during empowerment.⁵⁰⁴

Pledges related to tantric vows, which disciples seek to uphold for the sake of all sentient beings, depend upon the five Buddha families.⁵⁰⁵ Furthermore, Tibetan scholar-practitioners adopt a praxis orientation when describing commitments and vows. Whereas vows refer to internal results, commitments are acts of conscious intent.⁵⁰⁶ The Rnying ma scholar Gyurme Dorje summarizes three traditional Tibetan interpretations of the term *dam tshig* as follows:⁵⁰⁷

Firstly, the 'commitments' are laid down because benefits are obtained when they are guarded. As it is said in the *sGyu-'phrul-rdo-rje*,

If one who has obtained empowerment and consecration
In the intention of the genuine (or committed) ones
Acts precisely according to the genuine commitments (*dam*)
Discrepancies will be burnt away (*tshig*).

Secondly, 'commitments' are so-called because retribution is exacted when they degenerate. The same text indeed says:

One who swears to maintain the injunctions
And blessings of the genuine (*dam*) ones
Naturally becomes accomplished.
One who transgresses these commitments (*dam*)
Is burnt away (*tshig*), even when belonging to
(The vehicle of) indestructible reality.

Thirdly, 'commitments' are so-called because a conventional oath of allegiance is taken. It says in the *Jñānottarapariṣcchā-sūtra*:

In order that the most secret amazing
Doctrine of the conquerors
Might be firmly held without degeneration,

⁵⁰⁴ T. Gyatso et al (1987: 77)

⁵⁰⁵ Ötrul (1988: 62) correlates the five Buddha families with various pledges.

⁵⁰⁶ Jorden (1995)

⁵⁰⁷ Dorje (1991: 73)

Pledges of allegiance are steadfastly upheld
In accordance with the teaching given by the *guru*.
This is explained to be 'commitment.'

Wayman⁵⁰⁸ differentiates the terms "vow" and "commitment" as follows:

[A vow] is a statement taken ritually and ordinarily uttered three times; it is in a form easily understood and must hold together, adhere in the disciple's stream of consciousness. The vows are usually of a general nature, holding for the entire Tantra in which the candidate is initiated and for the entire time after his initiation.

[A commitment/pledge] is less comprehensible [than a vow] and may require commentarial or oral expansion to get the meaning. The pledges are not general, but may apply to a particular element of the Tantra and to a special phase of the practice. Frequently they are in a negative form, pointing to what the disciple should avoid or not engage in.

Many types of vows are taken during Highest Yoga Tantra empowerments, including *prātimokṣa* vows,⁵⁰⁹ the *bodhisattva* vows,⁵¹⁰ common tantric vows (Skt. *sāmānyasamvara*; Tib. *thun mong gi sdom pa*); and "awareness-holder" (Skt. *vidyādhara*) vows. Disciples recite three times supplications to receive empowerment, and during each of these recitations, one level of vows is bestowed. Tsong kha pa⁵¹¹ differentiates three types of vow:

- 1) consort vow (Skt. *vidyā-vrata*): Contact and conatal union (Skt. *sahaja-jñāna*) with the goddesses at the "junctions" (i.e., morning, noon, sunset and midnight);
- 2) vajra vow (Skt. *vajra-vrata*): Practice of all rites while free from discursive thought. This is the inner diamond or the one mind of enlightenment as the intrinsic nature of the five knowledges; and
- 3) conduct vow (Skt. *carya-vrata*): Practice of the three *mudrā*, etc.

Dorje⁵¹² describes the vows as follows:

The eight classes of *prātimokṣa* vows should be guarded by one who desires peace and happiness for oneself alone, for the duration of one's life. The Bodhisattva vows bind the mind with moral discipline which has a dual purpose --

⁵⁰⁸ Wayman (1973: 65-66) translates the term "commitment" as "pledge."

⁵⁰⁹ These concern restraining one's body, speech and mind. According to Jorden (1995), the first chapter of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* postulates visible and invisible forms (Skt. *rūpa*) in the body, and it is an invisible "form" that is imparted into disciples' bodies when they receive *prātimokṣa* vows. Candrakīrti disagrees with this theory.

⁵¹⁰ This often is described as the altruistic intent to achieve enlightenment for the sake of all sentient beings.

⁵¹¹ Wayman (1973: 12)

⁵¹² Dorje (1991: 73-74)

they cause one to attain realization and extraordinary enlightened attributes through the gathering of the virtuous doctrine, and they benefit others by actions on behalf of sentient beings. The vows of the awareness-holders bring a great wave of benefit for others and transform conflicting emotions (*kleśa*) into pristine cognition (*jñāna*). Commitments, on the other hand, are said to guard the indestructible nature of the Buddha-body, speech and mind without degeneration, so that one is consequently and exclusively devoted to activity for the sake of others.

One also takes the vows of the vajra master during the "vajra master empowerment." These vows enable their recipients to consecrate images, temples and monasteries and to perform the empowerment ritual itself.⁵¹³

Requirements for Empowerment

In Buddhist Tantra, proper empowerment is deemed necessary for efficacious effort,⁵¹⁴ and empowerment itself should not occur until five factors coincide: the proper time, the teacher, the place, the teaching, and the proper listener.⁵¹⁵ The current Dalai Lama outlines the requirements for participation in the Kālacakra Empowerment in terms of disciples' intentionality and capacity, and he discusses what is required by the Kālacakra tradition itself.⁵¹⁶

In terms of the level of bodhicitta or mind-to-enlightenment that cherishes others more than oneself: the best disciple dwells in an unfeigned experience of this sublime mind; the medium disciple has had a small flash of it in meditations; the lowest should have at least an intense appreciation for and interest in developing it. In terms of the philosophical development: the best disciple has an undistorted experience of the nature of ultimate reality as explained in either the Madhyamaka or Yogachara schools of Mahayana thought; the medium disciple has a correct understanding based on study and reason; the lowest disciples should have at least a strong appreciation for and interest in learning the philosophical views of either of the two above-mentioned schools. In addition, a disciple seeking the *Kālacakra* initiation should have faith and interest in this particular system. ... If one wishes to receive the initiation merely as a blessing, that is, in order to establish a karmic relationship with the *Kālacakra-tantra*, initiation on this basis can be given to anyone who sincerely appreciates the opportunity. Even if in one's faith one does not com-

⁵¹³ Sanderson (1990: 3)

⁵¹⁴ N. Bhattacharyya (1982: 145)

⁵¹⁵ Haas and Minke (1976: 30)

⁵¹⁶ T. Gyatso (1985a: xix)

prehend the principles of the path combining method and wisdom as explained above, the seed of initiation can be placed in one's mind if one has the smallest basis of faith. Therefore this is the minimum qualification required to attend such an initiation.

As is clear from this excerpt, no age, gender or other status qualifications restrict persons from attending the Kālacakra Empowerment. Instead, participation is based upon sincerity of motivation and level of philosophical insight. Those students who wish to practice the Kālacakra more fully, however, must be examined for suitability. At the 1989 Kālacakra Empowerment in Santa Monica, the Dalai Lama speculated that a maximum of twenty-five people in the audience were prepared for a full empowerment. However, he also stated that Kālacakra contains a built-in safeguard -- those who are not prepared will not experience certain inner transformations of their subtle body/minds.⁵¹⁷

According to the Dalai Lama, both intentionality and capacity figure into one's reception of the Kālacakra Empowerment. In terms of intentionality, if a particular disciple is not receptive, he or she will be unable to assimilate the teachings. In terms of capacity, those without the required capacity to practice the requisite yogas and meditations will neither comprehend nor internalize the steps of the empowerment, making it impossible for them to undertake tantric practice until they are truly ready. In other words, people's participation in the Kālacakra Empowerment is contextualized both by their intentionality and also by their capacity to practice tantric meditation and yoga.

In terms of the highest level of capacity, some lamas, monks and lay religious practitioners are believed to be empowered by the ceremony to practice the Generation Stage of Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga. Less accomplished religious practitioners attend

⁵¹⁷ Sopa (1985a: 91)

the empowerment as an act of faith in the Buddhist path. For the majority, attending the empowerment is considered a blessing.⁵¹⁸ According to many Tibetans, simply attending the empowerment may "plant a seed" (Tib. *sa bon 'jog*) in the heart of the observer, making him or her a more likely prospect for tantric practice in a future life.⁵¹⁹

Many persons undergo the Kālacakra Empowerment multiple times. For example, many Namgyal monks have participated in the empowerment between five and ten times each. Undergoing the empowerment multiple times is encouraged for at least three reasons. First, because the goal of the empowerment is to effect a profound internal transformation, most persons need to undergo the empowerment multiple times before such a transformation is accomplished. Second, undergoing the empowerment reinforces one's commitment to this particular tantric system. And third, attending the empowerment enables disciples to receive preliminary teachings from the guru conferring the empowerment.

Teachings Preceding Empowerment

As Turner notes, the sacred elements of ritual are often communicated through explicit instructions,⁵²⁰ certainly prominent features of the Kālacakra Empowerment. Preliminary teachings preceding the empowerment generally continue for three days, although this may vary between conferrals. At the 1989 Kālacakra Empowerment in Santa Monica, the Dalai Lama discussed the different practices of a *bodhisattva*, while at the New York empowerment in 1991, His Holiness began his teachings by discuss-

⁵¹⁸ According to T. Gyatso (1995: 154), the Tibetan understanding of "blessing" involves "transformation through majesty or power ... to bring about, as a result of the experience, a transformation in one's mind for the better."

⁵¹⁹ Samuel (1978: 53)

⁵²⁰ Turner (1979: 239)

ing motivation. For practicing Buddhists, he highlighted the opportunity to train and discipline the mind in order to attain the fundamental essence of Buddhahood, while for non-practicing Buddhists, he underscored the occasion to generate warm-heartedness. He also spoke about the need to respect other religious traditions. A theme common to many of his talks, the Dalai Lama stressed that the world's "supermarket" of religions is appropriate given different human predispositions.

During his first day of teachings at the 1991 Kālacakra Empowerment in New York, the Dalai Lama emphasized the essential sameness of "dependent origination" (Skt. *pratītyasamutpāda*; Tib. *rten 'brel*) and "emptiness" (Skt. *śūnyatā*; Tib. *stong pa nyid*). His Holiness also discussed the Buddhist examination of the nature of the mind, as seen from the subjective experience of the mind itself. According to His Holiness, cognitive delusions and afflictive emotions are adventitious, arising from transitory conditions that can be removed to reveal the innate clarity and luminosity of the mind.

The second day of the Dalai Lama's teachings in New York was devoted to Śāntideva's *Guide to the Bodhisattva's Way of Life*. The first part of this text addresses the generation of *bodhicitta*, described by His Holiness as "unbiased compassion for all sentient beings." He stated further that *bodhicitta* combines two complementary characteristics: 1) the aspiration to fulfill the wishes of other sentient beings; and 2) the aspiration to seek enlightenment for the benefit of others. Stating that all religions attempt to produce kind and warm-hearted people, the Dalai Lama emphasized that compassion is the root of all Buddhist practice. But the Buddhist *bodhisattva* must combine this compassion with wisdom. More specifically, compassion must be supplemented by: 1) the perception of all sentient beings as equally worthy of one's affections; and 2) insight into the nature of beings' suffering. As discussed in the ninth

chapter of Śāntideva's text, *bodhicitta* and compassion must be complemented with the wisdom realizing emptiness, for it is this wisdom that directly dispels ignorance, delusions, and mental grasping.

On the third day of teachings in New York, the Dalai Lama performed a ceremony to enhance participants' experience of *bodhicitta*. He also gave instructions on how to protect one's *bodhicitta* from degeneration during which he emphasized tolerance and patience. His Holiness then commented on the section of Śāntideva's text that discusses meditation practices to generate *bodhicitta*, and he remarked on two obstacles that obscure clarity during meditation, mental excitement and mental laxity. His Holiness also conferred the *bodhisattva* vows as delineated in Asaṅga's *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. To conclude the teachings, he discussed the tenth chapter of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* in which the dedication of merit is explained.

In addition to delivering teachings on the days preceding a Kālacakra Empowerment, the Dalai Lama also holds public talks on issues of personal and global responsibility in the days before a Kālacakra empowerment. The Dalai Lama gave a well-attended public talk at Madison Square Garden entitled "Global Responsibility through Compassion." Co-sponsored by Tibet Center and the US-Tibet Committee, this lecture addressed contemporary issues such as child development, sincerity, anger, hatred, politics, and the environment. His Holiness has taken a special interest in the environment, and on the last day of the Kālacakra ceremonies, each member of the audience was given seeds as part of the "Program of Trees for Life." This program is sponsored by the Dalai Lama's Foundation for Universal Responsibility. In its contemporary setting, then, the Kālacakra Empowerment combines religious spirituality with social concern.

The theme of global responsibility finds its metaphysical basis in Buddhist philosophical views on "dependent origination." Not only are all sentient beings connected, but each of us is intimately connected to our environment as well. In public talks, His Holiness focuses on the theme of warm-heartedness, encouraging others to open their hearts to their neighbors. This, he believes, will lead to individual happiness, through which the human community at large will benefit.

Empowerment Preparations and Structure

The first preparatory ritual for the Kālacakra Empowerment is called the "disciple ritual" (Tib. *slob mas gsol ba btab cing bsrung ba bya ba*). During this rite, disciples request the conferral of the empowerment and the guru places the seed syllables of the various Buddhas of the six tantric families on the disciples' six cakras.⁵²¹ Generally in Buddhist tantra, there are "five Buddha families" (Skt. *pañcakula*; Tib. *rigs lnga*): 1) the Tathāgata family (Skt. *tathāgatakula*; Tib. *de bzhin gshegs pa'i rigs*); 2) the Vajra family (Skt. *vajrakula*; Tib. *rdo rje'i rigs*); 3) the Jewel family (Skt. *ratnakula*; Tib. *rin chen rigs*); 4) the Lotus family (Skt. *padmakula*; Tib. *padma rigs*); and the 5) the Action family (Skt. *karmakula*; Tib. *las kyi rigs*).⁵²² In Kālacakra, these five are complemented by a sixth Buddha family.

Language evoking non-human entities, prophetic signs, gender roles, and monastic-lay patronage arrangements characterize a contemporary Tibetan lama's⁵²³ description of the steps comprising Tibetan tantric empowerments. First, the site is

⁵²¹ Sopa (1985a)

⁵²² Dorje and Kapstein (1991: 143-144)

⁵²³ Ötrul (1988)

prepared, and if a *maṇḍala* is to be built on a site where none has previously existed, the site must be examined for signs of suitability. Second, obstacles such as hindering spirits are removed from the site. The master must be powerful enough to attract the spirit to an object, which is then removed from the site, and the spirit is asked to remain in its new abode. Third, the site is cleaned and purified. After disciples' dreams have been examined, the *maṇḍala* sites must be purified. Specifically, it is cleared of stones, thorns, hair, bones and tree roots. The master then purifies the site by reciting *mantras* and by spreading fragrant substances, white grain, water and dust; these "he visualizes as having the indestructible essence of vajras."

Fourth, those obstacles that have returned to the site are again removed. Ten ritual daggers (Tib. *phur ba*)⁵²⁴ are inserted into the ground in the ten directions around the *maṇḍala*, and when driving the daggers into the ground with a vajra hammer, the master or one of the attendants "imagines that the obstacles are placed into the hole and hammered into the ground by the wrathful deity represented on it. This deity, holding a vajra in its hand, beats the obstacles from head to toe until it is left transfixed, speechless, and incapable of thought." Fifth, certain empowerments are given on the basis of particular types of *maṇḍalas*, e.g., the Kālacakra Empowerment uses a sand *maṇḍala*, and before filling in the design with colored sand, the proportions of the *maṇḍala* must be traced. Clean string is used, "which ideally should have been wound by young and pure girls." Next, the colors used to construct the *maṇḍala* are collected, "and if the patron is extremely wealthy, these can be made from ground precious stones, coral, powdered gold and other stones. Most commonly, the colors are made of sand, dust, ground brick, flowers and charcoal." Later, "the disciple asks the master to prophesy in which of the five Buddha families he will reach enlightenment, so that he may be reassured of his future attainments." At the completion of this prophecy,

⁵²⁴ Mayer (1991); Meredith (1967)

the master marks the occasion's significance by announcing that at a certain time in a certain year, month, week and day of the Tibetan calendar, and during the reign of which King of Sambhala, the master placed the disciple into the *maṇḍala* "and conferred on him initiation so that he might attain the mundane and supramundane attainments."

Following the "disciple ritual," there are four "rituals of the site" (Tib. *sa'i cho ga*): 1) "testing the site" (Tib. *sa brtag pa*); 2) "requesting the site" (Tib. *sa bslang ba*); 3) "purifying the site" (Tib. *sa sbyang ba*); and 4) "taking the site" (Tib. *sa bzung ba*). "Testing the site" insures the suitability of the prospective site for the construction of the *maṇḍala*. "Requesting the site" involves asking temporal and divine authorities to grant permission for the empowerment. "Purifying the site" requires physically clearing and ritually purifying the site by creating a circle of protective deities (Tib. *bsrung 'khor*) and by placing ritual daggers used to pin down demons around the perimeter of the prospective *maṇḍala*. Meditation on emptiness follows these procedures. Finally, "taking the site" requires obtaining permission from the various Buddhas to create the *maṇḍala*. The monks also perform the "dance of the site" (Tib. *sa gar*) in order to summon and disperse forces that could interfere with the conferral of the empowerment.⁵²⁵

Following the four rituals of the site, the six "rituals of preparation" (Tib. *sta gon gyi cho ga*) are performed: 1) "preparation of the earth goddesses" (Tib. *sa'i lha mo lhag gnas*); 2) "preparation of the five substances" (Tib. *rdzas lnga lhag gnas*); 3) "preparation of the disciple" (Tib. *slob ma'i lhag gnas*); 4) "preparation of the bed" (Tib. *mal stan lhag gnas*); 5) "preparation of the chalk lines" (Tib. *las thig lhag gnas*);

⁵²⁵ Sopa (1985a)

and 6) "preparation of the deities" (Tib. *lha lhag gnas*). During the first of these rituals, flowers and perfume are offered to earth goddesses, and students visualize the goddesses melt into the offerings. During the second set of procedures, the guru and assistants consecrate objects used during the empowerment, including vases of purified water in which the deities are generated, the chalk lines used to outline the *maṇḍala*, the sand used in the construction of the *maṇḍala*, and the "thunderbolt" (Skt. *vajra*; Tib. *rdo rje*) and bell used throughout the empowerment. The third ritual, the "preparation of the disciple," occurs after the construction of the *maṇḍala*, and it will be described below. During the "preparation of the bed," the guru and assistants analyze their dreams to confirm that construction of the *maṇḍala* is propitious. During the "preparation of the chalk lines," the four axes and four base lines of the *maṇḍala* are drawn, and a few particles of sand are placed at each point on the *maṇḍala* at which a deity will abide. Finally, during the "preparation of the deities," the deities of the *maṇḍala* are invited to descend into their prepared areas.⁵²⁶

The actual construction of the Kālacakra sand *maṇḍala* occurs next. According to Ötrul,⁵²⁷ empowerments require that a *maṇḍala* is constructed, and this *maṇḍala* is the residence for the deities conferring the empowerment and for other deities -- "It is the actual place where the initiation takes place." Although three-dimensional *maṇḍalas* exist, they are hardly ever seen, though Ötrul states that the most celebrated was in Sambhala and was "big enough to walk around in."

Although tantric systems incorporate three principle *maṇḍalas* of body,⁵²⁸ speech and mind, the vajra master in Kālacakra need only generate the mind *maṇḍala*

⁵²⁶ Sopa (1985a: 96-97)

⁵²⁷ Ötrul (1988: 56-64)

⁵²⁸ A body *maṇḍala* "is based on the subtle energy channels of the body, and deities are visualized in association with different channels and wheels. The six sense powers, the joints, the nerves and energy channels are identified with the eight Bodhisattvas, whereas the hands, mouth, secret place, shoulders,

before the empowerment ceremony, as it is said to contain the symbolism of all three *maṇḍalas*.⁵²⁹ The Kālacakra *maṇḍala* is necessary for the rituals consecrating the site and also for the ritual dances. In tantric practice, three types of *maṇḍalas* are generally considered suitable as the basis for empowerment: those made from colored particles; those painted on canvas; and those visualized in the body. Some texts also mention that a *maṇḍala* of "meditative application" (Skt. *dhyāna*) may be used for empowerment. According to the Indian sage Nāropā, the Kālacakra Empowerment must be conferred solely on the basis of a two-dimensional *maṇḍala* of colored powders.

The Kālacakra *maṇḍala* contains five levels and seven hundred twenty-two deities, and this number derives from a specific astrological formula. The deities that inhabit the *maṇḍala* are sometimes referred to as "gnosis beings" (Skt. *jñānasattva*; Tib. *ye shes pa*). The sand *maṇḍala* is actually a two-dimensional representation of the five-tiered palace of Kālacakra and his consort, Visvamātā. This *maṇḍala* is created using pulverized quartz stones that are dyed different colors.⁵³⁰ In the sand *maṇḍala*, six concentric circles representing the six elements exist around the perimeter. The deities are represented in the *maṇḍala* either by Sanskrit seed syllables or by dots.

To construct the sand *maṇḍala*, a five-threaded "gnosis line" is set along the perimeter of the *maṇḍala*, and the *maṇḍala* is divided into three concentric *maṇḍalas* with white, red and black sand. The outermost *maṇḍala*, the "body *maṇḍala*" (Tib. *sku'i dkyil 'khor*) contains five hundred and thirty-six deities of an elemental and calendrical nature. The "speech *maṇḍala*" (Tib. *gsung gi dkyil 'khor*), which is enclosed within the "body *maṇḍala*," contains one hundred and sixteen deities, and

knees, crown of the head and feet are identified with the ten fierce deities.

⁵²⁹ Druppa (1991: 217-218, 321) T. Gyatso (1995: 107)

⁵³⁰ T. Gyatso (1995: 167)

there are many female deities (Skt. *yoginī*; Tib. *mal 'byor ma*) included in this number. The innermost circle, the "mind *maṇḍala*" (Tib. *thugs dkyil 'khor*), houses seventy deities including "power beings" (Skt. *śakti*; Tib. *nus ma*), Buddhas, *bodhisattvas*, and protectors. According to Tibetan belief, the deities inhabiting the "mind *maṇḍala*" actually confer the empowerment. A four-faced, twenty-four-armed Kālacakra in union with a four-faced, eight-armed Viśvamātā inhabits the center of the mind *maṇḍala*. Also in the center is a white moon disc, on which rests a red sun disc, a black *rāhu* disc (*rāhu* is either a planet or the designation for an eclipse), and a yellow *kālāgni* disc (*kālāgni* literally translates as "fire at the end of an aeon," and it may refer either to the destructive fire at the end of an aeon or to "the fiery tail" of *rāhu*). The *maṇḍala* also has a four-tiered perimeter that is composed of earth (yellow), water (white), fire (red), and wind (gray-blue) discs that underlie the *maṇḍala*. When construction of the total *maṇḍala* is complete, it is blessed by the guru. Demon-pinning knives and ten ritual vases are then placed around the *maṇḍala*, which is concealed behind a curtain. Namgyal monks then perform the dance of the offering goddesses.⁵³¹

The "preparation of the disciple" involves six stages. The guru first instructs disciples on the proper motivation for receiving the empowerment and also on *bodhicitta*. The guru leads disciples through an "inner empowerment" (Tib. *nang gi dbang*), during which they progress through a spiritual rebirth that empowers them to visualize themselves as Kālacakra in union with Viśvamātā.⁵³² In the second stage,

⁵³¹ Sopa (1985a: 97-99); T. Gyatso (1985b: 79); Cozort (1986: 125)

⁵³² Sopa (1985a: 98). According to Yeshe (1991), this stage is called "Setting a proper motivation." Disciples purify themselves by taking a bath symbolized by sipping a handful of water and offering prostrations bestowing the inner initiation: the master visualizes "himself" as Kālacakra in union with Viśvamātā and draws the disciples in through his mouth, placing them in the lotus, i.e., vagina, of the consort and then granting them initiation. "The purpose of bestowing the inner initiation is to symbolize the vajra master's appointing a spiritual heir amongst his followers just as a king would appoint someone from his own family to be his regent."

disciples formally request empowerment.⁵³³ In the third, disciples take the *bodhisattva* and tantric vows, and the guru blesses the body, speech and mind of disciples by touching them with a conch containing consecrated water.⁵³⁴

In the fourth stage, disciples cast a "tooth stick" (Tib. *so shing*) on a small *maṇḍala* to determine their identification with a particular Buddha family.⁵³⁵ Disciples then take three purificatory sips of water from the guru and are given red protection strings and two sheaves of *kuśa* grass, and they use these materials to facilitate work with their dreams.⁵³⁶ In the fifth stage, disciples visualize six Sanskrit seed syllables *OM*, *AH*, *HUM*, *HOH*, *HAM*, and *KSAH* on their six cakras, forehead, throat, heart, navel, crown and secret organ, respectively. They use these syllables as the basis for the transformation of their mundane, elemental nature into the nature of enlightened Buddhahood.⁵³⁷

⁵³³ Yeshe (1991) calls this stage "Making Request for Admission." Disciples request the vajra master "to admit them to the city of liberation in order to liberate all sentient beings from the ocean of fear and suffering of birth, aging, sickness and death."

⁵³⁴ Yeshe (1991) calls this stage "Receiving the Vows and Blessings." Disciples receive both common Mahāyāna/Bodhisattva vows and the tantric vows, and they take pledges "to free all those not freed, to liberate all those unliberated and to establish them in the state of liberation by guiding them properly through all the pledges of the five Buddha families." During this time, "disciples visualize *OM* at their foreheads, *HUM* at their hearts, *HAM* at their crowns, *HO* at their navels, and *KSHA* at their secret organs, "thinking that these syllables have transformed into the female deities of the Buddha families."

⁵³⁵ Sopa (1985a: 98)

⁵³⁶ Yeshe (1991) calls this stage "Dropping the Tooth Stick and Distributing Blessed Water." He states, "The master gives such a stick to a disciple who stands facing the eastern side of a mandala. The disciple is then instructed to drop the stick onto a square mandala board measuring four cubits." Symbolic interpretations are given to the direction in which it falls, e.g., east symbolizes peace. Disciples also sip water from the vajra master "thinking that having done so the water filled with wisdom has completely flushed away all their negativities and conceptual propensities."

⁵³⁷ Yeshe (1991) calls this stage "Distributing Kusha Grass and Protection Cords." Kusha grass, seen as a "purifying substance," is placed under the mattress and pillow for the purpose of inducing "clear dreams indicating whether or not someone has the propensity to receive the initiation." Further, "the protection cord is a string of three red coloured threads measuring the horizontal and vertical span of a disciple's body and twisted together. The cord has three knots representing the nature of vajra body, speech and mind. ... the cord has power to protect disciples from obstacles." Disciples also visualize the six syllables *OM*, *AH*, *HUM*, *HOH*, *HAM*, *KSHA* at their forehead, throat, heart, navel, crown and secret organ, and Vajrasattva is invoked.

Finally, in the sixth stage, the guru encourages disciples to renounce "cyclic existence" (Skt. *saṃsāra*; Tib. *'khor ba*) and to generate enthusiasm for tantric practice. The "preparation of the disciple" concludes after the guru gives disciples instructions on analyzing their dreams.⁵³⁸ During the last preparatory ritual, disciples enter the Kālacakra *maṇḍala*. After disciples formally request permission to enter the *maṇḍala*, they don deity costumes to help them visualize themselves as the union of Kālacakra and Viśvamātā. Disciples wear blindfolds, establish their identity as the union of Kālacakra and Viśvamātā, and reaffirm their *bodhisattva* and tantric vows; pledges directed to the Buddhas also are added. The guru stabilizes the *bodhicitta* of the disciples, and the disciples absorb the deities that inhabit the *maṇḍala*. Disciples are now given tantric names and are instructed to remove their blindfolds and view the interior of the *maṇḍala*. The disciples circumambulate the *maṇḍala* and prostrate to each of the four faces of Kālacakra. With each prostration, they transform into the specific Buddha corresponding to each particular face of Kālacakra.⁵³⁹

Empowerments into Highest Yoga Tantras are generally comprised of four smaller empowerments: 1) the vase empowerment; 2) the secret empowerment; 3) the wisdom-gnosis empowerment; and 4) the highest empowerment. The vase empowerment itself is divided into water, crown, vajra, bell and name empowerments. After the vase empowerment, students are empowered to practice the "Generation Stage" (Skt. *utpattikrama*; Tib. *bskyed rim*) of the particular tantra. Students visualize themselves as the deity at the center of the *maṇḍala* and also work to purify different stages

⁵³⁸ Yeshe (1991) calls this stage "Cultivating Interest in the Initiation / Interpreting Dreams." Disciples are instructed to "generate a great sense of joy" in the prospect of initiation. In addition, "dividing the night into four parts, disciples should examine their dreams in the last part before dawn. ... Should a disciple dream, between the onset of dawn and sunrise, of temples, celestial abodes, umbrellas, women attired in fine clothes, or of crossing seas and oceans, or the pronouncement of auspicious and soothing worlds from the sky, they are considered to be good dreams, whereas signs contrary to the above are considered to be bad. Should a bad omen occur in a disciple's dreams, then he or she should try to mitigate it through meditation on selflessness.

⁵³⁹ Sopa (1985a: 98)

of their continuum. In general, for Highest Yoga Tantras, students purify death, the intermediate state between death and rebirth, and birth. This is ultimately accomplished in the "Completion Stage" (Skt. *niṣpannakrama*; Tib. *rdzogs rim*) by the assumption of the deity's various bodies.⁵⁴⁰

Two classification schemes describe Highest Yoga Tantras: the first describes a tantra as either "hidden" or "clear;" and the second describes a tantra as a "mother tantra" (Tib. *ma rgyud*), "father tantra" (Tib. *pha rgyud*), or, in some schemes, a "non-dual tantra" (Tib. *gnyis med rgyud*). The distinction between "hidden" and "clear" pertains to the fourth empowerment. In hidden tantras such as *Guhyasamājatantra*, the fourth empowerment is presented in a concealed manner. In clear tantras such as the *Śrī Kālacakra*, the fourth empowerment is presented in a straightforward manner.⁵⁴¹

The classification of Highest Yoga Tantras as "father," "mother," and "non-dual" also pertains to the empowerments -- father tantras emphasize the secret empowerment; mother tantras emphasize the wisdom empowerment; and non-dual tantras emphasize the fourth empowerment.⁵⁴² The "word" empowerment is also different in father and mother tantras.⁵⁴³ Father tantras such as the *Guhyasamājatantra* and the *Yamantakatantra* emphasize method through the generation of the "illusory body" (Tib. *sgyu lus*). Upon enlightenment, it is believed that this illusory body is transformed into the "form body" (Skt. *rūpakāya*) of Buddhahood. In contrast, mother tantras such as *Herukatantra* and *Vajrayoginītantra* emphasize wisdom and the "clear light" (Skt. *prabhāsvara*; Tib. *'od gsal*) consciousness cognizing emptiness. Upon enlightenment, Tibetans believe that this clear light consciousness cognizing emptiness

⁵⁴⁰ Jackson (1985b: 28-29); Sopa (1985a: 95)

⁵⁴¹ T. Gyatso (1985a: 6)

⁵⁴² T. Gyatso (1995: 105)

⁵⁴³ Samten (1995)

is transformed into the "truth body" (Skt. *dharmakāya*) of Buddhahood. Although the Dge lugs scholar Geshe Sopa uses Mkhas grub's commentary to justify his classification of the *Śrī Kālacakra* as a "mother tantra,"⁵⁴⁴ Tsong kha pa describes the *Śrī Kālacakra* as a non-dual tantra in his *Sngags rim chen mo*. Following Tsong kha pa, the Sa skya order classifies both the *Śrī Kālacakra* and the *Hevajratantra* as non-dual tantras combining wisdom and method.⁵⁴⁵

Empowerment into the practice of Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga differs from the process described for other Highest Yoga Tantras. In Kālacakra, there are eleven empowerments, the first "seven empowerments of childhood" and the four higher and four highest empowerments. The seven empowerments of childhood are organized into four groups corresponding to the four faces of Kālacakra and also to the four groups of factors that are being purified. The four faces of Kālacakra represent his body, speech, mind and wisdom.⁵⁴⁶ The water and crown empowerments purify the body -- the water empowerment purifies the five constituents (Tib. *'byung ba lnga*) of earth, water, fire, wind and space; and the crown empowerment purifies the five aggregates of forms, feelings, discriminations, compositional factors, and consciousness. During these empowerments, disciples are shown Kālacakra's white face in the north. This white face represents Kālacakra's body and causes disciples to generate a vajra body.⁵⁴⁷

The silk ribbon and vajra and bell empowerments purify speech -- the silk ribbon empowerment purifies the ten winds that are believed to be the basis for speech; and the vajra and bell empowerment purifies the right and left channels, through which

⁵⁴⁴ Jackson (1985b: 28); Sopa (1985a: 94)

⁵⁴⁵ According to Jorden (1995), the Sa skya order considers all non-dual tantras to have equal status.

⁵⁴⁶ Druppa (1991: 219-220)

⁵⁴⁷ T. Gyatso (1985b: 109-111); Ötrul (1988: 72)

the wind that is the basis of speech is believed to course. During the silk ribbon and vajra and bell empowerments, disciples are shown Kālacakra's red face in the south. This red face represents Kālacakra's speech and causes disciples to generate vajra speech.⁵⁴⁸

The conduct and name empowerments purify mind -- the conduct empowerment purifies the six sense powers (eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind) and their respective objects (visible forms, sounds, odors, tastes, tangible objects, and other phenomena). The name empowerment purifies the six action faculties (mouth, arms, legs, anus, urinary faculty, and regenerative faculty) and their respective activities (speaking, taking, going, defecating, urinating, and emitting regenerative fluid). During the conduct and name empowerments, disciples are shown Kālacakra's black face in the east. This black face represents Kālacakra's mind and causes disciples to generate the vajra mind. The permission empowerment purifies bliss by purifying the "pristine consciousness aggregate and pristine consciousness constituent, both of which refer to blissful and non-conceptual states." During the permission empowerment, disciples are shown Kālacakra's yellow face in the west. This represents Kālacakra's wisdom and causes disciples to generate vajra wisdom.⁵⁴⁹

The "seven empowerments of childhood" are conferred on a single day, but it may take as many as eleven days to prepare for them. Yeshe⁵⁵⁰ describes the first day of the empowerment:

At about 3 a.m. the master and his ritual assistants begin their prayers, sadhanas, consecration of the vase, generation in front, offerings, ritual cake offerings and self-generation practices. Bestowal of the seven-fold initiation of entering the mandala like a child begins in the afternoon. It has two sections:

⁵⁴⁸ T. Gyatso (1985b: 111-113)

⁵⁴⁹ Gyatso (1985b: 113-117)

⁵⁵⁰ Yeshe (1991)

entering the mandala and actually granting the initiations. During the entrance into the mandala, disciples supplicate the lama for the descent of the wisdom beings of the bodies of Kālacakra. The disciples transform into Vajravega according to the lama's instructions. Light radiating from the lama's heart stirs the wind, the fire blazes, light from the syllables JHAI at the soles of the feet of the disciples as Vajravega agitate the four radiant syllables, from which light rays shine, filling the entire body. Light radiating from the HUM at the lama's heart invites all the Buddhas in the form of the Transcendent Subduer Kālacakra and wrathful beings, who fill the whole of space and enter into the disciples' bodies. The lama says the respective mantra and the flowers which have been blessed by the mantra OM AH HUM are placed on the disciples' heads. In order to stabilize the wisdom being the disciples visualize that it has been made firm and is protected by the six types of method and wisdom, visualized as OM at the forehead, HUM at the heart, HAM at the crown, HO at the navel, A at the throat, and KSHA at the secret place. The purpose of generating the disciples into Vajravega is to purify the environment and its inhabitants, which are brought about by wind of the ordinary central channel. The exclusive environment and its inhabitants are accomplished mainly by blessing the central channel with the pure energy-wind of Vajravega's central channel. Then, by generating the exclusive wisdom in the disciples' mental continuums, even external sense objects appear as bliss and emptiness.

These seven empowerments of childhood prepare disciples for Kālacakra's Generation Stage practices and provide the path for meditative-stability. In addition, the silk ribbon and vajra and bell empowerments prepare disciples for Completion Stage practices, during which they gain control of the ten energies in the secondary channels of the body and redirect them into the central channel. Nevertheless, disciples are not empowered to practice Completion Stage yogas until they have received all eleven Kālacakra empowerments.⁵⁵¹

Tantric Practice

Tantric practice, often denoted by the Sanskrit term *sādhana* and the Tibetan term *sgrub thab*, seeks to unify male and female energies within the human body and to facilitate a non-dual state of awareness in practitioners. Contemporary Tibetan commentary on tantric practice emphasizes foundational work -- the Dalai Lama⁵⁵² states that proper *bodhicitta* motivation combined with the practice of the six perfections is necessary to insure the successful practice of tantra, and he adds that if a tantric practice lacks the basic foundation and prerequisites, then the techniques and meditations of tantra can prove more harmful than beneficial."

⁵⁵¹ Druppa (1991: 220); Sopa (1985a: 94); Jackson (1985b: 31-32)

⁵⁵² T. Gyatso (1995: 94-107)

Throughout the Kālacakra Empowerment and during tantric practice, practitioners employ "hand gestures" (Skt. *mudrā*; Tib. *phyag rgya*), vocalic utterances (Skt. *mantra*; Tib. *sngags*) and the visualization of the *maṇḍala* (Tib. *dkyil 'khor*) to facilitate their identification with the body, speech and mind of Kālacakra. Students use *mudrā* to identify with the body of Kālacakra. The term "mudrā" derives from the Sanskrit root "mud," meaning "to be merry or glad or happy, rejoice." It is used to designate particular gestures of the hands and fingers, some of which involve interlocking the fingers. Often, though not always, *mudrā* has a dual aspect, either as ritual performance in physical form or as internalized, mental practice.⁵⁵³ Padoux⁵⁵⁴ has drawn attention to the interiorization of ritual action, noting that ritual actions performed in the external world effect changes within the body/mind of the practitioner. Therefore, both *mudrā* and bodily postures (Skt. *āsana*) are important components of tantric practice.

Various types of *mudrā* exist,⁵⁵⁵ and Gonda⁵⁵⁶ has noted that the term itself is polysemous -- "Neither the Indian texts ... nor modern scholars are in entire agreement as to the exact function of *mudrās*." Writing on "The Role of Women in Tantric Cults," N. Bhattacharyya⁵⁵⁷ states that "*Mudrā*, one of the five *makāras*, basically means a woman. Although the term later came to mean cereals and bodily poses in the Hindu Tantras, the Buddhist Tantras consistently refer to this term in the sense of a woman."⁵⁵⁸ Dance and dramatic arts may have influenced the stylization of *mudrās*.

⁵⁵³ "Buddhist Hand Gestures" (1987)

⁵⁵⁴ Padoux (1990: 66-71)

⁵⁵⁵ According to Tull (1989: 110-115), three types of *mudrā* -- *trīśikḥā*, *padma*, and *yoni* -- are taught in Chapter 6 of the 3500-verse *Kubjikāmatatantra*, a Śākta tantra oriented around the worship and symbolism of the goddess *Kubjikā* that was probably committed to writing sometime after the first millennium C.E. See also Goudriaan and Gupta (1981: 52).

⁵⁵⁶ Gonda (1972: 21-25)

⁵⁵⁷ N. Bhattacharyya (1982: 121)

⁵⁵⁸ According to Gonda (1972: 31), grain is sometimes referred to as *mudrā*, presumably because of the

From Bharata in the beginning of the Christian era, Indian authors describe gestures similar to *mudrās* but use the term "hand" (Skt. *hasta*). These gestures, which may express almost anything, also are used to represent deities, e.g., Śiva and Indra.⁵⁵⁹

Whereas *mudrā* help the tantric practitioner identify with the deity in question, *mantra* is used to identify with his speech. The term "mantra" derives from the Sanskrit root "*man*," meaning "to think, believe, imagine, suppose, conjecture." It also carries the meaning of speaking and consecrating with words.⁵⁶⁰ "*Mantra*" is an agent noun, meaning "an instrument of thought." It can designate an element of speech, a sacred text, a prayer, or a song of praise.⁵⁶¹ According to the contemporary Tibetan scholar, Geshe Kelsang Gyatso,⁵⁶² *mantra* literally means "mind protection." B. Bhattacharyya⁵⁶³ has described *mantra* as "a mystical verse or magical formula" often addressed to a specific deity, and he adds that a *mantra* addressed to an individual deity has the same vibrational resonance as the deity itself; this enables the practitioner to manifest the deity during meditation. Govinda⁵⁶⁴ claims that chanting a *mantra* opens disciples to the experience of other dimensions because the "inner vibrations" induced by the *mantra* effect "associations in the consciousness of the initiate."

The efficacy of uttered *mantra* is critical during ritual performance, and, as Wheelock notes,⁵⁶⁵ *mantra* was important to the sacrifices of the early Vedic *śrauta*

gesture of throwing it away in order to remove obstacles during various Hindu rituals.

⁵⁵⁹ Gonda (1972: 23); Renou (1953: 570)

⁵⁶⁰ Gonda (1963); McDermott (1975); Muller-Ortega (1992); Padoux (1978a; 1978b; 1980); R. Paul (1981); Wayman (1976)

⁵⁶¹ Govinda (1969: 17-29) describes *mantra* from a mystical point of view; Eliade (1969: 212-216) describes the historical usage of *mantra* during the Vedic period; and Chakravarty (1972: 1-18) discusses the appearance of *mantra* in Vedic literature. Both Blofeld (1987b: 88-90) and Padoux (1963) discuss the use of *mantra* in the Buddhist tantric tradition. In addition, Tsong kha pa (1981) provides instruction on *mantra* repetition in the Tibetan tradition. See also Zysk (1989).

⁵⁶² K. Gyatso (1994: 157)

⁵⁶³ B. Bhattacharyya (1964: 6)

⁵⁶⁴ Govinda (1969: 92)

⁵⁶⁵ Wheelock (1989: 96-103)

system, in more personal *pūjā* services, and in many forms of tantric ritual and practice. Vedic and Hindu Tantra emphasize the usage of *mantra* as an "effective" word -- a word of action, not merely of thought. Tantric practitioners utilize *mantras* during *sādhana* practice, an essential component of which involves ritual veneration of the deity during *pūjā*. Theoretically, the effective dimensions of ritual utterance involve "speech acts;"⁵⁶⁶ here, making an utterance both expresses an idea and accomplishes a purposeful act. *Mantra* therefore is effective in transforming the body/mind of the ritual participant. In tantric *pūjā*, one element effecting transformation is the repetition of a series of *biṭja mantras*, monosyllabic utterances that function as "sonic manifestations of basic cosmic powers (*śaktis*); literally, seeds of the fundamental constituents of the universe.....These *biṭja* mantras are not felt to be mere symbols of the elements, they *are* the cosmic elements in essential form." Similarly, Padoux⁵⁶⁷ notes that the ancient Vedic conception of speech as efficacious sacrificial speech provides the foundation for "explanatory identifications and micro-macrocosmic correlations." The *Brāhmaṇas* first called these the *nidāna* of *bandhu*, and later, *upaniṣad*, which refers to an enunciation, the verbal content and internal organization of which were more important than discursive meaning.

Guenther⁵⁶⁸ claims that a *mantra* functions via "gnosemic language," which speaks through a Heideggerian, "meaningful act." "Gnosemic language" is non-discrete, an "auto-presencing" such that all experiencing is contained within the act of the gnosemes' issuing forth; hence, Guenther writes that a *mantra* "never loses its diaphanous character of sheer lucency and intelligence." According to Guenther's translation, the Tibetan scholar Rong zom Chos kyi bzang pa describes *mantra* as follows:⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁶ Austin (1962); Searle (1969)

⁵⁶⁷ Padoux (1989: 298-299)

⁵⁶⁸ Guenther (1984: 71); Heidegger (1982: 57-59)

The term sNgags is used with reference to that which has both cognitive (quality) and aiding (capacity). Thus, in the word *mantra*, the *man(a)* means *avabodhana*, which means impressing upon oneself through deep understanding; and *tra* means to protect. Since it involves protection and aiding, most texts speak of it as the unified domain of appropriate action and discriminative appreciation, or as that which has a result.

Similarly, Klong chen pa, in his *Theg pa'i mchog rin po che'i mdzod*, defines *mantra* as "protecting from affective forces and allowing for the speedy realization of limpid clearness and consummate perspicacity."⁵⁷⁰

In Buddhist Tantra, all *mantras* are said to be contained within the three letters *OM*, *AH*, and *HUM*. *OM AH HUM* is the short *mantra* for all the Buddhas. *OM* is the *mantra* for the Buddha's *vajra* body, *AH* is the *mantra* for the Buddha's *vajra* speech, and *HUM* is the *mantra* for the Buddha's *vajra* mind. These three letters derive from the sixteen Sanskrit vowels and the thirty-four Sanskrit consonants. Before they become speech, these fifty letters are said to be the nature of inner winds within the channels of the body. According to K. Gyatso:⁵⁷¹

There are four types of *mantra*: *mantras* that are mind, *mantras* that are wind, *mantras* that are sound, and *mantras* that are form. The ultimate or definitive *mantra* is the mind of indivisible bliss and emptiness of all Buddhas, which is both mind and *mantra*; the *mantras* that exist in our channels before we speak or write them down are *mantras* that are wind; a spoken *mantra* is a *mantra* that is sound; and a written *mantra* is a *mantra* that is form.

In the *Hevajratantra*, Snellgrove⁵⁷² notes that the vowels (Skt. *āli*) in *mantras* are correlated with the lotus, while the consonants (Skt. *kāli*) are correlated with the vajra. Every complete seed-syllable therefore represents the idea of consummation (Skt. *bindu*). In contrast, the letters alone symbolize individual deities, e.g., *taṃ* refers to green Tārā.

⁵⁶⁹ Guenther (1984: 73)

⁵⁷⁰ Guenther (1984: 252)

⁵⁷¹ K. Gyatso (1994: 156-157)

⁵⁷² Snellgrove (1959a: 26)

Students visualize *maṇḍalas* to identify with the mind of Kālacakra. The term "maṇḍala" derives from the Sanskrit root "mand" and indicates the sense of "encompassing." The term "maṇḍala" designates a circle or disk, especially of the sun (Tib. *nyi ma*) or the moon (Tib. *zla ba*). It can also designate a multitude, group, or society. Further, it carries the connotation of "extracting the essence."⁵⁷³ *Maṇḍalic* forms occur in many different cultural contexts. Jung referred to the "squaring of the circle" as an "archetype of wholeness," and he claims that *maṇḍalas* are one of the many archetypal motifs that form the basic patterns of our dreams and fantasies.⁵⁷⁴

The Tibetan term for *maṇḍala*, *dkyil 'khor*, connotes wholeness or roundness. Tibetan *maṇḍalas* are two-dimensional figures that are meant to be visualized in three-dimensional form.⁵⁷⁵ *Maṇḍalas* are symmetrical and multicolored, and they are comprised of a circular border together with one or more concentric circles. These circles enclose a square divided into four triangles. Deities and their symbols exist in the center of each triangle and in the center of the *maṇḍala*.⁵⁷⁶ A two-dimensional *maṇḍala* is used for empowerment ceremonies and is constructed with colored sand. It occupies a space approximately five feet in diameter and sits atop a raised block of wood. Before a tantric empowerment, the preparation of the *maṇḍala* may take as long as eleven days.⁵⁷⁷ During tantric practice, meditation on a *maṇḍala* is said to "serve as an antidote" that quickly eradicates obstructions to enlightenment.⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷³ T. Gyatso (1995: 167)

⁵⁷⁴ Jung (1969: 4). As Odin (1982: 273) notes, Jung believed that all yogic dialectical systems, e.g., shamanism, gnosticism, tantrism, alchemy, kabala, astrology, sufism, were intended to lead to a visionary unfoldment toward psychic wholeness. For more on *maṇḍalas*, see Abhyākaragupta (1991); Argüelles (1985); Bsod nams rgya mtsho (1983); Jung (1977); Macdonald (1962); Malandra (1993); Padma dkar po (1978); Ray (1973); and Tucci (1973).

⁵⁷⁵ Mkhas grub rje (1978: 271-308) discusses *maṇḍalas* in the context of tantric empowerments.

⁵⁷⁶ Eliade (1969: 219)

⁵⁷⁷ Sopa (1985a: 96)

⁵⁷⁸ T. Gyatso et al. (1987: 77)

Referring to the *Śrī Kālacakra*, the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary on the first verse of the third chapter states the following:⁵⁷⁹

Now, for beings' attainment of merit and wisdom, "the *maṇḍala* should be taught" by the Bhagavān according to worldly truths, in order to give consecration to the students, in order to erect images, etc., and in order to establish the attainment of the worldly accomplishments together with the ten principles,⁵⁸⁰ concluding with the Buddha realms. Due to the prohibition of the Buddha, the description of the *maṇḍala* of dust does not accord with the highest truth. As the Lord⁵⁸¹ said in the *Adibuddha* [the *Paramādibuddha*]:

One should neither disturb the vajra threads⁵⁸² nor also the dust. {{If one does this}},⁵⁸³ enlightenment is difficult to obtain for a person who acts according to the true nature of *mantra*.

Here, with regard to "the true nature of *mantra*," the word "*mantra*" means wisdom, because it is that which protects the mind. "*Mantra*" derives from "*manas*" "*trāna*." By this, if the vajra master destroys threads in order to establish the Great Seal,⁵⁸⁴ then [due to] his action, enlightenment is difficult to obtain. This is the restriction of the Buddha. By reason of this, this request of Sucandra is for the sake of the attainment of worldly accomplishments and also for the sake of the accumulation of merit, not for the purpose of attaining the Great Seal, i.e. not for the sake of the accumulation of wisdom.

Here, another three *maṇḍalas* have been stated by the Buddha for the achievement of wisdom. For example:

"The *maṇḍala* should be three-fold -- organs of action {{of the vajras of body, speech, and mind}}, vagina, and mind.⁵⁸⁵ There are no additional five colors of the vajras of body, speech, and mind." {{It is not the other one, which has five colors.}}

{Consequently, the *maṇḍala* of dust does not exist in order to effect Great Bliss⁵⁸⁶ nor in order to bestow the highest empowerment -- hence the request of Sucandra.⁵⁸⁷ This very statement of request, "the discourse of Sucandra,"

⁵⁷⁹ BTG (1965: 235)

⁵⁸⁰ (Skt. tattva)

⁵⁸¹ (Skt. bhagavān)

⁵⁸² (Skt. vajrasūtrāṇām; Tib. rdo rje'i thig) This refers to the threads used to chalk out the geometrical design of the *maṇḍala* before the sand is applied.

⁵⁸³ {{ }} designates BTA (1965).

⁵⁸⁴ (Skt. mahāmudrā)

⁵⁸⁵ (Skt. kāyendriyaṃ bhagaścittaṃ). The Sanskrit term "bhaga" (Tib. bha ga) refers to many different things -- the vagina of a female, the perinaeum of a male, one of the twelve forms of the sun, the moon, fortune, and one of the eight accomplishments (Skt. siddhi) in which one becomes as small as an atom.

⁵⁸⁶ (Skt. mahāsukha)

⁵⁸⁷ According to BDNN (1973: 50-52), the sand *maṇḍala* is used to facilitate practitioners' realization of the worldly accomplishments (Skt. siddhi; Tib. dngos grub), while the three *maṇḍalas* of body, speech and mind are used to facilitate the realization of the highest accomplishment, which is enlightenment

"pra" means he speaks eminently -- the meaning is that he teaches the Kālacakra *maṇḍala* in its entirety, because everything is according to a stipulated order, which is a collection of the statements of the teacher and the requester.}

Regarding Verse 5 of the *Śrī Kālacakra*, Bu ston comments that Śākyamuni Buddha attained enlightenment at dawn on the full moon of "sa ga." Then, on the full-moon day of the twelfth month, at Dhānyakaṭaka, he created a *maṇḍala* with sixteen sections. Another *maṇḍala* exists, one of auspicious stars (Tib. *dpal ldan rgyu skar*), and outside of the *stūpa*,⁵⁸⁸ twenty-eight pillars represent the purification of twenty-eight stars.

itself.

⁵⁸⁸ According to Jorden (1996), the *stūpa* at Dhānyakaṭaka was designed as a *maṇḍala* modelled after the configuration of celestial bodies.

CHAPTER VII: BLURRED BOUNDARIES

Convergence of Textual and Ritual Perspectives

Despite the existence of textual versions of the *Śrī Kālacakra* in all editions of the Tibetan canon, the Kālacakra tradition never interacts directly with its larger Tibetan audience through the medium of the written word.⁵⁸⁹ Instead, a diverse array of performance genres -- *maṇḍala* exhibits,⁵⁹⁰ sacred dance,⁵⁹¹ ritual empowerment, private practice and recitation -- comprise the Kālacakra tradition for the non-monastic world. Yet in Tibet, canonical texts such as the *Śrī Kālacakra* are *implied* by assorted ritual performances, though this implication occurs differently for monastic and lay audiences. Monastic specialists in Kālacakra are aware that the *Śrī Kālacakra* and the *Vimalaprabhā* exist in their canon, though most never have seen these texts. Lay participants, in contrast, possess at most a hazy awareness of the textual tradition relating to Kālacakra. Here, ritual -- the colorful display of brocaded dance gear worn by monks in a less-than-onnagata Kabuki display -- unabashedly is paramount.

Bell's theoretical observations on "ritualization" and "textualization," fashioned from her work on Taoism, apply well to Kālacakra. According to Bell,⁵⁹² "ritualization" may create a local community often led by an acknowledged expert of sorts who mediates the relationship between the community and the sacred, thereby promoting a

⁵⁸⁹ Following Lutgendorf (1991: 1-2), this is similar to the example of the *Rāmcaritmānas*, a sixteenth-century North Indian epic retelling of the legend of Ram by the poet Tulsidas.

⁵⁹⁰ "Sand Mandala" (1994)

⁵⁹¹ Nebesky-Wojokowitz (1976)

⁵⁹² Bell (1988: 387-392) proposes that the terms "textualization" and "ritualization" are verbals, i.e., verb forms that designate processes in contrast to nouns such as "text" and "ritual" that designate objects. This framework provides a sense of the dynamic change surrounding the ritual use of texts and rituals' textual descriptions.

complementary identification of community *and* hierarchy or stratification. Ritualization also acts to localize or specify concerns in terms of the immediate "here and now." Because the community depends upon the ritual expert and the expert on the community, communal needs tend to dominate the purposes of the ritual. The shift in the basis of practice from the transmission of revealed texts to ritually-constituted mediation in the community helps define religious authority -- while liturgical authority is still 'official' and textual, it also must address immediate community needs. Only through the mediation of the ritual expert and his teachings did the "lowly follower" gain access to scriptures and to the hope of practicing the rites correctly. In contrast to "ritualization," the "textualization" of social relations tends to promote individuated and democratic authority, which constitute the basis for institutionalizing, bureaucratic rather than traditional or charismatic procedures for attaining and exercising authority.

"Ritualization" and "textualization" define and dominate particular sets of social relations, and Bell⁵⁹³ therefore argues that the study of religion must move "beyond deciphering texts and rites as cultural artifacts and begin to analyze them as strategic dynamics in the very production of culture." Polemics of "ritualization" and "textualization" were integral to processual culture formation, and both "ritualized scriptures" and "textualized ritual" produced "texts of orthodox rites in which both the medium and the message inseparably functioned to produce a new form of authority." Bell also notes that "ritualization and textualization do not function as isolated or 'pure' forms." While textual authority provides regularized access both to the highest of spiritual goals and to "more humble standardized offices," ritualized forms of authority tend to remain "highly discretionary, self-legitimizing, and selective." Thus, institutional- structure formulation catalyzed by textualization is a social process, whereas ritualization catalyzes the formation of community itself.

⁵⁹³ Bell (1988: 392)

In the Taoist tradition,⁵⁹⁴ the fifth-century Master Lu "textualized" liturgical materials by producing manuals of 'orthodox' ritual based on earlier texts. New forms of authority were defined institutionally, and the "Ling-pao liturgical master" was born. In the Taoist example, the transmission of ritual manuals in conjunction with oral explanations from the master dominated the transmission of scriptures and formally conferred liturgical authority. The manuals provided the means by which ritual experts were given the formal power to preside over rituals in the wider community. In addition, ritual manuals were the basis for the "institutionalization"⁵⁹⁵ of ritual practices -- the transmission of ritual manuals defined the liturgical master, fostered the standardization of ritual, invested formal authority through ordination, and supported the formation of a lineage of liturgical masters. Such Weberian institutional 'rationalization' of status and power meant that access to the sacred became more widely accessible, albeit less directly, *via* apprenticeship to a master and the formal conferral of the appropriate texts, or *via* participation in the ritual, i.e., not *via* the original text itself.

In the case of Kālacakra, monastic theatricality, oriented towards a consumption audience of either Tibetan or Western potential-donors, now overpowers individual instruction in Kālacakra's meditative yoga, which, apparently, was a more integral aspect of the Kālacakra tradition during the medieval period. Concerning "textualization" in Kālacakra, although ritual handbooks have broadened access *somewhat* (the situation is still qualified along gender and lay lines), it is recommended that one first proceed through communal forms of access, e.g., empowerment rituals, before obtaining access to "sacred" texts, while "academic" access to Kālacakra texts exemplifies a

⁵⁹⁴ Bell (1988: 390-391)

⁵⁹⁵ Here, set procedures for the investiture and deployment of religious authority replaced unstable and arbitrary processes based on divine revelation.

caveat.

Patterns from the Taoist world are also apparent in the Buddhist Kālacakra tradition. The "Ling-pao liturgical master" could easily be the "tantric ritual master" in the general Buddhist sense, or, more locally, the "Namgyal ritual master" in the Kālacakra tradition. Monastic *maṇḍala* specialists, e.g., the monks of Namgyal Monastery, have preferred access to ritual manuals describing *maṇḍala* rites, and, hence, they are the experts requested by the community to implement the instructions contained therein. Further, it is likely that tantra's use of elaborate written texts served to differentiate tantra from older ritual practices and served as a vehicle of self-identification for particular tantric groups.⁵⁹⁶

Changing Patterns of Gender Participation

While medieval women may have exhibited agency in certain tantric activities, this agency likely was restricted to relatively local tantric communities and did not permeate the large-scale ceremonial gatherings associated with powerful Tibetan institutional complexes.⁵⁹⁷ The Kālacakra tradition is characterized by the remarkable *absence* of specified female participation over its thousand-year history. Indeed, the only activities traditionally reserved for females in the context of this and other empowerment ceremonies, winding the protection strings and blessing the cloths, were adjunct and supportive roles, secondary to the main thread of the ritual performance.

⁵⁹⁶ According to Fischer (1995), the current process of legitimating academic texts *via* the burgeoning industry of scholarly publications often influences the traditions being "studied" -- in some cases, scholarly works are used by "native" actors to legitimate aims of authority *vis à vis* other competing groups in the community.

⁵⁹⁷ For more on the role of women in Buddhism, and in Indian and Tibetan culture in general, see Allione (1984); Dowman (1989); Edou (1996); Findly (1985); Gross (1984); B. Gupta (1987); J. Gyatso (forthcoming); Huber (1994); Katz (1983); Klein (1985; 1987; 1995); McDaniel (1989); D. Paul (1965); Ray (1979); Robinson (1985); Schuster (1985); Sponberg (1992); Watkins (1996); Wayman (1962; 1983); Willis (1985; 1987); Willson (1986); and Wulff (1985).

Likely not accomplished in public view, these activities were ones in which female participants were cast as symbolic representatives of purity by active men. In the contemporary setting, even these activities have been swallowed, suppressed and all-but-forgotten in current renditions of the ritual. Now, Tibetan monks dance the part of nubile *dākinīs*, to which some take exception on aesthetic grounds, let alone feminist ones.

Future research is necessary to uncover the political, economic and social forces that coalesced since the inception of the Kālacakra tradition in the eleventh century to exclude women from any recorded participation in this tradition's empowerment ceremony, oral lineage instructions, and practice. Although we have many biographical anecdotes concerning the participation of institutionally-powerful and renowned men in Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga, as mentioned previously, the long chapter on Kālacakra written by 'Gos Lo tsā ba in his *Blue Annals* during the late fifteenth century only specifies the participation of one lone woman in the Kālacakra tradition, Dharmesvara's daughter Jo 'bum.⁵⁹⁸ And although the *Blue Annals*⁵⁹⁹ also reports that Bo dong provided guidance to numerous disciples in the practice of Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga, and that these disciples included "priests and laymen, males and females," biographical accounts of women practitioners are uncommon, if not completely absent. In contrast to specified female agency, women are mentioned in the *Śrī Kālacakra* and its various commentaries in an unspecified manner. Women are described as a category, and they often are designated in terms of their caste affiliations and physical characteristics, basically as entities with which male practitioners may, under certain circumstances, interact. Now, however, roughly half of the participants in Western renditions of the Kālacakra Empowerment are women, gender hierarchy

⁵⁹⁸ 'Gos Lo tsā ba (1976: 768)

⁵⁹⁹ 'Gos Lo tsā ba (1976: 780)

still prevails among the monastic participants. Nuns on the stage at the Kālacakra Empowerment sit behind the monks, who significantly obstruct shorter nuns' ability to view the ceremony.

Symbolic transmutation of the mother-child relationship by the lama-disciple relationship during the seven empowerments of childhood also is a product of monastic culture and scholarship. Prohibited from forging sanctioned linkages to women as wives/sexual partners and daughters, monks embellished the original Kālacakra tradition by authoring ritual texts that elaborated the stages of the empowerments through the use of symbolic imagery of idealized female beings -- mothers and consorts -- the former a relationship that all monks had experienced, the latter precisely the relationship explicitly forbidden. Judging from the prominent and exalted place of these initiation ceremonies in the life of Tibetan monastics, it is possible that their internalized, psychological relationships with often idealized women was of significant, yet often implicit, psychological concern to monks. Although these relationships were explicitly acknowledged *via pratimokṣa* prescriptions forbidding intimacy with women, much symbolism involving women manages to find its way into the Kālacakra Empowerment, one of the most central ritual events of Tibetan monastic life.

In both the historical and contemporary settings, differences between popular and elite engagement with Kālacakra -- perceived, actual, and potential -- attest to vastly unequal access to the more arcane dimensions of the Kālacakra tradition. Despite the massive popular participation in the Kālacakra Empowerment ceremony that characterizes the contemporary ritual context, entrance into knowledge of more esoteric elements of Kālacakra ritual and practice ensues within the framework of hierarchical Tibetan monastic relations still narrowly construed along status and gender

lines. Both historically and today, monks from the prestigious Namgyal monks receive instruction in the construction of the Kālacakra sand *maṇḍala* and in the performance of Kālacakra ritual dances. Because a sand *maṇḍala* is not required as the basis for the Kālacakra Empowerment in the Rnying ma and Bka' brgyud traditions of Kālacakra, a painting here being deemed sufficient, monks from other monasteries generally are not educated in the construction of the Kālacakra sand *maṇḍala*.⁶⁰⁰

Restricted access to Kālacakra ritual arts is even more pronounced along gender lines. Within the current configuration of Tibetan monasticism, a Tibetan nun has no access to Kālacakra ritual arts other than in the capacity of spectator. And at the level of oral-lineage instructions, the participation of women is virtually non-existent. Although women "appear" in the manuscripts of the tantra, in the recorded history of Kālacakra ritual practice, this textual voice does not translate into a real role for women in terms of textual access. Ironically, and certainly unfairly, Western women, especially academics, have greater access to textual Kālacakra than do Tibetan nuns or lay women. Interestingly, three of the five persons currently working on translations relating to the *Śrī Kālacakra* are women. As a Western woman scholar backed by the institutional force of "Harvard University," I have been fortunate to receive access to textual Kālacakra; nevertheless, many Tibetan monks are not particularly happy about divulging the secrets of Kālacakra to women. During my fieldwork on the Kālacakra tradition, I worked exclusively with Namgyal monks, who often harbored ambiguous feelings about my desire to translate a chapter of the *Śrī Kālacakra*, despite the fact that the current Dalai Lama had sanctioned the project. Though one of my monastic informants incessantly chided a male friend of mine for allowing me to work on such important material while he did the domestic chores, the monks were generally

⁶⁰⁰ B. Wallace (1997)

courteous, likely perforce the perceived status of my institutional affiliation over and above my gender one.⁶⁰¹

To be perceived as being politically-correct, religious traditions must address the needs of women. Hence, unlike the Buddha's prophecy foretelling the demise of Buddhism should women be permitted active roles in the embryonic community, patterns relating to the Kālacakra Empowerment have changed to include greater female participation. In addition, many women currently sponsor these rituals.⁶⁰²

While arguing that biographies of early women tantric practitioners such as Yeshe Tsogyel depict women more as partners, Gross is compelled to concede Snellgrove's observation that most of the tantric *sādhana* texts are "written from the male point of view and *do* treat the woman more as if she were an instrument than a partner." Extrapolating from sparse biographical data, however, Gross,⁶⁰³ attempts to draw conclusions relating to Buddhist Tantra in general:

The impression that women were often regarded as ritual implements rather than as partners may have more to do with androcentric patterns of record-keeping and of writing than with the actual practice and experience of those who wrote the ritual texts.

But this is quite a leap to make, especially in light of the existence of a whole slew of *sādhana* texts to the contrary.

Shaw⁶⁰⁴ also attempt to extrapolate from scanty biographical evidence to argue that women displayed significant agency in Buddhist tantric communities. Campbell⁶⁰⁵ notes Shaw's attempt:

to rationalise historically the status and the role of women within Tantra, by providing examples from ancient texts, many more than a thousand years old, in which details are given about Tantric women teachers, and the emphasis on

⁶⁰¹ Foucault (1980)

⁶⁰² For more on Buddhism and gender, see Cabezón (1992) and Van Lysebeth (1988).

⁶⁰³ Gross (1994: 106)

⁶⁰⁴ Shaw (1994b)

⁶⁰⁵ Campbell (1996: 97-112)

the importance of viewing the female as an equal partner in sexual rituals.

In contrast to this form of rationalization, it is my opinion that feminist scholars would commit a gross injustice in reading discourse in the *Śrī Kālacakra* as somehow indicative of female power and agency. Even when women are portrayed textually as possessing *apparent* agency, as in the dominatrix dialogue considered in Chapter IV, we cannot conclude automatically that this reflects what Shaw calls a "gynocentric" perspective.

In the case of Kālacakra, women's textually-articulated "dominatrix" roles may betray patriarchal enculturation within Kālacakra's early tantric community, though more biographical research on this issue is necessary before definitive conclusions may be drawn.⁶⁰⁶ If this conclusion is corroborated by biographical sources, however, it contrasts sharply with the visible role of women in large-scale Kālacakra Empowerment ceremonies today, where in the West, participation in the ritual is approximately sixty percent female and forty percent male. Still, even in the Western context, women have not broken through the tantric "glass ceiling" to receive instruction on the construction of Kālacakra's unique sand *maṇḍala* nor to receive oral-lineage instructions on the practice of Kālacakra's six-limbed yoga.

⁶⁰⁶ Dhondup (1995); Lappas (1996)

POSTSCRIPT: COFFEE-SHOP MAṄDALAS

In the postmodern setting, Kālacakra's adaptability is enhanced, at least in the short term, through the blurring of textual and ritual boundaries and the slippage of both categories into an electronified, informational matrix. Kālacakra high visibility, indeed its magic, are reflected in the secularization of tantric rituals relating to the tradition. Now, Kālacakra is being "canned" in a wide variety of electronic receptacles.

Some Informational Comments

"Information is a metaphor," and a metaphor contains information. As Marshall McLuhan reminds us, the media is the message, to which one could also add that the *mode* of the media is the message, and the *milieu* of the mode of the media is the message, *ad infinitum*, or, perhaps more aptly, *ad nauseam*. Niels Bohr states succinctly the quantum version of this observation, "... every analysis of the conditions of human knowledge must rest on considerations of the character and scope of our means of communication."⁶⁰⁷

As any student knows only too well, humans spend vast amounts of time moving information around in space. Indeed, even we ourselves may be described as information moving around in space. The term "self" itself is nothing more than a metaphor, and the "self" we like to think of as our self, something very special and distinct and above all *real*, that "self" is nothing more, from a biological perspective, than an amalgam of information encoded in the form of DNA and RNA sequences.⁶⁰⁸ Is

⁶⁰⁷ Wheeler (1997)

⁶⁰⁸ According to Goodenough (1997), genomes are made up of DNA, and some of that DNA is organized into genes. The human genome, which is comprised of DNA, has about one hundred thousand

this all there is to the self, and if so, then where does that put religion? Well, "information" itself is a metaphor, so perhaps we can sneak something special and sacred back into this story before we fall into the informational abyss that characterizes postmodern, twentieth-century world culture.

Since the Communist Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1950, Tibetan-style Buddhism has been progressively exiled from its homeland and forced to adapt to different cultural contexts.⁶⁰⁹ In the past decade or so, and in conjunction with the Dalai Lama's increasingly-frequent international appearances, certain commanding symbols from Tibetan Tantric Buddhism have been invoked in the service of educating the world about Buddhism and amassing international political support against human rights abuses in Tibet. Due to their obvious visual magnetism, Tibetan sand *maṇḍalas* have been the most potent tantric symbols used in this effort.

Tibetan sand *maṇḍala* exhibits are one "act" in what ritual theorist Ronald Grimes refers to as the genre of the "Tibetan Roadshow." Other "acts" within this genre include exhibitions of tri-tonal chanting, monastic debates, and yak dances. The first-ever U.S. Roadshow occurred in 1985, when the monks of the Gyuto Tantric Choir hit the road for a series of chanting concerts. The first public display of a sand *maṇḍala* outside of Tibet actually occurred in Beijing in 1932. In the United States, the first public display of the construction of a Tibetan sand *maṇḍala* occurred in 1988,

genes. Genes are switched on and off by proteins, which themselves are controlled by genes generically referred to as "transcription factors." These bind to DNA sequences in the vicinity of target genes to activate or suppress their expression. The process of "transcription" involves copying genes into messenger RNA molecules that are translated into proteins.

⁶⁰⁹ The present Dalai Lama fled Tibet in 1959 for India, beginning a Tibetan "government-in-exile" in Dharamsala, an ex-British hill station in Himachal Pradesh. During the 1960s and 70s, Tibetan life in India was focused on survival issues, and the hundreds of thousands of Tibetan refugees who made dangerous journeys over Himalayan passes were incorporated into life in the Southern-Indian "resettlement" communities. Some, often those members of what were aristocratic families in Old Tibet, were able to find niches in Dharamsala itself, near their revered leader, His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

when three monks from Namgyal Monastery spent six weeks at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City creating the Kālacakra *maṇḍala*. Due to the perceived power of Kālacakra in promoting world peace, the Kālacakra *maṇḍala* has been the tantric symbol of choice in public *maṇḍala* exhibitions. This *maṇḍala* has been constructed some fifteen times in the United States, while the runner-up, the Buddha of Compassion, or Avalokiteṣvara *maṇḍala*, only has been constructed about eight times. A close third, the Guhyasamāja *maṇḍala* has been constructed about five times.

The current *display* of traditional Tibetan *maṇḍala* construction involves a radical transposition from private/sacred/secret to public/secular/overt. During the preparatory rituals for a tantric empowerment, the construction of the *maṇḍala* is a lengthy process that requires four monks working full-time over many days. When construction is complete, the *maṇḍala* is blessed by the guru and concealed behind curtains. Monks then perform the dance of the offering goddesses before the actual empowerment begins. In this traditional ritual context, the sub-ritual of *maṇḍala* construction occurs in the most private of settings. No one, not even a prospective initiate, is permitted to watch the process of constructing a *maṇḍala*. Only at the conclusion of the empowerment are initiates permitted to view the *maṇḍala*. Thereafter, the *maṇḍala* is deconstructed and the sand is given as an offering to the *Nāgas* of the sea. In contrast to this traditional contextualization of *maṇḍala* construction, in museum, gallery and other displays, the whole point is the public. Public consumption, and hopefully the inspired donations and proceedings from the sale of dharma items, have become the new, and, in some cases, explicitly-articulated goals of Tibetan *maṇḍala* exhibits.

Overall, approximately fifty Tibetan sand *maṇḍalas* have been created in museums, universities and other public forums since 1988, predominantly by monks from

Namgyal Monastery in Dharamsala and also from Namgyal Institute in Ithaca, New York.⁶¹⁰ The exhibits are well-attended -- the American Museum of Natural History estimated that between sixty- and seventy thousand people saw the *maṇḍala* created there in 1988. Approximately half a million people saw the Kālacakra sand *maṇḍala* at the IBM Gallery in New York City in 1991, and a whopping fifty thousand people per day passed through the lobby of the World Trade Center when a sand *maṇḍala* was created there over a one-month period after the bombing in 1993. But despite the initial success of *maṇḍala* exhibits, in the past few years, attendance at these Tibetan Roadshows has been steadily decreasing.

Sponsorship of public *maṇḍala* exhibits reveals an interesting cast of characters. Samaya Foundation, headed by ex-real estate developer Barry Bryant, is a non-profit organization headquartered in New York City. Dedicated to the preservation of Tibetan arts, Samaya Foundation has sponsored four, month-long exhibits of *maṇḍala* construction in prominent U.S. museums.⁶¹¹ This foundation has also sponsored approximately six smaller *maṇḍala* exhibits and workshops. Concerning the sponsorship of tantric empowerments, Geshe Gyaltzen's Center in Los Angeles sponsored the Kālacakra Empowerment at the Santa Monica Civic Center. The Madison-Square-Garden rendition of the Kālacakra Empowerment was co-sponsored by the Tibet Center, which is associated with Richard Gere,⁶¹² and by Tibet House, which is associated

⁶¹⁰ Samten (1996); Yamamoto (1988)

⁶¹¹ These occurred: 1) at Samaya Foundation itself in New York City in 1988; 2) at the American Museum of Natural History in July of 1988; 3) at the L.A. County Museum of Natural History in August of 1989; and 4) at the Nelson Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City in 1995.

⁶¹² One must admit, there is something surreal about seeing Richard Gere, iconoclastic cinematic icon of an "American Gigolo," on stage at Madison Square Garden bowing down at the feet of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and ceremonially offering him a white Kaṭa silk scarf. With this kind of attention, it is no wonder that the Dalai Lama turns up on the society page of the *New York Times*. To underscore the weirdness of this experience and the "hip" reputation that Tibetan Buddhism has in the United States, even Cindy Crawford turned up for the Madison Square Garden Empowerment. Among media-bred, Generation-Xers, Uma Thurman legitimates the Dalai Lama the way Brooke Shields legitimated Princeton and Marilyn Monroe legitimated JFK.

with Columbia University Professor Robert Thurman, a.k.a. "Buddha Bob" and "Uma's Father."

A second genre of *maṇḍala* exhibits, one that reflects the blending of Tibetan and American cultures, involves the construction of newer Tibetan-American *maṇḍalas* alongside traditional Tibetan ones. In a program called "Healing the Causes of Violence," Samaya Foundation has brought Gyuto monks and their *maṇḍala* arts to homicide-ridden urban environments such as Watts in Los Angeles.⁶¹³ What is unique about these projects is that the monks create their traditional *maṇḍalas* at the same time that they instruct children and adults in the process of *maṇḍala* construction. The monks then encourage these new performers to design their own *maṇḍalas* using culturally- and personally-relevant heroes and symbols. While display of traditional Tibetan *maṇḍalas* was intended to generate support for Tibet, it is hoped that these more recent programs will bring peace to the inner city. The statistics are amazing -- when the monks were present in Watts, a total of nineteen gang-related deaths for a one-month period dropped to only one death for the same month in 1995, reflecting in part the community preparation and town meetings with gang leaders that preceded the actual *maṇḍala* exhibit. Nevertheless, members of one gang etched out of the group *maṇḍala* the symbol that had been chosen by another gang.

Samaya Foundation has also brought the Gyuto monks and the Avalokiteṣvara *maṇḍala* to juvenile correction facilities. For one month in 1995, and then again for a month in 1996, the Gyuto monks "did time" at Camp David Gonzales, a youth detention camp in the Malibu Mountains that is part of the L.A. County Juvenile Justice

⁶¹³ These exhibits included: 1) a program during the summer of 1994 at the Watts Tower Arts Center; and 2) two simultaneous programs in adjoining communities with gang problems during the summer of 1995.

system. Focused on violent teenagers, this program schooled young inmates in qualities such as patience.⁶¹⁴ The project received considerable television publicity, and not coincidentally, it was CNN's *entertainment* editor, Gloria Hillard, who did two reports on the project. These reports were marketed to the public *via* cameo appearances by Hollywood personalities, Levar Burton, Edward James Almos, and Richard Gere.⁶¹⁵

In both contexts -- the display of traditional Tibetan *maṇḍalas* and the display of newer Tibetan-American cross-breeds -- public exhibition wrenches sand *maṇḍalas* out of their traditional meaning context centered around tantric initiation and places them into meaning contexts focused on education, pedagogy, social intervention, and crime prevention. In a sense, sand *maṇḍalas* are being appropriated to fill the needs of the American public. Although generating public awareness about atrocities and genocide in Tibet was the original intention behind bringing sand *maṇḍala* rituals to the West, this purpose has been more or less eclipsed, at least for the moment, by the glaring neon of Hollywood's lights.

Demystifying Recontextualized Sites

In an article entitled "Tibetan Art in a Museum Setting: Problems of Decontextualization and Recontextualization," Valrae Reynolds⁶¹⁶ considers representational context as it applies to the New Tibetan Galleries at the Newark Museum. According

⁶¹⁴ During January and February of 1996, a second program at Camp David Gonzales was focused on violent teenagers. In March of 1996, Samaya Foundation and the monks visited another facility, the Dorothy Kirby Center, in southern area of Los Angeles. This visit catalyzed the mayor of L.A. to seek additional funding to extend the project. Monks have also spent time in juvenile-detention centers; the first program was in an all-male facility, and the second was in a co-ed facility for violent teenage offenders and psychologically-troubled young people ages thirteen to eighteen.

⁶¹⁵ CNN Reports on the project were made in 1994 and 1996. Also, an eight-minute report on the Fox show "Sittings" included footage from a benefit shot in the private home of Edward James Almos.

⁶¹⁶ Reynolds (1992)

to Reynolds, the placement of an object in a specific location, usually under the umbrella of a particular institutional mandate, redefines what the object is, both in the minds of the audience and in the minds of the performers. Although Reynolds is discussing objects, the point applies equally well to Tibetan *maṇḍalas*, when what is being displayed is the actual process of *maṇḍala* construction.

In a chapter entitled "Monkeys and Monopoly Capitalism: Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden," Haraway⁶¹⁷ demystifies the American Museum of Natural History, which, coincidentally, was the site one of the earliest Tibetan *maṇḍala* exhibits in the United States.⁶¹⁸ After the Fall, we stroll across Central Park, our Urban Garden of Eden and a stretch of green that Haraway points out is little more than a "prophylactic dose of nature" designed to heal the overwrought and decadent city dweller. We enter *The Museum*, the closest approximation to virtual nature in the age before CyberGrass, a sphinx-like architectural monstrosity that rather majestically eats up two square city blocks on the Upper West Side.⁶¹⁹ Entering the main door, we look for the Tibetan sand painting that we have heard is being constructed by a bunch of guys in long purple robes and funny yellow hats. The *Times* said it was good, so we decide to check it out.

Founded just after the Civil War and dedicated to popular education and scientific research, the American Museum of Natural History catalogues the journey of Western man from birth within the sanctuary of nature to his first interface with the Age of Mammals -- Juraissac Park comes to life. How is this historic meeting pre-

⁶¹⁷ Haraway (1989)

⁶¹⁸ The first *maṇḍala* exhibit in the United States occurred at Samaya Foundation in New York City. Only a few months later, the exhibition at the American Museum was the second.

⁶¹⁹ Grimes has described museums as "quasi-religious and quasi-political institutions," but they're also "quasi-real."

sented? In the years before Steven Spielberg and special effects, the creative among us relied on taxidermy -- ape and man joined in stuffy, visual embrace. In the 1920s, Carl Akeley was the museum's star taxidermist, the dude who stuffed poor P.T. Barnum's elephant Jumbo after it had been run down by a railroad train.

Oh, look what is mounted here in the museum's diorama!! It's the Giant of Karisimbi, the lone silver back gorilla who was killed in 1921, the same year the Museum hosted the Second International Congress of Eugenics. Through the politics of eugenics and the art of taxidermy, the museum supposedly fulfilled its tripartite mandate of conservation, preservation and pedagogy. We keep going, past the James Earle Fraser statue of Teddy Roosevelt mounted on horseback as father/protector between two "primitives," an American Indian and an African, both aptly dressed in their Halloween best as "savages." But now we stop in a moment of reverence -- on the memorial's facade we see the words TRUTH, KNOWLEDGE, and VISION emblazoned atop a portal. We feel relieved. All is right in La-La Land -- perhaps Mickey Mouse feels this way, too. After all, the monks enter a Theme Park of sorts when they come to the United States, and so it is not altogether surprising that Disney World is the favorite post-tour destination for many Tibetan monks.⁶²⁰

Having floated through the museum's corridors, we now enter the hall in which the *mandala* is being constructed. Here we find an anachronistic group of Tibetan monks crouched over a six-by-six circular outline with a bunch of funny lines, scraping two metal objects together so that the sand comes out one grain at a time. It's rather ironic that they deal in *dead* things in museums like this. All the stuff is dead. So what are these Tibetan dudes doing here, anyway? What is implied, through this repre-

⁶²⁰ The opposite also applies, and as Shakya (1992: 15) notes, "Tibet has become a Disney World for the Western bourgeois. Tibet possesses all the thrills and adventure of a customised fantasy world: danger, romance, magic and cuddly natives."

sentational context, about Tibetan culture and sacred arts? Are they all-but dead, too? In the United States, we Americans often fail to notice something until it is yanked out of its original context and disempowered. Few knew about the gorilla Giant of Karisimbi before he was tacked up onto the wall. The sites actually chosen for the exhibition of sand *maṇḍala* construction determine to a great extent the type of message received. The *milieu* of the mode of the media is the message, and an implicit message, information by association, is delivered by the context in which *maṇḍala* construction occurs.⁶²¹ Here, context implies that Tibetan sacred arts are dead, they're anachronistic, and they belong in museums instead of out in the open air of a traditional empowerment ceremony.

The Drepung Loseling monks' construction of a Tibetan sand *maṇḍala* during February of 1997 at "Samsara Restaurant," a chic little coffee café on the downtown mall in Burlington, Vermont provides another example of an ambiguous site. "Samsara" is one of the many coffee cafés vying for business in Burlington, a caffeine-consuming and ski-centered college town on the edge of Lake Champlain. The cuisine in the place has nothing whatsoever to do with India or Tibet, yet the now-cool term "Samsara" has been appropriated to provide the establishment a sense of Orientalist bravado. Like "karma," the term "Samsara" has managed to filter into café-smart English, but like everything else, language depends upon perception. The parents of one of my colleagues were in Burlington last summer, and they thought they had just had lunch at "Sam and Sara's" -- just goes to show what bloody mayhem results when one forgets the diacritics.

⁶²¹ With the exception of the "Healing the Causes of Violence" program, which has brought monks to fragile urban environments, these displays almost always occur in bastions of American capitalism, odes to the implicit American secular religion of materialism, shining and sparkling marble entryways to corporate and quasi-corporate, i.e., academic, America. The IBM Gallery. The lobby of the World Trade Center. The disjunction between "having" and "having not" could not be more transparent. Young men shining shoes in the lobby of a fancy office building as the more economically- and politically-privileged go to work -- only now, we wear our shoes on our heads, trying to get a little cultural shine

As I walked into the café on the first day of the exhibit, I noticed a small group of four Tibetan monks gathered awkwardly in the vestibule. They were supposed to be performing a selection of their tri-tonal chants as a prelude to the construction of the sand *maṇḍala*; but the trouble was that no one had bothered to show up. With the exception of myself, a small globular contingent of six pervasively-pierced teenagers with wallet chains, and one extremely bored looking woman with a video camera evidently sent from the local news, no one had bothered to come. I decide to stick it out, so I ordered hot pastrami on rye with an iced caffè latte. "In the new coffee culture, it helps to know your cappuccino from your latté."⁶²² One of the senior monks finally gave up the charade, ordered something to drink, and proceeded to insult the selection of pastries available in a very pissed-off form of vernacular Tibetan.

Having ordered much food, the monks retreated upstairs to the balcony. It was then that things started to get a little weird. After all, I had come downtown *to watch* the monks, but now they were upstairs on the balcony *watching me*. Now it was *I*, and a few other of the teenage girls, particularly one of the younger ones who decided to wear a mini-skirt in the middle of a blizzard, who were the ones on stage. The monks were peeking through the balcony bars looking down at us, and I realized with a start that the process of Other-Construction was in full bloom. Like so many other public forums, Samsara's had now become the stage for cultural superimposition during Burlington's Valentine's Day flirtation with cultural pluralism. In the timeless words of the washed-up pop idol David Byrne, "How did I get here?" And, more importantly, how had my colonialist status as an appropriating American been subverted in the quiet

here and there, something to enhance our conversation with the boss over the coffee machine.

⁶²² Nescafé commercial, February 1997.

sashay of monks' robes up some stairs? Now *I* was the objectified one, and the basis for the objectification had shifted to gender; in contrast, the previous basis for objectification in the performer-audience context had been political and socioeconomic power. My power, of course, was derived from my affiliation, through nationality, with a political and economic giant. This scene continued for about an hour. The monks sat upstairs drinking "Nantucket Nectars" while I sat downstairs reading the restaurant's copy of "Entertainment" magazine. There was Woody Harelson on the cover, flanked by two gigantic breasts, and I was reading Gloria Steinman's critique of Hollywood's latest ode to idiocy, *The People vs. Larry Flynt*. And everybody just kept looking at one another, wondering whatever it was that they were wondering, until finally it was too much. I stood up and walked out the door. I had not heard any chanting, I had not seen the consecration of any sacred space, and the monks still had not come downstairs. Even the group of pierced students lost patience, and they walked out the door with me. What I had done is to feel like an object, but now I was tired of constructing and being constructed, and I just wanted to go home.

On the walk to my car, I thought back to the Tibetan New Year's celebration in the basement of the Unitarian-Universalist Church that I had attended the previous Saturday. How typical that event had been, the small community of twenty-five Tibetans living in Burlington celebrating *Smon lam chen mo*⁶²³ in English with twenty or so Vermont sponsors and mentors. But why didn't any of the local Tibetans come to Café Samsara for *maṇḍala* exhibit's theoretical opening ceremonies? Of course, the local Tibetans would not have had the luxury to hanging out at a coffee-café at 2 p.m. on a Monday afternoon -- only someone on an "academic" schedule would have that kind of time. Was it that, or did they just not care, either? An English-speaking Monlam Chenmo in the basement of a Unitarian Church, a flopped Tibetan chanting per-

⁶²³ The Great Prayer Festival.

formance in a coffee-café called "Samsara," just so typical, it was becoming almost mundane.

Things did revert back to "normal" later in the week, however, as people started to hear about the *maṇḍala* exhibit downtown. With an expectant audience in the eaves, the monks were forced into the roles of performers; or, perhaps I should say, with the monks in the roles of performers, Burlington's unsuspecting pastry connoisseurs were forced into the role of audience. From a play on words to a play on stage, the Grateful Dead had now become the Grateful Monks. But there is a price. Backstage again, in the kitchens and hallways of the fancy Civic Centers and galleries, I have heard monks vent their frustration at the demeaning positions they feel forced to assume *vis-à-vis* the American public. In order to get some attention, the monks feel compelled to become "monk-eyes," trained performers on the organ grinder's shoulder. It is gruesome cartoon, a monstrous, contorted yet bittersweet image, but it is one that encapsulates what has become of the "intercultural transaction"⁶²⁴ between Tibetans and Americans.

I had encouraged my students from "Introduction to World Religions" at the University of Vermont to stop by Café Samsara sometime during the week and view the sand *maṇḍala*. Many of their comments, sent to me *via* e-mail, hit on important themes regarding cultural contact, blurred boundaries, and the trivialization of religious ritual. Students noted the way in which monks were assimilating to life in the West in terms of their dress, how they remained separate from the audience, how they were demasked in their roles as performers, and how the line between genres of ritual enactment and staged theater was extremely blurry. It's true -- the amplified commercial considerations of modernity together with the accentuated sound-biting of post-

⁶²⁴ Myers (1994)

modernity have transformed the outward appearance of Tibetan tantric rituals from sacred ceremony to weird theater, surreal performances inspired by a combination of social, political and economic forces.

It wasn't always like this, I'd like to tell myself. I drift back in reverie to 1988 when I was working on my M.A. at Columbia University. The Dalai Lama had sent the then-Venerable Lobsang Samten, one of his four personal attendants, to supervise the construction of the Kālacakra sand *maṇḍala* at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. Almost a decade later, Lobsang Samten has constructed the Kālacakra *maṇḍala* some dozen times in art museums and universities throughout the United States. As a Namgyal Monk, Lobsang trained many years in the ritual arts pertaining to the Kālacakra tradition, including the construction of sand *maṇḍalas*, the performance of tantric rituals, and the meditative practice of deity yoga.

I remember my initial meeting with Lobsang, fresh off the plane from Dharamsala -- he did not know much English, and I knew even less Tibetan. But we were instant "buds" -- well, as much as an aristocratic Tibetan monk and a twenty-something Columbia-ette could be. We bummed around Manhattan -- he liked the perfume chicks at Saks Fifth Avenue -- and we talked about life, liberty and the pursuit of reincarnation. But twice a week, things became somber. We would meet at Samaya Foundation, in a video-display room, and we would watch a one-hour segment from the Foundation's thirty-six hours of video coverage of the 1985/86 Kālacakra Empowerment in Bodh Gayā, India. In our broken Tibeto-English, we were charged to produce a transcription describing the events comprising the ceremony. The translation process itself was highly scientific -- Lobsang would contort his face and mime the Tibetan recorded on the tape, and I would guess various English words in a charades of sorts until I hit upon one he felt intuitively to be correct. He would smile, slap me on the back, I

furiously would type something out on the word processor, then away we would go to the next few digital frames of ritual enactment. The new "digerati" in the flesh -- even the Buddha watches T.V. these days, just check it out at the Musée d'art contemporain in Montréal.

But I agonized during these early meetings -- was it proper and appropriate for me to be studying esoteric tantric material even though I had never received the Kālacakra Empowerment directly from a guru such as His Holiness the Dalai Lama? Was it okay to be gazing at the sacred Kālacakra *maṇḍala* image despite numerous injunctions forbidding the "uninitiated" from so doing? Was I actually receiving an "initiation" of sorts tele-digitally through the video tape? What exactly was going on?

But now, all of my overly-earnest speculation seems so far away -- Café Sam-sara's flopped sand *maṇḍala* exhibit has rendered such romantic consternation ludicrous. No, now something else is going on, and both the monks and I are parties to it. Now it is about use, appropriation, and packaging. Images of monkey-grinders float through my head -- I transpose the metaphor to the hyper-intellectual caffè-latte-drinking crowd, myself included, and I begin to feel so embarrassed -- is encounter nothing more than reciprocal appropriation? My intellectual-elite romanticism is being run out of town by the rock-groupie searching of a handful of grunge-pierced students. Well, I know self-bash-ivity is "hip" in the academy these days, but this really isn't group therapy.

It is worth asking, however, whether bringing Tibetan *maṇḍalas* into the realm of the "mundane" actually trivializes them. Maybe we can find some convenient Buddhist apologetics to cover this possibility. After all, around the turn of the last millennia, the famous Mādhyamika Buddhist philosopher Nāgarjuna claimed in his famous

text the *Mūlamadhyamikakārikas* that "*sāṃsara* is no different from *nīrvaṇa*, and *nīrvaṇa* is no different from *sāṃsara*," a statement succinctly obliterating any final distinction between the secular and the sacred, at least from the ultimate point of view. Conventionally, however, recontextualization of Tibetan tantric *maṇḍalas* in coffee-houses may not be such a good "strategy," the Wall Street translation for the Sanskrit term "upāya" or "skillful means." In the long run, due to associations with the trivial and the trendy, public exhibition may not be such a great way to preserve these rituals for future generations. The context just isn't special enough.

The Commodification of Ritual

In most cases during Tibetan Roadshows, tickets are sold and admission is charged. Of course, the commodification of ritual is nothing new to the matrix of religio-economic linkages that dissolve in Tibetan culture like saccharin in tea. The close connection between ritual, injustice, and business, the unseemly seams binding religion and commercialization, is evidenced by the way in which brochures advertising seminars and retreats are displayed at *maṇḍala* exhibits alongside pamphlets describing persecution in Tibet. Put bluntly, if it were not for the money, the monks would not be here. Although the first U.S. *maṇḍala* exhibits sought to increase public awareness concerning Tibet, monetary gain is probably the most significant driving force behind today's Tibetan Roadshows. As David Patt comments in his paper entitled, "The Real Healing: Tibetan Roadshows and the Cult of Benjamin Franklin," ritual and money traditionally have been linked in Tibetan culture through the commonplace practice of Tibetan monks or lamas giving teachings or performing rituals in exchange for which disciples bestow material gifts. According to Patt:

Nothing could be more traditional in the South Asian context than this guru dakṣiṇā, or 'offering to the teacher. ... But somewhere along the way, someone figured out that there was a wider audience for the 'mystical arts of Tibet' than the already-converted disciples who were participating in the actual reli-

gious meaning of the rituals; someone got the bright idea that the broad, uninformed and curious public would pay to see these curiosities without any necessary faithful participation in them.

To illustrate the strength of money as a monastic motivator, Patt recounts the following anecdote:

I sat with the four senior Geshe on our tour in numerous money counting sessions, the last of which, just before they departed for India, summed up their attitude well. We were seated on the floor with \$104,000 in \$100 bills spread out in casual stacks around us. We were totaling up the net income, which was rather complicated, but we were all in good spirits because the tour had done better than any of us had expected. Geshe Nyingje Rabyang was the 65 year old senior Geshe on the tour. ... [He] picked up a stack of \$100 bills and stuck them in the money belt hanging loosely outside his robes. He put his hand over the fat wad and said, "De healing ngo ne res," which translates as, "This is the real healing."

Initially, Tibetan Roadshows were very popular, especially on the East and West Coasts, and the tours were successful in generating significant income for the monasteries back in India. But in his paper delivered at the 1996 American Academy of Religion meeting in New Orleans, Patt predicted, quite accurately, that at a certain point, people would stop coming to the shows, and a tour would lose money. The meager turnout at Burlington's coffee-shop *maṇḍala* proved Patt a prophet.

Though linkages between ritual and economics are forever, what indisputably is new in this postmodern milieu of the mode of the media of the message is the playing out of these linkages *via* "e-media," electronic media such as television, video, CDs, CD-Rom, and the Internet. The following observation, offered by UVM freshman Manty Michaelides, hit me squarely in the face:

I am writing to tell you that i went to visit the monks. when I got there on Friday there was only one. He was sitting behind a table with books and tapes of Buddhist stuff.

As Manty observes, the commodification of Tantric Buddhist ritual is evidenced by the proliferation of many "dharma" items relating to Tibetan-style Buddhism, the production of which has been catalyzed by a fusion of corporate production economics, high-tech print culture, new forms of audio and video media, and the voracious demand

of Western consumers. Like coffee-shop *maṇḍala* exhibits, *products* relating to media and technology, like media and technology themselves, are mounts for the propagation of Tibetan Tantric memes.

In the United States, Snow Lion Publications in Ithaca, NY is, undoubtedly, one of the primary meme-machines for the Tibetan Buddhist cause. Founded in 1980, Snow Lion seeks:⁶²⁵

to promote and protect Tibet's extraordinary religious, philosophic and cultural traditions. ... Our main goal is to publish handsome, relevant and informative books for the general reader as well as scholarly works representing the entire spectrum of Tibetan Buddhism.

Mission statement for a meme vehicle. Though in hardcopy, the Snow Lion Newsletter and Catalog reaches 25,000 to 30,000 people each quarter,⁶²⁶ a veritable meme-vehicle explosion is being facilitated by the Internet. Kevin Trainor, a professor at UVM who specializes in Theravada Buddhism, quite aptly refers to this phenomena as "Internet Buddhism." That's where they tell us that after a long day's work at the Museum of Fine Arts in Houston, the monks "deserve a break today" -- monks, *maṇḍalas*, and McDonald's -- the ultimate American alliterative apparition. Snow Lion itself has a site on the Internet,⁶²⁷ which provides current information about Tibet and the Dalai Lama⁶²⁸ in addition to a complete on-line catalog of items advertised in the print edition of their newsletter.

Looking at the "Dharma Items" section of the Snow Lion Newsletter, we find an unapologetic array of items relating to Kālacakra, including two versions of a Kālacakra Deity poster (\$6 and \$9) or a Kālacakra thangka (\$550) instead. We can even get our thangka consecrated.⁶²⁹

⁶²⁵ Snow Lion Publications (1996: 80)

⁶²⁶ Snow Lion Publications (1996: 17)

⁶²⁷ <http://www.well.com/user/snowlion>

⁶²⁸ The Dalai Lama has an e-mail address, too. See Tsering (1993).

When you purchase a statue or thangka from Snow Lion, you also have the option to have it consecrated. Snow Lion has made an arrangement with Namgyal Monastery to have this special empowering ceremony performed for the pieces you purchase from us. In addition to the cost of materials, it requires several monks working for an entire day to consecrate a statue or a thangka. Although Namgyal does not have a set donation fee for consecration, Snow Lion recommends a minimum donation to the Monastery of \$100 for statues and \$50 for thangkas. This is tax-deductible and checks should be made out to Namgyal Monastery ... We will deliver your statue or thangka to them and send it to you after it is consecrated as part of the service we provide.

We also find a Kālacakra pendant for \$20 and a more expensive Kālacakra Watch for \$120. According to the Newsletter:⁶³⁰

This designer's watch whose creation is inspired by Tibetan sacred art and endorsed by His Holiness the Dalai Lama, is dedicated to the pursuit of enlightenment, world peace and a free Tibet. This is a Swiss Quartz watch with Sport-3 hands, water-resistant stainless steel construction with blue leather strap. The dial has a blue background with silver Kalachakra pattern. Produced in a limited edition of 1000. Comes with warranty booklet (warranted for one year by the manufacturer for defects) that also explains the significance of Kalachakra and the prophecy of Shambhala.

The warranty booklet for the watch claims to explain the religious significance of the Kālacakra tradition, a feat, if successful, that would put many generations of past and present scholars out of business. This pattern continues. In the "Tibet Cards" section of Snow Lion's catalogue, we find "Robert Beer Postcards" of the Kālacakra Mantra (\$.80 each), "Kalachakra Sand Mandala Postcards" (\$.75 each), and the ever-so-slightly-more-expensive "Wheel of Time Sand Mandala" Note Cards (\$1.50 each). Kālacakra, a real rallying theme among Tibetan Buddhist memes, even has its own self-appelled piece of catalogue real estate in the section of the Newsletter called "Kalachakra Teachings." Here are advertised four books on the topic of Kālacakra; even the "Children's Corner" includes one book exclusively devoted to this tradition.

But things really heat up when we get to the "Video Dharma" section of the catalog -- no less than four separate videos cover the construction of the Kālacakra sand

⁶²⁹ Snow Lion Publications (1996: 77)

⁶³⁰ Snow Lion Publications (1996: 75)

maṇḍala during exhibits in the West.⁶³¹ See, for example, the advertising blurb for "Mandala: World of the Mystic Circle:"⁶³²

The symbolism of the *maṇḍala* is explored through interviews with the monks and with an architectural historian, philosophy professor, physicist, and psychotherapist. Examples of *maṇḍalas* from other cultures are also described.

A little Eliade on the side.

The use of electronic media as a carrier for "dharma" was especially pronounced at the 1993 *maṇḍala* exhibit at the World Trade Center in New York City. There, almost mocking the public exhibition of the *maṇḍala* in a sterile corner of the World Trade Center lobby near a bank of elevators, video monitors showed a looping tape of Samaya Foundation's footage of the Kālacakra sand *maṇḍala* in a "traditional" ritual context, the 1985/86 Kālacakra Empowerment in Bodh Gayā, India. The looping take included images from the empowerment, specifically chanting monks, dancing lamas, and *maṇḍala* construction, all superimposed over ritual chanting. Electronic dharma carriers also work overtime at the Newark Museum, where an installation in a separate room of the Tibetan galleries shows a video entitled "Tibet the Living Tradi-

⁶³¹ Snow Lion Publications (1996: 65) describes: 1) "Kalachakra, The Wheel of Time" by Bearfoot Productions. This video is based on four Namgyal monks' creation of the Kālacakra sand *maṇḍala* at the Douglas Hyde Gallery in Trinity College, Ireland. According to the catalogue write-up, their project was a "contribution towards the creation of peace." This video details the creation of the *maṇḍala* from the center outward and the monk's performance of dancing and chanting associated with Kālacakra; 2) "Sand Painting: Sacred Art of Tibetan Buddhism." This video was created during the 1991 Asian Art Museum exhibit of Tibetan art. Here, "the meaning of the symbols of the *maṇḍala* with its five levels and myriad deities is explored;" and 3) "Exploring the Mandala" by Pema Losang Chogyen:

This dynamic computer-simulated exploration of a three-dimensional mandala represents a unique collaboration between ancient traditions of Tibetan Buddhist meditation and state-of-the-art computer graphics technology. Pema Losang Chogyen, a Tibetan monk from Namgyal Monastery, and researchers at Cornell University's Program of Computer Graphics worked for more than two years to produce this unique video. The video demonstrates the relationship between the two-dimensional mandala (here a sand mandala) and the lesser known three-dimensional form visualized in meditation by Tibetan yogis. The video animation takes viewers through the course of visualization, presenting a comprehensive visual introduction to Tibetan mandalas.

⁶³² This video, made by Martin McGee and Cathy Steffan, documents the construction of the sand *maṇḍala* by four monks at the Buffalo Museum of Science in August of 1991.

tion;" footage the museum compiled from their archives to describe Tibetan art, the museum altar, and Tibetan festivals.

But if we are not satisfied with books and videos, if we want to see "the real thing," we need only "Call 1-800-525-TREK" to secure a \$3000 land-portion-only tour to the Dalai Lama's conferral of the Kālacakra Empowerment at Tabo Monastery in Spiti, India. The "Snow Lion Expeditions" blurb reads as follows:⁶³³

Your special 16-day Snow Lion Spiti-Kalachakra itinerary includes the magnificent Bhimakali Temple; the spectacular Sutlej River gorge that you follow through the Himalayas on the fabled Hindustan-Tibet Road; three days at Tabo Monastery with its magnificent frescoes; and Dharamsala.

At this point, the ultimate piece of humble pie has just been served up to a thousand-year-old tradition now reduced, like one of the "Ancient Wonders of the World," to a blip on a very-yuppified travel itinerary. Of course, taking a tour that includes the Kālacakra Empowerment as one stop in an otherwise hectic schedule is one step above watching the empowerment on video, but the ritual here still is contextualized as a "tourist attraction" and access to it occurs within a commodified setting.

And so, sand *maṇḍalas* and Kālacakra have become a little "Big Business" in dharma circles, thoroughly commodified and put in their place by Western tourist-consciousness and the unique North American thirst for knick-knacks. *Maṇḍalas* in coffee houses are not so strange when you consider everything else out there, e.g., jigsaw puzzles and screen savers, objects that supposedly are propelling the Westernization of Tibetan Buddhism.

Encounter, even the staged encounter of museum and university and gallery that is a poor relative of the grittier stuff they're experiencing in Watts and other environ-

⁶³³ Snow Lion Publications (1996: 9)

ments on the edge -- this process of *encounter* transforms both audience and participants. No one leaves the stage unaffected. For better or for worse, preconceptions are revealed, illusions are shattered, and lives are changed. The significant publicity given to *maṇḍala* exhibits in the United States has led a sort of "rock-starification" of the monastic performers. Without sounding too much like a tabloid journalist, I should note that no insignificant amount of sexual brouhaha accompanies *maṇḍala* exhibits and other forms of the Tibetan Roadshow. Like unruly drummers experiencing some sort of a post-gig rush, I have seen more than one Tibetan monk trying to pick up an American "babe" after a concert. And on the other hand, one *ex-monk* I know was constantly subjected to marriage proposals from women in the audience -- he was even stalked by two girl-fans who attempted to rape him after a hard day's work at the museum. After unsuccessfully requesting some three or four times that the women leave, he ended up calling the police because he felt too conflicted to remove them from his apartment by force.

The Commodification of Injustice

To a great extent, the very existence of a Tibetan Buddhist *cause* arises through the recontextualization of sacred ritual arts into the secular centers of postmodern American life. But do Tibetan Roadshows, these exhibits and performances and displays, do they actually advance the created cause of Tibetan human rights, do they propel the propagation of Buddhism, or, in the long run, do they hinder it? Are the creation of *mantra*-CD sound bites, the attenuation of ritual dance sequences to coincide with short audience attention spans, and the plastering of *maṇḍala* images on Sony digital technology-- are these ultimately self-defeating memetic strategies? Do these strategies make the rituals *too accessible* -- accessible to the point that they lose their

mystery, which is possibly their greatest power in captivating popular imagination and hence garnering support for Tibetan political ends? *Maṇḍala* exhibits do serve particular agendas, such as monetary monastic ones, but as attention shifts to performances enacted for the consuming American public, performances enacted in pre-packaged, hygienic and otherwise flat spaces, attention may be diverted away from the horrors of ethnic and cultural genocide, religious persecution, and environmental desecration in Tibet.

But who has the power here? Who has the power to create, to support, or to dismiss, the genocide of a people as a "cause" worthy of attention -- something worth a few hours' time at the end of a Sunday stroll through Central Park? Despite exhibits' success in exposing people to Tibetan ritual arts, the display of Tibetan sand *maṇḍalas*, indeed the very existence of Tibetan chanting tours and dancing performances -- these exhibitions may be burying alive the grim and sad reality that has given them birth.

And what emotions does this commodification of injustice incite in the hearts of the performers? Although an air of polite resignation emanates from the monks who are called on to enact Tibetan Roadshows, an underlying current of resentment, one often transmuted into subtle condescension and pissed-off coffee-bar Tibetan, betrays the grim reality undergirding the fact that these exhibits and displays are occurring at all.⁶³⁴ A million Tibetans have been killed over the past forty years, thousands of monasteries have been destroyed, and Tibetan monastics and lay people alike are now scattered across the world like specks of gunpowder still drifting after the blast of a

⁶³⁴ To an adoring American public, this demasking of the monks' romanticized attitude towards life may appear harsh. Nevertheless, many monks are angry, just plain angry. Video stores in Dharamsala keep a copy of "Rambo" on the shelves because the monks enjoy it so -- despite repeated admonitions from the Dalai Lama, many actually enjoy seeing Stallone blowing away the bad guys, whom they identify directly and explicitly with the Chinese Communists.

canon called "the Communist Liberation of Tibet." It is unspeakable, yet here we I am writing about it in yet another polite and civilized "academic" forum; and as the author, I become yet another primate in the parade of trained monk-eyes "displaying" what were once extremely sacred arts of Tibet. Primate Visions.

From the perspective of many monks, tyranny consorts with Tibetan Road-shows. Impelled by economic realities and high-ranking monastic authorities who suggest they participate in such tours, many monks feel humiliated as they grovel at the feet of uninformed and plastic Americans. What is worse? Demeaning one's sacred practice and the rituals that accompany it by selling tickets, or confronting the Chinese directly at the door of a monastery -- at least then it is an honest fight. In the West, the forces one combats are more perfidious, more pervasive and more disembodied -- capitalism, electronic encapsulation, technological superiority -- so the resentment, too, becomes more diffuse, its outlets more complex and contorted.⁶³⁵ Because reality just doesn't sell, Tibetans now find themselves commodifying their own rituals and commodifying the political injustice they have suffered, while academics like myself end up commenting upon this commodification. The sacred seems lost in all the bustle; we never get to see a "real" *maṇḍala*, though apologist academics⁶³⁶ would have us believe differently.

Having become desensitized by our virtual representational technologies, slides

⁶³⁵ There is something very skewed in this world, an odd categorical overlap between secular and sacred, when stuffy museum halls and be-bop coffee shops are the new loci for what was traditionally the most sacred visual image of a religious tradition of tantric practice with a thousand-year history. Something monstrous and tyrannical characterizes any form of exhibition, including this dissertation itself, that invents a new genre of *maṇḍala* enactment by decontextualizing *maṇḍalas* from their traditional use in Tibetan tantric empowerment ceremonies and recontextualizing them in secular, commercial, and academic space, then goes on to validate this process under the rubric of pedagogy and community service.

⁶³⁶ Myers (1994) argues that museum exhibition of sacred arts creates a new species that can be evaluated along the same dimensions of validity as the original cultural forms appearing in community-based ritual contexts.

and posters and screen savers and stuff, I wonder sometimes that if confronted by a "real" *maṇḍala* in *real* living color in a *real* ritual context in the middle of the Himalayas somewhere, we members of the new digerati would be struck dumb, unable to integrate the force of it and turned to pillars of salt like Job's wife who dared to turn back and see the truth. But thanks to this virtual world of ours, this world of approximations on the real and then further approximations on the approximations, we no longer have to climb to the top of the mountain anymore to get our fix; no, now the Tibetan community is in such dire straits, or, in some cases, is enterprising enough, that they have decided to come to us -- colonialism without the commute.

Electronic Analysis

The very existence of Tibetan Roadshows and video dharma betrays Buddhism's confrontation with modernity, especially that hyper-technological and commodified modernity that characterizes life in the United States. Symbolic juxtapositions have brought the Kālacakra tradition together with computer culture; information technology has altered profoundly globally-plural manifestations of the sacred. It is not surprising that in downloading a bunch of Tibetan guys in their long purple robes and funny yellow hats, Apple Corporation has cashed in on the monks' initial Roadshow popularity by enlisting them to help market computers -- the same monks that chanted *mantras* in concert halls across the United States can be seen in a blithering array of magazines touting a Macintosh Powerbook the same way that they carry the ritual vases during tantric empowerments. Ironically, the ritual vases in the Kālacakra Empowerment traditionally symbolize the *dākinis*' voluptuous breasts, conduit of all sustenance, a role taken over in contemporary virtual culture by the computer since lactose-intolerance, i.e., nature-intolerance, has persuaded us to change our

diet from milk to information.

What exactly is going on in a world in which one culture offers up winzied and humbled monastic patriarchs in yellow hats -- dudes that look like they're straight out of a Chiquita-banana commercial -- to another culture that gobbles them whole, packages their rituals into video format, washes them down with a few CD chanting recordings, then wipes its hands clean from the tsampa-biscotti residue, leafs through the *Times* for a glance at the movie section, and moves along to the next item on the Day Planner? Sidestepping the normative question of whether or not this is a good thing, all of this "cultural exchange" supposedly predicated on a platform for "Cultural Survival," we can certainly ask whether or not e-media enhance or detract from an experience of the sacred.

As Marshall McLuhan has theorized, we are in the midst of an epoch-making transition that is characterized by society's shift from print-based to electronic communications; and it is this transition that is reweaving the entire social and cultural web. According to McLuhan, the current electronic transition will be as consequential for human culture as was the shift catalyzed by Gutenberg's invention of movable type.⁶³⁷ Like all representations, media and technology supply mounts for the propagation of Tibetan Tantric memes. Whereas problematic museum and coffee-shop contexts may trivialize and commodify High Tibetan tantric culture, electronic media, especially video and computer technology, modify Tibetan Tantra in a different way. Indeed, this transformation is linked to the manner in which electronic data are processed by the human mind.

⁶³⁷ Birkerts (1994) contends that electronic media are dangerously invisible in their functioning, and Miller (1988) notes that because the medium of TV has diffused itself throughout our culture, it has, through its sheer omnipresence, vanquished the possibility of any type of comparative perspective. Because there is no independent vantage point, we cannot see the role that television or electronic-communication media have assumed in our lives.

In the case of print media, reading sacred texts facilitates a sense of the sacred and of the eternality of time. In contrast, transmission of Buddhist dharma *via* electronic media serves, in the long run, to alienate viewers rather than to connect them. In his book entitled *In the Absence of the Sacred: The Failure of Technology & the Survival of the Indian Nations*, Jerry Mander⁶³⁸ cites scientific studies of brain-wave activity in which researchers found that the longer one watches television, the more likely the brain will slip into alpha-level states characterized by slow, steady brain-wave patterns in which the mind is in its most receptive mode. According to Mander:

It is a noncognitive mode; i.e., information can be placed into the mind *directly*, without viewer participation. When watching television, people are receiving images into their brains without thinking about them. ... There are many reasons why the brain slips into this passive-receptive alpha condition. One reason is the lack of eye movement when watching TV, because of the small size of the screen. Sitting at a normal distance, the eye can gather most of the image without scanning the screen for it. The image comes in whole. This lack of *seeking* images disrupts the normal association between eye movement and thought stimulation, which is a genetically provided safety valve for human beings. Before modern times, any unusual event in the environment would attract instant attention; all the senses would immediately turn to it, including the vision sense and its "feeler," the eyes. But when an image doesn't have to be sought, an important form of mental stimulation is absent.

A second factor causing the brain to slip into alpha-wave activity is that, with the eyes not moving and the screen flickering on and off sixty times per second, an effective hypnosis is induced, at least in the view of psychologists who use hypnotism. ...

The third factor is the most important. The information on the TV screen -- the images -- come at their own speed, outside of the viewer's control; an image *stream*. One doesn't "pull out" and contemplate TV images, as if they were still photographs or images described in a written passage. If you attempted to do that you would fall behind the image stream. So there are two choices: surrender to the images, or withdraw from the experience. ... So, the nature of the experience makes you passive to its process, in body and mind.

In contrast to television, print media is the most engaging and participatory of all media forms currently known. Like television, computers also impact brain waves.

⁶³⁸ Mander (1991: 80-81)

Researchers in Sweden found that the flickering light from computer screens can cause brain waves to spike to unusually high levels, which may result in feelings of fatigue, headaches, and tingling skin. In addition, more recent research at the University of Pennsylvania has employed functional magnetic resonance imaging (i.e, MRI technology) to study the brains of people while they explore a computer-generated virtual environment.⁶³⁹ Reading is an active rather than a passive process, and it requires conscious mental effort. It is impossible to be in an alpha-level cognitive state while reading *if* one is comprehending what is being read. In addition, since print media is not subject to time limitations, it is able to deliver to each individual reader whatever is necessary to achieve understanding.

Since electronic technology, in both its visual and nonvisual formats, encourages in users a heightened and ever-changing awareness of the present, such technology works against historical perception and religious experience by its dependence upon the inimical notions of logic and sequential succession. Whereas print media exalt the word and fix it into permanence, electronic media reduce it to a signal, "a means to an end." As the circuit supplants the printed page, historical perspective is flattened, and changes in information storage impinge upon our historical memory and our sense of the sacred. Video, CD and database expunge both context and chronology, admitting us to "a weightless order in which all information is equally accessible,"⁶⁴⁰ often equally valid, and certainly, equally non-sacred.

Electronic media also obliterate the sense of sacred time. As Mander notes, circuit-driven communication is predicated upon the instantaneous. We enter a virtual *now*, the perpetual present tense of the impulse, beep, and flickering cursor. Whereas

⁶³⁹ Travis (1996)

⁶⁴⁰ Birkets (1994)

Cyberspace is that no-place in which data are held and through which they pass, Cybertime is a limbo in which we suspend ourselves while we perform electronic operations. Cybertime is antithetical to that which is aesthetic, in a deep sense, and, I would hazard, to the sacred as well. Cyber-sacrality is a contradiction, an oxymoron. Indeed, the entire Cyber metaphor depends upon representation, approximation, the desire to be constructed, and the compulsion to construct. Cyber is, in effect, the antithesis of religious experience. The Cyber Beast's very nature pushes towards a collapse of the wave function and the resulting encapsulation of frozen life. Just as Crick suggests in his panspermia hypothesis that DNA may have been launched to earth in a meteorite, Tibetan culture has been launched to the West in incipient video format. Of course, such directed launch entails that tantric arts will evolve differently in our electronic ecosystem than they did on the Rooftop of the World. Disconcerting, however, is the fact that encapsulation *via* the sound bite imparts the *illusion* that we have something. Mander reacts with trepidation to this situation:

My core fear is that we are, as a culture, as a species, becoming shallower; that we have turned from depth -- from the Judeo-Christian premise of unfathomable mystery -- and are adapting ourselves to the ersatz security of a vast lateral connectedness. That we are giving up on wisdom, the struggle for which has for millennia been central to the very idea of culture, and that we are pledging instead to a faith in the web. ... The devil no longer moves about on cloven hooves, reeking of brimstone. He is an affable, efficient fellow. He claims to want to help us all along to a brighter, easier future, and his sales pitch is very smooth. ... I saw what it could be like, our toil and misery replaced by a vivid, pleasant dream. Fingers tap keys, oceans of fact and sensation get downloaded, are dissolved through the nervous system. Bottomless wells of data are accessed and manipulated, everything flowing at circuit speed. Gone the rock in the field, the broken hoe, the grueling distances. 'History,' said Stephen Dedalus, 'is a nightmare from which I am trying to awaken.' This may be the awakening, but it feels curiously like the fantasies that circulate through our sleep. From deep in the heart I hear the voice that says, 'Refuse it.'

Infected by a new mind virus claiming that the transmission of cultural memes functions analogously to the transmission of biological genes, I suggest that when religious "memes" affix themselves to certain types of media, namely electronic media,

they insure their reduction, trivialization, eventual mutation, and possible extinction. Essentially, I suspect that electronic meme-carriers may work analogously to multicellular sexual organisms in the biological world. In multicellular sexual creatures such as humans, the organism's germ line is involved with propagation and successful transmission, while the soma to which it gives rise and which is involved with survival and prosperity, dies out.⁶⁴¹ Indeed, no one can argue that meme-carrying media propagate successfully -- in just a few years, we have moved from television to video, from CD to CD-Rom. But while an electronic "vehicle" insures its own survival and propagation, that which is "carried," the content-*cum*-soma, dies out.⁶⁴² Left is an ossification of the sacred, Dead Ritual -- the original living tradition has become so transformed that the sacred *virtually* has been sucked out of it.⁶⁴³

Initially, as hyper-tech world is drawn to the "latest" and "greatest," various factors accelerate a meme's initial propagation and diffusion -- newness facilitates initial interest; shock value endows initial interest with an affective valence; simplicity facilitates cultural accommodation; and hierarchy provides the stage for negotiations involving power. But witness the short half-lives of new alternative rock bands. Similarly, by allaying itself with techno-media (Virtual Rituals on Video, Canned Chanting on CDs, Glossy Buddhas on Magazines, and Electronic Gurus on the Internet), germ lines within Tibetan Tantric culture insure their own extinction. In less than a decade, I predict, we have "progressed" from "Teenage Ninja Mutant Turtles" to "Fading Tibetan Mutant *Maṇḍalas*."

⁶⁴¹ Goodenough (1997)

⁶⁴² Indeed, though hybridization (read "religious syncretism") is one strategy that can result in evolutionary success, my argument here specifically highlights the evolutionary dangers inherent in using electronic media in this process.

⁶⁴³ As recounted by Heim (1993: 66), Marshall McLuhan observes in a letter to Buckminster Fuller, creator of the infamous Buckey Balls, "Today the environment itself becomes the artifact."

Though *maṇḍala* exhibits in the United States initially retained an air of the sacred, as for example when the Kālacakra *maṇḍala* was constructed in Madison, Wisconsin in the 1980s as part of a tantric empowerment ceremony, this sacred context has been undermined steadily by increasingly-secularized exhibition contexts in which commodification plays a major role. *Maṇḍala*-rug resemblances notwithstanding, it is fair to say that the commercial power of our coffee-shops-gone-mad culture, a big "Feed Me" plant from "The Little Shop of Horrors," has managed to gobble up what were once some of the most sacred iconographic images of Tibetan Tantric Buddhist culture. Unless, of course, you want to count Nantucket-Nectar-drinking Tibetan monks who spend their Monday afternoons girl-watching from balconies in Burlington, Vermont, now there is almost nothing left.

While religious memes continually must transform themselves in order to survive, religious ideas must find viable carriers in order to participate in the process of natural selection without becoming extinct. Affixing themselves to living media, e.g. ritual enactment, seems to be one route by which sacred memes are able to establish the conditions necessary for successful dissemination. Kālacakra provides a case study in point. Although certain aspects of "Kālacakra Culture" have accommodated themselves to electronic media, other Kālacakra memes have stuck to Real People. The Dalai Lama's success in staging mass conferrals of the Kālacakra Empowerment, for example, illustrates the continued power and compelling nature of live interaction. But to what extent will the extinction-drive encoded in tantra's electronic vehicles undercut the dissemination-drive inherent to the Real Rituals? In the case of Kālacakra, is George Sanchez'⁶⁴⁴ distinction between "assimilation" and "selective appropriation" a euphemism blanketing a much more insidious monster, a computer-simulated and

⁶⁴⁴ Sanchez (1993)

electronically-fed Dragon programmed to Appropriate, Use and Destroy?

Whereas commodification breeds secularization through trivialization, electrification creates alienation through discretization.⁶⁴⁵ In his 1993 book *The Metaphysics of Virtual Reality*, Michael Heim⁶⁴⁶ co-opts Leibnizian "monadology," the metaphysics of the "monad," to explain why the lightning speed of the electronic age is perilous to finite beings. The term "monadology" is derived from the Greek term "monas," as in "monastic," "monk," and "monopoly." It refers to a certain kind of aloneness, a solitude in which each being pursues its appetites in isolation from all other beings. According to Heim:⁶⁴⁷

The mental life of the monad -- and the monad has no other life -- is a procession of internal representations. ... Realities are representations continually placed in front of the viewing apparatus of the monad, but placed in such a way that the system interprets or represents what is being pictured. The monad sees the pictures of things and knows only what can be pictured. The monad knows through the interface. The interface represents things, simulates them, and preserves them in a format that the monad can manipulate in any number of ways. The monad keeps the presence of things on tap, as it were, making them instantly available and disposable, so the presence of things is represented or 'canned.'

But why does the written word, the traditional format for religious revelation, appear to induce a sensation of the sacred, while electronic media reduce the sacred to metaphor and information, leading often detachment, alienation, quiet desperation, and sometimes, even death? Was it a mere coincidence that the members of the Heaven's Gate cult were also avid web-page programmers and had developed their group's belief-system in tandem with the dictates of an obsessed electronicism? "They were so pale. They never went out in the sun," one neighbor commented in an article in *The New York Times*.

⁶⁴⁵ According to Heim (1993: 55-72), cultures organized electronically have already left behind the detached, linear, individualistic mentality of literate or print cultures. Further, McLuhan (1962: 66) that Heidegger's treatment of language as a transcendental aspect of Being shows that, "The alphabet and kindred gimmicks have long served man as a subliminal source of philosophical and religious assumptions." McLuhan also notes Heidegger's belief that technology was an overwhelming force that challenges the maxims of traditional morality.

The fatal electronic flaw, the crack in the firing that causes electronic media to induce alienation, confusion and separation is related to the way in which the human brains processes output from electronic technology. Unlike print media, which have a stable presence in time and space and which depict a continuous flow of words along the page, electronic media operate according to discretization; information is clumped, parsed, divided and separated. Although the rate at which discrete bundles of information pass before our eyes is fast enough to fool our conscious minds, it does not fool our subconscious. At this level, we receive the associative message, reinforced over and over and over again at a lightning rate -- "things are inherently separate from one another, they are discrete." The eternal connectedness that characterizes the sacred is subverted by lonely bits of information cut off from a more connected community of wisdom, bits left to blip in and out of existence either at the predetermined, monotonous rate of television or according to the whims of mouse movement and computer keystroke. The mode of the media is the message, and the Canned Culture that results from the electronic, postmodern transmutation of the sacred reads a bit like a nightmare; perhaps someday we will remember that it is time to wake up.

⁶⁴⁶ Heim (1993: 97-99)

⁶⁴⁷ Heim (1993: 97)

KĀLACAKRA

TEXTUAL AND RITUAL PERSPECTIVES

APPENDICES

A thesis presented

by

Jensine Andresen

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APPENDIX A

PRELIMINARY TRANSLATION OF THE THIRD CHAPTER OF THE ŚRĪ KĀLACAKRA¹

abhiṣekonāma tṛtīyaḥ paṭalaḥ

The Third Chapter, known as the "Empowerment."

Part I. vajrācāryādisarvakarmaprasarasādhanaḥ lakṣaṇamahoddeśaḥ

The great explanation, which has as its characteristic the practice of the expansion² of all the actions of the vajra master, etc.

KT III.1-22: Request, teacher, hearth, spreading powder.

Part II. rakṣācakrapūrvāṅgamabhūmyādisaṃgrahamahoddeśaḥ

The explanation for seizing the earth, etc., which is located in front of the protection wheel.

KT III.23-35: Teacher, wrathful deities, purification, protection.

Part III. maṇḍalavartanaṃ nāma mahoddeśaḥ

The great explanation, "the turning of the maṇḍala" by name.

KT III.36-70: Drawing maṇḍala, burnt offerings.

Part IV. maṇḍalābhiṣekamahoddeśaḥ

The great explanation of the empowerment of the maṇḍala.

KT III.71-103: Hearths, burnt offerings, entering maṇḍala, worldly empowerments.

Part V. pratiṣṭhāgaṇacakravādyogacaryāmahoddeśaḥ

Here, the section [concerning] the conduct of yoga for the rule of the consecration and the feast.³

KT III.104-169: Consecration, higher empowerments, conduct.

Part VI. mudrādr̥ṣṭiṃ maṇḍalavisaṃjanavīrabhojyavidhimahoddeśaḥ

The rule for bestowing the hero of cessation in the maṇḍala of the sight of the mudrā -- the great part.

KT III.170-203: Hand gestures, eye signs, secret signs, concluding maṇḍala rites, powder into water, feeding initiates.

¹ Note: Visual markers draw readers' attention to the workings of the translation process. Braces {designate inclusion from the VP}; double braces {{designate Bu ston's commentary, BTG}}; and brackets [designate the translator's notes].

² (Skt. prasara)

³ (Skt. gaṇacakra)

PART I

vajrācāryādisarvakarmaprasarasādhanaḥlakṣaṇamahoddeśaḥ

The great explanation, which has as its characteristic the practice of expansion of all the action of the vajra master, etc.

{Obeisance {{prostration}} to Glorious Kālacakra, by whom the ten-fold {{generosity}}⁴ beginning with horses, etc. {{elephant, girl, foundation of earth [i.e., land], spouse, own flesh, precious iron, ba sa (2), cow}} has been given, and by whom a gift is given to the one {{to those}} who seeks gifts, by whom {{perfect}} merit and wisdom {{of knowing the lack of inherent existence}}⁵ [are possessed] -- {{by Buddha}}, by means of one with great strength, and by whom the {{four}} Māras, etc. {{those who obstruct and those who misguide, also the 21,000 breaths⁶ and the imprint⁷ of change}} have been destroyed. Having sprinkled the universe,⁸ which has been analyzed,⁹ on the glorious maṇḍala, which is the stainless Dharma Realm, which is the Lord of Speech, which is the sole domain of teachers, [give] obeisance to that Buddha.} {{At glorious Dhānyakāṭaka, having initiated into the dharmadhātu, the maṇḍala of the untainted Lord of Speech, goods and people, etc., to them who are fortunate, [I] make prostration to that Buddha who prophesized that all sentient beings [attain] the highest place of a single Buddha.¹⁰}}

{Having bowed down in this manner to Kālacakra, who has the best bodies of three [types],¹¹ and who possesses great bliss, who has the foremost three vajras of the maṇḍalas, he is the thundering vajra and is imperishable.} {{Likewise, having prostrated to Kālacakra (indistinguishable method and wisdom), to great bliss (the body of inherent birth),¹² to the three supreme bodies (dharmakāya, etc. [i.e., sambhogakāya and nirmāṇakāya]), to the three maṇḍalas, to the three supreme (wisdom vajra and indestructible speech, since he teaches dharma by means of speech of that which has the characteristics of everything and is the wisdom vajra) vajras (vajra body, etc.), and the unchangeable (change applies to the four states of mind; the body of inherent birth is unchangeable) vajra of melody.}} {A short commentary on the empowerment chapter in the tantra is being written by me [Puṇḍarīka], here, with reference to the teachings of the root tantra, in order that one attain the fruits of merit and gnosis.¹³}

{Here, in the south of the town of Kalāpa, in the glorious park of Malaya, at the {{edge of the}} front door of Kālacakra's maṇḍala {{which was constructed by Sucandra}} residence, which is a great treasured and jeweled pavilion -- by King Yaśas who is seated upon the lion throne with great gems and jewels, who possesses a Featureless Body,¹⁴ by Mañjuśrī, {{by King Yaśas ... who is the emanation of Mañjuśrī}},

⁴ (Tib. sbyin)

⁵ (Tib. rang bzhin med par)

⁶ (Tib. dbugs)

⁷ (Tib. bag chags)

⁸ (Skt. viśvaṃ)

⁹ (Skt. vyākṛtam)

¹⁰ BTG (1965: 232)

¹¹ The three bodies are the "truth body" (Skt. dharmakāya; Tib. chos sku); the "enjoyment body" (Skt. sambhogakāya; Tib. longs sku); and the "emanation body" (Skt. nirmāṇakāya; Tib. sprul sku). See Williams (1989: 171-184).

¹² (Tib. lhan cig skyes pa)

¹³ (Skt. jñāna)

¹⁴ (Skt. nirmītakāya; Tib. sprul pa'i sku) The Tibetan term "sprul pa'i sku" is also used to translate the

who was solicited by "the Chariot of the Sun,"¹⁵ he [Sucandra] is predicted¹⁶ by the Buddha from the *Paramādibuddha*, a teaching that explains¹⁷ the purpose of Sucandra's solicitation, in the short tantra,¹⁸ specifically the empowerment chapter, the first verse has been taught. This very thing [the first verse], by me, Puṇḍarīka, who is the Lord of the World {{who is an emanation of the Lord of the World, i.e. Avalokiteśvara}}, who was inspired by Mañjuśrī, who has an Featureless Body, who was predicted by the Buddha -- this is being unfolded by means of the commentary the great explanation, beginning with the words "the measure of the cosmos in the body."}

Sanskrit "nirmāṇakāya."

¹⁵ This is an epithet of Sucandra, the King of Sambhala, to whom the Buddha taught the original *Paramādibuddha*.

¹⁶ (Skt. vyākṛta)

¹⁷ (Skt. pratipādaka)

¹⁸ This refers to Śrī Mañjuśrīyaśas' *Śrīlaghukālacakratantrarāja*.

VERSE 1

Sanskrit: dehe viśvasya mānaṃ dinaniśisamayo māśaṃkrāntibhedā
nāḍīnāṃ sūkṣmasaṃkhyā prakṛtiṣu puruṣastīrthikānāṃ mataṃ ca |
vedaḥ kartrā¹⁹ ādibhedāḥ śrutamiti hi mayā maṇḍalaṃ deśanīyaṃ
śrutvā saucandravākyaṃ pravadatai sugato maṇḍalaṃ kālacakram || 1 ||

Tibetan: lus la sna tshogs tshad dang nyin dang mtshan mo'i dus dang zla ba 'pho ba'i
dbye ba mams dang ni

rtsa mams kyi ni phra mo'i grangs dang rang bzhin dang ni skyes bu mu stegs mams
kyi 'dod pa dang

rig²⁰ byed dang ni byed po la sogs dbye bab²¹ dag gis thos pas dkyil 'khor dag ni bstan
du gsol

zla ba bzang po'i tshig gsan nas ni bde bar gshegs pa dus kyi 'khor lo'i dkyil 'khor rab
tu gsungs

English: "The {{external}}²² measures of the cosmos²³ in the body {{from the chapter
of inner [Kālacakra]}}, the time of day and night, the divisions of the transits of the
months, the detailed enumeration of channels, the natural disposition,²⁴ which is the
belief of the non-Buddhists,²⁵

the Veda, the division of a creator, etc.,²⁶ [these] have been heard by me. Please teach
the maṇḍala." Having heard Sucandra's discourse, Buddha teaches the Kālacakra
maṇḍala.

{Here, beginning with "The measures of the cosmos in the body" and ending with
"Please teach the maṇḍala" is the request of Sucandra. Then, among the verses of the
entire empowerment chapter, beginning with "Having heard Sucandra's discourse, the
Buddha utters the Kālacakra maṇḍala," this is the reply of the Tathāgata, and no other
request exists through the end of the paṭala. Here, Sucandra said, "Here in the body,
O Bhagavā," which was spoken by the Bhagavān in the second chapter, beginning with

¹⁹ KT reads *kartā* and lists *kartrā* as a variant.

²⁰ VC incorrectly reads "rigs."

²¹ VC incorrectly reads "ba."

²² BTG (1965: 234)

²³ (Skt. viśvasya māna; Tib. sna tshogs tshad)

²⁴ (Skt. prakṛtiṣu-puruṣas; Tib. rang bzhin)

²⁵ (Skt. tīrthikānāṃ mataṃ; Tib. skyes bu mu stegs mams kyi 'dod pa). The term "tīrthika" is one used
by Buddhists to refer to Hindus and other sectarians. Prakṛtiṣu-puruṣas-tīrthika are the Sāṃkhyas, who
teach the twenty-five principles (Skt. tattva). Another Sāṃkhya phrase, prakṛti-guṇa-vaśāt, is used
throughout the KT.

²⁶ (Skt. kartrā-ādi-bhedāḥ; Tib. byed po la sogs dbye ba dag gis) According to Lhalungpa (1993), this
phrase refers to the distinction between Kālacakra and other non-Buddhist traditions, especially the
Vedantic tradition.

"The measures of the cosmos in the body, the time of day and night, the divisions of the transits of the months," and ending with "in the Veda, the division of a creator, etc." The meaning of this "has been heard by me" is that all has been understood. }

VERSE 2

Sanskrit: idānīm vajrācāryaparīkṣām gurvārādhānāya dvitīyuvṛttenāha
ādāvityādinā /

ādaṁ saṁsevanīyo gururapi samayī vajrayānādhirūḍhas

tattvadhāyī tvalubdho vyapagatakaluṣaḥ kṣāntiśīlo 'dhvavartī |

śiṣyāṇām mārḡadātā narakabhayaḥharastattvato brahmacārī

mārāṇām vajradāṇḍaḥ sa ca dharaṇītale vajrasattvaḥ prasiddhaḥ || 2 ||

Tibetan: dang por yang dag bsten bya bla ma dag kyang dam tshig ldan zhing rdo rje
theg pa lhag par gnas

de nyid bsgoms shing ma chags dri ma dag dang rnam par bral zhing bzod pa'i ngang
tshul lam la zhugs

slob²⁷ ma rnams la lam ni sbyin byed dmyal ba'i 'jigs pa 'phrog cing de nyid las ni
tshangs spyod ldan

bdud rnams la ni rdo rje dbyugs pa de yang 'dzin ma'i gzhi la rdo rje sems dpar rab
grags pa'o

English: Now with the second verse, he [the Buddha] describes the examination of the
vajra master for the purpose of honoring the guru, beginning with "in the beginning."

In the beginning, indeed the guru is to be served. One who holds the commitments,
mounted on the tantric vehicle, who meditates upon the principles²⁸ {practices that
result in the worldly and transworldly accomplishments}, who is not attached
{indifferent towards one's family and towards one's own body}, whose impurities have
vanished, one with the disposition of patience, who makes a path {to complete
Buddhahood},

who gives the path to the disciples, who destroys the fear of hell, who is actually a
celibate, who wields the vajra staff against the Māras²⁹ -- he is well-known as Vaj-
rasattva on the surface of the earth.³⁰

²⁷ VC incorrectly reads "ldab."

²⁸ (Skt. tattva-dhāyī; Tib. de nyid bsgoms) VC reads "who meditates on emptiness."

²⁹ According to Lhalungpa (1993), the four Māras are: 1) the demon of mental afflictions / negative emotions; 2) the demon of death; 3) the demon of celestial gods, who tempts disciples with sensual pleasures, etc.; and 4) the demon of the aggregates.

³⁰ (Skt. dharaṇī-tale; Tib. 'dzin ma'i gzhi)

VERSE 3

Sanskrit: idānīm duṣṭācāryadoṣa parīkṣārthamiha tṛtīyavṛttenaivāha mānīyādinā /
mānī krodhābhibūtaḥ samayavirahito dravyalubdhō 'śrutaśca
śiṣyāṇām vañcanārthī paramasukhapade naṣṭacitto na siktah |
bhogāsaktaḥ pramattaḥ sakaṭukavacanaḥ kāmukaścendriyārthaṃ
śiṣyaiḥ sambodhihetornarakamiva budhairvarjanīyaḥ sa eva || 3 ||

Tibetan: nga rgyal dang ldan khro bas zil mnan dam tshig nam bral rdzas la brkam
zhing thos pa dag kyang med

slob ma rnams ni slu ba don du gnyer zhing mchog gi bde ba'i gnas las sems nyams
dbang ma bskur

longs spyod dag la kun chags bag med rtsub mo'i tshig dang bcas shing dbang po'i don
du 'dod ldan pa

de nyid dmyal ba bzhin du slob ma mkhas pa rnams kyis rdzogs pa'i byang chub rgyur
ni spang par bya

English: Now, by means of the third verse, he [the Buddha] describes here the purpose of examining the faults of a bad teacher, beginning with "one who possesses pride."

One who possesses pride, who is overcome with anger, without the commitments,³¹ greedy for material goods and who is unlearned {a fool devoid of the teaching of the true path}, whose purpose is deceiving disciples, whose mind has fallen with respect to the state of highest joy, and who is not consecrated/empowered,³²

one who is attached to enjoyments, who is drunken, whose speech is harsh, who possesses desire due to the sense faculties³³ {the two sexual organs}, by his disciples, he indeed is to be avoided as hell [is avoided] by wise people, for the purpose of complete enlightenment.

³¹ (Skt. samaya; Tib. dam tshig)

³² (Skt. siktah; Tib. dbang ma bskur)

³³ (Skt. kāmukaścendriyārthaṃ; Tib. dbang po'i don du 'dod ldan pa)

VERSE 4

Sanskrit: idānīm prajñā jñānābhiṣekārtha sacchiṣyalakṣaṇamucyate gambhīra ityādinā /
gambhīrodāracitto guruniyamaratastyāgaśīlo guṇajño
mokṣārthī tantrabhakto 'pyacapala hṛdayo labdha tattve 'tiguptaḥ |
duṣṭānām saṅgaṇaṣṭaḥ sunipuṇaguruṇā grāhyaśiṣyaḥ sa eva
prajñāsekādihetorapara iti punarmadhyamaḥ puṇyahetoḥ || 4 ||

Tibetan: zab cing rgya che la sems bla ma'i nges pa la dga' gtong ba'i ngang tshul
dang ldan yon tan shes

thar pa don gnyer rgyud la gus shing gyo ba min pa'i sems ldan de nyid thob pa shin du
sped

gdug pa nams kyi grogs nyams slob ma de nyid bla ma shin du mkhas pa nams kyi
bsdu bya ba

shes rab dbang la sogs pa'i rgyur te gzhan zhes bya ba slar yang 'bring po bsod nams
dag gi rgyur

English: Now the character of the good disciples is described for the purpose of the wisdom and gnosis empowerments, beginning with "profound."

[One whose] mind is deep and lofty, who delights in the precepts³⁴ of the teacher, who has the disposition of renunciation, a "knower of the qualities" {one who has faith in the three jewels}, one who seeks liberation, one who is devoted to tantra, one whose mind also is unwavering, and one who is well-guarded with respect to the truths that have been attained,

only one whose attachment to bad things is destroyed, only he is to be gathered by the well-skilled guru for the sake of the wisdom empowerment, etc. {"etc." means that he alone is qualified for the fourth empowerment}.³⁵ However, there is another [disciple] of middling capacity appropriate for the [path of the accumulation of] merit {for the seven empowerments [of childhood]. But if he propitiates his guru, the [disciple] of lowest capacity is to be gathered for the five "teachings,"³⁶ but not if he causes harm.}

³⁴ (Skt. niyama; Tib. nges pa)

³⁵ Unlike other Highest Yoga Tantras such as the *Hevajratantra*, the *Śrī Kālacakra* describes a total of eleven empowerments. See Chapter IV of this dissertation.

³⁶ (Skt. śikṣa)

VERSE 5

Sanskrit: idānīm vajrācāryasya maṇḍalavartanāyābhiṣekadānāya tantradeśanārthaṃ
yoginīnām pūjākaraṇāya śukla parvaniyamo bhagavatokto vitanyate caitrā ta ityādinā /

caitrānte śvetaparve parahitaguruṇā maṇḍalaṃ vartayitvā

deyāḥ saptābhiṣekāḥ kaluṣamalahaṛāḥ puṇyahetoḥ sutānām |

pūjā vai yoginīnām sakalaguṇanidherdeśanāyā nimittaṃ

pūjābhāve 'bdamekaṃ nahi bhavati gurordeśanā tantrarāje || 5 ||

Tibetan: nag pa'i mthar ni dkar po'i tshigs la gzhan la phan pa'i bla mas dkyil 'khor
dag ni bzhengs byas nas

sdig pa'i dri ma 'phrog pa'i dbang bdun rnams ni bsod nams don du bu rnams dag la
sbyin par bya

yang na mtha' dag yon tan gter ni bstan pa'i slad du rnal 'byor ma rnams dag la mchod
pa bya

mchod pa med na lo gcig tu ni rgyud kyi rgyal po dag ni bla mas bstan par mi bya'o

English: Now the precept that pertains to the full-moon day is unfolded, which was stated by the Blessed One for the purpose of the vajra master's drawing of the maṇḍala and conferral of the empowerment; for the purpose of teaching tantra; and for the sake of the yoginīs' performing offering, [by the words] beginning with "at the end of Caitra."

At the end of Caitra, on the full-moon day, having drawn the maṇḍala, the guru should confer the empowerments of the seven [stages of childhood], which remove the stains of impurities, for the purpose of the disciples' [accumulation of] merit.

Indeed, the yoginīs³⁷ {should perform} offering³⁸ for the sake of the teachings of "the treasure of all good qualities" {the King of Tantras [i.e., Kālacakra]}, but without offering, the guru's teaching on the King of Tantras does not occur for one year.

³⁷ (Tib. rnal 'byor ma rnams)

³⁸ (Tib. mchod pa)

VERSE 6

Sanskrit: idānīm sekārthaṃ bhūmyādilakṣaṇamucyate
sekārthaṃ bhūparīkṣāṃ vanapuranigame grāmake digvibhāgaṃ
jñātvācāryaḥ samastaṃ tvaśubhaśubhaphale śāntikādyam prakuryāt |
kuṇḍānām lakṣaṇam vai sakalaśarajasām homakīlādikānām
śiṣyānām saṃgrahaṃ yatparamajinapatermaṇḍalālekhaṇam ca || 6 ||

Tibetan: dbang gi don du sa ni yongs brtag nags tang grong khyer grong rdal grong gi
phyogs kyi cha dag dang

thab khung rnams kyi mtshan nyid dang ni bum pa dang bcas rdul tshon sbyin sreg
phur bu la sogs dang

slob ma rnams ni bsdu ba dag dang gang yang rgyal ba'i bdag po mchog gi dkyil 'khor
bri ba dag

shes nas slob dpon gyis³⁹ ni dge dang mi dge'i 'bras slad zhi ba la sogs mtha' dag rab
tu bya

English: Now, the characteristic of the earth, etc. is described for the purpose of
empowerment.

For the purpose of empowerment, having understood the examination of the earth,⁴⁰
the division of the directions⁴¹ in the small village, in the town, city and forest, the
teacher should perform everything beginning with pacifying, etc.⁴² with regard to {for
the purpose of} the results of inauspicious and auspicious {actions}.⁴³

{And, having understood them, the teacher should also perform} the characteristics of
the hearths, indeed,⁴⁴ the dust [particles] in the vase,⁴⁵ the stake⁴⁶ for the fire offer-

³⁹ VC incorrectly reads "gyes."

⁴⁰ (Skt. bhūmi; Tib. sa)

⁴¹ (Skt. dik; Tib. phyogs)

⁴² KT III.8 enumerates eight ritual actions of the vajra master:

1) Pacification (Skt. śānti; Tib. shi);

2) Expansion (Skt. puṣṭi; Tib. rgya);

3) Murder (Skt. mārāṇa; Tib. bsad);

4) Banishment (Skt. uccāṭana; Tib. bskrad)

5) Subjugation (Skt. vaśya; Tib. dbang);

6) Attraction (Skt. ākrṣṭi; Tib. dbug);

7) Immobilization (Skt. stambhana; Tib. rengs); and

8) Obscuration (Skt. mohana; Tib. rmongs).

⁴³ (Skt. śubha-aśubha-karma-phala-arthaṃ) The terms "inauspicious and auspicious" in the KT are
reversed to "auspicious and inauspicious" in the VP.

⁴⁴ (Skt. kuṇḍānām; Tib. thab khung rnams kyi) The Tibetan term "thab khung" means hearth hole or

ing,⁴⁷ etc., the collection of the disciples, and this drawing of the maṇḍala of the highest Lord of the Victors [Kālacakra].

hearth pit. See VC (1966: 146).

⁴⁵ (Skt. *kalaśa*; Tib. *bum pa*)

⁴⁶ (Skt. *kīla*; Tib. *phur bu*)

⁴⁷ (Skt. *homa*; Tib. *sbyin sreg*)

VERSE 7

Sanskrit: idānīm bhūmilakṣaṇamucyate /

bhūmerjātiścaturdhā bhavati guṇavaśācchūdraviḍrājaviprā

kṛṣṇā pītā ca raktā śaśadharadhavalā varṇato veditavyā |

pūtikṣārābjagandhā bhavati vasumatī divyagandhā krameṇa amlā

kṣārā ca śūdrī samadhurakaṭuke viḍṇrpe 'anyo dvijātiḥ || 7 ||

Tibetan: sa yi rigs ni yon tan dbang gyis nam bzhir 'gyur ba dmangs rigs rje rigs
rgyal po bram ze ste

nag dang ser dang dmar ba dang ni ri bong 'dzin pa dkar ba'i kha dog nams kyis rig
par bya

rnag dang lan tshva dag dang chu skyes dri dang mchog gi dri nams rim pas⁴⁸ nor
ldan mar ni 'gyur

skyur dang lan tshva dmangs rigs mngar dang tsha ba rje rigs mi bdag gzhan pa dag ni
gnyis skyes so

English: Now the characteristic of the earth⁴⁹ is described.

The caste of the earth is four-fold, and they are the laborers, merchants, warriors and priests, in accordance with their qualities.⁵⁰ [They] should be understood as black, yellow, red and white according to their color.

Earth⁵¹ is of the smells putrid, sharp, lotus and divine, respectively. Laborers are of the tastes sour and salty. [These exist] together with sweet and bitter, which correspond to merchants and warriors. The other [taste] is the twice-born [priests].

{According to ordinary speech, there are the four types of things, and the earth is to be understood in terms of the four castes, the laborers, etc., and in terms of the colors black, etc. Here, according to worldly use, the dark-colored earth corresponds to the laborers; when it is yellow it corresponds to the merchants; when it is red it corresponds to the warriors; and when it is white, it corresponds to the priests. Likewise in terms of smell, when it is putrid it corresponds to the laborers; when it is sharp it corresponds to the merchants; when it is lotus-like it corresponds to the warriors; and when it is divine it corresponds to the priests. In the same way in terms of taste, sour and salty taste corresponds to the laborers; sweet corresponds to the merchants; bitter corresponds to the warriors; and the other [taste], which is astringent, corresponds to the twice-born [priests].}

⁴⁸ VC incorrectly reads "ngas." BD correctly reads "pas."

⁴⁹ (Skt. bhūmi)

⁵⁰ (Skt. guṇa; Tib. yon tan)

⁵¹ (Skt. vasumatī; Tib. nor ldan ma)

VERSE 8

Sanskrit: idānīm śāntyādyartham bhūmimāha /

śvetā śāntau ca puṣṭau bhavati ghananibhā māraṇoccāṭane ca
raktākṛṣṭau ca vaśye varakanakanibhā stambhane mohane ca |
sarvasmin karmabhāge bhavati hi haritā pañcamī cāntyajātiḥ
sarvasvādā ca gandhā sakalaguṇanidhiryoginā veditavyā || 8 ||

Tibetan: dkar po dag ni zhi dang rgyas pa la ste sprin nag dang mtshungs bsad dang
bskrad pa dag la yang

dmar po dbang dang dgug pa la ste mchog gi gser dang mtshungs pa rengs dang
rmongs pa la yang 'gyur

las kyi cha ni thams chad pa la ljang khur 'gyur te lnga pa dang ni mtha' ma dag gi rigs

ro dang dri nmams thams cad dang ldan mtha' dag yon tan gter ni rnal 'byor pa yis rigs
par bya

English: Now, he [the Buddha] describes the earth for the purpose of pacifying, etc.
[the eight ritual actions of the vajra master].

In pacification and expansion, [the earth/site/level] is white. In murder and banishment, it is black. In attraction and subjugation, it is red. In immobilization and obscurity, it is yellow.⁵²

In all the divisions of the [ritual] actions, there is the fifth [color], green, which is the last caste. All taste and smell and the treasure of all good qualities {that which is characterized as the realm of space⁵³} are to be understood by the yogī.

⁵² BTG (1965: 258)

⁵³ (Skt. ākāśadhātu) See also KT I.4. VP on I.4 describes the manner in which taste and smell are related to the modes of being of the elements. From each element emanates a mode of beings' birth: 1) air corresponds to egg-born; 2) fire corresponds to human-born; 3) water corresponds to sweat-born; 4) earth corresponds to transformation-born, e.g., a tree; and 5) the yoni/womb of taste (i.e., the ākāśadhātu) corresponds to the "great transformation-born." According to traditional Indian belief, the ākāśadhātu contains all tastes, smells and other components of the senses. Furthermore, a connection between taste and the ākāśadhātu is mentioned in the Epics and Purāṇas.

VERSE 9

Sanskrit: idānīm śāntikādyarthaṃ digvibhāga ucyate /

aiśānyāṃ cottare vai bhavati bhuvitale śāntikaṃ pauṣṭikaṃ ca

āgneyyāṃ pūrvabhāge prakāṭitanīyataṃ māraṇoccāṭanaṃ ca |

nairṛtyāṃ dakṣiṇe ca sphuṭamapi satataṃ vaśyamākarṣaṇaṃ ca

vāyavyāṃ paścime vai paramanarapate stambhanaṃ mohanaṃ ca || 9 ||

Tibetan: dbang ldan dang ni byang gi sa gzhi dag la zhi ba dang ni rgyas pa dag tu
'gyur ba ste

me yi mtshams⁵⁴ dang shar gyi char ni rab tu gsal zhing nges par bsad pa dag dang
bskrad pa'o

bden bral dang ni lho phyogs su yang gsal par rtag tu dbang du bya dang dgug pa dag
kyang ngo

mchog gi mi bdag rlung gi mtshams⁵⁵ dang nub phyogs su yang nges par rengs pa dang
ni rmongs pa'o

English: Now, for the purpose of pacification, etc., the division of the directions is described.

Pacification and expansion are in the northeast and the north, on the surface of the earth.⁵⁶ Murder and banishment are in the southeast and the division east, clearly and certainly.⁵⁷

Subjugation and attraction are in the southwest and south, clearly and always. Immobilization and obscuration are in the northwest and west, O Highest Lord of Men.

⁵⁴ VC incorrectly reads 'tshams.

⁵⁵ VC incorrectly reads 'tshams.

⁵⁶ (Skt. bhuvi-tale; Tib. sa gzhi dag la)

⁵⁷ (Skt. prakāṭita-niyataṃ; Tib. rab tu gsal zhing nges par) This phrase occurs repeatedly throughout the text. Though the Sanskrit may be either adjectival or adverbial, the Tibetan phrase is adverbial.

VERSE 10

Sanskrit: idānīm śāntyādikuṇḍamucyate /

kuṇḍam grāmāṣṭadikṣu prabhavati niyatam vartulam cābdhikoṇam

arddhendum pañcakoṇam prakṛtiguṇavaśāt saptakoṇam trikoṇam |

ṣaṭkoṇam cāṣṭakoṇam bhavati kulavaśāt garbhacihnam ca teṣām

padmam cakram ca karttī tvasiriṣuriti vajrāṅkuśaḥ

śṛṅkhalā 'hiḥ || 10 ||

Tibetan: thab khung grong gi phyogs brgyad rnams su nges par rab tu 'gyur te zlum po dang ni chu gter zur

zla kham zur lnga pa dang rang bzhin yon tan dbang gis zur bdun pa dang zur ni gsum pa dang

zur drug pa dang zur brgyad par 'gyur rigs kyi dbang gis de dag mams kyi snying po'i mtshan ma ni

pad ma 'khor lo gri gug ral gri mda' zhes bya dang rdo rje lcags kyu lcags sgrog dag dang sbrul

English: Now, the hearth for pacification, etc. is described.⁵⁸

The hearth defined in the eight directions of the town⁵⁹ -- {the hearth is} a circle {for pacification}, {the hearth is} a square {for expansion}, the semi-circle {corresponds to murder}, the pentagon {corresponds to banishment}, the heptagon {corresponds to subjugation}, and the triangle {corresponds to attraction}.

The sexagon {corresponds to obscuration} and the octagon {corresponds to immobilization}, in accordance with the qualities of their natures. In accordance with the [Buddha] families, they [the hearths] have essential symbols, [namely] the lotus {corresponds to the circle}, the wheel {corresponds to the square}, the sickle⁶⁰ {corresponds to the semi-circle}, the sword⁶¹ {corresponds to pentagon}, the arrow {corresponds to the heptagon}, the iron prod {corresponds to the triangle}, the iron shackle {corresponds to the octagon}, and the snake {corresponds to the sexagon}.

⁵⁸ BTG (1965: 254-255)

⁵⁹ (Skt. grāma; Tib. grong) According to Nijenhuis (1974: 2), the Sanskrit term "grāma" also refers to the basic scales of an ancient musical system generally considered to have developed from the Vedic chant. The Sanskrit term "svara" refers to the notes or intervals of these basic "grāma."

⁶⁰ (Skt. karttī; Tib. gi gug) The Tibetan term "gi gug" is the mark for the vowel sign "i;" the Tibetan term "gug ba" means to bend, as in reverence, and "gug ge ba" means bent or bent downwards. Therefore, the Tibetan term "gi gug" designates a tool or instrument with a curved blade, such as a sickle.

⁶¹ (Skt. asir; Tib. ral gri) The Tibetan term "ral gri" refers to a sword, spear, rapier, hunting knife, or dagger.

VERSE 11

Sanskrit: eṣāṃ pramāṇamāha /

ekadvyarddhaikahastaṃ khayugakhanayanam khāgni khartvaṅgulaṃ syā

dardhāṅgā ṣaḍvibhāgādvārūṇaravivibhāgena khāniśca vedī |

oṣṭhāś⁶² cihnāvalī syādupari kulavaśādvedikāyāḥ samantā

dvedībāhye 'bjapatrānyapi kuru nr̥pate śāntipuṣṭyorna cānye || 11 ||

Tibetan: gcig gnyis phyed dang gcig ni khru ste mkha' dus mkha' mig mkha' me
mkha' dus dag ni sor du 'gyur

phyed kyi yan lag drug gi cha shas nyi ma nyi ma'i cha shas dag gis zabs dang kha
kyer dang

mchu dang mtshan ma'i phreng bar 'gyur te kha kyer dag gi steng du rigs kyi dbang gis
kun nas so

kha kyer phyi rol du yang chu skyes 'dab ma mams mdsod mi bdag zhi rgyas la ste
gzhan la min

English: He describes the measures of these [hearths].

{A circular hearth} should be 1 cubit;⁶³ {a square hearth} should be 2 cubits; {a semi-circular hearth} should be 1/2 cubit; and {a pentagonal hearth} should be 1 cubit. {A heptagonal hearth} should be 40 finger-widths;⁶⁴ {a triangular hearth} should be 20 finger-widths; {a sexagonal hearth} should be 30 finger-widths; {an octagonal hearth} should be 60 finger-widths. The [hearth] hole⁶⁵ is a half-limbed {a half measure}, and altar⁶⁶ is from {consists of} six portions by means of a division of 12 by 12.

In accordance with the [Buddha] families, the perimeter⁶⁷ {is 1/12th of the hearth} and the garland of symbols should be on top of the altar, around all sides. {The garland of symbols is equal to the measure of the altar, which is 6 units.} Outside the altar, for pacifying and expanding [ritual actions], place lotus leaves and not other [leaves], O Lord of Men.

⁶² BB reads "oṣṭhāś ca."

⁶³ (Skt. hastam; Tib. khru) According to Namgyal (1994), a long "khru" measures from the elbow to the top of the middle finger; a short "khru" measures from the elbow to the base of the smallest finger.

⁶⁴ (Skt. aṅgulaṃ; Tib. sor) The long Tibetan "khru" is equal to 8 "sor."

⁶⁵ (Skt. khāniś; Tib. zabs)

⁶⁶ (Skt. vedi; Tib. kha kyer) According to Namgyal (1994), the Sanskrit term "vedi" refers to an elevated area of land that serves as a sacrificial altar. It is generally strewn with kuśa grass and contains receptacles for the sacrificial fire. The Tibetan term "kha khyer" sometimes refers to the beveled rim of a vase used as a handle by ritual attendants.

⁶⁷ (Skt. oṣṭhāḥ; Tib. mchu) The Tibetan term "mchu" also means spout, beak, lips, or the ninth lunar mansion (Skt. nakṣatra) called Maghā in Sanskrit.

VERSE 12

Sanskrit: idānīm bhūmikīlanārthaṃ kīlakā ucyante /

vajraṃ vā sarvakarmasvapi bhavati mahau, kīlakaṃ cāṣṭabhedair

nyagrodhāśvatthakāsthīnyayasakhadirajaṃ cūtavilvārkajaṃ ca |

evaṃ sphāṭikyakumbhā vararajatamayāḥ śrīkapālāyasāśca

tāmrākhyā hemakumbhāḥ prakāṭitanīyatā dārujā mṛṇmayāśca || 12 ||

Tibetan: yang na las ni thams cad la yang rdo rjer 'gyur ro sa la phur pa dag gi dbye ba brgyad

[nyagrodhā] dang a shwad tha ka rus lcags seng ldeng las skyes [cūta] bil ba arka skyes

de bzhin shel gyi bum pa dang ni dngul mchog rang bzhin dpal ldan thod pa dag dang lcags kyi dang

zangs zhes bya dang gser gyi bum pa rab gsal nges par shing las skyes dang sa yi rang bzhin no

English: Now the [characteristics of the] stakes are described for the purpose of staking the earth.

Or the vajra also may be [used] in all of these [ritual] actions on the earth,⁶⁸ and the stake[s] are of eight types: banyan wood; wood from the Ficus Religiosa tree; bones; iron; hardwood; wood from the mango tree; wood from the wood-apple tree; and wood from the Calotropis Gigantea plant. {In all [ritual actions], you can use wood from the udumbara tree.}

Thus, [one should use] pitchers [made of] glass {for pacification}, [pitchers] made of the best silver {for expansion}, [pitchers made of] an auspicious skull⁶⁹ {for murder}, [pitchers made of] iron {for banishment}, and [pitchers made of] that which is known as copper {for attraction}. Pitchers of gold are clearly prescribed⁷⁰ {for subjugation}, [pitchers of] wood {for obscuration}, and [pitchers of] clay {for immobilization}.

⁶⁸ (Skt. mahī; Tib. sa)

⁶⁹ (Skt. kapāla; Tib. thod pa)

⁷⁰ (Skt. prakāṭita-nīyatā; Tib. rab gsal nges par) This Tibetan phrase is the abbreviation of "rab tu gsal zhing nges par."

VERSE 13

Sanskrit: atha śāntipuṣṭyartham ghaṭalakṣaṇamucyate /

vṛttā dvyāṣṭāṅguloktā dviguṇitadaśakenocchritā dvyāṅuloṣṭhāḥ

ṣaḍgrīvāṣṭāṅgulāśyāḥ śaśadharadhavalāḥ śāntipuṣṭyorna cānye |

pūrvāhṇādaṣṭayāmāḥ pratidinasamaye śāntipuṣṭyādike syur

evaṃ tatrārddhayāmairdinaniśisamaye cāṣṭakarma prakuryāt || 13 ||

Tibetan: zlum po brgyad gnyis sor du brjod de gnyis kyis bsgyur ba'i bcu yi dpangs
dang sor gnyis dag gi mchu

drug gi mgrin pa sor brgyad kha ste ri bong 'dzin pa ltar dkar zhi⁷¹ rgyas dag la'o
gzhan la min

snga dro nas ni thun brgyad po rnams nyin zhag so so'i dus su zhi dang rgyas pa sogs
la 'gyur

de bzhin de yi thun phyed dag la nyin dang mtshan mo'i dus su las brgyad rnams ni rab
tu bya

English: Hereupon, for the purpose of pacification and expansion, the characteristic of the vase⁷² is described.

The circular [section of the vase] is stated [to be] 16 finger-widths. The height [of the vase] is 20 finger-widths. The spout [of the vase] is 2 finger-widths. The neck [of the vase] is 6 finger-widths. The face [of the vase] is 8 finger-widths. White and not other [colors] is [used] for pacification and expansion.

Beginning in the morning, the eight sessions⁷³ for pacification, expansion, etc. [the other six ritual actions] should occur at their daily time. Thus, among these, one should perform the eight ritual actions in the daytime and in the nighttime, by means of half-sessions. [Each ritual action is performed twice daily, once in the morning series of 8 half-sessions and once in the evening series of 8 half-sessions.] {Beginning with the first half of the morning, one should perform pacification. And one should perform expansion in the other half. Likewise at night..., pacification is [performed] during the first part of the day session and expansion is [performed] during the second session. Murder is [performed] during the third session, banishment is [performed] during the

⁷¹ VC incorrectly reads "zhe."

⁷² (Skt. ghaṭa; Tib. bum pa) Two types of such vessel are required in Buddhist rituals. Both have a large mid-section, a long, hanging neck, and contracted legs. One type of vessel is devoid of a spout (Tib. mchu), while the "jar of life" (Tib. tshe bum) has a spout. The latter often contains consecrated water, and a scarf (Tib. bum dar) is often wrapped around it. In Tibetan Buddhist tantric rituals, a cover (Tib. bum khebs) is often placed over the flask.

⁷³ (Skt. yāmāḥ; Tib. thum) A "session" is 1/8th of a full day and is approximately equal to 3 hours. See also BTG (1965: 256).

fourth [session], subjugation is [performed] during the fifth [session], attraction is [performed] during the sixth [session], obscuration is [performed] during the seventh [session], and immobilization is [performed] during the eighth [session].}

VERSE 14

Sanskrit: idānīm śāntipuṣṭyoh krūrelāagnapratiṣedha ucyate /
madhyāhnaṃ cārdharātraṃ dinaniśisamaye śāntike varjanīyaṃ
lagnaṃ krūragrahaṣṭhaṃ maraṇabhayaṅkaram tadvadevaṃ prasiddham |
sakṣīrāḥ śāntipuṣṭyoh śaraśatasamidho māraṇe mānuṣāsthir
vidveṣe kākapicchānyapi ca khadirajāḥ kiṃśukākṛṣṭivaśye || 14 ||

Tibetan: nyi ma gung dang mtshan phyed dag ni nyin dang mtshan mo'i dus su zhi ba
dag la spang bar bya

dus sbyor gdug pa'i gza' mams gnas pa dag ni 'chi ba'i 'jigs byad de bzhin du ni rab tu
grags

'o'ma dang bcas yam shing mda' brgya zhi dang rgyas pa la ste bsad pa la ni mi rus so

dbye ba la ni bya rog mjug ma seng ldeng las skyes king shu ka ni dgug dang dbang
la'o

English: Now, the prohibition against inauspicious planetary conjunctions is described for pacification and expansion.

During the day and night, mid-day and mid-night are to be avoided for pacification {However, expansion should be performed [at these times]}. Likewise, inauspicious planetary conjunctions are thus well-known to cause the fear of death.

In pacification and expansion, 500 sticks from milky-sap-tree-wood [are used]. In murder, human bone [is used]. In banishment, crow tail-feathers [are used]. In subjugation and attraction, the flowering branch of the hardwood tree [is used].

VERSE 15

Sanskrit: vilvonmattārdhahastāḥ śaraśatagaṇanā stambhane mohane ca

kṣīrājyāśrgvasāsvedakuliśasalilaśleṣmamadyādihome |

dūrvā śasyaṃ ca māṃsaṃ saviṣamapi tathā rājikā raktapuṣpaṃ

vilvaṃ nirmālyamālāsukanakakusumānyeva pañcādikeṣu || 15 ||

Tibetan: bil ba smyo byed dag ni khru phyed mda' brgya'i grangs mams renga pa dang
ni rmongs pa dag la yang

'o ma mar dang khrag dang zhag dang ngul dang rdo rje'i chu dang mchil ma chang
mams sreg bya ste

dur ba 'bru dang sha dang dug dang bcas pa dag dang de bzhin skye tshe me tog dmar
po⁷⁴ dang

bil ba dang ni me tog snying⁷⁵ pa'i phreng ba gser shing me tog mams nyid zhi ba sogs
la'o

English: In immobilization and obscuration, the 500 hundred [sticks from a] wood-apple tree and a thorn-apple tree [respectively] are half a cubit [each]. {In obscuration, [wood from] the thorn-apple tree is used. In immobilization, [wood from] the wood-apple tree is used. All [of the sticks] are 12 finger-widths [long]. Now he describes the substances of the burnt offering when he says "milk, etc."} In the burnt offering milk, melted butter, blood, grease, sweat, urine, saliva, beer, etc. [are used].

Grass, grain, poisonous meat, and also Sinapis Ramosa plant, a red flower, the {leaves from a} wood-apple tree, a garland of wilted flowers,⁷⁶ especially-golden flowers, indeed [these are also used] in the five, etc.

{Among these [substances], in pacification, the burnt offering is accomplished by means of milk and grass. In expansion, the burnt offering is [accomplished] by means of melted butter and the five grains. In murder, the burnt offering is accomplished by means of blood together with poisonous meat. In banishment, the burnt offering is accomplished by means of human fat, the Sinapis Ramosa plant, and salt. In subjugation, the burnt offering is accomplished by means of sweat and flowers that are red, etc. In attraction, urine and the leaves, fruit or grain of a wood-apple tree are used. In immobilization, saliva and a garland of wilted flowers are used. In obscuration, beer and especially-golden flowers are used. Thus, this is the precept of the burnt offering substances with respect to pacification, etc.}

⁷⁴ VC incorrectly reads "pa."

⁷⁵ VC incorrectly reads "snyings."

⁷⁶ (Skt. nirmālya-mālā; Tib. snying pa'i phreng ba)

VERSE 16

Sanskrit: idānīmācāryasyāsanadigvibhāga ucyate /

yāmye nairṛtyakoṇe savaruṇapavane yakṣarudrendravahnau

ācāryasyāsanam vai bhavati narapate śāntikarmādike ca |

raṅgam karmadvaye syādapi vibhukamale śvetakṛṣṇārkapītam

bāhye buddhaprabhedaiḥ surayamavaruṇeṣūttare raṅgabhūmiḥ || 16 ||

Tibetan: gshin rje bden bral zur dang chur bcas rlung dang gnod sbyin drag po dbang po mams dang me ru ni

slob dpon dag gi gdan du 'gyur te mi yi bdag po zhi ba la sogs las mams dag la'o

tshon ni las gnyis dag la 'gyur te gtso bo'i pad ma la yang dkar nag nyi ma ser po'o

phyi rol du ni sangs rgyas dbye bas lha dang gshin rje chu dang byang mams dag tu tshon gyi se

English: Now, the division of the directions⁷⁷ of the seat of the teacher is stated.

The teacher's seat is indeed in the south and in the southwestern corner,⁷⁸ in the west and northwest, in the north, northeast and east, and in the southeast, O Lord of Men, in the actions of pacifying, etc.⁷⁹

In the two actions {the construction of the hearth and the construction of the maṇḍala}, the color on the master's seat should be white, black, red and yellow. Around the exterior [of the teacher's seat], according to the divisions of the Buddhas [i.e., the 5 Buddha families], earth⁸⁰ is colored in the east, south, west and north.

{Now, the rule of the dust is described. Here, during the propitiation, the two actions -- whether [in the construction of] the hearth or the maṇḍala -- the depositing of the dust is in the middle. For pacification and expansion, the dust is white. For murder and banishment, the dust is black. For subjugation and attraction, the dust is red. For obscuration and immobilization, the dust is yellow. In every ritual action, green, or white, black, red or yellow together with green, may be used. [This is] the rule of depositing the dust on the ground according to the prescriptions stated in the tantra, or according to the different colors of the face of the Blessed One. Consequently, all of this is the rule regarding the depositing of color.}

⁷⁷ According to Namgyal (1994), there are four "directions" (Tib. phyogs), north, south, east and west; and four "corners" (Tib. zur), northeast, southeast, southwest, and northwest.

⁷⁸ (Skt. koṇa; Tib. zur)

⁷⁹ Pacification is south, expansion is southwest, murder is west, banishment is northwest, subjugation is north, attraction is northeast, immobilization is east, and obscuration is southeast.

⁸⁰ (Skt. bhūmi; Tib. sa)

VERSE 17

Sanskrit: kuṇḍe vā raṅgabhūmir⁸¹ bhavati kulavaśād raṅgapātaśca bhūmi
nyāsādyam⁸² prokṣaṇādyam svahrdayakuliśotsarjanam devatānām |
sphāṭikyādyarghapātre vasudalakamalam dvādaśāṅguṣṭhakam ca
daṇḍāgre 'ñjalyapātram bhavati ca culukam⁸³ cāhutī homakārye || 17 ||

Tibetan: thab khung mams dang dkyil 'khor la ni rigs kyi dbang gis phyogs mams su
yang tshon ni gdab par 'gyur

bgod pa sogs dang bsang gtor la sogs rang gi snying kha'i rdo rje dag las lha mams
spro ba'o

shel la sogs pa'i mchod yon snod la pad ma nor gyi 'dab ma mthe bo dag ni bcu gnyis
kyang

yu ba'i rtse mor snyim pa'i snod de khyor ba dag kyang bsreg blugs sbyin sreg bya ba
dag la'o

English: Alternatively, colored earth is on the hearth. And the laying down of the colors, the placing of earth, etc., the sprinkling for the purpose of consecration, etc., and the emanation of the deities from one's own heart vajra occurs in accordance with the [Buddha] families. {In this way, the teacher must perform these actions according to the order that will be described.}

Regarding the guest-offering bowl, [which is made of] glass, etc. [in the shape of] an eight-petaled lotus,⁸⁴ it is 12 finger-widths. The bowl in the shape of the supplicatory hand gesture {a square bowl that is 1 finger-width in height} is on the tip of the staff {which is 1 cubit}. The {{two}} handfuls {{overflowing from the top of the handle}} and the fire-offering substance are [used] during the burnt-offering ritual.

{Here, regarding pacification, the glass vessel that has the form of a certain vessel,⁸⁵ which is to say it is [shaped] in the form of a lotus, is [used] for the purpose of giving a guest-offering. The entire thing is 12 finger-widths, consisting of eight petals together with pericarps.⁸⁶ ... Here, among these, the pericarps [of the lotus] are 4 finger-widths⁸⁷ and the eight petals are 4 finger-widths.⁸⁸ Thus it [the combined pericarp plus petals] is 12 finger-widths. Similarly, regarding expansion, there is a rule regarding vessels made of silver, skull, iron, gold, copper, wood, and earth. Thus, the fire-

⁸¹ BB reads "kuṇḍe vā maṇḍala vā."

⁸² BB reads "dikṣu nyāsādyam."

⁸³ BB reads "cūrṇakam."

⁸⁴ BTG (1965: 258)

⁸⁵ (Skt. śarāva)

⁸⁶ (Skt. sa-karṇikā-aṣṭa-dalān)

⁸⁷ (Skt. catur-aṅgulā karṇikā)

⁸⁸ (Skt. catur-aṅgulāni-aṣṭa-dalāni)

offering substance is a vessel called a "śruvaka." Here, "on the tip of the staff" means that on the tip of a staff merely one cubit [sits] a vessel in the form of a supplicatory hand gesture. It is square and its height is 1 finger-width. On the same surface, there is a lotus consisting of the tip of the petal of the lotus, and there is a flank⁸⁹ on the inner side of the lip⁹⁰ [of the vessel]. On the outside there is a 5-tipped vajra, and in the middle of these tips there is an opening for carrying the melted butter so that it may be emitted like the emitting of streams of urine and semen. In the root tantra, regarding the action that must be done, "fire-offering substance" means vessel. "From the heart lotus, ending with the vajra," that is the rule. Likewise, there is a handful at the tip of the staff, in the action⁹¹ of the burnt offering. Now, [the handful emanates] from the place of wool/thread⁹² up to the heart, or alternatively there is a crosswise division from the mouth/face.⁹³ Thus, because it is the measure of the flat surface of the hand, the lotus of 6 finger-widths is on this place. Consequently, the sign of the vajra is on the ladle containing the burnt-offering substance, on the back of the staff. Therefore, that is the precept concerning the burnt-offering vessel. }

89 (Skt. pāśva)

90 (Skt. oṣṭha)

91 (Skt. kārya)

92 (Skt. ūrṇā)

93 (Skt. mukhatas)

VERSE 18

Sanskrit: idānīm śāntyāḍau devatāmūrtirucyate /

śāntaḥ krūraḥ sarāgo bhavati kulavaśād devatā stabdhamūrtiḥ

evaṃ karmadvaye syāt prakāṣitanīyato maṇḍale cādhidaivaḥ |

pañcākāro jinendrastrividhabhavagataḥ skandhadhātvādibhedaiḥ

pañcākāraṃ hi tasmādapi bhavati rajomaṇḍale devatānām || 18 ||

Tibetan: zhi dang drag po dag dang chags dang bcas par 'gyur te rigs kyi dbang gis lha
ni rengs pa'i sku

de bzhin las gnyis dag la rab tu gsal zhing nges par dkyil 'khor la yang lhag pa'i lhar
'gyur ro

mam pa lnga ni rgyal ba'i dbang po gang phyir nam gsum srid pa la gnas phung po
kham sogs kyi

dbye ba yis te de las kyang ni lha rnam s dkyil 'khor dag la rdul tshon nam pa lnga ru
'gyur

English: Now the manifestation of the deities is described with respect to pacification,
etc.

The deity is quiescent {white}, angry {black}, passionate {red} and also has a form that is immobile {yellow} in accordance with the [Buddha] families.⁹⁴ Thus, he [Kālacakra] should be clearly prescribed in both {all} [ritual] actions and should be the presiding deity in the maṇḍala.

The Lord of the Victors {Vajrasattva} has five forms {because of the vibration⁹⁵ of the heaps of knowledge, which are of five forms}, and he exists in the three-fold existence⁹⁶ due to the distinctions {in uncovering} the aggregates, elements, etc. {the source}.⁹⁷ From this [vibration], there arise the five forms [of the Buddha] in the deities' maṇḍala of dust.

⁹⁴ BTG (1965: 259)

⁹⁵ (Skt. sphraṇāt)

⁹⁶ (Skt. tri-vidha-bhava; Tib. gsum srid pa la gnas)

⁹⁷ (Skt. āyatana; Tib. skye mched)

VERSE 19

Sanskrit: idānīm sūtralakṣaṇamucyate /

sūtram hastāṣṭakam syād bhavati karayavaikena vṛttam trivṛttam

ācāryāṅguṣṭhakena trividhapathagataṃ sūtramekaṃ na cānyat |

paryāṅkaḥ śāntikādaḥ kramapariracitaṃ vajradaityotkataṃ ca

paryāṅkārddhaṃ dvibhedam gudagatacaraṇam cāsanam karmabhedaiḥ || 19 ||

Tibetan: thig skud khru ni brgyad par 'gyur te sum sgril slob dpon gyi ni lag pa'i mthe po'i nas gcig gis

sboms su 'gyur ba rnams pa gsum gyi las na gnas pa thig skud gcig ste gzhan pa ma yin no

zhi ba la sogs rnams la rim par yongs su bkod pa dkyil dkrung rdo rje lha min tsog pu dang

dkyil dkrung phyed pa dbye ba gnyis dang bshang lam rkang par gnas pa 'ang las kyi dbye bas 'dug stangs so

English: Now the characteristic of the thread is described.

The thread should be 8 cubits. It is rolled by means of one hand grain.⁹⁸ {One should divide the thread into} three rolled [sections] according to the {measure of the thickness} of the teacher's thumb. A single thread and not another is located on the three-fold path.⁹⁹

The cross-legged,¹⁰⁰ vajra, demon, and fierce postures are assumed sequentially with regard to pacification, etc. {expansion, murder, and banishment, respectively}. There are two division of the half cross-legged posture.¹⁰¹ {Here, in subjugation, the left foot is bent to the right. ... In attraction, the right foot is bent to the left.} And there are [two] postures in which [each of the] feet is located on the anus, according to the divisions of the [ritual] actions. {In obscuration, the left foot is located on the anus... In immobilization, the right foot is located on the anus.}

⁹⁸ (Skt. kara-yava ekena; Tib. lad pa'i mthe po'i nas gcig gis) A "hand" (Skt. kara) measures 24 "thumbs" (Skt. sor). A barley grain (Skt. yava) measures 1/8 of a finger-width. Therefore, "kara-yava" means "1/8 of a finger-width of 24 thumbs."

⁹⁹ According to Namgyal (1994), three sections of thread correspond to the body, speech and mind of the Buddha. See also BTG (1965: 261).

¹⁰⁰ (Skt. pariaṅkaḥ; Tib. dkyil dkrung) In this sitting posture, the legs are placed one upon the other such that the soles of the feet are invisible.

¹⁰¹ (Skt. paryāṅka-ardham; Tib. dkyil dkrung phyed pa)

VERSE 20

Sanskrit: idānīm mantrajāpārthaṃ śāntyādīnyakṣasūtrāny¹⁰²ucyante /
sphāṭikyairmauktikairvā narakharadaśanairvā 'sthibhiḥ putrajīvaiḥ
padmākhyeśākṣariṣṭaiḥ sugatakulavaśānmantrajāpe 'kṣasūtram |
saugandhaiḥ śvetapuṣpaiḥ sakaṭukakaṣaṇairarcanām raktapītaiḥ
śīto viṇmāṃsadhūpo madhurudhirayuto 'pyugradhūpaḥ kaṣāyaḥ || 20 ||

Tibetan: shel dang mu tig dang ni mi dang bong bu'i so 'am rus pa dag dang bo de tse
dang ni

pad ma zhes bya dbang mig lung tang bde gshegs rigs kyi dbang gis sngags bzlas pa la
phreng bar 'gyur

dri zhim me tog dkar po dang ni tsha ba dang bcas nag po dag dang dmar dang ser pos
mchod

bsil dang bshad pa sha yi spos ni sbrang rtsi khrag ldan dag dang drag po'i spos dang
ska ba'o

English: Now, the counting rosaries for pacification, etc. are described for the purpose
of mantra recitation.

{The counting rosary made} by means of glass [is used] {in pacification}, or by means
of pearls {in expansion}, or by means of the sharp teeth of men {in murder}, by means
of bones {in banishment}, by means of the souls of men {in subjugation}. That which
is known as the lotus {the rosary of the lotus made from drops of red sandalpaste [is
used] in attraction}, and the northeast¹⁰³ [is used] {in immobilization}. [The counting
rosary made] by means of the injuries of the eyes¹⁰⁴ [is used] {in obscuration}. In
accordance with the Buddha families, the counting rosary¹⁰⁵ is used in mantra recita-
tion.

{One should perform} a propitiation with very fragrant white [flowers] and with red-
yellow flowers together with their thorns and buds. {Now the incenses are described.}
Nimba {is [used] for the purpose of pacification and expansion.}¹⁰⁶ The incense[s]
made from excrement and flesh [are used] {in murder and banishment, respectively.
Those two types of incense are} accompanied by honey and blood. The fierce incense
{is used in subjugation and attraction}. The astringent incense {ground from a yellow
myrobalan tree, together with molasses, is used in obscuration and immobilization}.

¹⁰² KT incorrectly reads "sūtrāny."

¹⁰³ (Skt. īśa; Tib. dbang)

¹⁰⁴ (Skt. akṣa-riṣṭaiḥ; Tib. mig lung)

¹⁰⁵ (Skt. akṣa-sūtram; Tib. phreng bar) The Tibetan does not translate "akṣa."

¹⁰⁶ BTG (1965: 263)

VERSE 21

Sanskrit: idānīm śāntyādikarmaṇi vakṣyamāṇayantrasya likhanavidhirucyate /
yantram nyagrodhapatre citimṛtakapaṭairbāhupatre 'rkapatre
śrīkhaṇḍaiḥ śālīpiṣṭaiścitibhuvanagatāṅgārarakṣairviṣeṇa |
kāśmīraiḥ śītapuṣpaistriphalarasakuśātālakairlekhanam syād
dūrvāśītāsthīpiṣṭaiḥ kanakakhadirajā lekhanī vilvajārkā || 21 ||

Tibetan: 'khrul 'khor [nyagrodha] 'dab dur khrod ro yi ras dang gro ga'i 'dab dang a
rka'i 'dab ma la

[śrīkhaṇḍa] dang [śālī] btags pa dag dang dur khrod sar gnas sol pa khrag dang dug
dang ni

kha che tsan dan dmar dang 'bras bu gsum gyi khu ba yung ba ba blas bri bar 'gyur ba
ste

dur ba bsil rus mjug sgro gser dang seng ldeng las skyes bil ba skyes dang a rka'e smyu
gu'o

English: Now, with respect to the pacification ritual, etc., the rule for drawing the
yantra, which is about to be described, is stated.

The yantra {should be drawn}: 1) on the fig leaf {in pacification and expansion}; 2)
with cloths from corpses at the funeral pyre {in murder and banishment}; 3) on the leaf
of the birch tree {in subjugation and attraction}; and 4) on the leaf from the Calotropis
Gigantea plant {in obscuration and immobilization}.¹⁰⁷

One should make a drawing with {{red}} sandalwood {in pacification}; with {water
ground with} rice {in expansion}; with coals located at the place of the funeral pyre,
blood and poison {in murder and banishment}; with cool saffron flowers {in subjugation
and attraction}; and with yellow ointment made from sap of the three myrobalans
and kuśa grass {in obscuration} [and immobilization].

The writing implement is made from dūrva grass {in pacification};¹⁰⁸ Nimba {in
expansion}; {human} bone {in murder and banishment}; that which is ground {red
sandalpaste}; gold {in subjugation and attraction}; khadira wood {in attraction}; wood
from a wooden-apple tree {in obscuration}; and wood from the Calotropis Gigantea
plant [in immobilization].

¹⁰⁷ KT (1994: 149); BTG (1965: 264-265)

¹⁰⁸ VC incorrectly reads "expansion."

VERSE 22

Sanskrit: mṛṇmande śrīkapāle trimadhuni rudhire sikthaveṣeṣṭamadhye

sārdrasthāne pavitre citibhuvanatale cāgnitāpe dharanyām |

yantrasyāropanam syādaśubhaśubhavaśānmantriṇā

veditavyam candrebhe preta uṣṭre mṛgaturagapaśau kūrmadehe krameṇa || 22 ||

Tibetan: kham phor dpal ldan thod par mngar gsum khrag dang spra tshil gong bu so
phag dag gi dbus su ni

brlan dang bcas pa'i gnas ni gtsang ma dag dang ro khang sa gzhi me yi gdung dang sa
gzhi la

'khrul 'khor gzhag par bya bar 'gyur te dge dang me dge'i dbang gis sngags pa yis ni
rig par bya

zla ba glang chen yi dvags rnga mo ri dvags rta dang phyugs dang rus sbal lus la rim
pas so

English: With regard to the clay vessel, the auspicious skull,¹⁰⁹ the three sweets {honey, butter and milk}, and {that which is filled with} blood, in the middle of a brick enclosure of boiled rice, in a wet place, in a vessel, and on the surface of the site¹¹⁰ of the funeral pyre, in the heat of the fire, on earth,¹¹¹

The pouring on the yantra should be understood by the practitioner in accordance with nonvirtuous and virtuous {action}. {Now, the precept concerning the exterior of the cakras¹¹² is described for the yantra that has been drawn on the exterior of the body. Here, for pacification, one should enclose the cakra on the exterior} on the moon {by means of the maṇḍala of the moon}. {Lifting it up by means of a row,¹¹³ one should enclose [the cakra]} on the elephant {for expansion, so that the cakra is on the body of the elephant}. {And likewise} on the hungry ghost, {[one should enclose the cakra for] murder}; on the camel {for banishment}, on the wild animal¹¹⁴ {for subjugation}, on the horse {for attraction}, on the cow¹¹⁵ {for obscuration}, and on the body of the tortoise {for immobilization}, respectively. {Just as the cakra of the yantra is on these bodies, so the form¹¹⁶ should be drawn on the outside [of these bodies].}¹¹⁷

¹⁰⁹ (Skt. kapāla; Tib. thod pa)

¹¹⁰ (Skt. bhuvana-tale; Tib. sa gzhi la)

¹¹¹ (Skt. dharanyām; Tib. sa gshi la) According to Namgyal (1994), the wet objects are placed inside a clean, dry place, e.g., a corpse house or hearth. See also BTG (1965: 265).

¹¹² (Skt. cakra-bahye)

¹¹³ (Skt. rekhayā)

¹¹⁴ (Skt. mṛiga Tib. ri dwags)

¹¹⁵ (Skt. paśu; Tib. phyugs)

¹¹⁶ (Skt. rūpam)

¹¹⁷ According to Namgyal (1994), the practitioner writes on the paper, then folds it and surrounds it with clay shaped into the form of various animals. See also BTG (1965: 266).

PART II

rakṣācakrapūrvāṅgamabhūmyādisaṃgrahamahoddeśaḥ

The explanation for seizing the earth, etc., which is located in front of the protection wheel.

VERSE 23

Sanskrit: śrīvajraḥ sarvadikṣu sthitamapi sakalaṃ nirdaheṇmāravṇdam

paścāccakre daśāre diśi vidiśi gataṃ bhāvayet krodhavṇdam |

krodhendrascakramadhye dvyadhikajinakaro vajravego yugāsyah

tasmādyatkiñcidiṣṭaṃ guruniyamayutaṃ sādhakaiḥ sādhanīyam || 23 ||

Tibetan: dpal ldan rdo rje nams kyis phyogs kun du gnas mtha' dag bdud kyi tshogs ni nges par bsreg bya ste

phyi nas 'khor lo'i rtsibs bcu nams la phyogs dang phyogs bral du gnas khro bo'i tshogs ni bsgom par bya

'khor lo'i dbus su gnyis lhag rgyal ba'i phyag dang dus kyi zhal ldan khro bo'i dbang po rdo rje zhugs

de nas bla ma'i nges pa dang ldan gang zhig cung zad 'dod pa sgrub pa po yis bsgrub par bya

English: With auspicious vajras, one should burn the entire host of demons abiding in all the directions. Then, on a ten-spoked wheel, one should visualize the host of wrathful protectors located in the cardinal and intermediate directions.

Vajravega, Lord of the Wrathful Protectors, who has two more hands than Kālacakra¹¹⁸ and four faces, is in the middle of the wheel. Then, upholding the precepts of the teacher, whatever is desired may be achieved by the practitioners.

¹¹⁸ Kālacakra has twenty-four hands and Vajravega has twenty-six hands.

VERSE 24

Sanskrit: triprākārāmstrivajrairmahivalayagatān dūradṛṣṭyāvasāne

prātaśchāyāvasāne kṣititalanilayādambare vajrakūṭaṃ |

madhye 'bjaṃ sūryahastaṃ bhavati yuga-karā karṇikā sāsanā ca

ātmānaṃ tasya mūrdhni vyapagatakaluṣaṃ yoginā bhāvanīyaṃ || 24 ||

Tibetan: rdo rje gsum gyis sa yi dkyil 'khor la gnas ra ba gsum ni ring du mthong ba'i mtha' ru ste

tho rangs grib ma yin ni mtha' ru sa gzhi'i gnas las nam mkha' dag la rdo rje brtsegs pa'o

dbus su chu skyes nyi ma'i khru ste lte ba gdan dang bcas pa dag kyang dus kyī khru' gyur ro

de yi steng du bdag nyid nyes pa dag dang nam par bral ba rnal 'byor pa yis bsgom par bya

English: By means of seeing the three walls¹¹⁹ with three vajras located on the circle of the site,¹²⁰ at the limit of what one can see in the distance, a peak of vajras extends from the abode on the surface of the earth in the sky, from morning until the end of shadows.¹²¹

[The lotus], which is twelve cubits, is in the middle, as well as its pericarp with its seat, which is four cubits across. The yogī should visualize himself on the head of this [seat], as one whose impurities are completely removed.

{Now are the words of the sacrificial mantra of the wrathful deities, etc., each taken individually. ... The invocation of deities [is effected] with the mantra *om āḥ hūm hoḥ* for the purpose of giving undamaged [offerings] -- a live sacrifice, a smell, a flower, incense, a torch -- we give [these] to the deities. And they, having arrived here together with their entourage, let them take this live sacrifice, eat and drink, etc. -- *jaḥ hūm vaṃ hoḥ*. Once they are satiated, for the sake of all creatures, let them perform that pacification, expansion, and protection from the obstructions due to guards¹²² -- *hum hūm Phaṭ*. The vajra-holder gives permission -- *svā hā*. So that is the complete sacrificial mantra of the wrathful deities. Likewise for the ether, etc. ... Then [occurs the mantra] for the protectors of the directions ... Then occur the words of the sacrificial mantras of the planets¹²³, ... of the Nāgas ..., [and] of the harmful spirits.¹²⁴}

¹¹⁹ (Skt. prākārāṃs; Tib. ra ba) According to Samten (1995), the term "ra ba" designates a circle.

¹²⁰ (Skt. mahi; Tib. sa)

¹²¹ According to Namgyal (1994), the ritual practitioners pile vajras around the edge of the foundation of the maṇḍala site.

¹²² (Skt. rakṣa)

¹²³ (Skt. graha)

¹²⁴ (Skt. bhūta)

VERSE 25

Sanskrit: idānīm pṛthivyāvāhanam vakṣyamāṇasamādhinā bhūmiśuddhinimittamucyate /
bhūmau dikṣu trivajraiḥ prathamamapi balim kṣetrapālāya dattvā
paścādvajraiścaturbhirdiśi vidiśi gataṁ nirdahenmāravṛndam |
bhūmiṁ cāvāhayitvā sasalilakusumairarghamasyai pradāya
paścācchuddhiṁ yatheṣṭāṁ kuru bhuvini laye prārthayitvā tu tāṁ vai || 25 ||

Tibetan: sa yi phyogs rnams su 'dir dang po rdo rje gsum gyis zhing skyong rnams la
gtor ma sbyin bya ste

phyi nas rdo rje bzhi yis phyogs dang phyogs bral la gnas bdud kyi tshogs ni nges par
bsreg par bya

sa yi lha mo spyang drangs chu dang bcas pa'i me tog dag gis 'di la mchod yon rab tu
sbyin

de la gsol ba btab ste phyi nas sa yi gnas la dag pa dag ni ji ltar 'dod pa mdzod

English: Now, the invitation to the earth¹²⁵ is described by means of concentration,¹²⁶ which will be explained, and for the purpose of the purification of the earth.

First, by means of three vajras in the cardinal directions of the earth,¹²⁷ having given an offering of food to the protector of the place, then, by means of four vajras, one should burn the host of demons located in the cardinal and intermediate directions.

Next, having invited the earth [goddess]¹²⁸ and having given her a guest offering of water and flowers, then, after having made requests of her, one should purify the abode of the earth¹²⁹ as desired.

¹²⁵ (Skt. pṛthivi)

¹²⁶ (Skt. samādhī)

¹²⁷ (Skt. bhūmi; Tib. sa)

¹²⁸ (Skt. bhūmi; Tib. sa yi lha mo)

¹²⁹ (Skt. bhuvi; Tib. sa)

VERSE 26

Sanskrit: devi tvaṃ sāksibhūtā surapatisahite mārabhaṅge jinasya
tasmāttvaṃ pūjanīyā suravarānamite gr̥hṇa gr̥hṇārgḥakam me |
bhaganaṃ mārasya sainyaṃ prabalam api yathā bodhihetorjinena
śiṣyāṇāṃ sekahetorahamapi ca tathā māranāśaṃ karomi || 26 ||

Tibetan: rgyal bas lha yi bdag po dang bcas bdud ni bcom pa dag la lha mo khyod ni
dpang¹³⁰ du gyur

de phyir khyod ni mchod par bya yis lha mchog gis btung bzhes shig bzhes shig bdag
gi mchod yon no

ji ltar rgyal bas byang chub slad du bdud kyi sde ni stobs ldan dag kyang rab tu bcom
gyur pa

de bzhin bdag gis kyang ni slob ma rnams la dbang bskur slad du bdud rnams nyams pa
dag tu bya

English: O Goddess, you together with the Lord of the Gods [Indra]¹³¹ are witness of
the Victor in the defeat of the Māras. Therefore, you are worthy of worship, honored
by the best of gods. Accept, accept my guest offering!

As Māra's mighty army was defeated by the Victor for the sake of enlightenment, so
also do I banish demons for the sake of disciples' empowerment.

¹³⁰ VC reads "dbang."

¹³¹ BTG (1965: 280)

VERSE 27

Sanskrit: atra prārthanā /

ye buddhāḥ sarvadikṣu vyapagatakaluṣā bodhisattvāḥ sabhāryā-
ste mām vai pālayantu parama-karuṇayā maṇḍale sekahetoḥ |
tānevādhyeṣya sarvān dṛḍhakhadiramayaīḥ kīlakaiḥ kīlayet kṣmām
dikkrodhān digvibhāge praharaṇasahitān vinyasedrakṣaṇārtham || 27 ||

Tibetan: gang dag phyogs mams kun nas sangs rgyas byang chub sems dpa' nyes pa
mam bral btsun mo dang bcas pa

de dag mams kyi mchog gi thugs rjes dkyil 'khor du ni dbang bskur slad du bdag la
bskyang du gsol

de dag kun la gsol ba btab nas seng ldeng rang bzhin sra ba'i phur bu mams kyis sa la
gdab

phyogs kyi khro bo mtshon cha ldan pa mams ni phyogs kyi cha ru bsrung ba'i don du
dgod par bya

English: Here is the request.

Buddhas of all directions, bodhisattvas whose impurities are completely removed, and
wives¹³² -- out of great compassion, protect me for the sake of empowerment into the
maṇḍala!

Having [made] requests of all of those [divine beings], one should pierce the earth with
hardwood stakes.¹³³ One should place the wrathful protectors of the directions
together with their weapons in the respective directions for the purpose of pro-
tection.¹³⁴

¹³² (Skt. bhāryās; Tib. btsun mo) The Tibetan "btsun mo" refers to one of the chief dākinīs.

¹³³ (Skt. kīlakaiḥ; Tib. phur bu rnams)

¹³⁴ BTG (1965: 280)

VERSE 28

Sanskrit: idānīm bhūmikhāni nimittamucyate /

śalyaṃ sāṅgāśṛṅgaṃ maraṇabhayaḥ karam bhūmigarbhe niviṣṭaṃ

tasmin stāne vināśo bhavati guṇavaśācchodhanīyaṃ hi tasmāt |

ratnaṃ śaṅkhaś ca kāco vijaya¹³⁵ sukhakaro maṇḍalārthaṃ hi bhūmau

prāsādārthaṃ gr̥hārthaṃ prakāṣṭaniyataścātra yāgādihetoḥ || 28 ||

Tibetan: zug ngu sol ba dang bcas rva ni 'chi ba'i 'jigs byed sa yi snying por nges par zhugs gyur na

gnas de rnam su rnam par nyams par 'gyur te de phyir 'dir ni yon tan dbang gis spang bar bya

sa la rin chen dung dang mching bu dag ni rnam rgyal bde byed dkyil 'khor dag gi don du ste

khang bzang don dang khyim gyi don dang rab gsal nges par 'dir ni mchod sbyin la sogs ched du'o

English: Now the purpose of digging the earth is explained.

A sharp object together with charcoal,¹³⁶ which causes the fear of death, is buried in the womb of the earth¹³⁷ at that place that causes destruction due to the power of its qualities. Therefore, [that place] should be purified.

A jewel, conch¹³⁸ or glass object causing the joy of victory [should be buried] in the earth. Here it is clearly prescribed for the purpose of [the construction of] a maṇḍala, temple and house, and for the sake of sacrifices, etc.

¹³⁵ (Skt. viṣ(j)aya-sukha-karo; Tib. rnam rgyal bde byed) I have selected the variant "vijaya" to accord with the Tibetan term "rnam rgyal."

¹³⁶ (Skt. aṅgāra; Tib. rwa) This may also refer to a charred animal horn.

¹³⁷ (Skt. bhūmi-garbhe; Tib. sa yi snying por)

¹³⁸ (Skt. śaṅkhaś; Tib. dung) According to Drappa (1991: 224), this term sometimes refers to the lotus/vagina of the consort.

VERSE 29

Sanskrit: idānīm bhūmiśodhanārthaṃ dinamucyate /
pūrṇāyāṃ bhūmiśuddhirgrahaṇamapi tathā saṃgrahaḥ putrakāṇām
dvādaśyāṃ sūtrapāto madanamanudine śrīrajaḥpāta eva |
sekādyam pūrṇimāyāṃ dadati varagururmārabhaṅge dine ca
tasmin rātrau pratiṣṭhā bhavati jinakule nānyarātrau pratiṣṭhā || 29 ||

Tibetan: rdzogs pa dag la sa ni dpyod¹³⁹ dang gzung ba dag kyang de bzhin bu rnams
dag ni yang dag bsdu

bcu gnyis pa la thig gdab 'dod pa ma nu'i nyin zhag dag la dpal ldan rdul tshon dgye
ba nyid

dbang la sogs pa nya la mchog gi bla mas sbyin te bdud ni bcom pa'i nyin zhag dag la
yang

de yi mtshan mo rgyal ba'i rigs la rab tu gnas par 'gyur te mtshan mo gzhan la rab gnas
min

English: Now the day [appropriate] for the purpose of purifying the earth¹⁴⁰ is described.

The purification of the earth,¹⁴¹ taking possession of the place, and also the gathering of disciples occurs on a "full day."¹⁴² The laying of the thread occurs on the twelfth lunar day. The casting of the auspicious dust occurs on the thirteenth and fourteenth lunar days.

The best teacher confers empowerment, etc., on the full-moon day and on the day of subduing the demons. The consecration into the family of the Victors occurs on that night, and the consecration occurs on no other night.

{There are six "full days" during each month. These are the two fifths, the two tenths, and the two fifteenths.¹⁴³ Having understood the appropriate time for drawing the maṇḍala, having understood auspicious and inauspicious action, here, with respect to auspicious action on the 5th, 10th and 15th white lunar days,¹⁴⁴ having avoided the

¹³⁹ VC incorrectly reads "sbyad."

¹⁴⁰ (Skt. bhūmi)

¹⁴¹ (Skt. bhūmi-suddhir; Tib. sa ni spyad)

¹⁴² (Skt. pūrṇā-ayām; Tib. rdzogs pa dag la)

¹⁴³ This refers to the 5th, 10th, and 15th lunar days of each half-month.

¹⁴⁴ A "tithi" is a lunar day, which is 1/30th part of a whole lunation. There are 15 "tithi" during the moon's increase, which constitute the light half of the month, referred to in this verse as the "white lunar days." The other 15 "tithi" constitute the dark half of the month, referred to in this verse as "black." According to Varāhamihira (1947), auspicious "tithi" include Nandā, Bhadrā, Vijayā, and Pūrṇā. Pūrṇā

days of labor,¹⁴⁵ one should purify the site.¹⁴⁶ Then one should fill [the site] with earth as described previously.¹⁴⁷ With respect to inauspicious action, on the black 5th, 10th and 15th [lunar days], when the moon has vanished, one should purify the site and fill it with the mud that has been described previously.¹⁴⁸}

is the name of the 5th, 10th and 15th tithis in Varāhamihira's treatises. Pūrṇā is also the name of the 15th portion (Skt. kalā) of the month in the "Brahma Purāṇa."

¹⁴⁵ (Skt. viṣṭi)

¹⁴⁶ (Skt. bhūmi)

¹⁴⁷ According to Namgyal (1994), Kālacakra's astrological system divides each month into six separate cycles of five days each. Each cycle of five days consists of: "dkha ba," "bsang ba," "rgyal ba," "stong pa," and "rdzogs pa." The purification of the site occurs on the "rdzogs pa" (Skt. pūrṇā) day.

¹⁴⁸ (Skt. mṛttikā)

VERSE 30

Sanskrit: anye naktaṃ pratiṣṭhā bhavati narapate śuddhalagnairgrahādyair-
jīve śukre 'stamete nahi bhavati tadā vai vivāhaḥ pratiṣṭhā |
jñātvā ''cāryaḥ samastaṃ kṣititalanilaye lokalokottaraṃ ca
yadyatkāryaṃ karoti prabhavati hi śubhaṃ tattadevaṃ samastaṃ || 30 ||

Tibetan: dag pa'i dus sbyor gza' la sogs pas mi yi bdag po mtshan mo gzhan la rab tu
gnas par 'gyur

srog dang pa sangs nub par gyur na de tshe nges par bga ma 'am rab tu gnas par mi
'gyur ro

slob dpon dag gis sa gzhi'i gnas su 'jig rten 'jig rten 'das pa dag kyang mtha' dag shes
nas ni

bya ba gang gang byed ba de de mtha' dag de ltar 'bras bu dag ni rab tu sbyin par
'gyur

English: The consecration occurs on another night, Oh Lord of Men, by means of
planets, etc. that are in exact conjunction. When Jupiter and Venus set, indeed the
marriage consecration does not occur then.

The teacher, having completely understood the worldly and transworldly
[empowerments] on the abode of the surface of the earth,¹⁴⁹ does whatever is to be
done. And that very thing thus becomes pure.

¹⁴⁹ (Skt. kṣiti-tala-nilaye; Tib. sa gzhi'i gnas)

VERSE 31

Sanskrit: idānīm śiṣyarakṣāvidhirucyate /

kṛtvā śiṣyasya rakṣām śirasi hṛdi tathosñīṣanābhau ca kaṇṭhe

śṛīguhyābje jinādyairubhayakulagataiḥ kāyavākcittavajraiḥ |

evam lepādikānām prakṛtitanīyataiḥ śrīsvaraiḥ

pustakānām sattvānām mokṣahetoramukamapi vibho maṇḍalam lekhayāmi || 31 ||

Tibetan: slob ma'i mgo bo snying kha de bzhin gtsug tor lte ba mgrin pa dpal ldan
gsang ba' pad mar ni

rgyal ba la sogs gnyi ga'i rigs su gyur pa sku gsung thugs kyis bye ba dag gis bsrung
byas shing

de bzhin sku gzugs sogs dang glegs bam rnams ni rab gsal nges pa'i dpal ldan dbyangs
rnams dag gis te

sems can rnams ni thar pa'i slad du che ge bdag kyang gtso bo'i dkyil 'khor dag ni
bzhengs par bgyid

English: Now the ritual for protecting the disciples is described.

Having protected the disciple at the head, heart, crown, navel, throat, and auspicious secret cakra, by means of the Victors, etc., which are located in both families¹⁵⁰ and are {differentiated} by means of the body, speech, and mind vajras,

thus, [having protected] the body, etc.¹⁵¹ and books with the auspicious vowels that are clearly ascertained, one such as myself draws the maṇḍala, O Lord, for the sake of the liberation of living beings.

¹⁵⁰ This may refer to the families of both gods and goddesses.

¹⁵¹ (Skt. lepā-ādikānām; Tib. sku gzugs sogs)

VERSE 32

Sanskrit: idānīm saṃkṣepata ucyate /

śuddhe stāne supūrṇe susamaviracite kūrmaprṣṭhonnate ca

ekādaś hastamāne vasuṇṛpayugasāhasrameva pramāṇe |

sūtram vajram rajo vai surayamavaruṇe cottare vajraghaṇṭām

dattvā labdhe nimitte prathamaparadinaṃ maṇḍalaṃ sūtraṇīyam || 32 ||

Tibetan: dag pa'i gnas ni legs par gang zhing shin du mnyam par bkod pa rus sbal
rgyab bzhin mtho ba gang

khru tshad gcig la sogs pa dus dang nor dang mi bdag de bzhin stong phrag dag gi
tshad la ni

thig skud rdo rje rdul tshon lha dang gshin rje chu bdag tu ste byang du rdo rje dril bu
dag

bkod nas mtshan ma rnyed na dang bo dang ni phyi ma'i phyogs su dkyil 'khor thig ni
gdab par bya

English: Now it [the maṇḍala] is described in brief.

In a clean place that is very full, formed evenly, and has an elevation like the [height of] a tortoise's shell, and which is 1 cubit in measure, which is 8, 16, and 4, up to a thousand {cubits}, indeed, with respect to measure,

having placed the thread, vajra and dust, indeed, in the east, south and west respectively, and the vajra and bell in the north, when an omen is obtained, the maṇḍala that is the first and other day¹⁵² {the maṇḍala in the eastern and western directions} should be laid out with thread.

¹⁵² (Skt. pratham-apara-dinaṃ; Tib. dang po dang ni phyi ma'i phyogs)

VERSE 33

Sanskrit: idānīm durnimittalakṣaṇamucyate /

chinne sūtre gurośca kṣatirapi parighālaṅghane putrakāṇām

vātoddhūtaṃ rajaścet prakāṣayati bhayaṃ rājyabhaṅgaśca rāṣtre |

tad dṛṣṭvā durnimittaṃ punarapi cavibhor mantrajāpaṃ prakuryād

bhūyo labdhe nimitte samaviśamaṃ padaiḥ sūtrapāto vidheyaḥ || 33 ||

Tibetan: thig skud chad par gyur na bla ma nyams shing yongs 'joms 'gongs par gyur na bu mams dag kyang no

gla te rdul tshon rlung gis khyer na 'jigs pa gsal byed yul 'khor dag tu rgyal po 'jigs¹⁵³ pa yang

mtshan ma ngan pa de dag mthong nas slar yang gtso bo dag gi sngags kyi bzlas pa rab tu bya

slar yang mtshan ma myed na mnyam dang mi mnyam rkang pa dag gis thig ni gdab pa bsgrub par bya

English: Now the mark of inauspicious omens is described.

If the thread is cut, it is a fault of the teacher. And if the "bolt" is crossed,¹⁵⁴ {it is the loss} of the disciples.¹⁵⁵ If the dust is scattered by the wind, that indicates fear and the destruction of rulership in the kingdom.

Thus, seeing an inauspicious omen, {the teacher} once again should perform recitation of the mantra of the Lord [Kālacakra]. If an [inauspicious] omen is received again, the laying of the thread should be done by means of the even and odd feet. {Here, the cross-legged¹⁵⁶ posture of the teacher, in which the surface of the right foot is on the left [thigh] and is lowered to touch the ground, occurs in accordance with the even-footed [method]. Likewise, vice versa, [i.e., the cross-legged posture in which the surface of the left foot is on the right thigh and is lowered to touch the ground] occurs in accordance with the odd-footed [method]. The dropping of the thread is prescribed [by both of these methods].¹⁵⁷

¹⁵³ VC incorrectly reads " 'jig."

¹⁵⁴ (Skt. parigha-ālaṅghane; Tib. yongs 'joms 'gongs par gyur na) The Sanskrit term "ālaṅghane" uses the long ā to make metre. According to Namgyal (1994), the "bolt" refers to the axis of the maṇḍala running from southeast to northwest, which separates the disciples from the vajra master. The vajra master's area is that which is outlined as one moves counterclockwise along the perimeter of the maṇḍala from southeast to northwest. The other half of the circle is for the disciples.

¹⁵⁵ According to Namgyal (1994), the term "loss" may refer to a decline in the lifespan of the disciples.

¹⁵⁶ (Skt. paryāṅka)

¹⁵⁷ BTG (1965: 284)

VERSE 34

Sanskrit: idānīm parigha ucyate /

prajñopāyāṅgamadhye bhavati saparigho maṇḍale varjanīyo

bhūmau saṃgrāmakāle śikhipavanagataḥ saṇyamadhye phaṇīva |

saṃgrāme saṇyanāśo bhavati bhuvitale tvaṅgayuddhe prahāraḥ

tasmād yuddhe ca seke tvatibalaparigho mantriṇā veditavyaḥ || 34 ||

Tibetan: shes rab thabs kyi yan lag dbus su yongs 'joms su 'gyur de ni dkyil 'khor dag
la spang bar bya

sa la g.yul gyi dus su rtse mo chan dang rlung du gnas pa'i sde yi dbus su gdengs can
bzhin

g.yul du sde ni myams par 'gyur te sa gzhi dag tu mtshan ma'i 'thab mo la ni bsnun
pa'o

de phyir gyul dang dbang dag la yang yongs 'joms shin du stobs dang ldan par sngags
pas rig par bya

English: Now the axis is explained.

In the maṇḍala, the axis, which is to be avoided, is in the middle of the limbs of wisdom {the southern and western sections of the maṇḍala} and method {the eastern and northern sections of the maṇḍala}.¹⁵⁸ On earth¹⁵⁹ at the time of battle, it stretches from southeast to northwest, like a serpent in the middle of armies.

In battle, the destruction of armies occurs, so on the surface of the earth,¹⁶⁰ in the battle of the limbs,¹⁶¹ the striking¹⁶² occurs. Therefore in battle and in empowerment, the very powerful axis should be understood by the practitioner.

¹⁵⁸ BTG (1985: 284)

¹⁵⁹ (Skt. bhūmau; Tib. sa la)

¹⁶⁰ (Skt. bhuvi-tale; Tib. sa gzhi dag tu)

¹⁶¹ (Skt. aṅga; Tib. mtshan ma)

¹⁶² (Skt. prahāraḥ; Tib. bsnun po)

VERSE 35

Sanskrit: idānīmiṣṭadevatālambanamucyate saṃkṣepataḥ /
ādyaiḥ kādyaiḥ savajraiḥ svahṛdayakamale candrasūryāgnimūrdhni
dhyātvā śrīkālacakram śāśidharamandanākrāntamālīḍhapādam |
prajñābhartorhṛdabje saraviśāṣipute svasvavajrāṅkuṣeṇa
buddhānākṛṣya devī rajasi samaraśa nyastasūtre ca bhāvyāḥ || 35 ||

Tibetan: a sogs ka sogs rdo rje ldan pa dag gis rang gi snying kha'i pad mar zda nyi
me steng du

dpal ldan dus kyi 'khor lo ri bong can 'dzin 'dod pa mnan pa'i gyas brkyang zhabs ni
bsgoms bya shing

shes rab gtso bo'i thugs kha'i pad ma nyi zla sbyar ldan la ste rang rang rdo rje lcags
kyu yis

sangs rgyas lha mo rnams bkug rdul tshon dag la ro mnyam bkod cing thig skud la
yang bsgom par bya

English: Now the meditation on the tutelary deity is described briefly.

With "a, etc." [the vowels], "ka, etc." [the consonants], and with vajras,¹⁶³ one should visualize glorious Kālacakra on the head of the moon,¹⁶⁴ sun, and fire, on the lotus of one's own heart, standing upon Śiva and Kamadeva, with a bent left leg and extended right leg.¹⁶⁵

On the lotus of the heart of Wisdom and the Lord,¹⁶⁶ together with its sun and moon chambers, having attracted the Buddhas and the goddesses with each respective vajra-goad, one should visualize {the Buddhas} as one taste in the dust {and [one should visualize] the goddesses} in the deposited thread.¹⁶⁷

{In the dust, the Buddhas, which have a single taste, should be visualized according to the form of dust. And in the deposited thread, the goddesses should be visualized in the form of a thread. That is the precept.

Now, beginning with the bringing in of the previous earth up to concentration,¹⁶⁸ the rules of mantra are stated. The concentration on divinity, the mantra that suppresses

¹⁶³ (Skt. vajraiḥ; Tib. rdo rje ldan pa)

¹⁶⁴ (Skt. śāśa-dhara; Tib. ri bong can 'dzin) The term "rabbit-holder" refers to the moon due to the belief that the outline of a rabbit is seen on the surface of the moon.

¹⁶⁵ According to Namgyal (1994), the right leg is extended in order to subdue attachment.

¹⁶⁶ According to Reigle (1995), "Wisdom" and "Lord" may refer to Viśvamātā and Kālacakra, respectively.

¹⁶⁷ According to Namgyal (1994), the vowels are located on the moon disks and the consonants are located on the sun disks. The "all-possessing vajra," (i.e., the syllable *hum*), is on the lotus of one's

death, the depositing of the limbs of the glorious Kālacakra, and the purification of the body, speech and mind are described. ... Then one should destroy the Māras according to the rules previously stated, with these mantra words -- *om āḥ hūm hoḥ haṃ kṣaḥ hrāḥ hrāḥ hrāḥ hrāḥ ra ra ra ra* -- the fire of the vajra, O You whose nature is to destroy the dharma of the obstruction of all. ... Thus is the rule for destroying the Māras. }

heart.

168 (Skt. samādhi)

PART III

maṇḍalavartanaṃ nāma mahoddeśaḥ

The great explanation, "the turning of the maṇḍala" by name.

VERSE 36

Sanskrit: iha paramādibuddhādudhṛtaṃ maṇḍalalakṣaṇaṃ pañca triṃśattamādivṛttaiḥ
saṅgītaṃ mañjuśrīyā yattadidānīm vitanyate mūlatantrānusāreṇa /

sūtraṃ vai brahmasūtrād rasanavatiridaṃ digvibhāgaṇḍeyaṃ

sūtrairardhāṅguloktairbhavati vasuyugairmaṇḍalaṃ garbhamadhye |

garbhādbāhye samastai racitamapi mahāmaṇḍalaṃ dvārasīmnaḥ

prākāraṃstoraṇādyam śikhicalavalayaṃ darśayedbāhyabhūmyām || 36 ||

Tibetan: thig ni ro dang dgu bcu 'di rnam tshangs pa'i thig las phyogs kyi cha rnam
dag tu rab sbyin bya

sor phyed brjod pa nor dang dus kyi thig rnam dag gis dbus su snying po'i dkyil 'khor
dag tu 'gyur

snying po las ni phyi rol mtha' dag rnam kyis bkod pa dag kyang dkyil 'khor chen
po'i sgo yi 'tshams

ra ba rta babs la sogs rtse mo can dang g.yo ba'i dkyil 'khor phyi rol sa la blta bar bya

English: Here, the characteristic of the maṇḍala, which has been extracted from the
Paramādibuddha sung by Mañjuśrī, is now being unfolded in accordance with the root
tantra starting with the 35th verse,¹⁶⁹ etc.

Indeed, the thread, from the thread of Brahma, which is to be imparted in the divisions
of the directions -- this is [divided into] 96 [pieces]. {From the thread of the middle of
Brahma, in the southern direction, there are 60 [pieces]. In the north there are 60
[pieces]; in the east there are 60 [pieces]; and in the west there are 60 [pieces].}¹⁷⁰ In
the middle of the womb¹⁷¹ {the mind maṇḍala}, the maṇḍala [is constructed] by means
of the threads, which are stated to be half finger-widths [each] and which are eight and
four [units]. {Among these threads, the mind maṇḍala occurs in the middle of the
womb of the maṇḍala, by means of 48 threads.}

Around the exterior [extending] out from the womb {the mind maṇḍala}, the great
maṇḍala is arranged by all {290 threads},¹⁷² beginning from the boundary of the doors.

¹⁶⁹ (Skt. pañca-triṃśattama) KT read "35th" instead of "36th."

¹⁷⁰ There appears to be a discrepancy between "96" and "60x4=240."

¹⁷¹ (Skt. garbha; Tib. snying po)

¹⁷² (Skt. dvā-navati-adhika-śatair) Perhaps "240" is intended.

One should reveal the walls, arches,¹⁷³ etc., and the circle of trembling fire¹⁷⁴ in the outer earth¹⁷⁵ {the realm of space}. {The speech maṇḍala is 6 threads out from the threads of the mind maṇḍala. The body maṇḍala also is 6 threads out [from the speech maṇḍala].}

¹⁷³ (Skt. toraṇa; Tib. rta babs)

¹⁷⁴ (Skt. śikhi-cala-valayaṃ; Tib. rtse mo can dang g.yo ba'i dkyil 'khor) The Sanskrit term "śikhā" agrees with the Tibetan term "rtse mo," the uppermost place, top, peak or summit.

¹⁷⁵ (Skt. bhūmi; Tib. sa)

VERSE 37

Sanskrit: cakram vābjaṃ hi bhartuṣṭriguṇamapi bhaveddevatādyāsanānām
brahmasthāne 'rkakoṣṭhaiḥ punarapi śaśinā stambhavajrāvalī syāt |
buddhādyabjaṃ caturbhiḥ prabhavati śaśinā bāhyavajrāvalī ca
devībuddhāntarāle bhavati ghaṭakapālāsanam vā trikoṣṭhaiḥ || 37 ||

Tibetan: gtso bo'i 'khor lo chu skyes lha la sogs pa'i gdan las sum 'gyur dag kyang
tshangs pa'i gnas su ni

nyi ma'i re mig dag gi 'gyur te slar yang ri bong can gyis ka ba rdo rje'i phreng bar¹⁷⁶
'gyur

bzhi yis sangs rgyas la sogs pad mar rab 'gyur ri bong can gyis phyi rol rdo rje phreng
bar yang

lha mo sangs rgyas dag gi bar du bum pa 'm ni thod pa'i gdan du re mig gsum gyis
'gyur

English: The cakra or lotus of the Lord should be triple and should belong to the seat of the deities, etc. The "vajra chain"¹⁷⁷ of the "column due to the moon"¹⁷⁸ should be in the place of Brahma, by means of 12 measures,¹⁷⁹ and once again by means of 1 [measures].¹⁸⁰

The lotus of the Buddha, etc. has power by means of four, and the "vajra chain" on the exterior has power by means of the moon. In the interior of the goddesses and Buddhas, there is a vase and skull seat¹⁸¹ or {a chain}, by means of the three

¹⁷⁶ VC incorrectly reads "par."

¹⁷⁷ (Skt. vajra-avalī; Tib. rdo rje'i phreng bar) According to Namgyal (1994), this may be a symbol for the number "1."

¹⁷⁸ (Skt. śaśinā-stambha; Tib. ri bong can gyis ka ba) According to Namgyal (1994), this also may be a symbol for the number "1."

¹⁷⁹ (Skt. koṣṭhaiḥ; Tib. re mig) This term designates a small apartment, storeroom, or surrounding wall. It also designates various visera of the body, especially the stomach, but also the heart, lungs, etc. In KT III.52, both "koṣṭha" and another Sanskrit term, "pura," are translated by the Tibetan term "re mig." According to Jorden (1996), the Tibetan term "re mig" sometimes refers to the small boxes that enclose writing, as in the table of contents of a particular textual work. According to Samten (1995), "re mig" may also refer to the small individual rooms of the maṇḍala and to size in general. The phrase "arka-koṣṭha" (Tib. nyi ma'i re mig dag gi) invites many interpretations. With respect to the Kālacakra maṇḍala, the term probably means "12 rooms." On the level of Inner Kālacakra, it may designate "12 viscera." Furthermore, the Sanskrit term "arka" also refers to the inner substances of the Calotropis Gigantea tree, perhaps corresponding to the Tibetan "nyi ma dga'," which is the name of a medicinal plant.

¹⁸⁰ According to Namgyal (1994), this sentence refers to the first inner square of the Kālacakra maṇḍala, in which a "vajra chain" — a rosary of black vajras — surrounds a petal-like formation. The numerical designations refer to measurement. See also Bryant (1992: 197-203).

rooms.¹⁸²

¹⁸¹ (Skt. *ghaṭa-kapāla-āsanam*; Tib. *bum pa 'am ni thod pa'i gdan*) VC reads "a vase or a skull seat."

¹⁸² According to Namgyal (1994), the lotus of the Buddha on the exterior rosary is 4 measures. The vajra chain is 1 measure, and the seat in the space between the goddesses is 3 measures. In the cardinal and intermediate directions, the goddesses occupy the square that encompasses the rosary of black vajras. The ritual vases occupy the squares between the goddesses.

VERSE 38

Sanskrit: tatsthānād raṅgabhūmirbhavati dinakaraīśca trirekhaṃ hi yāvad
dikkoneṣvabdhikoṣṭhaiḥ śaśiravikamalānyeva gandhādikānām |
sārdhaikena trirekhaṃ bhavati ṛturasairdvāraniryūhakaśca
tadvatpakṣe kapālaṃ tribhirapi ca mahāvedikā stambhamardham || 38 ||

Tibetan: gnas de nas 'dir ji srid [rekhā] gsum gyi bar du nyin mor byad pas tshon gyi
sar 'gyur te

phyogs zur rnams su chu gter re mig dag gis dri la sogs pa rnams kyi zla nyi pad ma
nyid

phyed dang bcas pa'i gcig gis [rekhā] gsum ste dus dang ro dag gis kyang sgo dang sgo
khyud do

de bzhin logs dang 'gram pa dag ste gsum gyis kyang ni stegs bu chen po dag dang ka
ba phyed

English: The colored earth¹⁸³ is from that place. By means of 12, extending indeed to the object of three lines,¹⁸⁴ the "cakras of the moon and sun,"¹⁸⁵ which are only of smell, are in the corner directions by means of the 4 measures.¹⁸⁶

The three-lined object is increased by half, and the turrets of the doors¹⁸⁷ [are increased] by means of 6 x 6.¹⁸⁸ In this way, on the side, there is a skull.¹⁸⁹ And also by means of the three, the great altar¹⁹⁰ is half a column.

¹⁸³ (Skt. raṅga-bhūmir; Tib. tshon gyi sa)

¹⁸⁴ (Skt. rekhaṃ; Tib. [rekhā]) According to Samten (1995), the Tibetan term "rekhā" refers to a boundary line between two elements of the maṇḍala.

¹⁸⁵ According to Namgyal (1994), the deities' cushions are indicated with four red dots in the white area outside the maṇḍala's innermost colored shapes.

¹⁸⁶ (Skt. koṣṭhaiḥ; Tib. re mig dag gis)

¹⁸⁷ (Skt. dvāra-niryūhakaś; Tib. sgo dang sgo khyud) The Tibetan term "sgo" refers to a door, entrance or doorway, while "sgo khyud" refers to a turret of a doorway. Closely related, the Tibetan term "sgo khung" is the opening or aperture of a door.

¹⁸⁸ According to Namgyal (1994), the width of the doors is 6 measures and the width of the entryway is 6 measures.

¹⁸⁹ (Skt. pakṣe-kapālaṃ; Tib. logs dang 'gram pa)

¹⁹⁰ (Skt. mahā-vedikā; Tib. stegs bu chen po) The Tibetan term "stegs bu" refers to the structure that houses the maṇḍala. A "stegs bu chen po" is a large "stegs bu."

VERSE 39

Sanskrit: tasyārdhe naṣṭa kālairbhavati maṇimayā paṭṭikā dvārabhūmiṃ
sastambhaṃ toraṇaṃ syāttriguṇitadaśabhirdvāramūlāditaśca |
sūtrārdhaṃ mūrdhni varjyaṃ prabhavati bakulī cārdhahārāvasāne
śaṭkoṣṭhais toraṇādho vasukamalayutā paṭṭikā yoginīnām || 39 ||

Tibetan: de nas phyed dang gnyis dang dus kyis nor bu'i rang bzhin snam bu dang ni
do shal sa ru 'gyur

sgo yi rtsa ba'i dang po nas ni gsum gyis bsgyur ba'i bcu yis rta babs ka bar bcas par
'gyur

thig phyed steng du dor nas do shal phyed pa dag gi mthar ni [bakulī] yang rab tu
'gyur

re mig drug gis rta babs 'og du nor gyi pad ma dang ldan rnal 'byor ma mams snam
bu'o

English: In half of this, it [the maṇḍala] is [constructed] by means of the four destroyed ones. The cloth¹⁹¹ and that which is made of jewels exists [i.e., is laid out] up to the site¹⁹² of the doors. The arches, together with the columns, should be [constructed] by means of 30 and also [should extend] from the beginning of the base of the doors.

On the top, one should avoid half of the thread. And the fragrant flowers¹⁹³ are [strewn] around the edge of the garland.¹⁹⁴ The yoginīs' cloth is accompanied by eight lotuses at the bottom of the arches, by means of 6 measures. {Now the speech maṇḍala is described. Here in the speech maṇḍala, as for the four divisions consisting of 6 half finger-widths found in the four directions, among them, by means of two parts, the altar on the wall¹⁹⁵ of the womb maṇḍala [i.e., the mind maṇḍala], jewels and cloth, rosary and a half rosary, which are the heads of the sequence, fall down. The remaining two parts stand up. Of these two, leaving aside one portion, in the 6 measures¹⁹⁶ of the other portion, underneath, and high above, one leaves out the measure[s] one by one. Having avoided these two, in the middle, by means of the yoginīs' 4 parts, the cloth of 8 rosaries are the lotuses in all the directions [and] in the corners.}

191 (Skt. paṭṭikā; Tib. rang bzhin snam bu) According to Namgyal (1994), the Tibetan term "rang bzhin" means natural, and "snam bu" refers to bulk handwoven cloth or wool. The Tibetan term "snam bu" refers to the large colored section of the maṇḍala that has yet to be adorned with deities.

192 (Skt. bhūmi; Tib. sa)

193 (Skt. bakulī; Tib. [ba ku liar]) This is the fragrant Mimusops Elengi flower.

194 (Skt. ardhahārā; Tib. do shal) The Sanskrit term "ardhahārā" refers to a rosary (Skt. mālā) with 64 threads.

195 (Skt. prākāra-vedikā)

196 (Skt. koṣṭheṣu)

VERSE 40

Sanskrit: idānīm kāyamaṇḍalamucyate /

tasmāt śrīraṅgabhūmī rasaguṇitayugaiḥ pañcarekhāṃ hi yāvat

dikkoneṣvarkapadmaṃ dviguṇamanudalaṃ sūryakoṣṭhaiḥ prakuryāt |

garbhadvāraṃ dviguṇyaṃ trividhaguṇavaśād dvāramapyatra bāhyaṃ

prākārādyam tathaiva trivalayaracanāṃ tryaṣṭakaiśca prakuryāt || 40 ||

Tibetan: de nas ro yis bsgyur ba'i dus kyis dpal ldan chon gyi sa ste re khāa [rekhā]
lga yi bar du'o

phyogs zur nams su nyi ma'i pad ma nyis 'gyur ma nu'i 'dab ldan nyi ma'i re mig dag
gis bya

snying po'i sgo ni nyis 'gyur nams pa gsum gyis yon tan dbang gis 'dir ni phyi rol sgo
dag kyang

ra ba sogs kyang de bzhin nyid te khor yug gsum bkod nams ni brgyad pa gsum gyis
rab tu bya

English: Now the body maṇḍala is described.

Next, the glorious site¹⁹⁷ for the color [is described]. By means of 24 [measures], up to the five lines [of the maṇḍala], one should double the lotus of the sun in the corner directions, together with its {28} petals, by means of 12 measures¹⁹⁸ {that are 1/2 finger-width each}.

The door of the "womb"¹⁹⁹ [the mind maṇḍala] is doubled. In accordance with the three-fold qualities, {from darkness,²⁰⁰ [one has the door of] the mind maṇḍala; due to space,²⁰¹ the door of the speech maṇḍala is double [the size of the door of the mind maṇḍala]; in accordance with goodness²⁰², the door of the body maṇḍala is quadruple [the size of the door of the mind maṇḍala]}. Even here, one should create the outer door, and likewise, indeed, one should create the walls, etc.. And one should fashion the three circles {water, fire and wind} by means of 24 [measures].

¹⁹⁷ (Skt. bhūmi; Tib. sa)

¹⁹⁸ (Skt. koṣṭhaiḥ; Tib. re mig dag gis)

¹⁹⁹ This refers to the mind maṇḍala.

²⁰⁰ (Skt. tamas)

²⁰¹ (Skt. rajas)

²⁰² (Skt. sattva)

VERSE 41

Sanskrit: teṣāmādyantabhāge raviśaśivalayaṃ bāhyavajrāvalīm ca
kuryāt koṣṭhaistadardhairyadanilavalaye maṇḍalānte ca cakram |
stambhādho maṇḍalaṃ ca prabhavati phaṇinām syandanam devatīnām
sūryaiśca dvāramadhye nabhasi bhuvitale pūrvabhāge 'pare ca || 41 ||

Tibetan: de dag nmams kyi thog mtha' cha'i nyi zla'i dkyil 'khor dang ni phyi rol rdo
rje'i phreng ba yang

de phyed re mig nmams kyis bya ste 'khor lo gang yin dkyil 'khor mthar yang rlung gi
khor yug la

ka ba'i 'og tu gdengs can nmams kyi dkyil 'khor du yang rab tu 'gyur te lha nmams shing
rta ni

nyi ma dag gis sgo yi dbus dang mkha' dang sa gzhi dag la shar gyi cha dang nub la
yang

English: Of these {three circles}, in the first and last divisions [water and wind], one should create the circle of sun and moon and the vajra chain²⁰³ around the exterior. By means of halves of the {12} measures, in the circle of the wind of those [circles], and at the outer boundary of the maṇḍala, [one should create] a cakra.

At the base of the column, one generates the maṇḍala of the serpents. [One should make] the chariot of the goddesses in the middle of the door, by means of 12 [measures], on the hub, which is on the surface of the earth,²⁰⁴ in the eastern and western divisions.

²⁰³ (Skt. vajra-avalīm; Tib. rdo rje'i phreng ba) According to Namgyal (1994), this vajra chain is shown on the maṇḍala as the golden rosary on the green background located just inside the last outer rings of blue, red, green and yellow.

²⁰⁴ (Skt. bhuvi-tale; Tib. sa gzhi dag la)

VERSE 42

Sanskrit: idānīm rajaḥpātavidhimāha /

vajrādyaiḥ pañcaratnaiḥ kanakamarakatairvidrumairmauktikādyaiḥ

śasyairvā pañcabhedairbahuvīdhamāṇibhiḥ piṣṭaraṅgaistathaiva |

digbhāge raṅgabhūmau bhavati nṛpa rajaḥpātanaṃ buddhabhedaiḥ

pītaiḥ śvetāruṇādyaiḥ kṣitijalavalaye vahnivāyvoḥ krameṇa || 42 ||

Tibetan: rdo rje sogs dang rin chen lnga dang gser dang ma ra ka ta byi ru mu tig la
sogs dang

dbye ba lnga yi 'bru 'm mam mang nor bu dang ni de bzhin nyid du btags pa'i tshon
rnams kyis

phyogs kyi cha la tshon gyi sar ni mi yi bdag po sangs rgyas dbye bas rdul tshon gdab
bar 'gyur

ser dang dkar dang dmar ba sogs kyis sa chu'i khor yug dang ni me rlung dag la rim
pas so

English: Now he describes the method for depositing the dust.

{In accordance with the power of the Buddha, one should make particles} by means of the five jewels, beginning with diamond, and by means of gold and emerald, rubies, pearls, etc., or by means of grains according to their five divisions, {or by the powder} by means of many types of jewels, and likewise, indeed, by means of the powdered colors, {which are common to all creatures}.

On the site²⁰⁵ of color, in the division of the directions, O King, the depositing of the dust occurs by means of the divisions of the Buddhas, which are yellow, white, red, etc. {black}, on the circle of earth and water,²⁰⁶ and on the [circle of] wind and fire, respectively.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ (Skt. bhūmau; Tib. sar)

²⁰⁶ (Skt. kṣiti-jala-valaye; Tib. sa chu'i khor yug)

²⁰⁷ According to Namgyal (1994), east/black corresponds to the purification of the mind; south/red corresponds to the purification of speech; west/yellow corresponds to the purification of wisdom; and north/white corresponds to the purification of the body. See also BTG (1965: 324).

VERSE 43

Sanskrit: idānīm rajobhūmivarṇa ucyate /

pūrve śrīkṛṣṇabhūmirbhavati ravinibhā dakṣiṇe paścime ca

hemābhā cottare 'nyā śaśadharadhavalā vajriṇo vaktrabhedaiḥ |

śvetā kṛṣṇā ca raktā kramapariracitā paṭṭikāhārabhūmiḥ

padmānīndvarkavarṇairamalaśaśinibhā raktakṛṣṇā tirekhā || 43 ||

Tibetan: shar du dpal ldan nag po'i sa ru 'gyur zhing lho ru nyi ma mtshungs pa dag
ste nub tu yang

gser mdog byang du gzhan te ri bong 'dzin pa ltar dkar rdo rje can gyi zhal gyi dbye
bas so

dkar dang dmar dang nag po'i rim par yangs su bkod pa'i snam bu dang ni do shal dag
gis ste

pad ma zla nyi'i kha dog gis te dri med ri bong chan mtshungs dmar dang nag po'i ri
mo gsum

English: Now the color of the site²⁰⁸ of dust is described.

The glorious black site is in the east.²⁰⁹ In the south, [the site] is red. And in the west, [the site] appears golden. In the north, there is another [color], moon white. [These sites exist] in accordance with the divisions of the [four] faces of the vajra-possessor [Kālacakra].

{Now he describes the color of the dust of the altars, etc.} The white {altar} and black {site of the garland} are created sequentially, and the red cloth {is on top of the white altar}. The lotus is [created] in accordance with the colors of the moon and sun. The three lines {of the walls of the maṇḍala} are the color of the stainless moon -- [they are] {white, which corresponds to the body maṇḍala}, red, {which corresponds to the speech maṇḍala}, and black, {which corresponds to the mind maṇḍala}.²¹⁰

²⁰⁸ (Skt. bhūmi)

²⁰⁹ (Skt. bhūmir; Tib. sa ru)

²¹⁰ BTG (1965: 324)

VERSE 44

Sanskrit: garbhapadmādivarṇamāha /

madhye padmāṣṭapatraṃ haritamalinibhā stambhavajrāvalī syāt

īśe daitye 'gnivāyvoḥ śaśiravivapuṣau kṛṣṇapītau krameṇa |

śaṅkho gaṇḍī maṇīśca krama iti ca tathā śvetakumbhāṣṭasandhau

candro raktābjamūrdhni prabhavati dinakṛcchvetapadmasya cordhvam || 44 ||

Tibetan: dbus su pad ma 'dab brgyad ljang khu dag ste bung pa dang mtshungs ka ba
rdo rje phreng bar 'gyur

dbang ldan lha min me rlung mams su zla ba nyi ma'i lus dang nag po ser po rim pa
yis

dung dang [gaṇḍī] nor pu dag dang ljon pa zhes bya de bzhin bum pa dkar po mtshams
brgyad du

zla ba chu skyes dmar po'i steng du rab tu 'gyur te nyin byed pad ma dkar po'i steng
du yang

English: Now he describes the color of the lotus of the mind maṇḍala.

In the middle {of the mind maṇḍala}, the green lotus {of the Lord} has 8 petals {the colors of which -- white, etc. -- apply to pacification, etc.}. The vajra chain of the column²¹¹ should be the color of bees. In the northeast, southeast, southwest, southeast and northwest are the colors of the moon and sun [white and red], black and yellow, respectively.

[These directions and colors] correspond to the conch, gong, wish-fulfilling gems, etc. {the wish-tree}. And likewise, there is a white pitcher at the border of the eight {directions}. One generates the moon on the top of the red lotus, and the sun is above the white lotus.

²¹¹ According to Namgyal (1994), sixteen pillars are arranged to form a rosary (Skt. mālā).

VERSE 45

Sanskrit: raktābje daivatīnām bhavati śaśadharaścāsanam kaṇṭikāyām

śvetābje kaṇṭikāyām bhavati dinakaro devatānām ca dikṣu |

bāhye vajrāvalī syādvibhukamalavaśādvedikā śvetavarṇā

pītastambhā himābhā prabhavati bakulī toraṇam viśvavarṇam || 45 ||

Tibetan: chu skyes dmar po'i lte ba la ni lha mo mams kyi ri bong 'dzin pa dag gi
gdan du 'gyur

chu skyes dkar po'i lte ba dag la lha mams kyi yang nyin mor byed par 'gyur te phyogs
su'o

phyi rol du ni gtso bo'i pad ma'i dbang gis rdo rje phreng par 'gyur te stegs bu dkar
po'i mdog

ka ba ser po [bakulī] ni kha ba'i mdog tu rab 'gyur rta babs kha dog sna tshogs so

English: The moon of the goddesses is on the red lotus, and the seat {of the moon} is on the pericarp [of the lotus]. The sun of the gods is on the white lotus, {and the seat of the sun} is on the pericarp [of the lotus].²¹² {In the corner directions of the goddesses and} in the directions {of the gods},

around the exterior, there should be a vajra chain. A white alter {should be created} in accordance with the {color of the} lotus of the Lord. He transforms the yellow column and the fragrant flower into the color of snow. The arches are multi-colored. {This concludes the precept concerning the color and depositing of the dust on the root [i.e., the mind maṇḍala]}.

²¹² BTG (1986: 325)

VERSE 46

Sanskrit: idānīm vākkāyamaṇḍaladevatāpaṭṭikādivaṇṇamāha /

śvetābhā yoginīnāmapi vasukamalā paṭṭikā sarvadikṣu

digbhāge raktapadmaṃ bhavati jinavaśācchvetapadmaṃ ca koṇe |

candrādityairvihīnaṃ dviguṇāmanudalaṃ cāmarāṇām tathaiva

khādyā yāḥ pañcarekhāḥ prakṛtiguṇavaśāttāstribhāgāntarasthāḥ || 46 ||

Tibetan: dkar po'i mdog ste rnal 'byor ma rnams dag gi nor gyi pad ma'i snam bu dag
kyang phyogs kun du'o

phyogs kyi char ni pad ma dmar por 'gyur te rgyal ba'i dbang gis pad ma dkar po zur
du yang

zla ba nyi mas rnam dman de bzhin nyid du 'chi med rnams kyi nyis 'gyur ma nu'i
'dab ldan no

mkha' sogs [rekhā] lnga po gang yin de rnams rang bzhin yon tan dbang gis sum cha
bar du gnas

English: Now he describes the colors of the goddesses and of the cloths, etc., for the
speech and body maṇḍalas.

The yoginīs' cloth of eight lotuses is white in all directions. In the divisions of the
directions, the lotus {becomes} red in accordance with the Victors, and in the corner
[directions], the lotus {becomes} white.

Excluding the moon and sun [petals], there exists a doubling, which applies to [the
number of] petals. {These lotuses have eight petals, excluding the seats of the moon
and the sun.} In this very way, {there exists a doubling} of the "immortals."²¹³
{There are 28 petals excluding the moon and sun petals.} The sky, etc. [wind, fire,
water and earth] are five lines in accordance with the qualities of nature. These are
located inside the three divisions.²¹⁴ {In the speech maṇḍala, the base of the wall must
be known as having 15 parts, because by leaving out one division, one line exists in
each of the other two divisions. In this way, the base of the wall of the mind²¹⁵
maṇḍala has 9 parts. Likewise, the nature [of the elements] is described in the body
maṇḍala. Here, in the body [maṇḍala], the nature of ether, etc. [fire, water, air, and
earth] [corresponds to] the pinkie, etc. [and the other] five fingers.}

²¹³ (Skt. amarāṇām; Tib. 'chi med rnams kyi)

²¹⁴ BTG (1965: 326)

²¹⁵ (Skt. garbha)

VERSE 47

Sanskrit: idānīm nāgarājānāmāsanānyucyante /

stambhādho dvārasandhau prabhavati phaṇināmāsanam mārutādyam

aiśānyām daityakoṇe kṣitivalayagatau candrasūryau narendra |

bāhye dvārordhvabhāge samṛgamapi bhaveddharmacakram ghanābham

savye rakto ghataḥ syāt sadhanadavarūṇe dundubhirbodhivṛkṣaḥ || 47 ||

Tibetan: ka ba'i 'og gi sgo yi 'tshams su gdengs can rnams kyi rlung sogs dkyil 'khor
dag tu rab tu 'gyur

dbang ldan dang ni lha min zur du sa yi dkyil 'khor la gnas zla nyi dag go mi yi dbang

phyi rol sgo yi steng gi char ni ri dwags dang bcas chos kyi 'khor lo sprin gyi mdog tu
'gyur

g.yas su bum ba dmar por 'gyur te nor sbyin dang bcas chur ni nga bo che dang byang
chub shing

English: Now the seats of the Kings of the Nāgas are described.

At the base of the column, which is at the juncture of the doors, one generates the wind, etc. posture of the serpents.²¹⁶ In the corner [directions] of northeast and south-west, the moon and sun are located on the earth circle,²¹⁷ O Lord of Men.

Around the exterior, on the division of the upper section of the door, there should be a cloud-colored [black] dharma wheel together with its [two] deer. On the right, there should be a red vase. In the north and west, there is a drum, which is the tree of enlightenment.

²¹⁶ (Skt. phaṇinām āsanam mārut-ādyam; Tib. gdengs can rnams kyi rlung sogs) The Tibetan term "gdengs can" refers to a hooded snake. Though VC does not include an explicit equivalent of the Sanskrit term "āsanam," the Tibetan phrase "gdengs ka bye pa" includes the idea of a postural attitude in the form of a serpent exists.

²¹⁷ (Skt. kṣiti-valaya; Tib. sa yi dkyil 'khor)

VERSE 48

Sanskrit: ghaṇṭādarśāḥ patākāḥ śaśadharadhavalāstoraṇā lambamānā
hārārdhaḥ śvetavarṇo bhavati kulavaśāt syandano dvāramadhye |
cakram śvetaṃ ca raktaṃ svajinakulavaśānmārute dvārabāhye
vajrajālā sphuradbhirbhavati narapate bāhyavajrāvalī ca || 48 ||

Tibetan: dril bu me long ba dan ri bong 'dzin pa ltar dkar rta babs mams las 'phyang
bar 'gyur pa dang

do shal phyred pa kha dog dkar par 'gyur te rigs kyi dbang gis shings rta sgo yi dbus
su'o

'khor lo dkar dang dmar po rang gi rgyal ba'i rigs kyi dbang gis rlung la sgo yi phyi
rol du

rdo rje 'bar ba 'phro ba dag gis mi yi bdag po phyi rol rdo rje phreng ba mams su'ng
'gyur

English: Bells,²¹⁸ mirrors, and white flags²¹⁹ are hanging on the arches. Half of a
garland²²⁰ becomes white in accordance with the [Buddha] families. The chariot is in
the middle of the doors.

In accordance with the one's own Victor [Buddha] family, the white and red cakras
exist around the exterior of the northwest door. The torch of the vajra flames arises by
means of {five} shining rays. O Lord of Men, the vajra chain is around the exterior.
{After this, the maṇḍala is complete.}

²¹⁸ (Skt. ghaṇṭa; Tib. dril bu) According to Namgyal (1994), this metal bell reflects light and is hung
on the ritual vase.

²¹⁹ (Skt. patākāḥ; Tib. ba dan)

²²⁰ (Skt. hāra-ardhaḥ; Tib. do shal phyed pa) According to Namgyal (1994), this refers to the black sec-
tion of the maṇḍala that lies outside the Sanskrit letters.

VERSE 49

Sanskrit: idānīm prākārarekhānām vilakṣaṇadoṣamāha /

sthūlā vyādhiṃ karoti prakāṣayati kṛṣā dravyahāniṃ kurekhā

chinnā mṛtyuṃ ca vakrā sanṛpajanapadoccātanam tadvadeva |

cihne chinne 'rkacandre bhavabhayamathanī mantriṇām nāsti siddhiḥ

gotracchedo vimiśre rajasi jinakulairmaṇḍale veditavyaḥ || 49 ||

Tibetan: sbom pas nad dag byed cing phra dang [rekhā] ngan pas rdzas ni nyams pa
rab tu gsal bar byed

chad pas 'chi ba dang ni 'khyog pos mi yi bdag po dang bcas grong rdal de bzhin nyid
du bskyod

mtshan ma nyi ma zla ba chad na sngags pa mams la srid pa'i 'jigs pa 'joms pa'i dngos
grub med

rnam par 'dres pas rigs rgyud 'chang te rgyal ba'i rigs kyis rdul tshon dkyil 'khor dag
la rig par bya

English: Now he describes the faults of inappropriateness concerning the lines of the
walls [of the maṇḍala].

A thick [line] causes disease. A thin or bad line causes the decline of substances.²²¹ A
line that is cut causes death, and in the same way, also, a crooked line causes the
banishment of the people together with the king.

When the symbol has been cut, {or when the seat of} the sun and moon {is cut}, the
accomplishment of the practitioners, which stirs up fear in beings, does not exist.
When the particles are mixed in the maṇḍala, the severing of the limbs by means of the
Victor [Buddha] families should be understood.

²²¹ (Skt. dravya; Tib. rdzas) This refers to the substances used during the homa, including grass, milk, butter, etc.

VERSE 50

Sanskrit: yannoktaṃ tantramadhye prakāṣamapi jinairmaṇḍale tanna deyaṃ

cihnaṃ śobhārthahetorjinajanakakule mārācihnaṃ tadeva |

tasmāttantroktācihnaṃ bhavati kulavaśānmaṇḍale dvārasīmno

hārārdhānte prakuryāt kṣitivalayagate padmakumbhādīśobhām || 50 ||

Tibetan: gang zhig rgyud kyi nang du rgyal bas gsal bar ma gsungs mtshan ma de ni mdzes pa'i don gyi rgyur

dkyil 'khor dag la dgod par mi bya de nyid bdud kyi mtshan ma'o rgyal ba skyed mdzad rigs la ni

de phyir rgyud las gsungs pa'i mtshan mar 'gyur te rigs kyi dbang gis sgo yi 'tshams nas dkyil 'khor la'o

do shal phyed pa'i mthar ni sa yi khor yug nang du pad ma bum sogs mdzes pa rab tu bya

English: The symbol that has not been described by the Victors [yet is described] in the middle of the tantra, even though it is clear, that [symbol] should not be drawn on the maṇḍala for the sake of the purpose of beautification. {Why? Because} that indeed is the symbol of Māra in the family of the progenitor of the Victors.

Therefore, [concerning] the symbol [that] is described in the tantra, in accordance with the [Buddha] families, on the maṇḍala, at the boundary of the door, on the end of half of the garland that is located on the earth circle,²²² one should create the beauty of the lotus, pitcher, etc.

²²² (Skt. kṣiti-valaya; Tib. sa yi khor yug) The Tibetan term "khor yug" refers to the outer line or circumference. See also KT III.47, in which the Sanskrit phrase "kṣiti-valaya" is translated by the Tibetan phrase "sa yi dkyil 'khor."

VERSE 51

Sanskrit: idānīm rājaḥpronnatirucyate /

kṛṣṇādeḥ pādavṛddhyā bhavati ca rajasāḥ pronnatirvai yavaikāt

prākārāṇām triguṇyā dinakaraśaśinorabja rekhā dviguṇyā |

garbhādbāhye dviguṇyā bhavati narapate pronnatirmaṇḍale 'smin

hārārdhānte yavaikā kṣitijalahutabhugvāyuvajrāvalīṣu || 51 ||

Tibetan: nag po la sogs rkang pa 'phel bar 'gyur ba dag ni rdul tshon dpangs te nas gcig dag nas kyang

ra ba rnams ni sum 'gyur nyin mor byed pa'i ri bong can dang chu skyes [rekhā] nyis 'gyur ro

snying po dag la phyi rol dpangs ni nyis 'gyur du 'gyur mi yi bdag po dkyil 'khor 'di lta ste

do shal phyed pa'i mthar ni nas gcig sa chu bsreg za rlung dang rdo rje phreng ba rnams la'o

English: Now the elevation of the particles is described.

The elevation indeed of the black, etc. [red, yellow and white] particles occurs from a single barley grain, raised from the foot (i.e., from the bottom up). {The elevation} of the walls²²³ is triple {which is the elevation of the yellow particles}. {The other shared line is double the [height of] the yellow color.} {The elevation} of the sun and moon, which is the boundary line of the lotus, is double [the height of the barley].

Around the exterior in this [speech] maṇḍala, the elevation, O Lord of Men, is double [in height] as compared to the mind maṇḍala. At the edge of the half garland,²²⁴ [a particle elevated to the height of] a single barley grain is on the vajra chain of earth,²²⁵ water, fire and wind.

²²³ (Skt. prākārāṇām; Tib. ra ba rnams) According to Samten (1995), the Tibetan term "ra ba" refers to a circle around the exterior of the body maṇḍala.

²²⁴ (Skt. hāra-ardha; Tib. do shal phyed) According to Samten (1995), the Tibetan term "do shal phyed" refers to the half-sections of the strings of pearls, beads, etc., which are used for adornment and which do not connect to one another. Instead, they are draped below the full sections of beads.

²²⁵ (Skt. kṣiti; Tib. sa)

VERSE 52

Sanskrit: idānīm lokadhātuśuddhyā rajomaṇḍala śuddhirucyate /
garbhād dvārādisīmno bhavati vasumatī maṇḍale lokadhātor
dvārebhyaścārcikāntaṃ triguṇaphaṇipuraiḥ kṣāratnālayaḥ syāt |
tasmājjainendrakoṣṭhairapi śikhivalayaṃ vāyurevaṃ tataḥ syāt
tadbāhye tadviśuddhyā kṣitijalahutabhugmārutā darśanīyāḥ || 52 ||

Tibetan: snying po nas ni sgo yi dang po'i 'tshams kyis nor ldan mar 'gyur 'jig rten
khams kyī dkyil 'khor la

sgo nas [carcikā] mthar sum 'gyur gdengs can re mig mams kyis lan tshwa'i rin chen
gnas su 'gyur

de nas rgyal ba'i dbang po'i re mig gis kyang me yi dkyil 'khor de nas de bzhin rlung
du 'gyur

de yi phyi rol du ni de dag mnam par dag pa'o sa chu bsreg za rlung mams blta bar bya

English: Now, through purifying the elements of the world, the purification of the
maṇḍala of the particles is described.

From the mind maṇḍala, from the boundary of the door, the maṇḍala of the elements
of the world is on the earth.²²⁶ Beginning from the doors, to the end of the Carcikā,
the storehouse of salty jewels [i.e., the ocean]²²⁷ should occur by means of triple the
{finger} measures²²⁸ of the "serpents"²²⁹ {i.e., the Supreme Victor}.

From that {door of the speech maṇḍala}, too, the ring of fire should be [drawn] by
means of the measures of the Victor" {= 24 finger-widths}. Thus, thereafter, the [ring

²²⁶ (Skt. vasumatī; Tib. nor ldan ma)

²²⁷ (Skt. kṣāra-ratna-ālayaḥ; Tib. lan tshwa'i rin chen gnas) According to Samten (1995), this refers to
the "chu khyil," which is the circle of water around the exterior of the maṇḍala. This is the second circle
as one counts from the inside.

²²⁸ (Skt. puraiḥ; Tib. re mig) Both the Sanskrit term "koṣṭha" and "pura" occur in this verse and are
translated by the Tibetan term "re mig." As noted previously, "koṣṭha" refers to one of the viscera of the
body, especially the stomach but also the heart, lungs, etc. This term also designates a storeroom, inner
apartment, or surrounding wall. In comparison, "pura" refers to a fortress, the female gynaecium, the
body, a receptacle, and a storehouse. Here, "pura" probably refers to an entire group of rooms in the
maṇḍala, while "koṣṭha" designates a single, small room. On the level of Inner Kālacakra, "pura" proba-
bly designates the body in its entirety, or alternatively the female gynaecium in specific, while "koṣṭha"
probably designates individual viscera of the body. Throughout this translation, I sometimes follow the
Tibetan translators' convention of rendering both "koṣṭha" and "pura" by a single term, i.e. "rooms."
Otherwise, I translate "koṣṭha" by the English term "width."

²²⁹ Because term "serpents" designates the number 8, the phrase "tri-guṇa-phaṇi" designates 24 finger-
widths.

of] wind [should also be 24 finger-widths]. Around the exterior of that {body maṇḍala}, through the purification of these {circles of earth, etc.}, the [rings of] earth,²³⁰ water, fire and wind should be revealed.

²³⁰ (Skt. kṣiti; Tib. sa)

VERSE 53

Sanskrit: idānīm ūrdhvādhoviśuddhir ucyate /

uṣṇīṣaṃ vaktrakaṇṭhaṃ triguṇaphaṇipurairmaṇḍale śodhanīyaṃ

tasmanmeruḥ samastatriguṇaphaṇipurairmedinī yāvadeva |

ṣaṭṣaṭkoṣṭhaiḥ krameṇa sphuṭamahibhuvanaṃ saptapātārameva

evaṃ bhūmyādi sarvaṃ punarapi ca tathā śodhanīyaṃ svadehe || 53 ||

Tibetan: gtsug tor gdong dang mgrin pa sum 'gyur gdengs can re mig rnams kyis dkyil
'khor la ni sbyang bar bya

de nas lhun po mtha' dag sum 'gyur gdengs can re mig rnams kyis sa ni ji srid nyid du
ste

re mig drug drug dag gis rim pas gsal bar klu yi srid pa dang ni sa 'og bdun po nyid

de bzhin sa la sogs pa thams cad slar yang de bzhin rang gi lus dag la ni sbyang bar bya

English: Now the purification of the top and bottom is described.

In the maṇḍala, by means of the 24 rooms,²³¹ the crown, face and neck must be purified. From that {throat}, all of Meru [must be purified] in 24 rooms, actually reaching [downwards] to the earth²³² {at the bottom}.²³³

By means of the six of six [i.e., 36] measures²³⁴ respectively, clearly the abode of the Nāgas, which is the underworld of the seven [levels], indeed {must be purified}. Thus, all the earth, etc., once again must be purified in the individual body {of all beings}.

²³¹ (Skt. purair; Tib. re mig rnams kyis)

²³² (Skt. medinī; Tib. sa)

²³³ According to Samten (1995), it is possible that "crown, face and neck" may refer to the mind, body and speech maṇḍalas, respectively. This usage of the terms occurs in a Yamāntaka ritual text currently used by Tibetan monks. Further, the phrase "reaching [downwards] to the earth {at the bottom}" refers to the nine levels that exist beneath the body maṇḍala in the form of various geometric shapes. In descending order, these nine levels are: space; wind; fire; water; earth; Mt. Meru; lotus; sun; and moon.

²³⁴ (Skt. ṣaṭ-ṣaṭ-koṣṭhaiḥ; Tib. re mig drug drug dag gis)

VERSE 54

Sanskrit:

dvyabdhyai kābdhaikasūryairtmṛturasaśikhino 'gnyardhakālārdhakālaiḥ

kālaiḥ kālāprabhitrnairtmṛtubhirapi rasairdoṣabhāgaiḥ krameṇa |

garbhādvā karṇikā cābjadalamapi tataḥ stambhavajrāvalī ca

padmaṃ vajrāvalī syāt kṣītirapi ca tato dvāraniryūhakādyam || 54 ||

Tibetan: gnyis dang chu gter gcig dang chu gter gcig nyi dus ro tse mo can me dus
phyed dus phyed dang

dus dang dus ni rab tu che ba dag dang dus dang ro dang skyon gyi cha dag rim pa yis

snying por lte ba'i phyed dang chu skyes 'dab ma yang ste de nas ka ba rdo rje'i
phreng ba dang

pad ma rdo rje'i phreng bar 'gyur te sa dag dang ni de nas sgo dang sgo khyud la sogs
dang

English: By means of 24, of 15, by means of 12, by means of 4, by means of 6
divided by 4, by means of 6, by means of the divisions of 18, respectively,²³⁵
or from the mind maṇḍala, there is the pericarp, [which should be 24]; and also the
petal of the lotus, [which should be 15]; and then, the "vajra chain of the column,"²³⁶
[which should be 12]; the lotus, [which should be 4]; the vajra chain, [which should be
6 divided by 4]; and also the earth,²³⁷ [which should be 6]; and afterwards the doors
and turrets,²³⁸ etc., [which should be by the divisions of 18].

²³⁵ (Skt. doṣa-bhāgaiḥ; Tib. skyon gyi cha dag) According to Samten (1995), this probably designates the number 18, but the language "by means of the divisions of 18" could indicate the divisors of 18, namely 1, 2, 3, 6, 9, and 18. These numbers generally designate widths.

²³⁶ (Skt. stambha-vajra-avalī; Tib. ka ba rdo rje'i phreng ba) According to Samten (1995), this is the decorative chain that hangs on the column.

²³⁷ (Skt. kṣīti; Tib. sa)

²³⁸ (Skt. dvāra-niryūhaka; Tib. sgo dang sgo khyud)

VERSE 55

Sanskrit: stambhāḥ prākāra-vedyāḥ punarapi ca tataḥ paṭṭikā hārabbhūmir
ādarśaḥkṣmā ca paṭṭī bhavati narapate toraṇaṃ prokṭabhāgaiḥ |
bāhye dvārādi savaṃ dviguṇamapi bhavettaddviguṇaṃ ca bāhye
bāhye padmāni cakrāṇyapi ca dinakaraḥ syandanam maṇḍalāni || 55 ||

Tibetan: ka ba ra ba stegs bu dag dang slar yang de nas snam bu dang ni do shal sa
dag dang

me long sa yi snam bu rta babs dag tu mi yi bdag po rab tu brjod pa'i cha yis 'gyur
phyi rol du ni sgo sogs thams cas nyis 'gyur du 'gyur phyi rol du yang de yi nyis 'gyur
ro

phyi rol du ni bad ma 'khor lo shing rte rnams dang dkyil 'khor rnams ni nyin byed
dag gis so

English: Columns, altars of the walls,²³⁹ and yet again, thereafter, the cloth,²⁴⁰ the site²⁴¹ of the garland,²⁴² the site of the mirror, the sharp spear,²⁴³ the arch²⁴⁴ -- O Lord of Men, [these] are by means of the previously stated divisions [numbers from the previous verse = 24, 15, 12, 4 6/4, 6, 18].

Around the exterior [of the speech maṇḍala, i.e. the body maṇḍala], everything, the doors, etc., should be doubled. And there is a doubling of that around the exterior. Around the exterior, the lotuses and also the cakras, the chariots, and the maṇḍalas are by means of 12 [measures].

²³⁹ (Skt. prākāra-vedyāḥ; Tib. ra ba stegs bu)

²⁴⁰ (Skt. paṭṭikā; Tib. snam bu)

²⁴¹ (Skt. bhūmir; Tib. sa)

²⁴² (Skt. hāra; Tib. do shal)

²⁴³ (Skt. ādarśa-kṣmā ca paṭṭī; Tib. me long sa yi snam bu)

²⁴⁴ (Skt. toraṇaṃ; Tib. rta babs)

VERSE 56

Sanskrit: idānīm maṇḍaladevatāmantra cihṇānyucyante /

om kārajñānājāte jīnavarakamale candrasūryāsanordhva-

mādyaiḥ kādyaiḥ saśunyaistribhuvanajanānī mātṛkā sthāpanīyā |

śūnye 'kāre visarge svararahitapare kāyavākcittavajraṃ

saṃbhūtaṃ mantrayoniṃ paramasukhakaraṃ jñānavajraṃ caturtham || 56 ||

Tibetan: [om] yig ye shes las skyes rgyal ba mchog gi pad ma zla ba nyi ma dag gi
gdan steng du

a sogs ka sogs stang par bcas pa mams dang srid gsum skyed par mdzad pa'i yum ni
gzhag par bya

stong pa a yig mam par bcad pa dbyangs dang bral ba mchog las sku gsung thugs kyi
rdo rje ni

yang dag 'byung ba sgnags kyi skye gnas mchog gi bde byed ye shes rdo rje dag ni
bzhi ba'o

English: Now, the symbols of the mantra of the goddesses of the maṇḍala are described.

When the lotus of the Supreme Victor [i.e., Kālacakra] is born from the gnosis syllable *om* above the moon-sun seat [i.e., Kālacakra's cushion], by means of the vowels and by means of the consonants, {together} with by means of the "empties" {drop [*anusvāra*] and *visarga*},²⁴⁵ the mother -- she who gives birth to the three worlds²⁴⁶ {the three realms of desire, form and formlessness}, should be established.

On the empty [i.e., *anusvāra*], on the syllable *a*, and on the *visarga* {the two drops}, which is the former devoid of accent {*h* without a beat and without a vowel},²⁴⁷ arise the vajras of body, speech and mind {and gnosis}. The womb of the mantra, which is the maker of highest bliss, and the vajra of gnosis is the fourth {vajra}.

{[With respect to the generation of *om*], with respect to the body maṇḍala, there are *anusvāra* and *visarga*, with the short *a* in the middle of them. The long "ā" is at the end of the *anusvāra*. Thus, when the long vowel is final, the preceding *anusvāra* becomes *m*. And when *m* is final, the *visarga*, which is after the short *a* would become short *a*. When there is an increment, by means of *a*, afterwards, this becomes *o*.

{With respect to the speech maṇḍala, there are two short *a*, the initial and final. In order to produce long *a*, one must put the *visarga* at the end. Then, the *ā* has as its

²⁴⁵ (Skt. bindu-visarga-sahitaiḥ)

²⁴⁶ (Skt. tri-bhuvana; Tib. srid gsum)

²⁴⁷ (Skt. anāhate hakāre asvare) The Sanskrit term "anāhata" refers to the fourth cakra in the body and

nature the three qualities.²⁴⁸ ... Now, with respect to the mind maṇḍala, here the initial *h* does not have a vowel, then there is a short *a*, then there is a *visarga*, then there is a drop [*anusvāra*], then is the long vowel *ā*. Thus, in this way, as in the previous case, the *u* [arises]. As between the initial and final *a* of the *visarga*, there is a deletion. Then there is *hum*, which has a three-fold nature. By that I mean it is said *h*, *u*, and *m* -- it is stated to be. In this way, the body, speech and mind mantras arise, which is the womb of the mantra. By "womb," I mean the thing that produces. Now the gnosis vajra is described. In this, the initial *h* does not have a vowel. Then there is *a*. Then there is a *visarga*, then the *anusvāra*, then long *ā*. Thus, as in the previous case, short *u* is after the *visarga*. A quality is with the preceding vowel and is conjoined with the syllable *h*. Then there is deletion of the *ā* and the *m*. In this way, we get *ho*, which is three-fold, so people say *ha*, *a*, *u*. Thus, in the gnosis vajra, there are three qualities -- ignorance, residue and discernment.²⁴⁹ In the body vajra, [there is a triple quality], which is name/form, the six sense bases, and tactility.²⁵⁰ And in the speech vajra, [there is a triple quality], which is feeling, thirst, and grasping.²⁵¹ And in the mind vajra, [there is a triple quality], which is existence, birth, and old age/death,²⁵² in accordance with the form of the drop [*anusvāra*]. }

also means "unbeaten."

248 (Skt. *guṇa*)

249 (Skt. *avidyā*, *saṃskāraḥ*, and *vijñānam*)

250 (Skt. *nāmarūpam*, *ṣaḍāyatanam*, and *sparsaḥ*)

251 (Skt. *vedanā*, *trṣṇā*, and *upādānam*)

252 (Skt. *bhava*, *jatirjar-āmarāṇam*)

VERSE 57

Sanskrit: idānīm mantracihna nyāsa ucyate /

humkāro viśvavarṇe jinapatikamale candrasūryāgnimūrdhni

dikpatreṣvādiśūnyam vidiśi ca dalake hādiśūnyam caturdhā |

īṣe nairṭṛtyakoṇe śikhini ca pavane kāyavākcittarāgam

hīkārdyam ghaṭānām bhavati ca daśakam haṁ ha ityatra cānte || 57 ||

Tibetan: rgyal pa'i bdag po'i pad ma sna tshogs mdog la zla ba nyi ma me yi steng du
[hum] yig ste

phyogs 'dab mams la a sogs stong pa phyogs bral 'dab ma la yang ha sogs stong pa
nam pa bzhi

dbang ldan bden bral zur dang rtse mo can dang rlung du sku dang gsung dang thugs
dang chags pa ste

[hī] yig la sogs bum pa mams kyi bcu ru 'gyur te [haṁ] ha shes pa dag ni mtha' 'dir ro

English: Now the placing of the symbols of the mantra is described.

The *hum* syllable, which is on the multi-colored lotus of the Lord of the Victors, is on the top of the moon, sun and fire [disks]. On the leaves of the directions is the fourfold *a*, etc. and the "empty"²⁵³ [*anusvāra* and *visarga*]. And in the corner directions, on the leaf, is the fourfold *h*, etc. and the "empty" [*anusvāra* and *visarga*]. {In the east is *a*, in the south here is *ah*, in the north *am* and in the west is *ā*. ... In the northeast is *ha*, in the southwest is *hah*, in the southeast is *haṁ*, and in the northwest is *hā*.}

In the corner directions of northeast, southwest, southeast and northwest, the colors of body, speech and mind, the tenfold *hī* syllables, etc. are of the [tenfold] vases. *Haṁ* and *ha* are here at the end.

²⁵³ (Skt. śūnyam; Tib. stong pa)

VERSE 58

Sanskrit: tato devatābījanyāsaḥ /

pūrvābjordhve tvikāraḥ śikhikamalagato dīrgha īkāra eva

yāmye daitye ṛkārau dhanadaharagatau hrasvadīrghau hyukārau |

vāruṇye bādyukoṇe 'pi ca kamalagatau hrasvadīrghāḷkārau

kṛṣṇau raktau ca śuklau varakanakanibhau vaktrabhedena deyau || 58 ||

Tibetan: shar gyi chu skyes steng du [i] yig rtse mo can du pad ma la gnas [ī] yig ring bo nyid

gshin rje lha min du ni ri yig dag ste nor sbyin 'phrog byed du gnas thung ring [u] yig dag

chu dang rlung gi zur dag tu yang pad ma la gnas thung ngu ring po dag gi li yig ste

nag po dmar po dag dang dkar po gser mchog dang mtshungs zhal gyi dbye ba dag gis dgod par bya

English: Next is the desposition of the seeds of the goddesses.

Above the eastern lotus indeed is the syllable *i*. Located on the southeastern lotus is a long vowel, the syllable *ī*, {which is on the moon maṇḍala}. Indeed, on the southern and southwestern [lotuses] there are two syllables, [short and long] *r*. Located on the northern and northeastern [lotuses] indeed are the short and long *u* syllables.

And also located on the lotuses in the western and northwestern corners are the short and long *l* syllables. Both blacks, both reds²⁵⁴ and both whites, and both yellows must be given by means of the divisions of the faces [of Kālacakra].

²⁵⁴ (Skt. kṛṣṇau raktau; Tib. nag po dmar po dag)

VERSE 59

Sanskrit: idānīm ṣaḍindriyaṣaḍviśayaviśuddhyā devatādevī bījānyucyante /
pūrvadvārasya savye śikhikamalagatau hrasvadvārghau tathaiva
tadvaccārkārayugmam yamadanugagataṃ paścime 'lkārayugmam |
o au yakṣe ca rudre suravarūṇayamadvāravāme sayakṣe
am aścādyāḥ krameṇa tvapi ca yaravālā dvārapadme svarāḍau || 59 ||

Tibetan: shar gyi sgo yi lho dang me yi pad ma la gnas thung dang ring ba dag ni de
bzhin nyid

de bzhin ar yig zung ni gshin rje lha min dag tu gnas te nub du al yig zung dag go

[o] [au] gnod sbyin drag po ru ste lha chu gshin rje gnod sbyin dang bcas sgo yi byang
du ni

[om] [ah] sogs te rim pa yig ni slar yang ya ra lba la lha sogs sgo yi pad ma la'o

English: Now, by means of purifying the six sense faculties and six sense objects, the seeds of the deities and goddesses are described.

Both the long and short [*a* and *ā*] located on the southeastern lotus of the eastern door, which is on the right [i.e., in the south],²⁵⁵ likewise, indeed, [must be deposited]. And likewise, the pair of *ār* syllables are located in the south and southwest. The pair of *al* syllables are in the west.

O and *au* are on the doors in the north, northeast, east, west, and south. *Am*, *ah*, etc. are [on the doors] in the north and south, respectively. And also, *ya*, *ra*, *va* and *la* are on the lotus of the door, beginning in the "sound" {east}.

{The *e* is the sense faculty of smell; *ai* is touch; *ar* is sight; *ār* is taste; *al* is for touch; *āl* is for smell; *o* is for the tongue; *au* is for forms; *ah* is the dharma realm [object of mind], *a* is the ear; *āh* is of the domain of hearing; *am* is the sense faculty of the mind.}

On the eastern door, which is the sun maṇḍala or the moon maṇḍala, the syllable *ya* is of the speech organ. On the southern [door], the syllable *ra* is the hand organ. On the northern [door], the syllable *va* is the foot organ. On the western [door], the syllable *la* is the anus organ.}

²⁵⁵ (Skt. pūrva-dvārasya savye; Tib. shar gyi sgo yi lho)

VERSE 60

Sanskrit: idānīm candrasūryāsananiyama ucyate /

pūrvadvāre 'vasavye bhavati śaśadharaścāsanam krodhayośca

sūryaḥ savye pare ca prabhavati kamaleṣvāsanam dvandvayośca |

prajñopāyaprabhedairbhavati hi sakalam candrasūryāsanam ca

savye pṛṣṭhe raviḥ syāt surapatidhanade candramevāsanam syāt || 60 ||

Tibetan: shar dang byang gi sgor ni ri bong 'jon pa dag kyang khro bo dag gi gdan du
'gyur ba ste

lho dang nub du pad mar nyi ma dag ni gnyis bo dag gi gdan du nges par rab du 'gyur

shes rab thabs kyi rab tu dbye ba dag gi pad mar zla ba nyi ma dag kyang gdan du
'gyur

g.yas dang rgyab tu nyi mar 'gyur te lha yi bdag po nor sbyin du yang zla ba'i gdan
dru 'gyur

English: Now the precept of the seat of the sun and moon is described.

On the eastern door²⁵⁶ and on the one to the left [the northern door], there is the moon and the seat²⁵⁷ of the two wrathful divinities. The sun is generated on the right [south]²⁵⁸ and on the other [the western door],²⁵⁹ and seat of the pair of two [Kālacakra and Viśvamātā] is on the lotuses. {Each [Kālacakra and Viśvamātā] is on their respective lotuses, the moon is the seat of wisdom, and the sun is the seat of skillful means. Next, the dagger is of the east and southeast divinities; the jewel is of the south and southwest; the lotus is of the north and northeast; and the wheel is in the west and northwest; and the vajra is of the divinities on the top half. Alternatively, according to the divisions of the sense objects, the stringed instrument²⁶⁰ is of sound; the cloth is of touch; the mirror is of form; the vessel is of taste; the smell-shell²⁶¹ is of smell; and the dharma realm is a swelling up of dharma.²⁶² In this way, the dagger²⁶³ is of the sense organ²⁶⁴ of speech; the staff is of the sense organ of touch; the lotus is of the sense organ of the foot; and the mallet is of the sense organ of the anus. Such is the depositing of the symbols in the mind maṇḍala.

²⁵⁶ (Skt. dvāre; Tib. sgor)

²⁵⁷ (Skt. āsana; Tib. gdan)

²⁵⁸ (Skt. savye; Tib. lho)

²⁵⁹ (Skt. pare; Tib. nub du)

²⁶⁰ (Skt. vīṇā)

²⁶¹ (Skt. gandha-śaṅkhah)

²⁶² (Skt. dharmadhātor-dharma-udayam)

²⁶³ (Skt. khaṇḍah)

²⁶⁴ (Skt. indriya)

Indeed, the entire thing and the seat of the moon and sun arise by means of the division of wisdom²⁶⁵ and skillful means.²⁶⁶ The sun should be on the right [south]²⁶⁷ and on the back [west].²⁶⁸ And indeed the moon and the seat should be on the east and on the north.

²⁶⁵ (Skt. *prajñā*; Tib. *shes rab*)

²⁶⁶ (Skt. *upāya*; Tib. *thabs*)

²⁶⁷ (Skt. *avya*; Tib. *g.yas*)

²⁶⁸ (Skt. *prāṇa*; Tib. *rgyab tu*)

VERSE 61

Sanskrit: idānīm kamalabījānyucyante /

bindvākāirvibhinnaṃ khalu kamalagataṃ kādivargākṣaraṃ ca

kande nāle dale ca kramapariracitaṃ keśare kaṇṭikāyām |

bhūmyādyam cāsvarāntaṃ ka kha ga gha na iti hrasvadīrghaḥ svabhūmau

binduścandro visargo bhavati dinakaraścāsanam kaṇṭikordhvam || 61 ||

Tibetan: thig le'i rnam pa dag gis rnam phye negs par pad ma la gnas ka sogs sde yi yi ge yang

rtsa ba sdong bu 'dab ma dang ni ge sar lte ba dag la rim pas yongs su bkod pa ste

sa sogs nam mkha'i mthar thug ka kha ga gha nga zhes thung ngu ring po rang gi sa la'o

thig le zla ba rnam par bcad pa nyin byed du 'gyur gdan yang lte ba dag gi steng du'o

English: Now the seeds of the lotus are described.

Indeed, the letter of the group²⁶⁹ of *ka*, etc., which is located on the lotus and which is differentiated by means of the forms of the drops²⁷⁰ -- [these letters] are fashioned sequentially on the bulb²⁷¹ {the letter *ka*}, on the stalk²⁷² {the letter *kha*}, on the petal²⁷³ {the letter *ga*}, on the filament²⁷⁴ {the letter *gha*}, and on the pericarp²⁷⁵ {the letter *na*}.

And the earth,²⁷⁶ etc., [water, fire and wind maṇḍalas], which end with the vowel *ā*, the letters *ka*, *kha*, *ga*, *gha*, *na* [are fashioned] at their own site.²⁷⁷ The moon, which is the drop [*anusvāra*], and *visarga*, which is the sun -- the seat²⁷⁸ [for each] is above the pericarp.²⁷⁹

²⁶⁹ (Skt. *varga-akṣaraṃ*; Tib. *sde yi yi ge*)

²⁷⁰ (Skt. *bindu-ākāir*; Tib. *thig le'i rnam pa dag*)

²⁷¹ (Skt. *kande*; Tib. *rtsa ba*)

²⁷² (Skt. *nāle*; Tib. *sdob bu*)

²⁷³ (Skt. *dale*; Tib. *'ngab ma*)

²⁷⁴ (Skt. *keśare*; Tib. *ge sar*)

²⁷⁵ (Skt. *kaṇṭikāyām*; Tib. *lte ba dag la*)

²⁷⁶ (Skt. *bhūmi*; Tib. *sa*)

²⁷⁷ (Skt. *bhūmau*; Tib. *sa la*)

²⁷⁸ (Skt. *āsanam*; Tib. *gdan*)

²⁷⁹ (Skt. *kaṇṭika-urdhvam*; Tib. *lte ba dag gi steng du*)

VERSE 62

Sanskrit: idānīm pūjādevīnām bījānyucyante /

ṣaḍvargā hrasvadīrghaprakṛtiḥṣaḍvargaśāḍ vedikāstambhapārśve

gandhādīnām krameṇa svakulabhuvigatāḥ pūrvabhāgāt svadikṣu |

bāhye bindvādibhinnāstriguṇitaravibhirvedikāyām tathaiva

sarvecchānām samantāt svakuladinagatā varṇabhedairjinānām || 62 ||

Tibetan: ste drug thung dang ring mams rang bzhin yon tan dbang gis stegs bu dag la ka ba'i ngos su ni

dri la sog's mams rim pas rang rigs sa la gnas te shar gyi cha nas rang gi phyogs mams su'o

phyi rol du ni thig le sog's kyis phye ba sum 'gyur nyi mas stegs bu dag la de bzhin nyid

'dod ma thams cad kun nas rang rigs phyogs su gnas te rgyal ba mams kyis kha dog dbye bas so

English: Now, the seeds of the goddesses of the offering²⁸⁰ are described.

The six groups of smell, etc., in accordance with the qualities of nature, which are short and long, are on the flank²⁸¹ of the column²⁸² of the altar²⁸³ and are sequentially located on the site²⁸⁴ of their own families, according to the prior divisions²⁸⁵ in their own directions.

{In the mind maṇḍala, in the east, on the altar, on the column of the arch,²⁸⁶ on the base, in the north, there are *c*, *ch*, *j*, *jñ*, *ñ*, which are correlated to smell. On the right²⁸⁷ [south], *ca*, *cha*, *ja*, *jña*, *ña*, are correlated to the rosary. In the south, *t*, *th*, *d*, *dh*, *n* are correlated with incense. *Ta*, *tha*, *da*, *dha*, *ma* are correlated with the lamp. In the west, *t*, *th*, *d*, *dh*, *n* are correlated with dancing. *Ta*, *tha*, *da*, *dha*, and *na* are correlated with laughter. *P*, *ph*, *b*, *bh*, and *ma* are correlated with the immortal vajra.²⁸⁸ *Pa*, *pha*, *ba*, *bha*, *ma* are correlated with the non-destruction of the results. *K*, *kh*, *g*, *gh*, and *n* are correlated with acting, which is above the arch of the eastern door. *Ka*, *kha*, *ga*, *gha*, and *na* are correlated with the vajra of weaving, which are

280 (Skt. pūjā)

281 (Skt. pārśve; Tib. ngos su)

282 (Skt. stambha; Tib. ka ba)

283 (Skt. vedikā; Tib. stegs bu dag la)

284 (Skt. bhuvī; Tib. sa la)

285 (Skt. bhāgāt; Tib. cha nas)

286 (Skt. toraṇa-stambhe)

287 (Skt. savye)

288 (Skt. amṛtāyāḥ)

around the arch of the western door. *S*, *y*, *ṣ* and *ś* are correlated with song, located around the arch of the northern door. *Saḥ*, *pa*, *ya*, *ṣa*, *śaḥ*, *kā*, are correlated to the vajra of desire,²⁸⁹ which is located around the arch of the southern door. Then, the symbols of the conch, rosary, grass, lamp, crest,²⁹⁰ garland, fruits, vessel, garment, cloth,²⁹¹ vajra, lotus -- they must be joined in the eastern direction, etc.}

Around the exterior {of the speech maṇḍala}, indeed [the six groups] are likewise divided by the drops [anusvara], etc., by means of the 36 [measures], on the altar²⁹² {of the mind maṇḍala}. [The six groups] are located in the day of one's own family, according to the divisions²⁹³ of the colors²⁹⁴ of the Victors, who completely represent all the desires.

{Now, the seeds of the 26 desires are stated. Here, "around the exterior" means on the speech maṇḍala, on the altar, on the southern door of the east, on the altar, [is] *caḥ*, *chaḥ*, *jaḥ*, *jñah*, and *ñah*. In the south is *ṭaḥ*, *ṭhaḥ*, *ḍaḥ*, *ḍhaḥ*, and *ṇaḥ*. In the west is *taḥ*, *thaḥ*, *daḥ*, *dhaḥ*, and *naḥ*. In the north is *paḥ*, *phaḥ*, *baḥ*, *bhaḥ*, and *maḥ*. On the north of the door of the east is *saḥ* < < *paḥ ṣaḥ śaḥ* < < *kaḥ*. On the west of the door of the north is *lah*, *vaḥ*, *rah*, *yah*, and *haḥ*. On the door of the east, on the altar, is *kaḥ*, *khah*, *gaḥ*, *ghah*, and *ṇaḥ*. On the south of the door of the west is *kṣaḥ*. That is in the speech maṇḍala. The seeds, symbols or shapes of each respective desire should be drawn on the body maṇḍala with the sounds of *ca*, etc. -- with these letters conjoined with *anusvara*. On the altar of the mind maṇḍala, some of the offering goddesses, as for those who support all of them, should be drawn. That then is the placing of the seeds of the desires, which are supporting ones. The colors²⁹⁵ of these Victors must be known. "The particles of five colors"²⁹⁶ is the precept everywhere.}

289 (Skt. *kāma*)

290 (Skt. *makuṭa*)

291 (Skt. *paṭaha*)

292 (Skt. *vedikā*; Tib. *stegs bu dag la*)

293 (Skt. *bhedair*; Tib. *dbye bas*)

294 (Skt. *varṇa*; Tib. *kha dog*)

295 (Skt. *varṇā*)

296 (Skt. *pañca-varṇa-rajasa*)

VERSE 63

Sanskrit: idānīm vānmaṇḍale carcikāḍinām bījānyucyante /
hrasvau dīrghau hakārau suradhanadapare dakṣiṇe carcikāder
vaiṣṇavyādeḥ kṣakārah śikhiharapavaneṣvādibhinnaśca daitye |
hyādyāḥ kṣādyasṭasamkhyāḥ kamaladalagatāḥ pūrvaprṣṭhe 'ṣṭadikṣu
yādyāḥ ṣaḍ hrasvadīrghāḥ surakamaladale vahnipadme krameṇa || 63 ||

Tibetan: thung ring ha yigs dang ni lha dang nor sbyin nub dang lho ru [carcikā] sogs
rnams kyi'o

khyab 'jug ma sogs rnams kyi [kṣa] yig a sogs kyis phye me dang 'phrog byed rlung
dang lha min du

he la sogs dang [kṣa] la sogs pa grangs brgyad pad ma'i 'dab ma la gnas mdun rgyab
rang phyogs su

ya sogs thung dang ring ba drug rnams lha yi pad 'dab me yi pad ma dag la rim pa yis

English: Now, the seeds [i.e., seed syllables] of the Carcikā [yoginīs] on the speech
maṇḍala are described.

Both the short and long *ha* syllables, which are [the seed syllables] of the Carcikā, etc.
are in the east, north, west and south. The *kṣa* syllable of Vaiṣṇavī, etc., is dif-
ferentiated by *a*, etc. and is in the southeast, northeast, northwest and southwest.

Hi, etc., which number eight, with *kṣa*, etc., are located on the petals of the lotus in
the front and back in the eight directions. The six *ya*, etc., which have short and long
vowels, are on the petal of the lotus in the east and on the lotus of the southeast,
respectively.

VERSE 64

Sanskrit: evaṃ yāmye ca rādyā danukamaladale hrasvādīrghaprabhedair-
yakṣe rudre ca vādyāḥ sajaladhipavane padmapatre ca lādyāḥ |
pūrvadvārasya savye kamaladalagato mātṛbhinnāścavargo
hrasvo daityasya dīrgho bhavati ca pavanasyāgnikoṇe sthitasya || 64 ||

Tibetan: de bzhin gshin rje lha min pad ma'i 'dab mar thung ring rab tu dbye bas ra la
sogs pa ste

gnod sbyin drag por lba la sogs dang chu gter dang bcas rlung gi pad 'dab mams la la
la sogs

shar gyi sgo yi lho dag tu yang pad ma'i 'dab ma la gnas dbyangs kyis phye ba tsa yi
sde

thung ngu lha min gyi ste ring po mams kyang me yi zur na gnas pa rlung gi yin par
'gyur

English: And likewise in the south, *ra*, etc. are on the petal of the lotus in the south-
west, by means of the divisions of the short and long vowels. And in the north and
northeast are *va*, etc. And on the leaf of the lotus in the west and northwest is *la*, etc.

To the right [south]²⁹⁷ of the eastern door, the *ca* group [i.e., the palatals *ca*, *cha*, *ja*,
jha and *ṇa*], which are divided according to the mother, are located on the lotus petals.
The short vowels {of the *ca* group} are [the seed syllables] of the southwest and the
long vowels {of the *ca* group} are [the seed syllables] of the northwest and of that
which is located in the southeast corner.

²⁹⁷ (Skt. savye; Tib. lho)

VERSE 65

Sanskrit: evaṃ yāmye ṭavargāḥ śikhirasamukhayorhrasvadīrghaprabhedair-
vāme ceśe pavargo bhavati jalanidherdīrghabhedaairgaṇasya |
śakrasya brahmaṇo vai savaruṇapavane hrasvadīrghastavargāḥ
pūrvadvārasya vāme bhavati danuripoḥ padmapatre kavargāḥ || 65 ||

Tibetan: de bzhin gshin rjer me dang ro yi gdong pa dag gi [ṭa] sde thung dang ring
po'i rab dbye yis

gyon dang dbang ldan du yang pa sder 'gyur te chu gter dang ni ring po'i dbye bas
tshogs kyi'o

brgya byin dang ni tshangs pa dag gi chur bcas rlung du thung ngu ring po ta yi ste
pa'o

shar gyi sgo yi byang du pad ma'i 'dab mar lha min dgra yi ka²⁹⁸ sde thung ngur 'gyur
ba ste

English: Thus, the *ta* group [i.e., the dentals *ta*, *tha*, *da*, *dha*, and *na*] is in the south and in the southeast and northeast according to the divisions of short and long vowels. And the *pa* group [i.e., the labials *pa*, *pha*, *ba*, *bha*, and *ma*] is in the north and northeast by means of the divisions of the long vowels in the west and east.²⁹⁹

The *ta* group, which is [the group of seed syllables] of the east and of Brahma,³⁰⁰ is in the west and northwest [according to the divisions] of the short³⁰¹ and long vowels. In the north of the eastern door is the *ka* group [i.e., the gutturals *ka*, *kha*, *ga*, *gha*, and *ṇa*], on the leaf of the lotus of the southwest and Viṣṇu.³⁰²

298 VC incorrectly reads "ga."

299 (Skt. gaṇeśa; Tib. brgya byin)

300 (Skt. śakrasya-brahmaṇo; Tib. tshangs pa dag gi chur bcas)

301 (Skt. hrasva; Tib. thung ngur)

302 (Skt. danu-ripoḥ; Tib. lha min dgra) What direction is this?

VERSE 66

Sanskrit: hrasvo dīrghaśca savye bhavati nṛpa yamasyottare paścime ca
hrasvo dīrghaḥ savargo bhavati paśupaterjambhalasyaiva rājan |
daityādīnāṃ svabījaṃ bhavati na ca dale svasvavargāntamadyaṃ
aṣṭāviṃśatsu patreśvapi divasavaśāt svasvavargākṣarāṇi || 66 ||

Tibetan: lho ru gshin rje dag gi ring por 'gyur te mi yi bdag po byang dag dang ni nub
tu yang

phyugs bdag dang ni dzam bha la yi thung dang ring bas sde par 'gyur ba nyid do rgyal
po kye

lha min sogs kyi rang gi sa bon du 'gyur 'dab ma la min rang rang sde pa'i mtha' dang
dbus

'dab bzang nyi shu rtsa brgyad la yang nyin zhag dbang gis rang rang sde ba dag gi yi
ge mams

English: Both short and long vowels are in the right [south], O Lord [of Men],³⁰³ and on the north and west of the southern [door]. The *sa* group [i.e., the sibilants *śa*, *ṣa*, and *sa*], which has short and long vowels, is only on the northeast of the western [door], O King.

[The doors] of the southwest have their own seed [syllables]. The end and middle of each respective group is not on the petal. Also among the 28 leaves, in accordance with 12, are the letters of each respective group. {This is the precept for the setting down [of the seed syllables] on the 360 vajra lunar days. This refers to the body maṇḍala.}

³⁰³ (Skt. nṛpa; Tib. mi yi bdag po)

VERSE 67

Sanskrit: idānīm dvārapālarathasthadevinām bijāni krodharājānāmucyante /

yā rā vā lāśca haṃ hāḥ khalu ṣaḍapi ratheṣūrdhvaḥ hūle svarāḍau

dvārāt savyāvasavye prabhavati phaṇinām yādirūḍho hakārah |

ṣaḍvargāḥ kūṭarūpāstvapi hayaravalākṣādiyuktāśca yādyā

dikacakre kādivargāścalavalayagatāścādayo 'nye 'nulomāḥ || 67 ||

Tibetan: [yā] [rā] [lā] [vā] [haṃ] [hāḥ] drug kyang nges par shing rta dag la steng dang
rtsa ba lha sogs su

sgo las g.yas dang g.yon du gdengs can rnams kyi ya sogs la gnas ha yig dag tu rab tu
'gyur

sde drug brtsegs pa'i gzugs dang slar yang ha ya ra lba la dang [kṣa] sogs ldan pa'i ya
sogs ni

phyogs kyi 'khor lor ka sogs sde rnams gyo ba'i khor yug la gnas tsa sogs gzhan ni rim
pas te

English: Now, the seeds [syllables] of the goddesses who are riding upon the chariots
of the door-keepers, of the wrathful kings are described.

Yā, rā, vā, and lā, and indeed haṃ and hāḥ, all six are on chariots,³⁰⁴ above and below, on the vowel, etc. From the door, on the right and left,³⁰⁵ one generates the ya, etc. mounted³⁰⁶ [upon] the ha syllable, [which are the seed syllables] of the serpents.³⁰⁷

{Now the seeds [syllables] of the goddesses³⁰⁸ of the funeral ground are described.} But even the six groups, which are of stacked form,³⁰⁹ *ha, ya, ra, va* and *la, kṣa*, etc. are conjoined with *ya*, etc. On the circle of the directions are the *ka*, etc. groups. The others, *ca*, etc., are located on the fire circle,³¹⁰ respectively.

304 (Skt. ratheṣu; Tib. shing rta dag la)

305 (Skt. savya-avasavya; Tib. g.yas dang g.yon)

306 (Skt. rūḍho)

307 (Skt. phaṇinām; Tib. gdengs can rnams kyi)

308 (Skt. devinām)

309 (Skt. kūṭa-rūpa; Tib. brtsegs pa'i gzugs)

310 (Skt. cala-valaya-gatāś; Tib. gyo ba'i khor yug la gnas)

VERSE 68

Sanskrit: pūrve yāmye 'vasavye varuṇahavidanau ceśavāyau krameṇa

aṃ aścandrārṅkayorvai cittibhuvanagatā bhūtavṛndasya mantrāḥ |

hūṃkāro dharmacakrasya ca bhavati tathāḥkārabījaṃ ghaṭasya

oṃkāro dundubheḥ syāt prabhavati varuṇe bodhivṛkṣasya hośca || 68 ||

Tibetan: shar dang gshin rje byang dang chu dang me dang lha min dang ni dbang ldan
rlung gi zur du'o

[aṃ] [aḥ] zla ba nyi ma dag gi dur khrod sa gzhi la gnas 'byung po'i tshogs kyi sngags
mams so

[hūṃ] gi yi ge chos kyi 'khor lo dang ni de bzhin [āḥ] yig bum pa'i sa bon dag tu 'gyur

[oṃ] yig nga bo che yir 'gyur te chu ru ho yang byang chub shing dag gir ni rab tu
'gyur

English: In the east and in the south, in the north, in the west, southeast³¹¹ and south-
west, in the northeast and northwest, respectively, *aṃ* and *aḥ* are {the seeds} of the
moon and sun. The mantras that are located on the ground of the funeral pyre³¹² are
{the seeds} of the host of the harmful spirits.³¹³

And the syllable *hūṃ* {is the seed syllable} of the dharma cakra {in the east}.
Likewise, the syllable *āḥ* is the seed [syllables] of the {auspicious}³¹⁴ vase {in the
south}. The syllable *oṃ* should be {the seed [syllable]} of the large drum³¹⁵ {in the
north}. And in the west, the *ho* {is the seed syllable} of the bodhi tree.³¹⁶

³¹¹ (Skt. havi-danau; Tib. chu dang me) Water and fire, the two offerings of invocation, refer to "west"
and "southeast," respectively.

³¹² (Skt. citi-bhuvana-gatā; Tib. dur khrod sa gzhi la gnas)

³¹³ (Skt. bhūta-vṛndasya; Tib. 'byung po'i tshogs kyi)

³¹⁴ (Skt. bhadra)

³¹⁵ (Skt. dundubheḥ; Tib. nga bo che yir)

³¹⁶ (Skt. bodhi-vṛkṣasya; Tib. byung chub shing dag gir)

VERSE 69

Sanskrit: ityevaṃ mātṛkāyā bhavati kulavaśānmaṇḍale mantrabhedo
mudrācihnāni varṇo bhavati hi sakalaṃ vajriṇo vaktrabhedaiḥ |
kuṇḍe homaṃ ca tadvad bhavati ca punarāvāhanaṃ tīrthikānāṃ
śrībhūmyāṃ prokṣaṇaṃ cārgavidhirapi tathā māranirghātaṇaṃ ca || 69 ||

Tibetan: zhes pa de ltar dbyangs ldan rnams ni rigs kyi dbang gis dkyil 'khor dag la
sngags kyi dbye bar 'gyur

phyag rgya mtshan ma rnams kyi kha dog mtha' dag rdo rje can kyi zhal kyi dbye ba
dag gis 'gyur

thab du sbyin sreg dag kyang de bzhin nyid du 'gyur te slar yang 'jug ngogs pa rnams
spyang drang dang

dpal ldan sa la bsad pa dang ni mchod yon cho ga de bzhin bdud ni gzhom pa dag
kyang no

English: Thus, in accordance with the family of the mother,³¹⁷ the division of the
mantra is on the mandala. The symbols of the mudrā and the color for the entire thing
are in accordance with the divisions of the faces of the vajra-holder [Kālacakra].

The burnt offering³¹⁸ is on the hearth. In the same way, the invoking³¹⁹ of the
Hindus³²⁰ and the consecration by sprinkling is at the auspicious site.³²¹ Likewise,
also, is the rule for guest offering³²² and the overcoming of the Māras.³²³

³¹⁷ (Skt. mātṛkāyā bhavati kula-vaśān; Tib. dbyangs ldan rnams ni rigs kyi dbang gis)

³¹⁸ (Skt. homaṃ; Tib. sbyin sreg dag)

³¹⁹ (Skt. āvāhanaṃ; Tib. spyang drang)

³²⁰ (Skt. tīrthikānāṃ; Tib. ngogs pa rnams)

³²¹ (Skt. bhūmyāṃ; Tib. sa la)

³²² (Skt. argha-vidhir; Tib. mchod yon cho ga)

³²³ (Skt. māra-nirghātaṇaṃ; Tib. bdud ni gzhom pa dag)

VERSE 70

Sanskrit: idānīm maṇḍale dvāraṇaśāyā śiṣyā ucyante /
dvārāṇām rakṣaṇārthaṃ prataniyamayutāḥ śuddhaśiṣyāḥ pradeyā
yoginyah śrīghaṭānām śikhidanupavane ceśakṇe krameṇa |
ācāryah śrīgaṇeśo bhavati narapate karmavajrīm prakṛtya
śiṣyābhāve gaṇeśah svayamapi kurute homakarmādikaṃ ca || 70 ||

Tibetan: sgo mams bsrung ba'i don du brtul zhugs nges pa dang ldan dag pa'i slob ma
mams ni rab dgod bya

dpal ldan bum pa' rnal 'byor ma mams me dang lha min rlung dang dbang ldan zur du
rim pas so

slob dpon dpal ldan tshogs kyi dbang por 'byur te mi bdag las kyi rdo rje can ni rab
byas nas

slob ma med na tshogs kyi dbang po rang gis kyang ni sbyin sreg las la sogs pa dag
kyang bya

English: Now the students are described for the protection of the doors in the
maṇḍala.³²⁴

For the purpose of protecting the doors, the pure students who hold the vows and
precepts³²⁵ {the permission of the Buddha} should be given. The yoginīs of the auspi-
cious vases {must be placed} in the southeast, southwest, northwest and northeast
corners, respectively.

The teacher is the auspicious Gaṇeśa, O Lord of Men. Having performed the vajra of
action,³²⁶ in the absence of students, Gaṇeśa himself even does it, and {he does} the
burnt offering ritual, etc.

³²⁴ At the level of Inner Kālacakra, this may refer to closing the orifices ("doors") of the body in order
to retain the winds inside.

³²⁵ (Skt. vrata-niyama; Tib. brtul zhugs nges pa dang)

³²⁶ (Skt. karma-vajrī; Tib. las kyi rdo rje can)

PART IV

maṇḍalābhiṣekamahoddeśaḥ

The great explanation of the empowerment of the maṇḍala.

VERSE 71

Sanskrit: iha ekasaptativṛttādyuktaṃ sārvaśāstrakarmikādīnāṃ kuṇḍānāṃ lakṣaṇamucyate /

vṛttaṃ vā vedakoṇaṃ bhavati kulavaśācchāntipuṣṭyośca kuṇḍaṃ

vāme cā rudrakoṇe 'pi ca dhavalamahau mūlapadmaṃ dviguṇyam |

khāniḥ padmapramāṇā bhavati tadudare bhūlapadmaṃ saciḥnaṃ

padmārdhaṃ padmabāhye saghaṭamapi bhavet khaḍgaratnādicihnam || 71 ||

Tibetan: zlum bo 'm ni rig byed zur dag rigs kyi dbang gis zhi dang rgyas pa dag gi
thab tu 'gyur

byang dang drag po'i zur ram gzhan yang dkar po'i sa la rtza ba'i pad ma dag ni nyis
'gyur ro

zabs ni pad ma'i tshad du 'gyur te de yi nang du rtza ba'i pad ma mtshan mar bcas pa'o

pad ma phyed dang pad ma'i phyi ru bum pa dang bcas ral gri rin chen sogs kyis tshan
mar 'gyur

English: Here is described the characteristic of the hearths of all the rituals, etc.,
which is described in verses 71, etc.

The circle or the square is, in accordance with the family, the hearth for pacifying and
expanding. In the north or in the northeast corner, at the white site,³²⁷ the root
lotus³²⁸ is doubled. {The root lotus is double the womb lotus. ... The square is two
cubits, which is half the measure of the exterior circle.}

The hole is the measure of the {womb} lotus. In the interior of this [hole] is the root
lotus with its symbol. Half of the lotus also together with its vase,³²⁹ the symbols of
which are the dagger,³³⁰ jewel, etc., should be around the exterior of the lotus.

³²⁷ (Skt. mahau; Tib. sa la)

³²⁸ (Skt. mūla-padmaṃ; Tib. rtza ba'i pad ma dag)

³²⁹ (Skt. ghaṭam; Tib. bum pa)

³³⁰ (Skt. khaḍga; Tib. ral gri)

VERSE 72

Sanskrit: tasyārdhenāpi cauṣṭhaṃ dviguṇamapi tato vedikā yāmabhāga

oṣṭhārdhenocchritāvai prabhavati niyatā bhūrghni vajrāvali ca |

bāhye 'dhaḥ padmapatrāṇyapi kuśaracanāṃ sarvadikṣu prakuryāt

tasyānte paścimena prabhavati niyataṃ dvāramekaṃ trirekham || 72 ||

Tibetan: de yi phyed kyis kyang ni mchu ste de las nyis 'gyur dag kyang kha khyer dag gi rgya yi cha

steng du rdo rje phreng ba dag kyang mchu yi phyed kyis dpangs dag tu ni nges par rab tu 'gyur

phyi rol 'og tu pad ma'i 'dab ma rnams dang ku sha'i bkod pa phyogs rnams kun tu rab tu bya

de yi mthar ni [rekhā] gsum dang nub kyi phyogs su nges par sgo gcig tu ni rab tu 'gyur

English: By means of half of this, too, the lip³³¹ is doubled. Then, also, the altar is on the division of the watch.³³² And the vajra chain,³³³ which is fixed³³⁴ on the top, indeed is elevated³³⁵ by means of half the lips. {Thus, on the top of the altar, which is in the middle portion, having brought about the five divisions of the altar, according to three parts in the middle, above the altar -- the vajra chain is lifted up onto the hearth that is involved with all of the actions according to half the measure of the lips.}

The leaves of the lotus are around the exterior at the base. One should arrange kuśa grass in all directions. By means of the western edge of this, one certainly³³⁶ should generate a single door, which has three lines.

³³¹ (Skt. oṣṭhaṃ; Tib. mchu)

³³² (Skt. vedikā yāma-bhāga; Tib. kha khyer dag gi rgya yi cha) VC does not include "stegs bu," which is the translation of the Sanskrit term "vedikā" in KT III. 55 and 62. Instead, the Tibetan term "kha kyer" is used, which is the translation of the Sanskrit term "vedi" in KT III. 11. Further, the Tibetan "rgya yi cha" ("part of 100") may be the translation of the Sanskrit "yāma" ("watch"). A "watch" 1/8 of a full day, which is roughly equal to 3 hours.

³³³ (Skt. vajra-avali; Tib. rdo rje phreng ba)

³³⁴ (Skt. niyatā; Tib. nges par)

³³⁵ (Skt. ucchrita; Tib. dpangs dag)

³³⁶ (Skt. niyata; Tib. nges par)

VERSE 73

Sanskrit: ācāryasyāsanam vai khalu bhavati samam garbhapadmād dviguṇyam
vāme cārghāsanam syād bhavati narapate homapātrasya savye |
sarveṣāṃ vajracihnam bhavati jinapatervā khapadmaṃ hi mātur-
vaktraṃ guhyam ca kuṇḍam dvividhamapi bhaved bāhyadehe ca rājan || 73 ||

Tibetan: slob dpon³³⁷ dag gi gdan ni nges par mnyam par 'gyur te snying po'i pad ma
dag las nyis 'gyur ro

g.yon du mchod yon gdan tu 'gyur te mi yi bdag po sbyin sreg snod dag gi yang g.yas
su 'gyur

kun la rgyal ba'i bdag po'i mtshan ma rdo rjer 'gyur te yang na yum gyi mkha' yi pad
ma'o

zhal dang gsang ba dag kyang thab khung mam pa gnyis su 'gyur te rgyal po phyi dang
lus la'o

English: Indeed, the seat of the teacher is equal³³⁸ and is double from the lotus of the
womb. And in the north, there should be a seat for the guest offering.³³⁹ There is, O
Lord of Men, {a seat} of the burnt offering vessel³⁴⁰ on the right [south].³⁴¹

Of all of {the seats, amongst them, the petals of the lotus fall down. In the middle of
the seats,} the symbol of the vajra of all {must be given}. Or, the sky lotus of the
Lord of the Victors {must be given} and the {rising of dharma} of the mother³⁴² {must
be given}. The mouth and secret place³⁴³ should be two types of hearth³⁴⁴ -- namely
both the exterior and the body, O King.

337 VC incorrectly reads "dbon."

338 (Skt. samam; Tib. mnyam par)

339 (Skt. argha-āsanam; Tib. mchod yon gdan)

340 (Skt. pātrasya; Tib. snod dag gi)

341 (Skt. savye; Tib. g.yas su)

342 (Skt. mātur; Tib. yum gyi)

343 (Skt. vaktraṃ guhyam; Tib. zhal dang gsang ba)

344 (Skt. kuṇḍam; Tib. thab khung) The Tibetan term "thab khung" refers to a hearth hole.

VERSE 74

Sanskrit: idānīm homavidhirucyate /

kṛtvā kuṇḍasya rakṣāṃ daśa-diśivalaye krodharājaiḥ sadevyaiḥ
śrīvajraiḥ prokṣaṇādyam saśalilakusumairarghamevānalasya |
deyam tadyogayuktaiḥ svahrdayakamale bhāvayitvendumūrdhni
ekāsyam śvetavarṇam yugakarakamale kuṇḍikābjam hi vāme || 74 ||

Tibetan: thab kyi phyogs bcu'i dkyil 'khor dag la khro bo'i rgyal po lha mor bcas pas
bsrung ba byas nas ni

dpal ldan rdo rje mams kyis gsang ba sogs dang chur bcas me tog dag gis me la mchod
yon nyid

de yi mal 'byor ldan pas sbyin par bya ste rang snying pad mar zla ba'i steng du
bsgom nas so

zhal gcig kha dog dkar po dus kyi phyag gi pad ma g.yon na ril ba chu skyes dag dang
ni

English: Now the rule for the burnt offering is described.

Having protected the hearth in the circle of the ten directions,³⁴⁵ by means of the
wrathful kings³⁴⁶ together with the goddesses,³⁴⁷ {having done} the "consecration by
sprinkling,"³⁴⁸ etc., by means of auspicious vajras and with water and flowers, the
guest offering³⁴⁹ in fact should be given {by those ascetics} in the fire.³⁵⁰

By means of those possessing this yoga, having visualized on the lotus of one's own
heart [Kālacakra], who is on top of the drop,³⁵¹ who is one-faced, white-colored, in
the lotus of four hands -- he is the lotus of the pitcher in the north.³⁵²

³⁴⁵ (Skt. daśa-diśi-valaye; Tib. bcu'i dkyil 'khor) VC does not translate the Sanskrit term "diśi."

³⁴⁶ (Skt. krodha-rājaiḥ; Tib. khro bo'i rgyal po)

³⁴⁷ (Skt. sa-devyaiḥ; Tib. lha mor bcas pas)

³⁴⁸ (Skt. prokṣaṇa-ādyam; Tib. gsang ba sogs)

³⁴⁹ (Skt. argham; Tib. mchod yon)

³⁵⁰ (Skt. analasya; Tib. bsrung ba bye nas)

³⁵¹ (Skt. indu; Tib. zla ba'i)

³⁵² (Skt. vāme; Tib. g.yon na) VC reads "left."

VERSE 75

Sanskrit: savye daṇḍākṣasūtram sukapilajaṭilam piṅganetram savastram
vahnerhṛccandramūrdhni sphuradamalakaram bhāvayedyo 'ṅkuṣam vai |
tenākṛṣṭam svadehe kuruvu samarasam sarvagam jñānasattvam
evam kuṇḍe ca samyag bhavati nṛpa tathāvāhanam pāvakasya || 75 ||

Tibetan: g.yas na dbyug pa bgrang phreng ral pa shin du ser skya dmar ser mig ldan
gos dang bcas pa ste

me yi sying khar zla ba'i steng du dri med 'phro byed [dzah]³⁵³ las lcags kyu nges par
bsgom par bya

de yis bkug pa'i kun 'gro ye shes sems dpa' rang gi lus la shing du ro mnyam dag tu
mdzod

de ltar thab la yang ni yang dag 'gyur te mi yi bdag po de bzhin me ni spyang drang ngo

English: On the right [south],³⁵⁴ [Kālacakra] has a staff,³⁵⁵ rosary,³⁵⁶ very red hair,
with yellow eyes and clothing³⁵⁷ of yellow, on the head of the heart and moon of the
fire, throbbing³⁵⁸ with stainless hands, indeed, {by him who meditates upon} the
{vajra} goad,³⁵⁹

by him the all-pervasive gnosis beings³⁶⁰ are draw into one's body, and you make them
of one taste.³⁶¹ And thus on the hearth, O Lord of Men, there is a correct summon-
ing³⁶² of the fire.

³⁵³ Whereas KT reads "sphurad-amala-karam bhāvayed yo aṅkuṣam vai," VC reads "dri med 'phro byed
dzah las lcags kyu nges par bsgom par bya." VC includes "dzah las," for which KT does not provide the
equivalent "jah." VC also includes "bsgom par bya" in the root text, whereas KT leaves the Sanskrit
equivalent of this phrase for the commentary.

³⁵⁴ (Skt. savye; Tib. g.yas na)

³⁵⁵ (Skt. daṇḍa; Tib. dbyug pa)

³⁵⁶ (Skt. akṣa-sūtram; Tib. bgrang phreng)

³⁵⁷ (Skt. vastram; Tib. gos)

³⁵⁸ (Skt. sphurad; Tib. 'phro byed)

³⁵⁹ (Skt. aṅkuṣam; Tib. lcags kyu) This is an iron object used to guide elephants.

³⁶⁰ (Skt. sarva-gam jñāna-sattvam; Tib. kun 'gro ye shes sem dpa')

³⁶¹ (Skt. sama-rasam; Tib. ro mnyam)

³⁶² (Skt. āvāhanam; Tib. spyang drang)

VERSE 76

Sanskrit: idānīm homamudrādīkamucyate /

aṅguṣṭhena prakuryādapi varadakare homamagnermukhe ca

vajrairaṅgaiṣca bhartuḥ śaraśatasamidhān śasyadūrvājyadugdhaiḥ |

paryāṅkasthaḥ praśāntastvacapalahṛdayomantravīṇmantramūrtir-

ācāryaḥ karmavajrī punarapi śikhine cāhutiṃ vai dadāti || 76 ||

Tibetan: mchog sbyin lag pa dag gi mthe bo yis kyang me yi zhal du spyin sreg dag ni rab tu bya

gtso bo'i rdo rje yan lag gis kyang mda' brgya'i yam shing 'bru dang dur ba mar dang 'o ma yis

dkyil dkrung du gnas rab tu zhi zhing gyo ba med pa'i sems ldan gsang sngags rig pa sngags kyi sku

slob dpon las kyi rdo rje can gyis slar yang me la bsreg blugs dag ni nges par spyin par bya

English: Now the mudrā, etc. of the burnt offering is described.

By means of one finger-width, one also should perform a burnt offering in the fire -- in the hand of the fire³⁶³ and in the mouth of the fire.³⁶⁴ By means of the vajras and limbs of the Lord, {one should offer} 500 branches of firewood. {One should make burnt offering} by means of grain, grass, ghee and milk.

The teacher, who yet is abiding in the cross-legged posture,³⁶⁵ who is calm and whose heart is unmoving, who knows mantra, who has the form of mantra,³⁶⁶ who possesses the vajra of action,³⁶⁷ once again he gives an oblation³⁶⁸ to the fire.

³⁶³ (Skt. varada-kare; Tib. mchog sbyin lag pa)

³⁶⁴ (Skt. agner mukhe; Tib. me yi zhal du)

³⁶⁵ (Skt. paryāṅka-stha; Tib. dkyil dkrung du gnas)

³⁶⁶ (Skt. mantra-mūrtir; Tib. sngags kyi sku)

³⁶⁷ (Skt. karma-vajrī; Tib. las kyi rdo rje)

³⁶⁸ (Skt. ahutiṃ; Tib. bsreg blugs dag)

VERSE 77

Sanskrit: homaṃ kṛtvā krameṇācamanamapi tathā pāvakasyātmanaśca
dattvā gandhādihūpaṃ svahrdayakamale jñānavahniṃ visarjya |
paścācchiṣyasya sekaṃ sakalaguṇanidhiḥ śrīgururvai dadāti
ādaṃ pañcāmṛtaṃ vai jīnavarakulīśādhiṣṭhitaṃ śuddhihetoḥ || 77 ||

Tibetan: rim pa yis ni sbyin sreg byas nas bsang gtor dag kyang de bzhin me dang
bdag nyid dag la yang

dri la sogs dang spos dag phul nas rang snying pad mar ye shes me ni gshegs su gsol
bar bya

phyi nas slob ma la ni dbang bskur dpal ldan bla ma mtha' dag yon tan gter gyis nges
par sbyin

dang por bdud rtsi lnga ni rgyal ba mchog gi rdo rjes byin gyis brlabs pa dag pa'i slad
du'o

English: Having performed the burnt offering, having successively given the sip-
ping³⁶⁹ to the fire and to oneself, and having given the incense of the smells, etc., [one
is] emitting³⁷⁰ the fire of gnosis in the lotus of one's own heart.

Afterwards, the glorious guru, who is the treasury of all good qualities, he bestows
empowerment³⁷¹ of the student. In the beginning, the five ambrosias³⁷² are situated
on top of the vajra³⁷³ of the Supreme Victor for the purpose of purification.³⁷⁴

³⁶⁹ (Skt. ācamanam; Tib. bsang gtor dag)

³⁷⁰ (Skt. visarjya; Tib. gshegs su gsol bar bya)

³⁷¹ (Skt. sekaṃ; Tib. dbang bskur)

³⁷² (Skt. amṛtaṃ; Tib. bdud rtsa)

³⁷³ (Skt. kulīśa-adhi-ṣṭhitaṃ; Tib. rdo rjes byin gyis) VC does not translate the Sanskrit phrase "adhi-
ṣṭhitaṃ."

³⁷⁴ (Skt. śuddhi; Tib. brlabs pa)

VERSE 78

Sanskrit: idānīm maṇḍalapraṭiṣṭhāyai samādhirucyate /
siddhe home svamantrai rajasi ca patite mantracihne pradatte
koṇe samsthāpanīyāḥ sphaḍikasitaghaṭāveṣṭitāḥ pañcasūtraiḥ |
ācāryaḥ pūrvavaktraḥ kuṭiśakamalajairudgataiḥ krodharājaiḥ
ākṛṣṭvā jñanacakram rajasi samarasam sekahetoḥ karoti || 78 ||

Tibetan: rang gi sngags kyis sbyin sreg grub cing rdul tshon btab ste sngags kyi
mtshan ma rab tu bkod pa na

zur du shel gyi bum pa dkar po skud pa lnga yis dkris pa rnams ni yang dag gzhag par
bya

slob dpon shar gyi zhal du rdo rje pad ma las skyes rab bgrod khro bo'i rgyal po rnams
dag gis

spyān drangs nas ni ye shes 'khor lo rdul tshon dag la ro mnyam du bya dbang gi don
du'o

English: Now the concentration³⁷⁵ for the abode of the maṇḍala is described.

When the burnt offering is completed, by means of its own mantras, and the particles have fallen, and when the symbols of the mantra have been given -- in the corner directions, the white glass vases, which are wrapped³⁷⁶ by means of the five threads, should be erected.

The teacher, who has the eastern face, having attracted the cakra of gnosis, by means of the wrathful kings who are born from the lotus of the vajra³⁷⁷ and who rise up, he makes {the gnosis cakra} one taste³⁷⁸ in the particles for the sake of empowerment.

³⁷⁵ (Skt. samādhī)

³⁷⁶ (Skt. veṣṭitāḥ; Tib. dkris pa rnams)

³⁷⁷ (Skt. kuṭiśa; Tib. rdo rje)

³⁷⁸ (Skt. sama-rasaṃ; Tib. ro mnyam)

VERSE 79

Sanskrit: idānīm mantraniyamamāha /

sarveṣāṃ nāma pūrvam praṇava iti bhaved devatādevatīnām

home svāhāntamantro hṛdayamapi tathaivārcane vai namo 'ntaḥ |

jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hoṅkuśādyah kramapariracitāvāhane ca praveśe

bandhe toṣe 'rghadāne bhavati punaridaṃ gṛhṇa gṛhṇārghakaṃ me || 79 ||

Tibetan: lha dang lha mo rnam ni thams cad dag gi ming gi sngon du aom [om] zhes
bya bar 'gyur pa ste

spyin bsreg la ni [svāhā] mtha' sngags snying po de bzhin nyid te mchod pa dag la na
[maḥ'i]³⁷⁹ mtha'

[jaḥ] [hūṃ] [vaṃ] [hoḥ] lcags kyu la sogs rim par yongs su bkod rnam spyang drang
gzhug dang bcing ba dang

mnyes la'o mchod yon sbyin pa la yang [i] [daṃ] [gṛhṇa] [gṛhṇa] [argha] [kaṃ] me
zhes par 'gyur

English: Now he says the precept of the mantra.

Om should be the first name of all the gods and goddesses. In the burnt offering, [there is] a mantra ending with *svāhā* and also the "heart" {the name mantra of all of them is called the "heart." This very mantra, which ends with *svāhā*, is performed in the burnt offering rite.} Likewise in the inner offering, *namas* indeed is the ending {mantra}.

Jaḥ, *hūṃ*, *vaṃ*, and *hoḥ* are made respectively in the invocation,³⁸⁰ entrance,³⁸¹ binding,³⁸² and satisfying.³⁸³ The goad, etc.³⁸⁴ {is in the invocation; the vajra is in the entrance; the noose³⁸⁵ is in the binding; and the vajra/bell is in the satisfying}. In the bestowal of the guest-offering occurs {that which ends with the *namas* mantra}. Again, here,³⁸⁶ take take my guest offering.

³⁷⁹ KT does not provide an equivalent for this term.

³⁸⁰ (Skt. āvāhane; Tib. spyang drang)

³⁸¹ (Skt. praveśe; Tib. gzhug)

³⁸² (Skt. bandhe; Tib. bcing ba)

³⁸³ (Skt. toṣe; Tib. mnyes la)

³⁸⁴ (Skt. aṅkuśa-ādyah; Tib. lcags kyu la sogs)

³⁸⁵ (Skt. pāśam)

³⁸⁶ VC interprets the Sanskrit term "idaṃ" ("here") as a mantra -- "i daṃ."

VERSE 80

Sanskrit: idānīm puṣṭyādikarmabhedena mantravidhirucyate /
puṣṭau svāhāntamantro bhavati narapate śāntike'sau namo 'nta
ākṛṣṭau vauṣaḍanto bhavati ca vaṣaḍantaśca vaśye tathaiva |
hūṃkāraṅto 'bhicāre prakṛtiguṇavaśāt kīlanādye phaḍantaḥ
śveto raktaśca kṛṣṇo varakanakanibhaḥ karmabhedaiśca mantraḥ || 80 ||

Tibetan: rgyas pa la ni [svāhā]'i mtha' can sngags su 'gyur te mi bdag zhi ba la 'di na
mah'i mtha'

dgug pa la ni po [vauṣaḍ] mtha' ru 'gyur te ba [vaṣaḍ] mtha' yang dbang la'o de bzhin
nyid du ni

[hūṃ] yig mtha' can mngon spyod la te rang bzhin yon tan dbang gis [phaḍ] mtha' phur
bus gdab sogs la'o

dkar dang dmar dang nag po mchog gi gser dang mtshungs pa dag ste las kyi dbye ba
rnams kyis sngags

English: Now the mantra prescription is described according to the division of actions
of expanding, etc.

In expanding, the mantra ending with *svāhā* occurs, O Lord of Men. In pacifying, that
[mantra] ends with *namas*. And in attracting, [the mantra] ending with *vauṣaḍ* occurs.
And likewise in overpowering, [the mantra] ending with *vaṣaḍ* occurs.

[The mantra] ending with the syllable *hūṃ* is in the violent³⁸⁷ rituals {showing hostility
towards, banishing and killing}.³⁸⁸ In accordance with the qualities of nature, [the
mantra] ending with *phaḍ* [is used] in staking,³⁸⁹ etc. And in accordance with the divi-
sions of actions, the mantra is white, red, black, and yellow.

³⁸⁷ (Skt. abhicāre; Tib. mngon spyod la)

³⁸⁸ (Skt. vidveṣa-uccāṭane mārāṇe)

³⁸⁹ (Skt. kīlane; Tib. phur bus)

VERSE 81

Sanskrit: idānīm maṇḍalabhūmiviśuddhibījānyucyante /
pūrve śrīcittavajraṃ kaṣaṇaghananibhaṃ cottare kāyavajraṃ
vāgvajraṃ dakṣiṇe ca svakuladiśi gataṃ paścime jñānavajraṃ |
śvetaṃ raktaṃ ca pītaṃ bhavati kulavaśād vyāpakaṃ bhūmibhāge
vāyvagnyambukṣitīnām i ṛ u ḷ nṛpate yonayo devatānām || 81 ||

Tibetan: shar du dpal ldan thugs kyi rdo rje dag ni sprin nag dang mtshungs byang du
sku yi rdo rje dang

lho ru gsung gi rdo rje nub tu yang ni rang rigs phyogs su gnas pa ye shes rdo rje ste
dkar dang dmar dang ser po dag ni rigs kyi dbang gis sa yi cha la khyab par byed par
'gyur
rlung me chu dang sa yi lha nams dag gi skye pa'i gnas ni [i] [r] [u] [l]'o mi yi bdag

English: Now the seeds of purification on the site³⁹⁰ of the maṇḍala are described.

The glorious mind vajra is in the east, and the body vajra, which is the color of a touchstone or a cloud [black], is in the north. And the speech vajra is in the south. The gnosis vajra, which is located in the direction of one's own family, is in the west.

According to the [Buddha] family, the pervader is white, red and yellow on the division of the site.³⁹¹ *I, ṛ, u, and ḷ*, are the wombs of the deities of wind, fire, water and earth,³⁹² O Lord of Men.

³⁹⁰ (Skt. bhūmi)

³⁹¹ (Skt. bhūmi; Tib. sa)

³⁹² (Skt. kṣitīnām; Tib. sa yi)

VERSE 82

Sanskrit: idānīm mudrābījānyucyante mudraṇārtham /

om āḥ hūṃ ca trimudrāḥ svahapadasahitā dīrghabhedācca pañca

om āḥ hūṃ hoḥ svavaktrāṇyaparamapi tathā 'nāhataṃ pañcamam syāt |

sādyam hramkāraṣaṭkaṃ bhavati rasapadaīḥ śrīṣaḍaṅgaṃ namādyaiḥ

phremkāro viśvamāturbhavati daśavidhaḥ kūṭamantro jinasya || 82 ||

Tibetan: [om] [āḥ] [hūṃ] ni phyag rgya gsum ste [svāhā]'i tshig dang bcas pa ring po'i dbye ba las kyang lnga

[hūṃ] [āḥ] ha rang gi zhal mams gzhan pa dag kyang de bzhin gzhom du med pa lnga bar 'gyur

[ā] sogs dang bcas [hram] yig drug ste ro rkang na maḥ sogs kyis dpal ldan yan lag drug tu 'gyur

[phrem] gyi yi ge sna tshogs yum gyir 'gyur te mams bcu brtsegs pa'i sngags ni rgyal ba dag gi'o

English: Now the seeds of the mudrā are stated for the purpose of sealing.³⁹³

The three mudrā should be *om*, *āḥ*, and *hūṃ*. Accompanied by the word³⁹⁴ *svaha* and from the division of long vowels, *om*, *āḥ*, *hūṃ*, and *hoḥ*,³⁹⁵ there should be five, which are one's own faces. And likewise, there should be another unharmed fifth one.

Together with *ā*, etc., [the seed syllables] become six with the syllable *hram*. By means of the six words, which are *na*, *ma*, etc., it [the seed syllables] becomes the auspicious six-limbed [yoga]. The syllable *phrem* becomes {the seed mantra} of the mother of all. The ten-fold stacked mantra {is the seed mantra} of the Victor, {Kālacakra}.

³⁹³ (Skt. mudraṇa) At the level of Inner Kālacakra, this may refer to sealing the orifices of the body.

³⁹⁴ (Skt. pada; Tib. tshig)

³⁹⁵ VC reads *hūṃ*, *āḥ*, *ha*.

VERSE 83

Sanskrit: hūṃkāro jñānabījaṃ hṛdayamapi mahākūṭamantrāḥ savaktraḥ
hṛaṃkāṛādyam ṣaḍaṅgam hyupahṛdayamidaṃ kāyavajrādiyuktam |
mālāmantrastathānyo bhavati bahuvidhaḥ karmabhedairanekair
jñātavyo maṇḍale 'smin prakṛtiguṇavaśād devatādevatīnām || 83 ||

Tibetan: [hūṃ] yig ye shes sa bon snying po dag kyang brtsegs pa chen po'i sngags ni
zhal dang bcas pa ste

[hṛaṃ] yig la sogs yan lag drug po sku yi rdo rje dang por ldan 'di nye ba'i snying po'o

lha dang lha ma mams kyi phreng ba'i sngags ni de bzhin gzhan te las kyi dbye ba du
ma yis

rnam mang du 'gyur shes par gya ste dus 'khor dkyil 'khor 'di ni rang bzhin yon tan
dbang gis so

English: The syllable *hūṃ* is the seed of gnosis and also the essence [mantra]. The great stacked mantra is in accordance with its face. The syllable *hrām*, etc. {*hrīm*, *hṛīm*, *hrūṃ*, *hlṛ*, and *hrah*} is indeed the six-limbed "near essence," which is conjoined here with the body vajra, etc.

Likewise there is another rosary of the mantra, which is of many kinds. In accordance with the many divisions of action, [the rosary] should be understood in this maṇḍala in accordance with the qualities of nature of the deities and goddesses.

VERSE 84

Sanskrit: idānīm devatārcaṇamucyate /

ratnairhemendupūṣpairbahuvividhapaṭairgandhadhūpapradīpair-

ghaṇṭādarśairvitānairvividhaphalapatākādibhirṇṛtyavādyaiḥ |

kṛtvā pūjām vicitrāmaparadaśavidhām cātmaśaktyā yathoktā-

mācāryasyāṅghrimūle dadāti varasuto dakṣiṇām śuddhihetoḥ || 84 ||

Tibetan: rin chen ain dra gser gyi me tog dang ni nams mang gos dang dri dang spos
dang mar me dang

dril bu me long bla re dang ni nams mang 'bras bu ba dan sogs dang gar dang rol mo
yis

mnam bkra mchod pa byas te gzhan pa mnam bcu nams kyang bdag nyid nus pas ji ltar
sungs pa bzhin

slob dpon dag gi zhabs kyi drung du mchog gi bu yis yon ni dag pa'i slad du dbul bya
ste

English: Now the offering to the deities is described.

Having performed the variegated offering with jewels, with flowers of gold and "drops" {blue}, with many types of cloths,³⁹⁶ with incense of smells and lamps,³⁹⁷ with bells and mirrors, with canopies,³⁹⁸ with different types of fruits and with banners, etc.,³⁹⁹ with dancing and songs,

and {having performed the offering that involves} another ten types [of substances] as described, and according to one's abilities, [then], at the root of the foot of the teacher, the best son gives the offering for the sake of purification.

³⁹⁶ (Skt. paṭair; Tib. gos)

³⁹⁷ (Skt. pradīpair; Tib. mar me) See also KT II.125 in which the Sanskrit term "pradīpa" refers to the five injected substances.

³⁹⁸ (Skt. vitānair; Tib. bla re)

³⁹⁹ (Skt. patāka-ādibhir; Tib. ba dan sogs)

VERSE 85

Sanskrit: dravyātmānaṃ triśuddhyā sasutaduhitaraṃ kanyakāṃ gotrajānyāṃ
adyaivāhaṃ jinānāṃ śaraṇamadhigato raudrasaṃsārabhītaḥ |
yuṣmatpādābjayorvai bhavabhayaḥkaraḥ kāyavākcittaśuddhyā
ityadhyeṣyo guruḥ syāt sakanakakusumairmaṇḍalaṃ kārāyitvā || 85 ||

Tibetan: dag pa gsum gyis rdzas dang bdag nyid bu dang bu mo dang bcas rigs las
skyes pa'i gzhon nu ma

mi bzad 'khor bas 'jigs pa bdag ni di ring nyid nas rgyal ba mams la skyabs su lhag par
mchi

khyed kyi zhabs kyi chu skyes nges par srid pa'i 'jigs 'phrog dag la lus ngag sems ni
dag pas so

zhes pa gser bcas me tog dag gis [man dral] byas nas bla ma la ni gsol ba gdab par
'gyur

English: The guru should be honored [as follows]: "{Thereupon, I, on this very day, having taken refuge in the Victors, I who am afraid of fierce cyclic existence, place in front⁴⁰⁰ [of the guru] my goods, the three purifications {the purifications of body, speech, mind}, together with sons, daughters, and maidens from my sect.

[I place these] at both of your lotus feet, which remove the fear of existence, by means of the purification of body, speech and mind." Once one has effected⁴⁰¹ the maṇḍala, [the guru should be honored in this manner] together with golden flowers.⁴⁰²

⁴⁰⁰ (Skt. praṇi-dhānaṃ karoti)

⁴⁰¹ (Skt. maṇḍalaṃ kārāyitvā; Tib. [man dral] byas nas)

⁴⁰² (Skt. sa-kanaka-kusumair; Tib. gser bcas me tog dag gis)

VERSE 86

Sanskrit: vajraṃ ghaṇṭāṃ ca mudrāṃ gurumapi śirasā dhārayāmiṣṭavajre
dānaṃ dāsyāmi ratne jinavarasamayam pālayāmyatra cakre |
pūjāṃ khaṅge karomi sphuṭajalajakule saṃvaram pālayāmi
satvānāṃ mokṣahetorjinajanakakule bodhimutpādayāmi || 86 ||

Tibetan: 'dod pa'i rdo rje la ni rdo rje dril bu byag rgya bla ma dag kyang spyi bos
gzung par bgyi

rin chen la ni sbyin pa sbyin bgyi 'khor lo 'di la rgyal pa mchog gi dam tshig bskyang
par bgyi

ral gri la ni mchod pa bgyi ste gsal bar chu skyes rigs la sdom pa rnams ni bskyang par
bgyi

sems can rnams la thar pa'i slad du rgyal ba skyed mdzad rigs la byang chub bdag gis
bskyed bar bgyi

English: I carry on my head the vajra, bell, mudrās, and even the guru, {I am standing} in the vajra of desire. I will give an offering on the jewel {family}. I protect the commitment⁴⁰³ of the Supreme Victor in this cakra {family}.

I, {situated} on the sword⁴⁰⁴ {family}, perform the offering. {Situated} on the white lotus family, I preserve chastity. For the sake of beings' liberation, I create enlightenment on the family of the progenitor of the Victors {situated on the single-tipped vajra}.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰³ (Skt. samayaṃ; Tib. dam tshig)

⁴⁰⁴ (Skt. khaṅge; Tib. ral gri la)

⁴⁰⁵ (Skt. eka-śūka-vajre sthitah) This may refer to the cleaver family.

VERSE 87

Sanskrit: snāto gandhānulipto vrataniyamayutaḥ pūrvabhūmyām niveśya
siddhayartham dantakāṣṭham jīnavarakulīśaiścābhimantrya pradeyam |
jihvāyām cāmṛtaṁ vai jīnavarasamayairdhūpamāveśanārthaṁ
mantram hūmkāramekaṁ tvaṛalapisahitaṁ codanaṁ krodhabhartuḥ || 87 ||

Tibetan: slob ma khruṣ byas dri yis rjes byugs brtul zhugs nges pa dang ldan shar gyi
sar ni gzhaḡ bya zhiḡ

dn̄gos grub don du so shing rgyal ba mchog gi rdo rje dag gis mngon par sngags pa rab
sbyin bya

lce la 'ng bdud rtsi nges par rgyal ba mchog gi dma tshig dag gis spos ni dbab pa'i don
du'o

sngags ni [hūṃ] gi yi ge gcig ste a ra la dang bcas pa kro bo'i gtso bo skul ba'o

English: Bathed, annointed with smells, possessing the vows⁴⁰⁶ and precepts, having
seated oneself at the eastern site for the purpose of the accomplishments, having
{made} the toothbrush⁴⁰⁷ intoned by mantra, by means of the "vajra⁴⁰⁸ of the Supreme
Victors" {namely the seven syllables beginning with *om*, *āḥ*, and *hūṃ*}, [that] should
be given {hurled into the maṇḍala}.

And {having placed} the abrosia⁴⁰⁹ on the tongue, indeed, by means of the commit-
ments⁴¹⁰ of the Supreme Victors, {having made} the incense, for the sake of entering
[the maṇḍala], [having chanted] the single syllable *hūṃ*, which is, however, the mantra
together with *a*, *ra*, *l*, etc., {and by means of the mantra, making} an invitation to the
wrathful Lord,⁴¹¹ ...

406 (Skt. vrata; Tib. brtul zhugs)

407 (Skt. danta-kāṣṭham; Tib. so shing)

408 (Skt. kulīśaiś; Tib. rdo rje)

409 (Skt. amṛtaṁ; Tib. bdud rtsi)

410 (Skt. samayair; Tib. dam tshig dag gis)

411 (Skt. krodha-bhartuḥ; Tib. khro bo'i gtso bo skul ba)

VERSE 88

Sanskrit: āviṣṭaḥ krodharājaḥ praharaṇasukaraistarjayanmāravṇdam

pratyālīḍhādīpādairbahuvīdhakaraṇairnṛtyate vajranṛtyam |

hāsyam hūmkāramīśram bhayadamapi riporvajragītaṁ karoti

nirlajjo nirviśaṅko bhavati guṇavaśāddevatānyā ca saumyā || 88 ||

Tibetan: khro bo'i rgyal po phebs na mtshon chas mdzes pa'i lag pa dag gis bdud kyi tshogs la sdigs byed cing

gyon brkyang la sogs stabs rnams dang ni mam mang byed pa rnams kyis rdo rje'i gar gyis gar byed te

bzhad dang [hūm] gi yi ge 'dres pas dgra la 'jigs pa ster ba dang ni rdo rje'i glu yang byed

ngo tsha med cing dogs pa med par 'gyur te yon tan dbang gis lha gzhan rnams kyang zhi ba'o

English: he is dressed, the wrathful King, with hands beautified by weapons,⁴¹² frightening the host of demons, the vajra dance is danced⁴¹³ by means of feet in opposition to the *ālīḍha*, etc.,⁴¹⁴ which are the causes of manifold things.

He makes laughter mingled with the syllable *hūm*, and he [sings] the vajra song, which also causes fear on the part of the foe {the host of Māras}. He is without shame and without doubt, in accordance with his qualities. And there is another deity who is gentle.⁴¹⁵

⁴¹² (Skt. praharaṇa; Tib. mtshon cha) See also KT II.47, 56, in which the Sanskrit term "praharaṇa" refers to the eight parts of a day.

⁴¹³ (Skt. nṛtyate vajra-nṛtyam; Tib. rdo rje'i gar gyis gar byed)

⁴¹⁴ (Skt. prati-ālīḍha-ādi; Tib. gyon brkyang la sogs) "Ālīḍha" refers to a posture in which the left leg is bent and the right leg is extended. I am uncertain whether or not "prati-ālīḍha" refers to a different version of this posture. Though the Tibetan "gyon brkyang" refers to a sitting posture in which the left leg is stretched forth, I believe the posture referred to here is a standing one.

⁴¹⁵ (Skt. saumyā; Tib. shi ba) This probably refers to Viśvamātā. The Sanskrit term "saumya" has many meanings, including that which resembles the moon, or blood before it becomes red. In Varāhamihira (1947), "saumya" refers either to the planet Mercury or to the 43rd (or 17th) year in the 60-year Jupiter cycle. See MW (1988: 1254).

VERSE 89

Sanskrit: idānīm krodharājasya bodhisattvasya vā kāyādyadhiṣṭhānamucyate /
kāyāveśena yogī prakṛtiguṇavaśāt kāyakṛtyaṃ karoti
vāgāveśena vādī bhavati ca vijayī devanāgāsuraṇām |
cittāveśena sarvaṃ parahṛdayagataṃ jñāyate bhūtabhavyaṃ
jñānāveśena buddho bhavati guruguruṣcarddhimānekaśāstā || 89 ||

Tibetan: sku phebs pas ni māl 'byor pa dag ri dang mtshungs par 'gyur te chus kyang
bsil bar rab tu 'gyur

me phebs pas ni sreg par 'gyur te rlung gis kyang ni de bzhin skam pa rtag tu rab tu
'gyur

stong pa phebs pas mi snang bar 'gyur sa steng du ni mkha' la spyod pa nyid du rab tu
'gyur

de bzhin gzugs la sogs pa thams cad rang bzhin yon tan dbang gis rim pa yis ni rig par
gya

English: Now, the power of the body, etc. of the wrathful kings or of the bodhisattvas is described.

The yogī, by entering the body [maṇḍala] in accordance with the qualities of nature, {because of the intrinsic nature of that which is fierce and that which is calm}, he does what is to be done by the body. By entering the speech [maṇḍala], the speaker is victorious over the gods, Nāgas and demons.⁴¹⁶

By entering the mind [maṇḍala], everything that has been and that will be, which is located in the higher heart, is known. By entering the gnosis [maṇḍala], the Buddha becomes the guru of gurus, and he possesses supernatural powers⁴¹⁷ and is the one teacher.

⁴¹⁶ (Skt. deva-nāga-asuraṇām; Tib. lha dang 'byung po lha min rnam las)

⁴¹⁷ (Skt. ṛddhimān; Tib. rdzu 'phrul ldan pa)

VERSE 90

Sanskrit: idānīm locanādyadhiṣṭhānamucyate /

bhūmyāveśena yogī bhavati girisamo 'mbośca śītaṃ prayāti

vahnyāveśena dāhaṃ vrajati ca marutā śoṣamevaṃ prayāti |

śūnyāveśairadr̥śyo bhavati bhuvitale khecaratvaṃ prayāti

evaṃ rūpādisarvaṃ prakṛtiguṇavaśād veditavyaṃ krameṇa || 90 ||

Tibetan: sa phebs pas ni rnal 'byor pa dag ri dang mtshungs par 'gyur te chus kyang
bsil bar rab tu 'kyur

me phebs pas ni sreg par 'gyur te rlung gis kyang ni de bzhin skam pa rtag tu rab tu
'gyur

stong pa phebs pas mi snang par 'gyur sa steng du ni mkha' la spyod pa nyid du rab tu
'kyur

de bzhin gzugs la sogs pa thams cad rang bshin yon tan dbang gis rim pa yis ni rig par
gya

English: Now, the power of Locanā, etc. is described.

By entering the earth⁴¹⁸ [maṇḍala], the yogī becomes equal to a mountain and attains the coldness of water. By entering the fire, he reaches burning. By [entering] the wind [maṇḍala], he thus attains dryness.

By entering "empty," he becomes invisible on the surface of the earth⁴¹⁹ and he attains the state of a bird.⁴²⁰ Thus, all, beginning with form, etc., in accordance with the qualities of nature, should be understood successively. {When he enters the divine eye, then he sees divine form and substance that is invisible. When he enters the divine ear, then he hears sounds that are unheard by beings. Likewise, when he enters the divine mind, then he knows that which is accumulated by others. When he enters the divine touch, then he grasps the divine touch and he knows the prior/eastern habitation. When there is an entry into the divine tongue, then there is the flavor of the divine taste. By him, the space increases.⁴²¹ When there is an entry into the divine smell, he apprehends divine odor. By this the power of all the Buddhas arises.}

⁴¹⁸ (Skt. bhūmi; Tib. sa)

⁴¹⁹ (Skt. bhuvi-tale; Tib. sa steng du)

⁴²⁰ (Skt. khecara-tvam; Tib. mkha' la spyod pa nyid)

⁴²¹ (Skt. rddhir)

VERSE 91

Sanskrit: idānīm divyāveśānāmutpādalakṣaṇamucyate /
āveśo mantriṇām vai bhavati narapate bhāvanāyā balena
sevābhedaīḥ kadācid bahuvidhasamayairmantrajāpādibhiḥ |
buddhairāsvādyamānaiḥ kvacidamṛtavaśānmaṇḍale bhavyasūnor-
na svādhiṣṭhānahīnā bahuvidhabhāvairmantriṇām siddhirasti || 91 ||

Tibetan: dbab pa la ni nges par 'gyur te mi yi bdag po sngags pa mams kyi bsgom pa'i
stobs dang ni

bsnyen pa'i dbye ba dang ni mam mang dam tshigs sngags kyis zlas pa sogs kyis 'ga'
zhig dag gi tshe

sangs rgyas ro myang byed pas bdud rtsi'i dbang las dkyil 'khor 'ga' zhig tu ni mchog
gi bu la'o

rang byin brlab pas dman pa mams mang srid pa mams kyis sngags pa mams la dngos
grub yod ma yin

English: Now the characteristic of the generation of the entrances into the divine is described.

The entrance of the practitioners indeed occurs, O Lord of Men, by the strength of meditation, and by means of the divisions of propitiation,⁴²² sometimes, by means of manifold commitments,⁴²³ by means of the mutterings, etc. of the mantras,⁴²⁴

and by means of the Buddhas who are being made to be tasted, in some places, by the power of ambrosia, in the maṇḍala of the future son. If the accomplishment is lacking its own foundation, then the practitioners, by means of manifold existences, do not have it.

⁴²² (Skt. sevā; Tib. bsnyen pa)

⁴²³ (Skt. samayair; Tib. dam tshig)

⁴²⁴ (Skt. mantra-jāpa-ādibhiḥ; Tib. sngags kyis zlas pa sogs kyis)

VERSE 92

Sanskrit: idānīmāveśopaśamanādikamucyate /

tyaktāveśasya paścācchirasi ca hṛdaye mūrdhni nābhau ca kaṇṭhe

guhye rakṣāṃ jinaiśca svakulabhuvigataiḥ kārayet svatrivajraiḥ |

dattāṅge pītavastrasya pihitanayanasyātra śiṣyasya veśaḥ

saṃvṛtyartham vratāni pravaragatigātānyeva deyāni tāni || 92 ||

Tibetan: phebs pa btang ste phyin nas mgo bo dang ni snying kha spyi gtsug lte ba dag
dang mgrin pa dang

gsang bar rgyal ba dang ni rang gi rigs kyi sar gnas rang gi rdo rje gsum gyis bsrung
bar bya

lus la ser po'i gos dag byin te mig ni bsgrigs par gyur ba'i slob ma 'dir ni gzhug par
bya

kun rdzob don du brtul zhugs rab mchog bgrod pa rnams la bgrod pa de rnams nyid ni
sbyin par bya

English: Now the appeasing,⁴²⁵ etc. of the entrance is described.

One should protect against the person who has forfeited his entrance {because he has been supported by the wrathful deities}. And afterwards, {one should make a protection} on top of the head and on the heart, on the navel and on the throat, and on the secret place, by means of the Victors who are located on the site of their family, and who have their own triple vajras.

The entrance of the disciple who has yellow face and closed eyes is here {into the maṇḍala}, in the limb that has been given. These vows⁴²⁶ located on the path of the best [disciples] should be given only for the purpose of concealment.⁴²⁷

⁴²⁵ (Skt. upaśamana)

⁴²⁶ (Skt. vratāni; Tib. brtul zhugs)

⁴²⁷ (Skt. saṃvṛti; Tib. kun rjob)

VERSE 93

Sanskrit: tatra vratānyābodhiparyantamāha bhagavān /

hiṃsāsatyam parastrīm tyaja svaparadhanam madyapānam tathaiva

saṃsāre vajrapāśaḥ svakuśalanidhanam pāpametāni pañca |

yo yatkāle babhūva tridaśanaragurustasya nāmnā pradeyā

eṣāññā viśvabharturbhavabhayamathanī pālanīyā tvayāpi || 93 ||

Tibetan: 'tshe dang mi bden gzhan gyi bud med spang bya gzhan gyi nor dang chang
gi btung ba de bzhin nyid

'khor bar rdo rje'i zhags pa dag ste rang gi dge ba 'joms byed sdig pa lnga po 'di
rnams so

gang zhig gang gi dus su byung ba lha dang mi yi bla ma de yi mtshan gyis rab sbyin
bya

sna tshogs gtso bo'i bka' 'di srid pa'i 'jigs pa 'joms pa dag ste khyod kyis kyang ni
bskyang bar bya

English: Thereupon, the Blessed One utters the vows,⁴²⁸ culminating in enlighten-
ment.

"Abandon violence, falsehood and anothers wife, your own and others wealth, and
likewise the drinking of liquor {because they are} indeed the fetter of the vajra in cyclic
existence. These five are the sins [that cause] the decline of one's own wholesomeness.

He who came into being in the time, {the Buddha}, the guru of 30 men, by his name,
this permission of the Lord of all, which destroys⁴²⁹ the fear of existence, should be
given and should be preserved, even by you.

⁴²⁸ (Skt. vratānyā)

⁴²⁹ (Skt. mathanī; Tib. 'joms pa)

VERSE 94

Sanskrit: dyūtaṃ sāvadyabhojyaṃ kuvacanapaṭhanam bhūtadaityendradharmam
gobālastrīnarāṇaṃ tridaśanaraguroḥ pañcahyāṃ na kuryāt |
droham mitraprabhūṇaṃ tridaśanaraguroḥ saṃghaviśvāsināṃ ca
āsaktistvindriyāṇāmi bhuvanapateḥ pañcaviṃśadvratāni || 94 ||

Tibetan: cho lo kha na ma tho bcas pa'i zas dang tshig ngan klog dang 'byung po lha
min dbang po'i chos

ba lang byis ba bud med skyes pa rnams dang lha mi'i bla ma gsod pa lnga ni mi bya'o

grogs po rje bo rnams dang lha dang mi yi bla ma dge 'dun yid brtan rnams la 'khu ba
yang

dbang po rnams ni kun nas chags pa dag ste de ltar srid pa'i bdag po'i brtul zhugs nyi
shu lnga

English: One should not [engage in] gambling, [eating] objectionable food, [uttering] foul speech and recitation, the teaching of the lords of harmful spirits and demons {"The way of harmful spirits"⁴³⁰ is either something done for one's father or a ritual of sacrifice, which is described in the Veda. And "the way of demons"⁴³¹ is the teaching of foreigners}. One should not slaughter the five [types of beings] -- cows, children, women, men, and the guru of 30 men [i.e., the Buddha].

One should be treacherous to friends, masters, the guru of 30 men, those who trust in the community.⁴³² And also [one should avoid] the attachment of the sense faculties {to their object}." Thus the 25 vows of the Lord of the world {which should be observed by the disciples} are [explained].

⁴³⁰ (Skt. bhūta-dharma)

⁴³¹ (Skt. daitya-dharma)

⁴³² (Skt. saṃgha; Tib. dge 'dun)

VERSE 95

Sanskrit: idānīm maṇḍalapraveśa ucyate /

śrīmantrenābhimantrya karakamalapuṭe paśpamekaṃ pradeyaṃ

ādau bhrāmya trivārān karakamalapuṭānmaṇḍale puṣpamokṣaḥ |

yasmin sthāne supuṣpaṃ patati narapate tatkuḷaṃ tasya nūnaṃ

paścāt saptābhiṣekastrividha iha yathānuttaraḥ saṃpradeyaḥ || 95 ||

Tibetan: dpal ldan sngags kyis mngon par bsngags te lag pa'i pad ma sbyar bar me tog gcig ni rab sbyin bya

dang por lan gsum bskor te lag pa'i pad ma sbyar ba dag las dkyil 'khor du ni me tog dor

gang gi gnas su me tog bzang po lung ba de ni de yi rigs su nges so mi yi bdag

phyi nas dbang ni bdun po mams dang rnam gsum 'dir ni ji bzhin bla med yang dag rab spyin bya

English: Now the penetration of the maṇḍala is described.

Having uttered over [the flower] by means of the mantra, on the folds⁴³³ of the lotus of the hand, a single flower should be given. Having first circumambulated⁴³⁴ three times in the maṇḍala, the falling of the flowers arises from the folds of the lotus of the hand.

In which place the lovely flower falls, O Lord of Men, that is surely the family of this [disciple]. Afterwards is the empowerment of the seven [stages of childhood]. Here, it is threefold, just as {the pitcher, etc.}. {So, having honored the Action Seal},⁴³⁵ the highest⁴³⁶ [empowerment], {which will be explained}, should be bestowed.

⁴³³ (Skt. puṭān; Tib. sbyar bar)

⁴³⁴ (Skt. bhrāmya; Tib. bskor)

⁴³⁵ (Skt. karma-mudrā)

⁴³⁶ (Skt. annuttaraḥ; Tib. bla med)

VERSE 96

Sanskrit: idānīm saptābhiṣekasya vidhirucyate /

nāgai rājaṃścaturbhirmaṇikanakaghāṭairmṛṇmayairvāsaratnair-

oṣadhyā gandhayuktairjayavijayaghāṭaiḥ snāpayed devatīnām |

mauliṃ buddhaprabhedairdadati varaguruḥ śaktibhiḥ paṭṭameva

vajraṃ ghaṇṭārkaṇḍrād vratamapi viṣayaiḥ sendriyairyōjanīyam || 96 ||

Tibetan: klu dang bzhi yi nor bu gser gyi bum pa dag gam rgyal po sa yi rang bzhin rin chen bcas

sman dang dri dang ldan pa'i rgyal dang nam rgyal bum pa dag gis lha mo nams kyis khrus bya'o

sang rgyas rab tu dbye bas cod pan sbyin te mchog gi bla mas nus ma nams kyis dar dpyangs nyid

rdo rje dril bu nyi zla las te brtul zhugs dag kyang dbang por bcas pa'i yul gyis sbyar bar bya

English: Now the rule of the empowerment of seven [stages of childhood] is described.

By means of four Nāgas, O King, by means of the vases made of jewels and gold, or made of clay, together with jewels, with herbs that are endowed with smell, by vases of victory and defeat, one should cause the crown⁴³⁷ of the goddesses to be bathed.

By means of the divisions of the Buddha, the best guru indeed gives the {jeweled or gold} cloth⁴³⁸ by means of his powers. The vajra should be joined to the bell, sun and moon. The vow⁴³⁹ also should be joined to the sense objects together with the sense faculties.

⁴³⁷ (Skt. mauliṃ; Tib. cod pan)

⁴³⁸ (Skt. paṭṭam; Tib. dar dpyangs) KT states that the crown of the goddesses is bathed and the cloth is given, while VC states that the guru gives the crown and cloth to the goddesses.

⁴³⁹ (Skt. vratam; Tib. brtul zhugs)

VERSE 97

Sanskrit: krodhairmaitryādināmasphuṭajinapatinājñā pradevā samātrā
vajraṃ ghaṇṭāṃ pradāya pravarakaruṇayā deśayet śuddhadharmam |
kuryāt prāṇātipātāṃ khalu kuṭśakule 'satyavākyaṃ ca khaḍge
ratne hāryaṃ parasvaṃ varakamalakule'pyeva hāryā parastrī || 97 ||

Tibetan: khro bo rnam kyis byams sogs min⁴⁴⁰ ste gsal bar rgyal ba'i bdag pos rjes
gnang 'dogs bcas rab tu sbyin

rdo rje dril bu rab tu byin nas rab mchag snying rje dag gis dag pa'i chos ni bstan par
bya

nges par rdo rje'i rigs dag la ni srog gcod bya ste ral gri la yang bden pa min pa'i tshig

rin chen la ni gzhan nor dprog bya mchog gi pad ma'i rigs nyid la yang gzhan gyi bud
med dprog

English: By means of the wrathful deities, the permission⁴⁴¹ of friendship, etc.,⁴⁴²
together with its measures,⁴⁴³ should be given by the Lord of the Victors, who is
obscure.⁴⁴⁴ Having giving the vajra and bells, by means of the compassion of the Best
Ones, one should teach the pure⁴⁴⁵ dharma.

One should retain⁴⁴⁶ the wind {in the crown cakra}, indeed, on the vajra family⁴⁴⁷ and
one should make a false utterance {one which has not been established} on the
sword⁴⁴⁸ [family]. On the jewel [family], others' possessions {the other is the vajra
being; his possession is the jewel, namely the crest jewel} should be stolen. On the
family of the precious lotus, also, indeed, another's wife {the Great Seal}⁴⁴⁹ should be
sieved.

⁴⁴⁰ VC incorrectly reads "ming."

⁴⁴¹ (Skt. ājñā; Tib. rjes gnang)

⁴⁴² (Skt. maitrī-ādinām; Tib. byams sogs)

⁴⁴³ (Skt. sa-mātrā; Tib. 'dogs bcas) See also KT II. 67, in which "mātrā" means morae. The Tibetan
term "'dogs pa" means bound or attached.

⁴⁴⁴ (Skt. asphuṭa; Tib. ming ste gsal bar) Since the Tibetan term "gsal ba" means "clear," VC should
read "min ste" to correspond to the Sanskrit term "asphuṭa" ("unclear, obscure").

⁴⁴⁵ (Skt. śuddha; Tib. dag pa)

⁴⁴⁶ (Skt. atipātāṃ; Tib. srog gcod bya)

⁴⁴⁷ (Skt. kuṭśa-kule; Tib. rdo rje rigs dag la)

⁴⁴⁸ (Skt. khaḍga; Tib. ral gri la)

⁴⁴⁹ (Skt. mahāmudrā)

VERSE 98

Sanskrit: madyaṃ dīpāśca buddhāḥ susakalaviṣayāḥ sevānīyāśca cakre

ḍombyādyāḥ karttikāyāṃ susakalavanitā nāvamanyāḥ khapadme |

deyāḥ sattvārthahetoḥ sadhanatanuriyaṃ na tvayā rakṣaṇīyā

buddhatvaṃ nānyathā vai bhavati kulasutā 'nantakalpairjinoktam || 98 ||

Tibetan: chang dang sgron ma sangs rgyas rnams dang bzang po'i yul mams mtha' dag
'khor lo la ni bsten par bya

gyung mo la sogs mtha' dag bud med rnams ni gri gug la yang mkha' yi pad mar smad
mi bya

sems can don gyi slad du nor dang bcas pa'i lus 'di sbyin par bya ste khyod kyis bsrung
mi bya

rigs kyi bu kyi⁴⁵⁰ sang rgyas nyid du 'gyur pa gzhan du mtha' yas skal pas min par
rgyal bas gsungs

English: Liquor {is the bliss of sahaṇā} and lamps {are the five sense faculties}, {the five immortal} Buddhas {apply to the supreme soul},⁴⁵¹ and all the good sense objects should be worshipped in the cakra {the lotus in the navel}. Women, etc.,⁴⁵² should not be despised and should be given on the "short, crooked sword."⁴⁵³ All the good women should not be despised and should be given on the sky lotus for the sake of the benefit of beings.

This female, together with wealth and offspring, should not be protected by you. Buddhahood does not arise otherwise. Through infinite ages, it has been stated by the Victors, O Son of the Family.

⁴⁵⁰ VC incorrectly reads "kye."

⁴⁵¹ (Skt. adhya-ātmani)

⁴⁵² (Skt. ḍombi-ādyāḥ; Tib. gyung mo la sogs)

⁴⁵³ (Skt. kartikāyāṃ; Tib. gri gug la)

VERSE 99

Sanskrit: idānīm sekaviśuddhirucyate /

toyam tārādidevyo mukṣa iha jināḥ śaktayo vīrapaṭṭo

vajram ghaṇṭārkacandrau vratamapi viṣayā nāma maitryādiyogaḥ |

ājñā saṃbodhilakṣmīrbhavabhayaṃmathanī kālacakrānuviddhā

ete saptābhiṣekāḥ kaluṣaṃmalaharā maṇḍale saṃpradeyaḥ || 99 ||

Tibetan: chu ni sgrol ma la sogs lha ma cod pan zhes pa rgyal ba dpa' bo'i dar
dpyangs nus ma rnams

rdo rje dril bu nyi zla dag dang brtul zhugs dag kyang yul te ming ni byams sogs sbyor
ba'o

rjes gnang rdzogs pa'i byang chub dpal mo srid pa'i 'jigs 'joms dus kyi 'khor lo rjes su
rigs pa ste

sdig pa'i dri ma 'phrog pa'i dbang bskur bdun po 'di rnams dkyil 'khor du ni yang dag
rab sbyin bya

English: Now, the purification of the empowerment is described.

The water {empowerment}, the goddesses such as Tārā, etc., the crown {empowerment} here, the Victors, the śaktis, the throne⁴⁵⁴ of the hero {empowerment}, the vajra and bell {empowerment}, and both the sun and moon, also the vow {empowerment}, the sense objects, the name {empowerment}, the yoga of friendship, etc.,

the permission {empowerment}, she who is the beauty of enlightenment {in the turning of the wheel of dharma}, who crushes the fear of existence and who is intertwined with Kālacakra -- these empowerments of the seven [stages of childhood], which remove stains and dirt, should be given {to the disciples by the teacher} in the maṇḍala.

⁴⁵⁴ (Skt. paṭṭo; Tib. dar dpyangs)

VERSE 100

Sanskrit: idānīmaḥṣekaphalamucyate /

sikṭaḥ saptaḥṣekairvrajati śubhavaśāt saptabhūmīśvaratvaṃ

bhūyo'vaivartikādyāṃ praviśati niyatam kumbhaguhyābhiṣikṭaḥ |

prajñājñānābhiṣikto bhavabhayaṃmathanaṃ mañjughoṣat vameti

mūlāpattiṃ kadācid vrajati śaṭhavaśānnārakaṃ duḥkhametat || 100 ||

Tibetan: dbang bdun rnams kyis mngon par dbang bskur dge ba'i dbang gis sa bdun
gye ni dbang phyug nyid du 'gyur

bum pa gsang bas mngon par dbang bskur slar yang phyr mi ldog pa sogs su nges par
rab tu 'jug

shes rab ye shes dag gis mngon par dbang bskur srid pa'i 'jigs pa 'joms pa'i 'jam
dbyangs nyid du 'gyur

gal te g.yo skyu'i dbang gis rtsa ba'i ltung ba byung na dmyal bar 'gro te 'di dag sdug
bsngal lo

English: Now the result of the empowerments is described.

One who is sprinkled by the empowerment of the seven [stages of childhood] attains lordship of the seven levels⁴⁵⁵ from the power of goodness. Even more, he necessarily enters [the state] of no further transformation when he is consecrated in the secret of the pitcher.

Having been consecrated by means of wisdom and gnosis, he goes to the state of Mañjughoṣa, which subdues⁴⁵⁶ the fear of existence. Sometimes he enacts the root transgressions from the power of deceit {the power of the activity of the ten root transgressions}, and this is hell, which is suffering.

⁴⁵⁵ (Skt. bhūmi; Tib. sa) In both Sanskrit and Tibetan, these terms may refer to: 1) the earth, perhaps corresponding to "outer" Kālacakra; 2) one of the twelve levels in which the drops are accumulated in the central channel, perhaps referring to "inner" Kālacakra; and 3) the site for the maṇḍala, perhaps corresponding to "other" Kālacakra. According to Druppa (1991: 321), the Tibetan term "sa bdun" may refer either to the seventh bodhisattva "level" or to the seventh "stage" in the Kālacakra empty-body yoga. According to Bokenkamp (1990: 123), the term "bhūmi" refers to the stages in the bodhisattva's spiritual path towards Buddhahood. The earliest Mahāyāna formulation of the bodhisattva's progression is outlined in the the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, in which four stages are described. The *Bodhisattvabhūmi-sūtra* describes a seven-stage path, and later texts, the *Mahāvastu-sūtra*, *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, and the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*, outline a progression of ten-stages (Skt. daśabhūmi) in which the eighth stage is often described as one from which the bodhisattva will no longer regress. The various *sūtras* differ from one another as to the exact nature of the ten stages, and scholarly disagreement exists concerning which should receive priority. See also Dayal (1932: 270-291).

⁴⁵⁶ (Skt. mathanaṃ; Tib. 'joms pa'i 'jam)

VERSE 101

Sanskrit: idānīm mūlā pattivīśuddhirucyate /

mūlāpattervīśuddhirbhavati hi guṇinaḥ saptaseke sthitasya

kumbhe guhye kadācid vrataniyamavaśāduddare nāsti śuddhiḥ |

mūlāpattim gato yo viśati punaridaṃ maṇḍalaṃ śuddhihetor-

ājñāṃ labdhvā hi bhūyo vrajati gaṇakule jyeṣṭhanāmā laghutvam || 101 ||

Tibetan: rtsa ba'i ltung ba rnam par dag par 'gyur te yon tan ldan pa dbang bdun la gnas dag gi'o

bum pa gsang ba la ni gal te brtul zhugs nges pa'i dbang gis gong ma la ni dag pa med

rtsa pa'i ltung ba byung ba gang zhig dag pa'i slad du slar yang dkyil 'khor 'dir ni 'jug bya ste

rjes su gnang ba thob nas slar yang tshogs kyi 'dus par thu bo'i ming ni chung ba nyid du 'gyur

English: Now the purification of the root transgression is described.

Purifying the root transgression, he is one who possesses qualities⁴⁵⁷ and who participates in the empowerment of the seven [stages of childhood]. In the pitcher, which is the secret place, in accordance with the vows and precepts, sometimes {there is purification due to the accumulation of merit and virtue},⁴⁵⁸ and in the higher [empowerment], there is no purification.

He who has undergone a root transgression, who enters again this maṇḍala for the sake of purification, having obtained the permission,⁴⁵⁹ indeed he, who {previously} was called the eldest, further becomes lesser⁴⁶⁰ {he becomes the youngest} in the family of the groups⁴⁶¹ {in the middle of the family}.⁴⁶²

⁴⁵⁷ (Skt. guṇinaḥ; Tib. yon tan ldan pa)

⁴⁵⁸ (Skt. śīla)

⁴⁵⁹ (Skt. ājñāṃ; Tib. rjes su)

⁴⁶⁰ (Skt. laghu-tvam; Tib. chung ba nyid)

⁴⁶¹ (Skt. gaṇa-kule; Tib. tshogs kyi 'dus par)

⁴⁶² (Skt. gotra-madhye).

VERSE 102

Sanskrit: idānīm mūlāpattaya ucyante /

mūlāpattiḥ sutānām bhavati śāśadharā śrīgurościttakhedāt

tasyājñālaṅghane 'nyā bhavati khalu tathā bhrātṛkopāt tṛtīyā |

maitrītyāgāccaturthī bhavati punariṣurbodhicittapraṇāśāt

ṣaṣṭhī siddhāntanindā girirapi ca nare 'pācite guhyadānāt || 102 ||

Tibetan: dpal ldan bla ma'i thugs dkrugs pa las bu rnams kyi ni rtsa ba'i ltung ba ri
bong 'dzin par 'gyur

de yi bka' la 'gongs pas gzhan du 'gyur te nges par de bzhin spun la khros pas gsum
pa'o

byams pa btang bas bzhi par 'gyur te byang chub sems ni rab tu nyams pa las kyang
mda' ru 'gyur

drug pa grub pa'i mtha' la smod pa'o ri bo dag kyang ma smin mi l gsang ba byin las
so

English: Now the root transgressions are described.

The first root transgression of the sons is disturbing the mind of the auspicious guru.⁴⁶³ In violating his [the guru's] permission, there is another [root transgression] indeed. Likewise, there is a third [root transgression] that results from anger among brothers.

There is a fourth due to abandoning friendship. Again, from destroying bodhicitta {semen} is the arrow {fifth}. The sixth is reviling the established doctrines. The mountain {seventh} occurs in a man who has not been caused to be evolved due to betraying the secret {great bliss, which is the root transgression of teachers}.

⁴⁶³ (Skt. śrī-guroś-citta-khedāt; Tib. dpal ldan bla ma'i thugs dkrugs pa las)

VERSE 103

Sanskrit: skandhakleśadahīḥ syāt punarapi navamī śuddhadharme 'ruciryā
māyāmaitrī ca nāmādirahitasukhade kalpanā dik ca rudrā |
śuddhe sattve pradoṣād ravirapi samaye labdhake tyāgato 'nyā
sarvastrīṇāṃ jugupsā khalu bhavati manurvajrayāne sthitānām || 103 ||

Tibetan: phung po nyon mongs pa las klu ru 'gyur te slar yang dgu pa dag pa'i chos la
ma dad gang

sgyu yi byams pa dang ni ming sogs bral ba bde ba ster la rtogs pa phyogs dang drag
po'o

dag pa'i sems can dag la skyon brjod pa las nyi ma'o dam tshig thob pa gtong ba las
kyang gzhan

bud med thams cad la smod nges par ma nur 'gyur te rdo rje theg par gnas pa rnams
la'o

English: From the mental distortion of the aggregates,⁴⁶⁴ the "snake" {the eighth [root transgression]} would occur. And again, the ninth is aversion towards the pure dharma. And insincere friendship is "direction" {the tenth}. Conceptualization with respect to him who bestows joy devoid of name, etc. {Buddha} is "Rudrā" {the eleventh}.

Flaws {of the yoginīs} with respect to a pure being, is "sun" {the twelfth}. When the commitment⁴⁶⁵ is taken, the renunciation is another {the thirteenth}. Of those situated upon the vajra vehicle,⁴⁶⁶ contempt for all females indeed becomes "Manu" {the fourteenth}.

⁴⁶⁴ (Skt. skandha-kleśad; Tib. phung po nyon mongs pa las)

⁴⁶⁵ (Skt. samaye; Tib. dam tshig)

⁴⁶⁶ (Skt. vajra-yāne sthitānām; Tib. rdo rje theg par gnas pa rnams la)

PART V

pratiṣṭhāgaṇacakravādyogacaryāmahoddeśaḥ

Here, the section [concerning] the conduct of yoga for the rule of the consecration and the feast.⁴⁶⁷

VERSE 104

Sanskrit: iha śrīparamādibuddhāt pratiṣṭhāvidhirmañjuśrīyā caturad-
hikaśatādivṛttairuddhṛtaṭīkāyā vitanyate //

nāgaiḥ rājaṃścaturbhirmaṇikanakaghaṭairmṛṇmayairvā saratnair-

oṣadhyā gandhayuktairjaravijayaghaṭaiḥ snāpayet pīṭhamadhye |

nāgaiḥ śrīmaulibaddhe vasudalakamale paṭṭabaddhe caturbhir-

mudrāyāṃ śrīghaṭenātra kamalarahitaṃ pañcarekhāṃ vihāya || 104 ||

Tibetan: klu dang bzhi yi nor bu gser gyi bum pa mams sam rgyal po sa yi rang bzhin
rin chen bcas

smān dang dri dang ldan pa'i rgyal dang mām rgyal bum pa dag gis gdan gyi dbus su
khrus bya ste

klu mams kyis ni dpal ldan cod⁴⁶⁸ pan bcing ste nor 'dab pad mar bzhi yis dar dpyangs
bing bar bya

phyag rgya la ni dpal ldan bum pa yis de 'dir ni pad ma dang bral [rekhā] lnga po
spangs

English: Here, from the *Paramādibuddha*, the rule for the consecration is unfolded by
Mañjuśrī's commentary, which is exemplified by means of the verses beginning with
104.

By means of four Nāgas, O King, by means of the vases made of jewels and gold, or
[those] made of clay, together with jewels, with odorous herbs,⁴⁶⁹ by means of vases
of victory and defeat, one should cause [the deity] to be bathed on the middle of the
seat.

{One should cleanse} that which is devoid of the lotus at the seat of Kubera, which is
attached to the glorious crown by means of Nāgas; on that which is attached to the
throne by means of the four {maidens}; and on the mudrā by means of the glorious
vase -- omitting that which has five rows.

⁴⁶⁷ (Skt. gaṇacakra)

⁴⁶⁸ VC incorrectly reads "bcod."

⁴⁶⁹ (Skt. oṣadhyā gandha-yuktair; Tib. dri dang ldan pa)

VERSE 105

Sanskrit: ataḥ sekavidhirucyate //

ādau copāsako vai bhavati hi salile śrāmaṇero ghaṭe syād

bhikṣurguhyābhiṣeke sthavira iti bhaveduttare kāraṇe ca |

mudrāṃ paṭṭaṃ ca mauliṃ dadati varagururvajrayajñopavītaṃ

teṣāmacāryahetoḥ svajinakulavaśāddeva mudrāṃ viśuddhāṃ || 105 ||

Tibetan: dang por chu dag la ni dge bsnyen nyid du 'gyur te bum pa la yang dge tshul dag tu 'gyur

gsang ba'i dbang la dge slong dang ni gong ma'i byed pa la yang gnas brtan zhes par 'gyur pa ste

phyag rgya dar dpyad⁴⁷⁰ cod pan dag dang rdo rje mchod phyir thogs ni bla ma mchog gi sbyin par bya

de rnams slob dpon slad du rang gi rgyal ba'i rigs kyi dbang gis phyag rgya nam par dag pa nyid

English: Next, the rule for empowerment is described.

And in the beginning, the worshipper indeed [participates] in the water [empowerment]. The novice should [participate] in the flask [empowerment]. The monk [participates] in the empowerment of the secret [place]. He who is called "elder" should [participate] in the higher {third empowerment of wisdom and gnosis} and {he is empowered} in the cause.

He gives mudrās, cloth,⁴⁷¹ and crown.⁴⁷² The precious guru gives that which is invested with the sacred thread {made of gold} of the sacrifice of the vajra {for the sake of making a vajra holder of the body}. For the sake of the teacher of these, in accordance with the family of one's own Victor, he gives a mudrā that is purified.

⁴⁷⁰ VC incorrectly reads "dpyads."

⁴⁷¹ (Skt. paṭṭaṃ; Tib. dar dpyad)

⁴⁷² (Skt. mudrāṃ paṭṭaṃ ca mauliṃ; Tib. phyag rgya dar dpyads chod pan dag) VC incorrectly takes "paṭṭa" ("throne") as "paṭṭi" ("cloth").

VERSE 106

Sanskrit: ūrdhve dattvā vitānaṃ kṣitalanīlaye vai trirekhaṃ samantāt

tāsāṃ koṇe satoyā maṇikanakaghaṭāḥ sūtritāḥ padmavaktrāḥ |

śaṅkhādye hemaṇḍre tvatha rajatamaye sādhyed gandhatoyam

garbhe pīṭhaṃ pradāya sphuṭakanakamayam snānamārambhayet tat || 106 ||

Tibetan: steng du bla re bkod cing sa yi mthil gyi gnas dag tu yang ri mo gsum ni kun
nas so

de nams zur du nor bu gser gyi bum pa chur bcas skud pa dang ldan pad ma'i kha
nams la

dung sogs gser gyi snod dang yang na dngul gyi rang bzhin dag tu dri yi chu ni bsgrub
par bya

snying por gser gyi rang bzhin gsal ba'i gdan dag rab tu bkod te de la khros ni brtsam
par bya

English: Having placed the canopy on top, that which has three rows is all around on
the abode on the surface of the earth. In the corner directions, vases of jewels and gold
with their water are wrapped with thread and are lotus-faced.

In the conch, etc. and in the golden vessel and in that which is made of silver, one
should cause the odorous water to be brought. In the womb, having offered the seat,⁴⁷³
which is made of glass and gold, one should initiate this bathing.

⁴⁷³ (Skt. pīṭhaṃ; Tib. gdan dag) The Sanskrit term "pīṭha" refers to a student's seat, which is often
made of kuśa grass. See MW (1988: 629).

VERSE 107

Sanskrit: puṣpādyairgandhatailai raviśikhipacitairdevatābhyaṅganīyā

cūrṇairudvartayitvā madhughṛtadadhibhiḥ snāpayet kṣīratoyaiḥ |

siddhārthaiśca pradīpairvaravividhaphalairatra nirmañchayitvā

tatsthānāccālanīyā tanurapi pihitā raktavastreṇa samyak || 107 ||

Tibetan: me tog la sogs dri yi til mar nyi ma me yis smin pa rnams kyis lha la byug pa
bya

phye ma rnams kyis dril phyis byas shing sbrang rtsi mar dang zho dang 'o ma chu yis
bkru bar bya

yungs dkar rnams dang mar me dag dang rnam mang 'bras bu mchog gis 'di la nges
par byabs nas ni

de yi gnas nas bskyod par bya ste sku yang dmar po'i gos dag gis ni yang dag gyogs
pa'o

English: By means of flowers, etc., with fragrant oils⁴⁷⁴ that are cooked in the fire of the sun, one should smear the deity. Having annointed [the deity] by means of powders and by means of honey, ghee and curds, one should bathe it by means of milk and waters.

Having lustrated [the deity] by means of the lamps,⁴⁷⁵ which are for the purpose of accomplishments,⁴⁷⁶ by means of the precious different fruits, here, the body [of the deity], which is properly covered with a red garment, should be removed from this place.

⁴⁷⁴ (Skt. gandha-tailai)

⁴⁷⁵ (Skt. pradīpair; Tib. mar me dag) See also KT II. 125, in which the Sanskrit term "pradīpāḥ" refers to the five injected substances.

⁴⁷⁶ (Skt. siddha-arthaiś; Tib. yungs dkar rnams) VC refers to white mustard seeds, though the reference is unclear to me.

VERSE 108

Sanskrit: kṛtvā śrīmaṇḍalānte samamahinilaye pañcarekhā jināmśair-
madhye padmāṣṭapatraṃ svakuladiśigatairbhūṣitaṃ pañcacihnaiḥ |
tanmadhye sthāpanīyā'paramukhakamalā devatā devatī vā
caityādyam pustakaṃ vā paṭa iti ca tathā saṃmukhastasya mantrī || 108 ||

Tibetan: dpal ldan dkyil 'khor mthar ni mnyam pa'i sa gzhi'i gnas la rgyal ba'i cha yis
[rekhā] lnga byas te

dbus su pad ma 'dab ma brgyad pa rang rigs phyogs su gnas pa'i mtshan ma lnga yis
brgyan pa'o

de yi dbus su gzhas par bya ba zhal gyi pad ma nub tu phyogs pa'i lha dang lha mo 'm

mchod rten sogs dang glegs bam rnam sam thang sku zhes pa'o de bzhin de la sngags
pas mngon phyogs bya

English: Having made the creations of five rows at the border of the auspicious
maṇḍala, at the abode of the flat site, by the divisions of the Victors, in the middle,
having made the eight petals of the lotus, which are adorned by means of the five sym-
bols, which are located in the directions of ones own family --

on the middle of that, one should erect the god or goddess [Kālacakra or Viśvamātā],
which have lotus on their other faces, a stūpa,⁴⁷⁷ etc., or a book, and what is called a
cloth. And likewise, the practitioner is opposite [i.e., facing] this.

⁴⁷⁷ (Skt. caitya; Tib. mchod rten)

VERSE 109

Sanskrit: kṛtvā śūnyasvabhāvaṃ jinavarasahitaṃ kāyavākcittavajraṃ

paścāt pūrvoktayogaiḥ śaśiravipavijraṃ bhāvayet kālacakram |

vidyā devyādibuddhānalikalikulajān svasvabījaisca jātān

hṛtkaṇṭhe nābhiguhye śīrasi kulavaśād bhāvayenmūrdhni cakre || 109 ||

Tibetan: rgyal ba mchog dang bcas pa sku gsung thugs kyi rdo rje stong pa'i rang
bzhin dag tu byas nas ni

phyi nas sngar brjod sbyor ba dag gis zla nyi rdo rje las skyes dus kyi 'khor lo bsgom
par bya

rig pa'i lha mo sogs dang sangs rgyas [a] li [ka] li'i rigs skyes rang rang sa bon gyis
bskyed mams

snying mgrin lte ba gsang ba mgo dang gtsug tor 'khor lo dag la rigs kyi dbang gis
bsgom par bya

English: Having made the vajra of body, speech and mind, which is empty of inherent nature, which is accompanied by the Victor, subsequently, by means of the yogas that were stated previously, one should visualize⁴⁷⁸ Kālacakra, who is born from moon, sun and vajra.⁴⁷⁹

One should visualize the Buddhas of the goddess of spiritual knowledge, etc. which are born in the family of "a-li" [vowels] and "ka-li" [consonants], and who are born according to each of their respective seeds, on the heart cakra and throat cakra, on the navel cakra and secret cakra, on the head cakra, on the top [i.e., crown] cakra, according to the family.

⁴⁷⁸ (Skt. bhāvayet; Tib. bsgom par bya)

⁴⁷⁹ (Skt. pavi; Tib. rdo rje)

VERSE 110

Sanskrit: evaṃ vai bhāvanīyāḥ punarapi sakalā devatāyāśca kāye
ākṛṣya jñānasattvaṃ tribhavabhavasamaṃ krodharajaiḥ svakāye |
veśaṃ bandhaṃ ca toṣaṃ samarasakaraṇaṃ devatāyāśca kuryād
ācāryenaiva⁴⁸⁰ tasmāt prakāṣitavadanā devatā vandanīyā || 110 ||

Tibetan: de ltar nges pa nyid du bsgom par bya ste slar yang mtha' dag lha rnam kyis
ni sku la yang

khro bo'i rgyal po rnam kyis srid med srid mnyam ye shes sems dpa' bkug te gzugs
pa dag dang ni

bcing dang mnyes pa dang ni ro mnyam byed pa dag kyang lha rnam kyis ni rang gi
sku la bya

de nas slob dpon nyid kyis zhal ni rab tu gsal bar byas pa'i lha la phyag dag 'tshal bar
bya

English: Thus, indeed, all should be visualized yet again on the body of the deity. By means of the wrathful kings, having summoned⁴⁸¹ the gnosis being,⁴⁸² which is the same as the existence of the three realms of transmigratory existence,⁴⁸³ in one's own body,

one should enter, bind and satisfy, which results in [the state of being] one taste with the deity. From this, only by means of the teacher,⁴⁸⁴ the deity [is shown] with its face displayed.

⁴⁸⁰ KT incorrectly reads "ācāryenaiva."

⁴⁸¹ (Skt. ākrṣya; Tib. bkug)

⁴⁸² (Skt. jñāna-sattvaṃ; Tib. ye shes sems)

⁴⁸³ (Skt. tri-bhava-bhava-samaṃ; Tib. srid med srid mnyam)

⁴⁸⁴ (Skt. ācāryena-eva; Tib. slob dpon nyid kyis)

VERSE 111

Sanskrit: yadbījaṃ hyādikādyoḥ svakulaḡaḡatam devatādevatīnāṃ
hr̥madhye tatsvabījaṃ śāśiravipuṭaḡam kāyavākcittayuktam |
dvātriṃśallakṣaṇādyaiḥ sakalatanugatairvyaṇjanaiḥ khāṣṭabhiṣca
varṇaibhinnaṃ tadeva prakāṭadaladale pustakānāṃ ca bhāvyam || 111 ||

Tibetan: a sogs ka sogs dag las lha dang lha mo rnamṣ kyī rang rigs yon tan la gnaṣ sa
bon gaṅg

rang gi sa bon de ni snying kha'i dbuṣ su zla nyi kha sbyor la gnaṣ sku gsung thugs
ldan paṅ

mthar dag sku la gnaṣ pa'i sum cu rtsa gnyis mtshan gyi yan lag dpe byad mkha' dang
brgyad rnamṣ so

yi ge rnamṣ kyis phe ba de nyid rab gsal 'dab ma 'dab mar glegs bam rnamṣ la bsgom
par bya

English: Indeed, as for that seed of the vowels and consonants, which is located in the quality of one's own family of the gods and goddesses, in the middle of the heart, this own seed is located in the cavity of the moon-sun and is joined to the body, speech and mind.

By means of the 32 characteristics, etc., which are located on the entire body, which are consonants and the 18 [vowels] differentiated according to colors, this very thing should be visualized on the petal of the manifest petal of books.

VERSE 112

Sanskrit: śrīcakram caityagarbhe pavimaṇīkamalaṃ cāsirevottarena⁴⁸⁵

hūmkāram hyakṣasūtre maṇiparigaṇanālakṣaṇāṃ vyañjanānī |

ghaṇṭā kāye śvarāśca triguṇitadaśakāḥ kādivargāśca vajre

te vai yajñopavīte daśaguṇitavasuvyañjanānyuttarīṇām || 112 ||

Tibetan: mchod rten snying por dpal ldan 'khor lo rdo rje nor bu pad ma dag dang ral gri rnam kyis mchog rnam nyid

bgrang phreng la ni [hūm] gi yi ge nor bu yongs su bgrang ba rnam ni mtshan dang dpe byad rnam

dril bu'i sku la dbyangs ni gsum gyis bsgyur ba'i bcu rnam dag dang ka sogs sde rnam rdo rje la

de dag kho na mchod phyir thogs la bcu yis bsgyur ba nor gyi dpe byad rnam ni stod gyogs la

English: The auspicious cakra is on the womb of the temple. The lotus of the jewel of the vajra and the sword is by means of above. Indeed, the hūm syllable is on the counting rosary⁴⁸⁶ and is exemplified by the entire calculations⁴⁸⁷ of jewels and characteristics.

The bell and the vowels are on the body. And on the vajra are the 30 "ka," etc. groups. These indeed are on that which is invested with the sacrifice. The 80 consonants are of the higher ones for anointing.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁵ KT incorrectly reads "ottareṇa."

⁴⁸⁶ (Skt. akṣa-sūtre; Tib. bgrang phreng la)

⁴⁸⁷ (Skt. gaṇanā; Tib. bgrang ba rnam)

⁴⁸⁸ (Skt. vyañjanāni-uttarīṇām; Tib. dpe byad rnam ni stod gyogs la)

VERSE 113

Sanskrit: *kādyā vargāḥ samātrā gaganarasaguṇā yogapaṭṭasya bhāvyā*

haṃ haḥ śrīkuṇḍalasya aṃ aḥ iti yugalaṃ kaṇṭhikāmekhalāyām |

*evaṃ cākārayugmaṃ bhavati kaṭakayornūpurānām*⁴⁸⁹ *ha hā ca*

pañcākāraṃ hi śūnyaṃ sakalatanugataṃ bhasmano bhāvanīyam || 113 ||

Tibetan: *ka sogs sde pa dbyangs dang bcas pa mkha' ro yon tan mams ni pus 'khyud dag la bsgom par bya*

[haṃ] [haḥ] dpal ldan rna cha la ste [aṃ] [aḥ] zhes pa zung ni mgul rgyan ske rags dag la'o

de bzhin du yang a yig zung ni gdu bu dag la 'gyur te rkang gdub dag la [ha] [hā] yang

stong pa'i mams pa lnga po dag ni mtha' dag lus la gnas pa'i thal ba dag la bsgom par bya

English: The groups of "ka," etc. together with their vowels have 60 qualities, which should be visualized on the cloth of yoga.⁴⁹⁰ *Haṃ* and *hāḥ* are on the auspicious ear-ring. The pair *aṃ* and *aḥ* are on the neck ornament and cloth belt.

And in this way, the pair of vowels *a* [and *ā*] are on both wrist bracelets; *ha* and *hā* are on the anklets.⁴⁹¹ Indeed, one should visualize the five-formed emptiness of ash that is located throughout the entire body.

⁴⁸⁹ KT incorrectly reads "kaṭakayornū purānām."

⁴⁹⁰ (Skt. *yoga-paṭṭasya*; Tib. *pus 'khud dag la*) This contrasts with KT III. 96, in which the Sanskrit term "paṭṭa" was translated by the Tibetan term "cod pan."

⁴⁹¹ (Skt. *nūpurāṇām*) This should read *nūpurāṇām*.

VERSE 114

Sanskrit: jñānākārāt svadehāt trikuliśasahitaṃ skandhadhātuvādisarvaṃ

nyastavyaṃ devatānāṃ svahr̥dayakamale svasvabījaiḥ krameṇa |

bīje nyaste pratiṣṭhā bhavati narapate stūpalepādikānāṃ

bījāveśaṃ svakāye kuru karakuliśenopasaṃhārakāle || 114 ||

Tibetan: rang lus ye shes nam pa dag las rdo rje gsum dang bcas pa'i phung po kham
la sogs pa kun

rang rang sa bon dag gis rim pas lha mams kyi ni rang gi snying kha'i pad mar dgod
par bya

sa bon bkong na rab tu gnas par 'gyur te mi yi bdag po mchod rten sku gzugs sogs la'o

nye bar bsdu ba'i dus su lag pa'i rdo rje dag gis rang gi lus la sa bon gzhus par bya

English: From one's own body, which is of the form of gnosis accompanied by the three vajra,⁴⁹² everything beginning with the aggregates, elements, etc., should be placed successively on the lotus of the own heart of the deities by means of each and every seed.

Once the seed has been placed, the consecration of smearings on the stūpa, etc., occurs, O Lord of Men. At the time of the assembling, make the entrance of the seed in one's own body by means of the vajras of the hands.

⁴⁹² (Skt. kulīśa; Tib. rdo rje)

VERSE 115

Sanskrit: ādarśe snānamatra prathamamapi bhavēccitritānām paṭānām
paścād gandhaiḥ susurabhikusumairdevatā'bhyarcanīyā |
gītairvādyaiśca nṛtyairvaravividhapāṭaiścāmarairātapatrair-
evaṃ kṛtvā pratiṣṭhām varavividharasaiḥ saṃghabhojyaṃ pradeyam || 115 ||

Tibetan: 'di dang dang po ru yang ri mor bris pa'i thang sku rnams kyi me long la ni
khrus su 'gyur

phyi nas dri dang spos dang shin du dri bzang me tog rnams dang glu dang rol mo dag
dang ni

gar dang nam mang mchog gis gos dang nga yab dang ni gdugs rnams dag gis lha la
mtshod par bya

de ltar rab gnas byas nas nam mang mchog gi ro rnams dag gis dge 'dun mchod ston
rab tu sbyin

English: The very first thing that should occur is the bathing here on the mirror of the
painted cloths. Then, by means of the smells, and by means of very pleasant smelling
flowers, the deity should be worshipped.

Thus, having made the consecration by means of songs and music, dances, and the best
different cloths, and by immortals⁴⁹³ and by umbrellas, and by the best different tastes,
the food of the community⁴⁹⁴ should be given.

⁴⁹³ (Skt. amarair; Tib. nga yab)

⁴⁹⁴ (Skt. saṃgha-bhojyaṃ; Tib. dge 'dun mchod)

VERSE 116

Sanskrit: kūpe vāpyāṃ taḍāge diśividiśi vasūn vinyasennāgarājān
saptāmbhodhiḥ svabījairmadhusalilayutaṃ kṣepayet pañcagavyam |
homānte vāpikāḍau varuṇamapi sitaṃ pāśahastaṃ vibhāvya
adyāne kalpavṛkṣaṃ sakalatarugataṃ sekayitvaikavṛkṣam || 116 ||

Tibetan: khron pa rdzing dang 'tshe 'ur phyogs dang phyogs bral du ni klu yi rgyal po
nor mams dgod par bya

chu gter bdun po rang gi sa bon gyis te sbrang rtsi chu dang ldan pa'i mams lnga gzhug
par bya

sbyin sreg mthar ni rdzing bu la sogs dag la chu lha dkar po phyag na zhags pa bsgom
par bya

skyed mos tshal du shing gcig dpag bsam ljon pa mtha' dag shing la gnas par dbang ni
bskur nas so

English: In the well, in the lake, in the pond, in the directions and corner directions,
one should place the 8 Kings of the Nāgas. The "ocean of 7" may cause the five cow
products together with honey and water to be placed⁴⁹⁵ according to their own seeds.

At the end of the burnt offering, at the beginning of the lake, having manifested even
Varuṇa, who is white and who has a noose in his hand, in the garden, having sprinkled
the wish-fulfilling tree, which is a single tree located amongst all the trees,

⁴⁹⁵ (Skt. kṣepayet; Tib. gzhug par bya)

VERSE 117

Sanskrit: mauliṃ paṭṭaṃ ca hāraṃ kaṭakamapi tathā kuṇḍalaṃ mekhalādi-
mācāryāya pradeyaṃ bhavati narapate dakṣiṇāṃ cātmaśaktyā |
dātrā vai puṇyahetoḥ sakalagaṇakulaṃ prārthanīyaṃ parārthaṃ
puṇyenānena sattvāstrividhabhavagatā'nuttarāṃ yāntu bodhim || 117 ||

Tibetan: cod pan dar dpyangs dag dang do shal gdu bu dang ni de bzhin rna cha ske
rags la sogs pa

slob dpon la ni rab tu spyin byar 'gyur te mi yi bdag po yon yang bdag nyid nus pas so
sbyin bdag gis ni bsod nams slad du mtha' dag tshogs kyi rigs la gzhan don don du
gnyer bya ste

bsod nams 'di yis sems can mams ni rnam gsum srid par gnas pa'i bla med byang chub
thob par shog

English: the crown,⁴⁹⁶ cloth,⁴⁹⁷ rosary,⁴⁹⁸ wrist bracelets, and likewise the earring,
the cloth belt, etc., should be given to the teacher, O Lord of Men, and an offering
should be given according to one's ability.

Indeed, for the purpose of merit and for the purpose of others, the family of the entire
group should be requested by the giver. By means of this merit, the beings, who are
located in three-fold existence, let them attain the highest enlightenment.

⁴⁹⁶ (Skt. mauliṃ; Tib. cod pan)

⁴⁹⁷ (Skt. paṭṭaṃ; Tib. dar dpyangs)

⁴⁹⁸ (Skt. hāraṃ; Tib. do shal)

VERSE 118

Sanskrit: idānīmuttarābhiṣekavidhānamucyate //

digvarṣaṃ yāvadekā bhavati daśavidhā darśanasparśanīyā

tasmādāliṅganīyāḥ sarasajaladhayaḥ sevanīyāśca lāḍyāḥ |

viṃśadvarṣordhvamudrā paramabhayakarāḥ krodhabhūtāḥsurāṃśāḥ

sekārthaṃ ṣaṭcatasraḥ śamasukhaphaladāścāparā bhāvanārthaṃ || 118 ||

Tibetan: ji srid phyogs kyi lo ni gcig pu mams pa bcu ru 'gyur te blta ba dang ni rig par bya

de nas 'khyud par bya ste ro dang bcas pa'i chu gter gyo ba la sogs mams ni bsten par bya

lo ni nyi shu yan chad phyag rgya mchog tu 'jigs byed ma ste khro bo 'byung po lha min che

dbang gi don du drug dang gsum ste bde mnyam 'bras bu ster ba gzhan ni bsgom pa'i don du'o

English: Now the regulation for the highest empowerment is described.

For ten years, the one {Perfection of Wisdom}, which is of ten kinds, should be seen and touched. Afterwards, the ten⁴⁹⁹ should be embraced. And the *la*, etc. {wind, etc.} are to be worshipped.

For the purpose of empowerment, the 24 mudrās, which produce the highest fear, which are {the eight} wrathful spirits, which are the divisions of demons, are after twenty years. The others {mudrās}, which give the fruits of the joy of tranquility, are for the purpose of meditation.

⁴⁹⁹ (Skt. sa-rasa-jala-dhayāḥ; Tib. ro dang bcas pa'i chu gter)

VERSE 119

Sanskrit: śrīprajñāsparsanīyaṃ prathamamapi kuce kumbhasekaḥ sa eva
guhyād guhyābhiṣeko bhavati śāśadharāsvādanālokanābhyām |
prajñājñānābhiṣeke sakalajīnakulaiḥ śodhayitvā'ṅgavaktrair-
mudrā śiṣyāya deyā jīnamapi guruṇā sākṣiṇaṃ cātra kṛtvā || 119 ||

Tibetan: dpal ldan shes rab nu ma la yang dang por rig pa gang yin bum pa'i dbang ni
de nyid do

gsang ba dag las ri bong 'dzin pa myong ba dang ni blta ba dag gis gsang ba'i dbang du
'gyur

shes rab ye shes dbang la mtha' dag rgyal ba'i rigs kyi yan lag zhal gyis sbyang ba byas
nas ni

rgyal ba dag kyang 'dir ni bla mas dbang por byas nas slob ma la ni phyag rgya sbyin
par bya

English: First of all there should be a touching of Auspicious Wisdom on the nipple --
that alone is the empowerment of the pitcher. From the secret is the empowerment of
the secret by means of both tasting and looking at the moon.

In the empowerment of wisdom and gnosis, by the guru, the mudrā should be given to
the student by the guru by means of all the families of the Victors, having purified by
means of the face and limbs, and having made the Victor also the witness in this
respect.

VERSE 120

Sanskrit: sarvālaṅkārayuktāṃ drutakanakanibhāṃ dvādaśābdhāṃ sukanyāṃ
prajñopāyātmakena svakulīśamaṇinā kāmāyitvā sarāgāṃ |
jñātvā śiṣyasya śuddhiṃ kulīśamāpi mukhe kṣepayitvā sabījaṃ
paścād deyā svamudrā tvatha punaraparā dhūmamārgādiyuktā || 120 ||

Tibetan: rgyan mams thams cad dang ldan zhun ma'i gser dang mtshungs shing bcu
gnyis lo lon mdzes pa'i bu mo ni

khrag dang ldan la shes rab thabs kyi bdag nyid dag gis rang gi rdo rje nor bus 'dod
spyad nas

sa bon dang bcas rdo rje dag kyang slob ma dag par shes nas kha ru 'phang ba byas nas
ni

phyi nas rang gi phyag rgya sbyin bya de nas slar yang gzhan ni du ba'i lam sogs ldan
pa'o

English: By means of the jewel of his own vajra, which is the means to wisdom, {the teacher} desires the good maiden when she is menstruating [i.e., after she has commenced menstruation] -- [she] who possesses all the ornaments, whose color is flowing gold, who is twelve years {up to twenty years} [old].

Having purified the student, and having cast also the vajra together with the seed on the [student's] mouth, afterwards his [the guru's] own mudrā is to be given [to the student]. But yet again there is another [mudrā] that is conjoined with the path of smoke, etc.

VERSE 121

Sanskrit: trastā vibhrāntacittā śaṭhaparavaśagā vyādhiyuktā prasūtā
krুদ্ধāstabdhā'tha lolā'nṛtakalaharatā svāṅgahīnā'viśuddhā |
etāḥ prajñābhiṣeke sunipuṇaguruṇā varjanīyā narendra
pūrvoktā buddhabhaktā gurusamayadharā vandanīyārcanīyāḥ || 121 ||

Tibetan: skrag dang nam par 'khrul ba'i sems ldan gyo rgyu gzhan dbang 'gro ma nad
dang ldan dang bu skyes ma

khro khengs nor la sred dang mi bden rtsod pa la dga' rang gi yan lag dman dang nam
dag min

shes rab 'di nams dbang la shin du mkhas pa'i bla ma dag gis spang bar bya'o mi yi
dbang

sngar brjod sangs rgyas la gus bla ma'i dam tshig 'dzin ma nams la 'dud pa dang ni
mchod par bya

English: The daughter who is frightened, whose mind is scattered, under the power of
a false lover, possessed of disease, angry, immobilized, then fickle, fond of falsehood
and quarrels, deficient in her own limbs, impure --

these [mudrā] should be avoided by the very clever guru, O Kind of Men, in the wis-
dom empowerment. The previously-described females, who are devoted to the Buddha
and who uphold the commitments of the guru, should be greeted and worshipped.⁵⁰⁰

⁵⁰⁰ (Skt. vandanīyā-rcanīyāḥ; Tib. 'dud pa dang ni mchod par bya)

VERSE 122

Sanskrit: kāmā kṣobhaṃ karoti svamanasi jagataḥ pūrṇatām yāti pūrṇā
pūrṇājjvālā sabinduṃ sravati śaśadharaṃ drāvayitvottamāṅgāt |
oṭṭākṛṣṭiṃ prakṛtyā dadati varasukhaṃ bindumokṣatrayānte
ālokaśarśaṅgaṃ kṣaraṇasukhamathānandabhedādinaitat || 122 ||

Tibetan: 'dod pa bskyod par byed pa 'gro ba rang gi yid la'o gang ba dag ni gang ba
nyid du 'gyur

gang ba yan lag mchog las ri bong 'dzin pa khu bar byas nas 'bar ba'i thig le bzang po
'dzag

[oṭṭa] bkug pa mchog gi bde ba rang bzhin gyis ster thig le grol ba dag ni gsum gyi
mthar

blta dang reg dang 'grogs la 'dzad pa'i bde ba 'di dag gis ni dga' ba la sogs dbye ba ste

English: Desire produces agitation in one's own moving mind.⁵⁰¹ [Desire] goes to fullness and is full. Having made the moon melt together with its drop, a flame flows from the highest limb, which is full.

By her nature, the oṭṭa is attractive and is the best joy. At the end of the three emissions of the drop, [she provides the means for] seeing, touching and union and the joy of flowing. Hereupon, this [occurs] by means of the divisions of bliss.

⁵⁰¹ (Skt. jagataḥ; Tib. 'gro ba rang)

VERSE 123

Sanskrit: idānīm ṣoḍśānandānām caturyogā ucyante //

kāmānandaṃ karoti prathamamapi nṛṇāṃ cakṣurālokanena

paścāt pūrṇāprasaṅge punarapi paramānandameva svakāye |

jvālābinduṃ sravantī ramati ca viramānandavajreṇa padme

oṭṭa bindutrāyānte'kṣaragatasahajānandavajraṃ karoti || 123 ||

Tibetan: 'dod pa dga' bar byed de dang po dag kyang mi rnams kyi ni mig gis blta ba rnams kyis so

phyi nas gang ba rab tu sbyang ba yis te slar yang mchog gi dga' ba nyid do rang lus la

'bar ba nyid las thig le 'dzag pa'i dga' ba yis kyang khyad bar dga' ba rdo rjes pad ma la

[oṭṭa] thig le gsum gyi mtha' ru 'gyur pa la gnas lhan cig skyes pa'i dga' ba rdo rje byed

English: Now the four yogas of the 16 blisses are described.

First of all, desire produces bliss by means of the looking of the blind.⁵⁰² Afterwards, she is full at the inopportune time. Yet again, [she produces] only the highest bliss in her own body.

The flame, melting the drop, takes delight on the lotus by means of the vajra of the bliss of cessation. At the end of three drops, the oṭṭa produces the vajra of innate bliss,⁵⁰³ which is located on the letters.⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰² (Skt. nṛṇāṃ cakṣur-ālokanena; Tib. mi rnams kyi ni mig gis blta ba rnams kyis)

⁵⁰³ (Skt. sahajānanda; Tib. lhan cig skyes pa'i dga' ba) See also KT II. 48.

⁵⁰⁴ (Skt. akṣara-gata; Tib. gnas) VC does not translate the Sanskrit term "akṣara."

VERSE 124

Sanskrit: kāmānandastu kampākṣaramapi ca catuṣkena⁵⁰⁵ yogāḥ sa ekaḥ
pūrṇā śaktyudbhavo vai bhavati ca paramānanda evaṃ dvitīyaḥ |
jvālā binduśca ghūrmā punarapi viramānanda evaṃ tṛtīya
oṭṭā nādaśca nidrā bhavati ca sahañānanda evaṃ caturthaḥ || 124 ||

Tibetan: 'dod dang dga' ba dang ni 'dar dang 'gyur med dag dang bzhi po yis ni sbyor
ba de gcig ste

gang ba dang ni nus dang skye ba dag dang mchog gi dga' ba nyid ni gnyis par nges
par 'gyur

'bar ba dang ni thig le gnyid yur dag kyang slar yang khyad par dga' ba nyid ni gsum
pa'o

[oṭṭa] dang ni [nā] da dag dang gnyid dang lhan cig skyas pa'i dga' ba nyid ni bzhi par
'gyur

English: But desire is bliss and is also the trembling letter.⁵⁰⁶ This is one yoga by means of four.⁵⁰⁷ And indeed, she that is full is the arising of power and thus it is the second highest bliss.

The flame and drop, and yet again the "falling asleep"⁵⁰⁸ is thus the third [highest] bliss of cessation. The oṭṭā and sound is sleep, and this is thus the fourth [highest] innate bliss.

⁵⁰⁵ KT incorrectly reads "catuṣkena."

⁵⁰⁶ (Skt. kampa-akṣaram; Tib. 'dar) VC does not translate the Sanskrit term "akṣaram."

⁵⁰⁷ (Skt. catuṣkena; Tib. bzhi po yis)

⁵⁰⁸ (Skt. ghūrmā; Tib. gnyid yur dag)

VERSE 125

Sanskrit: idānīm karmamudrāviśuddhirucyate //

mātā cittena cintyā bhavati ca bhaginī sparśanālinganena

putrī vajrapraveśe sakaraṇasurate bhāgineyā tathaiva |

bhāryā binduprapāte tvaparakulagatā yoginī naṣṭarāge

etāḥ ṣaḍ yogamudrāḥ kṣitijalahutabhugvāyukhocchedabhāvāḥ || 125 ||

Tibetan: sems kyi bsam pa yis ni ma ru 'gyur te reg pa dang ni blta ba dag gi tsha mo'o

rdo rje zhugs pas bu mo byed pa dang bcas shin tu dga' bas tsha mo'i bu mo de bzhin nyid

thig le lhung na chung ma gzhan gyi rigs la gnas pa'i mal 'byor ma ni 'dod chags nyams las so

'di mams mal 'byor phyag rgya drug ste sa chu bsreg za rlung dang mkha' dang chad pa'i dngos mams so

English: Now the purification of the action mudrā is described.

Having to be thought by the mind, {a female being} is the mother. And by means of touching and embracing, {a female being} is the sister. Upon the penetration of the vajra, she is the daughter. Upon full satisfaction⁵⁰⁹ together with the means [of attaining it], {a female being} is the niece, thus indeed.

But upon the depositing of the drop, she is the wife. Located in the family of another {Caṇḍāl}, she is a yoginī when the passion has vanished. These are the six yoga mudrās. {From them are the six states} -- earth, water, fire, wind, sky⁵¹⁰ and the state of cessation.⁵¹¹

⁵⁰⁹ (Skt. su-rate; Tib. shin tu dga' bas)

⁵¹⁰ (Skt. kha; Tib. mkha')

⁵¹¹ (Skt. uccheda-bhāvāḥ; Tib. chad pa'i dngos)

VERSE 126

Sanskrit: idānīm kāyādimudrātrayamucyate //

abje vajrapraveśaḥ śikhini ca maruto bindupātastrīya

etadyogatrayasya prakāṭitanīyatā kāyavākcittamudrā |

rāgā'rāgāntagādya paramaguṇanidhīryogagamyā caturthī

mudrāṇām sa sumātā bhavati daśavidhā śrīgurorvaktrameṣā || 126 ||

Tibetan: chu skyes la ni rdo rje rab zhugs rtse mo can la rlung dang thig le mi ltung
gsum pa'o

'di mams nal 'byor gsum gyi rab tu gsal zhing nges par sku dang gsung dang thugs kyi
phyag rgya ste

chags dang chags bral mthar byur dang po mchog bde'i gter ni nal 'byor mams kyi
rtogs bya bzhi pa'o

phyag rgya mams las de ni legs pa'i ma ru 'gyur te nam bcu dpal ldan bla ma'i zhal
'di'o

English: Now the triad of the mudrās of body, etc. [speech and mind] is described.

The vajra penetrates the lotus, and the winds are in the fire. The falling of the seed is third. The mudrās of body, speech and mind are of these three yogas, clearly and certainly.

The treasury of highest qualities, which is going to the end of passion {white side}, [and] non-passion {black side}, etc., which is reached through yoga, is the fourth. Of the mudrās, that is the excellent mother. She is ten-fold and is the mouth⁵¹² of the auspicious guru.

⁵¹² (Skt. vaktram; Tib. zhal)

VERSE 127

Sanskrit: prajñāmātā sumātā tribhuvanajanānī locanādyā bhaginyāḥ
ṣaḍ vajrā bhāgineyāḥ paśujanabhayaḍā naptaraścarcikādyāḥ |
cakrasthāḥ sarvakālaṃ svakulabhuvigatā yogibhiḥ sevanīyāḥ
kṣetre pīṭhe śmaśāne na sajanavijane mocanīyāḥ kadācit || 127 ||

Tibetan: shes rab yum ni mchog gi yum ste srid gsum skyed ma sbyan las sogs pa
nams ni sring mo'o

rdo rje drug ni sring mo'i bu mo phyugs kyi skye bo 'jigs ster [carcikā] sogs yang tsha
mo

'khor lo la gnas dus kun du ni rang rigs sa la gnas nams rnal 'byor pa yis bsten par
bya

zhing dang gnas dang dar khrod skye bo dang bcas skye bo med par nam yang dor bar
mi bya'o

English: The mother of wisdom, the excellent mother, generates the three existences, the {four} sisters {yoginīs}, Locanā, etc., the six vajras {the offspring of the sisters}, the sisters' daughters,⁵¹³ those who produce fear in cattle and people, the granddaughters, the {eight} Carcikā, etc.⁵¹⁴ --

[these are] located on the cakṛa. Located at the site⁵¹⁵ of one's own family, they should be worshipped by yogīs in the meeting place {or} in the cemetery {the site⁵¹⁶ of the twelve}. They should never be released⁵¹⁷ in a public or solitary place {in the middle of a village or during a feast}.

⁵¹³ (Skt. bhāgineyāḥ; Tib. sring mo'i bu mo)

⁵¹⁴ VC reverses the order of "granddaughters" and "Carcikā."

⁵¹⁵ (Skt. bhuvi; Tib. sa)

⁵¹⁶ (Skt. bhūmi)

⁵¹⁷ (Skt. mocanīyāḥ; Tib. dor bar mi bya'o)

VERSE 128

Sanskrit: śrīvajrī śrījanetā tribhuvanajanako bhrātarah sarvabuddhā
netrādyā bhrātrputrāstvaparabahuvidhā naptaro naptṛputrāḥ |
cakrasthā yoginībhiḥ svakulabhuvigatā sevanīyāḥ prahr̥ṣṭāḥ
kṣetre pīṭhe śmaśāne na sajanavijane mocanīyāḥ kadācit || 128 ||

Tibetan: dpal ldan rdo rje can ni dpal ldan yang ste srid gsum skyed mdzad sang rgyas
thams cad ming po'o

mig la sogs pa ming po'i bu ste gzhan ni rnam mang yang tsha rnam dang yang tsha'i
bu rnam so

'khor⁵¹⁸ lo la gnas rang rigs sar gnas rab dga' rnam ni mal 'byor ma rnam dag gis
bsten par bya

zhing dang gnas dang dur khrod skye bo dang bcas skye bo med par nam yang dor bar
mi bya'o

English: The wielder of the auspicious vajra {the teacher}, the leader born of love {a member of the Caṇḍāla because he leads}, the originator of the three existences, brothers, all the Buddhas -- [these are] the eyes, etc.⁵¹⁹ But the sons of the brothers are of many other types, grandsons [and] sons of the grandsons.

[These are] located on the cakṛa. Located at the site⁵²⁰ of one's own family, they who are glad should be worshipped by yoginīs in the meeting place {or} in the cemetery {the site⁵²¹ of the twelve}. They should never be released in a public or solitary place {in the middle of a village or during a feast}.

⁵¹⁸ VC incorrectly reads "'kho."

⁵¹⁹ (Skt. netrādyā; Tib. mig la sogs pa)

⁵²⁰ (Skt. bhuvi; Tib. sa)

⁵²¹ (Skt. bhūmi)

VERSE 129

Sanskrit: yā kācidvajrapūjāṃ dadati hi vanitā puṇyahetostrisuddhyā

ācāryāyenduvaktrā kuvalayanyanā divyagandhānuliptā |

yatpuṇyaṃ bhūmidāne gajaturagarathānekakanyāpradāne

tasyāstatsarvapūṇyaṃ bhavati narapate svasthacandrārkaśīmnaḥ || 129 ||

Tibetan: bud med zla ba'i bzhin dang aud pal mig can mchog gi dri yis rjes su byugs
pa gang su dag

bsod nams dag gi rgyu ru dag pa gsum gyis slob dpon⁵²² la ni rdo rje'i mchod par 'bul
byed na

sa gzhi sbyin dang glang po rta dang shing rta du ma'i bu mo rab tu sbyin las bsod
nams gang

bsod nams de nams thams cad de la 'gyur te mi bdag mkhar gnas zla ba nyi ma'i
'tshams su'o

English: If for the sake of merit, a woman who is moon-faced, with eyes of blue water
lily, annointed with divine smells, gives a certain vajra offering to the teacher by means
of the three purifications,⁵²³

that merit derives from the giving of the site⁵²⁴ and from the giving of many elephants,
horses, chariots and girls. All that [merit] is to her, O Lord of Men, around the
boundary of the self-abiding⁵²⁵ moon and sun.

⁵²² VC incorrectly reads "dbon."

⁵²³ (Skt. tri-suddhyā; Tib. dag pa gsum) This refers to the purification of body, speech and mind.

⁵²⁴ (Skt. bhūmi; Tib. sa gzhi)

⁵²⁵ (Skt. svastha; Tib. mkhar gnas) VC does not translate the Sanskrit term "sva."

VERSE 130

Sanskrit: idānīṃ tārādikulāni śūdrādivarṇānāmucyante //

tārā śūdrī caturdhā bhavati bhuvitale pāṇḍarā kṣatriṇī ca

kṣmā vaiśyā triprakārā dvijajanakulajā saptadhā māmakī syāt |

śabdākhyā kāmśyakārī khalu rasakuliśā śauṇḍinī rūpavajrā

samyag vai hemakārī bhavati narapate gandhavajrā dharanyām || 130 ||

Tibetan: sgrol ma dmangs mo mam pa bzhi ru sa yi steng du 'gyur te gos dkar mo ni rgyal rigs ma

sa ni rje rigs ma rnam rnam gsum [māmakī] ni gnyis skyes skye po'i rigs skyes mam bdun 'gyur

sgra zhes bya ba mkhar ba mkhan mo nges par ro yi rdo rje chang 'tshong gzugs kyi rdo rje ma

yang dag nges par gser mkhan mar 'gyur mi yi bdag po 'dzin ma dag la dri yi rdo rje ni

English: Now the families of Tārā, etc., of the laborers, etc. and castes are described.

The fourfold Tārā is a laborer on the surface of the earth.⁵²⁶ The pale one⁵²⁷ is a warrior, and the three types of the earth one⁵²⁸ are merchants. She born from the family of the twice-born {priests} should be the seven-fold Māmakī.

She who is called speech, who is the worker of copper, indeed, she possesses six vajras. The female vitner, indeed, she possesses the form vajra. The female goldsmith, O Lord of Men, is Gandhavajrā on the earth.⁵²⁹

⁵²⁶ (Skt. bhuvi; Tib. sa)

⁵²⁷ (Skt. pāṇḍarā; Tib. gos dkar mo) VC reads "she who wears a white cloth."

⁵²⁸ (Skt. kṣmā; Tib. sa)

⁵²⁹ (Skt. dharanyām; Tib. 'dzin ma dag la) See BDNN (1973: 396).

VERSE 131

Sanskrit: mālākārī prasiddhā prakṛtiguṇavaśāt sparśavajrāmśukārī
vajrāntā dharmadhāturbhavati hi maṇikārī ca loke prasiddhā |
cāmuṇḍā khaṭṭikī syāt prakṛtiguṇavaśād vaiṣṇavī kumbhakārī
vārāhī kandukī vai bhavati ca gaṇikā ṣaṇmukhī sīvikaindrī || 131 ||

Tibetan: phreng ba mkhan mar rab tu grags te rang bzhin yon tan dbang gis reg bya
rdo rje thags mkhan ma

rdo rje'i mtha' can chos kyi khams ni nor bu mkhan mor 'gyur bar 'jig rten du ni rab
du grags

[cāmuṇḍā] ni sha 'tshong mar 'gyur rang bzhin yon⁵³⁰ tan dbang gis khyab 'jug ma ni
rdza mkhan ma

phag mo khur ba mkha' mor nges 'gyur gdong drug ma ni smad 'tshong ma te dbang
mo tshem bu ma

English: She who is well-known as a mālā maker, in accordance with her qualities and
nature, she is Sparśavajrā. A maker of thread, she is the end of the vajra, she is the
dharma realm, indeed. She should be a jeweler and well-known on the earth.

She who should be Cāmuṇḍā should be a butcher in accordance with her qualities and
nature. She who is a pot-maker is Vishnī.⁵³¹ She who is a load carrier⁵³² is
Vārāhī.⁵³³ Indeed, she who is a prostitute is six-faced.⁵³⁴ She who is a seamstress is
the consort of Indra.⁵³⁵

⁵³⁰ VC incorrectly reads "yan."

⁵³¹ The consort of Viṣṇu.

⁵³² (Skt. kandukī; Tib. khur ba)

⁵³³ Vārāhī who appears in the form of a boar is one of the Śakti of Viṣṇu.

⁵³⁴ A woman with six faces is said to be a prostitute.

⁵³⁵ (Skt. indrī; Tib. dbang mo). The Sanskrit term "indrī" also refers to a wild, bitter gourd, *Cucumis Colocynthis*.

VERSE 132

Sanskrit: brahmāṇī dhīvarī syāt kṣititalanilaye ceśvarī nartakī syāt
lakṣmīḥ pūrṇenduvaktrā bhavati hi rajakī cāṣṭamī bhūtayoniḥ |
raṅgākārī ca jambhī bhavati narapate stambhakī koṣākārī
mālākhyā tailapīḍā subṛhadatibalā lohakārī caturthī || 132 ||

Tibetan: tshangs ma nya ba mar 'gyur sa gzhi'i gnas dag tu yang dbang phyug ma ni
gar mkhan ma ru 'gyur

dpal mo zla ba gang nga'i zhal ni brgyad pa btso bslag mkhan mar 'gyur te 'byung po'i
skye nas so

rmugs byed ma ni rgya skyegs mkhan mar 'gyur te mi bdag rengs byed ma ni srin bal
mkhan ma'o

khengs ma zhes bya til mar 'tshir ma rab che shin tu stobs ma lcags mkhan ma te bzhi
pa'o

English: She who is a fisherwoman should be Brahmāṇī.⁵³⁶ And on the abode of the
surface of the earth,⁵³⁷ as Íśvarī,⁵³⁸ she should be a dancer. She who has the face of a
full-moon, indeed, she is Lakṣmī. She is a washerwoman and the eighth, the "womb
of harmful spirits."⁵³⁹

She who is the painter and dyer of cloth, O Lord of Men, she is Stambhakī. She who
is a maker of scabbards is called Māla. An oil presser, she is Subṛhadatibalā. As the
fourth, she is a copper worker.

⁵³⁶ (Skt. brahmāṇī; Tib. tshangs ma) She is one of the consorts of Brahma.

⁵³⁷ (Skt. kṣiti; Tib. sa)

⁵³⁸ (Skt. íśvarī; Tib. dbang phyug ma) She is the consort of Íśvara.

⁵³⁹ (Skt. bhūta-yoniḥ; Tib. 'byung po'i skye)

VERSE 133

Sanskrit: mārīcī carmakārī prabhavati bhṛkuṭī kāṣṭhakārī tathaiva

śrībuddhā nāpitī ca kṣitibhuvanagatā śṛṅkhalā vaṃśakārī |

vajrākṣī kūpakartrī bhavati ca daśamī veṇunṛtyātinīlā

krodhāṃśā krodhajātāḥ khalu daśavanitā yoginā pūjanīyāḥ || 133 ||

Tibetan: 'od zer can ni ko lpags mkhan mar rab 'gyur khro gnyer can ni shing mkhan
ma dang de bzhin nyid

dpal ldan [cundā]⁵⁴⁰ 'dreg mkhan ma ste sa yi srid pa la gnas lcags sgrog ma ni bsnyug
ma mkhan

drag spyen ma ni khron pa byed mar 'gyur te bcu pa 'od ma'i gar ma shin du sngon
mo'o

khro bo'i cha shas khro bo las skyes bud med bcu po rnams ni rnal 'byor pa yis mchod
par bya

English: As Mārīcī, she is a tanner. As Bhṛkuṭī, she is a wood-worker, thus, indeed.
As Śrībuddhā, she is wife of a barber. Located in the realm of the earth,⁵⁴¹ she who is
Śṛṅkhalā is a maker of reeds.

As Vajrākṣī, she is well-digger. And as the tenth, as Veṇunṛtyā, she is very blue. The
ten women, who are divisions of wrathfulness and who are born from wrath, should be
honored by the yogī.

⁵⁴⁰ (Skt. śrībuddhā; Tib. dpal ldan tsun daa)

⁵⁴¹ (Skt. kṣiti; Tib. sa)

VERSE 134

Sanskrit: mlecchā śrīśvānavaktrā bhavati narapate haḍḍinī śūkarāsyā
mātaṅgī jambukāsyā kṣititalanilaye tāpinī vyāghravaktrā |
kākāsya varvarī ca prakāṭitanīyatā pukkasī gṛdhnavaktrā
śrībhillī tārksyavaktrā bhavati hi śabarī cāṣṭamolūkavaktrā || 134 ||

Tibetan: dpal ldan khyi gdong ma ni kla klo mar 'gyur mi yi bdag po phag gdong ma
ni 'phyag pa mo

lce sbyang gdong ma gtum mo dag dang sa gzhi'i gnas la stag gdong ma ni stag gzig la
bya rog gdong ma bsnyon thabs ma ste rab tu gsal zhing nges par bya rgod gdong ma
ro sreg ma

mkha' lding gdong ma dpal ldan [bhillī]r 'gyur te brgyad pa 'ug pa'i gdong ma dag
kyang ri khrod ma

English: As a barbarian,⁵⁴² she has the auspicious face of a dog, O Lord of Men. As
Haḍḍinī, she is boar-faced. As Mātaṅgī, she is jackal-faced on the abode of the surface
of the earth.⁵⁴³ As Tāpinī, she is tiger-faced.

As Varvarī, she is crow-faced. Clearly and certainly, as Pukkasī, she is vulture-faced.
As Śrībhillī, she is Garuḍa-faced, indeed. And as Śabarī, which is the eighth, she is
owl-faced.

⁵⁴² (Skt. mlecchā; Tib. kla klo mar)

⁵⁴³ (Skt. kṣiti; Tib. sa)

VERSE 135

Sanskrit: ṣaṭtriṃśadvarṇabhedaḥ kṣīṭitalanilaye yoginām kulāni

pīṭhe kṣetropakṣetre viṣayapuravare śrīvane saṁsthitāni |

mūrkhāṇām bandhanāni pravaramahitale yoginām siddhidāni

catvāraḥ ṣaṭ tathāṣṭau saha daśa vasavaścaikamekaṁ krameṇa || 135 ||

Tibetan: sum cu rtsa drug rigs kyi dbye bas sa gzhi'i gnas su rnal 'byor ma rnams dag
gi rigs rnams te

zhing dang gnas dang nye ba'i gnas dang yul dang grong mchog dpal ldan nags su yang
dag gnas rnams kyi

rmongs pa rnams ni 'ching bar byed cing rab mchog sa yi steng du rnal 'byor rnams la
dngos grub ster

bzhi dang drug dang de bzhin brgyad dang bcu dang bcas pa'i nor dang gcig pu gcig ni
rim pas so

English: By means of the divisions of the 36 castes⁵⁴⁴ on the abode of the surface of the earth,⁵⁴⁵ the families of the yoginīs are erected in the meeting place, in the near dwelling,⁵⁴⁶ in the best village of the sense object,⁵⁴⁷ and in the auspicious forest.

The bindings of fools give the siddhis to the yogīs on the surface of the best earth:⁵⁴⁸ the four {castes}, the 6 {vajras of speech}, the 8 {Carcikā}, together with the 10 {divisions of anger}, and the 8 {kinds which have dog-faces, etc.}, one-by-one, respectively.

⁵⁴⁴ (Skt. varṇa; Tib. rigs) Nijenhuis (1974: 4) mentions that a reference to the 36 "varṇas," forerunners of the later "rāgas," occurs in the *Pañcakhyānaka* recension of the *Pañcatantra* by the Jaina Monk Pūrṇabhadra, which dates to 1199. This reference may actually be found in the original version of the *Pañcatantra*, which is dated to the period between 300 and 750.

⁵⁴⁵ (Skt. kṣīṭi; Tib. sa)

⁵⁴⁶ (Skt. upakṣetre; Tib. nye ba'i gnas dang yul)

⁵⁴⁷ (Skt. viṣaya-pura-vare; Tib. grong mchog) VC does not translate the Sanskrit term "viṣaya."

⁵⁴⁸ (Skt. mahi; Tib. sa)

VERSE 136

Sanskrit: catvāro buddhabhedāḥ khalu puna ṛtavo bodhisattvaprabhedāḥ
krodhānāṃ dikprabhedā kṣititalanilaye pretabhedāstathāṣṭau |
daityānāṃ cāṣṭabhedāḥ phaṇibhuvanagatā yoginā veditavyā
ekaiko viśvabhartustribhuvanilaye vyāpakāḥ śrīkulānām || 136 ||

Tibetan: bzhi ni sang rgyas dbye ba rnams te slar yang dus ni byang chub sems dpa'i
rab tu dbye ba rnams

khro bo rnams ni phyogs kyi rab dbye sa steng gnas su yi dwags dbye ba rnams ni de
bzhin brgyad

lha min dag kyang brgyad kyi dbye ba gdengs can srid par gnas rnams mal 'byor pa yis
rigs par bya

gcig pu gcig ni sna tshogs gtso bo srid gsum gnas su dpal ldan rigs rnams dag gi khyab
byed do

English: The four divisions of the Buddhas, indeed and again, the six divisions of the bodhisattvas, the {ten} divisions of the directions of the wrathful protectors [are] on the abode of the surface of the earth.⁵⁴⁹ Likewise the eight divisions of hungry ghosts [are] also on the abode of the surface of the earth].⁵⁵⁰

The eight divisions of the demons, located in the realm of the Nāgas, should be understood by the yogī. Each one on the abode of the three realms of the Lord of All⁵⁵¹ is the pervader⁵⁵² of the auspicious families.

⁵⁴⁹ (Skt. kṣīti; Tib. sa)

⁵⁵⁰ (Skt. preta; Tib. dvags dbye ba rnams)

⁵⁵¹ (Skt. viśva-bhartus; Tib. sna tshogs gtso bo)

⁵⁵² (Skt. vyāpakāḥ; Tib. khyab byed)

VERSE 137

Sanskrit: pātāleṣvaṣṭacaṇḍā daśaśivalaye krodhajā martyaloke

pretākhyāḥ pretaloke suravarānilaye śabdavajrādiṣaṭkam |

brahmāṇḍe śrīcatasraḥ pravaraśivapure'pyekamātā tridhātor-

viśvaṃ saṃhārayanti prakupitavadanāḥ pālayantyeva tuṣṭāḥ || 137 ||

Tibetan: sa 'og rnams su gtum mo brgyad te mi yi 'jig rten phyogs bcu'i dkyil 'khor la
ni khro skyes rnams

yi dvags zhes bya yi dvags 'jig rten du ste lha mchog gnas su sgra yi rdo rje la sogs
drug

tshangs pa'i yul sar dpal ldan bzhi ste rab mchog zhi ba'i grong du khams gsum dag gi
yum gcig ma

rab tu khros pa'i zhal rnams sna tshogs yang dag sdud byed dgyes pa rnams ni skyong
bar byed pa nyed

English: In the underworld,⁵⁵³ the eight goddesses⁵⁵⁴ in the circle of the ten directions, are those born of wrath in the realm of mortals. Those known as hungry ghosts in the realm of hungry ghosts, on the abode of the best gods, are the six of Śabdavajrā, etc.

The auspicious four females are in the egg of Brahmā. In the town of the excellent Śiva also is the one mother of the three realms -- with angry faces [they] cause the annihilation⁵⁵⁵ of the entire {body}, and they protect [the entire body] only when they are content.

⁵⁵³ (Skt. pātāleṣu; Tib. sa 'og rnams su) See also KT II. 78.

⁵⁵⁴ (Skt. caṇḍā; Tib. gtum mo) This apparently refers to the eight śakti goddesses.

⁵⁵⁵ (Skt. saṃhārayanti; Tib. sdud byed)

VERSE 138

Sanskrit: idānīṃ vajrapūjāniyamo yogināṃ karmamudrāsiddhyarthamucyate //

bālā vṛddhāstaruṇyaḥ samalinatanavo brāhmaṇī kṣatriṇī ca

vaiśyā śūdrāntyajā vā gatanayanakarāśchinnakarnausthanāsāḥ |

ācāryairbodhihetoḥ sakaruṇaḥṛdayaiḥ pūjanīyāḥ samastāḥ

prajñopāyena rājan vyapagatakaluṣairbodhicaryānurūḍhaiḥ || 138 ||

Tibetan: bu mo rgan mo dar ma rnams dang lus ni dri ma dang bcas bram ze mo dang rgyal rigs mo

rje mo dmangs mo mthar skyes rnams sam mig lag dang bral rna ba mchu dang sna ni tshad ma rnams

mtha' dag byang chub rgyu ru shes rab thabs kyis mchod par bya ste rgyal po slob dpon snying rje dang

bcas pa'i thugs ldan dri ma dag dang rnam par bral zhing byang chub spyod la rjes su gnas pas so

English: Now the yogīs' precept for the vajra offering is described for the purpose of the accomplishment of the action mudrā.

Girls, old women, young women with impure bodies, female Brahmins and warrior women, or merchant women, laborer women born of the lowest [caste], [women] whose eyes and hands are gone, whose ears, lips and noses are separated --

all should be worshipped for the purpose of enlightenment, according to {yoga, which is the means to} wisdom and means, O King, by means of the teachers, by means of those with compassionate hearts, [by means of] those from whom sins {pride, etc.} have disappeared, [by means of those] advanced in the practice of enlightenment, [by means of] those who have ascended in the practice of enlightenment

VERSE 139

Sanskrit: idānīm vajra pūjāyām caturmudrāsaṃjñocyate //

ādaṁ strī guhyamudrā bhavati hi samaye śrīnaro divyamudrā

krīḍāṅgaṁ karmamudrā bhavati samasukhairdvīndriyairdharmamudrā |

dūtīnām pañcagandhāstanukamalagatā jātayaḥ pañca tāsām

kastūrīpadmamūtrāḥ prakṛtiḥ gūṇavaśādāmiṣaḥ pūtiḥ gandhaḥ || 139 ||

Tibetan: dang por bud med gsang ba'i phyag rgyar 'gyur te dam tshig dpal ldan skyes
pa mchog gi phyag rgya'o

rtseḍ mo'i yan lag las kyi phyag rgyar 'gyur te dbang po gnyis kyi⁵⁵⁶ bde mnyam chos
kyi phyag rgya'o

pho nya mo mams dag gi dri lnga lus dang pad ma la gnas de dag mams ni rigs lnga
ste

rang bzhin yon tan dbang gis gla rtsi dang ni pad ma gci ba nya dang rnag gi dri mams
so

English: Now in the vajra offering, the names of the four mudrās are described.

In the beginning, the woman is the secret mudrā, indeed. With respect to the vow, the auspicious man is the divine mudrā. The action mudrā is the limb of play. The dharma mudrā occurs by means of equal joys, by means of the two sense faculties.⁵⁵⁷

The five smells of the female envoys are located on the body and on the lotus. The groups of them are five, which are the {smell of} doe, lotus, urine, [etc.]. In accordance with the qualities of nature {ether, etc.}, the flesh is of a putrid⁵⁵⁸ smell.

⁵⁵⁶ VC incorrectly reads "kyi."

⁵⁵⁷ (Skt. dvi-indriyair; Tib. dbang po gnyis kyi) This probably refers to the two sexual organs.

⁵⁵⁸ (Skt. pūti; Tib. rnag) The Sanskrit term "pūti" also refers to the plant *Guilandina Bonduc*.

VERSE 140

Sanskrit: śrīrbhadrā padminī vai bhavati jalacarī citriṇī hastinī ca
śrīstārā pāṇḍarākhyā bhavati kulavaśānmāmakī locanā ca |
yogī siṃho mṛgo'svo bhavati ca vṛṣabhāḥ kuṅjaro jātibhedā-
dakṣobhyo'moghasiddhirvimalamanīkaraḥ padmapāṇīśca cakrī || 140 ||

Tibetan: dpal ldan bzang po pad ma can du nges 'gyur chu na rgyu ma sna tshogs ma
dang glang chen ma

dpal ldan sgrol ma gos dkar zhes byar 'gyur te rigs kyi dbang gis [māmakī] dang spyang
ma yang

mal 'byor pa ni seng ge ri dvags rta ru 'gyur te khyu mchog glang po rigs kyi dbye ba
las

mi skyod pa dang don yod grub pa dri med nor bu'i phyag dang phyag na pad ma 'khor
lo can

English: The auspicious noble woman⁵⁵⁹ indeed is the lotus-one.⁵⁶⁰ The water-
one,⁵⁶¹ who is variegated,⁵⁶² is the elephant,⁵⁶³ the auspicious, Tārā⁵⁶⁴ {lotus}. The
one known as Pāṇḍara⁵⁶⁵ [is the] {conch-possessor}. In accordance with the family,
Māmakī⁵⁶⁶ [is] {variegated} and Locanā⁵⁶⁷ [is the] {elephant}.⁵⁶⁸

The yogī is the lion⁵⁶⁹ Akṣobhya.⁵⁷⁰ The rabbit⁵⁷¹ is Amoghasiddhi.⁵⁷² And the
horse is the stainless Maṇikara.⁵⁷³ The bull⁵⁷⁴ {is Amitābha}. And the elephant⁵⁷⁵ {is
Vairocana}. Due to the divisions of the groups {there are five types of yogī}. And
Cakrī⁵⁷⁶ bears the lotus in his hand.

⁵⁵⁹ (Skt. śrīrbhadrā; Tib. dpal ldan bzang po)

⁵⁶⁰ (Skt. padminī; Tib. pad ma can)

⁵⁶¹ (Skt. jala-carī; Tib. chu na rgyu ma)

⁵⁶² (Skt. citriṇī; Tib. sna tshogs ma)

⁵⁶³ (Skt. hastinī; Tib. glang chen ma)

⁵⁶⁴ (Skt. śrīstārā; Tib. dpal ldan sgrol ma)

⁵⁶⁵ (Skt. pāṇḍara; Tib. gos dkar)

⁵⁶⁶ (Skt. māmakī; Tib. [māmakī])

⁵⁶⁷ (Skt. locanā; Tib. spyang ma)

⁵⁶⁸ These are the "śaṅkhini" women described in Indian erotic literature such as the *Kamasūtra*.

⁵⁶⁹ (Skt. siṃho; Tib. seng ge) VC adapts "lion" to "snow lion."

⁵⁷⁰ (Skt. akṣobhya; Tib. mi skyod pa)

⁵⁷¹ (Skt. mṛgo; Tib. ri dwags)

⁵⁷² (Skt. amoghasiddhi; Tib. don yod grub pa)

⁵⁷³ (Skt. maṇikara; Tib. nor bu'i phyag) See also KT II. 35.

⁵⁷⁴ (Skt. vṛṣabhāḥ; Tib. khyu mchog)

⁵⁷⁵ (Skt. kuṅjaro; Tib. glang po)

⁵⁷⁶ (Skt. cakrī; Tib. 'khor lo can) See KT II. 48, in which Cakravartī (Tib. 'khor los bsgyur ba) is men-
tioned.

VERSE 141

Sanskrit: idānīm śarīralakṣaṇamucyate //

tanvaṅgī sūkṣmakeśā mṛdukaracaraṇā vatsalā śrīsubhadrā

kiñcit tanvī pralambā tvacapalanayanā padminī vakrakeśā |

nirlajjā tīvrakāmā bahukalaharatā śaṅkhinī svalpakeśā

dīrghā sarvāṅgapūrṇā khalu laghuviṣayā citriṇī dīrghakeśā || 141 ||

Tibetan: yan lag phra ldem skra mams phra zhing rkang lag 'jam la mnyes gshin dpal
ldan shin du bzang mo'o

chung zad phra ba dang ldan ring zhing mig ni gyo ba med la skra ni 'khyog pa pad ma
can

ngo tsha med cing 'dod pa drag la rtsod mang la dga' skra ni shin du chung ba dung
can ma

rang bzhin yan lag thams cad rdzogs la nges par yang ba'i yul dang skra ni ring ba sna
tshogs ma

English: Now the characteristic of the body is described.

Auspicious noble woman⁵⁷⁷ is thin-limbed with fine hair, delicate⁵⁷⁸ hands and feet, and affectionate. Lotus-possessor⁵⁷⁹ {Tārā} is somewhat thin, pendulous, but [her] eyes are unwavering,⁵⁸⁰ with curly hair.⁵⁸¹

Conch-possessor⁵⁸² is immodest, with intense desire, fond of many quarrels, with little hair. Variegated one⁵⁸³ is tall, full in all limbs, indeed, one by whom sense objects are taken lightly, [with] long hair.

⁵⁷⁷ (Skt. śrī-su-bhadrā; Tib. dpal ldan shin du bzang mo)

⁵⁷⁸ (Skt. mṛdu; Tib. 'zam)

⁵⁷⁹ (Skt. padminī; Tib. pad ma can)

⁵⁸⁰ (Skt. acapala; Tib. gyo ba med)

⁵⁸¹ (Skt. vakra-keśā; Tib. skra ni 'khyog pa)

⁵⁸² (Skt. śaṅkhinī; Tib. dung can ma) See KT II. 57, in which the term "śaṅkhinī" refers to the "avadhūtī," the channel that carries semen.

⁵⁸³ (Skt. citriṇī; Tib. sna tshogs ma)

VERSE 142

Sanskrit: sthūlā kharvā dṛḍhāṅgī sukāṭhinaviṣayā hastinī sthūlakeśā
dūtīnām śuddhajātiḥ kvacidiha hi bhavet sarvadā miśrajātiḥ |
siṃhaścaikāntavāsī viṣayavirahito nirbhayastyāgaśīlaḥ
śāraṅgaḥ śīghragāmī kṣaralaghuviṣayastrastacitto'tibhītaḥ || 142 ||

Tibetan: sbom zhing thung la yan lag brtan ldan shin du sra ba'i yul dang skra ni sbom
pa glang chen ma

pho nya mo mams dag pa'i rigs ni 'ga' zhis rtag tu 'dir 'gyur dus kun du ni 'dres pa'i
rigs

seng ge dag kyang 'brog na gnas shing yul dang mam bral 'jigs pa med la gtong ba'i
ngang tshul can

ri dwags mgyogs 'gro dang ldan 'gyur byed yang ba'i yul dang skrag pa'i sems te shin
du 'jigs pa'

English: Elephant is thick, short,⁵⁸⁴ solid-limbed, [one] to whom sense objects are
very hard,⁵⁸⁵ with thick hair. The purified group of the female envoys,⁵⁸⁶ some-
where, here, indeed, should be always a mixed group.⁵⁸⁷

And Lion lives in a solitary place devoid of sense objects, fearless, with the disposition
of renunciation.⁵⁸⁸ Rabbit⁵⁸⁹ goes quickly, sense objects are perishable and light,⁵⁹⁰
[with a] mind of fear,⁵⁹¹ and he is very timid.

584 (Skt. kharvā; Tib. thung)

585 (Skt. su-kāṭhina-viṣayā; Tib. shin du sra ba'i yul)

586 (Skt. dūtīnām; Tib. pho nya mo mams)

587 (Skt. miśra-jātiḥ; Tib. 'dres pa'i rigs)

588 (Skt. tyāga-śīlaḥ; Tib. gtong ba'i ngang tshul can)

589 (Skt. śāraṅgaḥ; Tib. ri dwags)

590 (Skt. kṣara-laghu-viṣayas; Tib. byed yang ba'i yul)

591 (Skt. trasta-citto; Tib. skrag pa'i sems)

VERSE 143

Sanskrit: aśvo vai kāmalo bhavati paravaśo mūtragandhaḥ parārthī
stabdhākṣo mandagāmī prakṛtiguṇajaḥ matsyagandho vṛṣaḥ syāt |
kāmī vai mandagāmī bhavati khalu gajaḥ pūtigandho'timūrkhaḥ
ṣaṭtriṃśadbhedabhinnāḥ kṣititalanilaye varṇagandhasvabhāvāḥ || 143 ||

Tibetan: rta ni nges par 'dod la srid par 'gyur te gzhan dbang gci ba'i dri dang gzhan
don gnyer ba'o

khyu mchog renga pa'i mig dang dman par 'gro ldan rang bzhin yon tan blun po nya yi
dri ru 'gyur

glang chen 'dod ldan nges par dal bar 'gro bar 'gyur te rnag gi dri dang shin du rmongs
pa'o

sum cu rtsa drug dbye bas phye ba sa yi steng gi gnas su rigs kyi dri yi rang bzhin no

English: Horse indeed is fickle in desire, subordinate, and smells of urine, seeking the [best] interest of others.⁵⁹² The bull should have immobile eyes,⁵⁹³ moves slowly, is dull in his qualities and nature,⁵⁹⁴ [and] smells of fish.

Elephant is amorous, indeed, slow moving, indeed, [with a] putrid smell, very stupid. The natures of the smells of the castes are divided according to the 36 divisions on the abode of the surface of the earth.⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹² (Skt. para-ārthī; Tib. gzhan don)

⁵⁹³ (Skt. stabdha-akṣo; Tib. renga pa'i mig)

⁵⁹⁴ (Skt. prakṛti-guṇa-jaḥ; Tib. rang bzhin yon tan blun po)

⁵⁹⁵ (Skt. kṣiti; Tib. sa)

VERSE 144

Sanskrit: pūjārthaṃ kāmaśāstraṃ bahuguṇanilayaṃ yoginā veditavyaṃ
nātuṣṭhā siddhidā syāt suratamapi gatā yoginī yoginaśca |
divyā devī paśācī bhavati ca manujā rākṣasī nāginī ca
divyā śrīdharmadhāturbhavati guṇavaśācchabdavajrā ca devī || 144 ||

Tibetan: mchod pa'i don du 'dod pa'i bstan bcos yon tan mang po'i gnas ni rnal 'byor
pa yis rigs par bya

shin du chags par gyur pas tshim pa med na rnal 'byor ma rnams rnal 'byor pa la dngos
grub ster mi 'gyur

bzang mo lha mo dang ni sha za mo dang mi mo dang ni srin mo klu mo dag tu 'gyur

bzang mo dpal ldan chos kyi khams su 'gyur te yon tan dbang gis lha mo sgra yi rdo
rje ma

English: For the purpose of offering, the science of desire, which is the abode of many
qualities, should be understood by the yogī. The yoginī who is unfulfilled even though
she has experienced intercourse should be giver of siddhis; and [likewise] the yogīs.

The divine female -- the goddess -- is the ogress. The female born of men [is] the
demonness and the Nāginī. The divine female is the auspicious dharma realm. And in
accordance with the qualities, the goddess is the vajra of speech.

VERSE 145

Sanskrit: paśācī gandhavajrā bhavati ca manujā rūpavajrā narendra

krūrā sā rākṣasī yā khalu rasakulīṣā nāginī sparśavajrā |

divyā sattvopakārī vrataniyamaratā saṃyamadhyānāśīlā

devī bhogānuraktā prabhavati malinocchiṣṭaraktā piśācī || 145 ||

Tibetan: sha za mo ni dri yi rdo rje 'gyur te mi mo dag kyang gzugs kyi rdo rje mi yi dbang

gdug pa srin mo gang yin de ni nges par ro yi rdo rje glu mo reg bya rdo rje ma

bzang mo sems can phan pa byed ma brtul zhugs nges pa la dga' sdom dang bsam gtan ngang tshul can

lha mo longs spyod la ni rjes chags 'gyur te dri med ldan zhing lhag ma la chags sha za mo

English: The ogress is the vajra of smell. The one born of men is the vajra⁵⁹⁶ of form, O Lord. That demoness who indeed is the vajra⁵⁹⁷ of taste is the cruel one. The Nāginī is the vajra of touch.

The divine female⁵⁹⁸ is the supporter of beings, fond of vows and precepts, she has the disposition⁵⁹⁹ of duty⁶⁰⁰ and concentration.⁶⁰¹ The goddess⁶⁰² is attached⁶⁰³ to enjoyments. The ogress⁶⁰⁴ is attached⁶⁰⁵ to stains and impure things.

⁵⁹⁶ (Skt. vajrā; Tib. rdo rje)

⁵⁹⁷ (Skt. kulīṣa; Tib. rdo rje)

⁵⁹⁸ (Skt. divyā; Tib. bzang mo)

⁵⁹⁹ (Skt. śīlā; Tib. ngang tshul)

⁶⁰⁰ (Skt. saṃyama; Tib. sdom)

⁶⁰¹ (Skt. dhyāna; Tib. bsam gtan)

⁶⁰² (Skt. devī; Tib. lha mo)

⁶⁰³ (Skt. anuraktā; Tib. rjes chags)

⁶⁰⁴ (Skt. piśācī; Tib. sha za mo)

⁶⁰⁵ (Skt. raktā; Tib. chags)

VERSE 146

Sanskrit: nārī kāmānuraktā naranudhiraratā rākṣasī māraccittā

kṣīrāśā nāginī ca pravaramahitale yoginā pūjanīyā |

evam cānye svabhāvāḥ prakṛtiguṇavaśād yoginā veditavyāḥ

ṣaṭtrimśadbhedabhinnāḥ kṣititalanilaye khecarībhūcarīṇām || 146 ||

Tibetan: mi mo 'dod la rjes su chags ma srin mo mi yi khrag la dga' zhing gsod pa'i
sems ma ste

klu mo dag dang 'o ma'i zas can rab mchog sa yi steng du rnal 'byor pa yis mchod par
bya

de bzhin gzhan pa rang bzhin rnams ni rang bzhin yon tan dbang gis rnal 'byor pa yis
rig par bya

sa yi steng gi gnas su mkha' spyod sa spyod rnams ni sum cu rtsa drug dbye bas phye
ba'o

English: The woman [born of humans] is attached to desire. The demonness is fond of the blood of men and has the mind of Māras. The Nāginī, who is desirous of milk, should be worshipped by the yogī on the surface of the best earth.⁶⁰⁶

And thus, the other natures of the female birds⁶⁰⁷ and earth-going females⁶⁰⁸ should be known by the yogī according to the power of the qualities of nature, divided according to the 36 divisions, on the abode of the surface of the earth.⁶⁰⁹

⁶⁰⁶ (Skt. mahi; Tib. sa)

⁶⁰⁷ (Skt. khecarī; Tib. mkha' spyod)

⁶⁰⁸ (Skt. bhū-carīṇām; Tib. sa spyod rnams)

⁶⁰⁹ (Skt. kṣiti; Tib. sa)

VERSE 147

Sanskrit: idānīm deśakasya pānaniyama ucyate //

madyaṃ prajñāsvabhāvaṃ samadhujaḡaḡajaṃ dhānyajaṃ vṛkṣajaṃ vā

mudrāhīnaḡ pibed yaḡ sa bhavati viṣayī cāvṛto māravṛndaiḡ |

tasmāt prajñādhimuktaṃ kaluṣamalaharaṃ mantriṇām siddhidaṃ syān-

mudrām yām kāñcidasmin samayavirahitaṃ pānahetoḡ prakuryāt || 147 ||

Tibetan: chang ni shes rab rang bzhin sprang rtsi dang bcas bu ram las skyes 'bras las skyes sam shing skyes te

phyag rgya dang bral gang zhig 'thung byed de ni yul can du 'gyur bdud kyi tshogs kyi bskor ba'o

de phir shes rab lhag ldan sdig pa'i dri ma 'phrog cing sngags pa mams la dngos grub byin par 'gyur

phyag rgya gang su rung pa 'dir ni dam tshig nam par bral yang btung ba'i slad du rab tu bya

English: He {a teacher} who, lacking a mudrā, would drink wine, the intrinsic nature of which is wisdom, together with that which is produced from honey and molasses and grain or that which is produced from trees -- he possesses sense objects and is surrounded by the hosts of Māras.

From this, the giver of accomplishments to the practitioners should be inclined⁶¹⁰ towards the wisdom that removes sins and stains. One should make whatever mudrā is devoid of commitments for the purpose of drinking in this {time of drinking in the maṇḡala without a feast}.

⁶¹⁰ (Skt. adhimuktaṃ; Tib. 'phrog)

VERSE 148

Sanskrit: yena caturthaḥ samayo bhavati sevito yoginām, tasya guṇā ucyante //

eko rājan śaśāṅko maraṇabhayaḥ sevitaḥ sarvakālaṃ

prajñādharmodayastho dinakarasahitaḥ kiṃ punaryogayuktaḥ |

akṣobhya'moghasiddhirjinavarasahitaḥ śvā'śvagohastiyuktaḥ

kleśānāṃ vajradanḍaḥ paśujanabhayadaścāṣṭamo 'nyo'tiraudraḥ || 148 ||

Tibetan: rgyal po ri bong mtshan ma gcig pu 'chi ba'i 'jigs 'phrog byed pa thams cad
dus su bsten par bya

shes rab chos 'byung la gnas nyin mor byed pa dang bcas mal 'byor ldan pa dag ni
smos ci dgos

mi skyod don yod grub pa rgyal ba mchog bcas khyi rta ba lang glang po dang ldan
gzhan yang ni

brgyad pa shin du drag po nyon mong mams kyi rdo rje dpyug pa skye bo phyugs la
'jigs pa ster

English: The qualities are described by this yogī, by whom the fourth commitment is
observed.⁶¹¹

The one moon, O King, which destroys the fear of death, which is located on the arising of wisdom and dharma, which is accompanied by the sun -- it is always observed [and] it is again conjoined with yoga.

Akṣobhya [and] Amoghasiddhi [are] accompanied by the Supreme Victor, which are conjoined with a dog, horse, cow, and elephant, [and] the vajra staff⁶¹² of the obscurations,⁶¹³ which gives fear to cows and people. And there is another, the eighth, which is very violent.⁶¹⁴

⁶¹¹ (Skt. sevito)

⁶¹² (Skt. vajra-danḍaḥ; Tib. rdo rje dbyug pa)

⁶¹³ (Skt. kleśānāṃ; Tib. nyon mongs mams)

⁶¹⁴ (Skt. raudraḥ; Tib. drag po)

VERSE 149

Sanskrit: idānīm ṣaḍtriṃśatsamayā ucyante yoginīmāṃ rūpaparivarteneti //

śvā'śvo gohastimeṣāstvajaharīṇakharāḥ śūkarō'ṣṭrau digete

kumbhīrākhuḥ kulīro jhaṣa iti makaro dardurāḥ kūrmaśaṅkhau |

gaṇḍo vyāghraśca ṛkṣaḥ sanakulacamarī jambukodro viḍāla

āraṇyaśvā sasīmho vasudaśakamidam bhūtajam krodhajam ca || 149 ||

Tibetan: khyi rta ba lang glang mo lug dang ri dvags bong mo phag mo rnga mo 'di
mams phyogs

[kumbhīra] mo 'gron bu ku la'i ra mo nya mo ma ka ra mo sbal mo rus sbal dung

bsre ru stag mo dom mo ne le mor bcas 'bri mo lce spyang mo dang sram mo byi la
mo

'brog dgon khyi ma seng gi mor bcas nor dang bcu ste 'di ni 'byung po skyes dang
khro bo skyes

English: Now, by means of the change of the form of the yoginīs, the 36 vows are described.

Dog {Tārā}, horse {Pāṇḍarā}, cow {Māmakī}, elephant {Locanā}, sheep {speech vajra}, also a ram {touch vajra}, gazelle {taste vajra}, donkey {form vajra}, hog {smell vajra}, camel {dharmadhātu vajra} -- the {ten} directions are these. Pitcher {Carcikā}, mouse {Vaiṣṇavī}, crab {Vārāhī}, fish {Kaumārī}, crocodile {Aindrī}, frog {Brahmāṇī}, tortise {Īśvarī} and conch {Mahālakṣmī} -- {these are the eight born of harmful spirits.}⁶¹⁵

Rhinoceros {devouring}, and tiger {immobilized}, bear {derived from pride}, together with mongoose {excessively strong} and yak⁶¹⁶ {she who holds the iron chain of the vajra}, jackal {Bhṛkuṭī}, an aquatic animal {Cundā}, cat {Mārīcī}, wild dog⁶¹⁷ {excessively-blue}, together with the lion {terrifying eyes} -- {these are the 10 that are born of the wrathful deities}. Here are the 18 born of harmful spirits⁶¹⁸ and also born of wrathful [deities].⁶¹⁹

⁶¹⁵ (Skt. bhūta)

⁶¹⁶ (Skt. camarī; Tib. 'bri mo)

⁶¹⁷ (Skt. āraṇyaśvā; Tib. khyi ma)

⁶¹⁸ (Skt. bhūta; Tib. 'byung po skyes)

⁶¹⁹ (Skt. krodhajam; Tib. khro bo skyes)

VERSE 150

Sanskrit: godhākhuḥ śālijātaḥ kapiṛapi śaśakaḥ śallakīṣukṛko'stau

mānī pakṣī śukaśca prakṛitajaladhiḥ kokilā śārikā ca |

lāvaḥ pārāvato'nyo vaka iti caṭakaḥ cakravākaśca haṃsaḥ

śrīkruñcā kokilākṣī rajakabhagavatī tittirī sārasā ca || 150 ||

Tibetan: [godhā] byi ba [śālijātaḥ] spre'u mo dang ri bong gzugs mo [iṣu] rtsangs ma
brgyad

khengs ldan 'dab chags dang ni ne tsho khu byug dag dang ri skyegs rab tu gsal bar chu
yi gter

[lāvaḥ] phug ron gzhan ni bya dkar zhes bya mchil pa dag dang dur pa dang ni dang pa
dang

dpal ldan khrung khrung khu byug mig dang srin bya dag dang [bhagavatī] sregs pa
dang ni bzhad

English: Alligator, mouse, civet cat, monkey, rabbit, porcupine, arrow, lizard -- there
are eight {classes of the demons}. {Now are the classes of the sky-goers} -- the proud
Cātaka bird, and parrot, cuckoo, Śārikā bird -- clearly there are four.

The quail, pigeon, and another, the Indian crane, sparrow, ruddy goose, swan, the
glorious heron, she who has the eyes of a cuckoo, the consort of the owl,⁶²⁰ partridge
and crane,

⁶²⁰ (Skt. rajaka-bhagavatī; Tib. srin bya dag dang [bhagavatī]) The Tibetan term "srin bya" refers to a
nocturnal bird such as an owl.

VERSE 151

Sanskrit: nīrāviṣṭo balākā saharasavasavo veditavyāḥ krameṇa
kāko gṛdhro'pyulūko mṛgaripuśikhinau kukkuṭo bhedraghārāḥ |
yājī vṛkṣāriranyāḥ prabhavati daśakam krodhajam krodhajātiḥ
nīlākṣaḥ śrīcakorastvanilagudamukho bukkipādordhaśāyī || 151 ||

Tibetan: chu la 'jug pa dang ni chu skyar ro dang bcas pa'i nor rnams rim pa yis ni rig
par bya

bya rog bya rgod 'ug pa ri dvags dgra dang gtsug phud can dang bya gag bhe tra
[ghāra] dang

hor pa ljon shing dgra ni gzhan te bcu po khro bo las skyes khro bo yi ni rigs su 'gyur
mig sngon dpal ldan tsa ko ra dang a ni la dang [guda] mu kha [bukki] rkang steng nyal

English: a crane situated in the water together with 6, 8 -- [these] should be known in
sequence. The crow, vulture, owl, peacock and the enemy of the beast [i.e., the lion],
cock, falcon, kite,

crossoptilon pheasant,⁶²¹ the enemy of trees, the others -- it generates the ten wrathful
deities and the group⁶²² of wrathful deities. {In this way [occur] the eight groups of
the female demons, beginning with dog, etc.} The blue-eyed, the glorious
partridge,⁶²³ and the wind and face of the anus,⁶²⁴ the heart,⁶²⁵ [that which is] lying
above the foot {ṭiṭṭibhika bird},

⁶²¹ (Skt. yājī; Tib. hor pa)

⁶²² (Skt. jātiḥ; Tib. rigs)

⁶²³ (Skt. śrīcakoras; Tib. dpal ldan tsa ko ra)

⁶²⁴ (Skt. anila guda-mukho; Tib. [guda] mu kha) VC does not translate the Sanskrit term "anila," which
refers to the winds of the subtle body. The Tibetan term "mu kha" is synonymous with the Tibetan term
"tshos mkhan," which according to Das (1988: 1036) refers to a dyer, painter, washerman, or bleacher.

⁶²⁵ (Skt. bukki; Tib. [bugki])

VERSE 152

Sanskrit: bheruṇḍaścāmbarīko bhavati narapate cāṣṭamo divyapakṣī

ṣaṭtriṃśajjātibhedāḥ kṣitibhuvanagatā bhūcarīkhecarīṇām |

pūjākāle samastāḥ kulagatasamayā yoginā bhakṣaṇīyā

mūrkho mohāt kadācit tyajati narapate kṣipranāśaṃ prayāti || 152 ||

Tibetan: [bheruṇḍa] dang [ambarīka] brgyad pa mchog gi 'dab chags su 'gyur mi yi
bdag po kye

sum cu rtsa krug rigs kyi dbye bas sa yi srid pa la gnas sa spyod mkha' la spyod rnams
kyi

rigs su gyur pa'i dam tshig mtha' dag rnams ni mchod pa'i dus su mal 'byor pa yis
bza' bar bya

rmongs pas gti mug dag las gal te spangs na mi yi bdag po myur du nyams par rab tu
'gyur

English: and bheruṇḍa is ambarīka,⁶²⁶ O Lord of Men. And the eighth is the divine
bird. [These are] the divisions of the 36 groups, located on the realm of the earth⁶²⁷ of
earth-goers and sky-goers.⁶²⁸

At the time of offering, all the commitments⁶²⁹ found in the family should be eaten⁶³⁰
by the yogī. A fool, from confusion, sometimes renounces them, and he attains a
quick death,⁶³¹ O Lord of Men.

⁶²⁶ (Skt. bheruṇḍaś-ca-ambarīko; Tib. [bheruṇḍa] dang [ambarīka]) The Sanskrit term "bheruṇḍa"
refers to a frightful species of bird. See also KT II. 135.

⁶²⁷ (Skt. kṣiti; Tib. sa)

⁶²⁸ (Skt. bhūcarī-khecarīṇām; Tib. sa spyod mkha' la spyod rnams kyi)

⁶²⁹ (Skt. samayā; Tib. dam tshig)

⁶³⁰ (Skt. bhakṣaṇīyā; Tib. bza' bar bya)

⁶³¹ (Skt. kṣipra-nāśaṃ; Tib. myur du nyams par)

VERSE 153

Sanskrit: idānīm śarīrāvayavasamayā ucyante //

dantaiḥ keśaistvagādyaiḥ sapīśitasanahārvasthibukkaiśca padmair-

yūkābhirlomakīṭaiḥ pravaranarapate phupphusairantramedhraiḥ |

vīryaiḥ pittāmbupūyairvividhatanugatairlohitaiḥ svedamedair-

aśrubhyāṃ khetasimphāṇi jalanamiva vasāvarṇagandhaiśca viṣṭhaiḥ || 153 ||

Tibetan: so dang skra dang lpags pa la sogs sha bcas chu rgyus dang bcas rus pa
snying dang pad ma dang

shig dang pa spu srin bu dang ni rab mchog mi bdag glong ba rgyu ma chu so bda kan
dang

'khris pa chu dang rnag dang khrag dang rdul dang tshil bu mchi ma 'chil ma snabs
dang dri chu dang

chu ser zhag dang bshang pa rnams te sna tshogs lus la gnas pa kha dog dang ni dri
rnams dang

English: Now the commitments⁶³² of the parts of the body are described.

[The deities should be worshipped] by means of the teeth, by means of the hair, by means of the skin, etc., together with flesh, by means of sinews,⁶³³ bone, and heart, by means of lotuses, by means of lice, by means of vermin,⁶³⁴ O Best Lord of Men, by means of lungs, by means of the entrails and the penis,

by means of semen, bile, the watery element of the body, pus located on the manifold body, by means of blood, by means of sweat and fat, by means of two tears -- phlegm and mucus and saliva, by means of feces, which are {many} colors⁶³⁵ and smell of marrow.

⁶³² (Skt. samayā)

⁶³³ (Skt. sanahāru; Tib. chu rgyus) The Tibetan term "chu rgyus" refers to sinews, ligaments and nerves.

⁶³⁴ (Skt. yūkābhir lomakīṭaiḥ; Tib. shig dang pa spu srin bu) Both Sanskrit terms "yūka" and "lomakīṭa" refer to a hair-insect or louse. The Tibetan term "shig" refers to a louse, while the Tibetan term "srin bu" refers to an insect, worm, or vermin.

⁶³⁵ (Skt. varṇa; Tib. kha dog)

VERSE 154

Sanskrit: jīhvākṣiśrotranāsā saśaśīdinakarairdevatāḥ pūjanīyāḥ
ṣaṭtrimśaccākṣarāṇi prakṛtiguṇavaśād bodhipakṣāśca dharmāḥ |
ṣaṭtrimśad dhātubhedāḥ sakalaguṇagatā jātayaścihnamudrāḥ
ṣaṭtrimśad yogatantrāṇyavanitalagatānyatra vai yoginīnām || 154 ||

Tibetan: lce dang mig dang rna ba sna dang ri bong can bcas nyin byed rnams kyis lha
rnams mchod par bya

sum cu rtsa drug yi ge rnams ni rang bzhin yon tan dbang gis byang chub phyogs kyi
chos rnams kyang

sum chu rtsa drug khamś kyī dbye ba mtha' dag lus la gnas pa'i rigs dang mtsan ma
phyag rgya dang

sum cu rtsa drug mal 'byor rgyud ni sa gzhi dag la nas rnams 'dir ni rnal 'byor ma
rnams kyī

English: The deities should be worshipped by means of the tongues, eyes, ears and
nose, together with the moon and sun, and the 36 syllables, in accordance with the
qualities of nature, and the dharmas conducive to enlightenment,⁶³⁶

the 36 divisions of the elements, located in all qualities, the 36 mudrās of the symbols
of the groups, [and] the yoga tantras of the yoginīs located here, indeed, on the surface
of the earth.

⁶³⁶ (Skt. bodhi-pakṣās ca dharmāḥ; Tib. byang chub phyogs kyi chos rnams)

VERSE 155

Sanskrit: idānīm cakramelāpake' rghādikamucyate //

toyārghaṃ gandhadhūpaṃ kusumamapi phalaṃ cākṣatāni pradīpo
naivedyaṃ cātra vastraṃ bhavati hi daśakaṃ cakramelāpake ca |
śukraṃ mūtraṃ ca majjā viḍapi ca piśitaṃ kālajaṃ pittarakta-
mantraṃ carmāṇi rājan bhavati daśavidhaṃ cakramelāpake ca || 155 ||

Tibetan: chu dang mchod yon dri dang spos dang me tog dang ni 'bras bu ma nyams
pa dang mar me dang

lha bshos dag dang 'dir ni na bzar 'gyur te bcu po nams ni 'khor lo 'dus pa dag la
yang

khu ba gci ba rkang dang bshang pa dag dang sha dang mchin pa dag dang 'khris pa
khrag dang ni

rgyu ma lpags pa nams ni rgyal po nams pa bcu ru 'gyur te 'khor lo 'dus pa dag la
yang

English: Now in the assembly of the cakras,⁶³⁷ the guest-offering, etc. is described.

{A vessel for the} water, {a vessel for the} offering, {a vessel for the} smell, {a vessel
for the} incense, also {a vessel for the} flower, {and a vessel for the} fruit, undamaged
{vessels}, a {vessel for the} lamp, {the vessel for the} edibles and here {vessel for the}
garment, indeed is ten-fold in the assembly of the cakras.⁶³⁸

Semen and urine, marrow and also excrement, flesh, liver, bile, blood and entrails,
skin, O King, is ten-fold, and it is in the assembly of the cakras.

⁶³⁷ (Skt. cakra-melāpake)

⁶³⁸ (Skt. cakra-melāpake; Tib. 'khor lo 'dus pa dag la)

VERSE 156

Sanskrit: idānīm tārādi kulotpannānām śaṭtriṃśaccihnānyucyante //

vajraṃ khaḍgaśca bāṇaḥ śatadalakamaḥ pañcamam cakracihnam

vīṇādarśaśca pātraṃ bhavati narapate puṣpamālā ca vastram |

śaṣṭho dharmodayo vai bhavati karatale śabdavajrādicihnam

evam vai kartikādyam kalaśa iti tathā kaṭchukam pītavastram || 156 ||

Tibetan: rdo rje dang ni ral gri mda' dang pad ma 'dab ma brgya pa lnga pa 'khor lo'i
mtshan ma ste

rgyud mang dang ni me long snod du 'gyur te mi yi bdag po me tog phreng ba dag
dang gos

drug pa chos 'byung nges par lag pa'i 'thil du 'gyur te sgra yi rdo rje ma sogs mtshan
ma'o

de bzhin gri gug la sogs bum pa zhes dang de bzhin du ni bcu gzar gos ni ser po dang

English: Now the 36 symbols of those born of the family of Tārā, etc. are described.

Vajra and dagger, the arrow, 100-petaled lotus, and the fifth [are] the symbol[s] of the
cakra. The stringed instrument, mirror, vessel, O Lord of Men, and the rosary of
flowers, the garment,

[and] the sixth -- the rising of dharma on the surface of the hand -- [are] the symbol[s]
of Śabdavajrā, etc., and thus indeed [are] the sickle, etc. and the water-pot, [and] thus,
the yellow robe.

VERSE 157

Sanskrit: sūcī vā mudgaro vā prakāṭitanīyato matsyajālaṃ trisūlaṃ

lakṣmīcihnaṃ śilā vai bhavati narapate cāṣṭamaṃ bhūtajānāṃ |

jambhyāde'laktapātraṃ dinakarasadr̥ṣaṃ kośakīṭaḥ kuśaśca

śastrī copānahī ca kṣuraka iti tathā pādukā cātapatram || 157 ||

Tibetan: khab bam yang na tho ba rab tu gsal zhing nges pa dag tu nya yi rgya dang
rtse gsum ste

dpal mo'i mtshan ma brgyad pa rdo bar 'gyur te mi yi bdag po 'byung po las skyes
rnams kyi'o

rmugs byed ma sogs rnams kyi dmar snod nyid mor byed pa dang mtshungs dar gyis
srin bu ku sha dang

chu gri dang ni 'thil lham dag dang spu gri zhes bya de bzhin shing lham dag dang
gdugs dang ni

English: The needle or the hammer {Indrayāḥ} is clearly prescribed, [as is] fish net {Brahmānyāḥ} [and] a trident {Raudryāḥ}. Red arsenic is {the square}, which is symbol of beauty. Indeed, O Lord of Men, {thus there are eight symbols}. The eighth is of those born of harmful spirits {those not born of the race of immortals}.

The incisor, etc.,⁶³⁹ a pot of red juice,⁶⁴⁰ which is similar to the sun,⁶⁴¹ lice,⁶⁴² and kuśa grass, a weapon holder,⁶⁴³ sandal-wearer,⁶⁴⁴ who is called a barber, and thus sandal,⁶⁴⁵ umbrella,⁶⁴⁶

639 (Skt. jambhyā-ādi; Tib. rmugs byed ma sogs rnams kyi)

640 (Skt. alakta-pātraṃ; Tib. dmar snod)

641 (Skt. dinakara; Tib. nyid mor)

642 (Skt. kośakīṭa; Tib. srin bu)

643 (Skt. śastrī; Tib. chu gri)

644 (Skt. copānahī; Tib. 'thil lham dag)

645 (Skt. pādukā; Tib. lham dag)

646 (Skt. utapatram; Tib. gdugs)

VERSE 158

Sanskrit: kuddālaṃ veṇudaṇḍaṃ prabhavati daśakaṃ krodhajānāṃ svacihnaṃ
goṣṭrīgaṃ mallatantrī bhavati karatale trākuṭī māṃsaśūlam |
vīṇopāṅgaṃ ca kāṇḍaṃ bhavatica śikhinaḥ picchamatrāṣṭamaṃ ca
ṣaṭtriṃśaccih nabhedāḥ pravara bhuvitale yoginā pūjanīyāḥ || 158 ||

Tibetan: stog tse dang ni 'od ya'i dbyug pa khro skyes rnam kyī rang gi mtsan ma
bcu ru rab tu 'gyur

ba lang rva dang kham phor rgyud ldan 'pyang dang sha yi gsal shing lag pa'i 'thil du
'gyur pa te

rgyud mang nye ba'i yan lag dang ni mda' dang gtsug phud can gyi 'jug ma 'dir ni
brgyad par 'gyur

sum cu rtsa drug mtshan ma'i dbye ba rab mchog sa yi steng du mnal 'byor pa yis
mchod par bya

English: a spade, [and] a staff of bamboo is the tenth, which is the personal symbol of
those born from wrathful deities. A cow horn, a cup made of clay,⁶⁴⁷ a precious
string⁶⁴⁸ and a trident of flesh,⁶⁴⁹ which are on the surface on the hand,

a stringed instrument,⁶⁵⁰ near limb,⁶⁵¹ staff, [and] here, the tail feathers of the peacock
is the eighth. The 36 divisions of the symbols on the surface of the best earth⁶⁵²
should be worshipped by the yogī.

⁶⁴⁷ (Skt. malla-tantrī; Tib. kham phor)

⁶⁴⁸ (Skt. trākuṭī; Tib. rgyud ldan 'phang)

⁶⁴⁹ (Skt. māṃsa-śūlam; Tib. sha yi gsal shing) The Tibetan term "gsal shing" often refers to a stake.

⁶⁵⁰ (Skt. vīṇā; Tib. rgyud mang)

⁶⁵¹ (Skt. upa-aṅgaṃ; Tib. nye ba'i yan lag)

⁶⁵² (Skt. bhuvi; Tib. sa)

VERSE 159

Sanskrit: bhūyaḥ sūdrādicihnaṃ bhavati guṇavaśādupalaṃ vā halaṃ vā
kṣatrinī ratnapaṭṭaṃ bhavati narapate lekahnī ratnamālā |
vaiśyāyāstadvadevaṃ jalacarasaḥitaṃ tāmrapātraṃ dvijātyā
mātuścihnaṃ caturdhā ḍamarukapaṭaḥaṃ maulirevākṣasūtram || 159 ||

Tibetan: slar yang dmangs rigs la sogs mtshan mar 'gyur te yon tan dbang gis [utpala]
'm thong gshol lo

rgyal rigs ma yi rin chen [paṭṭa] 'gyur te mi yi bdag po smu gu rin chen phreng ba ni
rje rigs ma yi de bzhin du ste de bzhin chu ni rgyu ba dang bcas zangs snod gnyis skyes
ma'i
yum gyi mtshan ma rnams pa bzhi ste [ḍamaru] dang rnga chen cod pan nyid dang
bgrung phreng no

English: Moreover, the symbol[s] of the laborers, etc. are in accordance with the qualities. The blue lotus or plough [and] the jewels and cloth are of [i.e., belong to] the warrior woman, O Lord of Men. The drawing implement [and] the rosary of jewels

are of the merchant woman. In this way, thus, a copper vessel together with the conch is of the Brahmin woman. The symbol of the mother is four-fold, a small drum,⁶⁵³ a large drum,⁶⁵⁴ the diadem,⁶⁵⁵ indeed, [and] the counting rosary.⁶⁵⁶

⁶⁵³ (Skt. ḍamaru; Tib. [ḍamaru])

⁶⁵⁴ (Skt. kapāṭaḥaṃ; Tib. rnga chen)

⁶⁵⁵ (Skt. maulir; Tib. cod pan nyid)

⁶⁵⁶ (Skt. akṣa-sūtram; Tib. bgrang phreng)

VERSE 160

Sanskrit: idānīm viṣṭhādīnām samayadravyāṇām pṛthivyādidēvatāviśuddhirucyate //
viṣṭhā mūtram sarakṭam bhavati sapiśitam devatīnām catuṣkam
kaṇau nāsākṣijihvā gudamapi ca bhagam śabdavajrādiṣaṭkam |
pūyaḥ śleṣmā ca yūkā kṛmikalasivasā loma keśāṣṭakam ca
antram pittāsthimajjā vividhatanugatam kālajam phupphusam ca || 160 ||

Tibetan: bshang ba gci ba dang ni khrag dang sha dang bcas pa lha mo rnams ni bzhi
bor 'gyur ba ste

ma ba sna dang mig dang lce dang bshang lam dang ni bha ga skra yi rdo rje la sogs
drug

mag dang bad kan dang ni shig dang srin bu chu ser zhag dang ba spu skra dang
brgyad po yang

rgyu ma 'khris pa rus pa rkang dang sna tshogs lus la gnas pa mchin pa dang ni glo ba
dang

English: Now is described the purification of the goddesses of earth,⁶⁵⁷ etc., [which employs] the substances of the commitments, which are feces, etc.

Excrement, urine, blood and flesh are the goddesses' four substances. The two ears, the nose, eye and tongue, and also the anus [and] the vagina are the six [objects] of Śabdavajrā, etc.

Pus, phlegm and lice, a small worm, marrow, [that which is] of the churn,⁶⁵⁸ body hair, [and] head hair -- those are the eight. Entrails, bile, marrow, [that which is] located on the manifold body [i.e., flesh], liver and lungs,

⁶⁵⁷ (Skt. pṛthivī)

⁶⁵⁸ (Skt. kalasi-vasā; Tib. chu ser zhag)

VERSE 161

Sanskrit: nāḍī carmāṇi bukkam bhavati ca daśakam medayuktam narendra
karṇe nāsākṣivaktreṣu gatamapi malam pāyumadhye bhage ca |
kākṣādyasṭāṅgakāye bhavati narapate cāṣṭakam hyāsurīṇām
yoginyo'sṭāṣṭakāḥ syuḥ saha nakhadaśanād dvādaśāṅgāḥ kapālaiḥ || 161 ||

Tibetan: rtsa dang spags pa rnams dang snying dang tshil bu ldan pa dag ri bcu ru
'gyur ro mi yi dbang

rna ba dang ni sna dang mig dang kha dang bshang lam dbus dang bha ga dag dang
mchan khung sogs

lus kyi yan lag brgyad la gnas pa'i dri ma mi yi bdag po lha min mo rnams brgyad du
'gyur

sen mo dang bcas so dang yan lag bcu gnyis thod pa rnal 'byor ma rnams brgyad pa
brgyad du 'gyur

English: the channels, skin, heart, and fat⁶⁵⁹ are ten, O Lord of Men. Dirt is even
located in the ear, nose, eyes, mouth, in the middle of the anus and in the vagina.

Eight of the demonesses are indeed on the body of eight limbs, the arm-pits, etc.
There should be 64 yoginīs -- from the {32} teeth together with the {20} nails, the 12-
limbed is together with the skulls.⁶⁶⁰ {According to the distinction of channels,⁶⁶¹
skull and current,⁶⁶² there are 64 commitments.}

⁶⁵⁹ (Skt. meda; Tib. tshil bu)

⁶⁶⁰ (Skt. kapālaiḥ; Tib. thod pa)

⁶⁶¹ (Skt. khaṇḍāni)

⁶⁶² (Skt. pravāha)

VERSE 162

Sanskrit: idānīm pīṭhādibhiḥ samayaviśuddhirucyate //

viṇmūtraṃ raktamāṃsaṃ vividhatanugataṃ pīṭhabhede catuṣkaṃ

kaṃṇo nāsākṣijihvā gudamapi ca bhagaṃ kṣetrabhede ca ṣaṭkaṃ |

pūyādyāḥ keśasīmnaḥ kṣītitalanilaye cāṣṭachandohabhedā

āntrādyā medasīmno digiti ca nṛpa melāpakasya prabhedāḥ || 162 ||

Tibetan: bshang pa gci ba khrag dang sha ni sna tshogs lus la gnas rnams gnas kyi dbye ba dag la bzhi

rna ba sna dang mig dang lce dang bshang lam dag dang bha ga zhing gi dbye ba la yang drug

rnag la sogs pa skra yi bar ni sa yi steng gi gnas su [chandoha]⁶⁶³ yi dbye ba brgyad

rgyu ma la sogs tshil⁶⁶⁴ gyi bar ni phogs zhes bya ba mi bdag 'dus pa'i rab tu dbye ba rnams

English: Now the purification of the commitments by means of the foundation, etc.⁶⁶⁵ is described.

Excrement, urine, blood, and flesh located on the manifold body -- [this] is a group of four on the division of the foundation.⁶⁶⁶ Ear, nose, eyes, tongue, also anus and vagina -- [this] is a group of six on the division of the joint.

Pus, etc.,⁶⁶⁷ is from the boundary of the hair.⁶⁶⁸ The eight divisions of the lower-arm joint⁶⁶⁹ are on the abode on the surface of the earth.⁶⁷⁰ The entrails, etc. are from the boundary of the fat.⁶⁷¹ And there are ten divisions of the wrist joint,⁶⁷² O King.

⁶⁶³ VC incorrectly reads "mtshan do ha" as opposed to "tshan do ha," as in KT III. 164.

⁶⁶⁴ VC incorrectly reads "tshig."

⁶⁶⁵ (Skt. pīṭha-ādibhiḥ)

⁶⁶⁶ (Skt. pīṭha-bhede; Tib. gnas kyi dbye ba dag)

⁶⁶⁷ (Skt. pūya-ādyāḥ; Tib. rna ba la sogs pa)

⁶⁶⁸ (Skt. keśa-sīmnaḥ; Tib. skra yi bar)

⁶⁶⁹ (Skt. chandoha-bhedā; Tib. do ha yi dbye ba brgyad) See also KT II. 47.

⁶⁷⁰ (Skt. kṣiti; Tib. sa)

⁶⁷¹ (Skt. meda-sīmno; Tib. tshil gyi bar)

⁶⁷² (Skt. melāpakasya; Tib. 'dus pa'i rab tu dbye ba rnams) See also KT III. 155, in which the Sanskrit term "melāpaka" and the Tibetan term "'dus pa" refer to an assembly.

VERSE 163

Sanskrit: karnādyasṭāṅgakāye khalu vividhamalāni śmaśānaprabhedāḥ

kālāgnīndvarkarāhuḥ prakṛtitanīyatam pīṭhabhede catuṣkam |

bhaumaḥ saumyaśca mantrī bhr̥guśani śaninaḥ phaṇinaḥ kṣetrabhede ca ṣaṭkam

pr̥thvītoyāgnivātāḥ kṣitijasalilajā vātajā vāhniajāśca || 163 ||

Tibetan: rna ba la sogs yan lag brgyad kyi lus la nges par rnam mang dri ma dur khrod
rab dbye rnams

dus me zla ba nyi ma sgra gcan rab tu gsal zhing nges par gnas kyi dbye ba dag la bzhi

sa skyes zla skyes sngags pa pa sangs spen pa gdengs can rnams ni zhing gi dbye ba la
yang drug

sa dang chu dang me dang rlung rnams dang ni sa skyes chu skyes me skyes rlung las
skyes pa dag

English: On body of the eight-limbs, beginning with ear, etc., indeed are the manifold stains, which are the divisions of the two palms of the hands.⁶⁷³ Time, fire, moon and sun, and Rāhu -- it is the clearly prescribed group of four on the division of the foundation.

Mars, Mercury, the twelfth lunar mansion,⁶⁷⁴ Venus, Saturn, and Ketu are the group of six on the division of the {vows of the} place.⁶⁷⁵ Earth,⁶⁷⁶ water, fire, wind, earth-born,⁶⁷⁷ water-born, wind-born, and fire-born -- {thus there are eight stable and moving [i.e., inanimate and animate] beings, they are the commitments of those things born from harmful spirits,⁶⁷⁸ which are found on the division of the lower-arm joint}.⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷³ (Skt. śmaśāna-prabhedāḥ; Tib. dur khrod rab dbye rnams) Both the Sanskrit term "śmaśāna" and the Tibetan term "dur khrod" also refer to a cemetery.

⁶⁷⁴ (Skt. mantrī; Tib. sngags pa)

⁶⁷⁵ (Skt. kṣetra-bhede; Tib. zhing gi dbye ba la)

⁶⁷⁶ (Skt. pr̥thvī; Tib. sa)

⁶⁷⁷ (Skt. kṣiti-ja; Tib. sa skyes)

⁶⁷⁸ (Skt. bhūta-jānām)

⁶⁷⁹ (Skt. chandoha)

VERSE 164

Sanskrit: aṣṭau chandohabhedāḥ punarapi ca tathā ṣaḍ rasā gandhavarṇau
sparśaḥ śabdastathaiva prakāṭitadaśa melāpakasya prabhedāḥ |
pṛthvītoyāgnivāyuh kṣayamapi purato vāmasavye ca pūrve
varṇādīnāṃ caturṇāṃ vidiśi nidhanatāṣṭaśmaśānaprabhedāḥ || 164 ||

Tibetan: brgyad ni [chandoha] yi dbye ba mams te slar yang de bzhin ro drug dri dang
kha dog dang

reg bya sgra ni de bzhin nyid du rab tu gsal bar 'dus pa bcu yi rab tu dbye ba mams

sa dang chu dang me dang rlung ni zad pa dag kyang mdun dang g.yon dang g.yas
dang rgyab tu ste

kha dog la sogs bzhi po mams ni phyogs bral dag tu thim pa dur khrod brgyad kyi dbye
ba mams

English: Eight divisions of the lower-arm joint,⁶⁸⁰ and, once again, likewise the six tastes, smells and colors, and likewise touch and sound -- indeed, there clearly are ten divisions of the assembly.

Even prior to dissolution, earth, water, fire, and wind are on the left and right,⁶⁸¹ in the east. In the intermediate direction of the four beginning with color [are] the divisions of the eight palms⁶⁸² of poverty.⁶⁸³

⁶⁸⁰ (Skt. chandoha; Tib. [chandoha])

⁶⁸¹ (Skt. vāma-savye ca; Tib. g.yon dang g.yas)

⁶⁸² (Skt. śmaśāna; Tib. dur khrod)

⁶⁸³ (Skt. nidhanata; Tib. thim pa)

VERSE 165

Sanskrit: idānīm pīṭhādīsthānānyucyante //

pīṭhaṃ tārādivēśma sphuṭaravakulīśādyam tathā kṣetramuktaṃ

chandohaṃ carcikādyam prabhavati nṛpa melāpakam jambhikādyam |

śvānāsyādyam śmaśānam paramabhuvigataṃ mūlapīṭhaṃ suhudyam

māturveśma dvidhā tatprakaṭitamavanau cāntyajam hyantyajam vai || 165 ||

Tibetan: gnas ni skrol ma la sogs khyim ste gsal bar sgra yi rdo rje la sogs de bzhin
zhing du brjod

[chandoha]⁶⁸⁴ ni [carcikā] la sogs pa rab tu 'gyur te mi bdag 'dus pa rmugs byad sogs

dur khrod khyi gdong ma la sogs pa mchog gi sar gnas rtsa ba'i gnas dang gsang bar
bcas pa ni

yum gyi khyim nmams gnyis te de dag rab tu gsal bar sa la mthar skyes ma dang mthar
skyes ma

English: Now the locations, which are the foundations, etc. are described.

The foundation,⁶⁸⁵ which is the abode of Tārā, etc., {is four-fold}. Likewise, the
vajra of the clear cry⁶⁸⁶ {the abode of Śabdavajra} is that which is called the {six-fold}
place.⁶⁸⁷ The lower-arm joint {is eight-fold, as is the abode of} the Carcikā, etc., O
King. The gaping⁶⁸⁸ {is an abode} that is the assembly⁶⁸⁹ {i.e., it is ten-fold}.

{The abode} of the dog-faced woman is the palms⁶⁹⁰ {and is eight-fold}. Located on
the best earth,⁶⁹¹ the root foundation is very secret. The abode of the mother⁶⁹² is
two-fold. Indeed this is clear -- and on the earth,⁶⁹³ the final-born indeed is the final-
born.⁶⁹⁴

⁶⁸⁴ VC incorrectly reads "mtshan do ha" as opposed to "tshan do ha," as in KT III. 164.

⁶⁸⁵ (Skt. pīṭhaṃ; Tib. gnas)

⁶⁸⁶ (Skt. sphuṭa-rava; Tib. gsal bar sgra)

⁶⁸⁷ (Skt. kṣetram-uktaṃ; Tib. zhing du brjod)

⁶⁸⁸ (Skt. jambhika; Tib. rmugs byed) The Tibetan term "rmugs pa" also refers to dense fog or to slug-
gishness.

⁶⁸⁹ (Skt. melāpakam; Tib. 'dus pa)

⁶⁹⁰ (Skt. śmaśānam; Tib. dur khrod)

⁶⁹¹ (Skt. bhuvi; Tib. sa)

⁶⁹² (Skt. mātūr; Tib. yum)

⁶⁹³ (Skt. avanau; Tib. sa la)

⁶⁹⁴ (Skt. antya-jam; Tib. mthar skye ma)

VERSE 166

Sanskrit: idānīmadhyātmapīṭhādisaṃjñocyate //

pīṭhaṃ strīguhyapadmaṃ prabhavati samaye vajramevopapīṭhaṃ

kṣetraṃ chandohamelāpakacitibhuvanaṃ tadvadevaṃ samastam |

pīṭhaṃ vāmāṅgapūrvam dyaparamapi tathā dakṣiṇaṃ copapīṭhaṃ

evaṃ kṣetrādi sarvaṃ karacaraṇagataṃ cāṅgulīkāntasīmnaḥ || 166 ||

Tibetan: gnas ni bud med gsang ba'i pad mar rab 'gyur dam tshig dag la rdo rje nyid ni nye ba'i gnas

zhing dang [chandoha] dang 'dus pa dag dang dur khrod sa gzhi de bzhin de ltar mtha' dag go

gnas ni g.yon gyis yan lag dag dang mdun te gzhan yang de bzhin g.yas pa dag dang nye ba'i gnas

de ltar zhing la sogs pa thams cad lag pa rkang pa la gnas sor mo'i mtha' yi 'tshams su'o

English: Now is described the appellation of the foundation of the self in the middle, etc.⁶⁹⁵

The dwelling⁶⁹⁶ is the secret lotus of the woman's secret. Regarding the commitment, only the vajra is the near dwelling.⁶⁹⁷ The field⁶⁹⁸ is the realm of the lower-arm joint, the write joint, and the funeral pyre, in this way, thus, entirely.

The dwelling is left-limbed⁶⁹⁹ and is in front. Also the other, likewise, is southern {right-limbed} and it is the near dwelling.⁷⁰⁰ Thus all located on the hand and foot, the field, etc., is from the final boundary⁷⁰¹ of the finger-ring.⁷⁰²

⁶⁹⁵ (Skt. pīṭha-ādi-saṃjñā)

⁶⁹⁶ (Skt. pīṭhaṃ; Tib. gnas)

⁶⁹⁷ (Skt. upa-pīṭhaṃ; Tib. nye ba'i gnas)

⁶⁹⁸ (Skt. kṣetraṃ; Tib. zhing)

⁶⁹⁹ (Skt. vāmā-āṅga; Tib. g.yon gyis yan lag)

⁷⁰⁰ (Skt. upa-pīṭhaṃ; Tib. nye ba'i gnas)

⁷⁰¹ (Skt. anta-sīmhaḥ; Tib. mtha' yi 'tshams su)

⁷⁰² (Skt. aṅgulīka; Tib. sor mo)

VERSE 167

Sanskrit: idānīm saptatrimśadbodhipākṣikadharmairyoginīnām viśuddhirucyate //
devyo'rchiḥ smṛtyupasthānamapi bhavati vai kālacakre prasiddham
prajñā bodhyaṅgamātā tvaparamapi tathā śabdavajrādiṣṭakam |
abdhīḥ samyakprahāṇānyaparajaladhayaścaṛddhipādāṣṭakam syāt
pañca krodhā balāni prakṛtitanīyatānīndriyāṇyeva pañca || 167 ||

Tibetan: dran pa nye bar gzhag pa rnams kyang lha mo chu gter du 'gyur dus kyi
'khor lor rab tu grags

shes rab byang chub yan lag hum ste gzhan pa rnams kyang sgra yi rdo rje ma la sogs
pa drug

chu gter yang dag spong ba rnams dang gzhan pa chu gter rdzu 'phrul rkang pa rnams
te brgyad du 'gyur

khro mo lnga ni stobs rnams dag ste rab tu gsal zhing nges par dbang po rnams ni lnga
nyid do

English: Now the purification of the yoginīs is described by means of the constituents
of the 37 [dharma]s conducive to enlightenment.⁷⁰³

The goddess, the flame,⁷⁰⁴ and the near position of smṛti⁷⁰⁵ are well-known in
Kālacakra. But Wisdom is the mother of the limbs of enlightenment. There is also six
other, which are of Śabdavajrā, etc.

There are four proper abandonings,⁷⁰⁶ and another four would result in a group of
eight supernatural powers.⁷⁰⁷ {The supernatural power known as "moon" is Brahmānī;
the supernatural power of courage⁷⁰⁸ is Indrī; the supernatural power of mind⁷⁰⁹ is
Vārāhī; the supernatural power of inquiry⁷¹⁰ is Kaumārī [the consort of Kumāra]. That
is the division of the lower-arm joints -- therefore there should be eight.} The five
wrathful deities, which are the strengths, are clearly prescribed as the five sense
faculties. {The strength of faith is Atinīlā; the strength of courage⁷¹¹ is Atibalā; the
strength of memory⁷¹² is Vajraśṛṅghalā; the strength of concentration⁷¹³ is Mānī; the

⁷⁰³ (Skt. bodhi-pākṣika)

⁷⁰⁴ (Skt. archiḥ; Tib. chu gter) The Tibetan term "chu gter" refers to the ocean, and hence to "4."

⁷⁰⁵ (Skt. smṛty-upa-sthānam; Tib. dran pa nye bar gzhag pa rnams)

⁷⁰⁶ (Skt. samyak-prahāṇāny; Tib. yang dag spong ba rnams)

⁷⁰⁷ (Skt. ṛddhi-pāda; Tib. rdzu 'phrul rkang pa rnams)

⁷⁰⁸ (Skt. vīrya)

⁷⁰⁹ (Skt. citta)

⁷¹⁰ (Skt. mīmāṃsā)

⁷¹¹ (Skt. vīrya)

⁷¹² (Skt. smṛti)

⁷¹³ (Skt. samādhi)

VERSE 168

Sanskrit: samyakcāṣṭāṅgamārgo bhavati narapate cāṣṭakam daityajānām
saptatrimśatprabhedaistribhuvanānilaye bodhipakṣāśca dharmāḥ |
yoginyastāḥ samastāḥ kṣititalanilayeyoginā veditavyā
evaṃ pīṭhādi sarvaṃ bhavati narapate bāhyadehe ca tadvat || 168 ||

Tibetan: yang dag yan lag brgyad kyi lam ni mi yi bdag po lha min dag las skyes pa
brgyad du 'gyur

sum cu rtsa bdun rab tu dbye bas srid pa gsum gyi gnas su byang chub phyogs kyi chos
mams te

de mams mtha' dag rnal 'byor ma mams sa yi steng gi gnas su rnal 'byor pa yis rig par
bya

de ltar gnas la sogs pa thams cad mi yi bdag po phyi dang lus la yang ni de bzhin 'gyur

English: And there is a proper path of the eight limbs, O Lord of Men {the proper seeing, which is correlated with the dog-faced one; the proper visualization, which is correlated with the crow-faced one; the proper speech, which is correlated with the tiger-faced one; the proper business, which is correlated with the owl-faced one; the proper livelihood, which is correlated with the jackal-faced one; the proper effort, which is correlated with the Garuḍa-faced one; the proper remembering, which is correlated with the hog-faced one; and the proper concentration⁷¹⁴, which is correlated with the vulture-faced one}. And there is group of eight of those born from demons. By means of the 37 divisions, on the abode of the three realms, the constituents are the sides of perfection.

All of these yoginīs on the abode of the surface of the earth⁷¹⁵ should be known by the yogīs. Likewise, all the foundations, etc.,⁷¹⁶ O Lord of Men, are on the external body in this way.

⁷¹⁴ (Skt. samādhi)

⁷¹⁵ (Skt. kṣiti; Tib. sa)

⁷¹⁶ (Skt. pīṭha-ādi; Tib. gnas la sogs pa)

VERSE 169

Sanskrit: idānīmeṣāmārādhanaṁ yogaṇāṁ caryādharma ucyate //

bauddhaḥ śaivo'tha nagno bhagava iti tathā snātako brāhmaṇo vā

kāpālī luptakeśo bhavatu sitapaṭaḥ kṣetrapālāstu kaulaḥ |

maunī conmattarūpo'pyakaluṣahrdayaḥ paṇḍitaśchātra eva

yogī siddhyarthahetoḥ sakalaguṇanidhirlabdhatattvo narendra || 169 ||

Tibetan: sangs rgyas pa dang zhi ba pa 'm gcer bu skal ldan zhes dang de bzhin gtsang gnas bram ze 'm

thod pa can dang skra 'bal dang ni gos dkar dag dang zhing skyong rigs can dag dang thub pa dang

bsnyon pa'i gzugs can dag dang sdig pa med pa'i sems ldan mkhas pa dang ni slob gnyer ba yang rung

rnal 'byor pa ni dngos grub don slad mtha' dag yon tan gter te de nyid thob pa'o mi yi dbang

English: Now the yogīs' rule of conduct is described in order to worship them.

Let him be a follower of Buddha [who is] a Śivite, a naked mendicant, and likewise that which is called "fortunate,"⁷¹⁷ an initiated one, or a Brahmin, one with a skull, one with a shorn head -- right then! -- one with a white garment,⁷¹⁸ the protector of the place,⁷¹⁹ a worshipper of Śākti according to the left-hand ritual,⁷²⁰

and one who has taken a vow of silence, also one with maniacal form,⁷²¹ one with a stainless heart,⁷²² a learned person, a disciple, in fact. For the sake of the purpose of the accomplishments, the yogī by whom the principles have been understood⁷²³ is the treasury of all good qualities, O Lord of Men.

⁷¹⁷ (Skt. bhagava iti; Tib. skal ldan zhes)

⁷¹⁸ (Skt. sita-paṭaḥ; Tib. gos dkar dag)

⁷¹⁹ (Skt. kṣetra-pālāstu; Tib. zhing skyong)

⁷²⁰ (Skt. kaulaḥ; Tib. rigs can dag)

⁷²¹ (Skt. unmatta-rūpo; Tib. bsnyon pa'i gzugs can dag)

⁷²² (Skt. akaluṣa-hṛdayaḥ; Tib. sdig pa med pa'i sems ldan)

⁷²³ (Skt. labdha-tattvo; Tib. thob pa'o)

PART VI

mudrādr̥ṣṭimaṇḍalavisarjanavīrabhojyavidhimahoddeśaḥ

The rule for bestowing the hero of cessation in the maṇḍala of the sight of the mudrā -- the great part.

VERSE 170

Sanskrit: iha mudrābandhārthaṃ vṛddhāṅguṣṭhakādī pañcāṅgulīnām saṃjñā iti //

aṅguṣṭhastarjanī yā punarapi ca tathā madhyamā'nāmikā ca

tasyānte vai kaniṣṭhā sakalaguṇanidhīryoginā veditavyā |

mudrārthaṃ nāmabhedo bhavati guṇavaśādaṅgulīnām krameṇa

bandhokte vajrabandho bhavati niyamito muṣṭibandhe ca tadvat || 170 ||

Tibetan: mthe bo dang ni 'dzum mo dag dang slar yang de bzhin du ni gung mo dang ni ming med dang

de yi mthar ni nges par mthe chung mtha' dag yon tan gter du mal 'byor pa yis rig par bya

phyag rgya'i don du ming gi dbye bar 'gyur te yon tan dbang gis sor mo rnams kyi rim pas so

bcing ba brjod na rdo rje bcing bar 'gyur te nges par khu tshur bcing ba la yang de bzhin no

English: Here are the names of the five fingers, beginning with the full thumb, etc., for the purpose of binding the mudrā.

Thumb,⁷²⁴ that which is the forefinger,⁷²⁵ and again thus the middle finger,⁷²⁶ and the non-named,⁷²⁷ and indeed at the end of this is the littlest⁷²⁸ --[these] are the treasury of all good qualities and should be known by the yogi.

For the purpose of [binding the] mudrā, the division of the names occurs in accordance with the qualities {smell, color, taste, touch and sound} and by means of the sequences of the fingers.⁷²⁹ When there is a statement about binding, the binding of the vajra likewise is prescribed in the binding of the fist.⁷³⁰

⁷²⁴ (Skt. aṅguṣṭhas; Tib. mthe bo)

⁷²⁵ (Skt. tarjanī; Tib. 'dzum mo dag)

⁷²⁶ (Skt. madhyamā; Tib. gung mo) The Sanskrit term "madhyamā" also refers to the middle channel.

⁷²⁷ (Skt. anāmikā; Tib. ming med) This refers to the ring finger.

⁷²⁸ (Skt. kaniṣṭhā; Tib. mthe chung mtha' dag) This refers to the pinky.

⁷²⁹ (Skt. aṅgulīnām krameṇa; Tib. sor mo rnams kyi rim par)

⁷³⁰ (Skt. muṣṭi-bandhe; Tib. khu tshur bcing ba la)

VERSE 171

Sanskrit: idānīm jinapatermudrocyate //

muṣṭī vajrāsanasthe bhavati jinapatervajramudrorumūrdhni

paryāṅke vāmahasto bhavati bhuvigato dakṣiṇo jānudeśāt |

bhūsparśā'kṣobhyamudrā tvapi varadakaro dakṣiṇo ratnapāṇer

vāmordhve savyahasto bhavati samagattottānakāḥ padmapāṇeḥ || 171 ||

Tibetan: khu tshur brla yi steng du rdo rje gdan la gnas pa rgyal ba'i bdag po'i rdo
rje'i phyag rgyar 'gyur

dkyil dkrung la ni lag pa g.yon par 'gyur te g.yas pa bus mo'i phyogs nas sa la son
gyur pa

sa la reg pa mi bskyod phyag rgya'o slar yang lag pa g.yas pa mchog sbyin phyag na
rin chen gyi

g.yon gyi steng du lag pa g.yas pa gan rkyal mnyam par gnas pa phyag na pad ma dag
gir 'gyur

English: Now the mudrā of the father of the Buddhas is described.

The fist is on that which is located on the seat of the vajra.⁷³¹ The vajra mudrā of the father of the Victors is on top of the thigh. The left hand is in the posture in which it is located on the earth⁷³² on the right, from the region of the knee.

The mudrā of Akṣobhya touches the earth.⁷³³ But indeed, the right {hand} is the boon-giving hand of the jewel-handed one. On top of the left {hand} is the right hand⁷³⁴ {of Padmapāṇi}, which is stretched out to equal⁷³⁵ {the mudrā of concentration}⁷³⁶ of the lotus-handed one {Amitābha}.

⁷³¹ (Skt. vajra-āsana-sthe; Tib. rdo rje gdan la gnas pa)

⁷³² (Skt. bhuvi; Tib. sa)

⁷³³ (Skt. bhū; Tib. sa)

⁷³⁴ (Skt. savya-hasto; Tib. lag pa g.yas pa)

⁷³⁵ (Skt. samagata; Tib. mnyam par gnas pa)

⁷³⁶ (Skt. samādhi)

VERSE 172

Sanskrit: vāmaṃ paryāṅkamūrdhni hyaparakarataḥ cābhayaṃ khaḍgapāṇeḥ
savye muṣṭyā'vasavyā khalu punaraparā tarjanī muṣṭibandhe |
mudrā vairocānasya sphuṭaḥṛdayagatā cāparā cakramudrā
tarjanyaṅguṣṭhayaḥ kaṭaṭa iha bhavenmadhyamādeḥ prasāraḥ || 172 ||

Tibetan: g.yon pa dkyil dkrung steng du gzhan pa lag pa'i 'thil ni 'jigs pa med pa
phyag na ral gri yi

g.yas kyi khu tshur g.yas min la ste nges par slar yang gzhan gyi 'dzub mo khu tshur
bcings pa dag

gsal bar snying khar son pa rnam par snang mdzad phyag rgya gzhan pa chos kyi 'khor
lo'i phyag rgya ni

'dzub mo mthe bo sbyar ba gdu bu bzhin du gyur pa dang ni gung mo la sogs brkyang
ba'o

English: The left [hand] is on top of the cross-legged⁷³⁷ [posture], indeed, and the sur-
face of the other [i.e., the right] hand of the dagger-handed one is fearless {the fearless
mudrā of Amoghasiddhi}. However on the right, indeed, is the other, by means of the
left fist.⁷³⁸ The first finger is in the binding of the fist.

The mudrā of Vairocana, which is located at the clear heart, and the other, the cakra
mudrā, [which involves] joining the forefinger and thumb into a bracelet, should be in
this case an expansion of the middle finger, etc.

⁷³⁷ (Skt. paryāṅka; Tib. dkyil dkrung)

⁷³⁸ (Skt. savye muṣṭyā avasavyā; Tib. g.yas kyi khu tshur g.yas min la) VC reverses the order to "on
the left ... by means of the right fist."

VERSE 173

Sanskrit: idānīm divyamudrocyate //

vāme haste supūrṇo vimalaśaśadharo dakṣiṇe vajrasūryaḥ
sūryendvoḥ samputasthaṃ bhayakarakuliśaṃ krodhajaṃ pañcaśūkam |
dhyātvāṅgaṃ sparśanīyaṃ samukuṭaśīrasārabhya pādāntameva
eṣā śrīdivyamudrā kaluṣamalahaṛā kālacakrasya rājan || 173 ||

Tibetan: lag pa g.yon la shin du gang ba'i dri med ri bong 'dzin pa g.yas la rdo rje nyi
ma ste

nyi ma zla ba sbyar ba la gnas 'jigs byed rdo rje khro bo las skyes rtse mo lnga pa ni

bsgoms⁷³⁹ nas yan lag la ni reg bya cod pan dang bcas mgo nas brtsams te rkang pa'i
mtha' nyid du'o

'di ni rgyal po dus kyi 'khor lo'i dpal ldan mchog⁷⁴⁰ gi phyag rgya sdig pa'i dri ma
'phrog pa'o

English: Now the divine mudrā is described.

In the left hand is the stainless moon, which is very full. In the right [hand] is the sun of the vajra. {A vajra} is located on the juncture of the sun and the moon, which possesses the fear-producing vajra⁷⁴¹ born of the wrathful ones.

Having meditated on the five-tipped [varja] {born of the syllable "hūṃ"}, the limbs⁷⁴² are to be touched, beginning with the crown and head and continuing all the way to the feet. This is Kālacakra's glorious divine mudrā, which removes impurities and stains, O King.

⁷³⁹ VC incorrectly reads "bsgams."

⁷⁴⁰ VC incorrectly reads "chog."

⁷⁴¹ (Skt. bhaya-kara-kuliśaṃ; Tib. 'jigs byed rdo rje)

⁷⁴² (Skt. aṅgaṃ; Tib. yan lag)

VERSE 174

Sanskrit: yatkiñcid grāhyavastu kṣitijasalilajaṃ garbhajaṃ svedajādyā-
manṇaṃ pāṇaṃ savīryaṃ gurumapi caraṇaṃ mudrayā sparśanīyaṃ |
yadyat kāryopayogyā bhavati guṇavaśāttasya tadyojanīyaṃ
bhūmyādyāṃ maṇḍalārthaṃ caraṇamapi gatau yoginā tāḍanīyaṃ || 174 ||

Tibetan: gang zhig cung zad gzung bar bya ba'i dngos po sa skyes chu skyes mngal
skyes drod gsher skyes sog dang

bza' ba btung ba dpa'i bo dang bcas bla ma dang ni zhabs dag la yang phyag rgyas dag
par bya

gang gang pya ste lte bar sbyor bar 'gyur ba yon tan dbang gis de la des ni sbyar bar
bya

sa la sog la dkyil 'khor don dang rkang pa bgrod pa la yang mnal 'byor pa yis bsnun
par bya

English: Whatsoever thing is to be apprehended -- earth-born and water-born, womb-born, sweat-born, etc. {wetness-born},⁷⁴³ food, drink, together with strength {meat}, also the guru and the foot -- [these] should be touched by the mudrā.

Whatever is suitable for performance is in accordance with the qualities. This should be employed for this {performance}. The site,⁷⁴⁴ etc., should be touched by the yogī for the purpose of the maṇḍala. And also the foot should be touched by the yogī in the prescribed manner with respect to going {for the sake of going in accordance with the divine mudrā. Thus is the divine mudrā.}

⁷⁴³ (Skt. kleda-ja)

⁷⁴⁴ (Skt. bhūmi; Tib. sa)

VERSE 175

Sanskrit: idānīm krodhanāthasya mudrocyate //

hastābhyām vajrabandhairbhavati khalu mahākrodharājasya mudrā

tarjanyādyantabandhastribhuvanavijayā muṣṭibandhena bhartuḥ |

cihnākāraṣṭa śeṣāḥ prakāṭitanīyatā devatādevatīnām

hastābhyām vajrabandhe bhavati calaphaṇākāramudrā phaṇīnām || 175 ||

Tibetan: lag pa dag gis rdo rje bcings pa yis ni nges par khro bo'i mgon po chen po'i
phyag rgyar 'gyur

'dzub mo thog mtha' bcings shing khu tshur bcings bas gtso bo srid pa gsum las nam
par rgyal ba'i ste

mtshan ma'i nam pa dag kyang lhag ma nams te rab gsal nges par lha dang lha mo
nams kyi'o

lag pa dag gis rdo rje bcings la g.yo ba'i gdengs ka'i nam pa gdengs can nams kyi
phyag⁷⁴⁸ rgyar 'gyur

English: Now the mudrā of the Lord of the Wrathful Ones is described.

The mudrā of the king of the great wrathful deities indeed occurs by binding the vajra with both hands. By making the fist of the Lord, the binding of the forefinger, etc. with the last {the little finger} is victory over the three realms.

The remaining forms of the gods' and goddesses' symbols are clearly prescribed.⁷⁴⁹ When the two hands bind the vajra, the mudrā of the Nāgas arises in the form of a waving hood.⁷⁵⁰

⁷⁴⁸ VC incorrectly reads "pyag."

⁷⁴⁹ (Skt. prakāṭita-nīyatā; Tib. rab gsal nges par)

⁷⁵⁰ (Skt. cala-phaṇā-kāra-mudrā; Tib. gyo ba'i gdengs ka'i nams pa)

VERSE 176

Sanskrit: idānīṃ cihnamudrā ucyante //

śliṣṭāṅguṣṭhau kaniṣṭhe kamaladalāsama madhyame sārīte ca
tarjanyau dve'rddhavaḥ svakaratalagatā nāmike kuñcīte'dhaḥ |
mudreyaṃ pañcaśūkā bhavati hi kuṣīḥ vajriṇo darśanīyā
ārākārāṅgulīkā hyubhayakaratale'ṅguṣṭhakādyāḥ samastāḥ || 176 ||

Tibetan: mthe bo dag dang mthe chung sbyar ba pad ma'i 'dab ma dang mtshungs
gung mo dag ni brkyang ba dang

'dzub mo gnyis ni zla ba phyed pa ming med 'og tu bskum pa rang gi lag 'thil son gyur
pa

phyag rgya 'di ni rdo rje can gyi rdo rje rtse mo lnga par 'gyur te bstan par bya'o

rtsibs kyi rnam pa sor mo rnam te lag pa gnyi ga' mthil⁷⁵¹ du mthe bo la sogs mtha'
dag rnam

English: Now the mudrās of the symbols are described.

Both thumbs are joined. The two pinkies, which are like lotus petals, {are joined}. The two middle fingers are extended. And the two forefingers are half-bent. The two fourth fingers are located on the palm of one's own hand, contracted downwards.⁷⁵²

This is the five-tipped mudrā, indeed, which should be seen by the vajra-possessor on the vajra.⁷⁵³ The fingers, which are in the form of a spoke,⁷⁵⁴ indeed, all of them, the thumb, etc., are on the surface of both hands.

⁷⁵¹ VC incorrectly reads "bthil."

⁷⁵² (Skt. kuñcīte adhaḥ; Tib. 'og tu bskum pa)

⁷⁵³ (Skt. kuṣīḥ; Tib. rdo rje)

⁷⁵⁴ (Skt. āra-ākāra; Tib. rtsibs kyi rnam pa)

VERSE 177

Sanskrit: dvau hastau vajrabandhau bhavati hi kuḷiṣam vajramuṣṭyā saghaṇṭā
muṣṭyardham tīkṣṇakhaḍge bhavati śarasame tarjanīmadyame ca |
tarjanyādyāstriśūlāḥ punarapi viralāstvardhamuṣṭyā trīśūle
śrīkartyāṃ muṣṭibandho bhavati bhayakarā śrīkaniṣṭhārdhacandrā || 177 ||

Tibetan: lag pa gnyis ni rdo rje bcings pa rdo rjer 'gyur te rdo rje khu tshur dag gis
dril bur bcas

khu tshur phyed pa 'dzub mo dang ni gung mo mda' dang mtshungs pa dag kyang ral
gri mon por 'gyur

'dzub mo la sogs rtse gsum slar yang bkram pa dag ste khu tshur phyed pa yis ni rtse
gsum la

dpal ldan gri gug khu tshur bcings shing dpal ldan mthe chung zla ba phyed pa 'jigs pa
byed par 'gyur

English: Both hands are the two bindings of the vajra. Indeed, the vajra arises by
means of the fist vajra together with the bell. Half of the fist is on the sharp dagger.⁷⁵⁵
And the forefinger and middle finger are like arrows.

The forefingers, etc., which are tri-tipped, are separated yet again by means of the
half-fist with respect to the tri-tipped one. On the auspicious swords,⁷⁵⁶ the binding of
the fist is the fear-producing {mudrā, in the form of} the half moon, which is the auspi-
cious pinkie.

⁷⁵⁵ (Skt. tīkṣṇa-khaḍge; Tib. ral gri mon por)

⁷⁵⁶ (Skt. śrī-kartyāṃ; Tib. gri gug)

VERSE 178

Sanskrit: karṇordhvaṃ muṣṭibandho bhavati varaśare'ṅguṣṭhakam madhyamordhve
tarjanyatyantavakrā bhavati nṛpa tathaivāṅkuṣe muṣṭibandha |
mūle tarjanyanāmā bhavati śarasamā madhyamordhva ca kunte
tiryaṅmuṣṭiśca daṇḍe susamakaratale'ṅguṣṭhasāraḥ kuṭhāre || 178 ||

Tibetan: rna ba'i steng du khu tshur bcings shing gung mo'i steng du mthe bor 'gyur
te mda' yi mchog la'o

khu tshur bcings shing 'jub mo shin tu 'khyog bar 'gyur te mi bdag de bzhin nyid du
lcags kyu la'o

rtsa bar dzub mo ming med du 'gyur mda' dang mtshungs pa'i steng du gung mo yang
ni mdung la ste

thad kar khu tshur dbyug pa la'o lag 'thil shin du mnyam la mthe bo brkyang ba dgra
sta la

English: The clenching of the fist occurs above the ear in {the mudrā of} the best
arrow. The thumb is above the middle [finger]. The forefinger is completely bent,⁷⁵⁷
O King.⁷⁵⁸ Likewise, there is a binding of the fist on the hook.

In the root [mudrā], the forefinger and the fourth finger are like arrows, and [they] are
above the middle finger in the spear {mudrā}. And in the staff {mudrā} is the horizon-
tal⁷⁵⁹ fist. On the surface of the hand, which is very level, the extension of the thumb
is in the axe {mudrā}.

⁷⁵⁷ (Skt. vakrā; Tib. 'khyog bar)

⁷⁵⁸ (Skt. nṛpa; Tib. mi dag)

⁷⁵⁹ (Skt. tiryaṅ; Tib. thad kar)

VERSE 179

Sanskrit: ūrdhve muṣṭidvayaṃ syādasurapatigajasyājine tarjanī ca
daṃṣṭrāyāṃ muṣṭibandho hyubhayakaratale cārdhacandrā kaniṣṭhā |
vāme bāhuprasāro bhavati karatalaṃ cordhvagraṃ khetake ca
khaṭvāṅge'cchidramuṣṭirbhavati ca niyatā skandhasārā kaniṣṭhā || 179 ||

Tibetan: steng du khu tshur gnyis dang 'dzub mor 'gyur te lha min bdag po glang chen
lpags pa dag la'o

mche ba la ni lag pa gnyi ga'i mthil du khu tshur bcings shing mthe chung zla ba phyed
pa'o

[khetaka] la dpung ba g.yon pa rab tu brkyang zhing lag pa'i 'thil ni steng du son par
'gyur

[khaṭvāṅga] la khu tshur bug par 'gyur te nges pa nyid du phrag par mthe chung
brkyang pa'o

English: Above, in the {mudrā of the} hide of the elephant, which is the lord of
demons {Ganaśa}, there should be a pair of fists and the forefinger. In the [mudrā of
the] tusks,⁷⁶⁰ is the binding of the fist, indeed, and the pinkie is a half-moon on the
surface of both hands.

On the left, there is an extension of the forearm, and the surface of the hand is upwards
in the shield⁷⁶¹ {mudrā}. On the club with the skull on top,⁷⁶² there is a tight fist.
And the pinkie, which is prescribed and is {in the region of} the shoulder, is extended
{upwards}. {This is the mudrā of the skull club.}

⁷⁶⁰ (Skt. daṃṣṭrāyāṃ; Tib. mche ba la)

⁷⁶¹ (Skt. khetaka; Tib. [khetaka])

⁷⁶² (Skt. khaṭva-aṅge; Tib. [khaṭvāṅga])

VERSE 180

Sanskrit: aṅgulyacchidrapāṇiḥ kamaladalamiva śrīkapāle kṛtordhvaṃ

pāṇāvuttānamuṣṭirbhavati dhanuṣi vai vāmabāhuprasāraḥ |

tarjanyārūḍhvakro bhavati ca niyatā madhyamā vajrapāṣe

ratne dvandvo'ṅgulīnāṃ bhavati nṛpa vikāśaśca padme ca tāsām || 180 ||

Tibetan: sor mo bug pa med pa'i lag pa pad 'dab lta bu steng du byas pa dpal ldan
thod pa la

gzhu la lag pa gan rkyal khu tshur du 'gyur nges par dpung ba g.yon pa rab tu brkyang
ba'o

gung mo dag ni 'dzub ma 'khyog po kun du rten par 'gyur te nges par rdo rje zhags pa
la

rin chen la ni sbyar ba'i sor mor 'gyur te mi bdag de dag nam par phye ba pad ma la

English: In the auspicious skull {mudrā}, the hand with the tight fingers, which is like a lotus-petal, is facing upwards. In the bow {mudrā}, there is an extended fist, indeed, and an extension of the left forearm.

The forefinger is elevated and crooked and the middle finger is prescribed in the varja-noose {mudrā}. In the jewel {mudrā}, there is a pair of fingers, O King.⁷⁶³ And there is an expansion of these in the lotus {mudrā}.

⁷⁶³ (Skt. nṛpa; Tib. mi dag)

VERSE 181

Sanskrit: tarjanyāṅguṣṭhayogo bhavati jalacare'ṅguṣṭhakādhaśca muṣṭi-
rādarśe saṃmukhaṃ syāt susamakaratalaṃ sāṅgulīkaṃ hyachidram |
tarjanyādyūrdhvavakrā kramapariracitāṅguṣṭhake śṛṅkhalāyā-
maṅguṣṭhādyaścatasraḥ śīrasi samamukhā kuñcitādhaḥ kaniṣṭhā || 181 ||

Tibetan: chu na rgyu ba la ni 'dzub mo mthe bo sbyar bar 'gyur te mthe bo'i 'og tu
khu tshur ro

me long la ni shin tu mnyam pa'i lag 'thil sor mo bug pa med bcas mngon du phyogs
par 'gyur

mthe bo la ni 'dzub mo la sogs steng du 'khyog po rim par yongs su bkod pa lcags
sgrog la'o

mgo bo la ni mthe bo la sogs bzhi bo gdong dang mtshungs shing 'og tu mthe chung
bskum pa'o

English: The joining of the forefingers and the thumb is in the object moving in water {the conch mudrā}, and there is a fist under the thumbs. The extremely-level surface of the hand should be face-to-face⁷⁶⁴ in the mirror {mudrā}, indeed, with tight fingers.⁷⁶⁵

The forefinger, etc., is above and bent,⁷⁶⁶ fashioned in sequence, on the thumb in the fetter {mudrā}. And the four, thumb, etc., are on the head {mudrā}, and the pinkie is facing⁷⁶⁷ and is curved downwards.

⁷⁶⁴ (Skt. saṃ-mukhaṃ; Tib. mngon du phyogs par)

⁷⁶⁵ (Skt. sa-aṅgulīkaṃ hi achidram; Tib. sor mo bug pa med bcas)

⁷⁶⁶ (Skt. vakrā; Tib. 'khyog po) See KT III. 178, in which the Tibetan term "'khyog bar" is used for the Sanskrit term "vakrā."

⁷⁶⁷ (Skt. sama-mukhā; Tib. gdong dang mtshungs)

VERSE 182

Sanskrit: hastābhyāṃ śaṅkhamudrā bhavati hi mukuṭe tarjanīdvandvayogaḥ
pañcāṅgulyaikayogo'pi ca karatalayoḥ prsthataḥ kuṇḍalamca |
pāṇau prṣṭhe'ṅgulīnāṃ kramapariracitaṃ bandhanaṃ kaṇṭhikāyāṃ
tryaṅgulyanyonyayogobhayakarakuṭilādyantayormekhalāyām || 182 ||

Tibetan: cod pan la ni lag pa dag gis dung gi phyag rgya 'dzub mo gnyis po sbyar ba
nyid du 'gyur

lag 'thil dag gi rgyab tu sor mo lnga po mams ni gcig tu sbyar ba dag kyang rna rgyan
la

lag pa'i rgyab tu sor mo mams ni rim par yong su bkod cing bcings pa mgul ba'i rgyan
la ste

lag pa gnyi ga'i sor mo gsum ni pan tshun sbyar zhing thog mtha' bskum pa dag ni ske
rags la'o

English: By means of both hands, the conch mudrā is indeed the joining of the two
forefingers on the crown.⁷⁶⁸ And also the single yoking of the five fingers and the ear-
ring are on the back side of the surfaces of both hands.

The binding of the fingers is fashioned sequentially on the back side of the hand, on the
necklace, on the beginning and end of both crooked hands of the mutual yoking⁷⁶⁹ of
three fingers, [and] on the belt.

⁷⁶⁸ (Skt. mukuṭe; Tib. chod pan la)

⁷⁶⁹ (Skt. anyonya-yoga; Tib. phan tshun sbyar)

VERSE 183

Sanskrit: aṅguṣṭhau madhyame dve valayamiva kṛtau nūpure muṣṭibandhāt
tadvat keyūrayugme bhavati ca kaṭake tarjanīdvandvayogaḥ |
aṅguṣṭho ḍākinīnām bhavati varakulam tarjanī guhyakānām
gandharvāṇām phaṇīnām kramapariracitā madhyamā'nāmikā vā || 183 ||

Tibetan: khu tshur bcings nas mthe bo dag ngang gung mo gnyis po zlum skor lta bur
byas pa rkang gdub la

de bzhin du ni dpung rgyan zung dang gdu pu la yang 'dzub mo pan tshun sbyar pa dag
tu 'gyur

mthe bo mkha' 'gro ma rnams dag gi mchog gi rigs su 'gyur te 'dzub mo gsang ba pa
rnams kyi

dri za rnams dang gdengs can rnams kyi gung mo dang ni ming med rim par yongs su
bkod pa'o

English: The two thumbs [and] the two middle fingers, are fashioned like a circle on
the anklet from the binding of the fist. And likewise, on the pair of bracelets and on
the the bracer of gold, there is joining of the pair of forefingers.

The thumb of the ḍākinīs is the family of the Supreme [Victor], and the forefinger is of
the secret ones {the yakṣas}. The middle finger or fourth finger of the Gandharvas or
of the serpents is fashioned in sequence.

VERSE 184

Sanskrit: bhūtānām śrīkaniṣṭhā pravarakaratalaṃ rākṣasānām kulam syāt
siddhānām muṣṭibandho bhavati varakulam parvasandhiḥ surāṇām |
pañcāṅgulyardhavakrā hyubhayakaratalaṃ jātimudrā nakhīnām
tarjanyau dve'rdhavakre śirasi khalu gate śṛṅgiṇām muṣṭibandhāt || 184 ||

Tibetan: 'byung po rnams kyi dpal ldan mthe chung rab mchog lag pa'i 'thil ni srin po
rnams kyi rigs su 'gyur

grub pa rnams kyi khu tshur bcings pa mchog gi rigs te tshigs kyi 'tshams ni lha rnams
dag gi'o

lag pa gnyi ga'i 'thil du sor mo lnga po phyed 'khyog rigs kyi phyag rgya sder mo can
rnams kyi

khu tshur bcings las 'dzub mo gnyis po phyed 'khyog nges par mgo bor son pa rva can
rnams kyi'o

English: The auspicious pinkie of demons is the surface of the hand of the best ones
and should be the family of meat-eaters.⁷⁷⁰ The binding of the fist of the accomplish-
ments is the best family. The finger-joint⁷⁷¹ is of the gods.

The five fingers with crooked halves indeed [on] the surface of both hands is the birth-
mudrā of the tigers.⁷⁷² The two forefingers and the two half crooked ones [fingers]
indeed are located on the head of the horned-ones⁷⁷³ from the binding of the fist.

⁷⁷⁰ (Skt. rākṣasānām kulam; srin po rnams kyi rigs su)

⁷⁷¹ (Skt. parva-sandhiḥ; Tib. tshigs kyi 'tshams) The Sanskrit term "parva-sandhiḥ" also refers to the
junction of the 1st and 15th lunar fortnights.

⁷⁷² (Skt. jāti-mudrā nakhīnām; Tib. rigs kyi phag rgya sder mo can rnams kyi)

⁷⁷³ (Skt. śṛṅgiṇām; Tib. son pa rva can rnams kyi)

VERSE 185

Sanskrit: baddhe'nyonyam kaniṣṭhe viṣamakaratale pakṣayogo'ṇḍajānām
pañcāṅgulyagravakrā bhavati hi phaṇinām jātimudrā viśiṣṭā |
tarjanyantāḥ prasārāḥ pratidivasabalau cāpare'dhaśca śliṣṭe
jvālāyām śliṣṭajyeṣṭhau varakaratalayostarjanī sārītā'nyā || 185 ||

Tibetan: phyi rol lag pa'i 'thil la mthe chung pan tshun bcings shing gshog pa sbyar ba
sgong skyes mams kyi ste

sor mo lnga po rtse mo 'khyog pa gdengs can mams kyi rigs kyi phyag rgya khyad par
'phags par 'gyur

nyin zhag so so'i gtor ma la ni 'dzub mo'i mtha' mams rab brkyang gzhan pa 'og tu
spyar byas pa

'bar ba dag la mthe bong sbyar te mchog gi lag 'thil dag gi 'dzub mo brkyang ba gzhan
pa'o

English: The two smallest fingers mutually bound⁷⁷⁴ on the surface of the uneven
hand is the wing yoga⁷⁷⁵ of the egg-born ones. The five fingers with bent tips is
indeed the special⁷⁷⁶ birth-mudrā of the serpents.

The extensions ending in the forefingers, and the other two that possess strengths⁷⁷⁷
day-by-day,⁷⁷⁸ are joined below. The two middle fingers⁷⁷⁹ are joined on the surface
of the best hand. The extended forefinger is other {the second mudrā} flame.

⁷⁷⁴ (Skt. baddhe-anyonyam; Tib. phan tshun bcings)

⁷⁷⁵ (Skt. pakṣa-yogo; Tib. gshog pa sbyar ba)

⁷⁷⁶ (Skt. viśiṣṭā; Tib. 'phags par)

⁷⁷⁷ (Skt. balau; Tib. gtor ma la) What is this??

⁷⁷⁸ (Skt. pratidivasa; Tib. nyin zhag so so)

⁷⁷⁹ (Skt. jyeṣṭhau; Tib. mthe bong) The Sanskrit term "jyeṣṭha" also refers to the first month of summer (May-June).

VERSE 186

Sanskrit: idānīm vīravīreśvarīṇām parasparasambhāṣaṇamudrā ucyante //

tarjanyā darśanam vai kathitamapi bhavet svāgataṃ yoginaśca

dvābhyām susvāgataṃ ca pravadatī subhagā kṣemamaṅguṣṭhabandhāt |

aṅgulyāśchoṭikāyāḥ kathayati niyataṃ śreṣṭhamantrī tvamatra

aṅguṣṭhānāmikābhyām sasamayasurayā tarpaṇam te karomi || 186 ||

Tibetan: 'dzub mo bstan na legs par 'ongs sam dag kyang nges par rjod par 'gyur te
rnal 'byor pa la yang

gnyis kyis shin du legs pang 'ongs dang skal bzang dge ba mthe bo bcings pas rab tu
rjod par 'gyur

sor mo'i se gol rdobs pas khyod ni 'di ru sngags pa mchog ces nges par brjod par 'gyur
ba ste

mthe bo dang ni ming med dag gis dam tshig bcas pa'i chang gis khyod ni tshim par
byed pa'o

English: Now the mudrās of the hero's and goddesses' mutual conversation are described.⁷⁸⁰

The seeing of the forefinger, indeed, and the greeting of the yogī also should be spoken. By both {the forefinger and middle finger}, an excellent greeting {is spoken}. The lovely woman speaks peace from the binding of the thumb.

From the snapping of the finger, the best practitioner tells what is prescribed. "You, here -- I prepare something refreshing for you from the thumb and fourth finger, together with the spirituous liquor of the commitment."

⁷⁸⁰ See BDNN (1973: 452)

VERSE 187

Sanskrit: sarvāṅgulyagrasārāt pravadati subhagā svāgataṃ yoginaśca

vāmāṅgasparśanena prakāṣayati sadā bandhureko mama tvam |

yonau sparśe ca bhartā'pyadharakucayugālekhane vā nakhaiśca

aṅgulyanyonyabandhāt kathayati samayaṃ madhyamāṅguṣṭhasārāt || 187 ||

Tibetan: sor mo thams cad rtse mo brkyang bas skal bzang legs par 'ongs pa brjod⁷⁸¹
'gyur mal 'byor pa la yang

g.yon gyi yan lag reg pas rtag tu khyod ni bdag gi gnyen gcig pu⁷⁸² dag rab tu gsal bar
byed

skye gnas dag la reg pas khyo ste mchu dang nu ma zung dang nges par sen mo 'debs
pas kyang

sor mo phan tshun bcings shing gung mo dang ni mthe bo brkyang bas dam tshig rjod
par byed pa yin

English: The lovely woman greets the yogīs from the expanse of the tips of all [her] fingers. By touching the limb on the left, she clarifies, "You always are my single relation."⁷⁸³

Having touched [her] vagina,⁷⁸⁴ the Lord also scratches [her] lips⁷⁸⁵ and [her] pair of nipples with [his] nails. From the mutual binding⁷⁸⁶ of the fingers, he utters the commitment by the extension of the thumb and middle fingers.

⁷⁸¹ VC incorrectly reads "rjod."

⁷⁸² VC incorrectly reads "bu."

⁷⁸³ (Skt. bandhur-eko; Tib. gnyen gcig pu)

⁷⁸⁴ (Skt. yonau; Tib. skye gnas dag la)

⁷⁸⁵ (Skt. adhara; Tib. mchu)

⁷⁸⁶ (Skt. anyonya-bhandhāt; Tib. phan tshun bcings)

VERSE 188

Sanskrit: idānīm nirbhartsanamudrā ucyante //

oṣṭhabhrūnetravaktre vadati śirasi kaṇḍūyamāne'timūrkho

daṁṣṭrāmādhye kaniṣṭhā prakāṣayati bhayaṁ tarjanī hṛnmukhe ca |

aṅguṣṭhe muṣṭibandhād bhuvi karacaraṇāsphālane bhakṣayāmi

jihvāspārśe ca bhuktaṁ hyudaradaśanayostādīte naiva bhuktaṁ || 188 ||

Tibetan: mchu dang smin ma mig dag yo zhing mgo la 'phrug par byed na shin du rmongs pa brjod par byed

mche ba'i dbus su mthe chung dang ni snying kha kha ru 'dzub mo 'jigs pa rab tu gsal bar byed

mthe bo khu tshur bcings pa dang ni lag pa rkang pa sa la rdebs na nga yis bza' bar bya

lce la reg na zos pa dang ni lto dang so la bsnun pa dag gis ma zos pa nyid do

English: Now the threatening mudrās are described.

With respect to the crooked lips, eyebrows and eyes, on the head that he is scratching, the complete fool⁷⁸⁷ speaks. [When] the pinkie [is placed] on the middle of his teeth and the forefinger is [placed] on [his] heart and mouth,⁷⁸⁸ it clarifies fear."

From the binding of the thumb in the fist, [I pound] on the earth.⁷⁸⁹ Rubbing the feet and hands, I eat food through the touch of the tongue. Indeed, in the beating⁷⁹⁰ of the belly and the tooth, this is a sign of eating or not eating.

⁷⁸⁷ (Skt. atimūrkho; Tib. shin du rmongs pa)

⁷⁸⁸ (Skt. hṛn-mukhe ca; Tib. snying kha kha ru)

⁷⁸⁹ (Skt. bhuvi; Tib. sa la)

⁷⁹⁰ (Skt. tāḍite; Tib. bsnun pa dag gis)

VERSE 189

Sanskrit: pāṇau prṣṭhe ca gaccha pravadati niyataṃ saṃmukhe tiṣṭha tiṣṭha
jānūrūmardane vai kathayati subhagā'dyaiva viśrāmaya tvam |
nidrāṃ pādaprasārāt kuru mama surataṃ jānuyugmaprasārāt
sarvāṅge spr̥śyamāne vadanagatakare nāsti melāpako me || 189 ||

Tibetan: lag pa'i rgyab kyis song zhig ces par rab tu rjod te mngon du phyogs pas 'dug
cig go

byin pa brla la nyed na skal bzang khyod ni di ring kho na ngal so nges par brjod par
byed

rkang pa rab tu rkyong bas gnyid dang pus mo zung dag rkyong bas bdag la shin du
dga' ba gyis

yan lag kun la reg par byed cing kha ru lag pa gnas pa bdag la 'dus pa med pa'o

English: On the hand and on the back side, she declares that which is prescribed,
"Go!" With respect to face-to-face, "Stand!, Stand!" Indeed, with respect to pressing
the knee and thigh, the lovely woman speaks, "Right now, you should stop."

From the expansion of the foot, "Make sleep for me and make love {to me}." From
the expansion of the pair of knees, "When all the limbs⁷⁹¹ are being touched [and] the
hand located on the mouth, there is no uniting⁷⁹² of me {with you}."

⁷⁹¹ (Skt. sarva-aṅge; Tib. yan lag kun la)

⁷⁹² (Skt. melāpako; Tib. 'dus pa)

VERSE 190

Sanskrit: anyonyaṃ hastabandhe vadati mama gr̥he cakramelāpako'dya

aṅguṣṭhānāmikāgrād bahuvidhasamayastarpayāmo yatheṣṭam |

pāde kaṇḍūyamāne gamanamapi tathā bāhyamelāpake ca

tarjanyanyonyabandhe tvapaharati bhayaṃ vajramitraṃ tvamadya || 190 ||

Tibetan: pan tshun lag pa bcings pas bdag gi khyim du de ring 'khor lo 'dus pa dag ni rjod par byed

mthe bo ming med rtse mo dag gis mam mang dam tshig rnam kyis ji ltar 'dod par mchod par bya

rkang pa la ni 'phrug par byed na de bzhin du ni phyi rol 'dus pa rnam la 'gro ba yang

'dzub mo phan tshun bcings na rdo rje'i grogs po khyod ni de ring 'jigs pa 'phrog par byed pa'o

English: Mutually,⁷⁹³ with respect to the claspings of the hand, she speaks "Of me, at my home, today, there is a meeting of cakras.⁷⁹⁴ From the tip of the thumb and fourth finger, by means of many kinds of commitments,⁷⁹⁵ we satisfy⁷⁹⁶ according to desire.

When the foot is being scratched, there also is a "going."⁷⁹⁷ With respect to the uniting of the exterior, [there is] a mutual binding⁷⁹⁸ of the forefingers. But she removes fear, "Today, you are [my] vajra friend."

⁷⁹³ (Skt. anyonyaṃ; Tib. phan tshun)

⁷⁹⁴ (Skt. cakra-melāpako; Tib. 'khor lo 'dus pa dag)

⁷⁹⁵ (Skt. samayais; Tib. dam tshig rnam kyis)

⁷⁹⁶ (Skt. tarpayāmo; Tib. 'dod par)

⁷⁹⁷ (Skt. gamanam; Tib. 'gro ba) This refers to sexual union.

⁷⁹⁸ (Skt. anyonya-bandhe; Tib. phan tshun bcings)

VERSE 191

Sanskrit: idānīmatyantekruddhānām mudrā ucyante //

keśacchede svadantairvadati narapaśo pātānīyastvamatra

anyonyam dantaghrṣṭe tava piśitamidaṁ bhakṣaṇīyam mayādya |

jihvauṣṭhe lālite vai vadati tava tanau raktapānam karomi

oṣṭhe sandaśyamāne'pyudaragatamidam bhakṣayāmastavāntram || 191 ||

Tibetan: skra ni rang gi so yis gcod na mi yi phyugs khyod 'dir ni ltung bar bya ba
rjod par byed

so ni phan tshun 'dar bar byang na khyod kyi sha ni 'di dag ba dag gis di ring bza' bar
bya

lce mchu g.yo bar byed na khyod kyi lus las khrag ni btung bar bya'o nges par rjod par
byed

mchu la so ni 'debs par byed na khyod kyi rgyu ma lto bar gnas 'di ba dag gis bza' bar
bya

English: Now the mudrās of the limitless wrathful ones are described.

With respect to cutting the hair by means of his own teeth, she says, "O Beast among Men, you here are felled. There occurs mutually⁷⁹⁹ a grinding of the teeth -- this flesh of yours should be eaten by me, now."

When the tongue and lip are fondled,⁸⁰⁰ indeed he says, "In your body, I drink blood." Also, when the lip is being bitten⁸⁰¹ [he says], "Now we eat your entrails⁸⁰² located in your belly⁸⁰³."

⁷⁹⁹ (Skt. anyonyam; Tib. phan tshun)

⁸⁰⁰ (Skt. lālite; Tib. gyo bar byed)

⁸⁰¹ (Skt. sandaśyamāne; Tib. 'debs par byed)

⁸⁰² (Skt. antram; Tib. rgyu ma)

⁸⁰³ (Skt. udara; Tib. lto bar)

VERSE 192

Sanskrit: lāsyāyogena lāsyā bhavati narapate hāsyayogena hāsyā

nṛtyāyogena nṛtyā bhavati bahuvidhā vādyayogena vādyā |

gītāyogena gītā varavividhaguṇā gandhayogena gandhā

mālāyogena mālā bhavati guṇavaśād dhūpayogena dhūpā || 192 ||

Tibetan: sgeg pa'i sbyor ba yis ni sgeg par 'gyur te mi yi bdag po bzhad pa'i sbyar bas bzhad pa'o

gar gyi sbyor ba yis ni gar du 'gyur te nam pa mang po'i rol mo'i sbyor bas rol mo'o

klu yi sbyor ba yis ni glu ste mchog gi yon tan nam mang dri yi sbyor ba dag gis dri

phreng ba'i sbyor ba yis ni phreng bar 'gyur te yon tan dbang gis sbos kyi sbyor ba dag gis spos

English: By means of the yoga of the dancing girl,⁸⁰⁴ the dancing girl {mudrā} arises, O Lord of Men. By means of the yoga of laughter, the laughter {mudrā} arises. By means of the yoga of dancing,⁸⁰⁵ the multifaceted dancing {mudrā} arises. By means of the yoga of instrumental music,⁸⁰⁶ the instrumental music {mudrā} arises.

By means of the yoga of singing, the singing {mudrā}, which has best, multifaceted quality, arises. By means of the yoga of smell, the smell {mudrā} arises. By means of the yoga of the rosary, the rosary {mudrā} arises, in accordance with the qualities. By means of the yoga of incense, the incense {mudrā} arises.

804 (Skt. lāsyā; Tib. sgeg pa)

805 (Skt. nṛtyā; Tib. gar)

806 (Skt. vādyā; Tib. rol mo)

VERSE 193

Sanskrit: dīpākāreṇa dīpā khalu nihatatamā pātramudrā'mṛtā syā
ityevaṃ sarvamudrāḥ punarapi ca tataḥ pañcabhedairvibhinnāḥ |
anyā mudrāstvanantāḥ sakalatanugatā yoginā veditavyā
yadyad vastusvabhāvo bhavati bhuvitale tatsvabhāvaśca mudrāḥ || 193 ||

Tibetan: mar me'i nram pas mar me nges par mun pa bcom pa dang ni snod kyi phyag
rgya bdud rtsir 'gyur

zhes pa de ltar phyag rgya thams cad slar yang de nas lnga yi dbye bas mams par phye
ba ste

gzhan pa phyag rgya mtha' yas mams kyang mtha' dag lus la gnas pa mal 'byor pa yis
rig par bya

gang gang dngos po'i rang bzhin du 'gyur sa yi steng du de yi rang bzhin dag kyang
phyag rgya mams

English: By means of making the lamp, the lamp {mudrā}, by which darkness is
destroyed, arises. The vessel mudrā should be nectar.⁸⁰⁷ Thus, in this way, all the
mudrās arise. And yet again, thereupon, [all the mudrās] are divided by means of the
five divisions.

But there are other mudrās that should be known by the yogī that are limitless and that
are located on the entire body. Whatsoever thing is the inherent nature of an object on
the surface of the earth,⁸⁰⁸ that is the inherent nature⁸⁰⁹ and is the mudrās.

⁸⁰⁷ (Skt. amṛtā; Tib. bdud rtsir)

⁸⁰⁸ (Skt. bhuvi; Tib. sa)

⁸⁰⁹ (Skt. sva-bhāvaś; Tib. rang bzhin dag)

VERSE 194

Sanskrit: idānīm dṛṣṭi samketa ucyate //

taryagdrṣṭyā ca dūtī kathayati subhagasyāgatastvam kutaśca
pratyuktam yoginaḥ syāt śirasi gatakarasyekṣaṇe taddiśo vai |
kṣemaste'pyūrdhvadrṣṭyā kṣitalagatayā taṣṭha vaśrāmaya tvam
gaccha tvam vakradrṣṭyā kathayati suratam rāgadrṣṭyā ca dūtī || 194 ||

Tibetan: pho nya mo ni 'phreng la lta bas khyod ni gang zhig nas 'ongs skal pa bzang
la rjod par byed

mgo bor lag bzhag de yi phyogs su nges par bltas pa rnal 'byor pa yis lan ni smras par
'gyur

steng du lta bas khyod ni dge 'm sa yi steng du gnas pas khyod ni 'dug la ngal so zhig
yon por lta bas khyod song chags pa'i lta bas pho nya mo ni shin du dga' ba rjod par
byed

English: Now the sign of sight is described.

And by means of the oblique glance, the female messenger {yoginī} says to the fortunate one, "You have come from whence?" There should be a reply of the yogī, the {left} hand of whom is on his head -- "Indeed, the directions of that [are] on the sight."

With an upward glance, she says, "Peace to you, again." [With a glance] located on the surface of the earth,⁸¹⁰ she says, "You stand, relax." With a crooked glance, she says, "Go, you." And with a passionate glance, the messenger says, "Make love."⁸¹¹

⁸¹⁰ (Skt. kṣiti; Tib. sa)

⁸¹¹ (Skt. suratam; Tib. shin du dga' ba)

VERSE 195

Sanskrit: mitraṃ me sausyadr̥ṣṭyā kaṭayati bhayaṃ krodhadr̥ṣṭyā bhr̥kṭyā
krūrā'haṃ keśadr̥ṣṭyā kathayati subhagasyeṅgitaiḥ svasvabhāvam |
ūrṇā dr̥ṣṭyāttamāhaṃ prakaṭayati guṇaṃ yoginī ghrāṇadr̥ṣṭyā
saubhāgyaṃ caīṣṭhadr̥ṣṭyā vadati kucayugālokane'haṃ sumudrā || 195 ||

Tibetan: zhi ba'i lta bas bdag gi grogs po khro gnyer khro bo'i lta bas 'jigs pa rab tu
bsal bar byed

skra la lta bas bdag ni ma rungs par rjod skal bzang la ni rang bzhin zur gyis so

mdzod bur lta bas bdag mchog rnal 'byor ma ni sna la lta bas yon tan rab tu gsal bar
byed

mchu la lta bas skal pa bzang ste nu ma zung la lta na bdag ni phyag rgya bzang mor
rjod

English: With a soft glance, she says, "{You} are my friend." She makes clear her
fear with a wrathful glance and furrowed brow. "I am fierce,"⁸¹² she says with a hair-
[tossing] glance. By means of the gestures, she tells the fortunate one [his] own
inherent nature.

With a wool glance, she makes clear, "I am supreme."⁸¹³ The yoginī makes clear her
good quality by means of a nose glance. And with a lip glance, she declares her happi-
ness.⁸¹⁴ Upon looking at {her own} pair of nipples, she states, "I am an excellent
mudrā."

⁸¹² (Skt. krūrā; Tib. rungs par)

⁸¹³ (Skt. uttamā; Tib. mchog)

⁸¹⁴ (Skt. saubhāgyaṃ; Tib. skal pa bzang)

VERSE 196

Sanskrit: hr̥ddr̥ṣṭyā bhāvitātmā vadati bhujayugālokane'haṃ pracandā
śaktāhaṃ skandhadr̥ṣṭyā sanakhakaratalālokane rākṣasī ca |
pr̥sthāloke bhujāṅgī tvahamiti samayī nābhidr̥ṣṭyā narendra
śuddhāhaṃ guhyadr̥ṣṭarthā'pyahamapi surate durjayā corudr̥ṣṭyā || 196 ||

Tibetan: snying khar lta bas bsgoms pa'i bdag nyid lag pa zung la lta na bdag ni rab tu
gtum mor rjod

phrag par lta bas bdag ni nus ma sen ma dang bcas lag pa'i 'thil la lta na srin mo'o
rgyab tu lta na lag 'gro ma ste lte bar lta bas mi yi dbang po bdag ni dam tshig can
gsang bar lta bas bdag ni dag pa brla la lta bas bdag ni shin du dga' la gdul bar dka'

English: With a heart glance, she states, "My self is revealed."⁸¹⁵ Upon looking at {her} pair of arms, she states, "I am strong." She says, "I am powerful" with a shoulder glance. Upon looking at the surface of her hands together with her nails, she also says, "I am a demoness."⁸¹⁶

Upon looking at her back,⁸¹⁷ she says, "But I am a snake." Upon a navel glance, she says, "I am a commitment-holder, O Lord of Men." Also upon a glance at her secret area, she says, "I am also pure."⁸¹⁸ And upon a glance at her thighs, she says, "I am difficult to conquer"⁸¹⁹ with respect to lovemaking.⁸²⁰

⁸¹⁵ (Skt. bhāvita-ātmā; Tib. bsgoms pa'i bdag nyid)

⁸¹⁶ (Skt. rākṣasī; Tib. srin mo)

⁸¹⁷ (Skt. pr̥sthā-āloke; Tib. rgyab tu lta)

⁸¹⁸ (Skt. śuddha; Tib. dag pa)

⁸¹⁹ (Skt. dur-jayā; Tib. gdul bar dka') The Sanskrit term "jayā" also refers to one of the subtle channels.

⁸²⁰ (Skt. su-rate; Tib. shin du dga' la)

VERSE 197

Sanskrit: siddhāhaṃ jānadr̥ṣṭyā kathayati niyataṃ carddhidā pādadr̥ṣṭyā
pādāṅguṣṭhāvaloke tvahamapi bhuvane vajrakāyaikavīrā |
sarvāṅgulyagradr̥ṣṭyā tribhuvanānilaye sarvagā viśvamātā
dūtīnāmeva dr̥ṣṭiḥ kṣītitalanilaye yoginā veditavyā || 197 ||

Tibetan: pus mor lta bas bdag ni grub pa nges par rjod byed rkang par lta bas rdzu
'phrul sbyin pa mo

rkang pa'i mthe bong nges par lta na bdag ni srid par rdo rje'i sku ste dpa' mo gcig pu
dang

sor mo kun gyi rtse mor lta bas srid pa gsum gyi gnas su kun du 'gro ma sna tshogs
yum

pho nya mo mams lta stangs nyid ni sa yi steng gi gnas su mal 'byor pa yis rig par bya

English: Upon looking at her knees, she says, "I am accomplished." Upon a glance at her foot, she says, "Necessarily,⁸²¹ I am a bestower of success." But upon looking downward at her big toes, she says, "Also in the realm,⁸²² I am the single heroine of the vajra body."

With a glance at the tips of all her fingers, on the abode of the three realms, she says, "I go everywhere -- I am the mother of everything." Of the messengers only, the glance on the abode on the surface of the earth⁸²³ should be understood by the yogī.

⁸²¹ (Skt. niyataṃ; Tib. nges par)

⁸²² (Skt. bhuvane; Tib. srid par)

⁸²³ (Skt. kṣiti; Tib. sa)

VERSE 198

Sanskrit: idānīm śiṣyāṇāṃ dānārthaṃ svaśarīrādivibhāganiyama ucyate //
ṣaḍbhāgaṃ dehamadhye karacaraṇatanor dānamapyuttamāṅge
vācā karmendriyāṇāṃ saṅgaṇamapi manastvindriyāṇāṃ ca madye |
dhātvaṃśaṃ dhātumadhye dvipadaśaṅgaṇān tattvabhāgena cānyad
ācāryāya pradāya vrajati sukhapadaṃ divyamudrānuvidhaḥ || 198 ||

Tibetan: drug cha lus kyi nang nas lag pa rkang pa lus ngag las ni yan lag mchog
kyang sbyin pa ste

las kyi dbang po mams las dag dang dbang po rnam kyi nang nas yon tan dang bcas yi
dag kyang

kham kyi cha shas kham kyi nang nas rkang gnyis pa dang phyugs kyi tshogs las de
nyid cha yis gzhan

mchog gi phyag rgya rjes su rig pa slob dpon la ni rab tu phul na bde ba'i gnas su 'gro

English: Now, the precept for dividing one's own body, etc. is described for the sake of giving to disciples.

Six divisions are in the middle of the body. The giving of the hands, feet and body, in turn, is the highest limb.⁸²⁴ Speech {should be given} among the action organs. But the mind together with its qualities {should be given} among the sense faculties.

Having given to the teacher the share of elements in the middle of the elements -- flocks of two-footed creatures and four-footed creatures,⁸²⁵ and another by means of the division of the principles -- he [the disciple] attains a state of joy⁸²⁶ -- he who is pervaded by the divine mudrā.

⁸²⁴ (Skt. *uttama-aṅge*; Tib. *yan lag mchog*)

⁸²⁵ (Skt. *dvi-pada-paśu-gaṇān*; Tib. *rkang gnyis pa dang phyugs kyi tshogs las*)

⁸²⁶ (Skt. *sukha-padaṃ*; Tib. *bde ba'i gnas*)

VERSE 199

Sanskrit: idānīm karuṇābhiṣeka ucyate //

ye sattvā lokadhātau trividhabhavagatā jñānavajrāṅkuṣeṇa

ākṛṣṭvā tān samantāt paramakaruṇayā maṇḍale cābhiśicya |

buddhairvajrāmṛtenāmalaśaśivapuṣā vajriṇo labdhamārgāḥ

svasthāne preṣaṇīyā vyapagatakaluṣā bodhicaryārūḍhāḥ || 199 ||

Tibetan: sems can gang dag rnam gsum srid par gnas mams 'jig rten kham las ye shes
rdo rje lcags kyu yis

bkug ste de mams mtha' dag mchog gi snying rjes dkyil 'khor du ni sang rgyas mams
dang rdo rje yi

bdud rtsis mngon par dbang bskur nas ni dri med ri bong can las rdo rje can gyi lam
thob pa

dri ma rnam par bral zhing byang chub spyod la rjes su gnas mams rang gi gnas su
gtang bar bya

English: Now the empowerment of compassion is described.

The beings located in three-fold existence in the realm of the world -- having attracted them completely by means of gnosis and the vajra hook,⁸²⁷ and having empowered them by means of the highest compassion in the maṇḍala,

by means of the Buddhas, by means of the nectar of the vajra, and by means of the form of the stainless moon,⁸²⁸ the vajra possessors are those by whom the path has been obtained. They should be summoned in their proper place, those from whom sins have vanished, those who have fulfilled⁸²⁹ the practice of perfection.

⁸²⁷ (Skt. vajra-aṅkuṣeṇa; Tib. rdo rje lcags kyu yis)

⁸²⁸ (Skt. amala-śaśiva-puṣā; Tib. dri med ri bong can las) The Sanskrit term "puṣā" also refers to a subtle channel.

⁸²⁹ (Skt. arūḍhāḥ; Tib. gtang bar bya)

VERSE 200

Sanskrit: idānīmavadhūtasya śiṣyasyābhiṣekaniyam ucyate //

dravyābhāve'bhiṣeko jīnapati vacanenāvadhūtasya deya

evaṃ dhūmadīmārgaḥ sakalaguṇanidhirmāḍikāyogayuktaḥ |

sevārthaṃ hastamudrā svahr̥dayavaśagā sarvadoṣairvimuktā

anyeṣāṃ naiva deyaṃ jīnavarahṛdayaṃ mātṛpūjāvihīnam || 200 ||

Tibetan: rdzas rnam med pa'i mngon par dbang bskur rgyal pa'i bdag po'i bka' yis
kun spangs la ni sbyin par bya

de bzhin du ba la sogs lam dang mtha' dag yon tan gter ni rtsa yi rnal 'byor ldan pa ste

bsten pa'i don du lag pa'i phyag rgya rang gi snying gi dbang son skyon rnam kun las
nam par grol

gzhan rnam la ni rgyal ba mchog gi snying po yum gyi mchod pa rnam dman sbyin
pa nyid mi bya

English: The precept is described for the empowerment of the disciple who has shaken
off⁸³⁰ from himself worldly obligations.

In the absence of wealth, by means of the speech of the Lord of Victors, the empower-
ment should be given to the ascetic. Thus, the path of smoke, etc., which is the treas-
ury of all good qualities, is joined to the yoga of the channels.

For the purpose of reverence,⁸³¹ the hand mudrā, which involves submission to one's
own heart,⁸³² is liberated from all faults. The heart of the Supreme Victor, which is
devoid of the offering of the mother, indeed is not to be given to others.

⁸³⁰ (Skt. avadhū) This Sanskrit term also means "expelled" or "renounced."

⁸³¹ (Skt. seva; Tib. bsten pa)

⁸³² (Skt. sva-hṛdaya-vaśagā; Tib. rang gi snying gi dbang son)

VERSE 201

Sanskrit: idānīm maṇḍalavisarjanamucyate //

sekānte śrīghaṭānām mṛdutanusukhadam kañcukam vastrayugmam deyam

śrīyoginībhyastvaparamapi tathā kañcukam vastrayugmam |

dvārāsthebhyaḥ pradeyam sakalagaṇakulāyātmaśaktyā tathānyad

ante homam prakṛtya svahrādayakamale jñānasattvam praveśya || 201 ||

Tibetan: dbang gi mthar ni dpal⁸³³ ldan bum pa mams kyi 'jam zhing lus la bde ster
stod kor gos zung dag

dpal ldan mal 'byor ma mams dag la sbyin bya gzhan yang de bzhin stod kor dang ni
gos zung dag

sgo na gnas pa rnams la rab sbyin mtha' dag tshogs kyi rigs la bdag nyid nus pas de
bzhin gzhan

mthar ni sbyin sreg byas nas rang gi snying kha'i pad mar ye shes sems dpa' rab du
gzbug bya ste

English: Now, the dismantling of the maṇḍala is described.

At the completion of the consecration, the pair of garments {together with} the upper garment, which give joy to the soft body, {which is set on top} of the auspicious pots,⁸³⁴ should be given to the glorious yoginīs. But also another pair of garments {together with} the upper garment should be bestowed likewise to those who stand at the doors {the protectors}.⁸³⁵

Likewise, according to one's ability, another should be bestowed to the families together with the groups. At the end, having made the burnt offering, and having made the gnosis-being enter into the lotus of one's own heart,

⁸³³ VC incorrectly reads "dpang."

⁸³⁴ (Skt. śrī-ghaṭānām; Tib. dpal ldan bum pa rnams kyi) The term "pots" is a euphemism for "breasts."

⁸³⁵ (Skt. rakṣapālebhyaḥ)

VERSE 202

Sanskrit: svasthāne laukikān vai sakalamapi rajo vāhayecchuddhanadyām
tāmbūlaṃ gandhadhūpaṃ kusumaphalasamaṃ śāṭikāṃ kanyakānām |
dattvā''cāryaḥ saśiṣyaḥ sakalagaṇakulaṃ tarpayitvā yatheṣṭam
śiṣyasyājñāṃ pradāya pravarakaruṇayā preṣayet svasvadhāmni || 202 ||

Tibetan: 'jig rten⁸³⁶ pa rnams rang gi gnas su mtha' dag rdul tshon rnams kyang dag
pa'i klung la spyang drang bya

[tāmbūla] dang dri spos me tog 'bras bur bcas dang ras yug dang ni gzhon nu ma rnams
la

byin nas slob dpon slob mar bcas pa mtha' dag tshogs kyi rigs ni ji ltar 'dod par mchod
byas te

slob ma la ni gnang ba rab sbyin rab mchog tshogs kyi rigs ni rang rang gnas su gshegs
su gsol

English: in the proper location, one should carry the worldly ones {Indra, etc.} indeed
and also all of the dust to the pure river. Having given to the maidens⁸³⁷ the beetle
leaf, fragrant incense, the flower, that which is the same as the fruit, and the pet-
ticoat,⁸³⁸

the teacher together with his disciple, having satisfied the family of all the groups as
desired, having bestowed the permission⁸³⁹ to the disciple, one should send forth each
to his own dwelling⁸⁴⁰ with the highest compassion.

⁸³⁶ VC incorrectly reads "rtan."

⁸³⁷ (Skt. kanyakānām; Tib. gzhon nu ma rnams la)

⁸³⁸ (Skt. śāṭikāṃ; Tib. ras yug)

⁸³⁹ (Skt. ājñāṃ; Tib. gnang ba)

⁸⁴⁰ (Skt. sva-sva-dhāmni; Tib. rang rang gnas su)

VERSE 203

Sanskrit: idānīm sarvabhayopadravaśamanamucyate //

śatruḥ siṃho gajendro haviruragapatistaskarā pāśabandhaḥ

kṣubdhāmbhodhiḥ piśācā maraṇabhayakarā vyādhirindropasargaḥ |

dāridryaṃ strīviyogaḥ kṣubhitanṛpabhayaṃ vajrapāto'rthanāśo

nāśāṃ tasya prayānti pratidinacaraṇaṃ yaḥ smaredyoginīnām || 203 ||

|| samāpteyaṃ tīkā abhiṣekapaṭalasya ||

Tibetan: dgra dang seng ge glang chen dbang po ma dang lto 'phye'i bdag po chom
rkun zhags pas 'ching ba dang

chu gter 'khrugs pa dang ni sha za 'chi pa'i 'jigs byed nad dang dbang po'i nye bar
'tshe ba dang

dbul dang bud med bral dang mi bdag 'khrugs pa'i 'jigs pa dang ni rdo rje ltung dang
don nyams pa

gang zhig mal 'byor ma mams zhabs ni nyin zhag so sor dran byed de la rab tu nyams
par 'gyur

|| dpal dang po'i sang rgyas chen po las phyung ba'i dpal chen po dus kyi 'khor lo las
mngon bar dbang bskur ba'i le'u ste gsum pa'o ||

English: Now, the quiescence of all fear and misfortune is described.

{Fear of} the enemy, the lion, the lord of elephants, fire, the lord of snakes, thieves,
the binding of the noose,⁸⁴¹ the ocean of the churning stick,⁸⁴² goblins,⁸⁴³ those who
produce the fear of death, disease, misfortune of rain [i.e., flood or drought],⁸⁴⁴

poverty, separation from one's wife, fear of a king who is agitated,⁸⁴⁵ a stroke of
lightening, the loss of possessions -- for him -- he who should remember the daily con-
duct of yoginīs -- they [these fears] are destroyed.

|| Complete is this short commentary on the empowerment section. ||

⁸⁴¹ (Skt. pāśa-bandhaḥ; Tib. zhags pas 'ching ba)

⁸⁴² (Skt. kṣubdhā-ambhodhiḥ; Tib. chu gter 'khrugs pa) This sometimes refers to a particular style of
sexual activity.

⁸⁴³ (Skt. piśācā; Tib. sha za)

⁸⁴⁴ (Skt. indra-upasargaḥ; Tib. dbang po'i nye bar 'tshe ba)

⁸⁴⁵ (Skt. kṣubhita; Tib. 'khrugs pa)

APPENDIX B
CASTES AND YOGINĪS

THIRTY-SIX CASTES IN BENGAL¹

Uttama (High) Saṅkaras

1) Karaṇas / sat-śūdras	Scribe
2) Ambāshṭhas / Vaidyas	Physician of Āyurveda
3) Ugras / Kshatriyas	Military arts/police
4) Māgadha	Court bard and messenger
5) Tantravāya	Weaver
6) Gāndhika-vaṇij	Dealer in spices, scents, incense
7) Nāpita	Barber
8) Gopa	Cow herder
9) Karmakāra	Blacksmith
10) Taulika	Dealer in guvāka (betel nut)
11) Kumbhakāra	Potter
12) Kaṁsakāra	Worker in copper and brass
13) Śāṁkhika (Śāṁkhakāra)	Conch-shell worker
14) Dāsa	Servant/slave
15) Vārajīvi	Betel-vine grower
16) Modaka	Sweetmeat maker
17) Mālākāra	Florist
18) Sūta	Bard/driver
19) Rājaputra	Rajput
20) Tāmbūli	Betel-leaf seller

Madhyama (Intermediate) Saṅkaras

21) Takshan	Carpenter
22) Rajaka	Dyer
23) Svarṇakāra	Goldsmith
24) Svarṇa-vaṇij	Trader in bullion
25) Abhīra	Cowherd or milkman
26) Tailakāraka	Oilpresser
27) Dhīvara	Fisherman
28) Śauṇḍika	Wine seller
29) Nata	Dancer, acrobat or juggler
30) Śāvāra	Hunter
31) Śekhara	
32) Jālaka	Fisherman

Adhama (Low) Saṅkaras or Antyajās (outside of castes)

33) Malegrahi	Branch of Mal caste
34) Kuḍava	Boatman
35) Chāṇḍāla	Outcaste
36) Varuḍa	Baori
37) Takshan	Carpenter
38) Charmakāra	Worker in leather
39) Ghaṇṭajīvi	Modern Pāṭnī caste
40) Dolāvāhī	Bearer of palanquins
41) Malla	Wrestlers

¹ Majumdar (1943: 570); Witzel (1997)

YOGINĪS OF THE FOUR MAJOR CASTES

Śūdra (laborers) / Tārā

1. Plowing the field
2. Herding the cows
3. Working with mud
4. Working with wood at home sites, etc.

Kṣatriya (warriors) / Pāṇḍarā (Branches of King's Army)

1. Army of foot soldiers
2. Army of those riding horses
3. Army of those riding elephants
4. Army of those riding chariots

Vaiśya (merchants) / Locanā

1. Traders and businesspeople
2. Scribes
3. Physicians

Brahman (priests) / Mamakī

1. Reciting the *Rg-veda* (*Veda of Verses*)
2. Reciting the *Yajur-veda* (*Veda of Ritual Formulae*)
3. Reciting the *Sāma-veda* (*Veda of Melodies*)
4. Reciting the *Atharva-veda* (*Veda of "Sorcery"*)
5. Wife of the Brāhman who resides in the forest
6. Female Brāhmaṇī, who exhibits superior behavior, is sweet, pure and monagamous
7. Wife of the ascetic Brāhman who is neither bound to material things nor to household activities

SIX SENSE YOGINĪS

Family

1. Speech Vajra
2. Taste Vajra
3. Form Vajra
4. Smell Vajra
5. Touch Vajra
6. Dharma Realm Vajra

Occupation

- Copper worker
- Wine seller
- Goldsmith
- Mālā maker
- Weaver
- Jeweler

EIGHT YOGINĪS WHO GIVE BIRTH TO SPIRITS

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Cāmuṇḍa | Butcher (meat seller in Tib.) |
| 2. Vaiṣṇavī | Pot maker |
| 3. Vārāhī | Load carrier |
| 4. Ṣaṇmukhī (six-faced one) | Prostitute |
| 5. Indrī | Seamstress |
| 6. Brahmāṇī | Fisherwoman |
| 7. Íśvarī | Dancer |
| 8. Lakṣmī | Washerwoman |

TEN WRATHFUL YOGINĪS WORSHIPPED BY THE YOGIN

1. Jambhanī	Medicinal fruit picker
2. Stambhakī	Cotton worker
3. Māla	Sesame oil presser
4. Subṛhadatibalā	Iron worker
5. Mārīcī	Tanner
6. Bhr̥kuṭī	Wood worker
7. Śrībuddhā	Barber's wife
8. Śrīkhalā	Reed worker
9. Vajrākṣī	Well digger
10. Veṇunṛtyā	Piper and Dancer

EIGHT EXTREMELY WRATHFUL YOGINĪS WITH ANIMAL FACES²

Family	Characteristic	Bo dong's Commentary
1. Mlecchā	Dog-Faced	Resides on the 8 cemeteries
2. Haḍḍinī	Boar-Faced	Sweeper of excrement
3. Mātāṅgī	Jackal-Faced	Generates heat (Tib. <i>gtum mo</i>)
4. Tāpinī	Tiger-Faced	Assists a Tajik (Tib. <i>stag gzig</i>)
5. Varvarī	Crow-Faced	Lives on the edge (Tib. <i>mta' 'khob</i>)
6. Pukkasī	Vulture-Faced	Cremator
7. Śrībhillī	Garuda-Faced	Wild woman
8. Śabarī	Owl-Faced	Jungle or mountain dweller

ENTITIES EXISTING ON THE SURFACE OF THE EARTH

	Female	Male
4	Castes	Buddhas
6	Sense vajras	Bodhisattvas
8	Carcikā/hungry ghosts	Hungry ghosts
10	Divisions of wrath	Dirs. of wrathful protectors
8	Animal-faced ones	Demons in Nāga-realm

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² According to Witzel (1997), Śrībhillī is common to Central India, while Śabarī is common to Orissa.

APPENDIX C

TIBETAN KĀLACAKRA PRACTITIONERS¹

ZHA LU PAS

Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290-1364)

JO NANG PAS

Yu mo ba Mi bskyod rdo rje (born c. 1027-1287, died at age 82)
 Dharmesvara (born when Yu mo was 56)

Dol pa 'Gar ston Dbang phug grub

Nam mkha' 'od zer

Se mo che ba Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan

'Jam gsar Shes rab 'od zer

Sha wa ra dbang phyug, a.k.a. Śavaripa

Kun mkhyen Chos sku 'od zer, a.k.a. Chos kyi 'od zer (1214-1292)

Thugs rje brtson 'grus (1243-1313)

Byang sems Rgyal ba ye shes (1257-1320)

Mkhas btsun Yon tan rgya mtsho (1260-1327)

Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan (1292-1361)

Nam mkha' byang chub

Jo nang Lo tsā ba Blo gros dpal (translator) (1299-1353)

Sa bzang Ma ti paṇ chen 'Jam dbyangs

Blo gros rgyal mtshan (translator) (1294-1376)

Kun spangs Chos grags dpal bzang po (1283-1363)

La stod Dbang rgyal (a.k.a. Gnyos Dbang rgyal)

Sa bzang Mati paṇ chen Blo gros rgyal mtshan

Grub chen Kun blo

'Jam dbyangs Dkon mchog bzang po

Nam mkha' chos skyong

Kun dga' grol mchog (1507-1566)

Man mkha' dpal bzang

Lo chen Ratnabhadra

Mkhan chen Lung rigs rgya mtsho

Rje btsun Tāranātha (sgrol mgon) Kun dga' snying po (1575-1634)

Khal kha rje btsun dam pa Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (1635-1723)

Kun bzang dbang po

BO DONG LUGS

Bo dong Phyogs las mam rgyal (1375-1451)

RNYING MA PAS

Klong chen Rab byams pa (1308-1364)

Kaḥ thog Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu (1698-1755)

'Jam mgon Kong sprul (1813-1899)

Mi pham rgya mtsho (1846-1912)

¹ van der Kuijp (1994); Stearns (1996a); Chandra (1985)

SA SKYA PAS

Rje btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan	(1147-1216)
Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (a.k.a. Sa skya Paṇḍita)	(1182-1251)
Lo tsā ba Mchog ldan	
Shong ston Rdo rje rgyal mtshan	(1283-1325)
Ti shri Kun dga' rgyal mtshan	(1310-1358)
Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan	(1312-1375)
Rong ston Sa skya rgyal mtshan	(1367-1449)
Sa bzang 'Phags pa gzhon nu blo gros	
Nor pa Kun dga' bzang po	(1382-1456)
Paṇ chen Shākya mchog ldan (a.k.a. Sa skya mchog ldan)	(1428-1507)
Go rams pa Bsod nams seng ge	(1429-1489)
Sgo rum Kun dga' legs pa	(1477-1544)
'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang phyug	(1524-1568)
'Jam mgon A myes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams	(1597-1659)
Zhu chen Tshul khrims rin chen	(1697-1774)
'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po	(1820-1892)

BJA' BRGYUD PAS

Shes rab 'byung gnas	(1187-1241)
Rgod tshang pa Mgon po rdo rje ('Brug pa Bka' brgyud)	(1189-1258)
Rgyal ba Yang dgon pa Rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po	(1213-1258)
Karma pa III Rang byung rdo rje	(1284-1339)
Jig rten mgon po (master of 'Bri gung)	
'Ba' ra ba Rgyal mtshan dpal bzang	(1310-1391)
Karma pa Dkon gzhon	
Karma pa VII Chos grags rgya mtsho	(1454-1506)
Karma 'phrin las pa	(1456-1539)
Karma Mi bskyod rdo rje	(1507-1554)
Karma pa XIII Bdud 'dul rdo rje	(1733-1797)
Zhwa dmar X Chos grub rgya mtsho	(1742-1792)
Dpa' bo Gtsug lag phreng ba	
Si tu paṇ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas	(1770-1774)

BJA' GDAMS PAS

Mchims Blo bzang grags pa

DGE LUGS PAS

Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa	(1357-1419)
Mkhas grub rje Dge legs dpal bzang	(1385-1438)
Rgyal tshab rje Dar ma rin chen	(1364-1431)
Byams chen Chos rje Shakya Ye shes	(1352-1435)
Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho	(1653-1705)
Ngag dbang chos kyi rgya mtsho	(1680-1736)
Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma	(1737-1802)
Paṇ chen Bsod nams grags pa	(1474-1554)
Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po	(1728-1791)
Gung thang Dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me	
Kir ti Mtshan zhabs Rin po che	(-present)
Gser khong Rin po che	
'Bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho (H.H. the 14th Dalai Lama)	(1935-present)

OTHERS

Ko brag pa	(1170-1249)
Rong pa Shes rab seng ge	(1251-1315)
Skyi ston 'Jam dbyangs grags rgyal mtshan	
Rin chen Bzang po	
Dge slong Shes rab grags (a.k.a. 'Bro Lo tsā ba, 'Bro Shes rab grags)	
Rwa Lo tsā ba	
Dpal ldan seng ge (synthesized Rwa and 'Bro traditions)	
Śākyaśrībhadra	(c. 1127-1225)
Rgwa lo Rnam rgyal rdo rje	(1203-1282)
Thar lo Nyi ma rgyal mtshan	
Vanaratna	(1384-1468)
Vibhūticandra	(c. 1200)
Ko brag pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan	(1182-1261)
Bsod nams grags pa	
Somanātha	
Sgro ston Gnam la brtsegs	
Byams gling paṇ chen Bsod nams nam rgyal	(1400-1475)
Go rams pa Bsod nams seng ge	(1429-1489)
G.yag sde paṇ chen	
Yar 'brog pa	
Dpang Lo tsā ba Blo gros brtan pa	
Rje btsun Chos kyi rgyal mtshan	

CRITICS OF THE KĀLACAKRA

Bcom ldan Rigs pa'i ral gri (Bka 'gdams pa)	(ca. 1240-1315)
Red mda' ba Gzhon nu blo gros (Sa skya)	(1348-1413)

APPENDIX D

VIDEO COVERAGE OF THE 1985/6 BODHGAYĀ EMPOWERMENT

The following comprises a companion text to Samaya Foundation's thirty-six hours of video coverage of the Dalai Lama's 1985/6 conferral of the Kālacakra Empowerment in Bodh Gayā.¹ This particular conferral of the Kālacakra Empowerment occurred at the Bodh Gayā *stūpa* Tibetans believe marks the location of Śākyamuni Buddha's enlightenment.

PREPARATIONS

Tape 15: 00-01-02 This image of the Maitreya Buddha comes from a Tibetan monastery in Bodhgayā. During the Great Prayer Festival, the image is carried in circumambulation of the Bodhgayā *stūpa* in order to accelerate the coming of Maitreya Buddha and his teachings to this universe.

02-06-10 Through the power of the karma of sentient beings, Tibetans believe that a thousand Buddhas will come to this world and that Maitreya will be the fifth. People touch and make offerings to Maitreya.

03-34-23 The Dalai Lama turns to face the image of Kālacakra portrayed in a Tibetan wall hanging called a "tangka." This tangka, which depicts Śākyamuni Buddha above Kālacakra, is not painted but is made of silk brocade. The dimensions of the tangka are the same as those of the Dalai Lama. To the left of the Dalai Lama is a structure housing the Kālacakra *maṇḍala* called a "thekpu." Two men behind the Dalai Lama pick up the prostration cloth (Tib. *phyag gdan*). The man on the right is one of his personal attendants; the man on the left is his personal secretary.

04-19-26 The Kālacakra *maṇḍala* is constructed. Prayers are offered and vases are arranged before the conferral of the Kālacakra Empowerment. When construction of the *maṇḍala* is complete, offerings and vases will be arranged around its perimeter. Before placing the vases around the edge of the *maṇḍala*, the Dalai Lama blesses the site to purify it. Before conferring the empowerment, the Dalai Lama visualizes the Kālacakra deities and *maṇḍala* in each of the ten vases. Each vase represents one female deity personifying the wisdom of enlightenment (Skt. *dākini*; Tib. *mkha' 'gro ma*).²

05-24-00 The Dalai Lama places sunflowers around the edge of the *maṇḍala*. Yellow symbolizes the Buddha and the Dharma, and yellow flowers symbolize good motivation.

08-41-23 Ten ritual daggers (Tib. *phur ba*) are placed around the *maṇḍala* as pro-

¹ I co-authored this text with the Venerable Lobsang Samten, an ex-monk from Namgyal Monastery who previously served as one of the Dalai Lama's four personal attendants. Samaya Foundation recorded this video coverage of His Holiness' December 1985/January 1986 Bodh Gaya conferral of the Kālacakra empowerment on Betacam, NTSC format video. The indexing of this video coverage was organized and directed by Barry Bryant, and all initial indexing was performed by The Venerable Lobsang Samten. The indexing uses SMPTE time-codes, which refer to material locations on the original tapes. Technical support and facilities were provided by Samaya Foundation for the translation of these video tapes. Philippe Goldin provided translation and spelling assistance with the Tibetan.

² Herrmann-Pfandt (1992)

tection against obstacles that might otherwise disturb the empowerment. These daggers symbolize the ten wrathful deities and the ten directions. Obstacles may be generated both internally and externally through physical and mental disturbances. For example, sickness is considered an internally-generated physical disturbance. Natural disasters and inclement weather are considered externally-generated physical disturbances. Externally-generated mental disturbances include apathy and poor motivation, such as the intention to receive the empowerment for personal fame and gain.

09-48-00 The Dalai Lama uses ritual implements to assist him in his prayers. Rice formed in the symbol of a flower is offered to the Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha and to the Kālacakra deities. This flower symbol is offered specifically to the eye-consciousness of these deities. A bowl of tea symbolizing a skull is offered to the taste-consciousness of the deities. The sound made by a tantric bell symbolizes "emptiness" (Skt. *śūnyatā*; Tib. *stong pa nyid*) because its sound originates in dependence upon all of the bell's parts. Analogously, Tibetan Buddhists believe that the self exists in complete dependence upon others, and that all existence is an interdependent network. The bell also symbolizes the feminine principle. A tantric implement called a "thunderbolt" (Skt. *vajra*; Tib. *rdo rje*) symbolizes the male principle and great bliss. The bell and thunderbolt are used together to symbolize the union of male and female. Turner notes the importance of exhibitions such as these in communicating "sacra," thereby contributing to disciples' inner transformation through the attainment of "gnosis."³

11-48-00 Monks from Namgyal Monastery circumambulate the *maṇḍala* three times with ritual daggers and vases before the Dalai Lama places these items around the perimeter of the *maṇḍala*.

12-54-02 As a form of deity yoga, the Namgyal monks chant the *mantra* of the Kālacakra *sādhana* to generate good motivation. After chanting the *mantra*, the Dalai Lama and the monks visualize themselves as Kālacakra.

15-14-16 Around the *maṇḍala*, monks make offerings to the five sense consciousnesses of deities. Decorative cakes (Tib. *zhal zas*) made from barley flour and butter are offered to the taste-consciousness. White scarves are offered to the touch-consciousness, incense to the smell-consciousness, the sound of the bell to the hearing-consciousness, and the beauty of the entire arrangement to the sight-consciousness.

16-21-00 The chanting master from Namgyal Monastery sits to the left of the Dalai Lama. This monk was jailed by the Chinese in Tibet from 1959 to 1977 and came to Dharamsala in the early 1980s.

Tape 16: 01-09-00 Seven "hand gestures" (Skt. *mudrā*; Tib. *phyag rgya*) are performed. Open palms symbolize water offerings to the taste-consciousness; hands in the shape of a flower symbolize offerings to the smell-consciousness; and hands in the shape of a conch shell symbolize offerings to the taste-consciousness (because food can be served in these shells). The gesture in which a practitioner's third fingers are extended symbolizes the flame of understanding that dispels illusion and misknowledge. The sound of cymbals is offered to the hearing-consciousness.

02-20-00 The monks purify themselves both mentally and physically. They visualize the channels and *cakras* of their subtle body as formed by the seven hundred and twenty-two Kālacakra deities. Monks purify each hand individually before making offering symbols with both hands.

³ Turner (1979: 239)

08-15-00 Monastics and laypersons circumambulate the *stūpa*.

Tape 17: 04-54-00 Incense is swung as an offering to the smell-consciousness of the deities.

07-36-00 The Dalai Lama chants the Kālacakra *sādhana* to assist in the visualization of deities in the vases.

Tape 18: The Dalai Lama bless laypersons, who offer scarves and money.

Tape 19: 00-04-00 During the preparation, offerings are made to the five senses.

08-20-00 Offerings of the five senses are made to the Kālacakra *maṇḍala*, Kālacakra deities, the lineage of Kālacakra teachers, and to Śākyamuni Buddha. Many things are visualized as offerings, including fruit, flowers, love and compassion.⁴

Tape 20: 00-04-00 A monks offers candles, flowers, water and incense. Water purifies the body, and the flame from the candles purifies the mind by dispelling the darkness of illusion and misknowledge.

03-38-00 The Dalai Lama makes four offerings. The first three are based upon an understanding of "emptiness" and interdependent origination" (Skt. *praṭītya samutpāda*; Tib. *rtan 'brel*): 1) outer offerings (Tib. *phyi'i mchod pa*) to the five senses (flowers, etc.); 2) inner offerings (Tib. *nang gi mchod pa*) that are blessed by being visualized as ambrosia (tea, etc.); and 3) secret offerings (Tib. *gsang gyi mchod pa*) such as tea symbolizing a secret substance (Tib. *gsang rdzas*). This secret substance is formed from the union of the female's blood and the male's sperm, which produces great bliss and causes the subtle mind to arise. In the secret offerings, great bliss and the generation of the subtle mind focused on the realization of emptiness are offered. The fourth type of offering is called "offerings of the essence of ultimate reality" (Tib. *de kho na nyid kyi mchod pa*) and consists of the visualizing all prior offerings as "empty" of inherent existence.

05-42-00 Offerings are made to each of the Buddhas and Kālacakra deities. One monk offers rice (symbolizing a flower) and water (symbolizing ambrosia). The chanting master rings the bell.

07-20-00 After the offerings, the monks thank those to whom they have made offerings.

DAY 1

Tape 22: 00-02-00 Lamas, monks, nuns, and laypeople arrive to see the Namgyal monks before the Kālacakra dance. The Kālacakra ritual dance is performed by seventeen monks, four facing each direction and one in the center. These monks symbolize the female beings that embody "emptiness." The monks dance around the *maṇḍala* and make offerings in the four directions. The dance is preceded by chanting to the accompaniment of Tibetan horns.

03-14-00 The attire worn by a monk during the Kālacakra dance is highly symbolic. White costumes symbolize north; red costumes symbolize south; blue/black costumes

⁴ According to Wayman (1973: 62), at the Kālacakra Empowerment in India in 1970, instead of being presented with a young woman, the Dalai Lama was presented with seven pots graced with peach blossoms.

symbolize east, and yellow costumes symbolize west. The seventeenth monk wears a white costume. The hat worn by each monk represents the five Buddha families. The mask shows the wrathful, protector face of the *dākinīs*. The cords hanging from the hat have five colors and symbolize the rainbow. Each monk also holds a "thunderbolt" and bell, symbolizing the union of bliss and the wisdom of "emptiness."

Preceding and during the Kālacakra Empowerment, the Dalai Lama and the Namgyal monks use four ritual texts. These texts contain information on preparing for the empowerment, conferring the empowerment, dismantling the *mandala*, and offering the sand from the dismantled *mandala* to the serpent-like beings of the waters and subterranean regions (Skt. *nāga*; Tib. *klu*).⁵ The four ritual texts consist of two *sādhana* texts, both composed by Bskal bzang rgya mtsho, the Seventh Dalai Lama (1708-1757). The first is the *Buddha, the Great Kālacakra's Sādhana of the Mandala of All Completion of Body, Speech and Mind, the Oral Transmission of the Buddhist scholar who has attained Perfection* (Tib. *Bcom ldan 'das dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i sku gsung thugs yong su rdzogs pa' dkyil 'khor gyi sgrub thabs Mkhas grub shal lung*). The second is the *Sādhana of the Mind Mandala of the Great Kālacakra, the Best Vase of all Perfection* (Tib. *Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i thugs dkyil gyi sgrub thabs dngos grub kun kyi bum bzang*). In addition to these two *sādhana* texts, there is one offering text composed by Mkhas grub rje. This text is called the *Buddha, the Great Kālacakra's Stages of the Mālā Offering* (Tib. *Bcom ldan 'das dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i mchod 'phreng gi rim pa*). The fourth text pertains to the actual rituals of empowerment and was also composed by Mkhas grub. This text is called *Great Kālacakra's Mandala Rituals of Best Clear Cognition* (Tib. *Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i dkyil chog dgongs pa rab gsal*).⁶

Tape 21: 02-59-00 This is the first day of the Kālacakra Empowerment. Morning preparations last for four to five hours. The Dalai Lama prostrates in front of the image of Kālacakra, visualizes himself as Kālacakra, makes offerings and bestows blessings, and chants the entire Kālacakra *sādhana*.

Tape 23: 03-14-00 There are actually three Kālacakra ritual dances. The first dance, not shown in this video, is called the "preparation dance" (Tib. *sa gar*). It is performed before the construction of the Kālacakra *mandala* to protect the Kālacakra Empowerment ceremonies and to bless the site for the empowerment. The second dance, shown here, is called the "offering dance" (Tib. *mchod gar*). It is performed after the construction of the Kālacakra *mandala*. The empowerment is given on the day after the dance is performed. In addition, there is a third dances called the Ceremonial Masked Dance that is used with rituals intended to overcome interferences.⁷

Tape 24: 00-02-00 The Dalai Lama recites the Kālacakra *sādhana*. This *sādhana* prescribes all of the steps involved in the Kālacakra preparation, empowerment, and daily practice. In general, the memorization of the requisite *mantras* is considered beneficial because it enables practitioners to concentrate on meditation and visualization exercises. Different orders of Tibetan Buddhists use different *sādhanas* in the Kālacakra Empowerment.

soms representing the female consort.

⁵ Ötrul (1988: 73) writes, "Then, thinking that the sand of the mandala is being offered to the Nagas, it is thrown into the water. It is believed that as a result of this offering the Nagas accumulate merit and the country remains prosperous, receiving plentiful rain and abundant crops."

⁶ Namgyal (1995)

⁷ T. Gyatso (1995: 107)

Tape 25: 2-11-51-23 The Dalai Lama performs "Guru Yoga," during which one visualizes ones guru emanating as the deity of the particular tantra. The monks visualize their personal teachers while requesting clear understanding, an expedient path to enlightenment, and assistance in developing good motivation.

2-14-57-10 The monks visualize twelve *dākinīs* making offerings to the guru and to Kālacakra. In the water offering, the *dākinīs* wash the bodies of the gurus and the body of Kālacakra.

2-20-13-00 The Dalai Lama makes offerings and visualizes himself as Kālacakra. According to the Namgyal monks, the process of self-visualization is like planting of a seed that will grow as one proceeds towards enlightenment. The Dalai Lama brings his hands together in a gesture of praise, which represents his humility before the Kālacakra deities.

Tape 26: 2-21-11-08 The Dalai Lama visualizes the Kālacakra *maṇḍala* and performs hand gestures associated with the offerings of the twelve *dākinīs*. Each *dākinī* makes a different hand gesture and makes offerings to Kālacakra and his retinue of deities. The twelve *dākinīs*, their colors and offerings follow:

- 1) Rol mo ma (green - offers melodious sounds);
- 2) Gar ma (green - offers dances);
- 3) Dri ma ma (black - offers a white conch shell filled with ambrosia);
- 4) Phrend ba ma (black - offers a garland of jewels);
- 5) Bdug spos ma (red - offers incense);
- 6) Mar me ma (red - offers light);
- 7) Lha bshos ma (white - offers food);
- 8) 'Bras bu ma (white - offers fruit);
- 9) Sgeg mo ma (yellow - offers crowns);
- 10) Bshad ma ma (yellow - offers the sounds of the bell);
- 11) Glu ma ma (blue - offers songs);
- 12) 'Dod ma ma (blue - offers whatever is wished for by the Buddhas and the *bodhisattvas*).

According to the Namgyal monks, at the lower levels of tantric practice, disciples merely visualize the *dākinīs* and their offerings. After years of practice, however, as ones concentration and motivation improve, a higher-level practitioner may actually manifest the *dākinīs*.

3-39-09-00 The Dalai Lama and the Namgyal monks recite the *mantras* of the Kālacakra deities. Each of the seven hundred twenty-two deities has a separate *mantra*. First, the Dalai Lama and the monks chant the *mantra* for Kālacakra himself and then for his consort, Viśvamātā. Next, they chant *mantras* for each of the ten *dākinīs*. Different *mantras* are then chanted for the mind, speech and body deities. In general, the order in which *mantras* are chanted corresponds to the construction of the *maṇḍala*. In a three-dimensional sense, Kālacakra, Viśvamātā, the ten *dākinīs* and the mind deities reside in the top level of the *maṇḍala*. The speech deities reside in the new lower level, and the body deities reside in the lowest level.

Tape 27: 3-42-17-17 The Dalai Lama and the monks visualize the Kālacakra *maṇḍala* and deities individually inside ten different vases. This serves a preparation for the vase empowerment, which will be discussed later. The deities and *maṇḍala* dissolve into the water in the vases. This water is later offered to those individuals receiving the empowerment.

4-03-29-19 The Dalai Lama and monks perform the "Generation Stage" (Skt. *utpattik-*

rama; Tib. *bskyed rim*) of deity yoga. First, they visualize the *mandala* deities and transform into these deities themselves. This is called "Generation of Self" (Tib. *bdag bskyed*). They also chant a *mantra* in which they generate the deities in front of themselves at the location of the sand painting. This is called "Generation in Front" (Tib. *mdun bskyed*). Again, the Namgyal monks believe that high tantric practitioners may actually manifest the deities.

Tape 29: 4-24-40-12 The Dalai Lama offers his praise to Śākyamuni Buddha, to the lineage of his gurus, to the lineage of Kālacakra, and to the Kālacakra deities.

4-29-02-15 On the night before the first day of the Kālacakra Empowerment, students are told to attend to their dreams, which will be analyzed by the lamas the next day. Strings are given to the disciples. There are three knots on each string representing the body, speech and mind deities, respectively. Before going to sleep, men must tie the rope around their upper left forearm, women around their upper right forearm. Tying the ropes at these points has a twofold purpose -- it blesses the channels of ones subtle body and it protects one from obstructions to the dreams.

4-34-49-00 The Kālacakra *sādhana* has ended.

4-35-00-00 On the morning of the first day of the Kālacakra Empowerment, students approach the place for empowerment. The Dalai Lama approaches his throne and prostrates to the Kālacakra deities, his guru, and to his throne. He prostrates to his throne to show his humility.

4-40-44-13 The Dalai Lama and the other participants perform the prayers of refuge in the three "jewels" of Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha and also the bodhicitta prayer. These prayers assist them in establishing the good motivation deemed essential for tantric practice.

Tape 30: 04-46-44-16 The Dalai Lama explains that those who participate in the empowerment must have some understanding of "emptiness" and of *bodhicitta*. They must also possess moral self-discipline. It is best if one has taken the vows of a fully ordained monk or nun, at a lower level the novice vows, are at the lowest level the layperson's vows. If not, one must at the least restrain from the ten non-virtuous actions (murder, theft, sexual misconduct, lying, slander, irresponsible chatter, verbal abuse, covetousness, vindictiveness, and holding wrong views). The Dalai Lama confers the vows to restrain oneself from these ten non-virtuous actions. If one is not able to abandon all ten non-virtuous actions, then one should at least abandon the five negative actions (murder, theft, sexual misconduct, lying, and drinking alcohol).

04-54-00-00 The Dalai Lama explains various vows. To fully participate in the Kālacakra Empowerment, students must take vows to abandon the ten non-virtuous actions, the *bodhisattva* vows, and the tantric vows.

04-54-20-00 Participants take the vows from the essence of seeking refuge in the three jewels of Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. The Dalai Lama explains that the Dharma is the most essential refuge. He states:⁸

When we think of the Dharma refuge ... we think of the actual attainment of true cessation where all the obscurations ... are to be pacified and stilled within the sphere of reality -- dharmadhatu -- we think in terms of Dharma refuge -- in that actual state. So, we think in terms of the three jewels of

⁸ T. Gyatso (1986: 2-4)

refuge, including the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha -- the actual refuge being the Dharma. ... The main point of the refuge is to have full confidence in the laws of cause and effect and to lead one's life in terms of this confidence. We think that whatever type of negative actions there might be, that we are going to avoid them, and whatever kind of constructive actions we shall try our best to bring them about. This is like a preliminary for the Kālacakra Tantra initiation.

The Dalai Lama recites the refuge and laypersons' vows three times. He also explains the procedure for taking vows.

Tape 31: 5-08-20-00 Music is performed with horns, bells and cymbals. The Dalai Lama and the monks offer ritual cakes (Tib. *bgegs gtor*) made of barley flour (Tib. *rtsam pa*) to demons to send them away from the ceremony. The Dalai Lama recites a text to create a "common protection wheel" (Tib. *bsrung 'khor*) around the entire area.

5-14-40-00 The Dalai Lama explains the offering. This offering consists of offering an arrangement with Mt. Meru in the center and other offering substances in the eight directions. The chanting master introduces this offering to the students.

5-17-30-00 The monks chant while objects are offered to the guru.

5-18-00-00 The monks recite a little chant to request the Dalai Lama to confer the empowerment and to thank him.

5-22-40-00 The Dalai Lama cautions the students to listen carefully to the teachings and to consider why they are there.

Tape 35: 06-38-17-24 There are six sections to the empowerment preparations: 1) Setting motivation for conferring the inner empowerment. Disciples visualize Kālacakra and the *maṇḍala* while listening to verses emphasizing the motivation to seek enlightenment in order to benefit all sentient beings; 2) Requesting disciples to take firm hold of tantra;

Tape 36: 06-54-48-00 3) Taking vows to safeguard and receive blessings. Disciples visualize themselves taking the vows with the Buddhas and *bodhisattvas*; 4) Tossing the stick and giving the sips of water. Before tossing the stick, disciples receive the blessings of the various Buddha families by visualizing the seed syllables for wisdom on six parts of their bodies; 5) Arranging the six Buddha families and invoking Vajrasattva. Disciples visualize themselves as Kālacakra. They also visualize the six syllables at the six places on their bodies; 6) Explaining dharma practices to enhance disciples' happiness and instructing on the examination of dreams. The Dalai Lama blesses the *kuśa* grass, and the monks give some to each student. *Kuśa* grass symbolizes clarity and is used to insure that students have clear dreams. Students place this grass underneath their mattresses and pillows and recite a six-syllable *mantra*.⁹

DAY 2

Tape 39: Disciples visualize themselves as Kālacakra, and they imagine they are outside the eastern gate on the lowest floor of the five-story *maṇḍala*. They then visualize themselves offering the *maṇḍala*.¹⁰

⁹ T. Gyatso (1986: 22-30)

¹⁰ T. Gyatso (1986: 32)

Tape 41: 10-31-25-11 The Dalai Lama recites the Kālacakra lineage from Śākyamuni Buddha to himself.

Tape 42: 10-42-25-01 The Dalai Lama discusses the qualifications of teachers and students. The highest teacher is a full monk, the middle is a novice, and the lowest is a layperson. Disciples are disqualified from taking the empowerment by pride and arrogance.¹¹

10-45-30-00 The seven empowerments of childhood enable disciples to perform the Generation Stage practices. The four higher empowerments enable disciples to perform the Completion Stage practices. A "vajra master empowerment" (Skt. *ācāryābhiṣeka*; Tib. *rdo rje slob dpon gyi dbang*) also is conferred.

10-48-30-00 An actual *maṇḍala* of powdered rock serves as the basis for the seven empowerments of childhood.

10-50-30-00 The disciples recite a *mantra* requesting the empowerment.

10-53-34-21 The Dalai Lama gives deity cloths to the monks and nuns. They wear these cloths along with representations of the hair and top-knots of the deity to assist them as they visualize themselves as Kālacakra.

10-55-00-00 The Dalai Lama holds a flower. Later, disciples will offer flowers to Kālacakra when they pass the *maṇḍala*. Disciples wear red cloths to cover their eyes while they are outside the *maṇḍala*.

10-58-00-00 Disciples visualize themselves as Kālacakra holding a thunderbolt and a bell and embracing his consort, Viśvamātā.

11-01-00-00 The Dalai Lama explains that students should take the empowerment in order to benefit all sentient beings.

11-02-25-00 A monk passes water, which is used to purify the body and mind of the disciples.

Tape 43: 11-03-00-00 The Dalai Lama confers the *bodhisattva* vows, and disciples repeat the verses on *bodhicitta* three times. The Dalai Lama confers the tantric vows, which are also recited three times.

Tape 44: 11-27-08-00 After the vows are recited, the Dalai Lama explains various modes of proper conduct. The Dalai Lama also explains the importance of the simultaneous cultivation of wisdom and compassion. One visualizes one's own heart as the union of a thunderbolt (the symbol of wisdom) and a lotus petal (the symbol of compassion). The Dalai Lama then explains the meaning of "emptiness" which is coterminous with "interdependent origination."

11-40-00-00 Disciples visualize themselves entering the *maṇḍala* through the eastern gate and circumambulating it three times in a clockwise direction.¹² While the vajra master says the *mantra* of the vajra guard of the eastern gate, the ritual attendant draws back the curtain. The disciples imagine that the vajra guard opens the door. Saying the *mantra* and holding the vajra in the lama's hand they imagine entering the eastern

¹¹ T. Gyatso (1986: 35)

¹² T. Gyatso (1986: 50)

door of the *maṇḍala*. ... In order to prostrate to the principal deity the disciples transform into Akṣobhya. ... By the power of prostrating to all the deities from the eastern gate and principally to the Buddha Akṣobhya, a replica comes forth from him and dissolves into the disciples, who reflect that they have not achieved the ability to serve and please Akṣobhya. ... The disciples at the eastern door transform into Amoghasiddhi. ... Making supplication and recalling the meaning of the *mantra*, a replica of Amoghasiddhi comes forth and dissolves into the disciples, who think that they have achieved the ability to worship Amoghasiddhi and perform sublime activities.¹³

This procedure continues at each of the additional three gates of the *maṇḍala*, which Ratnasambhava at the southern gate dissolving into the disciples and conferring upon them the ability to confer empowerments; Amitabha at the northern gate dissolving into the disciples and enabling them to turn the wheel of the doctrine, and Vairocana at the western door dissolving into the disciples and granting them the capacity to worship and to serve.

Tape 45: 11-47-40-00 Disciples visualize themselves as the wrathful form of Kālacakra, called Vajravega, in order to act against negative actions, words and thoughts.

The disciples transform into Vajravega according to the lama's instructions. Light radiating from the lama's heart stirs the wind, the fire blazes, light from the syllables *JHAI* at the soles of the feet of the disciples as Vajravega agitates the four radiant syllables, from which light rays shine, filling the entire body. Light radiating from the *HUM* at the lama's heart invites all the Buddhas in the form of the Transcendent Subduer Kālacakra and wrathful beings, who fill the whole of space and enter into the disciples' bodies. ... The purpose of generating the disciples into Vajravega is to purify the environment and its inhabitants, which are brought about by wind of the ordinary central channel. The exclusive environment and its inhabitants are accomplished mainly by blessing the central channel with the pure energy-wind of Vajravega's central channel.¹⁴

11-57-50-00 To determine disciples' affiliations with particular Buddha families, a flower is tossed onto a tray near the *maṇḍala*.

Tape 46: 11-00-00-00 The Dalai Lama discusses the subtle body and explains the relationship of the seven hundred and twenty-two deities in the *maṇḍala* to the subtle points of the body. Disciples perform a recitation to complete the ceremony of entering the *maṇḍala*.

11-16-40-00 The Dalai Lama explains the Six-Session Guru Yoga for daily practice. Disciples then request the empowerments and these are conferred. Chanting concludes the second day.

DAY 3

Tape 50: 15-02-15-00 Prayers are recited to Śākyamuni Buddha and offerings are made.

15-17-43-00 The Dalai Lama tells disciples to visualize themselves in the eastern gate of the *maṇḍala*. The door of this gate was opened during the second day. One visual-

¹³ Yeshe (1991: 121-123)

¹⁴ Yeshe (1991: 123-124)

izes the guru and Kālacakra as one being. Disciples visualize themselves on the ground floor of the body *maṇḍala* with Kālacakra on the fourth story of the *maṇḍala*.¹⁵ Disciples then visualize themselves as the combined form of the guru and Kālacakra at the eastern gate of the *maṇḍala*. A recitation is made.

Tape 53: 15-54-15-10 After removing obstructions, further preparations for the seven empowerments of childhood consist of offering perfume, flowers, water and light. Disciples then face the white face of Kālacakra, make an offering, and request the first set of empowerments.¹⁶

15-57-45-01 The seven empowerments of childhood are conferred.¹⁷ These are the water, crown, silk ribbon, vajra and bell, conduct, name, and permission empowerments.

The water empowerment is preceded by preparatory rituals designed to enhance the status of initiates and to elevate their status by readjusting their motivation towards increased altruism. It is also preceded by students' entrance into and viewing of the Kālacakra *maṇḍala*.¹⁸ After recitation of the appropriate *mantra*, disciples "enter" the *maṇḍala* of Kālacakra. Before "entering" the *maṇḍala*, disciples visualize themselves as the deity Kālacakra. They don articles of clothing symbolically belonging to the deity, including his lower and upper robes and his red crown head dress. Because disciples are not yet ready to see the secrets of the *maṇḍala*, they also wear blindfolds. Disciples then visualize themselves as Kālacakra in union with his consort Viśvamātā. They take various vows and declare their intention to help all sentient beings. The curtain around the sand *maṇḍala* is lifted and the blindfolded students are led inside by the lama through the eastern door. There, they circumambulate the *maṇḍala* three times and pay obeisance to the principal deities representing the five lineages of the Buddha. At the same time, they are instructed to visualize the *maṇḍala* in three dimensions and to visualize themselves traversing the inner recesses of this structure. To counteract the excitement they have generated during this process, disciples are calmed by means of a flower that is placed on their heads.¹⁹ When the empowerment is given to large groups, only one or two monks physically circumambulate the *maṇḍala*. All others in the audience are told to visualize this process.

Having recited the appropriate *mantra* and having entered the *maṇḍala*, the water empowerment begins. The seven empowerments of childhood successively purify different aspects of the disciple's mental and physical being. Within this framework, the water empowerment purifies the body, specifically the "five constituents" (Tib. *'byung ba lnga*) of earth, water, fire, wind, and space.²⁰ The physical constituents and aggregates are purified during the initial stage of the disciple's development in the womb. During this empowerment, the disciple is reborn into a new, purified state, suitable as a receptacle for tantric teachings.

During the water empowerment, disciples face the northern, white face of Kālacakra as represented in the *maṇḍala* and imagine themselves as the white aspect of Kālacakra.²¹ Kālacakra has four faces, each of which has directional and color attributes. His black

¹⁵ T. Gyatso (1986: 62-63)

¹⁶ Berzin (1986: 68-69)

¹⁷ Yeshe (1991: 125-129)

¹⁸ T. Gyatso (1985b: 75-105); Abhayākara Gupta (1991)

¹⁹ T. Gyatso (1985b: 217-254)

²⁰ T. Gyatso (1985b: 73)

²¹ T. Gyatso (1985b: 263)

face faces east and emanates the his fierce aspect. His red face faces south and exhibits desire. His yellow face faces west and dwells in meditative stabilization. And his white face faces north and represents his peaceful aspect. The four groups of phenomena -- body, speech, mind, and pristine consciousness -- correspond to these four faces of Kālacakra. Specifically, the white face is related to the body, which explains why disciples face this direction during purification of the body.²²

The Water Initiation:²³

Disciples are drawn into the mouth of the lama in the form of the vajra body of the principal deity. Passing through his body and melting into drops, they are generated into the vajra body of the deity with consort, and the wisdom being dissolves into them. Disciples imagine that all the male and female Buddhas and *bodhisattvas* are invited, melt and enter the body of the lama, and thereby grant the initiation of the mind of enlightenment. By receiving this initiation of the mind of enlightenment, disciples generate the internal initiation in their mental continuums. Imagining that they emerge from the womb of the consort, they are placed on the initiation seat. This initiation purifies the basis of the physical aggregates and constituents.

"Water from the conch purifies the disciples' constituents, space, air water, fire and earth. The water, the cleansing substance and the internal constituents, are generated into the commitment beings, the five mothers,²⁴ who are themselves the factors for purifying the five constituents. By dissolving into them and becoming inseparable from them, the wisdom beings confer the initiation and impress the seal (of the lineage) on the disciples, who are now inseparable from the water in the vases." This initiation "clears away the defilements of the five constituents and transforms them into the nature of the five mothers. It authorizes the disciples to achieve feats and activities dependent on the five mothers during the path, and leaves potencies to achieve the first ground as its result."

The Crown Initiation

The disciples' five aggregates and the initiation substance, the crown itself, are transformed into emptiness. From within emptiness, the disciples' aggregates of consciousness and the green crown *Ah* transform into vajras from which are generated green Akṣobhyas. The disciples' aggregates of compositional factors and the black crown *E* transform into swords, from which are generated black Amoghasiddhis. The disciples' aggregates of feelings and the red crown *Ri* transform into jewels from which are generated the red Ratnasambhavas. The disciples' aggregates of discrimination and the white crown *U* transform into white lotuses from which are generated white Amitabhas. The disciples' form aggregates and the yellow crown *Lam* transform into wheels, from which are generated yellow Vairocanas. All of these are generated with appropriate symbols in their hands and both male and female partners appear in their respective colors. They become of one taste with their respective commitment beings.

"The mothers grant the initiation to the deities of the initiations substances. ... The male and female deities are absorbed, melted by the fire of desire, and become the crown, the initiation substance. Light rays from the *HUM* at the heart of the lama inseparable from the principal deity invite the initiation deities such as male and female Buddhas with their sons and daughters, who fill the expanse of space." This initiation "cleanses the defilements of the five aggregates. It authorizes disciples to achieve feats by way of the five Buddhas and leaves potencies of the five Buddhas in their mental

²² T. Gyatso (1985b: 74-80); Yeshe (1991)

²³ This section draws on Yeshe (1991).

²⁴ The five consorts of the five Buddhas are referred to as the five "wisdom mothers."

continuums and gives the power to attain the second ground as the result."

The Water Initiation / The Crown Initiation

As the aggregates are formed in the womb, the two initiations in the sector of the northern face of the exalted body cleanse physical defilements and establish the seed of the vajra body "in order to establish potencies, such that the impure constituents and aggregates, which are factors of the disciples' own bodies, are cleansed of defilements as entities of the male and female Buddhas. These two initiations authorize disciples to achieve the feat of a vajra body."

The Silk Ribbon Initiation

A *mandala* is offered to the lama who is visualized "inseparable from the vajra speech of Kālacakra in order to receive the silk ribbon initiation that cleanses the defilements of the ten winds. The disciples make the *mantra* supplication three times mindful of its meaning. The disciples are generated into the vajra speech of Kālacakra and granted the inner initiation. They should visualize the ten winds according to the lama's explanation; the silk ribbons are generated into the ten consorts.

"The vajra master touches the disciples' five places with the silk ribbon and then affixes it to their brows, by the power of which nectar descends, cleansing all defilements of the ten winds." This initiation "clears away the defilements of the ten winds and makes them serviceable. It leaves potencies for the ten perfections in the disciples' continuums and grants them the ability to attain the third ground as its result."

The Vajra and Bell Initiation

The disciples "should imagine that their right and left channels are generated into the principal deity and his consort." This initiation "clears away defilements of the right and left channels. It leaves potencies for binding the winds of the right and left channels in the central channel and establishes seeds for the exalted mind, the great bliss and exalted speech in all forms. It also bestows the capacity to purify the internal sun and moon and to attain the fourth ground."

Conduct Initiation

This initiation "clears away defilements from the sense powers and objects." "The disciples are now generated into vajra mind deities and granted the internal initiation. Objects of the disciples' senses and the initiation substance, which is the vajra thumb ring, are generated into Bodhisattvas and their consorts. ... "Just as the objects of the sense powers are generated into deities and blessed, the disciples are authorized to achieve the feats of the male and female Bodhisattvas and enjoy the attributes of the desire realm by understanding their nature, which is bliss and emptiness. It also gives the capacity to achieve the vajra sense powers and their sources, as well as attain the fifth ground as its result."

The Name Initiation

This initiation "cleanses the faculty of action as well as activities." The disciples' action faculties and the initiation substance are generated into wrathful deities with their consorts. This initiation "clears away the defilements (leading to) birth in the lower realms. It cleanses the action faculties and their activities and authorizes disciples to achieve feats of the male and female wrathful deities and grants the capacity to overcome the four hindrances the four immeasurable wishes and attain the sixth ground."

The Permission Initiation

This initiation "cleanses the pristine consciousness." "Disciples should visualize according to the ritual text that they are generated into vajra pristine consciousness deities. Disciples and hand symbols are generated serially into Vajrasattvas and con-

sorts. The initiation is given by the Vajrasattvas and consorts residing in the *mandala* through holding hand symbols which are the initiation substances. Then the five hand symbols, vajra sword, jewel, lotus and wheel, are placed in the disciples' hands in order to tame beings. A water initiation is given as an appendage to the initiation." Other appendages include "giving *mantra*," "giving eye medicine," "giving the mirror," and "giving the master's initiation."²⁵

"Just as the wind of pristine consciousness (bliss) circulates just after a child is born, the permission initiation as well as its appendages clear away defilements of the pristine consciousness (bliss). Planting the seed of Vajrasattva in the mental continuum clears away the constituents of pristine consciousness (bliss), and gives the capacity to attain the seventh ground as its fruit."

What is Purified by the Seven Empowerments

These empowerments "clear away the defilements of ill deeds, they authorize disciples to cultivate the stage of generation and the achievement of the feats of the highest pure land. They set potencies for the collection of merit and grant practices and releases related to the stage of generation."

Tape 59: 17-59-30-00 After the completion of the seven empowerments, The Dalai Lama explains the "commitment" (Skt. *samaya*; Tib. *dam tshig*). This is an important agreement to follow the practices that generate a close bond between disciple, guru and Kālacakra.

18-00-50-00 The Dalai Lama describes the four higher empowerments that follow the first seven. A *mantra* is recited in Sanskrit.

18-02-10-00 A *mandala* is offered as the basis for the first of the four higher empowerments. Disciples request the empowerment three times, and the Dalai Lama explains the empowerment.

²⁵ Yeshe (1991: 128-129)

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