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THE ROLE OF ALCHEMY AND MEDICINE IN INDO-TIBETAN TANTRISM

Indiana University

PH.D.

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THE ROLE OF ALCHEMY AND MEDICINE IN INDO-TIBETAN TANTRISM

by

Michael L. Walter

Submitted to the faculty of the Graduate School
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS
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WORKS MOST OFTEN CITED

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- BOSE Bose, D.M.; Sen, S.N.; and Subbarayappa, B.V., eds. A Concise History of Science in India. New Delhi: The Indian National Science Academy, 1971.
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- FESTUGIERE Festugière, André-Jean, La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste. Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1949-1954.
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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the present work is to examine some important aspects of the relationship between Indo-Tibetan Tantric doctrines and esoteric medical and chemical processes. This has been done by analyzing texts from several varieties of Tibetan literature within two perspectives. The first is that of the religious and scientific systems in which these texts functioned. The second is comparative, an attempt to relate doctrines and practices from the Tantric milieu to those of the Gnostic groups which flourished in the Western Mediterranean area during the first centuries of the Christian Era.

To proceed according to the first viewpoint is to pursue the reasonable path of attempting to define a component of a religious system within its proper context, which will aid in judging the degree to which that component (here, two of the traditional sciences¹) has been integrated into the whole (the system of Tantric beliefs and practices). The purpose of the second viewpoint is to set out briefly the similarities which exist in the world-views of Tantrics and Gnostics, noting how these have surfaced in their chemical and medical symbolism and practices.

It is hoped that these sciences will be seen as important components in the complex of Tantric practices. To help support the data brought out in the above-mentioned texts, biographical materials on one of the figures most responsible

for introducing these concepts into Tibetan religious culture have also been included.

The study of esoteric scientific literature involves a proverbial store of difficulties revolving around two central points. The first is that such scientific literature represents a closed system. While all scientific disciplines (traditional and modern) follow technical manuals which are inscrutable to the untrained, practitioners of esoteric systems have in addition never composed clear and comprehensive statements on the theory and practice of their paths. Rather, they have entrusted their essentials to the more private and defensible realm of oral transmission.² Secondly, what has been written down is very often in a rather corrupt state or is veiled in curt, poetic formulations.³

If the impediments just mentioned are familiar to those who have studied Tantric literature in general, one may well imagine the difficulties inherent in investigating the traditional sciences practiced in Tantric circles. Until sometime between the third and sixth centuries A.D.⁴ it was as secret a tradition as were many of those Gnostic and alchemical groups whose existence we now know of only by name or through some brief reference in a secondary source. After that time many of their works came to be written down, but were fully intelligible only in the context of Tantric religious culture, a lifestyle far removed from the traditions of more orthodox Hindus and Buddhists. This sameness of location — far outside the mainstream of the culture of the area —

is the most general similarity between Tantrism and Gnosticism; many more comparisons will be drawn below, in Part One.

When investigating such secret scientific traditions we then peer, as it were, through stained-glass windows at glimmering lights which are carefully hidden from the casual passer-by. It goes without saying that investigators interested in such phenomena amongst the Chinese, Muslims, Europeans, et alii face similar obstacles.⁵ Fortunately, the rewards for any sort of success in these fields are enormous. Consider, for example, a few of the major desiderata of the Indo-Tibetan area: compiling useable vocabularies for these disciplines which could be applied to a given number of texts; the translation of even one major text, and the critical edition of nearly all others; finally, the relation — fairly set out — of traditional sciences to the goals and practices of the major religious traditions of these cultural areas.

It is hoped that what is discussed herein may provide a perspective for the study of traditional sciences which will supplement the approaches taken by many leading scholars in the field of the History of Science, such as Prafulla Chandra Ray and Marcellin Berthelot, whose works are — from a negative point of view — piecemeal and materialistically oriented.⁶ A criticism especially applicable to Ray and those who have followed in his tracks in the study of alchemy is that the time has long since passed that we should have to rely upon the translations of a few ślokas or lines from a small number of works as a basis for grandiose statements about the

nature and history of an entire tradition. The same situation, fortunately to a smaller extent, obtains as well in the study of Indian medicine and, mutatis mutandis, its Tibetan counterpart.⁷

The ramifications of utilizing several approaches to the history of such disciplines will perhaps also be felt on the broader international stage. Many Orientalists and Historians of Science have apparently assumed that there is no more to the story of these areas than has been heretofore presented, to judge from the amount of primary research currently being conducted in these areas. Yet, few if any basic questions in these areas have been answered, so we are hardly in a position to conclude that Indian and Tibetan contributions beyond their own borders have been of a particular shape, or in which directions they have moved.⁸

Those Tibetan materials which have recently come to light, together with those which we may hope to see, will provide a boon to those students interested in the transmission and adaptation of scientific ideas in Asia, especially in that important period of the second half of the first millenium A.D.⁹ In particular they are a great gift to the historian of Indian science. In addition to providing, in certain cases, translations and commentaries of lost Sanskrit originals, they will also show — through an extensive native literature — a flourishing development of Indian conceptions which will help make sense of what might otherwise remain obscure or unnoticed tendencies in Indian and Central Asian

scientific and religious materials. An omen for such developments was presented to us long ago in the discovery of what has become famous as the 'Bower Manuscript'. This collection of medical texts found in Eastern Turkestan in about the year 1890 is at once the oldest Sanskrit manuscript extant and a striking proof for the popularity of Indian medicine in Central Asia from the first centuries of the Christian Era on. Inasmuch as the Tibetans copied much scientific material which came into their hands, we can expect to find such valuable things in their literature as well.¹⁰

FOOTNOTES

1. Traditional sciences may be said to differ from their modern counterparts in that they have at least a partially sacred function. Under this description, all sciences practiced in non-modern cultures may be included, for "it must never be forgotten that for non-modern man — whether he be ancient or contemporary — the very stuff of the Universe has a sacred aspect. The cosmos speaks to man and all of its phenomena contain meaning. They are symbols of a higher degree of reality which the cosmic domain at once veils and reveals. The very structure of the cosmos contains a spiritual message for man and is thereby a revelation coming from the same source as religion itself...the cosmos itself is an integral part of that total Universe of meaning in which man lives and dies." [Sevyed Hossein NASR, The Encounter of Man and Nature, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1968, page 21.]
2. As an example, in the Western alchemical tradition the following may be noted: Although scholars in the area are nearly unanimous in attributing to ancient Egypt's hieratic orders a major role in the founding and development of Hellenistic alchemical schools, no alchemical text from their hands is extant. This is attributable to both the esoteric nature of the science and the economic wisdom of the Pharonic and Ptolemaic leadership. They, like the Han rulers of the second century B.C., feared the inflationary impact of loose gold. Zosimos, a third century alchemist, reports that the Egyptian priesthood was prohibited from writing down anything concerning metallurgical matters [LINDSAY 1970:58].
3. The very act of writing down texts in an esoteric tradition may signal the end of a period of growth and hail a period of decline in which its custodians are not so interested in preserving its essentials, or have lost track of them through overspecialization. SHEPPARD [1958:96] discusses the tensions between 'practical' alchemy and religious Gnosticism which may be seen when one compares a large number of Greek texts spanning a period of time. He concludes that, after a period of time, Gnostic soteriology came to dominate and then replace interest in applied alchemy. The picture is quite clear in India, where even the earliest Tantric literature (the Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa and the Guhyasamāja-tantra, for example) is specialized in content and purpose. Such factors as these must also be taken into account when one attempts to define an esoteric tradition as being 'this' or 'that' based on the study of a small number of texts.

4. This is the generally accepted range of dates for the composition of the Guhyasamāja-tantra, a Buddhist work, in written form. On the time of its composition see Benovtosh BHATTACARYYA, "Tantrika Culture among the Buddhists" [The Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. IV: 263], Maurice WINTERNITZ, "Notes on the Guhyasamāja Tantra and the Age of the Tantras", Indian Historical Quarterly IX, 1933:1-10, and Alex WAYMAN [WAYMAN 1977: 97].
5. In the opening chapter of his Chinese Alchemy: Preliminary Studies [Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1968:12], Nathan SIVIN presents a competent essay on the problems of study in that area, many of which are (as the author points out) universal in scope. He sets forth a simple, practical, yet rigorous methodology for coming to grips with this literature which is worthy of imitation by scholars in other culture-areas: "The problem does not differ in kind from that of deciphering the dead terminology of ancient technology . . . one begins from a basic familiarity with classical Chinese and reads the sources from one period or school together closely and repeatedly, each time beginning from a new level of understanding, until their content has fallen into place." While this approach will not solve the most difficult problems, it will nevertheless take us further than we have yet gone in understanding the inner consistency of the systems which we deal with.
6. Ray's History of Chemistry in Ancient and Mediaeval India and the works of Berthelot are, indeed, "classics" in their fields. It is, however, difficult to say whether they achieved their status in spite of, or as a result of, lacking any sensitivity to the religious dimensions of the works with which they dealt, and paying scant regard to the cultural milieus in which they functioned. They, like many others, have assumed that texts largely composed of formulae and lacking in doctrinal content reflect the secular nature of the subject matter. Is it not just as reasonable to assume that, like the highly technical yogic and meditational manuals of various traditions, they are merely expanding on practices which presuppose a spiritual preparation and orientation? At least two modern Indian students of alchemy argue for this approach; see C.S. Narayanaswami AIYAR, "Ancient Indian Chemistry and Alchemy of the Chemico-Philosophical Siddhānta System of the Indian Mystics" [Proceedings and Transactions of the Third Oriental Conference, Madras, 1925: 597-614], and Bhudeb MOOKERJI, Rasa-jala-nidhi [Calcutta, 1926-38], a five-volume compendium of recipes and advice culled from many alchemical works as well as oral teachings from his rasācārya, alchemical teacher.

7. A notable exception has been the attention drawn by the pharmacological traditions in India and Tibet due to the possibility of an immediate practical application of that information; notices of the first Portuguese in India and the earliest Western scholarship on Tibet show this influence. On the history of Indian study see A.K. GHOSH, "European Interest in Botanical Studies in India from Mediaeval Times," in BOSE, pp. 400-402. One of the first scholarly works on subjects Tibetan in the West was Joseph REHMANN's Beschreibung einer Thibetanischen Handapotheke; ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis Arzneykunde Asiens, which appeared in St. Petersburg in 1811.
8. The most competent and energetic scholar in the field of Indian medicine, Jean FILLIOZAT, has pointed out many interesting parallels between Indian and foreign conceptions in such works as La doctrine classique de la médecine indienne; ses origines et ses paralleles grecs [Paris, 1949]. Beyond his valuable research little has been done in this area.
9. The reader's attention is directed to a forthcoming article by Christopher I. Beckwith in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, "The Introduction of Greek Medicine in Tibet in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries."
10. In point of fact, many of the Tibetan alchemical works seen by this author show--even upon a cursory inspection--a non-Buddhist, and in particular a Śaivite, influence. The reader may note the colophons to two versions of the Sarveśvararasāyanarogaharaśarīrapuṣṭakanāma / Thams-cad-kyi-dbañ-phyug-bcud-len-nad-thams-cād-'joms-śiñ-lus-kyi-stobs-rgyas-par-byed-pa-žes-bya-ba, from the Bstan-'gyur. In the Snar-thañ edition as printed by RAY (p. 451) we read: dbañ-phyug gis bstan pa'i rin po che'i bcud len grub par rdzogs so, "Here is finished the text on acquiring the precious elixir, as taught by Iśvara." Inasmuch as Iśvara is an epithet of Śiva, this is a text either revealed by Śiva or taught by one of his followers. The edition utilized by Berthold LAUFER in his translation and study [at the conclusion of Heinrich LAUFER's Beiträge zur Kenntnis der tibetischen Medizin, Berlin & Leipzig, 1900, pp. 84ff] contains this additional statement in its colophon: "Der Yogin Ćivadāça aus Haridhobar und der aus Udyāna haben die Schrift in Bhūtra ubersetzt." Explicitly Śaivite materials are also found in Vyāḍi-pa's Rasaśāstrasiddhināma / Dñul-chu-grub-pa'i-bstan-bcos (Book No of the Sde-dge Bstan-'gyur).

In the realm of Ayurvedic medicine, a number of works not yet recovered may shed light on that tradition and the manner in which it was utilized in Tibet. One notes, e.g., mention of the Tsa-ra-ka-sde-brgyad, 'The Eight-part (Commentary) on the Caraka', presumably materials on the Caraka-saṁhitā, the most fundamental work on Āyurvedic

medicine (this cycle is mentioned in RECHUNG RINPOCHE's Tibetan Medicine, illustrated in Original Texts, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1973, on pages 8, 11, and 202).

The study of non-Buddhist Indian scientific works has not been confined to the earlier periods of Tibetan history only. A reference to a seventeenth-century grammatical treatise by Bhattojī Dīksita may be found in a Bstan-'gyur text; see the article by Sujitkumar MUKHOPADHYAYA, "Tibetan Translation of Prakriyā-kaumudī and the Mention of Siddhānta-Kaumudī therein," Indian Historical Quarterly XX, Number 1, 1944, pp. 63-9.

Very little need be said here about the 'Bower Manuscript' and the considerable literature that has grown around it. Let us simply note the first two articles written on it, which have not yet lost their value: Georg BÜHLER, "The new Sanskrit MS. from Mingai," Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes V, 1891, pp. 103-110, and A.F.R. HOERNLE, "On the date of the Bower Manuscript," Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal LX, 1891, pp. 79-96.

PART ONE

CONSIDERATIONS ON LITERATURE AND TYPOLOGY

CHAPTER ONE

TANTRISM, GNOSTICISM, AND ALCHEMY

The present chapter is divided into two parts. The first gives a brief synopsis of the Indo-Tibetan materials available for study, examining their variety and the relationships between them. The second part is a typologically oriented comparison of some important doctrines and practices common to Tantric and Gnostic schools which have aided in the development of their respective alchemical systems.

i.

Tantrism and Alchemical Literature

Nearly all large alchemical texts in the Brahmanic and Buddhist traditions are either Tantras or chapters within them, or Tantric commentarial literature.¹ Many smaller works also show evidence of having once belonged to (no longer extant?) Tantric works.²

The remainder of the alchemical literature is basically to be found in the principle medical traditions of India and Tibet.³ Let us briefly discuss the varieties of Indian medical texts.

Because they share a faith in the existence of drugs which can prolong and strengthen human life, the goals of alchemical and medical systems in India have often coincided.⁴ Sometimes it is difficult to determine whether a particular formula is medical or alchemical, or whether references to the creation of an 'elixir' are meant to be taken literally. This epithet is often used simply to praise the virtue of a

particular drug; it is a common practice, and may be referred to as 'medical hyperbole'.⁵ The relationship of alchemy to Āyurvedic medicine is thus close but rather narrow. Aside from their interest in finding drugs possessing great curative and restorative powers, early Āyurvedic texts such as the Caraka- and Suśruta-saṃhitās do not contain information on mercurial medicine or transmutation.⁶ Similarly, many (perhaps all) alchemical tantras will proclaim the medicinal virtues of mercury and particular compounds, but this will not be the central theme of the work.

Because of their common search for such drugs, when mercury rose to a position of great importance in Indian medicinal thought⁷ there evolved a school which blended Āyurvedic doctrines with a mercurially based pharmacology. This system, known as Rasacikitsā or mercurial medicine, is represented in such works as the Ānandakandaṃ⁸ and the Rasaratnasamuccaya.⁹ Such works may contain references to transmutation (no absolute statements are possible at this stage of study), but they are oriented toward the pharmaceutical use of mercury based on Āyurvedic medicine.

There exists yet another medical system in India which is alchemically oriented, but about which very little is yet known. It is called the Siddha system, and it remains particularly popular in southern India. For centuries it has combined mercurial medicine and chemistry to a degree not achieved in either Āyurvedic, alchemical, or Rasacikitsā teachings. Although only a handful of secondary works have yet appeared on

Siddha medicine, and none of its major texts (which number in the hundreds) in various South Indian languages and scripts have been translated, it is known to be strictly Śaivite in nature. It traces its origins and traditions back to the Siddhas, i.e., perfected Tantric yogins.¹⁰

So permeated by alchemical notions is this school that the primary qualification for a Siddha physician is that he be a Tantric practitioner and an alchemist, or the son of an alchemist. Thus, this highly organized school of therapeutics based upon metallic medicinal compounds and alchemical procedures is the only tradition in India or Tibet which may be referred to without qualification as practicing 'Tantric alchemy' and 'Tantric medicine' to the exclusion of everything else.

In Chapter II we shall examine a sample of another sort of Tantric literature dealing with alchemy and medicine, a yogic text. It represents a system of internal alchemy very popular among certain Tibetan Buddhist sects.

It is hoped that this all-too-brief excursus on the sorts of available materials has served to give some indication of what awaits the ambitious student of Tantric chemical and medical sciences. Beyond this primary source material, it should be noted that there exists a large number of references to alchemical procedures and doctrines in literary and folkloric settings, from which we may gather additional data on these subjects. Such works as the Kathā-sarit-sāgara and

the Mānasollāsa, a collection of tales and an encyclopaedia, offer two examples to us of popular works containing valuable materials.¹¹ In Tibet there also exist biographies of alchemists, such as the numerous versions of the lives of the various Mahāsiddhas.¹²

ii.

Tantrism and Gnosticism

What was there about Tantrism that so encouraged the growth of these esoteric sciences? One way to approach this question is to compare it to a religious and cultural phenomenon which has also fostered within itself like developments. The Gnostic movements which flourished in the Mediterranean world in the first few centuries of the Christian Era provide us with such an example. Indeed, many scholars have already noted in general statements the fascinating similarities which exist between Gnosticism and Tantrism on both doctrinal and practical points.¹³

Our outline will be arranged according to the common points in Hermetic and Gnostic literature developed by Father André Jean Festugière in his classic work, La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste [Paris, 1950-1954], and recently recapitulated by H.J. Sheppard in his discussion of the role of Gnosticism in the development of alchemy.¹⁴ To limit the comparison to a manageable length, only these five categories given by Festugière will be adduced; however, much more material could be brought forward to expand the field, and some crucial

similarities are brought forward in notes to the texts given in Chapter II. While some points cry out for an historical exposition to determine possible contacts and mutual influence, the primary goal of the presentation here is to show how Tantrism's 'Gnostic' ambience naturally leads to the development of esoteric medical and alchemical practices because of its soteriological system.¹⁵

Let us proceed with the exposition of Festugière's five criteria, as outlined on pages 229-230 of the first volume of his Révélation:

1. "La recherche angoissée de la vérité; . . . les disciples (gnostiques - mlw) se donnent une peine infinie pour découvrir les sympathies occultes des substances."

This is carried out in both systems within the framework of a particular relationship of man to the cosmos, often termed 'macrocosmic - microcosmic', to indicate the intrinsic identity of all that exists on the sensory level with the spiritual worlds 'beyond'. It has its classic formulation in the so-called Tabula Smaragdina: "That which is above is like that which is below . . . to accomplish the One Thing." This concept lies at the heart of Tantric doctrine.¹⁶ It is the prerequisite for the development of a doctrine of correspondences between all that human beings are (and can be) and all that which transpires in the Universe (or could transpire). Without such a doctrine no supra-physical

transformation can proceed. On the microcosmic level, all the material necessary for the spiritual perfection of the individual lies at hand, and the attainment of a divine state here and now is a matter of one's lower tendencies and limitations being overcome.

Both traditions are based on elemental cosmologies and deal, in their schemes of spiritual development, with a purification of the constituent elements of the body. Their belief in the necessity for this purification combines with the doctrine of correspondences to strictly imply that such changes could also be made to occur on the macrocosmic level: the key to inner development is necessarily the key to power beyond the individual. The goal of both systems, generally speaking, is not the power of transmutation or immortality per se, but a separation from and rising above the world of Matter to the world of Spirit. On their path of purification they use the physical world to overcome the physical world.¹⁷

One doctrine considered unique to the Gnostics in their geographical sphere of activity was that the world — a manifestation of Matter in their cosmology — was held to be evil.¹⁸ The process of salvation is the breakthrough of Spirit, the divine spark in all of us, from this world of Matter to the world of Light through a series of purifications of the body. This was conceived of as a process of 'subtilization', of ridding one's physical being of its material defilements. This was to be accomplished by ceremonies and processes revealed in a series of initiations.¹⁹

Yogic rituals to cleanse the elements of the body are necessary preliminaries as well as advanced techniques for 'subtilization' in both Brāhmanic and Buddhist traditions. They are usually referred to as pañcabhūtaviśuddhi or simply bhūtaviśuddhi.²⁰ One recent writer, comparing Neo-Platonism (he could here as easily have said Gnosticism) with Tantrism, also noted that purification of the physical body is an immediate and necessary goal to achieve the separation of Matter and Spirit, i.e., Gnostic spiritual progress.²¹ In both systems, initiatic rituals are the means by which power to accomplish this is transmitted. They spiritually direct the development of the Light-principle (variously referred to as tattva, cit, or bodhicittaṃ prakṛtiprabhāsvaram²²) which is often referred to in Indian traditions as in Gnosticism as a 'spark' or 'ray of light' imprisoned in one's physical nature.

These efforts at purification, which in both systems often find expression in a vocabulary strongly alchemical in colouring,²³ require initiates to undergo truly harrowing experiences for which the mass of humanity is not suited.²⁴ Particular schools of Tantrism have especially emphasized that a life lengthened by artificial means provides greater opportunity to continue 'the agonizing search for truth'.²⁵ The aura of Tantric and Gnostic cults has in large part radiated from the stated difficulty of their goals; their secrecy, 'elitism', and initiatic structure reflect the fact that not all

are fit for their instruction, and that if the door were opened for someone, it would represent merely the beginning of his travail. The development of elixirs to put off death indefinitely, as well as to strengthen the body, may thus be seen as one natural development of the central philosophies of Tantrism and Gnosticism.

2. "Le sentiment qu'on ne peut atteindre au vrai par ses seules forces, et qu'il le faut obtenir de la révélation d'un maître divin ou inspiré . . .";

3. "En conséquence, l'évocation de ce maître . . ."

One of the most salient points made by Festugière was that in a Hellenistic world where the power of rational processes to comprehend and deal with life's questions had declined, religious groups sprang up which based themselves on non-rational solutions to ultimate questions. A representative work often consulted was Plato's Timaeus, a work which has (and was valued for having) such an 'inspired' nature.²⁶

A situation very much like this also obtained among religious groups such as the Buddhists in India during the first third of the first millennium A.D. The Mādhyamika school, which may be described as following a scholastic philosophy of 'logical argumentation', had controlled the direction of growth within the Mahāyāna movement.²⁷ The Vijñānavāda school arose to contest its positions; in contrast to the Mādhyamikan dialectic, which showed by analysis that all sense-objects as well as the basis of sensory experiences (i.e., consciousness itself) is

unreal, the Vijñānavādins asserted that while, indeed, the objects are illusory, their basis — consciousness — is real. Thus, Consciousness is all that really exists. It is Absolute, the basis of all Reality and realities. While both schools agree that only knowledge will free us from worldly illusion, only the Vijñānavādins, who have set Consciousness over and above illusion, actively pursue a goal which is 'other' in some definable way; Consciousness is transcendent (and so includes within itself the ascriptions given to Śūnya in the Mādhyamika school), yet it is also actively immanent as our principle of individuation. Thus, it is macrocosmically and microcosmically real. As such, it becomes a goal of spiritual endeavor, more so than is Śūnyata for the Mādhyamikas, who are more concerned with the intuitional process than in trying to apprehend the Absolute. Discussions of the nature and development of Consciousness (viññāna) are very similar to Gnostic conceptions of the Spirit (Light): "viññāna can undergo modification, and it can purify itself . . . (it) is self-luminous: it is self-known (svasaṃvittiḥ) like a lamp".²⁸

Such a transcendent Reality may not be reached by any rational methods, such as argumentation or intellectual analysis. These would only carry the analyst around and around in elements created within his own psyche, without reaching back to the underlying stuff of his own existence. Thus, the search for Pure Consciousness had to be made through an intuitional yoga.²⁹ Because of this, the Vijñānavāda school is also known as the Yogācāra school, 'the practice of yoga'

school, to stand in contrast to the Mādhyamika.³⁰ Their yoga is accomplished in stages (bhūmis) corresponding to the discipline of the practitioner and as his transcendental understanding develops. This path is revealed by the active power of the Tathāgata,³¹ just as the Gnostic Light wills itself to be revealed to those who are prepared for its purification-al entrance.³²

This doctrinal — one might say Gnostic — development was crucial to the development of Tantrism. Asaṅga (ca. 375-430), acknowledged to be the founder of the Vijñānavāda school, is also widely considered to be the founder of Buddhist Tantrism. Some have even attributed to him the authorship of the Guhya-samāja-tantra, of which we have spoken above.³³ If one were to accept the currently popular position that Buddhist Tantrism developed before its Hindu counterpart, we could then say that Gnostic tendencies which are later so well-developed in these systems had certainly been there from their very inception. However, from a conservative point of view no arguments of priority can yet be considered decisive because of the lacunae in our data and the pervasive atemporality of the Indian situation.

In sum, the yogas of Tantrism and Gnosticism have as a goal preparation of the 'inner self' (to avoid using the term 'soul' in a Buddhist context) for the entrance of a cleansing and enlightening Reality which underlies, and has been hidden by, material existence. This Light-Reality is actually constantly striving to disclose itself to us.³⁴ Most important

for our comparison, however, is the necessity of blessing (adhiṣṭhāna) through the divine Grace of that Other-power which will sustain and guide the seeker's spiritual development.³⁵ This is a distinctive trademark for these movements in relation to the dominant philosophies of their day.³⁶

Not a great deal is said in Gnostic works of the process of spiritual instruction by a master, who then initiates those prepared into the higher mysteries. Certainly, to compare their sketchy remains with the vast materials in yogic and Tantric texts would be rather risky. Yet, in their purpose and the character of their roles the masters in the two traditions fulfill quite similar functions; we note without comment the observations of W.Y. Evans-Wentz: "Each of the numerous Gnostic communities . . . appears to have had its own Chief Guru (such as Valentinus, Marcion, and Basilides) and its subordinate gurus and Apostolic succession on Earth, and its Supreme Spiritual Head, in the Christos, from Whom, through the Saints and Aeons of Super-Human Intelligence, was transmitted to His human followers the Divine Grace of the Father . . . ; As electricity may be passed from one receiving station to another, so . . . is the Divine Grace, vouchsafed by the Buddhas, transmitted through the Buddha . . . to the line of Celestial Gurus and thence to the Apostolic Guru on Earth, and, from him, to each of the subordinate gurus, and, by them, through the Mystic Initiation, to each of the neophytes."³⁷

These conceptions are so widespread that all of Tantrism is referred to as a gurvāda, 'the way according to a guru'.³⁸ In systems where the spiritual goal is passive, as the traditional yogic kaivalya ('isolation' of the soul), the teacher is often just a psycho-physical engineer. In Tantric and Gnostic systems, however, because he is the conductor of spiritual power, he is a necessary mediator between the subject and his goal. He is defined as that one who gives the initiation(s) (dikṣā, abhiṣeka; muēsis) which bestows a Grace both his own and that of his spiritual lineage. Grace thus comes from a teacher 'inspired' in the literal sense of the word.³⁹

Tantrism, like Gnosticism, relies heavily on supernatural sources of knowledge. This is supported in their doctrines by complex cosmologies which posit layers of ascending realities — we could call them spheres or, less accurately, 'heavens' — wherein reside beings who transmit knowledge or aid in removing obstacles to spiritual development. The dākinīs of Tantric Buddhism are the Gnostic daimones, for example. (The latter figure prominently in alchemical processes. In India beings such as rākṣasas also play important roles, aiding the worthy in, or hindering the unworthy from, success in transmutations.⁴⁰) Also, both traditions divinize past 'teacher-saints' within the tradition, who then may intercede on behalf of the spiritual welfare of the initiate.⁴¹

In terms of spiritual teachers, one noteworthy dissimilarity-

ty is the clear-cut figure of Hermes-Thoth, a composite Greek and Egyptian deity who was the revealer of science and the teacher of alchemy and other hidden arts. With the possible exception of Śiva in Hindu alchemical Tantras, there is no Indian figure, historical or otherwise, who functions in a similar manner.⁴² This shows a greater systematization and integration of Hellenistic alchemy into the Egyptian priest cultus than was made by Indian alchemy in either the Hindu or Buddhist systems.

4. "La défense de divulguer la révélation,
ou, du moins, de la transmettre à
d'autres qu'à son propre fils."

Tantrism and Gnosticism are clearly defined in their esoteric approaches to spiritual teachings. Some general aspects of their religious life (such as those intended to be morally edifying) might be taught to a relatively open audience, but they are most reserved as to essentials. For example, an adept may instruct a ruler in generalities 'during the day' (i.e., publically), while initiating him into the deeper meanings of the doctrine 'at night', in secrecy.⁴⁴ Since any of the latter teachings are a direct preparation for enlightenment, Tantric commentarial literature and Gnostic epistles tend to center on specialized teachings and methods fitted to a particular purpose or situation. They are thus written in such a style as to protect the unprepared from harm by the spiritual forces in any individual instruction.

The most specific teachings as well as general ritual and cultic statements in the larger Tantras and texts of the Corpus Hermeticum⁴⁵ are rooted in the transcendent lineages discussed above. Thus, all such teachings are to one degree or another revelatory discourses. Whether they are given by a deity or supernatural being to a disciple who is either human or is another supernatural being, the latter becomes at the moment of transmission a spiritual son of the former.⁴⁶ It is again due to a doctrine of correspondences that no clear or qualitative distinction is drawn between the divine, quasi-divine and human teachers in these lineages: empowerments (adhiṣṭhāna, byin gyis rlabs, dynamis) exist to blur this distinction, to make the devotee more like the beings who are bestowing knowledge and spiritual aid upon him.⁴⁷

5. "La découverte, dans un temple, d'une
stèle contenant un secret."

This rather general formulation describes the setting for several examples in Gnostic literature, but gives no hint as to the significance of this motif. Therefore, we shall expand on this statement to discuss perhaps the most interesting similarity between Buddhist Tantrism and Hellenistic Gnosis.

The theme discussed here, taken in its broadest definition, is that of gter mas, teachings concealed by an important former personage in the tradition (in Tibet, principally by Padmasambhava in the eighth century) and discovered centuries later.⁴⁸ There are two methods by which this may be accom-

plished. According to the first, an important teacher from the past (such as Padmasambhava) will appear in a dream or vision to guide a member of his lineage to a cache of texts; such 'dream initiation' is a distinctive Gnostic motif.⁴⁹ In the second, Padmasambhava or a dākinī will appear in a vision and directly bequeath mystical wisdom.⁵⁰ It is always tacitly assumed, if not explicitly stated, that this disciple has been karmically pre-ordained to receive these teachings.⁵¹

Indeed, a doctrine of predestination is a logical product of such a system of spiritual transmission. As we have seen, blessing is an on-going process with profound results; it brings one into the stream of a spiritual tradition just as vital now as when founded in its earthly environment. It is only by entering this stream that one is thoroughly immersed in its doctrines and thereby can teach them. It is sometimes stated that those chosen to carry them are qualitatively different individuals, and not just now but ab aeterno.⁵²

Such, then, is one rationale for a gter ma system: a direct transmission which is a constant source of spiritual guidance and vitality within the community of the faithful. There is yet another purpose for this system, one rooted in general attitudes toward the nature and fate of the present world-order.

Tantrism and Gnosticism share a belief that the human race is in the throws of a metaphysical ignorance which is increasing as the forces of Evil/Darkness/Matter gain ascendancy over those of Good/Light/Spirit. Hinduism has assimilated

its Tantras by claiming that they alone have the spiritual power to deal with this corrupt age;⁵³ the necessity for Tantrism within Buddhism is not formulated in quite so consistent a manner, but this motive is often stated by individual authors and has become a de facto rationalization.⁵⁴

In view of such a radical prognosis for the human situation, Tantrism and Gnosticism have stressed the experience of every 'evil' in the sensory world in terms of their spiritual goals, i.e., to show that the corruption and illness of the world, which is supported by conventional morality and social convenience, must be devalued and transcended, both psychologically and metaphysically. Their libertine behaviour, just as their better-known emphasis upon asceticism as a positive spiritual practice, was a repudiation of the power of the world over their destinies as members of special brotherhoods with secret knowledge about the human condition.⁵⁵ Consequently, both groups have from time to time had to suffer persecutions from those who labeled them 'orgiastics' and immoralists.

As a result of such persecutions and a feeling of being at odds with the religious establishments of their day, there arose a real need for these esoterics to conceal even large numbers of texts from all outsiders. This is often seen in Rñiñ-ma literature⁵ and finds an excellent example in the Fourth Book of the Pistis Sophia, wherein Jesus instructs Mary that ". . . the mysteries which are in the Books of Yew,

which I have made Enoch write in Paradise . . . I have made him deposit them in the rock Ararad, and set the ruler Kalapataurōth . . . as watcher over the Books of Yew on account of the flood, and in order that none of the rulers may be envious of them and destroy them. These will I give you, when I shall have told you the expansion of the universe."⁵⁷

The specific gter ma example cited by Festugière is that of one known as 'Pseudo-Demokritos', an alchemist who had traveled to Egypt to learn alchemy from Ostanēs, a famous Persian magician. Although the latter dies before teaching his disciple the secrets of transmutation, he transmits them to Pseudo-Demokritos via texts hidden in a temple pillar, which splits open to allow the latter to take them at the moment of their greatest usefulness.⁵⁸

Now, in his supplement to Volume I, Festugière finds it timely to mention that Nāgārjuna (according to an article of Palmyr Cordier, q.v.) also had inscribed a medical formula on a pillar. Of course, this is not technically the same as concealing it within a pillar intentionally. To find a nearly exact parallel to Pseudo-Demokritos' experience we should go to Tibet, where Grwa-pa-mñon-śes (1012-1090), according to the Rñiñ-ma'i-čhos-'byuñ of Bdud-'joms-'jigs-bral-ye-śes-rdo-rje and other sources, discovered the Rgyud-bñi — the fundamental textbook of Tibetan medicine — in a pillar known as 'Bum-pa-can' at Bsam-yas. Grwa-pa-mñon-śes is considered to be an incarnation of Vairocanarakṣita, a contemporary of Padma-

sambhava and the Tibetan scholar most responsible for the introduction of an Indianized system of medicine into Tibet. In fact, Vairocana is credited with the translation of the Rgyud-bñi into Tibetan, so that Grwa-pa-mñon-śes was acting as his spiritual son, guided by his master in this discovery, as was Pseudo-Demokritos.⁵⁹

* * *

While the preceding essay, superficial as it is, has had to presuppose a knowledge of things Hindu, Buddhist, and Hellenistic which passes the boundaries of mere acquaintance, to have presented the necessary preliminaries would have required a book in itself. It is hoped that the reader has nevertheless seen that, without drawing outlandish parallels or making unreasonable extrapolations, astonishing similarities have been shown to exist between the complexes known as 'Gnosticism' and 'Tantrism'. That a large number of these doctrines, attitudes, and practices have been instrumental to the growth of similar esoteric and traditional sciences in these systems has been shown. In the following chapter, two selections of Tibetan literature from the Rñin-ma school are studied in order to illustrate how Gnostic conceptions in Tantrism function with regard to Buddhist Tantrism and Indian medical theory.

CHAPTER TWO

TWO ILLUSTRATIVE TEXTS:

PADMAIST MATERIALS

i.

A text on internal alchemy is our first selection. It is representative of a large number of texts found in collections of Rñiñ-ma and Bon yogic and ritual literature.⁶⁰ It consists of an internal application of the doctrine of the transmutation of elements, the goal of which is to render the yogin immortal.

One distinctive feature pervades the meditational and ritual systems of these schools: extracting the 'essences' of substances.⁶¹ The goal of this practice is the acquisition of a spiritualized body free of those forces which involve one in birth and death. Once this extraction is accomplished, the yogin either nourishes himself with these essences or transforms them into an elixir (bdud rtsi, amṛta) in his yogic practice. In either case he will achieve what is referred to as a 'ja' lus or 'od lus, a 'rainbow body' or 'body of light'.⁶²

A point of special interest to note here is the continuity between some yogic-chemical sects in India and the Rñiñ-ma system typified in the following text. In particular, the goals and methods of the Sahajiyās, Nāth Siddhas, Siddhācāryas and Mahāsiddhas (to name the better known groupings) are expressed through an alchemical terminology utilized in both

a literal and a symbolic manner, often most difficult to disentangle. The paucity of information in secondary sources combines with this to produce a very confused picture of their relationship to alchemy and medicine. In this the huge amounts of Tibetan material, temporally and spiritually coincidental, should shed considerable light.⁶³

Some important doctrinal points to be observed in the present text include the development of the bhūṭaviśuddhi concept (see above, page 16), and the role of divinized yogins and alchemists such as the famous Nāgārjuna. The work is clearly 'Padma-ist', in the sense that Padmasambhava is the necessary mediator at two important points in the rite. In particular, it is through him that the principle figure in Indo-Tibetan longevity rituals, Amitāyus ("Limitless Life"), is made accessible to the yogin.⁶⁴

The fact that Nāgārjuna and Vimalamitra are brought in here in positions subservient to Padmasambhava is illustrative of another aspect of 'Padma-ism', its syncretism. An interesting question which has recently been posed⁶⁵ concerns the original relationship of Vimalamitra and his Rdzogs-chen philosophy to Padmasambhava. It is asserted that these near-contemporaries originally had little or no relationship to one another. While this point certainly requires a good deal more research, it is nevertheless clear that Padmasambhava's religious character as exemplified here puts him in a categorically different position, one unique in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism, as an assimilator of various philosophies and sect practices

and an appropriator of many ideas from a variety of available philosophical positions.⁶⁶

* * *

Formally, the following text is a sādhana or 'evocation' ritual. It has thus been divided up into the stages of realization of the deities and powers involved. It opens with a statement of the arrangement of ritual materials and concludes with an invocation of those protective forces which will guard the yogin initiated into its powers. As such, it generally follows the arrangement of sādhanas such as those of the Guhya-samāja-tantra ritual tradition.⁶⁷

In its position in Rñiñ-ma literature this work is from the Kloñ-chen-sñiñ-gi-thig-le, a gter ma which was received as a vision (called dgoñs gter⁶⁸) by 'Jigs-med-gliñ-pa Rañ-byuñ-rdo-rje (1729-1798). It had been sent to him by Kun-mkhyen Kloñ-chen-pa Dri-med-'od-zer (1308-1363). The former is considered an incarnation of Vimalamitra (9th century) who, as stated above, introduced the Rdzogs-chen system into Tibet.⁶⁹ Since the time of its distribution the 'Sñiñ-thig' has been considered one of the principle documents on the rituals and doctrines of this school, whose teachings are a central part of the Bon and Rñiñ-ma sects.⁷⁰

Two collections of Kloñ-chen-sñiñ-thig materials have been consulted. The basic text transliterated below is a xylographic print distributed in 1970 from somewhere in either India or Nepal.⁷¹ It is found in a single volume consisting of

selected Sñin-thig materials, each having its own pagination. Alternative readings, found in parentheses, are from pages 254 to 263 of the first of a three volume reproduction from the A-'dzom-chos-sgar Monastery's twentieth-century blocks. It is a relatively inferior edition, containing a few more misspellings. However, it does contain a few preferred readings, and they are underlined. It was distributed in 1973 in Delhi by Ngawang Sopa.⁷²

* * *

TEXT

rig 'dzin tshe sgrub bdud rtsi bum bcud bžugs :

- - -

'chi med rig 'dzin sku la 'dud :

(tshe sgrub bdud rtsi bum bcud bstan : dben pa'i gnas su
stegs bu'i khar : rdul tshon ras tshom skabs sbyar gyi : dkyil
'khor dbus su ldiñ khri'i khar : tshe bum dbus la tshe ril
g.yas : tshe mda' rgyab la tshe chañ g.yon : tshe gtor mdun
bśam (bśams) mchod pas bskor : bdag dañ sgrub rten dbyer med
du : rig 'dzin 'dus pa'i las gžurñ bsrañ : bstod pa'i mjug tu
dzab ('dzab) khañ dbye :)* hrī :

tshe dbañ rig 'dzin padma 'byurñ : snañ srid zil gnon thugs
ka ru : bcom ldan mgon po tshe dpag med : dmar gsal loñs sku
yum dañ sbyor : padma rā ga'i bum pa 'dzin :

* Ritual instructions in this text are given in smaller lettering than the doctrinal explanations. Such instructions are rendered in transliteration and translation within parentheses. See the Appendix to this work for a reproduction of this text.

[2r] thugs kar ñi zla'i ga'u'i (gva'u'i) nañ : srog gi sñiñ
po yi ge hrī : tha mar (tha mañ) shags kyi phreñ bas bskor :
'od zer 'phros pas brtan g.yo'i bcud : rgyal ba rig 'dzin
drañ sroñ gi : tshe bcud bsdus la bcud du 'dril : ba spu'i bu
ga tshun chad (chod) kyañ : tshe dpag med pas tham (them) gyis
gañ : kun kyañ buñ ba tshañ žig ltar : hrī : sgra 'jam la sñan
par sgrog (sgrogs) : 'chi med rig 'dzin 'grub par 'gyur :

(ñag tu brjod ciñ yid la bsam : 'jam rluñ bum pa can dañ
sgrags :) om āḥ hūm badzra mahā gu ru ā yurdznā na mahā punye
tshe bhrūm nri dzañ sarba siddhi hūm :

(thun mtshams rig 'dzin tshe 'gugs ni : mda' dar tshad bžag
gduñ šugs bskyed :) om

- - -
rañ snañ zañs 'dog (mdog) dpal gyi ri : lña ldan rañ byuñ
('byuñ) pho brañ [2v] nas : bcom ldan mgon po tshe dpag med :
'ja' lus rig 'dzin tshogs dañ bcas : thugs dam bskul lo dbyiñs
nas bžeñs :

'chi med nam mkha'i bcud bsdus la : rnam šes khams nas yar
ba'i tshe : dbyiñs phyug rig pa'i kloñ du skyil (bskyil) :
'gyur med srog gi ka ba tshugs : tshe mda' 'di la tshad cig
ston : sgrub rdzas 'chi med bdud rtsir bsgyur : skye 'chi med
pa'i dños grub stsol : (rtsa shags brjod :) hūm (hū) :

šar nas rig 'dzin hūm kā ra : yañ dag thugs kyi kloñ nas
bžeñs : 'byuñ ba chu yi bcud bsdus la : khrag gi khams nas
yar ba'i tshe : mā ma kī yi kloñ du skyil (bskyil) : 'gyur med
srog gi ka ba tshugs : tshe mda' 'di la tshad cig ston :
sgrub rdzas 'chi med bdud rtsir bsgyur : skye 'chi med pa'i

dños grub stsol : (rtsa snags brjod :) hūṃ (hrām) :

lho nas rig 'dzin mañju śrī : 'jam dpal sku yi [3r] kloṅ
nas bñeṅs : 'byuṅ ba sa yi bcud bsdus la : śa yi khams nas
yar ba'i tshe : saṅs rgyas spyān ma'i kloṅ du skyil (bskyil) :
'gyur med srog gi ka ba tshugs : tshe mda' 'di la tshad cig
ston : sgrub rdzas 'chi med bdud rtsir sgyur (bsgyur) : skye
'chi med pa'i dños grub stsol : (rtsa snags brjod :) hrī :

nub nas rig 'dzin nā gardzu : padma gsuṅ gi kloṅ nas bñeṅs :
'byuṅ ba me yi bcud bsdus la : drod kyi khams nas yar ba'i
tshe : gos dkar mo yi kloṅ du skyil (bskyil) : 'gyur med srog
gi ka ba tshugs : tshe mda' 'di la tshad cig ston : sgrub rdzas
'chi med bdud rtsir sgyur : skye 'chi med pa'i dños grub stsol :
(rtsa snags brjod :) ā :

bvaṅ nas rig 'dzin pra bha ha : phrin las phur pa'i kloṅ nas
bñeṅs : 'byuṅ ba rluṅ gi bcud bsdus la : dbugs kyi khams nas
yar ba'i tshe : dam tshig sgrol [3v] ma'i kloṅ du skyil (bskyil) :
'gyur med srog gi ka ba tshugs : tshe mda' 'di la tshad cig
ston : sgrub rdzas 'chi med bdud rtsir sgyur (bsgyur) : skye
'chi med pa'i dños grub stsol : (rtsa snags brjod) dza :

śar lho rig 'dzin dha na saṃ : rbod gtoṅ zil gnon brtul žugs
skyed (bskyed) : kloṅ gyur ye śes lcags kyu yis : 'khyams daṅ
yar ba'i bla tshe khug : 'gyur med srog gi ka ba tshugs : tshe
mda' 'di la tshad cig ston : sgrub rdzas 'chi med bdud rtsir
sgyur (bsgyur) : skye 'chi med pa'i dños grub stsol : (rtsa
snags brjod :) hūṃ :

lho nub rig 'dzin bī (bi) ma la : tshe la dbaṅ ba'i brtul

žugs skyed (bskyed) : 'da' ka ye šes žags pa yi : 'thor ba
khug la zad pa sriñs : 'gyur med srog gi ka ba tshugs :
tshe mda' 'di la tshad cig ston : sgrub rdzas 'chi med bdud
rtsir sgyur (bsgyur) : skye 'chi med pa'i dños grub stsol :
(rtsa sñags brjod :) bañ :

[4r] nub byañ rig 'dzin rombu gu : dreg pa (dregs pa) zil
gnon brtul žugs skyed (bskyed) : dbyiñs grol ye šes lcags
sgrog gis : lha 'dres brkus pa'i bla tshe phrogs : 'gyur med
srog gi ka ba tshugs : tshe mda' 'di la tshad cig ston :
sgrub rdzas 'chi med bdud rtsir sgyur (bsgyur) : skye 'chi med
pa'i dños grub stsol : (rtsa sñags brjod :) ho :

byañ šar rig 'dzin šintañ gha ra (šantiñ gha ra) : mñon spyod
dmod pa'i brtul žugs skyed (bskyed) : mtha' grol ye šes drill
bu yis : byad du bcug pa'i bla tshe sdus (bsdus) : 'gyur med
srog gi ka ba tshugs : tshe mda' 'di la tshad cig ston : sgrub
rdzas 'chi med bdud rtsir sgyur (bsgyur) : skye 'chi med pa'i
dños grub stsol : (rtsa sñags brjod : žes bkug tshe pra brtags
pa'i rjes : rgyas gdab tshe mda' drañ por bsrañ :) ā

- - -

'byuñ lña'i dbyiñs su 'khyams pa'i tshe : yum lña'i kloñ du
rgyas btab pas : ye [4v] šes lña la skye 'chi med : sku lña'i
dbyiñs su tshe sbas pa : rigs lña'i rgyal bas kyañ mi gzigs :
dharma dhā tu badzra rakṣa : (žes brjod spros bral dañ pa (dañ
du) gžag (bžag) :) sa ma ya : (lha sñags tiñ 'dzin dmigs pa'i
gnad : kun las khyad 'phags rig 'dzin gyi : tshe sgrub bdud
rtsi bum bcud 'di : chos bdag skyes bu'i srog mthud phyir :

kloñ byañ mkha' 'gro'i brda ru bstan : dus bab 'gro don spyod
par śog : gu hya : dha (brda) thim :

gžan la tshe yi dbaň bskur na : slob ma khruś bya (byas)
bgegs daň phral : sruň 'khor bsgoms la maṛdal phul : lo rgyud
bśad la skyabs sems daň : rgyun bśags byas rjes gsol ba gdab :)

'chi med mgon po paḍma 'byuň : srog gi 'jigs pas skrag pa
la : thugs rje chen pos ñer dgoňś nas : tshe yi dbaň daň dños
grub stsol : (lan gsum rjes su slob ma ni : las chus bsaňś la
gu rur bskyed :)

spyi bor tshe dpag med yab yum : mñam par sbyor ba'i mkha'
gsaň nas : [5r] bde chen byañ sems bdud rtsi'i rgyun : babs
pas lus gaň bde bas myos : rdo rje'i srog la dbaň thob dmigs :

(spos rol daň bcas ye śes dbab : tiṣṭha badzras brtan par
bya : de nas tshe bum spyi bor bskur :) hrī :

snaň srid gžon nu bum pa'i sku : skye 'chi bral ba'i bcud
kyis gtams : skal ldan bu la dbaň bskur bas : 'chi med rdo rje'i
srog 'grub śog : (rtsa śhags daň :) kā ya a bhi ṣiñtsa om :

(bdud rtsi mgrin par gtaḍ la :) hrī :

bde chen yum lña'i bhan dha ru : 'chi med byañ sems bdud
rtsir 'khyil : skal ldan bu la byin pa yis : skye 'chi med pa'i
dbaň thob śog : (rtsa śhags daň :) vā kka a bhi ṣiñtsa ā :

(tshe ril sñiň gar gtags la :) hrī :

brtan g.yo'i khams daň stobs bcu'i dpal : yoňś kyī bcud 'dus
tshe'i ril bu : rigs kyī bu la sbyin pa yis : rdo rje'i srog [5v]
la dbaň thob śog : (rtsa śhags) tsitta a bhi ṣiñtsa hūm :

(rjes la tshe 'gugs rgya yis gdab : gtañ rag 'bul žiñ dam
tshigs bsruñ : thugs rje ldan pa'i slob dpon gyis : mos gus
(bus) ldan pa'i slob ma la : gžuñ bžin 'di ni sus bskur ba :
'chi bdag kha ru tshud kyañ thon : rig 'dzin dmod pa'i stobs
btsan pas : byad du bcug kyañ ya mi ña : de phyir sñiñ las
gces par zuñs : bka' sruñ lcam dral mel tshe gyis :) sa ma yā
(yā) : rgya rgya rgya : :

* * *

TRANSLATION

Herein is contained: The Essence of the Vessel, an Elixir
which obtains for One the Life of a Magician.

- - -

Honour to the spiritual presence of the immortal magicians!⁷³

(Here is the teaching on that essence of the vessel of elixir which brings about (immortal) life. When one has prepared the following items atop an altar⁷⁴ in a deserted area, he should circumambulate them making offerings: In the middle of a maṇḍala made of pigment or coloured cotton upon an acacia-wood base (ldiñ khri) at an astrologically auspicious time (skabs) arrange a life-pill in the middle of a life-vessel to the right, life-beer behind a life-arrow to the left, and in front a life-oblation.⁷⁵ There will then be correctly prepared (bsrañ) the penetration⁷⁶ into those gathered magicians who are, as foundations for success (sgrub rten), not different from oneself!⁷⁷ After a stotra (a song of praise to Amitāyus - mlw), one opens the palace⁷⁸ of the maṇḍala

(by pronouncing the mantra) hrīḥ.)

[At that time there will appear] Padmasambhava, the magician with power over life.⁷⁹ In the heart of that one who has overcome the phenomenal world⁸⁰ there is the Reverend Lord Amitāyus. He is united with his consort in a sambhogakāya which is glowing red; he holds a vessel made of ruby (padmarāga).⁸¹ At his heart-center, inside an amulet case (ga'u) marked with figures of the sun and moon, one may see the letter hrī, which is the essence of the vital power of life.⁸² Finally, one may see that this letter is surrounded by a garland of mantras (śṛāṅgs). Because this hrī is spreading forth its (creative) rays of light, it is the essence of both the animate and inanimate worlds.⁸³ When one has extracted the life-essence (tshe bcud) of those ṛṣis who are successful magicians (rgyal ba rig 'dzin)⁸⁴ it will flow into that world-essence (bcud). The magician will find himself suffused by Amitāyus, even down to the pores in his body, and any dust particles at all (buñ ba) will be so perfected.⁸⁵ Saying 'hrī' in a soft voice in praise of Amitayus, the immortal magician Padmasambhava will then come to be invoked.

(That which follows is thought in the mind while pronounced aloud. Speak it while holding the wind quietly within the body.⁸⁶) "Om! Āḥ! Hūm! What great merit there is in that knowledge of life belonging to that great guru of the Vajra vehicle! Life! Bhrūm! Nri-dzah! Every success! Hūm!"

(Dawn is the time to summon the lives⁸⁷ of those magicians. When one has arranged their respective marks (tshad) on the divination arrow (mda' dar)⁸⁸ the powers of this lineage will be activated.) Om!

[Having thus activated their life-powers, there will appear] the self-created Zaṅs-mdog-dpal-gyi-ri.⁸⁹ From the five-fold, spontaneously appearing castle on that mountain⁹⁰ Reverend Lord Amitāyus and his circle of magicians who have attained the rainbow body ('ja' lus rig 'dzin) will come forth from their respective spheres of existence (dbyiṅs) when the vow which binds them will be spoken.⁹¹

When he has then extracted the essence (bcud) of immortal ether (ākāśa, nam mkha') [from the yogin's body], at the time when it floats up (yar ba) from its mental constituent element (rnam śes khams, viññāna-dhātu) it collects in the sphere of activity (kloṅ) of the spirit of Dbyiṅs-phyug-ma.⁹² [Thus purified,] it enters the column of the eternal life-force⁹³ and appears via a mark (tshad) on the life-arrow. [This signifies that] the ritual materials have been transformed into an elixir of immortality. Amitāyus has then granted the yogin a siddhi of escape from birth and death. (One speaks the basic syllable) hūṃ.

From the east there appears the magician Hūṃkara.⁹⁴ He is coming forth from the sphere of activity of Yañ-dag-thugs. When he has extracted the essence of the water element, at the time that it floats up from the constituent blood element

(khraḡ gi khaṃs, rakṭa-dhātu), it collects in the sphere of activity of Mā-ma-kī. [Thus purified,] it enters the column of the eternal life-force and appears via a mark on the life-arrow. [This signifies that] the ritual materials have been transformed into an elixir of immortality. Hūmkara has then granted the yogin a siddhi of escape from birth and death. (One speaks the basic syllable) hūṃ.

From the south there appears the magician Mañjuśrī. He comes forth from the sphere of activity of 'Jam-dpal-sku. When he has extracted the essence of the earth element [from the yogin's body,] at the time that it floats up from the constituent flesh element (śa yi khaṃs, māṃsa-dhātu) it collects in the sphere of activity of Buddhalocanā. [Thus purified,] it enters the column of the eternal life-force and appears via a mark on the life-arrow. [This signifies that] the ritual materials have been transformed into an elixir of immortality. Mañjuśrī has then granted the yogin a siddhi of escape from birth and death. (One speaks the basic syllable) hrī.

From the west there appears the magician Nāgārjuna. He comes forth from the sphere of activity of Padma-gsuṃ. When he has extracted the essence of the fire element [from the yogin's body,] at the time that it floats up from the constituent heat element (droḍ kyi khaṃs, *uṣṃa-dhātu⁹⁵) it collects in the sphere of activity of Paṇḍarā. [Thus purified,] it enters the column of the eternal life-force and appears via a mark on the life-arrow. [This signifies that] the ritual

materials have been transformed into an elixir of immortality. Nāgārjuna has then granted the yogin a siddhi of escape from birth and death. (One speaks the basic syllable) ā.

From the north there appears the magician Prabhahasti. He comes forth from the sphere of activity of Phrin-las-phur-pa. When he has extracted the essence of the wind element [from the yogin's body,] at the time that it floats up from the constituent breath element (dbug kvi khams, *śvasana-dhātu⁹⁶) it collects in the sphere of activity of Tārā. [Thus purified,] it enters the column of the eternal life-force and appears via a mark on the life-arrow. [This signifies that] the ritual materials have been transformed into an elixir of immortality. Prabhahasti has then granted the yogin a siddhi of escape from birth and death. (One speaks the basic syllable) dza.

From the southeast there appears the magician Dhanasaṃskṛta. Through his fulfilling the penitential vows (brtul zugs, vrata)⁹⁷ connected with Rbod-gtoñ-zil-gnon he conjures up the life-soul (bla-tshe) [of the yogin] which has wandered upwards (var ba) and flooded out with his iron hook of profound wisdom (kloñ gyur ye śes lcags kyu).⁹⁸ It then enters the column of the eternal life-force and appears via a mark on the life-arrow. [This signifies that] the ritual materials have been transformed into an elixir of immortality. Dhanasaṃskṛta has then granted the yogin a siddhi of escape from birth and death. (One speaks the basic syllable) hūm.

From the southwest there appears the magician Vimalamitra.

Through his fulfilling the penitential vows connected with Tshe-la-dbañ-ba he draws in the life-force [of the yogin] which has been scattered with his snare of dāka-wisdom ('da' ka ye śes žags pa), and by this means he is able to postpone the exhaustion of [the yogin's life]. It then enters the column of the eternal life-force and appears via a mark on the life-arrow. [This signifies that] the ritual materials have been transformed into an elixir of immortality. Vimalamitra has then granted the yogin a siddhi of escape from birth and death. (One speaks the basic syllable) bañ.

From the northwest there appears the magician Rombuguhya. Through his fulfilling the penitential vows of Dregs-pa-zil-gnon he recaptures (phrogs) the life-soul (bla-tshe) [of the yogin] which has been stolen by the lha-'dre [demons]⁹⁹ with his chain of the knowledge of deliverance into the dharma-dhātu (dūviñs grol ve śes lcags sgrog). It then enters the column of the eternal life-force and appears via a mark on the life-arrow. [This signifies that] the ritual materials have been transformed into an elixir of immortality. Rombuguhya has then granted the yogin a siddhi of escape from birth and death. (One speaks the basic syllable) ho.

In the northeast there appears the magician Śāntigarbha. Through his fulfilling the penitential vows of Mñon-spyod-dmod-pa he collects the life-soul (bla-tshe) [of the yogin] which has been placed under a curse (byad du bcug pa) with his bell of wisdom which rescues one from the four extreme views

(mtha' grol ye śes dril bu).¹⁰⁰ It then enters the column of the eternal life-force and appears via a mark on the life-arrow. [This signifies that] the ritual materials have been transformed into an elixir of immortality. Śāntigarbha has then granted the yogin a siddhi of escape from birth and death. (After examining the life-prognostics (tshe pra) which have been thusly summoned, seal this ritual with a mudrā and set straight [the threads upon] that life-arrow. Then, speak the following basic syllable:) ā.

- - -

During the period in which [the body's constituent elements and life force] are swirling about in the spheres (dbyiñs) of the five elements, because they have been sealed in the spheres of activity (kloñ) of the Five Mothers [i.e., the above-mentioned goddesses of the elements] they exist without birth and death in those Mothers' five sorts of wisdom.¹⁰¹ They have hidden [the yogin's] duration of life¹⁰² (tshe) in the spheres of the Five Bodies,¹⁰³ so much so that it cannot even be seen by the Lords of the Five Families [i.e., the Dhyāni Buddhas themselves!]. "Dharmadhātu vajra rakṣa!" (— say this now and you will come to reside in that pure, actionless [dharmadhātu].) Samaya!

(As the principal goal (gnad, marma) of that which may be intended by divine mantras¹⁰⁴ or samādhis, this "Essence of the Vessel, an Elixir which obtains for one the Life of a Magician" is more distinguished than all other (practices). So, to

lengthen the lives of those saintly ones who would master this teaching (chos bdag skyes bu),¹⁰⁵ it has been taught in the symbolic language (brda) of the kloṅ byaṅ ḍākinīs.¹⁰⁶ When the proper time has come, let the student create benefit for sentient beings! Guhya is the subtle sign (brda thim) [to be spoken here].¹⁰⁷

(If one will be taking an initiation (dbaṅ bskur, abhiṣeka) to benefit the lives of others [the following things must be done]: When the disciple has bathed and has [magically] removed all hindrances, he should create in meditation a circle of protective deities and offer them a maṇḍala [to reside in]. Then, when he has recited the legend (lo rgyus, of Padmasambhava¹⁰⁸) and has mentally recited the trīśaraṇa, all the while having made atonements (rgyun bśags byas), he will offer the following request:

'Oh Immortal Lord Padmasambhava! When one is filled with fear for his life, after you have looked after him closely (ñer dgoṅs¹⁰⁹) because of your great compassion, [deign to] grant him a siddhi dealing with the power over life.' ([Repeat this] three times; then, when the disciple has been bathed in ritual water from the karma-vase¹¹⁰ he will have generated himself as the guru [in whom the deities take their seat - mlw].)

At the top of one's head [there will appear] Amitāyus and his consort, coming forth from their secret heaven locked in the embrace of closed polarity (mñam par sbyar ba). [From this embrace] there will descend into the yogin a stream of elixir,

which is the bodhicitta full of bliss. When the yogin's body is suffused (gañ ba) by this elixir he will be intoxicated with joy, and will conceive the notion (dmigs) that he has attained power over vajra-life [i.e., life unending].

(Accompanied by incense and music, the knowledge beings¹¹¹ will now descend [into the yogin]. Let him firmly fix them with the mantra, tiṣṭha vajra.¹¹² After that, he will consecrate the crown of his head [the location of the sahasrāra-padma-cakra] with water from the karma-vessel.¹¹³) Hrī!:

The yogin's body, a vessel for [continuing] youth in this phenomenal world (saṃsāra, snañ srid), has been filled with a deathless essence (bcud, i.e., bodhicitta). Because this Blessed Son has such an initiation, may he attain the power of life of the immortal vajra!¹¹⁴ (Now he utters this basic mantra:) Kāva-abhiṣiṅca! Om!¹¹⁵

(When the yogin holds some elixir to his neck [the location of the viśuddha-cakra], then,) Hrī!:

That deathless bodhicitta has swirled into an elixir (bdud rtsir 'khyil¹¹⁶) in the skull-cup vessels (bhāṇḍhas) of those Five Mothers of the Mahāsukha [again, the goddesses of the elements]. Because it has been presented to this blessed son, may he obtain powers beyond those of life and death! (Now he utters this basic mantra:) Vāg-abhiṣiṅca! Āh!

(When the yogin has fixed a life-pill to his heart [the location of the anāhata-cakra], then,) hrī!:

Because that pill of life, the collected essence (bcud) of

the entire spiritual sufficiency (dpal, śrī) of the ten powers [of a Buddha] as well as those elements which make up the animate and inanimate worlds, is offered to that blessed son, may he attain power over the vajra-life! (Now he utters this basic mantra:) Citta-abhiṣiṅga! Hūm!

- - -

(To conclude, one will seal with a mudrā this calling of the life-power [ceremony]. Offering thanks to the deities invoked, he will protect the pledge (dam tshig, samaya) made to them.¹¹⁷ Whoever is empowered by such a text as this through the agency of the generous ācārya [i.e., Padmasambhava] for the sake of a devoted initiate [will realize this benefit:] Even though he might enter Yama's mouth [i.e., die], he will emerge. And, he need have no fear, even if seized by a btsan demon who has the power to curse a magician! For such reasons as these, hold the pledge more dear even than one's heart. Keep watch, oh brother and sister spirits who protect these teachings!)
Samaya! Rgya! Rgya! Rgya!

* * *

ii.

The following is an example of what may be called 'alchemical folklore'. In such texts, the main point is neither the transmission of a doctrine nor the establishment of a ritual or experimental framework, but the use of alchemical motifs in a setting of moral edification or entertainment. Much valuable

material may incidentally be gained in such a context, as in the stories from the Kathā-sarit-sāgara mentioned above.

The central figure in this text is, again, Padmasambhava. Like mahāsiddhas and other Tantric saints he is here and there credited with being an alchemist, but aside from the following story there is no lengthy statement on his activities in this field known to this writer.¹¹⁸

Two versions of this story have been found, although it is interesting that it is not in the two 'standard' accounts of Padmasambhava's life, those of O-rgyan-glin-pa and Sañs-rgyas-glin-pa.¹¹⁹ Rather, it makes up the eighteenth chapter of the former's Rgyal-po-bka'i-thaṅ-yig and the ninety-eighth of Padma-glin-pa's lengthy biography entitled U-rgyan-slob-spon-Padma-'byuṅ-gnas-kyi-khruṅs-rab-chen-mo-ḡes-bya-ba-saṅs-rgyas-bstan-pa'i-byuṅ-khuṅs-mun-sel-sgron-me-las-rnam-thar-don-gsal-me-loṅ.¹²⁰

While both accounts tell the same tale, O-rgyan's version has a more expanded introduction which, since it essentially only recapitulates the events which follow, has been omitted here. Because of their similarity, and to show some preferred readings in the latter version (which readings are underlined), these versions have been placed side by side. Page and line references are according to the editions noted in footnote 120.¹²¹

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TEXT

Padma-gliñ-pa's version

O-rgyan-gliñ-pa's version

[337] de nas mña' bdag khri
sroñ lde btsan gyi : slob dpon
chen po padma 'byuñ gnas la :
bdag kyañ tshe tshad lña bcu
rtsa lña la : lo [338] pañ
rnams kyi sku rim byin rlabs
kyi : drug cu rtsa gsum phyir
la bsriñ bar 'gyur : da ni
bdag ñid rig 'dzin tshe dbañ
ba'i : tshe dbañ zab mo padmas
bskur du gsol :

de skad gsol pas u rgyan
chen pos gsuñs : sdig spyod
grogs dañ blon po'i khar ma
btan : mis zer mñan yid gñis
the tshom spoñs : tshe yi dbañ
ni bar chad śin tu sdañ :

padma 'byuñ gnas skye śi
bsgres rgud bral :
khri sroñ rgyal po
mi lo stoñ phrag gsum :
mi yul bžugs pa bdag gis bya'o
gsuñs :

[376] bgres rgud
mi mña' ba'añ yod do :
[377/6] rje ñid
mi yul du lo stoñ phrag gsum
bžugs pa bdag gis bya'o
žes gsuñ ño :

Padma's version

brag dmar g.ya ma luñ
gi dben pa ru :
tshe dpag med pa'i dkyil
'khor źal phye nas :
phra men bum pa bdud rtsis
bkañ ba la :
zla gcig sgrub pas
mgon po tshe dpag med :
'ja' tshon lta bur
bum pa'i steñ du byon :
mi dañ mi phrad lta bur
gsuñ sgra sgrogs :
skal ba dañ ldan skye ba
ga na yod :
'jig rten 'di na tshe yi
snod dkon te :
tshe la dbañ ba
ñin mo'i skar ma tsam :
tshe yi snod yod skyes bu su
la bya :
tshe [339] 'dod skyes bu
u dum va ra 'dra :
las sgrib med na
tshe chu 'di la 'thuñ :
'di 'thuñ tshe lo

O-rgyan's version

[378] de nas brag dmar g.ya
luñ gi dben gnas su :
tshe dpag med kyi dkyil
'khor źal phye
phra men gyi bum pa rtsi bcud
kyis bkañ nas :
zla ba gcig tu bsgrubs pa'i dus
su mgon po tshe dpag tu med pa
'ja' tshon gyi sku lta bu źig
bum pa'i steñ du byon nas :
mi dañ mi 'phrad pa lta bur
gsuñ sgrog ste :
skyes bu skal ba ldan pa
gañ na yod :
'jig rten 'di na tshe yi
snod dkon pas : des na
tshe la dbañ ba
ñi zla tsam :
tshe yi snod yod skyes bu su
la bya :
tshe 'dod skyes bu
me tog u dum 'dra :
las sgrib med na
tshe chu 'di la 'thuñ :
'di 'thuñ tshe lo

Padma's version

ston phrag bdun tsho gcig :
sems can lus la
skal pa bzañ por 'gyur :
rnam smin sgvu lus
rdo rje lta bur 'gyur :
'byuñ bži'i phuñ po
'jig pa kun dañ bral : žes pas
chos ñid rañ sgra
mkha' la sgrogs :
 de dus bsam yas luñ pa
sman dris khyab :
 tho rañs rgyal po
mnal ba'i rmi lam du :
tshe dpag med pa dbu rtse'i
steñ du byon :
phyag ni brag dmar g.ya' ma
luñ du brkyañ :
tshe yi bum pa bzurñ nas
'dug pa rmis :
de nas nañ lañs
rgyal po gdan las bžeñs :
dus la bab par mkhyen te
dbu rtse nas : g.ya ma luñ du
slob dpon chen po'i druñ :
gšegs par dgoñs nas

O-rgyan's version

ston phrag bdun tsho gcig :
sems can lus la
skal ba bzañ por byas :
rnam smin sgyu lus
rdo rje lta bur 'gyur :
'byuñ ba'i phuñ po
'jigs pa kun dañ bral : žes
chos ñid kyi rañ sgra
mkha' la sgrog go :
 de'i dus su bsam yas kyi luñ pa
sman dris kheñs :
 [379] tho reñs rgyal po'i
mnal lam du :
dbu rtse'i steñ du mgon po
tshe dpag tu med pa byon te :
bsam yas mchims phu'i g.ya' ma
luñ du phyag brkyañs pa :
tshe chu bum pa la reg ge
'dug pa rmis so :
de nas mnal sad pa'i dus su :
stan las bžeñs
dus la bab par šes te :
dbu rtse nas g.ya' ma luñ du
slob dpon gyi spyen sñar
gšegs par

Padma's version

sgo druñ phebs pa'i dus :
rgyal po'i blon po
lha bzañ klu dpal gyi :
blon po thams cad sbran nas
druñ du byuñ :

mdo žer spre chuñ

khri 'briñ lha lod dañ :
śud bu dpal señ
rgyal tsha lha snañ dañ :

khri bzañ yab lha rnams kyi
[340] gros lab pa :

klu dpal bu dañ klu goñ bu gñis
mthuñ :

mtha' yi mon bu

mthu rtsal can 'di yis :

rgyal po blun rmoñs

phag thoñ 'dra ba 'di :

rtsi dug btañ nas

gsod pas gśol ba drag :

señ ge 'dra ba'i blon la'añ

ci 'byuñ 'dogs :

rañ rañ so so gñen po

O-rgyan's version

sgo druñ du slebs pa'i dus su :

blon chen

klu dpal gyis

blon po rnams sbran te :

blon po chen po rta ra klu goñ

dañ : blon po chen po rdo rje

spre chuñ dañ : blon po chen po

khri 'briñ lha lod dañ :

blon po chen po śud bu dpal señ

dañ : blon po chen po rgya tsha

lha snañ dañ : blon po chen po

khri bzañ yab lha rnams kyis

gros byas pa la :

klu dpal dañ klu goñ gñis

gsuñ mthun par :

mtha'i mon bu

'dod pa can 'dis :

rgyal po blun rmoñs

phag gdoñ 'dra ba 'di la

rtsi gtod bar 'dug pas

śol thob :

[380] bdag blon po señ ge

'dra ba rnams la'añ 'oñ ñen

yod pas :

so so'i gñen po

Padma's version

brten źes smras :

mdo źer řud bu dpal seň
gros mthun par :
de řid legs par bsoms řig
mi srid do :
slob dpon 'jig rten spaň ba'i
skyes mchog la :
rgyal pos rgyal sa
slob dpon ci bya zer :

klu dpal sras po
klu 'bum gsuň na re :
slob dpon rgyal po'i rgyal sar
rňam par 'dug :
g.ya' ma luň du zla ba
sňa ma la :
rje 'baňs tshogs pa'i
dbaň gi dus su yaň :
rgyal po'i sku tshe riň bar
'dod pa na :
dkor mdzod jo mo
mňa' ris phul ci gsuňs :
naň rtags phyir řar
řiň gi yal ga 'dra zero :

O-rgyan's version

bsten źes smra'o :

rdo rje spre chuň daň
řud bu dpal seň gňis
gsuň 'cham ste :
de řid legs par soms řig
mi srid do :
slob dpon 'jig rten spaňs pa'i
skyes mchog la :
rgyal po'i rgyal sras
slob dpon ci řig bya :
źes zer ro :

klu dpal
na re :
slob dpon rgyal po'i rgyal sar
rňam pa 'dug :
g.ya' ma luň du zla ba
sňa ma la :
rje 'baňs tshogs pa'i
dbaň gi dus su yaň :
rgyal po'i sku tshe riň bar
'dod pa na :
dkor mdzod jo mo
mňa' ris phul řig gsuň :
naň rtags phyir řar
řiň gi yal ga 'dra : źes zer ro :

Padma's version

O-rgyan's version

blon po rgyal tsha lha snañ

rgya tsha lha snañ

gsuñ na re :

na re :

rgyal po tshe riñ bod khams

rgyal po tshe riñ bod khams

yoñs la phan :

yoñs la gces :

slob dpon 'phags pa'i

slob dpon 'phags pa'i

nor gyi phyug pa la :

nor gyis phyug pa la :

dkor mdzod jo mo

dkor mdzod jo mos

slob [341] dpon ci bya zer :

slob dpon ci žig bya : žes zer

ro :

blon po šud bu dpal señ

[381] šud bu dpal señ na re :

žal nas su :

kun la gces pa'rgyal po

kun la gces pa rgyal po

tshe riñ na :

tshe riñ na :

rañ gžan kun gyi bsam pa

rañ ñid kun gyi bsam pa

yid bžin 'grub : ces zero :

yid bžin 'grub : ces zer ro :

klu 'bum na re :

klu dpal na re :

tshe riñ 'dod pas

tshe riñ 'dod pas

rañ srog rtsa ba skyel :

rañ srog rtsa ba skyel :

nañ na med na

nañ na med na

phyi ru ci la brdol :

phyi ru ci la brtol :

khyed rnams kun la

khyed rnams kun la

'di 'dra'i tshod yod min : *

de 'dra'i tshod yod min :

* There is a barely legible footnote to this line, which seems to read yod tshod ma'i 'di ___; a last syllable is totally illegible.

Padma's version

rgyal po med na blon pos
ci žig bya :
rgyal po'i spyar sñar
da lta la 'ur 'deñ :
khyed rnams smras pa'i
gos tsho gañ lags kyañ :
rtiñ phug ña yi thog tu
ma babs na :
tha ma khyi yi blon po
rluñ gi khyer :
zer nas
blon po rnams

mña' bdag rgyal po'i druñ :
rnam par thar pa'i sgo gsum
sgo 'gram du :
rgyal po dbań žur byon pa'i
chibs kha bzuñ :
blon po rnams kyi
rje la phyag phul nas :
blon po klu 'bum
rgyal las 'di skad žus :
rgyal po
tshe dbań gsan par žu dgoñs
te :

O-rgyan's version

rgyal po med pa'i blon pos
ci žig bya :
rgyal po'i spyar sñar
da lta la 'ur 'deñs :
khyed rnams smra ba'i
gros tshod gañ lags kyañ :
gtiñ phugs ña yi thog tu
ma byuñ na :
tha mar khyi yi blon po
rluñ gis khyer :
žes zer te : klu dpal gyis
blon po gžan rnams sba
dbyug gis brduñs so : de nas
rgyal po'i spyar sñar phyin te :
rnam par thar pa'i sgo gsum
sgo khañ du :
rgyal po phyir gšegs pa'i
chibs kha nas bzuñ ste :
blon po rnams kyis
phyag byas zug nom pa'i dus su :
klu dpal gyis
žus pa :
kye rgyal po chen po lags
tshe'i dbań la [382] bžud dgoñs
pa lags na

<u>Padma's version</u>	<u>0-rgyan's version</u>
sku srog 'dor par byed pa'i	sku srog 'dor ba'i
ñen gda'o :	ñen gda'o :
mtha' yi mon bu 'dod pa can	mtha'i mon bu 'dod pa can
'di ñid : rje yi [342]	'di rje'i
gdan sar śin tu riñ par 'dug :	gdan sa la riñs par 'dug skad do :
tshe chu sgrub kyin	tshe chu bsgrub kyin
yod do skad pa la :	yod skad
de la gśegs pa śin tu	<u>bde la gśegs pa na</u>
blun rmoñs 'thib :	blun rmoñs pa'o :
kha sañ zla ba 'di yi sña ma	kha sañ zla ba sña
la : rgya gar rtsi dug	mar rgya gar rtsi dug
khur gñis mchims phur soñ :	khur ba'i mi gñis mchims phur soñ
	ba las :
bla mchod pañdi ta yi	bla mchod pañdi ta gñis kyis
gser 'jal te :	gser bcal nas :
khur nas g.ya' ma luñ du	khud du sbas pa
soñ ba'i mi gñis mthoñ :	mthoñ ba 'dug go :
rtsi dug 'tshoñ mis	rtsi dug pa gñis kyis
bzod pa ri gdoñ du :	bzod pa ri gdoñ gi brag la
yi ge bris śiñ 'phrin bskur	yi ge bris : gru pa la 'phrin
zon gyis	brdzañs nas : dogs yod zon gyis
zer :	śig skad do :
žes gsol rje yi chibs kha	žes smras te chibs kha
nañ du slog :	nañ du bzlog pas :
khri sroñ lde btsan	rgyal po'i
thugs kyi dgoñs pa la :	dgoñs pa la

Padma's version

mi srid thañ de ci yin
mi řes řñam :
'on kyañ khyod kyi mna' řig
gyis gsuñs pas : klu 'bum
na re de řid mi bden ri :
dkor sruñs rgyal pos
srog rtsa chod cig zer :
mna' bdag chibs nas gřol te
nañ du bāud :
de řid slob dpon chen po'i
thugs kyi mkhyen :
g.va' ma luñ nas
tshe chu'i bum pa khyer :
brag dmar 'dzam bu gliñ du
phebs pa'i dus :
tshe chu bum pa'i nañ nas
khol bar gyur :
[343] rlañs phyur
lhag lhag dkar ni rtse re
byuñ : de nas
bya khyuñ gřog 'dra'i brag
la ni : mtshan ma btab ste
de 'og rdo sgrom brtsigs :
phra men bum pa dñul

O-rgyan's version

mi srid thañ de ci yin
mi řes řñam ste :
chibs pa'i steñ nas břol te
nañ du břud do :
de řid slob dpon gyis
mkhyen nas :
g.ya' ma luñ gi brag phug nas
tshe chu bsname te :
'dzam bu gliñ stod du
byon [383] pa'i dus su :
tshe chu
rlañ pa phyur phyuñ :
khol lhog lhog skad rtsir rtsir
byuñ ño : de nas
brag bya khyuñ gi gřog pa 'dra
ba'i ños la mtshan ma btab ste :
de'i 'og tu rdo sgrom gsum sbrag
byas :
phra men gyi bum pa gzi'i

Padma's version

gyi bum par bcug :
zañs kyi dril nas
sa yi gter du sbas :

'jig rten 'di na
tshe yi dños grub dkon :
rig 'dzin gral du
'gro ba'i thabs bgyis kyañ :
sñigs ma'i sems can
bsags pa chuñ srid dam :
rgyal po'i lus la
skal ba ma šoñ ñam :
skal ldan tshe riñ
las 'phro med srid dam :
rgyal po'i mi yi mñal kha
stoñs 'dogs sam :
skye ši 'byuñ 'jug las la
'phro gśin nam :
rluñ 'khor šiñ rta
zo chu'i 'khyud mo bžin :
'khor ba'i skye yul
las ñan 'phro srid dam :
brtse ba'i gros dañ
žal lta ñan mkhan med :
the tshom can gyi rgyal po

O-rgyan's version

ga'ur bcug ste :
de zañs kyis gril nas
gter du sbas so :
slob dpon gyi žal nas :

'jig rten 'di na
tshe yi snod dkon pas :
rig 'dzin gral du
'gro ba'i thabs bgyis kyañ :
sñigs ma'i sems can
bsams pa chuñ srid dam :
rgyal po'i las la
skal bar ma šoñ ñam :
skal ldan tshe riñ
las 'phro med srid dam :
rgyal po ma yi mñal kha
stoñ dogs sam :
skye 'chi 'byuñ 'jug las la
spro srid dam :
rluñ 'khor šiñ rta
zo chun 'khyud mo bžin :
'khor ba'i skyes bu
las ñan dogs srid dam :
brtse ba'i gros dañ
žal ta ñan pa med
the tshom can gyi rgyal po

Padma's version

yi re mug :

nam žig skal ldan rgyal po
las 'phro can :

rdo rje spre chuñ

skye ba bdun mtha' la :

khri rgyal žes bya rgyal po'i
mtshan brtag can :

[344] thugs sgam bka' btsan

khoñ yañs gzuñ thub pa :

thugs stobs che žiñ

gsaň sñags chos la spyod :

kun gyi bkur gnas mchod

gnas rim 'gro'i gnas :

skal ldan las 'phro can

dañ 'phrad par šog :

gsuñ ste

brag dmar 'dzam bu gliñ la

sbas :

O-rgyan's version

yi re mug :

nam žig [384] rgyal po skal ldan
las 'phro can :

rdo rje spre chuñ

skye ba bcu bdun tha :

khri rgyal žes bya rgyal po'i
mtshan rtags can :

thugs sgom bka' btsan

khoñ yañs zuñs thub pa :

thugs stobs che žiñ

gsaň sñags chos la spyod :

kun gyi bkur gnas mchod

gnas rim gro'i gnas :

skal ldan las 'phro can

dañ 'phrad par šog

ces smon lam btab nas

sbas so :

- - -

u rgyan gu ru padma 'byuñ

gnas kyi skye rabs

rnam par thar pa rgyal par

bkod pa las : tshe chu gter du brgyad pa'o :

sbas pa'i le'u ste go bži pa'o : :

kha byañ mdzod kyi lde mig

rgyud las 'dzam bu gliñ stod

kyi tshe chu'i le'u ste bco

*

*

*

TRANSLATION

[337] Lord Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan spoke¹²² to the great ācārya Padmasambhava: "Although I have reached the age of fifty-five, through a sku rim¹²³ blessing of the translators and paṇḍits it would be lengthened to sixty-three years. I now request Padmasambhava to bestow upon me a profound āyur-vaśita consecration, one which rules over the lives of the magicians (rig 'dzin)."¹²⁴

Because he had made that request, the Great One from Uḍḍi-yāna said to him, "You have not spoken treacherously¹²⁵ about me, as have the ministers and their evil friends. Now [to advance in knowledge] you must abandon doubts such as those which people express about the nature of the mind and body!¹²⁶ Such hindrances as these¹²⁷ are diametrically opposed (śin tu sdañ ba) to gaining control over your life. I, Padmasambhava, am certainly free from the limitations of birth and death, old age and deterioration, so for King Khri-sroṅ to reside among men (mi yul) even for three thousand years is a matter to which I should attend!"

In a deserted spot in the Brag-dmar-g.ya-ma Valley¹²⁸ Padma opened the mouth¹²⁹ of the maṇḍala of Amitāyus. Then, when he had filled a vessel made of phra men¹³⁰ with elixir¹³¹ he performed sādhana over the course of a month. At that time Lord Amitāyus appeared above that vessel as a rainbow [O-RGYAN reads here 'as one having the body of a rainbow', i.e.,

in a rainbow body¹³²]. He spoke the following to Padmasambhava, in a voice not to be found among human beings: "Where are truly blessed holy men to be found? Indeed, such vessels of life¹³³ are so rare in this world that attaining power over life is like seeing a star in the daytime. Such a saintly one (skyes bu) who has the vessel of life (tshe snod) is that one who must perform the work, [while from the point of view of his spiritual development] a saintly one who strives [339] after mastery of life is like the udumbara [lotus]; when he is rid of defiling acts he will drink the water of life (tshe chu) in his present existence ('di la).¹³⁴ And, in drinking this liquid he will realize various benefits in his human body (sems can lus la) throughout a lifetime lasting one thousand and seven years. His perfectly ripened body¹³⁵ becomes like a vajra, and his skandhas made of the four elements¹³⁶ are totally free of decay." Thus preached the very voice of Reality Itself (chos ñid ran sgra) from the heavens above.¹³⁷

At that very moment, the Valley of Bsam-yas was permeated (khyab, kheñs) by the aroma of medicines.

In the early morning [of that day?] the king had a dream, in which Amitāyus made himself manifest above the Dbu-rtse (-lha-khañ)¹³⁸ and extended his hand into the Brag-dmar-g.ya-ma Valley. His hand had held the vessel of life (tshe bum), and it was now deposited there.

At daybreak the king rose from his sleeping place and, realizing that the time had come [i.e., that the elixir had

been prepared], he determined to go from Dbu-rtse to G.ya-ma Valley before the great ācārya. He was just at the door of Padmasambhava's hermitage when all his ministers confronted the royal minister Lha-bzañ-klu-dpal, who had summoned them.¹³⁹

Mdo-ñer-spre-chuñ, Khri-briñ-lha-lod, Śud-bu-dpal-señ, Rgya-tsha-lha-snañ and Khri-bzañ-yab-lha¹⁴⁰ proffered this advice, [340] to which the sons of (Lha-bzañ-)klu-dpal and (Rta-ra)-klu-goñ agreed: "This one powerful in magic (mthu rtsal can; O-rgyan reads 'this greedy one') who hails from the Mon-area borderland, is going to administer a liquid poison (rtsi dug) to our foolish king, who is like a piglet (phag thoñ) [in his desire even to have such an elixir]. This will kill the king, so it would be best to prevent it! Furthermore, what happens we ministers who are like lions will be responsible for;¹⁴¹ let us depend upon our mutual friendship [to see us through]!"

Mdo-ñer-spre-chuñ and Śud-bu-dpal-señ, in a unanimous decree, added: "Consider these things well! Can the situation be otherwise (mi srid do)? About this ācārya who is a saint (skyes mchog, puruṣottama) who has abandoned the world: What has such an ācārya to do with the throne of a king?"¹⁴²

Then Klu-'bum, the son of Klu-dpal, said:¹⁴³ "This ācārya is abiding in his greed for His Majesty's throne. Even while (dus su yañ) conferring initiations on groups of nobles and their servants for the past month in G.ya-ma Valley he has been saying, 'If Your Majesty wishes a long life, give me your royal treasury (dkor mdzod), a lady of royal blood (jo mo),

and Ma'-ris.¹⁴⁴ [Indeed, this Padmasambhava] is like the branch of a tree, from his innermost heart to his outer skin."¹⁴⁵

Following up on that, minister Rgya-tsha-lha-snañ spoke, saying: "For the king to have a long life would be a benefit to all the regions of Tibet. However, about the wealth of this esteemed ācārya: what business has such an ācārya [341] with the royal treasury and noble women?"

Minister Śud-bu-dpal-señ added, "May there be realized that thought which is the wish of all citizens, ourselves and others: a long life for that king who is dear to us all!"

Klu-'bum (O-rgyan: Klu-dpal) now said, "Should His Majesty's desire for a long life be a reason (rtsa ba) for risking it? If there is no real substance to what Padmasambhava intends to do (nañ na med na), then what really can come of his efforts? But, whether or not all you ministers agree with my opinion (tshod), if we do come to be without a king, whatever have we ministers to do about it?¹⁴⁶ [Therefore,] let all this prattle disappear for now from His Majesty's presence! Whatever points of dispute (gros tshod) there are now raised by you, inasmuch as I am not ultimately (rtiñ phug or gtiñ phug) responsible for what happens, you ministers who are lowly dogs may as well be scattered by the wind!" (O-rgyan adds that Klu-dpal then proceeds to beat the ministers with his walking-stick to drive them away.)

Some time later the ministers went before the king at the entrance to Rnam-par-thar-pa'i-sgo-gsum.¹⁴⁷ They took hold of the bridle of the horse which had been brought because

he had requested initiation (rgyal po dbaṅ fur byon pa'i chibs).¹⁴⁸ After the ministers had bowed to that prince, minister Klu-'bum (O-rgyan: Klu-dpal) made the following respectful request of the king: "Oh King! In thinking to request the teaching on [literally, 'to hear'] attaining power over your life, there is a danger that you may throw away your life (sku srog, the respectful form). This greedy youth from the Mon borderland has remained around here for a very [342] long time, enjoying the position of a prince; when he says to you, 'I am achieving the power over life', this increases ('thib; literally, 'darkens') your delusion and foolishness on the subject of your own death. ¹⁴⁹

"Some time this past month two bearers came to Mchims-phu¹⁵⁰ with poison made in India (rgya gar rtsi dug). Your chaplain paid them with the gold of the paṇḍita, and after he had carried the poison away I saw these two men who had come to G.ya-ma Valley.¹⁵¹ These two poison sellers¹⁵² wrote a note [about what they had done] on the face of Mount Bzod-pa.¹⁵³ Take heed of this message, which has been left for you (phrin bskur):"

While he was thus addressing his king, Klu-'bum was turning inwards (naṅ du slog; i.e., reversing to turn around) the bridle of the king's horse, and the latter began to reflect: 'Is it not possible? [After all,] I really don't know what this drink (thaṅ) is;'¹⁵⁴ nevertheless, he told Klu-'bum, "Take your oath of obedience to me!" To this Klu-'bum replied,

"Padmasambhava (de ñid) has no real value to you; oh king, protector of our treasures, do kill him!"¹⁵⁵

Khri-sroñ dismounted and went inside the retreat. Padma-sambhava, the great ācārya, knew by his clairvoyance (thugs kyi mkhyen, abhiññā) that Khri-sroñ would be arriving, so he had brought the vessel with the water of life (tshe chu'i bum pa) from G.ya-ma Valley. Just as the king arrived at Brag-dmar 'Dzam-bu-glin¹⁵⁶ the water of life was coming to a boil (khol bar gyur). [343] Steam was rising from the flask, and each wisp (rtse) was as white as it could be (lhag lhag dkar).

When it was ready, Padmasambhava cast his sign upon a rock which looked like the outstretched wings of a garuḍa; underneath it he constructed a chest made of stone (rdo sgrom). Within this container he placed the water of life, in a vessel made of phra men¹⁵⁷ which was itself in a silver vessel. These vessels were then wrapped in copper. This accomplished, that water of life was hidden as a treasure within the earth (sa yi gter).¹⁵⁸

Ācārya Padmasambhava told Khri-sroñ, "Magical perfection of one's life (tshe yi dños grub) is difficult to attain in our present world, so even though one has laid the groundwork for entering the ranks of a magician (rig 'dzin), is even a little [success] to be expected from the collected humanity (sems can bsags pa) of this corrupt age?"¹⁵⁹ Is not Your Majesty's destiny held in your body? [This being so, then]

can a long and blessed life be possible without continual [spiritual] effort?¹⁶⁰ [Following up on this,] is the womb of the king's mother an advantageous place [to continue this] — or does perhaps a corpse carry on that work which brings about the continual round of birth and death?¹⁶¹ A person who [in his ignorance] is spinning like a water scoop or a wind wheel is probably going to continue his evil ways, isn't he?¹⁶² Oh king who doubts in me (the tshom can), having no power (mkhan med) to hear my gracious counsel and cautionings (gros dan źal ta/lta), despair [to receive the water of life from me]:¹⁶³

"One day, Oh king, that blessed and worthy¹⁶⁴ Rdo-rje-spre-chuñ, at the end of seven (re-)births, will possess the perceptible characteristics (mtshan brtag can) of the king known as Khri-rgyal.¹⁶⁵ [344] He will be resourceful, and he will command a broad range of systematized teachings¹⁶⁶ as well as dhārinīs. Being thus very spiritually powerful, he will be completely versed in mantra doctrine (gsañ sñags chos, *mantra-dharma). May you meet with this blessed, worthy one [when you have then achieved] a position worshipped by all, a position of honour, a position of respect!"¹⁶⁷

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[There follow now the colophons to the two versions, which need not be translated.¹⁶⁸]

FOOTNOTES TO PART ONE

1. RAY has aptly termed the period of the development of Indian alchemy the 'Tantric Period' [p. 113]; on page 128 he supplies a list of representative works. The largest Tibetan works on alchemy yet discovered are from BO-DON-PA's exegeses on the Kālacakra-tantra system: the Dus-'khor-nas-gsuñs-pa'i-gser-'gyur-dañ-bcud-len-la-sogs-pa'i-sbyor-ba-bśad-pa, the Bcud-len-gyi-man ñag-bśad-pa, and the Gser-'gyur-dañ-bcud-len-la-sogs pa'i-sbyor-ba-bśad-pa, totaling over 330 pages, are found in volumes two and nine of his published collected works [Encyclopedia Tibetica; the Collected Works of Bo-don Pan-chen Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal, edited by S.T. Kazi, New Delhi, 1970].
2. The *Vyādi-pa text mentioned above (page ten, note eight) and two alchemical texts from the Peking Tanjur [Gser-'gyur-gyi-bstan-bcos-bsdus-pa / Rasāyana-śāstra-uddhṛti and Gser-'gyur-gyi-rtsi / Dhātuvāda, Suzuki edition numbers 5803 and 3236 respectively] are suspiciously similar in places and are perhaps to be traced to a common root.
3. Recipes for mercurial elixirs are very common in Tibet, at all times and in all traditions. As interesting examples we may cite the Dñul-chu-rjen-par-za-ba'i-thabs of the First Dalai Lama, Dge-'dun-grub-pa (b. 1391) [Tohoku Catalogue Number 5542] and the Bcud-len-gyi-ril bu-sgrubs-nas-spyod-tshul by the recent Dge-lugs-pa scholar Dñul-chu Dharmabhadra (1772-1851) [on pages 419-425 of the Collected Works (Gsuñ 'bum) of Dñul-chu Dharmabhadra, Volume II, New Delhi, 1973]. Such works belong to the field of mercurial medicine (see Rasa-cikitsa, below) rather than to alchemy per se, since transmutation or literal physical immortality are not the stated goal. However, supra-natural results are often discussed, so such literature is certainly alchemical in the widest sense.
4. The two principal Sanskrit terms for alchemy are rasa-ayana (Tibetan bcud kyi len or °kyis len) and dhātu-vāda. The former, the earlier formulation, originally applied to the use of elixirs for longevity made of vegetable products; it is even referred to in the Yoga-sūtras of Patañjali (composed 300-500 A.D.), according to the unanimous opinion of its commentators [PENSA: 203]. The latter refers almost exclusively to metallic transmutation, stemming from its original meaning 'chemistry and metallurgy' [RAY: 239]. Two points need to be made about these terms.

Rasāyana as an organized practice is best known to us as one of the eight branches (aṣṭāṅgas) of traditional Ayurvedic practice. It deals with regeneratives and restoratives, 'elixirs' in the popular sense of the word, in such works as the Caraka- and Suśruta-saṃhitās. Our present work is not primarily concerned with this use of the term, or with the interesting question of the historical relationship between its use in early yogic and medical literature, which certainly deserves a detailed study. The only two essays which attempt to relate these two conceptions of rasāyana in a cogent manner are Arion ROȘU's "Considérations sur une technique du Rasāyana āyurvédique" [Indo-Iranian Journal XVII, 1975, 1-29] and Priyadarajan RAY's "Origin and Tradition of Alchemy" [The Indian Journal of the History of Science II, 1967, 1-21]; see note 61 infra.

Dhātuvāda, unlike rasāyana, has no calque in Tibetan (it would presumably be *kham kvi smra ba), and gser 'gyur rtsi given above [page 65] as an equivalent is certainly a random translation, as is Mahāvvyutpatti #3754, where dhātuvādī, 'an alchemist', is rendered by nor bsgyur mkhan, 'one able to create wealth'. Vidhushekhara BHATTACHARYA long ago noted this discrepancy, adding that gser 'gyur rtsi would be *suvarṇaparivartana-rasa. ["Sanskrit Treatises on Dhātuvāda or Alchemy as Translated into Tibetan", Acharyya Ray Commemoration Volume, Calcutta, 1932, pp. 121-135; see p. 123]. This lack of consistency in dealing with the old Indian term for metallic alchemy would seem to allow us to conclude that no organized body of knowledge identified with 'dhātuvāda' reached the Tibetans, who consistently use bcud len when referring to metallic, non-metallic, and yogic alchemy, as well as in its Ayurvedic sense of 'tonic'. This is rather surprising, considering the large number of contacts and influences of Indian chemistry and medicine in Tibetan civilization.

5. This is an Indian practice which goes back to the mantric medicine of the Atharva-veda and the Soma-hymns of the Rg-veda; on this see Henry R. ZIMMER, Hindu Medicine, Baltimore, 1948, pp. 29-31.
6. See BOSE, 252ff. According to RAY [p. 71] there is only one recipe containing mercury in the Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya of Vāgbhata, which along with the two works mentioned here constitutes the Brhatṭrayī, 'The Three Greats' of Indian medicine. RAY's statement may or may not have any significance; see footnote nine below.
7. The date of this event is very unclear; many circumspect scholars, such as Julius JOLLY in his Medicin [Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde Band III, Heft 2, Strassburg, 1901, p. 29], refer it only to India's

later mediaeval period of the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. This is later than the flowering of mercurial alchemy, but no scholar has as yet undertaken an explanation of the hiatus here; again, see note nine.

8. A study and précis translation of portions of this work have been made by B. RAMA RAO: "Ānandakāṇḍam: a Mediaeval Medical Treatise of South India", BIHM Volume I, Nos. 1-2, 1971, pp. 7-16, and Volume II, No. 3, pp. 121-129.
9. This work was also written by a Vāgbhata, as is clear from the colophons to each adhyāya of the text: iti śrīvāidyapati-simhaguptasya sūnor-vāgbhaṭācāryasya kṛtāu rasaratnasamuccaye . . . [the edition used here is that of Paṇḍita Śrīdharmānandaśarma, Delhi, 1977], "In the Rasaratnasamuccaya, composed by Vāgbhaṭācārya, the son of Simhagupta the Glorious Lord of Medicine (this is adhyāya number . . .)." Upon this meager data rests the important question of the date of the development of the Rasacikitsā school, for we know that the Vāgbhaṭa who authored the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya lived in the ninth century. In order to accommodate the birth of the Rasacikitsā school to the probable era of production of a majority of its works, most scholars have postulated a later Vāgbhata as the author of the Rasaratnasamuccaya, who must have lived in the period which JOLLY and others have fixed.

Without reproducing the entire argument against this assumption, it will merely be stated that strong negative proof against the 'two Vāgbhaṭas' theory has been given by Dinesh C. BHATTACHARYYA ["Date and Works of Vāgbhaṭa the Physician", Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Volume XXVII, 1947, pp. 112-127]. Unfortunately, the author has made little effort to put forth a positive argument reconciling the two works so different in orientation [pp. 121ff], but in lieu of any more thorough research we may ascribe to a single author theory. This would at least bring into agreement dates for the flourishing of Indian (and Indo-Tibetan!) alchemy and the birth of the medical system which most clearly shows its impact.

10. Sources for the data on Siddha medicine given here are the series of articles which follow; all were published in BIHM. It is not without interest to note that RAY and BOSE devote a total of four pages to this school.
P. GURUSIROMANI, "A Short Note on History of Siddha Medicine", Vol. II, No. 2, 1972, 78f; K. PALANICHAMY (tr.), "Siddhars — their attainments and their role in Medicine (extract from 'Cyclopaedic Dictionary')", Vol. III, No. 2, 1973, 71-73; idem, "Basic Principles of Siddha

Medicine", Vol. II, No. 2, 80-82; D.V. SUBBA REDDY, "History of Siddha Medicine; Need for further detailed studies", Vol. III, No. 4, 182-185.

11. The best edition of the former is the translation of C.H. TAWNEY with the notes of N.M. Penzer [The Ocean of Story; being C.H. Tawney's Translation of Somadeva's Kathā Sarit Sāgara (or Ocean of Streams of Story)], London, 1925-28]; there are two interesting tales in Volume III [pp. 161-63 and 252-56].

The Mānasollāsa is a courtly work of the sixteenth century containing much lore on alchemy and medicine. It was edited in 1925-26 by Gajanan K. Shrigondekar [Gaekwad's Oriental Series Volume XXVIII, Baroda]. For information on contents and authorship, see the review by 'U.N.G.' in Indian Historical Quarterly Volume II, 1926, 207-09, and the notice of Mauritz WINTERNITZ, A History of Indian Literature Volume III, Part 2 [Delhi, 1967, the first edition of the English translation], p. 613.

12. Such biographies (really, hagiographies) are a principle source of Tantric folklore in Tibetan; they usually carry a title such as 'Sgrub-thob-brgyad-bcu-rtsa-bñi'i-rnam-thar'.
13. E.g., Guiseppe TUCCI in his Tibetan Painted Scrolls Volume I [Rome, 1952], 210ff; W.Y. EVANS-WENTZ in Tibet's Great Yogī Milarepa [London, 1928], 8-12; Helmut HOFFMANN in Tibet: A Handbook [Bloomington, Indiana, n.d.], 120; idem, The Religions of Tibet [London, 1961], 51f; and Mircea ELIADE in Yoga: Immortality and Freedom [New York, 1969], passim.

The best attempt at an essay which deals more generally with Buddhism than Tantrism in its relation to Gnosis is CONZE [q.v.].

14. SHEPPARD 1959.
15. In fact, references to Gnostic doctrines and texts will be limited — as much as is possible — to those showing the least amount of 'Iranization'; otherwise, it would be perhaps too attractive to simply dismiss some similarities as mutual borrowings where there is no evidence for jumping to such a conclusion.
16. The Buddhist reflex of this Hellenistic alchemical credo, which has guided Western alchemy for so long is found again and again in sādhanas and Tantric exegetical literature, e.g., lus ni gñal yas khañ du gyur / sañs rgyas kun gyi yañ dag rten, "The body shall become a palace, an immaculate receptacle for all the Buddhas." [WAYMAN 1973, p. 83, quoting Tsoñ-kha-pa.] See also the chapter 'Macrocosm and Microcosm' in WOODROFFE.

17. Tantric and Gnostic practice both require the commitment of the adherent in a battle with the forces of Matter and mortality; "both Tantrist and alchemist strive to dominate 'matter'. They do not withdraw from the world as do the ascetic and metaphysician, but dream of conquering it and changing its ontological régime." [Mircea ELIADE, The Forge and the Crucible; the Origins and Structures of Alchemy, New York, Harper Torchbooks, 1971, page 129.]
18. For a good discussion see Kenneth REPROTH's 'Primer of Gnosticism', page xii, which serves as an introduction to MEAD.
19. SHEPPARD 1959, p.44, discusses this concept in terms of Pseudo-Demokritos' Physika kai mystika (on the surviving manuscripts of this work and its content see LINDSAY 1970, 100-104 and 404, note 24). This work is one which mentions alchemical recipes used by the Egyptian priesthood (see above, Introduction, note two).
20. This five-fold purification deals with the 'subtle elements' (pañcatanmātrāṇi or de tsam lña in both Hindu and Buddhist Tantrism) of the yogin's body, its abstract constituents earth (solidity), water (liquidity), fire (warmth, 'liveliness'), air (gaseousness), and ether (any hollow within the body). As the ritual or doctrinal orientation requires, these are then brought into correspondence with various other groupings such as the pañca-jñānāṇi, °skandhāḥ, °indriyāṇi, °mahābhūtāṇi and °kulāṇi, which are Buddhist concepts resulting from the pervasive influence of the Five Tathagatas (pañcatathāgataḥ) on their Tantric system. Hindu Tantrism, on the other hand, tends to resolve these elementals into Prakṛti (the personification of the material basis of all existence) or some manifestation thereof. On this ritual and doctrinal complex see DASGUPTA 1974, p. 85, WOODROFFE, pp. 107-08, and the latter's Principles of Tantra; the Tantratattva of Śriyukta Śiva Candra Vidyārnava Bhaṭṭācārya, Volume II [Madras, 1970], pp. 476-483.

The yogic text in Chapter Two below is an excellent example of an alchemical adaptation and development of this schema.

21. PENSA, page 226.
22. The latter term is briefly discussed in TUCCI's Tibetan Painted Scrolls Volume I [Rome, 1949], page 211. It may be rendered as 'the thought (bodhicitta) which is self-luminous (prabhāsvaram) in nature (prakṛti)'; and since this 'thought' is by definition spiritually directed, we have a complete correlation of the Buddhist ideal of religious orientation with that of the Gnostic spermatikoi. Since their spiritual nature is possessed of Light it will of its own accord tend upward, away from Matter.

23. SHEPPARD 1958, 93f, and PENSA, 225f note the Hellenistic-Gnostic terminology, while WOODROFFE's translation of MAHODAYA's text (see footnote 20 supra; unfortunately, the text is unavailable) speaks also of 'purification', 'desiccation', 'reduction', and 'oxidation' in saying "In order that this unclean body may be purified, it is dried up by means of Vāyumantra, and burnt and reduced to ashes by means of Agnimantra" in connection with the bhūtaśuddhi (= bhūtaviśuddhi) ritual [Volume II, page 477].
24. Both systems emphasize that the initiate undergoes a real ordeal in escaping the bonds of Matter, which certainly shall try to hold him back [see JONAS, 166-68, and DASGUPTA 1974, 169].

According to both systems, human beings are either 'material' (hylikoi, naśubhāvinah or icchantikāh), of indeterminate spiritual temperament (psychikoi, vīrabhāvinah, or aparinirvāṇagotrakāh), or basically spiritual (spermatikoi, divyabhāvinah, or samyaktvaniyatāh). The first are not even fit for teaching, the second may benefit from instruction, and the third are most fit to receive the teaching. Terms given here represent the Gnostic, Hindu and Buddhist terms respectively, although the Buddhists maintain several systems of division. For philological and philosophical discussions see CONZE [p. 19], WOODROFFE [pp. 59-65], MEAD [pp. 139, 199], and Guiseppe TUCCI, "Animadversiones Indicae" [Jñānamuktāvalī; Commemorative Volume in Honour of Johannes Nobel on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday, edited by Claus Vogel, New Delhi, 1962, pp. 221-227], pages 224-27.

TUCCI and, after him, CONZE, wish to see here a Gnostic influence in Buddhism, while WOODROFFE is inclined to see the Hindu Tantric schema as a development of Sāṃkhya, i.e., native Indian, philosophy. In lieu of any persuasive textual evidence of borrowing or foreign influence, we are inclined to agree with the latter's attribution. The first explanation is as yet an argument ex silencio as well as an example of the unattractive practice of overlooking a known autochthonous doctrine in favour of a more exotic, but farther fetched, alternative. It would have been better had TUCCI and/or CONZE first of all shown how the Sāṃkhya system could not have been the source for this development.
25. The school of the Nāth Siddhas, for example, maintains that "For mukti worth the name, . . . the body must be preserved and perfected, and liberation is thus attainable only through perfection and preservation of the body by the application of Rasa . . ." [DASGUPTA 1969, page 253, quoting the Sarvadārsana-saṃgraha, verses 18-22.]

26. FESTUGIERE Volume I, page 18.
27. The best general essay on their philosophy and its relation to the philosophical schools around it is MURTI.
28. MURTI, pages 106 and 317.
29. Which intuitional yoga, of course, leaves it to the discretion of the guru as to which disciples are capable of developing it, or are prepared to receive it. This follows, in the Sūtras of the Vijñānavāda school as well as all Tantras, the rule that only those who are prepared or 'elect' (ārya) may receive the true meaning of the Consciousness teaching [DASGUPTA 1974, p. 26].
30. MURTI, page 159.
31. To quote one of the principle philosophical foundations of Yogācāra doctrine, the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra: "The cleansing [of the mind] is done by degrees, not all at once. It is like the ripening of the āṃra fruit which takes place gradually and not all at once . . . The Tathāgata's cleansing of all beings of their minds from which external manifestations flow, is carried out by degrees . . ." [D.T. SUZUKI, Studies in the Lankavatara Sutra, London, 1930, page 207]. It is difficult to conceive of finding a more Gnostic concept in Buddhism than the role of the Tathāgata here: the indispensable spiritual guide who bequeaths his transcendent wisdom in parts to veritably lead the yogin to enlightenment.
32. JONAS, page 45, and Peimandrēs, Chapter One, where the "voice of Light" instructs the seeker, is a clear example.
33. DASGUPTA 1969, p. 17, notes this attribution, which has been adequately refuted by WAYMAN [1973, p. 15, and 1977, p. 97].
34. See note 62 below.
35. Here is another central Tantric concept which receives its imprimatur in the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra: "Without this Adhiṣṭhāna on the part of the Buddha [i.e., the Tathāgata - mlw], the Bodhisattva may with all his assiduity and penetrating insight be incapable of realizing the highest truth in himself . . . It is thus due to the power of the Buddhā that the Bodhisattva at the first stage attains the Samādhi known as the Light of the Mahāyāna . . . [and the] personal presence of all Buddhas from the ten quarters who will with their own body and speech accumulate their power upon him." [The translation follows SUZUKI, Studies in the Lankavatara Sutra, pp. 203-04; a nearly identical version is the Sanskrit text given on page 42, lines 7-10, of the Saddharma-laṅkāvatāra-sūtram edited by [Bauddha-saṃskṛta-granthāvalī 3, Darbhanga, 1963]; note mahāyānaprabhāsaṃ nāma bodhisattva-samādhi therein.]

So it is that the original (i.e., Theravāda and early Mahāyāna) conception of the historical Buddha has been lost in a process of apotheosis which brings Buddhism very close to the Gnostic stance perfected in Tantrism: the Buddha — indeed, all Buddhas — are categorically different beings than we mortals, and from time to time we need their spiritual assistance to break the bonds holding us to Matter. In the same way, an 'Untitled Apocalypse' in MEAD [pp. 555, 558] says of Christ in portraying him as a Bodhisattva: "So when He had seen the Grace with which the hidden Father had endowed Him, He himself desired to lead back the universe to the hidden Father . . . such a Son-ship as the Pleroma could not endure, because of the superfluity of its light." The 'photism' of these systems [see note 62 *infra*] functions to nourish and empower: Light is life; it is also the breaking through of Spirit into Matter [JONAS, 252f].

36. Vide Greek rationalism and Mādhyamika as discussed above.
37. W.Y. EVANS-WENTZ, Tibet's Great Yogi Milarepa; a Biography from the Tibetan, London, 1951, pp. 9, 10.
38. DASGUPTA 1969, 87-8; WOODROFFE, 66-8.
39. One of our great lacunae on the traditional science of alchemy is the content of the oral communications which are the real essence of the art, accompanying and making intelligible texts which often consist solely of either repetitive or nonsensical formulae. Rather than containing merely more technical advice or some nebulous doctrinal orientation designed to pull the system together, this oral instruction most probably is the verbal Grace (khāris, adhīsthāna) which flows through the alchemist to his disciple from the accumulated spiritual power of his lineage.

This Grace has a metaphysical significance because of the pneumatic nature of Indian and Hellenistic alchemy. The life force (pneuma, prāṇa) of an individual may be enhanced by this act so that he is 'inspired' in transmutation to interact with and dominate allied powers in his raw materials. It is a state of heightened awareness; "the initiate is assumed to reach a new unity of self, in which all his facilities, thoughts, and emotions are concentrated on . . . the Great Work" [LINDSAY, 154]. We must here quote a remarkably similar sentiment in the greatest Hindu alchemical work, the Rasārnavam: karmayogena deveśi prāpyate pīṇadhāraṇam / rasaśca pavanaśca-iti karmayogo dvidhā smṛtaḥ. "Through karma-yoga (i.e., the Great Work), oh Goddess, preservation of the body is attained! That Great Work is known to be of two parts: rasa (mercury) and pavana (prāṇa)."
[Rasārnavam, edited by Praphulla Chandra RAY, as Numbers 1193, 1220, and 1238

- of the New Series of Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1910, page 3, śloka 18.
40. See LINDSAY, pages 325, 336f for the role of the daimonēs; the goddess Prajñāpāramitā and the 'Glorious Yakṣiṇī of the Bodhi Tree' (Śrīvataṣyakṣiṇī) reveal recipes to the Buddhist Nāgārjuna in his Rāsaratnākara [RAY, 316f].
 41. A very famous case in Hellenistic alchemy is that of Ostanēs and Pseudo-Demokritos, discussed infra, page 26. In Tantrism the most famous immortals are the mahā-siddhas, usually enumerated as eighty-four, who include in their ranks the alchemists Cārpati, Nāgārjuna, and Govinda. Overlapping with this conception is that of the Nāths, "believed to be immortal demigods and preachers of the sect for all ages; . . . they are still living in the Himalayan region; sometimes they are regarded as the guardian spirits of Himalayan peaks." [DASGUPTA 1969, page 207]
 42. Tibet does have such a figure, Padmasambhava. The forms and functions of Padmasambhava and Hermes, as they have come down to us, are really quite similar despite the different nature of their cultural settings. Both were originally esoteric adepts who came to occupy unique positions in their cultures as revealers of traditional wisdom; both were deified without losing their historical role as teachers and founders of important movements. Padmasambhava the 'second Buddha' (Saṅs-rgyas gñis pa) is still a historical personage to the sect which worships him, the Rñiṅ-ma-pa, while Hermes is quoted in alchemical recipes not as a god but one who mastered all wisdom long ago [LINDSAY, 166f and 172; FESTUGIERE Volume I, 240-52], while at the same time divine in his form as Hermes-Thoth, the father not only of Hellenistic alchemy but of all traditional sciences. Even their method of operation as revealers is nearly identical; see infra, under the fifth point in Festugière's comparison.
 43. Indeed, as is abundantly clear from the discussion here, Indian alchemy really flourished only within the lineages and sub-culture of siddha-yogins who lived aloof from society and mixed Hinduism and Buddhism — basically in their Tantric forms — at will.
 44. This secrecy applied both to the public dialogues as well as to Gnostic epistles sent to kings with teachings which could not be given openly [FESTUGIERE Volume I, 324ff and Volume II, 35]. In the same way, Padmasambhava secretly instructed Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan and his other spiritual sons at night in the temples at Bsam-yas [compare O-RGYAN: Btsun-mo, pp. 133f with DARGYAY, page 33.].

45. This collection, in the edition of Arthur Darby NOCK and FESTUGIERE [Paris, 1947], is a primary source of data for FESTUGIERE Volumes II-IV. This latter work remains the only comprehensive study of these seventeen discourses (logoi) of Hermes.
46. The most common terms for the disciple in the lineage is sprul pa'i sras or thugs sras, which latter term renders the Sanskrit āurasa, a vrddhi form of urasa meaning 'bosom (son)' [Mahāvvyutpatti #641]; interestingly, āurasa also means 'legitimate son' in terms of inheritance.
47. See Hevajra-tantra Volume I, page 133 and index to note its use in ritual contexts. Also, see FESTUGIERE Volume IV, 202f, for the use of dynamis in Gnosticism.
48. There has not been nearly enough discussion about the nature of the gter ma tradition in the religious life of Tibet, considering that it functions as the principle impetus for the spiritual development of the Rñin-ma and Bon traditions as well as being an important facet in the growth of various Bka'-rgyud sects.

Earlier Western writers, such as WADDELL [Tibetan Buddhism, with its Mystic Cults, Symbolism, and Mythology, London, 1895, pp. 57-8] were almost completely ignorant of the foundations upon which this system is based, and they made no attempt to present the data available to them in a coherent fashion.

Later, better informed scholars such as Frederick W. THOMAS [Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan Part I, London, 1935, 264] and LAUFER [O-RGYAN: Btsun mo, p. 8] did not reject out of hand, as had WADDELL, the authenticity and antiquity of all gter mas. However, these scholars were solely interested in the historical veracity of such texts, for which the most thoughtful study remains that of Andrej VOSTRIKOV in his Tibetskaja Istoriceskaja Literatura [available in English as Volume IV of the Soviet Indology Series, Calcutta, 1970], pp. 38-43 (of the English edition).

Still other scholars have been interested in the political circumstances within which the gter mas first arose [TUCCI, page 53] or in their literary variety [Rolf STEIN, Tibetan Civilization, Stanford, California, 1972, pp. 274-75]. Of these various attempts to describe or evaluate this huge body of literature, only one scholar [THOMAS, op cit.] ventured a speculation on the direct cause for the existence of the gter ma system. He made a reference to the Indian Buddhist custom of concealing sūtras and other sacred texts in stūpas as a source of merit (punya) for the scribe. Is this an adequate explanation, one that is reasonable in light of Tantric culture?

It would not seem so, for two very basic reasons. One is that, while gter ma texts are as canonical to the Rñiñ-ma and Bon as the Mahāyāna texts found, for example, in Gilgit, the gter mas found in Tibet are basically Tantric. In many cases, their authenticity is not even accepted by other Buddhist sects there, and in all probability no Indian original existed for them. Secondly, these texts were not copied down for merit's sake, but as a result of merit; "gter ma designates a text . . . concealed by a master . . . and later brought to light by a religiously predestined and qualified person" is an accurate definition given by DARGYAY [p. 62].

Thus, we can see that the metaphysics of the gter ma system is Tantric in nature. And, for purposes of discussion here we may view it as a manifestation of Gnostic 'Padmaism' [HOFFMANN, p. 64], inasmuch as the system has been completely oriented around him nearly from its inception. We must be circumspect here because the researches of Per KVAERNE point to an independent, very old Bon tradition from the eleventh century, coeval with the first Rñiñ-ma discoveries ["The Canon of the Tibetan Bonpos", Indo-Iranian Journal XVI, 1974, pp. 34-40].

We have discussed above [note 42] the unique characters of Padma and Hermes within their traditions, which is reinforced in their roles as revealers. They have either personally brought forward, or cause to be brought forward, all the materials necessary to carry on their esoteric tradition; "Hermes saw the totality of things. . . Having understood, he had the power to reveal and show. And indeed, what he knew he wrote down. What he wrote, he mostly hid away, keeping silence rather than speaking out, so that every generation upon coming into the world had to seek out these things," so says the Korē Kosmou [undated; quoted in LINDSAY, 160]. And, like the divinised Padma he also dispenses works from his heaven in visions (known in Tibetan as dgoñs gter) [LINDSAY, 109]. In addition to all the necessary spiritual instructions, Hermes also taught all that needs to be known in the realm of sciences [according to Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria and others quoted in LINDSAY, 160-169].

Padmasambhava functions in exactly the same way for his cult: "mchod rten shon por bzo gter rig gnas sbas : . . . bka' 'gyur bstan 'gyur rgyud 'bum mgur bum dan : lun 'bum sgrub 'bum gzuñs 'bum shags 'bum sbas" reads a short extract from the chapter in his biography on the treasures he hides in Tibet. It says, "He hid texts on the sciences concerning plastic arts (bzo, which presumably also includes all manner of technologies) in the Blue Stūpa; he hid the Kanjur, the Tenjur, the (canonical?) Tantras, the songs (Tantric dohās as well as perhaps even Mi-la-ras-pa's works), books on prophecies, sādhanas, dhāraṇīs and mantras." [Quoted from O-RGYAN: Padma, folios 346r, 347r.]

We may conclude from these examples that to accuse Padma or later Rñiñ-ma authors of fraud or misrepresentation misses the point of the developed gter ma system. When Padma or one of his chief disciples guides someone to a textual treasure, that gter ston is in a transcendent state, spiritually 'prepared' to properly understand the work through empowerments given directly or indirectly by Padma. In fact, to his followers there is really no other source for their entire culture: that omniscient 'Second Buddha' hid nearly all its literature (its culture, in the Buddhist view); in addition, the eternal Padmasambhava guides yet today their spiritual development through continuing revelations. Providing constant inspiration and guidance, all textual revelations are thus 'timeless' and questions of historicity — although of crucial importance to many scholars — are of little ultimate concern. The Gnostic attitude toward the dynamics of their spiritual development was exactly the same [Pistis Sophia, pp. lv-lvi].

Thus is explained the metaphysical basis for the gter ma system. Unfortunately, the historical flow of these events cannot yet be clearly seen. The most important question is whether or not Padmasambhava himself was responsible for creating his role as Hermes to Tibet; if not, does a long period of mythological development lie behind it? In either event, direct foreign impetus must not be discounted: "The great spiritual and religious influences operating in the eighth century in the days of Padmasambhava were Hellenism in the widest sense, the influence of Greek scientific theories and of the Gnostic systems, the antique mystery religions, and the Iranian national religion . . ." [HOFFMANN, page 51].

49. See especially FESTUGIERE Volume I, pp. 312-17.
50. DARGYAY, 87f. quoting Bdud-'joms-rin-po-che; q.v.
51. DARGYAY, 63.
52. Such as when an apparently anonymous work, the O rgyan mdzad pa'i bka' thañ bsdud pa speaks of the gter stons as incarnations of Padmasambhava himself [discussed on page 76 of W.Y. EVANS-WENTZ, The Tibetan Book of the Dead, London, 1927].
53. WOODROFFE, pp. 41ff.
54. Ratna-gliñ-pa is quoted as saying, "Because beings deserve pity in this evil age (kali-yuga) the Books and Treasures were hidden throughout the country" [DARGYAY, page 86].
55. The Tantric attitude toward such behaviour is well-known; however, it is rather surprising to note the similarity of expression in discussions of Gnostic practices. In

Irenaeus we read, "(the Gnostics) shall not get free from the power of the angels that made the world, but always has to be reincarnated until he has committed every deed there is in the world, and only when nothing is lacking will he be released . . ." [JONAS, p. 273]. Ratna-glin-pa (1403-79) speaks of the las sad pas, those with "matured fate" (literally, exhausted), who "in a single lifetime will gain the road to deliverance" by carrying out rituals in the gter ma texts [DARGYAY, p. 86]. In such ways as this much seemingly amoral behaviour becomes a necessity for salvation!

56. TUCCI, page 268; also DARGYAY, p. 37 hints at this.
57. Pistis Sophia, page 292.
58. FESTUGIERE Volume I, pp. 228f.
59. For a short biography of Grwa-pa-mñon-śes and an account of his discovery of the Rgyud-bñi, see DARGYAY, pp. 94-6.
60. The following important collections of Rñin-ma literature, containing Tantras, their exegeses, sādhanas, et cetera, may be taken as examples: Rin-chen-gter-mdzod, a sixty-three volume set assembled by various gter ston; Bla-ma-dgoñs-'dus, uncovered by Sañs-rgyas-glin-pa (1340-96); Rñin-ma-rgyud-'bum, compiled by Ratna-glin-pa (1403-79); and the Sñin-thig-ya-bñi of Kloñ-chen-pa (1318-63).
61. There are several variants of this system at work in Indo-Tibetan Tantric culture, and we are not yet in a position to fully describe any of them, nor to make a comprehensive statement about their interrelationships. One of them closely overlaps the traditional Āyurvedic concept of rasāyana: lus nad mi 'byuñ bar byed cin / rgas pa gso ba bcud kyi len pa'i thabs kyi stobs dan tshe 'phel bar byed pa'o / de la bcud len žes bya ba ni rdzas kyi bcud dan du blañs pas tshe rin du byed pa'i phyir / rdo bcud dan / sa bcud / śin bcud / sño bcud / rtsva bcud / rtsi'i bcud do, says the second most important Tibetan medical text: "Preventing illness in the body and doing away with old age by virtue of obtaining essences: these bring about an increase in one's powers and life expectancy. On this point: what is known as rasāyana is the extracting of the essences of things in a pure state (dan du) in order to lengthen one's lifetime; (such essences are those of) rock, earth, wood, vegetable matter, grasses and juices." [Chalag-bco-brgyad, p. 18].

The etymology for rasāyana in the standard Āyurvedic works is 'the method (ayanam, past passive participle of i-, 'to go') of rasa (the nutritive fluid within the human body)'; likewise, in metallic alchemical works it is the method of mercury (rasa) as the magical nutritive fluid which pervades nature and in Hindu Tantras is often referred to as 'Siva's semen' or as representing Siva himself [RAY, page 140].

However, extracting essences from plants and rocks is not taught in Āyurveda, although there are similar conceptions [BOSE, p. 242]. To explain this Tantric use of rasāyana we thus venture the speculation that the Tibetan calque bcud kvi/kvis len represents a popular Indian etymology not utilized in Ayurvedic circles but within Tantric sects. 'To obtain essences' requires rasa and āyanam, an incorrectly formed past passive participle of āyam- or āyat- (these verbs have approximately equal meanings), 'to arrive, come to, reach; to grasp, possess' [APTE, page 348]. Such a derivation would explain this consistent interpretation of bcud len in Tibetan Tantric materials, when mercurial alchemy is not being referred to, as an 'extraction' or 'obtaining' of essences.

62. Note TUCCI, pages 176f: "Betreffs der Rñiñ-ma, . . . sich die Eremiten dieser Sekte in Zellen oder Grotten einschliessen lassen, in die nicht der geringste Lichtstrahl eindringen darf . . . Ihre Insassen pflegen eine Sonderart des Yoga, die den Geist (sems) mit dem Licht ('od gsal) gleichsetzt . . . und daher darauf vertraut, das innere Licht werde aus dem ihm wesensgleichen Geist hervorbrechen, um alles mit seinem glänzenden Strahl zu erhellen. Einzelne Asketen gehen so weit, sich ohne Speise und Trank einmauern zu lassen: ihrem religiösen Vertrauen genügt "das Wesen" des Wassers (c'ui bcud) oder "das Wesen" eines coñ Zi genannten Steines als Nahrung."

This succinct description brings together in a very clear manner the union of the 'extracting of essences' just spoken of with the most important doctrine common to Tantrism and Gnosticism, what is termed in the latter phōtismos and yet today in Orthodox Christianity the 'theology of Light'. On its role in Gnosis in general see FESTUGIERE Volume IV, pp. 241-57.

It is so common to encounter the 'ja' lus in Tibetan texts of the Rñiñ-ma, Bon, and some Bka'-rgyud-pas that it is one of the clichés applied to all their saints and accomplished yogins as a token of their spiritual perfection [DARGYAY, passim, for example]. Here is what Jesus informs His disciples concerning the result of perfection in the First (i.e., Highest) Mystery: "(You will then come) straightaway out of thy body, become a great light-stream and pass through all the regions of the rulers and all the regions of Light, while all are in fear of that (your) soul, until it cometh to the region of the Kingdom." [Pistis Sophia, page 198].

This is one Iranian influence so pervasive that a comment of some sort is necessary. On the Tantric side, the

doctrine 'Light is life' in an active and supportive sense is best personified in Amitābha and Amitāyus among the Buddhists; even the doctrine underlying the five Dhyāni Buddhas may easily be associated with Manichaeism as its point of origin [HOFFMANN, p. 52]. A good example of Manichaeism is the statement of summation in the Tshe-sgrub-bdud-rtsi-bum-bcud-kyi-dbañ-bśad-lhan-thabs-su-byas-pa [in the Klōñ-chen-sñiñ-thig, the same work from which the yogic text studied herein was taken, Volume I, p. 273]: ye śes sems dpa' la brten nas rgyal ba 'od mtshan stoñ 'bar mñon du bsgrub ciñ tshe dpag med kyi go cha bskon pa, "Relying upon one's jñāna-sattva (here, Amitābha is the 'knowledge being' who takes us residence in the yogin at the conclusion of a sādhana, bringing with him his wisdom), he visibly attains the flaming Void of the light qualities belonging to a Jina (i.e., a Buddha) and takes upon himself the armour of Amitāyus."

This is an elliptical way of saying that the yogin will become eternal/immortal. In Iranian cosmogonies the Primal Man put on the armours of Light, which were the components of his soul. Just as some of these were taken away from him by the Powers of Darkness, so are they lost to us gradually through life by the force of the world's material nature. By putting on Amitāyus' armour one is thus protecting and preserving these light forces within us and returning us to a complete state of spirituality in its shining brilliance [JONAS, 217-19; see also W. HENNING, "Geburt und Entsendung des manichäischen Urmenschen," Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1932, in which Turfan materials are analyzed]. Might this idea also underlie the numerous references to robes and vestments of light used in initiations, and in a figurative manner, in such works as Pistis Sophia [liv, 14f]?

63. The best secondary source on these sects is still DASGUPTA: 1969.
64. GZON-NU-DPAL [page 821] reports that Bsod-nams-rgya-mtsho "obtained the precepts of Padma-Amitāyus (Padmasambhava in the form of Amitāyus) imparted by the vidyādhara Padma, and other texts."
65. DARGYAY, pp. 30-35 in particular.
66. Another manifestation of Manichaeism in Tibetan Buddhism? See HOFFMANN, p. 58.
67. The role of sādhana in Tantric practice in general is discussed in Chapter 7 of WAYMAN: 1973.
68. One may compare this sort of gter ma with one of the four sorts of revelatory procedures outlined by FESTUGIERE

Volume I, pp. 317-19. In both of these schemas, the recipient has purified his spirit in meditation to the point that a supernatural being (Padma, a dākinī, a deity or angel or even a dead teacher) can infuse his consciousness with the meaning of a teaching, illustrating it instantly and completely. We are thus not dealing here with the revelation of a text, but with a vision of a teaching. It may be accompanied, however, by a request or command that this vision be translated by the recipient/gter ston into human language [see also DARGYAY, p. 91].

69. See DARGYAY, pp. 186-89.
70. The most understandable attempt to discuss Rdzogs-chen (Sanskrit Mahāsaṃdhi) doctrine and its function in Bon and Rñiñ-ma systems is that of TUCCI, q.v.
71. The colophon to the collection says simply par 'dis (!)
o rgyan sbas yul rol pa gliñ ñe 'dabs šo roñ dgon steñ
bśad sgrub chos gliñ du bžugs; no success has yet been forthcoming in locating Ñe-'dabs-šo-roñ [on the use of the term sbas yul see DARGYAY, pp. 131 and 220; on page 169 it is said to be an epithet applied to Bhutan]. The title page to this volume of selected texts is Kloñ-chen-sñiñ-tig-gi-sñon-'gro'i-ñag-'don-rnam-mkhyen-lam-bzañ-gsal-byed-bcas, which is, however, only the title of the first work.
72. The complete title of this edition is Kloñ-chen-sñiñ-thig; Treasured Rñiñ-ma-pa precepts and rituals received in a vision of Kloñ-chen-pa Dri-med-'od-zer by 'Jigs-med-gliñ-pa Rang-byuñ-rdo-rje Mkhyen-brtse'i-'od-zer.
73. Sku; on this usage see TUCCI, pp. 70-71. See note 77 infra.
74. Stegs bu, Skt. vedī; see WAYMAN 1973, p. 83n.
75. The ritual materials mentioned here (tshe chañ, tshe bum et alii) are also used in what L. A. WADDELL referred to as "The "Eucharist" of Lāmaism" [Tibetan Buddhism, with its Mystic Cults, Symbolism, and Mythology, London, 1895, 444-448]. Its general outlines are very similar to the sādhana described here, save that the ritual is a public performance made by a Bla ma which is intended to serve the life of an entire village. Like the ritual here, at its conclusion the sādhaka is possessed by Amitāyus, and as his agent anoints the citizenry, distributes the consecrated materials, and generally behaves as Amitāyus' intermediary.
76. Las gžuñ bsrañ. A las gžuñ pa is one skilled at his work (las ka la sgrin po [CHOS-GRAGS, p. 703]), and las gžuñs is concentrated effort at the work at hand (bya ba la gcig tu 'grus pa [DAG-YAB, p. 676]), so that this phrase literally states: there will be made straight the diligent

work. One way of describing the evocation and orienting of the figures in a sādhana is as a penetration of their reality, their states of existence.

77. The term translated here as 'magician' is rig 'dzin, Skt. vidyādhara or 'knowledge holder'. In Tantric contexts it applies to a group of spirits as well as human beings with great magical powers; they form a retinue to Siva, Vajrapāṇi, and here to Padmasambhava. They are sometimes prominent in medical traditions (e.g., the Rāvaṇa-kumāra-tantra, as reported in Jean FILLIOZAT, Le Kumāra-tantra de Rāvaṇa et les textes parallèles indiens, tibétains, chinois, cambodgien et arabe [Cahiers de la Société Asiatique, Première série, tome IV, Paris, 1937, page 148]), and Jean PRZYLUCKI has noted a probable Indian influence in Hermetic philosophy concerned with the question of the vidyādhara in "Les Vidyārāja; contribution à l'histoire de la magie dans les sects mahāyānistes," Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême Orient XXIII, 1923, pp. 301-18; see especially 317-18. According to these scholars, and to judge by many Tantric sādhanas, vidyādharas more often than not are deified magicians with tremendous powers, as in our present work.
78. WAYMAN 1973, pp. 82-3. The doctrine of correspondences must be observed most carefully from this point on; each action of the yogin and each manifestation of transcendent power is to be interpreted as occurring outwardly (phyi) in the ritual setting, inwardly (nañ) within the yogin's body, and secretly (gsaṅ) within the subtle physiology surrounding and pervading him. Thus, the palace represents at once the inner sanctum of the mandala and the body of the yogin, prepared to receive the powers he can now evoke.
79. tshe la dbaṅ ba'i rig 'dzin, *āyurvaśitā-vidyādhara. Āyurvaśitā is a term capable of various applications, depending upon the context. In Mahāyāna texts dealing with the concept of the Bodhisattva, it denotes one of his ten powers, and is described in general terms (Mahāvvyūtpatti, #773; see also Har DAYAL, The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature [London, 1932], p. 140). This power over life is applied to the Bodhisattva himself, and comes to him 'automatically' as he advances spiritually. Tshe la dbaṅ ba'i rig 'dzin, according to DARGYAY, page 231, is "the knowledge of having power over life," an advanced Rdzogs-chen yoga. Neither of these usages seem directly related to an Amitāyus cult. However, in many of Padmasambhava's biographies and in much Rñiñ-ma literature, the acquisition of 'power over life' is through a sādhana on Amitāyus, and only by this means; when in this way Padmasambhava became a tshe dbaṅ rig 'dzin [O-RGYAN: Padma, le'u 44] he became a necessary

intermediary in gaining this power. This position of Padmasambhava is very well-exemplified in the materials studied herein.

80. Snañ srid zil gnon. Snañ srid is saṃsāra, and this epithet of Padma's, like so many others, points to his immortal nature. At one point his biography goes so far as to state that this teacher Padma had not been born from a womb; springing from a lotus stalk, he was free of such conceptions as birth and death. Thus, he has conquered the three levels of reality (tridhātu) and had vanquished by his power the three worlds in which beings live (tribhūvana or triloka): slob dpon padma'i sku la mñal dris dben : pad sdoñ sku 'khruñs skye śi gñis mi mña' : khamṣ gsum dbañ bsdus srid gsum zil gyis mnan [O-RGYAN: Padma, 302r].
81. Tantrically this schema illustrates that creative power which lies behind mundane reality, a point stressed in all alchemical traditions. The red color symbolizes the intense activity in the fire of alchemical and meditational processes, and is constantly associated with Amitābha. On these points see TUCCHI, pp. 102-03 and Anagarika GOVINDA's Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism [New York, 1971], pp. 120, 204.
82. This bīja-mantra is here transliterated 'hrī' in accordance with the orthography of the text, in which the visargaḥ is consistently omitted. It should, of course, be read as 'hrīḥ'.
83. Brtan g.yo is, according to DAS [p. 558] = sthāvara-jaṅgama, which is approximately equal to snoḍ bcud as well.
84. Or: 'the life-essence of the jīnas (i.e., Dhyāni Buddhas), vidyādharas, and ṛṣis'.
85. Buñ ba is rdo'am sa rdog, which implies something larger than the common conception of dust [CHOS GRAGS, p. 474]. These particles represent karmic defilements of the skandhas.
86. 'jam rluñ bum pa can. Kumbhaka is the well-known yogic technique of drawing in the breath by degrees so as to form a 'pot' (kumbhaka) in the body. On this see, inter alia, WAYMAN: 1973, p. 149n.

The reader is encouraged to compare this yogic text with 'La recette d'immortalité' translated and studied by FESTUGIERE [Volume I, pp. 303-08]. In it we see several general similarities to the present text: the use of breathing techniques (especially at the moment when deities become manifest), the transformation of ritual materials — as well as the body of the celebrant — into an 'immortal' condition, and a part of the ritual, near the beginning, which calls down the archetypes of the

elements from which the celebrant's earthly body has been constructed: "du feu en moi premier Feu, Eau de l'eau, de l'eau en moi Eau première, Substance terreuse, prototype de la substance terreuse qui est en moi . . .", says that celebrant. Being uplifted in this way he may thus enjoy celestial delights. Functionally, this regeneration in the presence of archetypes, which has the goal of allowing the Gnostic to enter an ecstasy, is really very similar to the extraction of essences in our yogic text. It is through this transmutation that the body is prepared as a suitable vessel for the manifestation of Amitābha.

87. Tshe 'gugs. This phrase could be taken to mean their life-essences (tshe bcud), but probably refers to their immortality, thus: 'summoning their immortal lives'. See the Tshe-'gugs-ma-brgyad group in NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ [p. 426n], and the brief description of a tshe 'gugs rite dealing with prognosis in DARGYAY [p. 222].
88. This may be the tshe sgrub mda' dar used in Amitāyus and Padmasambhava ceremonies noted on page 365 of NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ.
89. *Śrītāmraṇaparvata; one of the mountain paradises of Padmasambhava, from which he dispenses dgoñs gter and which is one of the places his devotees wish to be reborn.
90. In the Zaṅs-mdog-dpal-ri'i-smon-lam-gter-ma (said to have been hidden by Mkha'-'gro Ye-ṣes-tshal) we read that the name of this palace is 'Og-min, otherwise known as the Akanisṭhā Heaven of Samantabhadra. It exists in a state of perfection, being composed of five streams of light, for which it is known as five-fold in form ('od gsal las grub 'og min pho brañ . . . 'od lña 'khyil ba'i klon [pp. 1v, 2v]).
91. Thugs dam bskul lo. This phrase might also be rendered 'reverently offering devotion'; in either translation, the implication is that the sādhaka has offered something (a prayer, worship, a vow to perform some deed) which satisfies the vidyādharas.
92. Read Dbyiñs-phyug-ma'i rig pa. Dbyiñs-phyug-ma is another name for Kun-tu-bzañ-mo, the feminine reflex of the Ādi-Buddha of the Rñiñ-ma-pas. As the central 'goddess of the elements' she replaces Vajradhātviśvarī of the Indian tradition (see DASGUPTA: 1974, p. 78); she is also prominently mentioned in the Gzer myig of the Bon-po [A.H. Francke, "Gzer-myig, a Book of the Tibetan Bon-pos," Asia Major 1928, p. 29].

She and the other goddesses enumerated here (Māmākī, Buddhālocanā, Pāṇḍarā, and Tārā) "enable a phenomenal body to be formed; they are a sort of demiurge . . ." [WAYMAN: 1973, p. 215]. They thus preside over the

elements and are responsible for purifying them, i.e., returning them to their originally pure state.

93. 'gyur med srog gi ka ba, which ought to be the avadhūtī; "The vital wind (prāṇa, srog - mlw) must be united and made into a subtle body, as it were, and made to flow through the middle nerve . . ." is a similar sentiment [DASGUPTA 1974, page 165], based on very general Tantric doctrine, but which is usually related to the uniting of the winds flowing through the lalanā and rasanā 'veins'.
94. There are now enumerated the eight immortal magicians who spring forth from the kloṅs of eight deities. These deities are connected with the eight pronouncements (bka' brgyad), which some feel to be the only verifiable contribution which Padmasambhava made to Tibetan Buddhism in his lifetime [DARGYAY, 35].

Very little is really known about any of these bka' brgyad deities (which DAS [p. 335] misinterpreted as dka' brgyad) and several of the magicians. Therefore, we are at present in no strong position to explain the discrepancies which others have noticed in this list, as well as the added irregularities of our present text. Lists and discussions of these deities may be found in GZON-NU-DPAL [p. 106], NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ [p. 322n], LI [p. 147], DARGYAY [pp. 31-5], and NEUMAIER [p. 134]. Let us simply note the discrepancies in brief discussions of the eight magicians:

- a. Hūṃkara/Hūṃ-mdzad, who emanates from Yaṅ-dag-thugs, found in all lists mentioned above. Bdud-'joms-rin-po-che says he "became a Wisdom-Holder (Rig-'dsin), who sustained himself by practising the technique called 'taking the essential juices' (bcud-len) and then became invisible" [DARGYAY, p. 41]. His connection to this deity may be seen in the fact that he taught a Yaṅ-dag gi skor Tantric cycle in Tibet. He was a contemporary of Padmasambhava [GZON-NU-DPAL, p. 106].
- b. Mañjuśrī, who emanates from 'Jam-dpal-sku, found in all lists. According to Bdud-'joms, this deity's Tantric cycle was propagated by Saṅs-rgyas-ye-śes [DARGYAY, p. 33], while GZON-NU-DPAL credits it to Sāntigarbha [p. 106]. This 'Mañjuśrī' is in all probability Mañjuśrīmitra/'Jam-dpal-bśes-gñen, the teacher of that Saṅs-rgyas-ye-śes, who was considered a manifestation of Mañjuśrī. He is important in the Rdzogs-chen tradition [GZON-NU-DPAL, pp. 167-8; DARGYAY, 21].
- c. Nāgārjuna, who comes forth from the sphere of Padma-gsuṅs. Literally, as an alchemical teacher and writer he needs no introduction. It is not clear

here, however, why he is attached to Padma-gsuñ. In any event, it is interesting that the first three bka' brgyad deities in the lists mentioned above and in the present enumeration are tutelaries bestowing attainments in the body (sku, kāya), speech (vāk, gsuñ) and mind (thugs, citta); all are said to be manifestations of Mañjuśrī [LI, p. 147].

- d. Prabhahasti, alias Śākya-'od; Bdud-'joms Rin-po-che reports that he was a direct disciple of Dga'-rab-rdo-rje, 'the first of all Rig-'dsin' and the most important human personality in the formulation and transmission of Rdzogs-chen doctrine [DARGYAY, pp. 40, 18].

Phrin-las-phur-pa, from whom he springs, is more commonly known as Phur-pa-phrin-las. For more information on this deity, who is also found in all bka' brgyad lists, see NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ, p. 322.

- e. Vimalamitra, the subject of Part Two of the present work. Also a contemporary of Padmasambhava, he was responsible for introducing Rdzogs-chen concepts into Tibetan Buddhism. He is consistently mentioned as dispensing and teaching groups of texts with bdud rtsi as the subject, such as the Bdud-rtsi-yon-tan-sñiñ-thig [DARGYAY, pp. 31-3].

The deity from whom he springs is known in the above lists as either Bdud-rtsi-yon-tan or Che-mchog-yon-tan; we have interpreted Tshe-la-dbañ-ba (Āyurvaśī-tā) here as an epithet of, or synonym for, that figure.

- f. Rombu-guhya, also known as Roñ-bu or Roñ-bu-guhya Devacandra [DARGYAY, p. 36]. Not much is known of him, save that Padma-dkar-po considers him to be one of a group of eight Rig 'dzin which includes all those mentioned here except Prabhahasti [DARGYAY, p. 36].

Dregs-pa-zil-gnon, mentioned here, is not found in the above lists; therefore, we venture this alternative translation: "Through fulfilling the penitential vows which overwhelm by their glory (zil gnon) the Dregs-pa demons" On the Dregs-pa demons as a group, see NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ, pp. 253-317.

- g. Dhanasaṃskṛta is as obscure a figure as Rombu-guhya, and is mentioned in the same list of Padma-dkar-po's noted above. The only information this list provides us is that they were contemporaries of Padma-sambhava and part of a group known as the 'Eight Great Ācāryas (slob dpon brgyad)' [DARGYAY, op. cit.].

And, as with the above deity, Rbod-gtoñ-zil-gnon may be interpreted as other than a proper name. We

may read the text as was suggested above for Dregs-pa-zil-gnon. One of the bka' brgyad deities found in all lists is Ma-mo-rbod-gtoñ, who like Dregs-pa is a single deity as well the lord of a group of such gods carrying that name [NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ, pp. 322f].

- h. Śāntigarbha, whose name is more frequently spelled Śāntir- or Śāntiṃgarbha, is attested in an independent source. The Gso-dpyad-tshogs-kvi-man-ñag-rin chen-'khruñs-dpe'-bstan-pa is a medical text of great rarity, believed to date from the time of Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan himself; in the colophon we read that this work was composed by the Indian scholar Śāntigarbha and the seven royal physicians to the Tibetan court after they had discussed medical matters (rgya gar gvi mkhan po śāntir-garbha dañ / gñan yañ bla sman bdun bka' bgros nas bsgyur ba'o; thus reads the manuscript according to its reproduction on page 583 of Three Tibetan Medical Texts from the Library of Ri-bo-che Rje-druñ Rin-po-che of Padma-bkod, Tibetan Nyingmapa Monastery Camp No. 5, Arunachal Pradesh, 1973).

Again, the status of Mñon-spyod-dmod-pa as a proper name is problematic; we read of Dmod-pa-drags-sñags in the bka' brgyad lists as a god and the name of his circle [NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ, op. cit.].

While this individual work may not be able to offer any aid in more clearly defining the bka' brgyad deities, one important question has perhaps been answered. According to DARGYAY [p. 35], "it is not quite clear who belonged to the Siddha group of the Eight Wisdom Holders" who are credited with disseminating the bka' brgyad teachings themselves. This sādhana, together with several other references to these eight magicians in the Kloñ-chen-sñiñ-thig materials, assures us that these eight rig 'dzin are those to whom DARGYAY refers. Thus, we have perhaps taken a step forward in the bka' brgyad problem as a whole.

95. Several of the Sanskrit equivalents given here are conjectural, as the use of kham/dhātu in this text does not correspond to normative Hindu or Buddhist Āyurvedic schemes. In these schools, dhātu refers to either three, six, or seven qualities or constituents in the human body. As a triad, it refers to kapha/pitta/vāta, or phlegm/bile/wind, the body's 'humours'. The saddhātu as the six constituent elements of the body brings us closest in a comparison because it includes flesh (māṃsa) and blood (rakta), as does the list of the seven dhātus. However, these lists omit heat, breath, and mental elements. The choice of these five elements no doubt rests in the

pentad system utilized here as interpreted by Rdzogs-chen doctrine. Suffice it to say here that the five constituent elements of the human body given in this schema was derived only tangentially from Indian medical conceptions. The best discussion of the dhātu concept in Indian medicine is to be found in Johannes NOBEL's Ein alter medizinischer Sanskrit-Text und seine Deutung [Supplement No. 11 of the Journal of the American Oriental Society, appended to Volume LXXI/3, 1951, 35 pp.], pp. 7-12 especially.

96. There are many terms for 'breath' and 'breathing' in Sanskrit; this equation is merely a suggestion.
97. WAYMAN 1973, pp. 117-18, describes vrata/brtul žugs as 'ritual observance'. However, the essence of this practice is a solemn promise to observe certain regimens in one's contemplative life as a prerequisite to achieve the blessing or knowledge of a spiritual being. Thus, particularly in the present context it is more appropriate to translate brtul žugs as 'penitential vows'.
98. The four devices mentioned with the following yogins are also attributes of the four deities who guard the entrances at the cardinal points of a maṇḍala. They are enumerated, with their Sanskrit equivalents, at NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ, p. 70.
99. Lha-'dre is given as an equivalent of 'dre by JÄSCHKE on page 284.
100. These four extreme views (mtha' bži, catuṣkoṭi) are: that the world is eternal; it is not eternal; it is both eternal and not eternal; and that it is neither eternal nor non-eternal. It is one of a set of erroneous judgements about existence to be reduced to an absurdity by Mādhyamikan dialectic; hence, it is rather interesting to see it surface in a Rdzogs-chen environment. On this doctrine in particular see Jacques MAY's edition, Candrakīrti; Prasannapadā Mādhyamakavṛtti [Collection Jean Przyluski, Tome II, Paris, 1959], p. 16.
101. Five sorts of jñāna corresponding to the five Dhyāni Buddhas are discussed at DASGUPTA 1974, p. 85n, quoting the Advayavajrasaṃgraha. It is most probably these five wisdoms referred to here.
102. Tshe sbas pa, literally, 'the life hidden'. The verb sbed pa has the connotation 'to preserve' and 'to guard', which certainly fits this context [JÄSCHKE, p. 405].
103. Sku lha'i dbyiṅs, i.e., the spheres (again, dhātu!) of the five Dhyāni Buddhas. In Rdzogs-chen doctrine the

dbyiñs are the passive spheres wherein Absolute Being resides, 'above and beyond' the kloñ, representing eternal and unchanging Reality.

104. Lha shags are mantras pertaining to the deities of the families of the Dhyāni Buddhas/Tathāgatas. See MKHAS-GRUB, page 102n.
105. DARGYAY [p. 166] renders chos bdag as 'master of the doctrine', but here it certainly applies to those who aspire to that status.
106. Perhaps to be translated 'the dākinīs of the profound bodhi'.
107. Brda thim; thim pa means 'to disappear' or 'to dissolve' (chu la thim pa lta bu [CHOS-GRAGS, p. 313]), and applies also to that which is by its own nature ephemeral (rañ bñin gyis thim pa [DAG-YAB, p. 288]).

This term is found in connection with an esoteric song which Vimalamitra sings as a riddle to display his Rdzogs-chen teachings to Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan and others at his court; this episode is reported in O-RGYAN: Padma, 295v and O-RGYAN: Rgyal-po, 43v. In the latter we read bi ma la mi tras dha thim lan gsum gsuñs, "Three times Vimalamitra spoke a dha thim," where the spelling dha agrees with that which we chose to set aside in this sādhana. Brda yig is rather frequently encountered in stories of the transmission of knowledge and gter mas from a dakinī to a mystic [as at DARGYAY, page 193], which persuades us to accept brda here. In both cases it is a matter of using 'non-human' language (not merely 'symbols', as DARGYAY translates it) to test and awaken spiritual sensitivity.

We may compare this method with Ch'an and Zen koan philosophy. Both methods may separately base themselves on the famous episode of Kāśyapa recognizing ultimate reality in merely observing a lotus held by Śākyamuni.

108. It must be understood that, as a well-rounded religious movement, Padmaism possesses its own cosmogony and cosmology (adapted from Buddhism, largely), presented in the first chapters of the larger versions of his rnam thar (hagiography), just as the Tibetan 'folk religion' and Ge-sar complex often open with similar recitations [TUCCI, pages 202, 232].

With particular reference to Padma's lo-rgyus, we may compare it in function with such Gnostic recitations as take place in the first chapter of Poimandrēs (q.v.). In both cases it is important that the soul be given a 'road map' which can guide it through the demonic and psychic dangers which face it, and even more importantly

which gives one's soul an understanding about how it has come to its present situation. Considering Padma's role as a saviour, we should not discount this rationale when discussing the cosmology and cosmogony of Padma-ism.

109. Ñe bar dgoñs pa renders upanyas- according to DAS, p. 486. The basic meaning of this verb is 'to place before; to entrust, commit to the care of' [APTE, page 452].
110. Sc. las kyi bum pa'i chu, karmakalaśodaka. This 'action flask' is used for the generation of deities, and when sprinkled upon the disciples brings the deity down into him [MKHAS GRUB, pp. 285-87].
111. I.e., Amitāyus and his consort. A knowledge being (ye śes pa, jñāna-sattva) is the catalyst of the transformation of the yogin's body upon his entry. By bringing that being into a state of non-duality with himself, the yogin takes on his qualities and realizes his perfect wisdom; thus, this is the apex of the ritual [DASGUPTA, p. 82; MKHAS-GRUB, p. 243].
112. "Stand, vajra!" — as stated, this mantra establishes Amitāyus in the yogin's body; cf. MKHAS-GRUB, p. 31.
113. See note 110, and compare this baptism with that of the Gnostics in Pistis Sophia [p. 249]. In both rituals the transformation of the body is accomplished because it is filled with a deathless essence which separates the material and spiritual constituents of the self. The Peratae, an obscure Gnostic cult, went further in the physiological description of this process, describing the travel of "the spiritual and life-giving essence" from the cerebellum down through the spinal marrow. In this process the mortal elements of the body were replaced by their 'ideas' [MEAD, p. 211].

This sort of a transformation of the body, based on an internal interpretation of the baptismal process, was also — thanks to the doctrine of correspondences — transferred to the cosmic stage. The Nāth Siddhas and the Peratae (according to the scanty materials preserved in Hippolytus) developed solar/lunar symbolisms connected with this process, on which the reader is referred to MEAD, pp. 210f and DASGUPTA 1969, pp. 235-251.

114. I.e., one achieves a vajra body, the vajrakāya. One's own physical being has thus become an expression of the Absolute Reality, synonymous with divyadeha and perhaps siddhadeha as used in alchemical contexts [DASGUPTA 1969, p. 255]. With regard to the latter, we find vajrakāya used in both Hindu and Buddhist alchemical works: sarve vajrakāyā bhavanti / thams cad rdo rje sku ru 'gvur is the reward for the successful alchemists in the

Dhātuvāda [V. BHATTACHARYA, "Sanskrit Treatises on Dhatu-vāda or Alchemy as Translated into Tibetan," Acharyya Ray Commemorative Volume, Calcutta, 1932, p. 135], and we have this recipe in the Rasārnava-tantra: ksīrā-hāraśca jīrnante vajrakāyo bhavennarah [page 257 of the edition of Praphulla Chandra RAY, Calcutta, 1908].

115. The dhāranīs which follow translate as "Anoint the body!", "Anoint the speech (center)!", and "Anoint the heart (center)!"
116. Amṛtakundalī, a popular goddess in Tantrism (especially in alchemical and Tantric medical contexts), is a personification of this process.
117. Dam tshigs are described on pp. 65-8 of WAYMAN 1973.
118. His training in alchemy and the fashioning of jewels (gser 'gyur rtsi dan rin po che bzo) is briefly noted in chapter twenty-five of O-RGYAN: Padma, entitled Rig pa'i gnas lha la mkhas par sbyaṅs ba'i le'u [folio 60r]. One author who seemed to take more than the usual amount of interest in Padma's training in this area was TĀRANĀTHA, who in his Slob dpon chen po Padma-'byuṅ-gnas kyi rnam par thar pa gsal bar byed pa'i yi ge yid ches gsum ldan ḡes bya ba outlines the cemeteries wherein Padma learned these arts and how he applied them [folios 507-508 and 510 of Five Historical Works of Tāranātha, Tibetan Nyingmapa Monastery Camp No. 5, Arunachal Pradesh, 1974].

As to the tale at hand: This interesting story finds notice in at least two important historical surveys. One is the La dwags rgyal rabs [pp. 32 and 87 of Volume II, Antiquities of Indian Tibet, editions and translations by A.H. FRANCKE, a 1972 New Delhi reprint]; the other is the Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me loṅ. Its presence in the latter was brought to our attention by Berthold LAUFER in his "Die Bru-ḡa Sprache und die historische Stellung des Padmasambhava," T'oung Pao IX, 1908, page 18; the text, in the edition of B.I. KUZNETSOV [Leiden, 1966; Scripta Tibetana, I], is on page 167.

In addition to these obvious references to this episode, GZON-NU-DPAL [p. 149] and Bdud-'joms Rin-po-che [DARGYAY, pp. 124 and 140] also discuss findings of the 'water of life' (tshe chu) left behind by Padma; in all probability these notices point to this particular incident, especially considering the prophecy by Padmasambhava given at the end of the episode.

119. The former is our O-RGYAN: Padma; the latter, the U-rgyan-gu ru Padma-'byuṅ-gnas kyi rnam thar rgyas pa gser gyi phreṅ ba thar lam gsal byed. O-rgyan lived from 1323 until ca. 1360, and Saṅs-rgyas from 1340 to 1396, according to DARGYAY.

120. The Rgyal-po-bka'i-thaṅ-yig is the second book of O-RGYAN-GLIN-PA's famous Bka'-thaṅ-sde-lña. The edition utilized here is that one which appeared in 1976 in Paro, Bhutan.
- PADMA-GLIN-PA's version of Padmasambhava's biography was photocopied and distributed in 1977 at Gangtok. For the time being it is the only edition of this work available; chapter ninety-eight is found in the second volume of that version.
121. On the historical relationships between these versions of Padma's life see A.I. VOSTRIKOV, Tibetskaja Istoriceskaja Literatura, as englished by H.C. Gupta and published at Calcutta, 1970, pp. 32-51.
122. Read gyis for gyi after khri sroṅ lde btsan.
123. Sku rim is, according to TUCCI [p. 133], a very general term for rituals designed to bring about good fortune in life in general or a particular object one seeks.
- Again, read gyis for gyi after byin rlabs.
124. On āyurvaśitā, see note 79 above.
125. On page 34 JÄSCHKE cites the oral form *k'a tōṅ wa*, "to use ill language", which would be kha gtoṅ ba in written form, with the past tense kha btaṅ.
126. Mñan yid gñis; the body is often spoken of in Buddhism as a boat or vessel. This is particularly true in Tantric dohās and caryās, since a cardinal principle of their teaching is the indispensability of the development of the body (kāyasādhana) to achieve salvation. As opposed to a strictly ascetic approach, some sects of Indian yogins have always stressed the attainment of an immutable, perfect physical body as the ideal container for a self searching inexorably for release. This may well be the ultimate rationale for the adoption of alchemical practices in Hindu and Buddhist Tantrism [see on this DASGUPTA 1969, pp. 194-5].
127. The term used here for 'hindrance', bar chad, often implies a physical threat to one's life. This is very significant in Tantrism, where to die before one's karmically appointed time (akālamrtyu) robs a person of a full opportunity to utilize merits gained through previous existences to attain nirvāṇa.
128. The region of Brag-dmar, in which this drama takes place, is best known as the area in which Bsam-yas, the first Tibetan monastery, was built [Turrel WYLIE, The Geography of Tibet according to the 'Dzam-Glin-Rgyas-Bśad, Rome, 1962 (Serie Orientale Roma, Volume 25), p. 167].
129. Let us engage here in something of a speculation which is justified by our comparisons with Hellenistic and Mediterranean cultures on esoteric topics. The phrase

dkyil 'khor ḡal 'byed pa, 'to open the mouth of a mandala', is often encountered in Tibetan Tantric ritual texts. It seems not to render a Sanskrit word or phrase, and most scholars have translated it simply as 'to open' a mandala ceremony (as Laufer on page 221 of O-RGYAN: Btsun-mo).

However, from the ritual context it seems clear that this phrase designates the consecration of the mandala, with the direct result that the deities within it are brought to life; cf. JÄSCHKE page 474, ḡal bsro, 'to consecrate a temple', literally, 'to warm its mouth', or better 'to warm the mouth (of the deity therein)'.

One of the more important esoteric rituals engaged in by the Egyptian priesthood was termed by BUDGE 'the ceremony of opening the mouth' of a deity such as Osiris, in order to bring it to life, or of a corpse, to bring it back to life, if only in the next world. In either case, opening of the mouth gave the priest or relative control over the deceased or the deity, just as knowing how to open a mandala or temple puts their divine powers to work for the yogin. On this practice see E.A.W. BUDGE, Egyptian Magic [London, 1901], pp. 196-203 in particular.

130. Phra men, also spelled pra man/men, applies to a silver inlay pattern, apparently without regard to the material from which the vessel is made [Guisepe TUCCI, Preliminary Report on Two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal, Roma, 1956 (Serie Orientale Roma X, 1), page 88].
131. Bdud rtsi, Skt. amṛta. Like a good deal of the world's alchemical literature, this story is susceptible of interpretation on physical, psychic, and spiritual levels which need not be mutually exclusive. For example, this 'elixir' may have only been produced internally, according to the rules of the hatha-yoga of the Nāth Siddhas [DASGUPTA 1969, pp. 238f]. Indeed, as a purely didactic vehicle in which Padmasambhava and Khri-sroṅ are used to illustrate how one must be prepared spiritually to receive Tantric teachings (our metaphorical elixir) this story also makes perfect sense. However one chooses to interpret it, clearly it provides us with valuable insights into how yoga and alchemical processes were combined in Tantrism.
132. See note 62 supra.
133. Tshe yi snod as a metaphor for an alchemist is based on snod as symbolic of human potential to receive and understand spiritual teachings [DAS, p. 773].
134. The lotus has long been a model for spiritual development in Indian literature; rising from the mud, it grows up through brackish water until it greets the sun and

unfolds in a perfect form above the defiling dirt which has given it birth.

135. Rnam par smin pa, Skt. vipāka. As might be expected, this term finds an alchemical interpretation in Buddhist esoterism and the Nāth system: "Until and unless the 'Skandhas' are strengthened or, in other words, the body is made ripe through practice of Haṭha-yoga . . . how can there be a perfection in (Mahāsukha)?", and ". . . as this perfect body is produced through the burning away of his physical body . . . he is liberated while living, and is always living in his true body . . . A deathless ripe body of this type is the first requisite for a Siddha; for such a ripe body helps the Siddhas in attaining the final state of Parā-mukti." [DASGUPTA 1969, pp. 93, 221]
136. 'Byun bñi'i phun po. It is surprising that only four elements are mentioned here as constituting the skandhas, and it is inconsistent with the sādhana text just studied. However, ākāśa/'ether', the medium of consciousness, may be exempt from the list of elements in discussions of their active role in the formation of the body — it is by nature unchangeable and undecaying. Also, consciousness need not be considered separately in an enumeration of the elements because it actually pervades them from the point of view of their abodes in the cakras [WAYMAN 1977, pp. 66f; DASGUPTA 1974, p. 150]. Finally, all five elementals will be discussed when one goddess is required for each of five vidyā initiations [WAYMAN 1977, p. 69] or when, as in the previous sādhana, the desire is to reach the essential elemental (bodhicitta, metaphorically termed amṛta at times) of all the elements of the human being, which of course in Buddhism could not exclude consciousness [DASGUPTA 1974, p. 144].
137. The ritual performed by Padmasambhava here duplicates that described in O-RGYAN: Padma, chapter 44, tshe'i rig 'dzin grub pa'i le'u [folia 171v-173r]. There is an interesting description in that chapter about the desire for longevity within general Buddhist doctrine and the relationship between the rainbow body and the vajra body; only the text will be given now, as it is susceptible of many pages of interpretation: [172v] bskal pa chags nas 'jig rten ma ston̄s par : rdo rje'i sku la skye 'chi med dbaṅ bskur : tiñ 'dzin bsgoms pas 'khor 'das ru san phyed : tshe yi rig 'dzin 'ja' lus thob par gyur : sems rtags lus sar bges rgud mi mña' ba : zag pa med pa 'ja' 'od zer rañ bñin : 'khor ba ma ston̄s bñugs pa'i tshe thob gyur.
138. Dbu-rtse-lha-khañ, also called Bsam-yas-ñbu-rtse, is the central temple of Bsam-yas.

139. There is now something of a hiatus in the story; we have a series of comments by the ministers about their predicament which certainly precedes the king's arrival.
140. The reader is invited to compare the spellings and order of the names of ministers in the two versions. Except for 'Klu-'bum, son of Klu-dpal', all are also known from that important source of O-rgyan-glin-pa, the Blon-po-bka'i-thaṅ-yig [in the collection Bka'-thaṅ-sde-lña; see the bibliographic entry for O-RGYAN: Rgyal-po]. F.W. THOMAS has studied this text and compiled a list of these and other important ministers in his Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan, Part I [London, 1935], pp. 279-85; see especially p. 286n.
141. O-RGYAN reads "because of the coming danger ('oṅ ṇen yod pas) for such as us leonine ministers . . .".
142. Neither version makes a great deal of sense here. It is recommended that both versions be emended to read rgyal po'i rgyal sa slob dpon ci bya zer.
143. Klu-'bum does not appear at all in O-RGYAN, and so far he has not been identified in, or mentioned as a figure in, primary and secondary sources for Tibet's history in this period.
144. In the extended prologue to O-RGYAN's version this advice of Padmasambhava was recounted: slob dpon chen po ḅdag la'aṅ rig 'dzin gyi gral du tshe la dbaṅ ba'i dbaṅ bskur bar ṣu ṣes ṣus pas : slob dpon gyi ṣal nas rje gcig lags jo mo 'khor 'baṅs daṅ bcas pa ḅkor mdzod mña' ris daṅ bcas pa ḅdag la phul ṣig. "When the king requested the mahācārya lord saying 'I request you (to bestow upon me) an initiation of the power over life (i.e., āyurvaśitā) into the ranks of the vidyādharas', Padmasambhava said to him, 'Very well, my unique prince! Give me a princess with her train of servants and your royal treasury together with the royal holdings, Mña'-ris!" [O-RGYAN: Rgyal-po, 377/109v].
- The reference to a royal lady (jo mo) stems from the fact that Padmasambhava was given one of Khri-sroṅ's wives, Ye-ṣes-mtsho-rgyal, apparently at the former's insistence [HOFFMANN, page 55].
145. Both versions read naṅ rtags phyir ṣar ṣiṅ gi yal ga 'dra, which is interesting, to say the least.
146. I.e., it is not the responsibility of ministers to protect their sovereign in Tibet; this was no absolute monarchy, the king being primum inter partes, and the ministers would have been just as happy without him.
147. Name of a religious retreat in an area of the same designation: rnam thar sgo gsum thaṅ gi chos grwa ru, "at the retreat on the plain of R." [O-RGYAN: Padma, 295r].

148. O-RGYAN reads, "the king took the bridle (literally, 'mouth') of a horse which had been sent afterhim"; in either text it would seem best to read rgyal pos for rgyal po.
149. A very provisional reading, interpreting bde la gsegs pa as roughly equivalent to bde bar gsegs pa in the sense of 'to die', which as sugata is used most often in the death of a Buddha or saint. [DAS; p. 1250]. According to PADMA Klu-'bum is telling the king that "going to that one, your already great foolishness will increase".
150. Mchims-phu is well known as a meditation cave in the Bsam-yas area and one of the centers for Padmasambhava's activity in Tibet [O-RGYAN: Btsun-mo; page 134].
151. This is the Brag-dmar-g.ya'-ma Valley discussed in footnote 128 supra.
152. Dug 'tshon ba is visa-vikraya, according to Mahāvvyut-patti #2500. It is one of a number of sinful attitudes and occupations enumerated there, which of course is designed to make Padmasambhava look even worse.
153. There has as yet been no success in locating this mountain or promontory. In all probability it is not to be found, since bzod pa means, among other things, 'to forgive, to pardon'; hence, an allegorical device.
154. Thaṅ sman or sman thaṅ is one of the great families of preparations in Tibetan medicine, and applies to any mixture which has sufficient liquidity to be drunk or poured out of a container.
155. Khri-sroṅ's order that Klu-'bum take an oath of allegiance to him, and the latter's reply, are not found in O-RGYAN.
156. From this we may conclude that 'Dzam-bu-gliṅ in Brag-dmar, not heretofore attested in the standard geographical works in Tibet, is another name for Brag-dmar Mchims-phu.
157. On phra men, see note 130 supra.
158. This is one of the two principal forms of gter ma, the other being the dgoṅs gter; the latter are discussed at DARGYAY; page 63. It is not easy to fit this vessel into the same category as a gter ma text, except to note that what other Buddhist sects consider to be relics (riṅ bsrel) only are also considered gter mas by the Rñiṅ-ma-pas [DARGYAY; p. 62].
159. Sñigs ma for sñigs ma'i dus, Skt. kali-yuga, our present age of spiritual decline.
160. Las 'phro ba is another term which may not have an Indian

equivalent; at least none has yet surfaced among the few edited Tantras extant in both languages. Literally, it refers to work in process as well as continuing results of some prior action [CHOS-GRAGS, p. 702: mjug ma tshar ba'i las ka; DAG-YAB, p. 676: las kyi 'bras bu'i lhag ma dan bya ba'i 'phro 'dzar]; this is mostly interpreted with reference to spiritual matters. Any good work done in a previous life must mature, and when it does it provides a spiritual impetus to further good works [JASCHKE, p. 546]. Eventually, one arrives at a state of spiritual readiness (skal ldan, Skt. bhavya, usually rendered 'worthy' or 'blessed') to receive spiritual teachings, such as the las sad pas who may uncover gter mas (supra, note 55).

161. A mixing of the two versions will render a better reading: rgyal po'i ma yi mñal kha ston 'dogs sam.
Ston gdags (preterite of 'dogs pa) is the same as phan btags pa [DAG-YAB, p. 278], suited, appropriate, beneficial. The sense of this line seems to be that Khri-sron's position in life has nothing to do with his spiritual receptivity, or with a past accumulation of merit — even a corpse carries with it karmic impulses which will eventually be felt.
162. According to CHOS-GRAGS, p. 635, a zo chun khyud mo is chu bcu ba'i 'khrul 'khor gyi zo chun, the water bucket on a device which scoops water. This simile is also employed in the Lankāvatāra-sūtra: "(The ignorant person) drifts along on the ocean of transmigration, and, like a derelict, he must follow its currents. He is again compared to the water-drawing wheel (ghatīyantra) turning around the same axle all the time. He never grows or develops, he is the same old blindly-groping sin-committing blunderer." [Quoting D.T. SUZUKI's Studies in the Lankavatara Sutra, London, 1930, p. 156.]
163. Yi re mug is an interesting verbal compound noted at CHOS-GRAGS, p. 658, as sems mi gsal ba'am yid žum pa, 'an unhappy thought; to despair'. According to DAG-YAB it is the same as yi mug pa [JASCHKE, p. 508].
164. Following the wording of O-RGYAN; on skal ldan las 'phro can, see note 160 supra.
165. This Rdo-rje-spre-chuñ is in all probability the minister whose full name is Mchims-pa Mdo-bžer Rdo-rje-spre-chuñ [listed on folio 66r of O-rgyan-gliñ-pa's Blon-po-bka'i-thañ-yig in the edition cited under O-RGYAN: Rgyal-po; q.v.]. It is not clear to what doctrinal conception or figure Khri-rgyal refers.
166. Bka' btsan khoñ yañs; bka' btsan are teachings reduced

to a system, according to CHOS-GRAGS (page 27: gtan la phab pa'i bka'), while according to the same dictionary (page 72) khon' yans pa is gu yans pa, spacious, roomy, wide.

167. Or: "May you then meet this blessed, worthy one (who has all the above positions)!"
168. We need only note that, in PADMA's colophon rgyas par is to be read for rgyal par, and that in O-RGYAN's a kha byan is a list of hiding places for gter mas [DARGYAY, page 108].

PART TWO

VIMALAMITRA MATERIALS

CHAPTER THREE

MATERIALS FOR A BIOGRAPHY OF VIMALAMITRA

Although Vimalamitra (rarely called by the Tibetan form of his name, Dri-med-bśes-gñen) ranked in eminence with the great Padmasambhava and Śāntirakṣita at the court of Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan (r. 754-797), he is today much less well-known than these figures. In fact, a detailed biographical source on Vimala comparable to the rnam thars of Padmasambhava, Vairocana, or Atiśa, for example, seems never to have been composed. Thus, any attempt to present his life and real significance to Tibetan Buddhism must be provisional and awaits a fair survey of the awesome amount of Rñiñ-ma and Rdzogs-chen literature which today bears the influence of his work.¹

A work has recently appeared which is a first attempt to present an account of his life and times: The Biography of Maha Pandita Vimalamitra by the Reverend Dodrup Chen.² It was published at Gangtok in 1967 and is fifty-six pages long, of which the translation of materials occupies a thin twenty-seven pages, which could be reduced even further if one removes the translator's paragraph-long synopses, often occupying a full third of a page. On page vii of the Introduction he has listed six works which he either thinks highly of as sources or has consulted especially thoroughly; we are not told explicitly why these were chosen to be cited. Also, on page viii he states, "I have compiled (this work) after consulting all the works relating to the life story of this

venerable Pandita," a truly hazardous remark for even a Rñiñ-ma Lama to make.

Since Dodrup Chen's work has not received a wide distribution, it would not be inappropriate here to list those six works exactly as he has given them, and to comment briefly in notes on what could be determined about them after turning the leaves of some central Rñiñ-ma materials:

- "(1) Vi-ma sNying-Thig-Gi Lo-rGyus Chen-po.³
- (2) mKha'-'Gro Yang-Thig-Gi gTer-'Byung Rin-Pe-Che'i Lo-rGyus.⁴
- (3) Vi-ma Yang-Thig-Gi Lo-rGyus Rin-Po-Che'i Phreng-Ba.⁵
- (4) Zab-Mo Yang-Thig-Gi Lo-rGyus Rin-Po-Che Od-Kyi Phreng-Ba.⁶
- (5) U-rGyan-Gling-Pa'i gTer-Ma bKa'-Thang S'er-Brag-Ma.⁷
- (6) rDzogs-Chen-Pa Pad-ma Rang-Byung rDo-rJe or Rig-'Dzin 'Jigs-Med Gling-Pa'i gSung and so on."⁸

The materials brought forward below are two sources not listed by Dodrup Chen. The first, chapters from O-RGYAN: Padma on Vimala's activities in Tibet, is especially rich in data. In notes to the two translations here comparisons will be made with Dodrup Chen's data and other important sources.

As is the case with Padmasambhava's rnam thars, all the works discussed here were either composed or 'brought to light' centuries after Vimalamitra's death. While this need

not cause great skepticism about their accuracy, it is interesting to note that no new body of data has been discovered, and essentially all the materials in Dodrup Chen's compiled text are also found in the two sources studied below. Indeed, history has apparently not favored us with a balanced or comprehensive biography on Vimalamitra, and the materials which we so far are aware of have the same qualities as Padma's, including the stereotypical activities and descriptions of events more suited to stories of the Siddhas than to teachers and innovators responsible for the formation of Tibetan Buddhism.

The principal goal in pursuing the subject of Vimala's biography had been, in this context, to determine the relationship between Rdzogs-chen doctrine and medico-alchemical techniques, which is plainly an important part of Vimala's contribution to Tantric thought and practice. It is rather frustrating to report that at this time his role remains unclear but definitely important, as the sādhana studied above shows and as materials to be presented below in Chapter Four will reinforce. Nevertheless, no biographical material yet studied sheds the slightest light in this direction. The immediate goal of further research ought to be the gathering and translation of all his compositions and translations, as well as those of his disciples and later commentators. Only when this is complete will we be in a better position to evaluate his own personal contributions to traditional science in Tibet.

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i.

Our first source on Vimala's life is a group of three chapters, and the beginning of a fourth, from O-rgyan-gliñ-pa's biography of Padmasambhava. On this work see above (Part One, page 46 and note 119); the colophon has also undergone a translation and study, that by Laufer [O-RGYAN: Btsun-mo, pp. 239-251].

As is to be expected, this set of materials centers on Vimala's activities in Tibet. It is a thorough and valuable source in this respect, containing references throughout to his translating activities, some of which are mentioned in notes to the following materials.

This life of Padmasambhava has already been translated in its entirety. In 1933 in Paris appeared Gustave-Charles Toussaint's Le Dict de Padma; Padma Thang Yig, manuscrit de Lithang, traduit du thibétain [Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, tome III].⁹ Some justification ought to be brought forward for this re-translation.

It seems a cruel judgement indeed to deem a work of such scope (the text of the translation occupies 488 pages) as essentially useless to the student of Tibetan religion and culture. Whether a consensus of such students would agree, this writer has arrived at that conclusion. By combining as inconsistent translation with a spotty knowledge of Buddhism and Buddhist literature--as well as an almost total lack of useful annotations--Toussaint has guaranteed that

his translation is a most inadequate substitute for the text, even where no major difficulties are to be seen. He certainly could not be faulted for his knowledge of Tibetan (he sometimes succeeded in rendering difficult passages correctly), but such devices as translating place and personal names and the titles of works, and even confusing such items with the ongoing text, betray a lack of attention, consideration and methodology which is ironic when compared with the extent of his work. Because of such problems this biography of Padmasambhava, a veritable encyclopaedia of information on Padmaism and the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet, shall one day have to be retranslated.¹⁰

As in Part One we are using here the xylograph of O-rgyan's work cut in 1839 in Peking. To judge by Toussaint's work it is in all essential respects identical to the Li-thañ copy.

THE TEXT

Chapter Eighty: the Inviting of Mahāpaṇḍita Vimālamitra.

[285v] de nas bod kyi rgyal po'i thugs dgoṅs la : bod khams
'di dag chos la bkod 'dod pas : sku rten gtsug lag khañ ni
khyad 'phags grub : gsuñ rten chos bsgyur lo tsa ma rñed de :
rñed nas śes rab blo stobs can rnams kun : rgya gar btañ bas
khyad 'phags chos rñed kyan : bon blon rnams kyis chos la
phrag dog byas : chos la dag ther ma thon spyug dgos byuñ :
bon chos yin min [286r] med par bsgyur dgos bsam :

žañ žuñ yul du gśen bon 'bod du btañ : gśen bon śañ ri

dbu can źes bya ba i : lo tsā ba la thañ nag bon po bcug :
ārya pa lor klu 'bum pod bźi tsgyur : bon gyi bstan pa 'dzugs
pa yin no bsgrags :

bañ so 'di dag bon lugs yin 'dug pas : don mkhar mu riñ
ña yi bañ so brtsigs : źes gsuñs bon blon bañ so brtsig tu
bcug : mchod rten 'di dag chos lugs yin 'dug pas : gtsug
sna'i ri la ña yi mchod rten brtsigs : źes gsuñs chos blon
thams cad brtsig tu bcug :

da ni rgya gar mkhas pa pañdi ta : brgya dañ rtsa brgyad bod
du gdan drañs nas : lo tsa slob ciñ rab tu byuñ bar byas :
[286v] sñar gyi chos rnams yin min der gsal sñam : ska ba dpal
brtsegs cog ro klu'i rgyal mtshan : rma ban rin mchog gsum la
gser phye bskur : indra bo dhi dharmā rā dza la : pañ chen lña
brgya'i nañ nas mkhas chen po : skyes lan bod du rdzoñs źes
śog 'phrin bskur :

lo tsā gsum gyis rgva gar yul du phyin : rgya gar yul gyi
ser skya'i groñ khyer dbus : chos rgyal dharmā rā dza źes
bya pañdi ta ni lñabrgyas mchod gnas mdzad : de la rgyal po'i
dril yig gser phye phul : sñar gyi 'phrin byas rgyal po rab
tu dgyes : bod kyi byañ chub sems dpa' 'dir bźugs gsuñ :

pañdi ta rnams dro la phyin pa'i dus : gdugs tshod gsol ba'i
gral la rgyal pos gsuñs : kye / pañ chen mkhas [287r] pa chen
po rnams : bdag la bod kyi rgyal po yis : śin tu bzañ ba'i
skyes bskur nas : skyes lan pañdi ta bzañ ba : khyad par gsañ
sñags la mkhas pa : thoñ źig zer bas gcig btañ 'tshal : źes
gsol

slob dpon sañs rgyas gsañ ba yis : skyes skyel mi gsum

gañ na 'dug gyur pa : 'dir khrid śog gsuñ rgyal pos khrid nas
'oñs :

bi ma mi tra'i sku yi mtshan bzañ mthoñ : mos pa rab tu skyes
nas mañdal phul : yar mar dus gcig bi ma la la blta : don gyis
soñ žig bar bskul bi mas bžeñs : ma nu du ru kro he : žes pa
lan gsum sgra brjod pas : lo tsā gsum la go lugs re : cog ro
klu yi rgyal mtshan gyis [287v] gžu mo dag la brten pa'i mda' :
skyes bu'i mtheb mos rtsol phod na : mda' yis 'bem druñ phyin
par nus : žes dañ ska ba dpal brtsegs kyis : gru bo dag la
brten pa'i mi : mñan pa'i skya bas rtsol phod na : grus
kyañ chu bo sgrol bar nus : žes dañ rma ban rin mchog gis :
yon tan dag la brten pa'i mi : rañ yul min pa'i sa phyogs su :
lus kyi bum pa gar 'dril bar : sems kyi chu bo de ru 'bo :
žes gsuñs bod du bžud par go :

de nas bi ma mi tra yis : rgyal po khyed kyis gtoñ phod na :
ña yis bod la phan thogs 'oñ : spre'u tsha bod kyi sa cha ru :
phyi nañ chos mkhas bi ma la : sñiñ thig ma bu tshar gcig
bcas : bod yul mi blu gđul byar 'god : [288r] ces gsuñs
ā tsar sa'i sñiñ g.yog por khrid : lo tsā gsum dañ bsdebs nas
bod du byon :

de yi mtshan mo rmi lam thams cad 'khrugs : mkha' 'gro ma
rnams cho ñes 'debs šiñ du : rgyal po'i chu tshod dbyu gu'i
rtsis kyañ 'khrugs : nañ par dus su rgyal po'i pho brañ du :
rgya gar mi rnams thams cad 'dus byas nas : rmi lam bsdur bas
kun mthun cis lan zer : la la cañ zer la la ci zer gleñs :
lha 'dres brlams pa'i bud med cig na re : rgyal po'i bla mchod

bod du ma šor ram : rgyal po la dris zer nas dris pa dañ :
mkhas pa bi ma mi tra bod šor zer :

rgya gar mi yis rkañ mgyogs brdzañs par gyur : bod kyi sa
'gag srañ mdo thams cad [288v] du : bod kyi bande gsum gyis
mu stegs pa : phra men ñan śhags mkhan po khrid nas soñ :
bod kyi rgyal khams thams cad phuñ nas 'gro : źes pa'i ye ge
mdo byañ mañ po btab :

de nas bi ma mi tras bsam yas brtol : rgyal po rje 'bañs
bsu ba byas pa'i tshe : phyag ni 'tshal res gañ yañ med pa la :
lo tsā gsum gyis ño so dañ bcas nas : rgyal po'i sñan du
bi ma'i bñags pa brjod : spyir na mdo śhags sde snod mañ po
mkhyen : khyad par mchog tu 'bras bu gsañ śhags mkhas : 'di
lta bu la bkur sti legs par źu : de skad gsol pas

rgyal po'i źal nas ni : do nub dbu tshal gser gyi lha khañ
gzims : nañ par dro goñ gañ mos spro bar bya : źes gsuñs
dpon slob dbu tshal gser khañ [289r] bźugs :

. . . pañ chen bi ma mi tra gdan drañs pa'i le'u ste brgyad
bcu pa'o :

Chapter Eighty-one; Vimalamitra displays his Magic.

de nas bod kyi blon po gdug pa can : bañ so mchod rten
brtsig pa'i kha brgyags la : bsam yas pañdi ta źig byon zer
thos : mdo byañ btags pa'i yi ge bgrol nas phyin : blon po
thams cad rgyal po'i spyān śhar 'dus : 'o skol 'di na mtha'
mi phra men mkhan : bod la ñan byed mi źig khrid 'oñs 'dug :
'di ru ma bźag źu phul yi ge bstan :

nañ par lo tsā gsum gyis śha bar lañs : rgyal por źal mjal

žu žes 'phrin bsriṅs pas : bžeṅs ma zin zer ṅi ma śar bar
'gor :

de nas blon po 'ga' [289v] žig don byuṅ bas : lo tsā gsum
pos ma legs mgrin gcig brjod : raṅ la raṅ gi rig pa'i don
śar te : rgyal po mjal bas žal nas 'di skad gsuṅ : paṇḍi ta
de gśa' ma min yod 'dug : mu steg phra men mkhan žig yin
tshod gda' : žag 'ga' mtshan ṅid brtag zer mjal ma gnaṅ :
lo tsā gsum po rab tu sdug bsṅal žiṅ : yi dwags mdog 'dra
khaṃa zags par gyur :

bi mas mkhyen nas žag gsum naṅ par de : rnam par snaṅ mdzad
sgyu ma gzugs kyi lhar : bi ma mi tra ye śes lha yi lhas :
kun rdzob gzugs kyi lha la phyag 'tshal lo : žes gsuṅs phyag
btsal lder tcho thal phuṅ soṅ : lo tsā gsum po ṅo mtshar
rab skyes nas : rgyal po'i sṅan gsol rgyal po'i žal nas ni :
de kun phra men ṅan sṅags yin mod de : ṅa yis lha [290r]
de bžeṅs par dka' las byas : lha 'jig pa la gdan draṅs pa
min gsuṅ : lo tsā gsum sems rab tu ma dga' nas : gcig la
gcig blta bžin gyi dkyil 'khor ṅams :

bdag cag gsum gyis rgya gar yul du phyin : dka' ba spyad
nas bod yul dbus su 'oṅs : thams cad kun gyi bla ru phyin
pa yi : mkhas mchog ṅo mtshar 'di 'dra gdan draṅs na :
rgyal po ci ṅes sṅam nas thugs rab mug :

de nas žag gsum bi ma la bžeṅs nas : rnam par snaṅ mdzad
gzugs sku bcos ma'i lha : bi ma mi tra ye śes lha yi lhas :
ye śes lha ldan rtags kyi dbaṅ bskur ro : žes gsuṅs rnam snaṅ
spyi bor phyag bžag pas : sku gzugs sṅa [290v] ma bas lhag
rgya gar lugs : 'od zer 'phros pas dbu rtse 'od kyis khyab :

de nas bsam yas lha khañ thams cad khyab : lo tsā gsum gyis
rgyal po'i sñan du gsol :

de nas rgyal po thugs ches mña' 'og la : zla gcig rkañ
mgyogs brdzañs nas tshes bcu'i ñin : bod kyi rgyal blon ma
lus thams cad 'dus : dbu rtse rigs gsum sgo mdun g.yas phyogs
su : rgyal po'i g.yu khri rab tu dpañs mtho brtsigs : rgyal
pos bi ma la phyag mdzad pas : rgyal po'i thugs kar rigs
gsum ngon po 'dug :

de la bi mas rin chen brog źu la : om āḥ hūḥ svā hā :
źes gsuñs se gol lan lña brdabs pa las : rigs lña'i sañs
rgyas bkra lam kun gyis mthoñ : [29lr] bod kyi rgyal khams
kun gyis bstod ciñ bsñags : de dus bi ma mi tra gyis dañ
gsuñs : bye ma mu tra las ni ma śes so : lo tsā gsum bsgyur
bi mas chos mañ gsuñs :

dguñ lo glañ yin sum brgya lon nas byon : de dus sañs
rgyas mya ñan las 'das nas : lo ni stoñ dañ brgyad cu tham
pa soñ :

. . . pañ chen bi ma la mi tras rdzu 'phrul bstan pa'i le'u
ste gya gcig pa'o :

Chapter Eighty-two; Khri-sroñ invites One Hundred and Eight
Pañditas from India, and the Subsequent Destruction of Bon.

de nas rgyal po khri sroñ lde'u btsan gyis : mi phañs gser
la byas nas gdran (sic! gdan) drañs pa : rgya gar yul nas
buddha gu hya dañ : siñga la nas ārya de ba dañ : mā ru rtse
nas ka [29lv] ma śī la dañ :

rgya nag bha sañ khri gźer sañ śi dañ : rje'u rigs hwa śañ

ma hā rā dza dañ : rgya nag yul gyi hwa śaṅ de ba dañ : hwa
śaṅ ma hā yā na žes bya dañ : rgya nag mkhas pa ha ra nag po
dañ : rgya nag hwa śaṅ ma hā sū tra dañ :

rgya gar yul nas ā tsar gsal ba dañ : tsandra kīrtti dharma
gī ti dañ : śānta rakṣi ta dañ gsal rgval dañ : śānta de ba
buddha gup ta dañ : śrī ba le dha ra tstshindha ma ṇi dañ :
śāntiṅgarbha bi śuddha siṅha : rom bu gu hya de ba tsandra
dañ : dā na śī la bram ze ā nanda : ka lyā mi tra su rendra
bo dhi : dzi na mi tra śī lendra bo dhi :

bal po śī la mañdzu ba su dha ra : chos kyī bdag po ga ga
kīrtti dañ :

žaṅ žuṅ yul nas gśen li śi stag riṅ : thaṅ nag bon po
tshe mi g.yun druṅ 'byuṅ : gśen bon dran pa khoṅ spuṅs [292r]
bya ba dañ : mi lus bsam lhag stag lha me 'bar dañ : thar
bon gru bskyil rta bon byon khri nag : 'phrul bon gsaṅ ba
ñaṅ riṅs la sogs bos : ārya pa lo'i gliṅ bžag bon bsgyur
bcug :

de dus rgyal po'i sku yi rim gro la : bon du śa ba rwa
rgyas byed dgos zer : bon pos śa ba gson ma bzuṅ nas gyer :
lha cha dgos zer bon pos g.yag lug gsod : de la sogs pa'i
sdig pa gaṅ žig la : lo paṅ rnams kyis bon po'i las la gzigs :
paṇḍi ta rnams gros med blo gcig tu : lo tsā brgyud nas rgyal
po'i sñan gsol pa : chos kyī khrims dañ mi mthun bon lugs 'di :
mi dge phal gyi thun moṅ ma yin gyi : 'di 'dra byed 'jug
ñed rnams [292v] raṅ yul 'gro : bstan pa gcig la ston pa
gñis mi 'oṅs : chos lugs gcig la byed lugs gñis mi ruṅ :
rgyal sa gcig la rgyal po gñis mi 'thad : sdig pa'i grogs dañ
bskal par 'grogs mi byed :

de skad bsriñs pas rgyal pos lan bskur ba : bon chos gñis
ni gśed ma phrad pa bžin : gcig la gcig ni dag pa mi ster
bas : chos ni dar cha chuñ žiñ bon kha drag : lo tsā mkhas pa
mañ po spyug dgos byuñ : bon chos gñis kha dar 'jug bžugs
žus pas : žes bsriñs pañdi ta rnams lan mi ster : chos gsuñ
žu ba phul kyañ chos mi gsuñ :

de dus rgyal ba'i blo gros a ma dañ : blon po ta ra klu goñ
śi ba la : bon chos gñis kas bum chog byas pa'i tshe : rgyal
po [293r] chos la yid ches bon the tshom : don mkhar thañ la
ñag nus 'gran bcug pas : rgyal po chos la yid ches bon the
tshom : slob dpon padma thañ nag bon po gñis : grub mtha'
bzuñ nas 'gegs res byed bcug pas : rgyal po chos la yid
ches bon the tshom : bo dhi sa twa śa ri'i dbu chen gñis :
grub mtha' bzuñ nas 'gegs res byed bcug pas : rgyal po chos
la yid ches bon the tshom : bi ma mi tra li śi stag riñs
gñis : grub mtha' bzuñ nas 'gegs res byed bcug pas : rgyal
po chos la yid ches the tshom : bon gyi theg dgu chos kyi
theg dgu gñis : lo tsā rnams kyis 'gegs res byed bcug pas :
[293v] rgyal po chos la yid ches bon the tshom :

rgyal po'i mña' 'og bon po thams cad bsdus : khams gsum
na gar bon po'i gral byas nas : bon po'i skra bsgor pha jo'i
miñ du btags : mgo la wa žwa lag par phyed rña gtad : gos su
ras sñon zas su lhad zas byin : bon lugs sdig dañ 'dres pa
thams cad bsnuhs : 'jig rten 'phral rkyen bzlog pa
tsam gyi bon : śa ba śiñ mgo rwa rgyas byed pa dañ :
g.yag lug zan la gzugs brñan byed du bcug : lha g.yañ skor

gsum min pa thams cad bsnuhs :

gšen bon rnams la khal du boñ bu byin : ba lañ gson mar
g.yuñ druñ bon rnams bkal : 'bañs kyi gtsañ stod bye ma
g.yuñ druñ bskyal : rtswa mi śiñ mi ljañ [294r] mo mig dgu'i
yul : glañ gi gyim śod yu mo mgul gyi yul : sog po spre'u
slag can gyi yul du spyugs : sems can gsod la bśan pa'i miñ du
btags : sdig glar mgo byin mi yi khyu nas phud : gral du
sgo rgyab skas ka'i 'og tu bžag : zas su 'bags lhag skom du
skyogs žabs byin : kha bsruñs gos bsruñs kun gyis skyug
bro blta : sdig mkhan yin zer ris su bcad nas bžag :

de dus blon pos lkog tu gleñ ba la : 'di 'dra'i rten 'brel
mi śoñ gśis mi dge : rgyal po'i mña' thañ chuñ ñu 'gro zer
skad :

. . . bod kyi rgyal pos rgya [294v] gar nas pañdi ta
brgya rtsa brgyad gdan drañs nas bon bsnuhs pa'i le'u ste
gya gñis pa'o :

Chapter Eighty-three; G.yu-sgra-sñiñ-po, having been sent
to establish Contact with Buddhist Doctrines, invites Vairocana
to return form Rgyal-mo and Tsha-ba'i-roñ.

de nas rgyal pos chos gsuñ žu ba phul : u rgyan yul nas
sryan drañs padma 'byuñ : za hor yul nas sryan drañs ži ba
'tsho : kha che'i yul nas sryan drañs bi ma la : señ ge khri
la khri sñan pags pa bśams : yol ba bla re'i 'og tu gdugs
phub nas : g.yas su rgyal mtshan g.yon du ba dan phyar :
mdun du gser gyi mañdal brgya rtsa brgyad : g.yu dañ mu men
byu ru markat dañ : rin chen sna tshogs mañdal bkod nas bžag :

so sor lo tsā btsugs nas chos gsuñ bcug : bi ma mi tra bāi
ro tsa na 'dri : 'bañs kyis rgyal mo tsha roñ spyugs [295r]
žus pas : thal brdabs bai ro gsuñ žiñ spyān chab phyuñ :
mñon pa pra ka ra ṇa sde brgyad gsuñs :

de dus bod dañ rgyal mo tsha roñ gñis : tshoñ 'gron mañ po
yar mar 'gro ba las : rgyal roñ tshoñ po bod phyin log byuñ
bas : bod kyī gtam dris ji lta ba bžin smras : mkhas pa chen
po bāi ro tsa na yis : rnam thar sgo gsum thañ gi chos grwa
ru : g.yu sgra sñiñ po la yogs 'dor du btañ : bande phal pa
žig gi chas su žugs : žwa gos lhwam la ltan pa sna tshogs
brgyab :

sba 'khar riñ mo phyag tu bsnams nas phyin : g.yu sgras
mjal ba'i žu 'phrin bsriñs pa las : chos kyī thun bab bag
tsam bžugs žig [295v] zer : g.yu sgra dañ thuñs ma bžugs
'tshañs te phyin :

sba 'khar lag bkab og mkhar btsugs byas nas : bi ma la la
phyag mi 'tshal bar gzigs : ka ka pa ri ka ka pa ri gsuñs :
bi mas brda thim gsuñs nas dbu 'phañ smad : g.yu sgra sñiñ
pos rje 'bañs yoñs la gzigs : slar yañ ka ka pa ri zer nas
soñ :

rgyal po khri sroñ lde'u btsan žal na re : slob dpon dbu
'phañ sma (sic! smad) la gsuñ re chuñ : bande skya min ser
min skad re che : ka ka pa ri'i sgra de ci yin žus :

slob spon bi ma mi tra'i žal sñā nas : wa dañ spre'u ji ltar
sgra bzañ yañ : gcan gzan rgyal po señ ge'i sgra mi 'khyur :
pha rog rdo rje 'gros ni 'gro mgyogs kyañ : [296r] stoñ gsum

sa steñ 'khor ba cañ srid dam : ñan thos byis pa'i chos kyis
'tshañ mi rgya : theg chen ñes don bla med mi 'chad par :
de skad zer ba yin no rgyal po gsuñ : bdag gis brda thim
byas pa kha rog sdod : da duñ dus la ma bab yin : rje 'bañs
yoñs la bltas nas zer ba ni : mkhas blun bye brag mi šes
skyon can tsho : rmoñs pa 'dus nas mkhas pa sun phyuñ bcug :
ñan pa gžuñ log glen 'thoms bha ka ra : thams cad mkhyen pa
rgyal mo tsha roñ spyugs : de skad zer ba yin no rje 'bañs
rnams : . . .

. . . [302r] g.yu sgra sñiñ po chos gtug tu btañ žiñ .
rgyal mo tsha ba'i roñ nas bai ro tsa na gdan drañs pa'i le'u
ste gya gsum pa'o :

* * *

TRANSLATION

Chapter Eighty; the Inviting of Mahāpandita Vimalamitra.

[285v] The king of Tibet thought, "I wished to establish the regions of Tibet in the Buddhist tradition, so I prepared an especially distinguished residence (viḥāra, gtsug lag khañ) for representations of its deities. Then I could not find translators to render its texts into Tibetan;¹¹ now that I have found them, and have dispatched to India all those who possessed wisdom and mental ability, even though the latter have found especially sacred texts the ministers [sympathetic to] Bon have become envious of this Buddhism. Also, since [some Buddhists] have not shown themselves pure (dag ther) in their religion,¹² it was necessary to banish them. There must be made translations of texts, whether or not (yin min)

[286r] they represent Bon doctrine!"¹³

Consequently, the gŕen bon in Žaṅ-žun was invited to Tibet.¹⁴ His name was Šaṅ-ri-dbu-can, and Thaṅ-nag-bon-po was appointed as his translator. They translated the four books of the Klu-'bum at Ārya-pa-lo.¹⁵ It then was announced that Bon teachings had been introduced.¹⁶

[Khri-sroṅ then said,] "Since tombs have been a customary activity of the Bon (bon lugs), build my monument at Don-mkhar-mu-riṅ!" Having said that, the ministers sympathetic to Bon set about building his tomb. Then he said, "Because stūpas have been a customary activity for Buddhists to undertake, build my stūpa on Mount Gtsug-na!", and all ministers sympathetic to Buddhism were ordered to construct his stūpa.

"Now," thought Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan, "I have invited one hundred and eight learned Indian paṇḍitas to Tibet who have been made to teach translators and to ordain them as monks. [286v] Now it will become clear whether or not our doctrines from the ancient times are valid."¹⁷ He then gave gold dust to Ska-ba Dpal-brtsegs, Cog-ro Klu'i-rgyal-mtshan and Rma-ban Rin-chen-mchog¹⁸ along with a note which was destined for the dharmarāja Indrabhūti,¹⁹ who had the greatest scholar among five hundred paṇḍitas at his court. The message read, "Send [that great scholar] as a return gift for this gold!"

Those three translators then arrived in India. In the middle of the Indian city Kapilavastu²⁰ there were five hundred paṇḍitas who were acting as officinal priests²¹ for a Buddhist (literally, chos skyoṅ, 'religion protecting') king named

Dharmarāja. The translators offered that king gold powder and the scroll (dril yig) from their king. Then they read to him that aforementioned letter, and king Dharmarāja was very pleased. He said, "There now resides [as king] a Bodhisattva in Tibet!"²²

The king then spoke to his paṇḍitas when they had gathered for lunch and were seated in their respective ranks to eat. He announced: "Oh great paṇḍitas and greatly learned ones! [287r] The king of Tibet has sent me a most auspicious gift; and, since he has also said, 'Send me a highly qualified paṇḍit, particularly one learned in mantras', I do wish to send such a one to him."

Ācārya Buddhaguhya (Saṅs-rgyas-gsaṅ-ba) then said to the king, "Where are the three men who brought that gift here staying? Bring them here!" The king conducted them, and they came to that gathering.

These three saw upon Vimalamitra's body auspicious marks (mtshan bzañ), and treating him with a great deal of respect they offered him a maṇḍala.²³ All those up and down the rows immediately looked at Vimalamitra and [Dharmarāja] ordered him to go to Tibet in order to help that country (don gyis).²⁴ Vimalamitra then rose and spoke these words three times: "Ma nu du ru kro he!"²⁵ Each of the three translators had their own interpretation (go lugs) for this. Cog-ro Klu-yi-rgyal-mtshan said, "[It is like] an arrow fitted onto its bow; if one uses his thumb diligently, that arrow will be able to find the bull's eye ('bem)." Ska-ba Dpal-brtsegs said, "[It is

like] a man who relies upon a vessel; if the navigator of that vessel can cope diligently with it, the boat will be able to cross the river." Finally, Rma-ban Rin-mchog said, "[It is like] a man who relies upon his talents (yon tan, guna); into whatever area he goes which is not his native land (rañ yul), wherever there is to be formed a vessel which is his body (lus kyi bum pa) the stream of his thought (sems kyi chu bo) will pour into that form."²⁶ [Comprehending thus what Vimala had said], they all understood that he would be going to Tibet.

Then Vimala said to the king, "Oh king! If you could dismiss me, I would be of benefit to Tibet!" [To this the king replied], "Vimalamitra, one learned in both Hindu and Buddhist doctrines²⁷ and one who possesses at the same time the basic text of the Sñiñ-thig and its commentary,²⁸ establish yourself in the land of the Tibetans, the descendents of apes (spre'u tsha), in order to convert and liberate them." [288r] Dharmarāja then dispatched Kṣītigarbha (Sa'i-sñiñ-po) with him as his servant, and when they joined the three translators all set off for Tibet.

That very night dreams disturbed everyone. Dākinīs were giving forth lamentations, and even the hands of the king's water clock (rgyal po'i chu tshod dbyu gu) were disturbed in their calculations. Early in the morning all the Indians were ordered to assemble in the king's palace. When they compared their dreams all asked in unison, "What does it mean?";²⁹

some said anything that came into their heads (cañ for ci'añ, i.e., whatever), and some said, "What is this?" One woman, possessed by gods and demons (lha 'dre), said, "Didn't the king's sacrificial priest³⁰ just set out for Tibet? Let's ask the king!", and they were told that the scholar Vimalamitra had set out for that country.

At this point, the Indians began to dispatch messengers (rkañ mgyogs) who distributed many notices written on tablets (yi ge mdo byañ) at all places where narrow defiles (srañ mdo) closed off the land of Tibet [288v]. These messages read, "Three Tibetan monks are bringing along (khrid nas soñ) with them a Tīrthika,³¹ one powerful in the evil spells of witchcraft."

Sometime later, Vimalamitra arrived at Bsam-yas. And, while the king and his subjects were going out to greet him, yet no one in their turn saluted him. The three translators, full of joy, spoke the praises of Vimāla into the ear of the king: "In general, he knows many collections (sde snod, piṭaka) of sūtras and mantras, and in particular he is learned to a high degree in secret mantras of effect.³² We thus request that you properly honour such a person as this!"

To this Khri-sroñ said, "Put him up in the Dbu-rtse Gser-gyi-lha-khañ³³ for tonight, then tomorrow morning take care for all his needs." Accordingly, the master and his disciple [i.e., Kṣītigarbha] were housed in the Dbu-rtse-gser-khañ [289r].

Chapter Eighty-one: Vimalamitra displays his Magic.

Later, mischievous Tibetan ministers [i.e., those sympathetic to Bon causes] heard in some idle conversation³⁴ concerning the building of the king's tomb and stūpa that a pāṇḍita had arrived at Bsam-yas. They cut down the notices³⁵ which had been put up at the narrow passes and set off [for court]. All the ministers then assembled in the presence of the king [and they said,] "We have brought here a man who will do harm to Tibet, an outsider³⁶ who is a black magician (phra men mkhan).³⁷ We request that he not remain here!" They then showed the king the notices from India.

In the morning, the three translators got up early and dispatched a message saying that they would like to see the king. However, the king had not yet arisen, it was said, because the sun was late in rising.³⁸

Because some ministers [289v] interpreted this event [for their own benefit], the three translators said unanimously that that was not the case (ma legs). An understanding of the meaning of this dawned on them spontaneously (rañ gi rañ), and when they met with the king he told them, "That pāṇḍita is not honest. It has also been rumored that he is a black magician belonging to the Tīrthikas. For a few days prognostications shall have to be examined." Khri-sroñ thus did not grant them an audience, and the three translators were very depressed (sdug bsñal źiñ); their visages had fallen, and had taken on a color like that of the pretas (yi dwags).

Vimalamitra knew what had transpired, and on the morning of that third day he paid homage to the divine power (lha) which was in an illusory form of Vairocana. Vimalamitra, the god of the gods of wisdom,³⁹ said, "Homage to that divine power in its form as conditioned truth!"⁴⁰ When he said that, the potter's clay [from which Vairocana's image had been fashioned] went to ashes. The three translators were most astonished, and informed the king about this. He said, "All that must indeed be just black magic and evil spells (ñan śhags): It took a lot of hard work for me to put up [290r] that image — there was no invitation sent out for someone who destroys such images!" The three translators were thus very unhappy, and looking at one another [they saw that] their faces were filled with gloom.⁴¹

"We three have traveled to the country of India. and after undergoing many difficulties we have come back to Dbus in central Tibet. Inasmuch as we had invited this marvelously learned one who has arrived at the summit of absolutely all [learning], what's the matter with the king?" — thus they thought, with heavy hearts.

Three more days passed after that, and Vimalamitra once again arose. Vimalamitra, the god of the gods of wisdom, consecrated that image (lha) which was an artificially formed shaping of Vairocana with these words: "I consecrate you with marks of the five sorts of wisdom!", and he touched the top of [the pile of dust which was the image of] Vairocana

with his hand, and when it consequently spread forth more rays of light than it had before [290v] in its Indian casting⁴² it filled Dbu-rtse with its light, and then all the chapels in Bsam-yas were penetrated by it. The three translators then reported this to the king.

After this miracle, faith dawned in the king. After a month he sent out messengers to his subjects, and on the tenth day after that the king and all the ministers of Tibet had gathered. Khri-sroñ payed homage to Vimala from his lofty turquoise throne which had been erected before the door of Dbu-rtse-rigs-gsum,⁴³ on the right side. When Vimala had thus been honored the lords of the three families⁴⁴ came to be located in the heart (thugs ka) of the king.

In addition, Vimala spoke in the direction of the king's jeweled crown 'Om āh hūm svāhā' and accompanied each of these with five quick snaps of the finger. All who were there clearly saw the Buddhas of the five families⁴⁵ surrounding that crown. [291r] Because of this all the provinces of Tibet praised and extolled Vimala and said to him, "Vimala should do it [i.e., become the king's resident scholar]!" [Vimalamitra then said,] "Bye-ma-mu-tra does not know activity (las)."⁴⁶ Then, the three translators rendered many texts recited by Vimalamitra into Tibetan.

That year was an iron ox year. Having remained in Tibet three hundred years, he went away — at that time one thousand eighty had passed since the nirvāṇa of the Buddha.⁴⁷

Chapter Eighty-two: Khri-sroṅ invites One Hundred and Eight
Paṇḍitas from India, with the Subsequent Destruction of Bon.

King Khri-sroṅ-lde'u-btsan then made a liberal (mi phaṅs) distribution of gold, and [more Buddhists] were invited. From India there was Buddhaguhya; from Siṅga-la, Āryadeva; and from Mā-ru-rtse there came Kamalaśīla.⁴⁸

[29lv] From China the following were invited: Bha-saṅ-khri-gṣer-saṅ-śi, the rje'u rigs hwa-ṣaṅ Mahārāja, the Chinese hwa-ṣaṅ Deva, the hwa-ṣaṅ Mahāyāna, the Chinese scholar Ha-ra-nag-po, and the Chinese hwa-ṣaṅ Mahāsūtra.⁴⁹

From India the following were invited: Ācarya Gsal-ba, Candrakīrti, Śāntarakṣita, Dharmagīti, Gsal-rgyal, Śāntadeva, Buddhagupta, Śrī-ba-le-dha-ra, Cintamaṇi, Śāntiṅgarbha, Viśuddhisīṅha, Roṃ-bu-guhya, Devacandra, Dāna-śī-la,⁵¹ the brahman Ānanda, Kalyāṇamitra, Surendrabodhi, Jinamitra, and Śīlendrabodhi.⁵²

From Nepal there was invited Śīlamañju; the dharmasvāmin (chos kyi bdag po) Ga-ga-kīrtti also.⁵³

From Ṣaṅ-ṣuṅ there was invited gṣen Li-śi-stag-rin, Thaṅ-nag-bon-po, Tshe-mi-g.yuṅ-druṅ, and the gṣen-bon Dran-pa-khon-spuṅs.⁵⁴ [292r] [Also invited were] Mi-lus-bsam-lhag, Stag-lha-me-'bar, and the thar-bon Gru-bskyil, as well as the rta-bon Byon-khri-nag and the 'phrul-bon Gsaṅ-ba-ṅaṅ-rinṅs, among others.⁵⁵ When they had been installed at Ārya-pa-lo'i-gliṅ⁵⁶ they were instructed to translate Bon texts into Tibetan.

Then, at a royal sku rim blessing⁵⁷ it was announced that it was necessary for the Bon [to perform a ritual called] 'the stag with broad antlers'.⁵⁸ The Bon-po then procured a live stag and began their chanting.⁵⁹ Declaring that it was necessary to give a share to the gods (lha cha) they then slaughtered a sheep and a g.yag. The translators and paṇḍitas watched the work of the Bon-po, such sorts of sinful things as that just described, and the paṇḍitas unanimously and without deliberation joined with the translators in a respectful petition to the king. "These customs which the Bon follow are not in accordance with the precepts (khirms) of Buddhism," they said; "And although they aren't ordinary sinful deeds [i.e., not committed with any frequency], if you permit such things to go on here, we shall all return to our own countries. [292v] One does not find ('oṅs) two teachers of a single doctrine; in one religion it is not possible to have two methods of practice; it is not acceptable to have two kings on one throne — so it is that we would not fraternize with such sinful company even in a kalpa!"

When they had finished their statement, the king gave them his answer: "This meeting of the Bon-po and Buddhists has been like two murderers coming together! Since they will not accede to each other's authenticity (dag pa), I have found it necessary to exile many learned translators⁶⁰ because Buddhism has spread to only a small degree while Bon is very powerful. Might it not be better to ask both the Bon-po and the Buddhists to remain here and to allow them to expand?"

Such was the reply which Khri-sroṅ issued; to this the paṇḍitas gave no answer, and even when he asked them to preach their doctrines, they would not.

At that time the mother of *Jinamati and the minister Tara-klu-goṅ died.⁶¹ While the Bon and the Buddhists together were carrying out their funeral rites (bum chog), the king [293r] began to doubt the Bon religion and faith in Buddhism arose in him. When debates⁶² were held on the Plain of Don-mkhar⁶³ the king also came to doubt Bon and have faith in Buddhism: Ācarya Padmasambhava and Thaṅ-nag-bon-po set out their systems of thought (grub mtha', siddhānta), and the king had faith in Buddhism and doubted Bon when they were compelled to argue their respective positions. The same result obtained for the king when the 'Bodhisattva' [i.e., Śāntirakṣita⁶⁴] and Śa-ri'i-dbu-chen⁶⁵ set forth their positions and argued them, and when Vimalamitra and Li-śi-stag-rinṅ set forth their positions and argued them.⁶⁶ The translators on both sides then put forth the nine vehicles of Bon and the nine vehicles of Buddhism,⁶⁷ and when they argued their respective sides [293v] the king had faith in Buddhism and doubted Bon.

All the Bon-po who were subject to the king were gathered together. They were given ranks as to where they would function within the three divisions of Tibet,⁶⁸ and they were given the name 'masters with twisted hair'.⁶⁹ They were furnished with fox caps on their heads and half drums (phyed rṅa) in their hands. For clothing they were given blue cot-

(ton material and for sustenance impure foods (lhad zas).⁷⁰

All Bon practices which were defiled by sin were suppressed, and only such Bon rites as would avert accidents in the physical world ('jig rten 'phral rkyen), the performance of the 'spreading antlers' on the wooden head of a stag, and making substitutes for g.yag and sheep [sacrifices] out of zan⁷¹ were permitted. [All texts?] with the exception of the three cycles of lha g.yaṅ materials⁷² were banned.

The gṣen bon [priests] were given donkeys to ride, and their texts (bon rnams) were loaded on living oxen. Their servants were sent away⁷³ to Bye-ma-g.yuṅ-druṅ on the Upper Gtσαṅ.⁷⁴ They themselves were exiled to Rtswa-mi, Śiṅ-mi, Ljaṅ-mo-mig-dgu, [294r] Glaṅ-gi-gyim-śod, Yu-mo-mgul and the Sog-po country of Spre'u-slag-can.⁷⁵ For butchering sentient beings they were given the name of 'the butchers',⁷⁶ and for offering the heads [of animals] as atonement for sins they were banished from human society (mi yi khyu). They were placed behind doors or under staircases, according to their ranks; for food they were given leftovers and for liquid refreshment the dregs of the cup (skyogs ṣabs). All who saw them covered their mouths and protected their clothing, for they looked nauseating (skyug bro ḥlta). They thus became segregated as a group known to be sinners.

At this time the ministers spoke together in secret; they said, "Circumstances (rten 'brel) such as we have at present can't go on; their nature is not propitious. The power of the king will have to be diminished!"

Chapter Eighty-three; G.yu-sgra-snin-po, having been sent to establish Contacts with Buddhist Doctrines, invites Vairocana to return from Rgyal-mo- and Tsha-ba'i-roñ.

[294v] After banishing Bon, the king requested the Buddhists to preach their religion; Padmasambhava, Sāntarakṣita and Vimalamitra, who had been invited from Oḍḍiyāna, Za-hor and Kaśmīra respectively, were then arranged on lion thrones covered with argali (sñan) hides. They had their own umbrellas spread out under a canopied curtain (yol ba bla re), and royal standards were arrayed to their right and ensigns to their left. Before them one hundred and eight maṇḍalas were arranged⁷⁸ which were made of gold, as well as maṇḍalas of turquoise, mu men,⁷⁹ coral and emeralds.

When a translator (lo tsā) had been distributed to each of these pāṇḍitas they were asked to speak of their doctrines.⁸⁰ Vimalamitra then made an enquiry about Vairocana [the foremost translator--mlw], and when it was reported to him [295r] that the people ('bañs) had exiled him to Rgyal-mo- and Tsha-ba'i-roñ, he clapped his hands in despair and cried, "Vairo!", and then wept. He then expounded the text Mñon-pa-pra-ka-ra-ṇa-sde-brgyad.⁸¹

At this time many traveling merchants were making their way upwards [i.e., into Tibet from the east] and downwards between the areas of Tibet and Rgyal-mo- and Tsha-ba'i-roñ,⁸² and a Rgyal-roñ merchant had just arrived from Tibet. When asked what the news was about Tibet he gave it to them straight: Vairo

had sent for G.yu-sgra-sñiñ-po while at the religious retreat⁸³ on the plain near Rnam-thar-sgo-gsum⁸⁴ in order to remove his [religious] garments (yogs, for g.yogs). Vairocana then assumed the appearance of an ordinary monk, sewing all sorts of patches (lhan pa sna tshogs brgyab) onto his hat, clothing, and boots (lhwam). [Thus ran the merchant's information.]

Vairocana then took up a long walking stick and set off. While he was thus occupied in transmitting a letter of request (zu 'phrin) concerning his meeting with G.yu-sgra [which Vimāla had sent], when it came time for his religious activities G.yu-sgra would say, "Let's stay here awhile!"; [295v] however, he would only drink with G.yu-sgra and then would set out again without tarrying.⁸⁵

[Arriving,] he rested his hand on his walking stick and, taking it by the staff ('og mkhar) he looked at Vimalamitra but did not pay homage to him; instead, he said "Ka-ka-pa-ri! Ka-ka-pa-ri!"⁸⁶ Vimalamitra said, "When you give forth such a subtle sign⁸⁷ you offend the dignity[of those around you]!" G.yu-sgra looked around at all the royal subjects, and Vairocana once more uttered "Ka-ka-pa-ri!", and then left.

King Khri-sroñ-lde'u-btsan said, "What a trifling thing that was to say to offend us! This was really something great said (skad re che) by someone who is neither a layman working with monks⁸⁸ nor a monk himself! What does this 'ka-ka-pa-ri' mean?"

The ācārya Vimalamitra said, "However good the language of the fox and the monkey may be for them, it cannot hinder

('khyur) the roar of the lion, ruler among all the predators!⁸⁹
Also, the raven who flies to the vajra may fly very quickly,
but [296r] can he possibly fly above the three thousand
worlds?⁹⁰ By following the doctrines of children--the
Śravakas--enlightenment will not be attained ('tshañ mi rgya);
the highest meaning of Mahāyāna is not even understandable in
human language (mi 'chad par). Vairocana has thus rendered
it in those sounds, oh king! Meanwhile, I remained silent as
he made this subtle symbolic sign (brda thim); now that he has
thus expressed himself, it is even less the time (da duñ) to
explain it." Then, surveying that whole group with a king
and his subjects present, he said, "When those who are spiritu-
ally perplexed (rmoñs pa) gather together they become perverse
(skyon can) and cannot tell the difference between the wise
and the foolish; indeed, they even insult those who are wise!
Evil ones, misguided ones,⁹¹ feeble-minded ones (glen 'thoms)
and hypocrites:⁹² these people have exiled to Rgyal-mo-roñs
and Tsha-ba'i-roñs someone who is profoundly wise! This is
what, oh lord and subjects, Vairocana was talking about."

[This chapter continues with more interesting material on
methods employed by Tantric teachers. However, since Vimala's
role is no longer central, it would not be of great importance
to render the remainder here.]

NOTE: Materials presented here correspond to, and in
some cases supplement, DODRUP CHEN's narrative
(pages 18 to 24). E.g., he entirely neglects
material in Chapter 83. However, he is very

detailed in describing which texts Vimāla transmitted and who translated them while he stayed in Bsam-yas. All of this information is available in O-rgyan's and Sañs-rgyas' biographies, but is scattered throughout the works.

* * *

ii.

Our second source is a selection from the 'Dus-pa-mdo-dbañ-gi-bla-ma-brgyud-pa'i-rnam-thar-ño-mtshar-dad-pa'i-phreñ-ba, written in 1681 by Padma-phrin-las (1640-1718), the second Rig-'dzin-chen-po incarnation of the Rdo-rje-brag Monastery.⁹³ It is an extensive history, with biographies, of the initiation and transmission lineages of the 'Dus-pa-mdo tantra system, the principle tantra of the anuyoga class (rdzogs pa anu-yoga).⁹⁴

In this work Vimālamitra is discussed after Dga'-rab-rdo-rje (reputed founder of Rdzogs-chen in India), ācārya 'Jam-dpal-bśes-gñen / Mañjuśrīmitra,⁹⁵ 'Dge-sloñ Dpal-ldan, identified with Nāgārjuna', ācārya Sañs-rgyas-gsañ-ba / Buddha-guhya,⁹⁶ and ācārya Śrī-simha. Immediately following Vimāla is a combined biography of Vairocana and G.yu-sgra-sñiñ-po, prominent figures in O-rgyan's materials given above. These figures represent the lineage of Rdzogs-chen teaching from its inception to its establishment in Tibet; Vimāla occupies the pivotal position as transmitter from one culture to the other.

In the general outline of its contents, and by discussing

Rdzogs-chen history in terms of its lineage of teachers (bla ma brgyud pa, guru-parampara), this work closely resembles the biography of Vimalamitra found in the Lo-rgyus-rin-po-che'i-phren-ba of the Sñiñ-thig-ya-bñi [Lo-rgyus]. Indeed, this could have sufficed as the sole source and inspiration for this section of Padma-phrin-las' work, so similar are they in form and content (see Part II, note 5 below).

THE TEXT

[105] slob dpon 'di'i rnam thar zur tsam brjod na /

rgya gar nub phyogs glañ po'i sgañ žes bya ba'i groñ khyer
na khyim bdag bde ldan 'khor lo dañ yum gsal rig ma žes bya
ba'i sras su 'khruñs / phyi nañ gi grub pa'i mtha' thams cad
la mkhas par sbyañs śiñ phul du byuñ ba'i pañdi ta chen por
gyur te mtshan pañdi ta chen po bi ma la mi tra žes kun tu
grags par gyur to //

de ltar pañ chen bi ma la de ñid pañ chen lña brgya'i gtsug
rgyan du gyur nas rdo rje gdan na bžugs pa'i tshe / nub
phyogs su rgyañ grags kyi sa 'dam bu'i tshal 'thug po me tog
gis brgyan par skyo sañs la byon dus / rdo rje sems dpas luñ
bstan pa / kye rigs kyi bu skye ba lña brgyar pañdi ta'i lus
blañs kyañ 'bras bu ma thob pas / tshe gcig gis grol bar 'dod
na rgya nag gi dur khrod bsil spyin du soñ žig ces thos ma
thag tu bi ma las byon pas /

slob dpon śrī siñha dañ mjal nas rdzogs pa chen po phyi nañ
gsañ ba'i skor rnams rdzogs par gñañ ste / rgya gar dur khrod
tha chuñ du spyod pa la gśegs so // skabs der slob dpon

jñā na sū tras śrī siṅha'i druṅ du phyin nas yaṅ gsaṅ bla na
med pa'i skor rnams thob pa'i tshe / bi ma lar mkha' 'gro ma
[106/53v] dpal gyi blo gros kyis luṅ bstan pa / kye skal ldan
sṅar bas zab pa'i gdams pa bžed na dur khrod chen po bha siṅ
soṅ žig ces thos ma thag tu phyin pas dzñā na sū tra daṅ mjal /
rjes su bzuṅ bar žu žus pas gdams pa thams cad rdzogs par
gnaṅ te 'od skur gśegs pa la smre sṅags bton pas rin po che'i
ga'u nas 'das rjes bab bo //

de nas bi ma la ñid rgya gar śar phyogs ka ma ru pa'i rgyal
po seṅ ge bzaṅ po'i mchod gnas su ñin par bžugs śiṅ / mtshan
mo dur khrod du mkha' 'gro ma la chos stan (sic! bstan) pa
las / sprul pa žig rgya gar nub phyogs su bhirgya'i groṅ khyer
du rgyal po dharmā pha la'i mchod gnas mdzad ciṅ / mtshan mo
de las 'das pa'i dpag tshad lña brgya 'dus pa'i byaṅ phyogs
na dur khrod rab tu snaṅ byed ces bya bar mkha' 'gro ma rnams
la chos ston žiṅ / groṅ khyer ser skyar rgyal po indre bhū
ti chuṅ ba'i mchod gnas kyaṅ mdzad do //

skyabs der bod chos skyoṅ ba'i rgyal po khri sroṅ lde'u
btsan gyis / dpal bsam yas bžeṅs śiṅ bod du saṅs rgyas kyi
bstan pa dar bar mdzad pa'i dus thaṅ yig ltar na bai ro'i
luṅ bstan daṅ / gžan du rgyal po'i mchod gnas myaṅ tiṅ 'dzin
bzaṅ po žes bya ba śa'i spyān gyis gliṅ bži dus gcig tu
gzigs pa des bgros pa ltar / rgyal po ska cog rma gsum la
gser phye daṅ gser gyi pa tra maṅ po bskur te rdzaṅs pa rgya
gar groṅ khyer ser skyar sleb ste rgyal po la skyes phul žiṅ
bi ma la rdzoṅ bar žus [107/54r] par paṅ chen lña brgya'i
dbus nas bi ma las bžeṅs te / ga ga pa ri žes gsuṅs pa daṅ

thañ yig tu ma nu du ru kro he źes gsuñs par bźed /

sgra de la lo tsā gsum por go lugs mi 'dra ba re byuñ ste /
ska ba dpal brtsegs kyi go lugs la / gru mo dag la brten pa'i
mi / mñan pa'i skya bas rtsol phod na / mi yi rgya mtsho'i
pha rol sgrol / źes dañ / cog ro klu'i rgyal mtshan gyis /
gźu mo dag la brten pa'i mda' / skyes bu'i mtheb mos rtsol
phod na / mda' yis 'bem la skyol bar nus / źes dañ / rma rin
cen mchog gis / rgyal po khyod kyis gtoñ phod na / lus kyi
bum pa gar 'dril bar / sems kyi chu bo de ru 'bo / źes par
go / tshigs bcad rjes ma 'di thañ yig tu / yon tan dag la
brten pa'i mi / rañ yul min pa'i sa phyogs su / lus kyi bum
pa sogs sñar ltar gsuñs / de nas bod du byon pas rgya gar
gyi ltas mkhan rnams la ñi ma bod du mgo dud pa sogs byuñ ño //

bod du byon pa'i lo rgyus gźan thañ yig tu lta la / 'dir
rdzogs chen sñiñ thig gi lugs su byas na / de ltar bi ma la
bod du byon nas mña' bdag rje 'bañs kyis bsus te bsam yas su
phyag phebs / rin po che señ ge'i khri sum brtsegs la bāugs
dus / oñ āḥ hūñ svā hā źes gsuñs pas / thams cad kyis mthoñ
bar nam mkhar rdo rje dbyiñs kyi dkyil 'khor bstan pa la /
thams cad ño mtshar skyes [108/54v] nas mchod bstod byas /

chos bsgyur źiñ gsuñ bar źus pas rdo rje sems dpa' sgyu
'phrul dra ba la sogs te gsañ sñags phyi nañ mtshan ñid kyi
theg pa dañ bcas mañ po bsgyur źiñ gsuñs / mtshan mo dbu
rtse bar khañ du gsañ ba mchog gi man ñag rnams rgyal po
yab sras / ñañ tiñ 'dzin bzañ po / ska cog ste lña la gsuñs /

kun mkhyen kloñ chen žabs rma rin cen mchog de dus 'das par
bšed kyañ / sgyu 'phrul gsañ ba sñiñ po'i khog dbug sogs spyi
ltar na sgyu 'phrul sde brgyad / bšad rgyud sde bži sogs rma
rin cen mchog kho nas bsgyur bar bžed ciñ / se ston rin cen
rgyal mtshan gyis mdzad pa'i gsañ sñiñ bla brgyud gsol 'debs
kyi 'grel par / rma rin cen mchog gišbi ma la'i lo tsā mdzad
de sgyu 'phrul sde brgyad / bšad rgyud sde bži dañ bcas pa
nos šiñ bsgyur te spel /

rgyud la bšad thabs bcu pa / man ŋag šes rab spyan 'byed
kyi 'grel pa la sogs pa yañ mdzad ces gsuñs pas na / ma hā
yo ga'i lo tsā phal cher rma rin chen mchog yin par 'dod /

de nas bi ma las tsam yas su yun riñ por bžugs nas dam
chos mañ du bsgyur / lo chen bai ro sogs rjes su bzuñ /
rdzogs chen man ŋag gi skor gcig tu bsdus pa'i zab mo'i po
ti bži mchims phu'i brag dmar dge goñ du sbas te rgya nag
ri bo rtse lñar gšegs šiñ bskal pa ma žig gi bar du bžugs
la / mi lo brgya re nas sprul pa re yañ 'byon žes grag go /

* * *

TRANSLATION

[105/53r] An exposition in abbreviated form of the life
of this ācārya would go as follows:

Vimalamitra was born in the city Glañ-po'i-sgañ⁹⁷ in west-
ern India. His father was the householder (grhapati, khyim bdag)
Bde-ldan-'khor-lo and his mother was Gsal-rig-ma.⁹⁸ Trained
thoroughly in all the philosophical systems (grub pa'i mtha',

siddhānta) of both Hindus and Buddhists (phyi nañ), he had become a great scholar accomplished in his learning; hence, he was known to all under the characterization 'Vimala the Mahāpaṇḍita'.

Accordingly, Vimala came to be the crown jewel (gtsug rgyan) among a group of five hundred paṇḍitas. While he was in that position at Vajrāsana (Rdo-rje-gdan) he went for a walk one day towards a dense forest ornamented with growths of flowers, about two miles to the west, as a sort of vacation. On his way there Vajrasattva delivered this instruction to him: "Oh, kulaputra!⁹⁹ Although you have become a paṇḍita after five hundred births as a human being, you have not derived any spiritual benefit ('bras bu, phalam) from this. If you wish to attain release in this very life, get yourself over to the Bsil-sbyin¹⁰⁰ cemetery in Chiná!" As soon as Vimala heard this he set out for Bsil-sbyin.

At that place he found ācārya Śrīśiṃha, who granted him all that he had (rdzogs par) in the way of cycles of exoteric, internal and esoteric Rdzogs-chen teachings.¹⁰¹ Vimala then went to the Indian cemetery Tha-chun¹⁰² to put those teachings into practice. During that period of time Jñānasūtra had also gone before Śrīśiṃha, and while he was thus obtaining cycles of the very highest secret Rdzogs-chen teachings (yañ gsañ bla na med pa'i skor rnams) the ḍākinī Śrīmatī (Dpal-gyi-blo-gros) delivered these instructions to [106/53v] Vimalamitra: "Oh, bhagavān! If you really desire

instructions (gdams pa, upadeśa) more profound than you have previously received, get yourself over to the great cemetery (mahāśmaśāna) Bha-siñ!"¹⁰³ Then he set out immediately after hearing this, and he met with Jñānasūtra; Vimāla asked him, "Accept me [as your student], please!", so Jñānasūtra bestowed upon him all such upadeśas as were necessary in a complete manner, and then he passed into a light body ('od skur gśegs pa). When Vimālamitra expressed his grief at his teacher's passing, a posthumous gift fell to him from a precious box.¹⁰⁴

Vimālamitra then occupied himself by day as the family chaplain¹⁰⁵ of the king of Kāmarūpa, Siṃhabhadra, in eastern India.¹⁰⁶ At night he was then a teacher of religious doctrines to the dākinīs in their cemeteries while one of his magically created doubles (sprul pa ŋig) was acting as the family chaplain to King Dharmapāla in the city of Bhīryal in western India.¹⁰⁷ In the evenings it was also instructing dākinīs at the cemetery known as 'Prabhāsa' (Rab-tu-snañ-ba) which was located five hundred yojanas [anywhere from 2500 to 4500 miles] to the north, and he was even the family chaplain to King Indrabhūti the Younger in the city of Kapila.¹⁰⁸

It was during this time that Khri-sroñ-lde'u-btsan, the religion-protecting king of Tibet, was building glorious Bsam-yas and was promoting the spread of the Buddha's doctrine in that country. According to the Thañ-yig,¹⁰⁹ Vairocana had made a prophecy about this. In other sources (gžan du), a family chaplain of the king, one known as Myañ Tiñ-'dzin-bzañ-po and one who could see into the four world

continents at the same time with his naked eye, had given him the advice to invite Vimalamitra.¹¹⁰ Accordingly, the king dispatched Ska-ba Dpal-brtsegs, Cog-ro Klu'i-rgyal-mtshan and Rma-ban Rin-cen-mchog¹¹¹ with many gold plates¹¹² and much powder. Arriving at the city of Kapila, they presented their gifts to the king, and when they requested that he send Vimala back with them [107/54r] the latter came forward from among the five hundred panditas and said, "Ga ga pa ri"; in the Thaṅ-yig it is maintained that he said, "Ma nu du ru kro he."¹¹³

Different interpretations (go lugs) of this utterance occurred to each of the three translators. In the interpretation of Ska-ba Dpal-brtsegs it meant, "If men who rely on vessels can exert themselves diligently with the oars of their boats, they shall reach the far side of the ocean¹¹⁴ of men." According to Cog-ro Klu'i-rgyal-mtshan it meant, "Arrows which rest on thumbs can reach their targets if people use their thumbs diligently."¹¹⁵ According to Rma Rin-cen-mchog it meant, "Oh king! If you could but allow Vimala to go, then to whatever place the vessel of his body might be rolling the river of his spirit will pour forth there."¹¹⁶ This latter verse reads in the Thaṅ-yig, "If a man relies on his talents, in an area which is not his native land the vessel of his body . . ." and so on as above.¹¹⁷ Then, at the moment when Vimala arrived in Tibet the Indian soothsayers were able to see that¹¹⁸ the sun had set towards

Tibet [a good omen] and all the fruit-bearing trees (rtsi śiñ) had inclined their tops toward Tibet, et cetera.

For another story of his arrival in Tibet, there is the view of the Thañ-yig and that which is given here in the judgment (lugs) of the Rdzogs-chen Sñiñ-thig materials: Thus, Vimala arrived in Tibet, welcomed by the king (mña' bdag) and his servants of the court. Then they all arrived at Bsam-yas, and while Vimala was in residence there, seated on a three-part (sum brtsegs) lion throne of precious material, he pronounced [the dhāraṇī] 'Om! Āh! Hūm! Svāhā!' Because he did that, just when everyone was looking [thams cad kyis mthon bar] the maṇḍala of the vajradhātu appeared in the heavens above them, and all were stunned; [108/54v] then all praised Vimalamitra.

Then, because he was requested to recite texts for purposes of translation (chos bsgyur ñiñ gsuñ), he recited the Vajrasattvamāyājāla [-tantra]¹¹⁹ and other texts, and many vehicles¹²⁰ on the true characteristics of exoteric and internal mantras (gsaṅ sñags phyi nañ mtshan ñid) were also rendered.¹²¹ After dark, Vimala would teach the king and his son (rgyal po yab sras), Nañ Tiñ-'dzin-bzañ-po, Ska-ba Dpal-brtsegs and Cog-ro Klu'i-rgyal-mtshan concerning the most secret upadeśas on the second floor (bar khañ) of Dbu-rtse Temple.¹²²

Although the venerable (ñabs) Kun-mkhyen Kloñ-chen-pa maintains that by this time Rma Rin-cen-mchog had died,¹²³ in the general consensus of such works as the Khog-dbug of

the Sgyu-'phrul-gsañ-ba-sñiñ-po¹²⁴ it is asserted that Rma Rin-cen-mchog himself had translated the Sgyu-'phrul-sde-brgyad,¹²⁵ the Bśad-rgyud-sde-bñi¹²⁶ and other materials. Also, in the Gsañ-sñiñ-bla-brgyud-gsol-'debs-kyi-'grel-pa composed by Se-ston Rin-chen-rgyal-mtshan¹²⁷ we read that Rma Rin-cen-mchog received (nos), translated and propagated (spel) the Sgyu-'phrul-sde-brgyad and Bśad-rgyud-sde-bñi while acting as Vimāla's translator (bi-ma-la'i lo tsā mdzad de).¹²⁸

If it is said that he also rendered the Rgyud-la-bśad-thabs-bcu-pa, Man-ñag-śes-rab-spyan-'byed-kyi-'grel-pa and other texts¹²⁹ it means that Rma Rin-cen-mchog was mainly a translator of Mahāyoga materials.¹³⁰

After this Vimalamitra resided for a long time at Bsam-yas and translated many texts. He received the great translator Vairocana and others as disciples. He hid the Zab-mo-po-ti-bñi,¹³¹ a distillation in one cycle of Rdzogs-chen upadeśa texts, at Mchims-phu'i-brag-dmar-dge-gon¹³² and left for Ri-bo-rtse-lña [i.e., Wu-t'ai Shan] in China, where he will remain as long as our kalpa has not passed away (bskal pa ma ñig gi bar du). Also, one of his sprul pas will appear at the end of every period of one hundred human years.¹³³

NOTE: Padma-phrin-las' work covers modo grosso the entirety of

material in DODRUP CHEN, omitting only a few minor details but also including several not in the latter. Also, his digressions on Rma Rin-cen-mchog supplement both DODRUP CHEN and Lo-rgyus. Otherwise, his narration is quite similar in form and content, as was noted above, to the latter work.

CHAPTER FOUR

TEXTS FROM A 'VIMALAMITRA CYCLE' ON TANTRIC MEDICINE

Introduction

Very little has yet been written on Tantric medicine in the West; so little, in fact, that its very concept is an obscurity in an obscure area. In addition to lack of research, an important reason for its neglect in recent times has been the manner in which it has been studied.

As we have seen above [Part One, note 75], the popular ritual described by WADDELL as a 'Lamaistic Eucharist' is a social, 'popular' reflex of a profound yogic sādhana with a very long and well-developed tradition, especially in Rñihma literature. Before that, we discussed also the intimate relationship between the principles underlying Tantrism and the alchemical work of transmuting elements, whether internally or externally.

The goal of medical practices in Tantrism — like those of its alchemical, astrological, and haṭha-yogic techniques — is to provide the yogin's body with a state of development favorable to attaining an ultimate religious goal. Such an attainment will have its effect on the yogin; he will achieve either an ethereal, transcendent body, a 'ja' lus, or an undecaying, physically perfect body which enjoys unending earthly existence.¹³⁴

Because it is ultimately an ancillary technique and not an

independent system, we should be hard pressed to identify separate principles in its operation to the degree that we can point to Āyurvedic principles in the G.yu-thog-pa medical tradition, for example. Bearing this in mind, let us set forth a few traits which distinguish Tantric medicine: (1) Its practice within ritual contexts; (2) Its use to prolong and strengthen the ascetic's life in connection with his religious practices; (3) Its use to achieve supernatural powers (siddhis) in the same connection. Thus, we see that it is distinct from a strictly alchemical practice in that it does not directly seek an elixir of life rendering true immortality or a substance which transmutes base metals into nobler ones. Nevertheless, it is based on the same principles as alchemy.¹³⁵

Recently several works have appeared which attempt to describe aspects of Tantric medicine, and this would be an appropriate place to note them briefly and how they color our view of this subject. The first is a work which bears the promising title Yogic and Tantric Medicine; it was written by O.P. JAGGI.¹³⁶ The author presents chapters on the subtle physiology of kundalinī-yoga, the āsanas of hatha-yoga, and the literature and equipment of Tantric alchemists, among other subjects. Unfortunately, he brings forth utterly no new data, does not attempt a synthesis of what is already known, and nowhere even tries to define Tantric medicine. He apparently assumes that we already know what it is.

Several articles of a more 'anthropological' nature have

also been published, apparently with the intention of presenting a sort of overview of the system. For instance, Alex WAYMAN's "Buddhist Tantric Medicine Theory on behalf of oneself and others"¹³⁷ presents material on a Tantric adaptation of a Bhaiṣajya-guru cult ritual as well as a short description of the role of mantric medicine in physical illness. While this is no doubt an application of certain Tantric practices no sense of a metaphysic is present, and the emphasis of the article is purely psychological, as if Tantric medicine were nothing more than Buddhist and Tantric doctrines internalized for their psychosomatic impact.¹³⁸

In the same vein are two articles by William STABLEIN. The first¹³⁹ describes a ritual wherein Mahākāla performs a function similar to that of Amitāyus in our 'Eucharist'. Like WAYMAN, STABLEIN centers on social application, but he also notes the relationship of such concoctions to siddhi [p. 63]. Unfortunately, he then goes on to confuse Tantric medicine with 'the Tibetan system of medicine', i.e., the G.yu-thogpa and Sman-ri traditions. He apparently has done this either because he is ignorant of the histories of these traditions, or he assumes that Tibetans do not distinguish them. The feeling one comes away with is that there is one vast, popular-level, psychosomatic medical system with little critical analysis at work here, one which utilizes some Buddhist and Tantric expressions in a purely formal (i.e., ritual) setting which is so aesthetically attractive that the patient is literally made to feel better.¹⁴⁰

Mr. STABLEIN's other general article¹⁴¹ is somewhat lacking in organization and orientation if compared to the former. Again, it deals with a popular ritual designed to contribute to the health of the population of an area. However, rather than informing his readers of the full significance of the ritual events and then selecting from the views of the villagers a present-day interpretation showing to what extent the system is still understood, he interjects his own interpretation of Tantric doctrine and terminology between the villagers and the reader.¹⁴² This can only serve to remove us from that spiritual continuum in the Kathmandu Valley even more than we already are.

No descriptive schema of the history, practice and philosophy of a science can be expected to emerge from such informal 'anthropological' studies. This would not be a reasonable criticism if we were dealing with an area whose outlines were known, limits perhaps measured, and whose nature had been described previously in some detail. These criteria have yet to be addressed in a thorough manner with regard to any aspect of Tantrism. Therefore, one reasonable approach would seem to be a search for earlier and more important sources with a view to sketching, eventually, a comprehensive history of the development of Tantric medicine. Not only would rituals held today be more fully understood; the entire process for the operation of esoteric traditions on a social level may perhaps be made more understandable.

It is partially with such goals in mind that we present

here four texts on Tantric medicine. They date from the period of the first translations of Tantric materials into Tibetan; from what we now know we may even speculate that they are among the very first works on Tantric medicine and science to appear in that language. We have here extracts from a series of texts known to some later writers as the Bdud-rtsi-bam-po-brgyad-pa ("The Eight Books on Amṛta").

These works are significant from several points of view. First of all, they are found in the Bka'-'gyur, although lacking any formal evidence of being 'canonical' Tantras, i.e., those delivered by the Buddha himself. (This is, after all, the single criterion for the inclusion of a work there; lacking a better idea, we may suppose that their translator's fame has somehow been responsible for this.) Secondly, they deal with some extremely explicit Tantric practices, such as were frowned upon by the compilers of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka; we should expect to see such texts in, inter alia, the Rñiñ-ma'i-rgvud-'bum. Thirdly--perhaps the most significant point--they are important Rdzogs-chen materials and form a core collection within the Bdud-rtsi-yon-tan-sñiñ-thig cycle of Bka' brgyad texts in the Padmaist system [see Part One, note 94, p. 84].¹⁴³

Let us expand somewhat on this latter point; a contribution to the relationship between Rdzogs-chen and 'Padmaism'--perhaps the two most dominant aspects of the developed Rñiñ-ma sects--will certainly shed light on the nature of Buddhism as it was practiced when introduced into Tibet.

From the Rdzogs-chen perspective, these texts belong to

the Anuyoga class, according to Sañs-rgyas-gliñ-pa.¹⁴⁴ As Tucci has pointed out,¹⁴⁵ this eighth of the nine Rñiñ-ma yoga vehicles emphasizes sexual union — bringing together of male and female polarities — to bring about the transformation of semen virile into luminous, immortal amṛta.¹⁴⁶ The Rdzogs-chen yoga of the ninth vehicle (Atiyoga), which emphasizes the attainment of the 'ja' lus [see Part One, note 62], is in comparison a most secretive, quietistic path. It is thus interesting to note how Tantric medicine has been adapted to these very different yogas.

We mentioned several times in Part One that Vimalamitra had contributed one of the eight cycles of ḅka' brgyad texts, the Bdud-rtsi-yon-tan-sñiñ-thig. According to Dpa'-bo-gtsug-lag (1503-1565) this cycle consists of nine Tantras, among them the Bdud-rtsi-rol-pa and the Bam-po-brgyad-pa.¹⁴⁷ The basic work in this cycle is the 'Chi-med-bdud-rtsi-yon-tan-rgyud-sde-rnams, now found in the twenty-sixth volume of the Rñiñ-ma'i-rgyud-'bum. (Although containing materials of great antiquity, this collection was created by Ratna-gliñ-pa (1403-1479), who hoped to preserve these works from the vagaries of time.¹⁴⁸)

A thorough study of all the Bdud-rtsi texts will reveal a combination of Rdzogs-chen philosophy — revealed largely through its distinctive terminology — with rituals of an occult nature. In short, we have an obviously Rñiñ-ma interpretation of Tantric medical practices. Because these texts were transmitted by contemporaries of Padmasambhava,

any attempt to clearly distinguish the bka' brgyad teachings (which, it must be remembered, have not yet been described in any clarity) from Rdzogs-chen philosophy will not be a simple task unless one ignores the range of practice and the integration of teachings shown by those who introduced Tantric sādhana into Tibet.¹⁴⁹

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The complete title of the Bdud-rtsi-bam-po-brgyad-pa, which doubles as the title for the first of its eight works, is: Thams-cad-bdud-rtsi-lña'i-rañ-bžin-dños-grub-chen-po-ñe-ba'i-sñiñ-po-mchog-bam-po-chen-po-brgyad-pa.¹⁵⁰ The conclusion of the eighth work, along with the colophon to the entire set which follows it, reads: "This spiritual instruction¹⁵¹ on the Most Excellent Great Elixir is from among those which have been taught from the ultimate statement of understanding, the Great King of Spiritual Teachings.¹⁵² Now there is brought to a close the eighth great section, which is intended as a commentary to the eighth (or eight?) great section of spiritual precepts. Vimala has thus explained a few points from the class of Bdud-rtsi-'bum teachings in general, which have then been translated by Lo-tstsha-ba Dzñā-na-ku-ma-ra. Here is completed the benefit to be derived from that very powerful Vajra (-teaching)."¹⁵³

The new edition of the Sde-dge canon we have utilized here contains this cryptic remark in its contentsnote: "Shortened by title: Bdud rtsi rol pa rim par bye (read phye - mlw) ba

rgyas pa." This phrase is not found in the body of the canon in connection with the Bdud-rtsi-bam-po-brgyad-pa; nevertheless, it does describe accurately the contents of this work, which is a supplement to the Bdud-rtsi-rol-pa [Rol-pa], following it section by section. In fact, the eight parts of the latter work are divided into rim par phye ba, 'consecutively analyzed topics'.¹⁵⁴ The only apparent difference between these two works, drawn from a cursory comparison, is that the first chapter of the Bdud-rtsi-rol-pa concerns itself in great detail with the construction of maṇḍalas used in subsequent rituals while the first bam po of the Bdud-rtsi-bam-po-brgyad-pa is more generally doctrinal. (These groups of works deserve a detailed comparison, which is beyond the scope of our present work.) Thus, what we have here is a set of (originally) oral spiritual instructions (luṅ, āgama) in the Rgyud/Tantra section of the Bka'-'gyur, while the basic text resides in the Rñiñ-ma'i-rgyud-'bum, which itself contains just those texts considered 'dangerous' by the compilers of the canon!

Of those eight bam po taught here by Vimalamitra, the second has already received a superficial study.¹⁵⁵ It is very interesting in terms of its magical formulae, some alchemical and some more of the nature of Tantric medical teachings, wherein compounds are to be ingested by or applied to the yogin to bring him a particular siddhi or magical power. On the following pages we present an analysis of the first, third, and sixth chapters. There being available three texts of

Bka'-'gyur a critical edition has been prepared, with incorrect or less acceptable readings placed in brackets. 'P' denotes the Peking edition in the Suzuki reproduction [Tokyo, 1955], 'D' the Sde-dge in its 1977 reproduction [New Delhi, The Sde-dge Mtshal-par Bka'-'gyur . . . prepared under the Direction of H.H. The 16th Rgyal-dbañ Karma-pa], and 'L' is the Lhasa edition from Yale. This work is found in volumes 22, 99, and book 2a of these respective editions. Pagination follows Sde-dge, a completely clear copy (being a new 'facsimile edition'), while L and P are in a few places nearly or totally illegible.

* * *

TEXT ONE

[202r] rgya gar skad du / sarba pañtsa a mri ta / sã* ra
siddhi ma hã du ka / hri da yã na pa ra bid twan aṣṭa / bod
skad du / thams cad bdud rtsi lha'i rañ bñin dños grub chen
po ñe ba'i sñiñ po mchog bam po chen po brgyad pa /

dpal kun tu bzañ po la phyag 'tshal lo /

bcom ldan 'das** gsañ ba mchog gi dkyil 'khor na / śin tu
rnal 'byor dbañ phyug tshogs / rgyal ba rgya mtsho 'khor dañ
bcas / skal ldan rnams dañ thabs cig bñugs / gnas mchog yum
gyi [D: kyi] dkyil 'khor na / gñis med lhun gyis gnas pa'i tshe /
de tshe ñan thos dge 'dun dañ / rañ rgyal theg chen mdo sde
dañ / byañ chub sems dpa'i dge 'dun dañ / ñan thos dge 'dun
chen po dañ / dgra bcom miñ yañ med nañ du / kun bzañ thugs
kyi dkyil 'khor nas [D: na] / dgoñs te 'di skad bstan pa'i luñ /

* All mss. read sa.

** 'das omitted in D, L.

bśad ciñ 'grel [L: 'grol] ba'i dus gcig dañ / 'di skad
bstan pa'i dus gcig na / srid gsum ye nas bdud rtsi lña /
ma bcos ye nas rdzogs sañs rgyas / kun tu bzañ po'i thugs
dkyil [P: kyis] nas / dus gsum srid gsum sku gsuñ thugs /
ye nas bdud rtsi yin pa'i phyir / ñes pa i kloñ nas bka'
stsal pa / zab mo'i kloñ nas phyuñ ste bstan /

de nas bder [L: bde] gśegs thams cad dañ / thabs cig bźugs
te [202v] dgoñs pa ni / bla na med pa'i byañ chub tu / ye
śes mñam ñid ñams rñed [P: sñed] nas / rdo rje gsañ ba'i
gral bkod de / kun gyi dam par 'di gsuñs so /

bka' yi dam pa mchog gi luñ / ñes par phyuñ ste gsuñs pa
'di'o / sgrub dañ bsgrub par bya [P: bye] ba dañ / 'bras bu
thob par bya ba'i phyir / gsañ sñags gsañ ba'i man ñag 'di /
bdud rtsi dam pa mchog gi luñ / sñiñ por bsdus pa'i ñes par
'di / byañ byub 'byuñ ba sñiñ po mchog / lta ba dañ ni spyod
pa dañ / dam tshig sgrub [D, P: bsgrub] pa phrin las dañ /
ñes par sgrub dañ bsgrub bya'i phyir / zab mo bsdus pa'i luñ
'di gsuñs /

bsam gyis mi khyab bstan pa dañ / brgyad khri bźi stoñ
rnam grañs kyañ / theg pa'i sgo ni gsum du gsuñs / gsañ ñid
theg par bsdus dañ bźi / ldem por dgoñs dañ don dam yañ /
bkri ba'i don du [P: de] sañs rgyas yin / rna brgyud bstan
pas thugs brtol te / thig le chos skus khyab pa'i phyir /
ñes pa'i luñ yañ sañs rgyas so / sañs rgyas mñam dañ dbyiñs
su 'gro /

ñes pa'i luñ yañ rnam gcig tu / gsañ sñags gsañ bas sañs
rgyas te / byañ chub sems 'di kun tu [P, D: du] dag / rdzogs

pa'i ye śes bde chen ñid / ma lus mtha' dag ñid kyi rgyu [L,
D: rgya] / ye nas bya med bya mi dgos / rgyu dañ 'bras bu
'khrul ba'i sgra / mi rtog sbyoñ ba'i yul min no /

de lta'i yul du rtog 'dzin gyis / 'khor ba'i rgya mtshor
gyur pa yin / ñes 'byuñ chos sku chen po la / bha gar ji bñin
bñag pas na / byan chub ñid de ltuñ gnas med / bu gcig ma
rtsol bde bar gnas / rgyud dañ luñ dañ man ñag kyañ / dmañs
dañ rje'u dañ rgyal po'i tshul / khyad par rtsal 'phañ thag
riñ yañ / gcig la gcig rten gcig gi ñañ / dbyer med tshul
gcig rañ bñin pas / gcig [D, P: cig] ste rnam grañs yoñs kyis
med / dbyer med ñañ [L: dañ] du rtogs pa la / bdud rtsi žes ni
ni de la bya'o /

de bas [L: las] sku gsuñ thugs kyi bdag / sku dañ rgyan dañ
'khor [203r] lo yañ / luñ chen zab mo'i nañ na gsal / lña bñi
nañ du 'khor ba yañ / ye śes sañs rgyas de las med / dbyiñs
su gyur pas mñam gnas pas / ye nas sañs rgyas bde chen ñid /
bdud rtsi žes ni de la brjod /

skye śi med pa'i dbyiñs su gyur / dbyiñs 'gyur dag mñam
lhun grub pas / lta ba 'di la gnas pa yi / rnal 'byor 'di ni
skal ba bzañ / ci spyad ci bsgoms ci bsgrubs kyañ / bdud rtsi
ñid de sman gyi mchog /

bder [L: bde] gśegs ñid kyi thugs dam ñid / byin rlabs [D,
P: brlabs] ño [P: po] mtshar rgya cher 'byuñ / rgyal ba rgya
mtsho rnams kyi gsos / sañs rgyas bde chen ñid las 'byuñ [D:
byuñ] / thams cad ma lus bdud rtsi 'di / spros med thig ler
gnas pa las / mtha' yas sems can don gyi phyir / rañ la mchod
ciñ rañ gis bza' / sgrub pa pos ni nan tan byos /

śes bcom ldan 'das dpal kun tu bzañ pos / ye śes chen po'i
thugs nas dgoñs te bka' stsal pa'o /

bdud rtsi chen po mchog gi luñ las / byañ chub sems de kho
na ñid lta bar bstan pa'i man ñag chen po gsañ ba'i don dañ
po ste / thugs kyi rgya mtsho'i [L: mtsho] nañ nas gsañ ba'i
mdzod chen po las / bam po chen po brgyad pa'i dañ po'o //

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TEXT THREE

[207v] rgya gar skad du / pradzñā bha ga wā na [P,D: ban]
ma hā rā dzā / bod skad du / bcom ldan 'das gñis med kyi
rgyal po chen po la phyag 'tshal lo /

de nas spyod pa bstan te / luñ a nu yo ga pa rdzogs pa'i
rnal 'byor du bstan te / lta ba dañ ni spyod pa dañ / gzuñs
kyi mtshan ñid 'di gsuñs so /

de bñin dam tshig chen po'añ bstan / las 'di luñ gis bsgrub
bya na / mi spon ba ni dañ du blañ / spyod pa dam tshig bco
[P, D: bcwa] lña bsruñ / śes pa lña dañ sruñ [D: bsruñ] ba
gsum / [208r] stoñ rtsa brgyad du bsruñs pas ni / rtsa brgyad
stoñ śes de la bya'o / de yañ ma hā sa ma ya /

bñi po rdzogs na kun tu bzañ / ñi rgyas dbañ dañ mñon spyod
dañ / gnan [D, L: mnan] zlog drug ni gcig tu'o /

dañ la ga na'i [D, P: ga ni] luñ bśad de / khru tshad bñi
dañ ldan pa ni / yon tan bcu gcig dañ yañ ldan / bñin bzañ
[D: bzañs] mig gi dkyus riñ ba / stod smad phyed [L: phye]
la rked pa phra / tshigs pa zlum la sor mo riñ / yon tan 'od
can bcu gcig lo /

ye śes rigs can yin par bśad / bcu gsum rdo rje rigs su

'grub / bcu drug snags pas 'grub nes pa'o / rin chen rigs
mchog yin par bstan / ñi šu gcig pa padma'i rigs / spyen ras
gzigs dbaṅ rta mchog 'grub / ñi šu rtsa lña lon pas ni / thogs
med dbaṅ chub sems kyan 'dren / thams cad las kyi rigs mchog
'grub / sum cu rtsa gcig phan chad kyis / sems phebs tshun
chad kun tu dge'o / yid du 'oṅ ba dam pa [ñes pa] yin /
bder gśegs rigs su 'grub par bśad / bde chen 'du bral med pa'i
de dag ma lus gaṅ rñed pa / lus kyaṅ khrus byas gtsaṅ mar
bya'o /

dri žim tsandan go pan [L, P: go ban] daṅ / dzā ti pha [D,
P: pa] la ku ru tshe / ka ko la daṅ ga bur [= P, pur] daṅ /
a ka ru daṅ tu ru ska [D: du °; P: ° ka] / gi baṅ [P: ghi haṅ;
L: ghi baṅ] / glaṅ po'i spos rnams kyis / byugs nas rgyan daṅ
phreṅ ba gdags / dar daṅ ras bal 'jam po daṅ / gos rgyan chas
bklubs [L: klubs] bskon nas ni / gser gyi rna cha gdub skor
[D: kor; L: dkor] daṅ / do šal dpuṅ rgyan se mo do / rin
chen sna tshogs brgyan [L, D: rgyan] du gdags /

ji bžin bde ba'i stan dag la / g.yon phyogs su ni gžag par
bya / bsñen pa daṅ ni ñe bsñen daṅ / sgrub [D: bsgrub] daṅ
sgrub chen bya ba ni / dkyil 'khor 'dom gaṅ gru bži pa /
'phaṅ du sor bži'i tshad du bya / rdo rje dri chus maṅdal
byugs / ša chen gu gul pog gis bdug / dkyil 'khor de la bskor
te bdug [D: 'dug] / g.yon du de byi [D: phyi] bžag nas ni /
bha ga de [L: da] ñid byin gyis brlab / spyi bor oṅ dkar 'od
ldan pa [P: la] / lce la a dmar dam pa bsam / [208v] sñiṅ
gar zla dkyil hūm mthiṅ ga / lte bar swa* sñon 'od ldan pa /

* All mss. read swa; read swā.

rkañ par ha* ljañ 'od ldan pa / bañ [D, L: ba] las padma'i
 [P: bad ma'i] dbyiñs su yañ / gru gsum me 'od 'bar ba bsam /
 ñon moñs lña rnams sbyañ ba dañ / sdug bsñal lña ni tshar
 bcad phyir / lag g.yas gžan gyis mi thub ma / g.yon pa ro
 lañs chen mo ste / de yi kha la khro gñer ma / ral pa gcig
 ma padma la'o / gsañ yum lña dañ khro mo bži / byin gyis
 brlabs te sñags bzlas pa / om āḥ hūm swā hā / bha ga wān [D,
 P: ban] ni ñid kyi bka' /

phyag rgya bži ru bdag gyur pas / gñis su med par mñam sbyar
 nas / lha yi bdud dañ phuñ po'i bdud / ñon moñs bdud dañ
 'chi bdag bcom / phyag rgya chen po bži dañ ldan / mkha' la
 sems phebs [P: phabs] 'phros pa'i tshe / byañ chub 'khor ba
 mya ñan 'das / gñis su med pa'i sar phyin no / bcom ldan 'das
 kyis bka' stsal to /

sañs rgyas sems can thams cad dañ / mtshan mar btags pa thams
 cad kun / bde chen ñid las gžan ma yin / bde chen ñid las
 gžan pa'i chos / sañs rgyas ñid kyis ni [D, P: mi] mkhyen to /
 phyi nañ ma lus snod bcud kyañ / byañ chub sems su rnam dag
 pas / skye med ye śes yum gyi dbyiñs / gñis med bdud rtsi
 chen po ste / yab yum bde ba'i ñaṅ du gsal / 'di ni sñiñ po
 byañ chub sems / bder gśegs kun gyis bka' stsal to /

lus kun yoñs su 'khyud pa yis / rdo rje padmar [P: bad mar]
 ldan byas nas / rañ byuñ [P: 'byuñ] rnams ni bde mchog sems /
 phul bas myur du grub pa ni [L: pa'o]. / om rā*ga pū dza ho /
 dños grub blañ žiñ 'di brjod do /

byañ chub sems kyis dbaṅ bskur te / dños grub sgrub [D, P:

* All mss. read ra.

bsgrub] pa la gzuñ ño [D: gzud do].

bdud rtsi chen po mchog gi luñ gi nañ nas / sgrub pa [D:
bsgrub pa] chen po'i luñ dañ / gzuñs kyi mtshan ñid dañ /
sbyor ba i man ñag dañ / gā na bsgrub [L: sgrub] pa'i luñ
dañ / byañ chub kyi sems kyi yon tan dañ / a mri ta sgrub
[P, D: grub] pa'i luñ ste / bam po chen po gsum pa /

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TEXT SIX

[213v] rgya gar skad du / a mri ta kuñḍa li nā ma [P: ° ku-
ndha la li °] / bod skad du / bdud rtsi 'khyil_ḥa la phyag
'tshal lo /

bdud rtsi rgyal la phyag 'tshal nas / bdud rtsi sbyor ba'i
thabs bstan te / de bñin gñegs pa kun gyis bdud rtsi bsgrub
[L: sgrub] pa'i dgoñs pa la žugs te [P: ste] / de nas bdud
rtsi rgyal po yis / bdud rtsi sbyor ba'i thabs 'di bstan te
bka 'stsal to /

dañ por phun sum tshogs pa'i yul / dga 'ñiñ bar chad med
pa'i gnas / btsal nas ñid kyi dbañ du bya'o / de nas rañ lus
bsruñ ba'i phyir / lag cha phun sum tshogs pa yis / bar chad
byed pa'i dgra bgegs bzlog /

de nas bsgrub pa'i yo byad rnams / 'tsho ba zas kyi yo byad
dañ / [214r] sgrub pa dam rdzas [L: sgrub pa pas rdzas] yo
byad dañ / rkyen zlog sman gyi yo byad dañ / de ltar phun
sum tshogs ldan nas /

ji bñin bde bar 'dug nas ni / sa gñi rab tu sbyañs [= D
sbyañ] byas te / tshes grañs yar gyi brgyad la brtsam /

sña dro'i dus nas dkyil 'khor bya / maṇḍal 'dom gañ ba lña
bri / sgrub [D, P: bsgrub] pa chen po bya ba'i phyir / dri
chen dri chu'i skyañ [D: skyoñ] nul bya'o / dur khrod thod
pa lña nañ du / tshil chen me mar re re yañ / me mar sdoñ
bu lña brgya bya'o / me mar lña brgya bltams [P: bltam; D, L:
gtams] nas ni / de nas sgrub [D, P: bsgrub] pa brtsam bya
ñiñ / rdzogs pa'i las ni rnam bñi bya /

ñi ba'i tshe na byañ du blta'o / gā na'i tshe na nub tu
blta'o / sta na [P: lta na] chen po lho ru blta'o / rgyas
pa'i tshe na śar du blta o / yañ na 'phrin las rnam pa bñi /
so so'i phyogs phyogs dag nas blta'o /

de ltar 'dug stañs bstan nas ni / śar gyi dkyil 'khor steñ
du ni / sgrub [D, P: bsgrub] rdzas thams cad gźag par bya'o /
lho yi dkyil 'khor steñ du ni / me mar lña brgya smos pa
gźag [D, P: bźag] / nub kyi dkyil 'khor steñ du ni / sgrub
[P: bsgrub] pa yab yum gnas par bya / byañ gi dkyil 'khor
steñ du ni / rgyu mchog chen po gźag par bya / dbus kyi dkyil
'khor steñ du ni / bram ze bkra śis gtsañ ma'i rigs / bkra
śis thod pa gźag par bya'o / yañ na bhandā [P: ban da; L:
bandha] dpal ldan rdzogs / zlum ñiñ 'khyil pa padma 'dra /
dbus na bu ga gcig yod pa / de yi nañ du hrī žes bri'o [L:
bri'e].

de yi nañ du blugs pa ni / sñiñ po tshim byed bcud kyi
mchog / gtso bo lña dañ 'bras bu lña / dri žim bcud ldan thams
cad kun / 'di dag rab tu bskyab pa'i phyir / mañ po 'dus pa
mthu byin che [D: tshe] / yañ na rtsa ba brgyad dañ sbyar /
go tsi [P: ci] hwa [L: hā] dañ leñ leñ hwa / gi wañ [P: 'gi'u

hwañ; D: gi'u wañ] tsi'u [P: ci'u] tañ ra sa yan / ga bur
[L: pur] mu tig lan tshwa [P: tsha] rnams / 'di rnams rtsa
ba brgyad dañ sbyar / yañ na gtso bo lñar sbyar ba / a 'bras
rgun 'brum pa na [214v] se / ger rgya a ru ra dañ lña / 'di
ni nañ gi 'bras bu lña'o /

śa lña dag dañ sbyar ba yañ / dbañ po lña yi gzugs dañ
sbyar / de yi phrad du dgos pa yañ / mig dañ rna ba sna dañ
lce / gtso bo tsi tta [P: tsi ta] ñid dañ lña'o /

śiñ tog rgun 'brum ka ko la / a 'bras pa na bum śa lña'o /
dri ni chen po sna lña dañ / cha yi grañs dañ mñam ste sbyar /
nā [P: na] ga ge sar śiñ tsha [L: tshwa] dañ / sug smel
gandha pa tra [L: ganda^o; P: 'gan da^o] dañ / kun du ru
[D: ^ora] dañ dri sna lña'o /

yañ na dri yi rgyal po lña / rgya spos dzā ti pha la [P:
'dza' ti ba la] dañ / ga bur [L,P: pur] tsandan [P: tsan dha]
li śi lña'o / de bñin spos lña'i dam pa yañ / a ka ru dañ
tu [P,L,D: du] ru ska / pog dañ sbrañ rtsi lce pog dañ /
gser dñul zañs lcags g.yu dañ lña / bdar [L: brdar] ram žib
tu btags te blugs / 'di dag rab tu mñam žiñ gsog [so L; D has
bsog, an equivalent. P has coalesced this and the following
line: 'di dag rab tu bsñam žiñ btags pa'i sñags] /

'di dag sbyar žiñ btag [L: btags] pa'i sñags / oñ a mri ta
mu sa la / gra he [P: mri ta] ha na ha na hum phaṭ /

'di rnams sbyar ba'i bdud rtsi mchog / dños grub 'bras bu
ñes thob bo / 'bras bu rnam lña bsgral ba'i phyir / byañ gi
phyogs kyi dkyil 'khor du / me lce gla gli sñiñ la sogs /

gsaṅ ba'i brda [P: brda'] tshig dag gis ni / de dag rab tu
sba [L:spa] žiṅ sgrub [D, P: bsgrub] / phyogs bži dbus daṅ
lha ru gžag / rgyu mchog chen po khros byas nas / mñon spyod
mñon spyod ya mtshan gyi / 'jigs [D: 'jigs] byed 'jigs byed
chen po yi / e yi dkyil 'khor sum rtseg gi [D, L: brtsegs kyi] /
steṅ du bžag nas dbaṅ bskur ro /

de nas dpal chen he ru ka / dur khrod bdag po chen po ni /
che mchog śin tu mi bzad pa / dbu maṅ [P: maṅs] phyag cha
rtsub [P: brtsub] pa bsname / smug nag sku ni 'bar ba can /
žal ni ṅi śu rtša gcig ste / phyag kyaṅ bži bcu rtša gñis so /
om badzra mahā śrī he ru ka / raṅ dzwa [P: dza] la hūṃ /

gsaṅ ba'i yum yaṅ yab daṅ mthun / ma hā kro dhī [P: ti] śwa
ri / om sarba ta thā ga ta mu drā [P: mu tra; L: mu dra]
a bhi ṣi [P: śa] ṅtsa hūṃ / žes yum dbaṅ bskur nas / gžan yaṅ
rigs daṅ mthun [= P: 'thun] pa ru / phyogs bži dag tu dgod
par bya'o / de yaṅ tshul bžin byin gyis [215r] brlab [L: rlob] /
e hye [P: ha] hi ma hā ru dra* hūṃ phaṭ / sarbe da a a śes
brjod pas / tsitta [P: tsi ta] draṅ ṅo / yaṅ nas yaṅ du spar
[D, L: sbar] byas te / dug gsum rtša ba der bcad do /

rgyu 'bras mthun [= P: 'thun] žiṅ sbyar ba yaṅ / yaṅs śiṅ
rgyud la goms pa daṅ / chos sku ži ba'i tiṅ 'dzin yod / yon
tan brgyad daṅ ldan pa la / nes pa'i don dbaṅ thob par**
bya'o /

'byuṅ ba bži las skyed pa'i yum / tshul bži dag daṅ ldan pa'am /
yaṅ na mtshan bzaṅ sum cu ni / lus la rdzogs par yod pa la /
zla gsaṅ dkar dmar rluṅ dkar lci / de bžin sriṅ mo rnal 'byor

* All texts read tra.

** All texts read thos par, perhaps due to copying from an
dbu med manuscript.

ma / btsal nas sgrub [D: bsgrub] pa chen po bya'o /

'o ma spos chus mgo lus bkru / dkyil 'khor nañ du gžag par
bya / 'dzag pa i dus su sbyar ba yi / khrag chen po ni sems
dañ bcas / ra sa ya na'i gtso bor bya'o / bdud rtsi dam pa'i
snod bstan pa /

kun byed thams cad za ba yi [L: yin] / slob ma dpa' brtul
[= L: rtul] gtsaṅ sbra can / skyon drug rnam par spaṅs [P:
sbaṅs] pa yi / mi phyed pa ni dgu [L,D: dgra] dañ ldan /
dam tshig thams cad ma ṅams śiṅ / srog lus bu dañ chunṅ ma dañ /
rin chen sna tshogs 'bul byed pa / sriṅ mo śin tu brgyan pa
pa yaṅ / slob dpon bla ma de la dbul [L: 'bul; P: 'bus] /

de ltar 'bul ba'i slob ma'i mchog / yuṅ [D, L: yud] yaṅ
pañtsa [P: ban tsa] yan chad kyis / rab tu 'bru ni gdams pas
bya'o /

thugs kyi dños grub dam pa 'di / rañ byuṅ ṅa yis bstan [P:
stan] pa'i phyir / re ba med pas blaṅ bar bya / ma dag pa ni
mtshams gcad [P: gcod] do / las kyi gtsor ni bskaṅ ba dañ /
sbyaṅ dañ mtshams [P: 'tshams] dañ gsal bar bya'o / ṅi zla
padma yaṅ dag gnas / bdag ṅid dpa' bo 'bru lña yis [L: yi] /
gnas lña dag tu bsam par bya'o / dños grub rab 'briṅ tha ma
gsum / ma thob bar du mi gtaṅ žiṅ / gtaṅ [L: btaṅ] na bar
chad chen por [D, P: po] gyur /

gsaṅ sñags bdud rtsi yon tan 'di / sad pa'i phyir yaṅ
bsgrub dgos na / mkhas pas bden [P: bdan] [215v] pa'i don
śes nas / don la the tshom [L: tshem] ci ste za / žes the
tshom bcad la / dños grub blaṅ ba'i sñags 'di'o / a ho [D,
P: hoḥ] su kha [P, L: ka] dharma kā*[D: gā; L: ga] ya ni /

* P actually reads ka.

a mri ta siddhi [P: si ti] hrīḥ [P: hrī] Źes dños grub blaḥ
ño /

gnas lña dag tu bsam pa yaḥ / spyi gtsug dbus su zla ba ste /
der ni om dkar 'od ldan pa / 'od zer lña ni 'phros pa las /
slar 'dus snaḥ mdzad gtso bo ste / rtag pa'i phyag rgya
bciḥs [P: bciḥ] ba'o / lce la hrīḥ [D, P: hrī] dmar 'od 'phros
pas / slar 'dus mtha' yas chos kyi gsuḥ / mñam pa'i phyag rgyar
gnas pa'o / sñiḥ gar yi ge hūḥ mthiḥ ga / 'od zer lña ni
'phro ba'o / slar 'dus mi 'khrugs sems pa [D: dpa'] ste /
phyag gñis rdo rje dril bu bsnams / yaḥ na bdud 'dul sa gnon
no / lte [L: lta] bar yi ge swā [P: swa] ser po / 'od zer lña
ni 'phro bo las / slar 'dus rin chen dam pa'i gtso / phyag
rgya yid bñin sbyin pa'o / gsaḥ bar yi ge ha ljaḥ gu [= L:
ljaḥ khu] / 'od zer sna lña 'phro ba las / slar 'dus don
yod grub pa ste / Źi ba'i phyag rgyar mñam rdzogs pa'o /

rigs lña gtogs pa 'di kun yaḥ / raḥ byuḥ [D, P: 'byuḥ] gi
ni dkyil 'khor yin / de ltar 'od zer lña lña yis / ñi šu
rtsa lña'i 'phro 'du las / kham s gsum 'gro ba'i don byas nas /
slar 'dus sman lña ñid la bsdu / sman ñid phyag rgyar gsal
'bar nas / 'od zer sna lña slar 'dus nas / phyag mtshan so sor
gsal 'gyur te / gser gyi 'khor lo zur brgyad las / dri chen
bdud rtsi Źu ba'o /

hūḥ las rdo rje rtse lña pa / 'bar nas byaḥ chub sems su
Źu'o* / swā [P: sa] las rin chen 'od bar te / mahā maḥ [P:
maḥ] sa bdud rtsir Źu'o / hrīḥ [P: hrī] las 'od zer sna
tshogs pa'o / padma rakta thig ler Źu'o / hā** ljaḥ 'od 'phro

* All texts read Źu; correct to Źu'o by analogy with following examples.

** All texts read ha.

sna tshogs pas / dag pa'i dri chu bdud rtsir źu'o / de ltar
'phro du bya ba yañ / goms pas yañ nas yañ du bya'o /

de nas bdud rtsi rnam lña la / bsam pa'i yi ge dam pa lña /
om hūm swā [P: swa] hrīḥ [D: hrī; P: hri] ā [P: a] / rtsa ba'i
[216r] yi ge lña po yañ / 'od zer 'phro ba sña ma bñin [D, L:
bñi] / de nas 'dzab sgom [D, P: bsgom] bzlas pa'i sñags /
dgu pa 'di ni 'dzab tu drañ / om badzra tsitta [P: tsi ta]
sa ma ya hūm tha / de la bdud rtsi'i phyag rgya ni / lag pa
g.yon pa'i dpuñ pa brkyañ [L, P: brgyad] / mthe boñ srin lag
mthil du dgug / rdo rje mtshon gañ bcas pa dañ / mdzub mo
[P: 'dzub mo] guñ mo mthe'u chuñ brkyañ / sbyar te lag pa'i
mthil gyis ni / bdud rtsi snod kyi steñ du gnon [L: mnan; P:
gnan] / de nas bdud rtsi byin gyis brlab /

tiñ 'dzin me dañ 'dra ba las / bzlas brjod rluñ dañ 'dra
ba yis / brla la*[D, L: glal] dañ [P: ñañ] lud pas bar [P:
par] mi gcad /

de nas bdud rtsi byin gyis brlab / badzra a mri ta om āḥ
hūm hri [L: hrī] thā / 'di ni rtsa ba'i dkyil 'khor lña'o /
dzaḥ hūm bañ ho [L, D: hoḥ] / mahā a mri ta a [L, D: ā] be
śa ho [D: hoḥ] /

źes bcom ldan 'das bdud rtsi rgyal pos [L: bas] bka' stsal to /
bdud rtsi dam pa mchog gi luñ las / 'bras bu chen po lña
bsgral ba'i [L: bar] luñ ñes pa dañ / de bsgral nas de sman du
sbyar ba'i thabs bstan pa'i bdud rtsi chen po sa ma ya 'bum sde
las / bam po chen po drug pa /

* Although this reading violates the metre, it seems to offer
a more understandable statement; see note 248 below.

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TEXT ONE: TRANSLATION

[202r] [The title is:] "Herein is the Essence of all Five Elixirs, the Eighth Great Arrangement, an Exalted Supplementary Instruction on Mahāsiddhi."¹⁵⁶

Homage to Śrī Samantabhadra!¹⁵⁷

Once there were dwelling together in the maṇḍala of the Exalted Secret Bhagavān a fierce group of yogeśvaras, and an ocean of Jinas [Buddhas] with their attendants along with blessed ones [human beings?]. In the maṇḍala of the female organ,¹⁵⁸ at a time when they were dwelling in non-duality,¹⁵⁹ there were also groups (saṃghas, dge 'dun) of Śrāvakas, Pratyekabuddhas, Sautrāntikas of the Mahāyāna,¹⁶⁰ Bodhisattvas and a great assembly of listeners. Here are the spiritual instructions (luṅ, āgama) spoken to them from the maṇḍala of his mind when Samantabhadra was meditating on them.¹⁶¹

At the same time that he was teaching these things, he was also explaining them and commenting on them: that there are five elixirs which have existed from eternity in the three worlds;¹⁶² they are uncreated (ma bcos) and have been forever in a state of perfect enlightenment. Because there are these eternal elixirs of the body, speech and mind and of the three worlds and the three times which are from the center of Samantabhadra's mind, he spoke about them from that vastness of Reality (ñes pa'i klon; i.e., his mind). Bringing it forth from that profound depth (zab mo'i klon), he taught it.¹⁶³

Then, sitting down together with all the sugatas [i.e.,

Buddhas], they meditated (dgoñs pa). [202v] After they had found in their minds the equalizing knowledge¹⁶⁴ in that highest of all Bodhisattvas, he spoke the following things in the most excellent way possible, giving proportion to his vajrarahasya:¹⁶⁵

"Now there shall be given those spiritual instructions (luñ) which are the holiest teachings, exhibiting them in a concrete manner (ñes par). For the sake of the work (sgrub), that which ought to be attained and the results which ought thus to be procured, here is sacred advice (upadeśa, man ñag) on secret mantras, instructions on the most sacred elixir. Such is the gist (ñes par) of that which has been here reduced to its essentials: a teaching on the excellent essence of the elements of bodhi.¹⁶⁶ Because the [Buddhist] doctrines ought to be practiced, vows [of a Tantric nature] fulfilled, and results attained in a concrete manner (ñes par) along with their powers (phrin las), these words have been pronounced as an abridgement from the Zab-mo.¹⁶⁷

"Further, this doctrine unable to be grasped in discursive thinking totals 84,000 [verses?], but the ways of entering its vehicle [i.e., practice] have been explained to be three, which makes four with the [here explained] secret doctrine condensed into a vehicle as well.¹⁶⁸ Even meditating upon impermanent things in the search for ultimate truth (don dam), one will become enlightened. Reaching the heart of these matters by the teachings of the oral traditions (rna brgyud bstan pa), his contemplation becomes so filled by the dharma-

kāya that he becomes a Buddha in accordance with these teachings on Reality (ñes pa'i luñ). Thus does one enter that sphere (dbyiñs, i.e., the dharmadhātu) on a par with the Buddhas.

"[Interpreting] this teaching on Reality in one way (rnam gcig, ekākara), there is [the process of] becoming enlightened through secret mantras wherein one's perfectly pure bodhicitta, the very essence of both mahāsukha and complete wisdom, is the cause of absolutely everything that exists — and yet, this bodhicitta has been from eternity without any action, and it has no need to act.¹⁶⁹ 'Cause' and 'effect' are words which deceive; they are not objects (yul) which cleanse [the mind].

"By adhering to reflection upon such concepts, one will only enter the ocean of samsāra. [However,] if one, for the sake of that great dharmakāya which overcomes [samsāra], will put it in such a way (ji bñin) into the bhagamandala,¹⁷⁰ that very bodhicitta, an infallible guide,¹⁷¹ will tend towards the mahāsukha like a mother caring for her only child. The tantras, śāstras, and upadeśas as well, although having a great distance between the heights [attained] in their various accomplishments (such as between the manners of kings, nobility, and commoners), nevertheless have the disposition (ñan) of each resting on the same support.¹⁷² Having thus a unity of their natural dispositions, there is just one method, lacking in distinction, and there is no plurality at all here. When one perceives that his own character is inseparable from these dispositions, that is what is called elixir.

Consequently, this *Kāyavākcittapati [i.e., the Ādibuddha] — his body, ornaments, and retinue — glow within this Zab-mo, this great spiritual instruction (luñ): the 'five' and the 'four' are also formed within it.¹⁷³ [203r] When one has come into that dharmadhātu which is nothing more than the enlightenment of one's wisdom, because one has thus attained a position equal to that [of a Buddha], one is in the state of mahāsukha of eternal enlightenment. Such is the explanation for that which is called 'elixir'.

"Coming into that dhātu which is without birth and death [i.e., the dharmadhātu], the yogin who dwells in this state of contemplation through his miraculously developed state of purity and [Buddha-] equality associated with ('gyur) that sphere experiences great good fortune. Thus, whatever one may do, whatever one may meditate upon, or whatever one may attain, that elixir remains the most excellent of medicines (sman gyi mchog).

"Likewise, the vow of that sugata (bder gśegs - the yogin himself?) will become a vast and wondrous blessing; with this healing from the ocean of Jinas (i.e., Buddhas), one will emerge a Buddha from this mahāsukha. All these elixirs are identical; so, while one is residing in an actionless contemplation¹⁷⁴ the yogin should worship himself and he should consume (bza') these elixirs, to benefit endless sentient beings. Indeed, the adept (sgrub pa po, sādhin) must strive diligently:"

Thus spoke the exalted Samantabhadra, meditating upon them

from his mind (thugs) of great wisdom.

From those spiritual instructions on the most excellent great elixir, this is the first of the secret interpretations revealed from great esoteric communications (man nag chen po) which instruct one in investigating the essence of bodhicitta. From the great ocean which is Samantabhadra's mind, this has been the first of eight great sections (bam po chen po), just a part of his great secret treasury.

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TEXT THREE: TRANSLATION

In the Indian language: Prajñā-bhagavan-mahārāja; in Tibetan: Homage to the Great King of Exalted Non-duality.[i.e., Samantabhadra]:¹⁷⁵

In due course, now teaching its practice, he will instruct the yogin who is perfected in Luṅ Anuyoga.¹⁷⁶ The following has been taught concerning its doctrine, practice, and the essence of its dhāraṇīs.

In this same connection he also taught the Great Sacred Vow (Mahāsamaya): "If one will perfect himself in this work according to these spiritual instructions (luṅ); if one does not give it up and pursues it seriously; if one keeps to the fifteen sacred precepts of the practice--if he does these while keeping all his vows through 1008 repetitions of them and the five knowledges and three protections [208r], then one has fulfilled what is referred to as 'The Eight-thousandfold Vow'. That is also what is known as Mahāsamaya.

"If one completes these four things [i.e., knowledge of the

Anuyoga doctrine, its practice, its dhāraṇīs, and its vows], that constitutes attainment of Samantabhadra. Also, those six rituals concerning tranquil, wealth-bestowing and powerful spirits as well as witchcraft, the subduing of demons and their repulsion (zlog) also constitute Anuyoga practices.¹⁷⁸

"First there will be explained spiritual instructions concerning the teacher.¹⁷⁹ He should be four cubits [i.e., six feet] tall, of fair appearance, with long eyes, a well-proportioned physique,¹⁸⁰ a slender waist, rounded joints and long fingers; such are the eleven¹⁸¹ virtues of fine appearance ('od can), according to tradition.

"Now there shall be taught the acquisition of those sorts of wisdom related to the five kulas of the Tathagatas. Thirteen are accomplished in the Vajrakula, and by muttering its mantra sixteen times they shall certainly be achieved.¹⁸² It is taught that the highest kula here is the Ratna,¹⁸³ while the Padmakula has twenty-one mantras which cause Avalokiteśvara to be realized as Valāhāka.¹⁸⁴ If one can complete the twenty-five mantras for all the kulas one will conduct his bodhicitta in an unimpeded manner and the highest kula--comprising within itself all works--shall be realized.¹⁸⁵ If one can surpass thirty-one recitations of those twenty-five mantras mentioned here he will arrive at complete bliss [i.e., Mahāsukha] because his bodhicitta will have achieved perfection. This is a most sacred and pleasing teaching, one

which explains the realization of the Sugatakulās (bder gśegs rigs, i.e., the Tathagatas and their retinues). Whoever has received all those dhāraṇīs¹⁸⁶ which have no union in or separation from Mahāsukha [i.e., they transcend all differences with it, are identical to it] ought now to purify himself by bathing.¹⁸⁷

"Then he should anoint his consort with saffron (dri śim), candanagopa,¹⁸⁸ jatiphala (nutmeg), guḍūcī,¹⁸⁹ kakkola,¹⁹⁰ camphor, aloe wood,¹⁹¹ olibanum,¹⁹² bezoar stone and gandha-hastin (?)--incenses all. After this, she should be dressed in garlands and jewels and attired in silk and soft cotton materials which are covered with Tantric ornaments. She should be wearing in addition finger rings, golden earrings, long necklaces (do śal), upper arm bracelets, half-length necklaces (se mo do, ardhahāra)--all these so that she might be adorned in precious things.

"In the following manner she should be installed on the left side of the maṇḍala, on a pure and auspicious spot: One will apply himself to whatever she needs (bsñen, sevati), wait upon her (ñe bsñen, upasevati), propitiate her and also perform a great propitiation. One shall then erect another maṇḍala six feet on a side and raised four fingers in height. This maṇḍala should be anointed with vajrodaka (rdo rje chu) which has been scented.¹⁹³ It should then be fumigated with mahāmāṃsa,¹⁹⁴ śrīvāsa,¹⁹⁵ and kundurū,¹⁹⁶ all carried around that area. After one places his devī in the left of that area

one should consecrate her bhaga.¹⁹⁷ [While one is doing this] the yogin should imagine on the top of her head a shining white om, a sacred red āḥ on her tongue, [207v] a blue hūṃ in a half-moon shape on her breast, a shining bluish green svā on her navel, a shining green hā on her feet and a shining, fire-colored triangle in the region of her padma [i.e., her bhaga or genitalia] which emanates from the yogin's penis.¹⁹⁸

"On the right side of the maṇḍala there is [an image of] Aparājitā,¹⁹⁹ who serves to eradicate the five defilements (kleśas) and the five miseries (duḥkhas) along with Mahāvetalī (Ro-laṅs-chen-mo)²⁰⁰ who is placed to the left side. In the mouth of the Devī [there should be imagined] Bhṛkuṭī (Khro-gñer-ma) and on her padma Ekajaṭī (Ral-pa-gcig-ma).²⁰¹ One should consecrate these four terrifying goddesses together with the five Gūhyamatṛ [i.e., the goddesses of the elements enumerated in Part One] by pronouncing the following mantras: Om! Ah! Hūṃ! Svāhā!" These are the commands²⁰² of the Bhagavān (Samantabhadra) himself.

Since the yogin has attained control over the four Mūdrās²⁰³ when he will have achieved the perfect union in non-duality²⁰⁴ he will have conquered Devaputramāra, Skandhamāra, Kleśamāra and Mr̥tyupatimāra.²⁰⁵ Possessing these four great Mūdrās the yogin will at this time have his bodhicitta continually streaming into the sky, and the bodhicitta, nirvāṇa and saṃsāra will all come together in the state (sa) of non-duality.²⁰⁶ On this, the Bhagavān (Samantabhadra) has had this to say:

"All Buddhas and all sentient beings who possess those favorable signs [indicating that they too may achieve Buddhahood]: all these beings are not different from that mahāsukha itself. It has been the understanding of the Buddhas themselves that [the goal of] the doctrine is nothing other than that very mahāsukha. Because all of animate and inanimate nature and the animate and inanimate beings within it are totally pure in their bodhicitta, it is both the sphere (ḍbyiṅs) of the Mother of Innate Knowledge (Skye-med-ye-śes-yum, i.e., Samantabhadrā) as well as the great elixir of non-duality. Yuganaddha thus appears as shining in the very essence of sukha.²⁰⁷ This bodhicitta is the essence (sñiṅ po) [of all things]." This is what the sugata Samantabhadra has said, as well as the following:

"Because the yogin has embraced her whole body in this way, and has brought the vajra into the padma, he will achieve perfection quickly because his bodhicitta (sems) has reached the highest bliss (sukha) of those self-originated ones [i.e., Buddhas and Buddhas-to-be mentioned above]. "Om! Rāga-pūja: Ho!" — this should be said as one achieves the siddhi [of mahāsukha].²⁰⁸ This initiation which takes place by the process of bodhicitta is to be embraced as the perfection of all siddhis."

This is the third great section — spiritual instructions on the characteristics of the consecrated woman,²⁰⁹ secret instructions on union with her, instructions on the completion of the gaṇa [of spiritual beings in the maṇḍala], and

instructions on perfecting the amṛta — from among those spiritual instructions on the exalted and great elixir.

TEXT SIX: TRANSLATION

In the Indian language: Amṛtakunḍalināma. In Tibetan:
Homage to Bdud-rtsi-'khyil-pa!²¹⁰

In teaching the methods for the creation of the elixir (bdud rtsi sbyor ba), following the homage which has been paid to this King of Elixirs (Bdud-rtsi-rgyal-po, Amṛtarājā), all the Tathāgatas had entered a meditation which had the goal of preparing the elixir. At this time Amṛtarājā spoke to them, teaching them the methods for the elixir's preparation.

In the first place, one must procure for himself an environment which is pleasant and free of hindrances in a place which is perfectly suitable; he should then take possession of it [by certain magical practices]. Thereafter, in order to keep himself [ritually] pure (sruṅ ba), [one needs] excellent utensils to avert enemies and demons who create hindrances (bar chad).

Here are necessities for the work [with which one should be provided]: consumable necessities for sustaining life; [214r] the actual tools for the work (sgrub pa dam rdzas); the necessities for remedies to avert accidents (rkyen zlog sman). One should possess just those excellent things.

Having thus come to reside in a state which is auspicious

(bde bar 'dug nas), here is how one should proceed: Cleansing thoroughly the soil of the area, one ought to begin the ritual on the eighth day of a waxing moon. Sometime in the morning of that day a maṇḍala (dkyil 'khor) ought to be made: paint a maṇḍala (maṇḍal) a full five fathoms in size. [It is not clear whether this refers to circumference or diameter--mlw.] In order to carry out the Great Work²¹¹ it will now be necessary to cover the maṇḍala with excrement and urine (dri chen dri chu). Five human skulls from a cemetery should be placed in it at the four cardinal points and the center; for each there should be a lamp fueled by human fat (tshil chen). One should also have five hundred lamp wicks, and when five hundred lamps are filled for them the work should commence. This will be a ritual (las) completed in four parts.

"One should look north during the time of rituals dealing with pacifying deities (ñi ba, śāntika). At the time of the gaṇa²¹² one should look west. During the mahāsthāna²¹³ one should look south. Finally, during rituals for the wealth-bestowing deities²¹⁴ one should look east. Specifically (yañ na), one should look upon the maṇḍala from each of these directions while pursuing the four parts of the work.

"Then, when one has been shown just the right (de ltar) manner of sitting, one resides in the maṇḍala, facing east, and arranges all ritual materials (sgrub rdzas). Moving to the south he arranges the five-hundred lamps. On the western side the sādhaka and his prajñā ought then to be installed.

On the surface of the mandala in the norther direction there are to be arranged the most excellent ritual materials (rgyu mchog chen po).²¹⁵ In the center of the maṇḍala itself there shall be placed the skull of a Brahmin from an auspicious and pure lineage. Specifically, such a skull which will be perfect in its glory should be round, bound in a circular shape ('khyil pa) like a yoni, and it ought to have only one hole in it, inside of which a hrīḥ is written.

"As to what should be poured into that skull, there are the most excellent of rasas, those which satisfy all desires,²¹⁶ and five sorts of fruit as well as the five essential ingredients;²¹⁷ all these are fragrant and possess rasa. In order to protect these ingredients there must be collected together many things which have great blessings and powers (mthu byin). For example, the above must be mixed with the eight basic materials: gojihvā, leṇ leṇ hwa, bezoar stone, apricots, rasāyana, camphor, pearl and salt;²¹⁸ these are to be combined, in turn, with the following five equally essential materials: mango fruit (amraphala, a 'bras), grapes, jackfruit (pa na se, panasa), [214v] ger²¹⁹ and Chinese myrobalan.²²⁰ Such are the five fruits among those which follow.

"These ingredients must be protected by also being mixed with the five sorts of flesh mixed with materials made from the five sense organs.²²¹ Specifically (yaṅ) it is necessary to mix into that latter compound parts from the eyes, nose,

ears, tongue, and most important of all the heart itself (gtso bo tsi tta ñid).

There also should be mixed [in that skull] wood-apple,²²² grapes, Luvunga scadens,²²³ mango and jackfruit, five fleshy fruits shaped like pots (bum ša), along with these five very aromatic materials, all in equal amounts: ironwood blossoms,²²⁴ cinnamon, cardamom, gandhapattra²²⁵ and olibanum (kunduru).

Moreover, there ought to be mixed in these five kinds of aromatic materials: tagara [a sort of manufactured incense - mlw], nutmeg, camphor, sandalwood and cloves. In the same way should be added the five superior (dam pa) aromatics: aloe, turuška,²²⁶ pog,²²⁷ honey (:) and lce pog.²²⁸ Gold, silver, copper, and iron — all of which make five with turquoise²²⁹ — will then be ground into fine powder and poured in with the rest. Gather all these in the most equal proportions (rab tu mñam) possible.

While mixing this compound, these are the mantras which must be used: "Om! The Elixir! The Pestle! The Support!²³⁰ Kill! Kill! [all evil influences - mlw] Hūm! Phaṭ!"

That excellent elixir (bdud rtsi mchog) which is mixed together from these things will certainly bring the yogin a siddhi as a result. In order that he pass beyond the five results of his labors,²³⁰ the yogin should strive on after hiding in a maṇḍala to the north [of this central maṇḍala] the heart, et cetera, in a flickering (? - reading gla gli) fire while [speaking] secret mantras (gsaṅ ba'i brda tshig). They should be placed at the four corners and the middle of that maṇḍala. Then, following an ablution with that great and

most excellent of substances,²³² the yogin should then stack up three 'e' maṇḍalas on one another which belong to the frightening Mahābhairava and which relate to the supernatural abhicāras on witchcraft. When these maṇḍalas have been arranged appropriately the yogin will imbue them with life (dbañ bskur ro).

"Now the yogin will become the Great Lord of Cemeteries, Heruka in great glory, an outstanding figure most repulsive in appearance (śin tu mi bzad pa). He has many heads, and holds cruel instruments. His body is blood-red in color and surrounded by flames; he has twenty-one faces and forty-two hands. [The yogin now says,] "Om! Vajra! Mahāśrīheruka! Raṃ! Burn! Hūm!"

"Now the yogin's consort becomes the Secret Mother, on a par with her male counterpart, by name Mahākrodheśvarī.²³³ After the yogin has consecrated her, saying "Om! Sprinkle the Mudrā of all Tathagatas! Hūm!", he should arrange images at the four directions in accordance with the orientation of each of their families. Then he should consecrate these images according to customary rules, [215r] saying "E-hye-hi! Great Rudra! Hūm! Phaṭ! All be successful (read sarvedam in text): A! A!". He will then tear out the heart from the above-mentioned materials, grasping it again and again. The roots of the three poisons will then have been cut.²³⁴

"Then, bringing cause and effect together, the yogin and his consort will unite sexually. In such a way as this he achieves

extensive and long-lasting powers, and he will reach the samādhi of the tranquil dharmakāya. He will thus realize a consecration within the realm of absolute truth²³⁵ as well as eight worldly siddhis.²³⁶

"This mother (i.e., the consort) who is produced from the four elements possesses within her body, in a state of complete perfection, the four methods as well as the thirty auspicious signs.²³⁷ She is the yogin's sister and a yoginī within whose secret moon lies the heavy white wind and the red and white materials.²³⁸ When one has obtained such a woman one should make the Great Work.

"Having found her, bathe her head and body in milk and scented water and then place her inside the mandala.²³⁹ Let there be sexual union during the time of her menstrual flow ('dzag pa)--her great blood (khrag chen) together with the yogin's semen will be known as the most excellent sort of rasāyana.²⁴⁰ Such is the teaching concerning the proper vessel for the sacred elixir.

"A disciple who is pure in conduct and has a strong moral character ought then to consume all the kun byed²⁴¹ and, avoiding completely the six faults, he will come to possess nine indivisible qualities.(?). Not violating any of his vows, he will offer to his teacher various jewels, his wife, his children, and even his life. Also, a consort (bhaginī) fully adorned in Tantric garb is to be offered to the ācārya-guru.

"That outstanding disciple who will make offerings of such

a sort will present also thoroughly examined seeds in addition to the five mentioned above as well as mustard.

"Because I [Amṛtakuṇḍali as Bdud-rtsi-rgyal-po] have presented this excellent siddhi of my heart (thugs) as something produced within me (rañ byuñ), let one who is hopeless receive it; let the one who is impure be stopped from receiving it. The foremost disciples of the work (las kyi gtsor) will find fulfillment; they will be freed from their faults (gsal ba) [or from their material impurities?] in accordance with the degree to which they have been cleansed. Therefore, let the yogin meditate upon the five cakras (gnas lña) at the place where the semen and blood meet, the padma (ñid zla padma yañ dag), by means of the seed(-syllables: 'bru = bīja) of the vīras themselves. If one does not obtain the lowest, middle and highest siddhis [right away], don't give up, because if you abandon the search you will meet with a great punishment.²⁴²

"In order to examine these merits of the elixir and its related mantras (gsaṅ shags bdud rtsi yon tan), if that should become necessary for further realization, then when the alchemist (mkhas pa) shall have become aware [through their usage] of their real value (don) he will say, "What is there to doubt in such power (don) as this?" However, to suppress any doubt [before such attainment is realized] there are the following mantras for acquiring siddhis: "Aho! Sukha! [Read Mahāsukha here?] Dharmakaya ni! Amṛta-siddhi! Hrīḥ!" Siddhis will thus be attained.

"Also, one will imagine the following upon those five cakras: At the crown of the head, in the middle, there is a moon upon which is a luminous white om sending forth light in five rays; when these converge again there emerges at the top Vairocana. That om should be fixed by using the nityamudrā (rtaḡ pa'i phyag rgya). At the tongue a hrīḥ of red light is radiating; when it is once again brought together, there emerges the pronouncement of the dharma of Amitābha. This hrīḥ abides in the samayamudrā (mñam pa'i phyag rgya). At the heart there is an indigo hūṃ. There will be flowing from it five light beams; when they again converge consider that to be Akṣobhya, holding a vajra and a ghanṭhā in his two hands. Moreover, he is conquering demons (bdud) and controlling their regions. At the navel there is a yellow swā which radiates a five-fold light; when these converge again there appears at their apex Ratnasambhava. Fix that swā with a cintamanimudrā (phyag rgya yid bñin). At the genitals there is a green hā which radiates a five-fold light; when these come together there emerges Amoghasiddhi. In the śāntimudrā (ñi ba'i phyag rgya) he will likewise find perfection.

"All these things pertaining to the five families of the Tathāgatas (pañcakulāni) make up a maṇḍala which is self-originated. There are thus five of these five-fold light rays; from the expansion and contraction ('phro 'du) of their twenty-five individual rays benefits result for the three worlds and their inhabitants.²⁴³ When these rays once again

become condensed, the yogin should procure for himself those five medicines (enumerated now). When these medicines have been made to burn brightly in their respective mudrās, and their five resulting lights are then condensed again, these mudrās and the attributes of all the Tathāgatas are clearly seen while mahāgandha²⁴⁴ drips down as an elixir from the eight-spoked golden wheel.²⁴⁵

"Then, from the hūm there will come forth a five-pointed vajra which, flaming, melts into bodhicitta. From the swā will appear a flaming jewel melting into mahāmāṃsāmṛta, and from the hrīḥ various sorts of light melting into drops of menstrual blood.²⁴⁶ Finally, from those lights shining forth from a green hā a pure urine will drip down as an elixir. And, although this process of expanding and contracting these lights has thus been completed, one who is skilled will practice doing this again and again.

"After this has been done, their five sacred syllables, om hūm swā hrīḥ hā, will then be conceived of as originating in those pañcāmṛta. Moreover, those five fundamental letters [216r] will be spreading forth rays of light, as was stated above, during which time the following nine syllables are those mantras spoken while meditating upon them: om badzra tsi ta sa ma ya hūm tha. Pronouncing these nine syllables should be accompanied by this amṛtamudrā: One should extend the shoulder of his left arm and bend into the palm of that same hand one's thumb and ring finger, so that one may hold

within that space a vajra of one finger's width. One should then extend the little, middle, and index fingers. Having brought them into that position, one should cover the top of that elixir-vessel with the palm of the hand. After this one consecrates the elixir.

"One consecrates it during a samādhi which is like fire; during this time there is a muttering of mantras (jāpa) equal to the wind;²⁴⁷ this ensures that there will be no impediment by phlegm in the genital region.²⁴⁸

"Following that samādhi one again consecrates the elixirs with a mantra: Vajra! Amṛta! Om! Āḥ! Hūm! Hri-thā! Here have been explained the five basic maṇḍalas. Dzaḥ! Hūm! Baḥ! Ho! Such is the entrance to the great elixir!"

Such was the teaching given by Bhagavan Amṛtarāja.

From the Bdud-rtsi-dam-pa-mchog-gi-luṅ, this is the teaching on Reality (ñes pa) which sets loose the five great results ('bras bu, i.e., the pañcāmṛta). Having thus set them free, this will also be found to be the sixth large section from the Bdud-rtsi-chen-po-sa-ma-ya-'bum-sde, which teaches methods for transforming (meditational and physical materials) into medicines.

CONCLUSIONS

It would not be possible here--nor had it been anticipated--to produce a set of tightly-knit conclusions about the role of alchemy and medicine in Tantrism in general. Indeed, every attempt has been made to present several categories of texts, so as to give a broad introduction to such literature. In this way the reader may more easily see the variety of materials available for study as well as the problems which arise with each sort.

Nevertheless, it does fall within our purview to draw some conclusions from these materials regarding the systems of Vimalamitra and Padmasambhava, and to make firmly grounded statements about the differences which exist between them. In this way some specific data will be contributed to a definition of the practice of rasāyana as one of those siddhis advanced yogins are routinely said to have perfected themselves in. A precise description of this power has not yet been formulated, in part because it is usually listed only perfunctorily.²⁴⁹

It is obvious that rasāyana is interpreted quite differently in these two systems. In the literature surrounding Padma the goal is the utilization of individual essences (bcud or rasa), e.g., of the mahābhūtas. This process may be purely meditational--what is internal alchemy only--or it may involve physical (laboratory) labor; most sādhanas studied have been rather ambiguous in this respect. And, although other materials certainly point to an actual ingestion

of substances in a yogic procedure,²⁵⁰ there is no certainty that all such texts are susceptible of a literal interpretation, and further academic speculation upon this point would be futile; one should then rather have recourse to an adept of this system, assuming one could be found.

Whether or not these texts describe a system practiced in any sort of laboratory, the figure of Padmasambhava as an alchemist can be analyzed as one of the functions which devolved upon him as a Second Buddha (Saṅs-rgyas-gñis-pa).²⁵¹ In particular, in the allegory of Padmasambhava and Khri-sroṅ recounted above we find closely mirrored an important image in Mahāyāna literature: that of the dharma (Buddha's teachings) as a soothing and nutritive fluid given to aid sentient beings in various states of spiritual development.²⁵² (In other, related contexts this dharmarasa is used less symbolically and takes on metaphysically creative functions.) Two differences only separate this theme from Padma's tale: Padma actually creates the elixir, and then hides it from Khri-sroṅ. Upon examination, such departures from the Mahāyāna norm can be explained as Tantric and Padmaist embellishments draped upon the original frame of the story. As a Tantric siddha Padma recreates the Buddha's teachings in an appropriately magical way. Similarly, the hiding of the elixir as a gter ma reinforces the attitude that it is a metaphorical equivalent of the Buddha's teachings presented in a Rñiñ-ma cloak, with the appropriate degree of Gnostic flavoring, i.e., the necessity to hide and preserve such teachings.

However, the most visible mark left in this story by its Padmaist author is the treatment accorded the king and his ministers. Ever the foils for demonstrations of Padma's transcendent nature triumphant over their own vices and ignorance, all alchemical significance to this tale must stand behind its use as a vehicle for Padma's further glory. These doubting and corrupt figures must not receive the totality of his knowledge — it is only meant for the elect, in the Gnostic sense — and Padmasambhava must remain the transcendent shepherd. Padmasambhava the Alchemist is only a function of Padmasambhava the Teacher.

As even a cursory inspection of Vimalamitra's materials will show, that system is a profound and highly esoteric yogic discipline independent of his personality as a yogin. In fact, the representative samples of biographical literature chosen above show that, while an accomplished yogi with magical powers, his career is only important insofar as it relates to his activity as a human teacher and (not less significantly) a contemporary of Padmasambhava.

As has been shown above, Vimala's system is centered upon bodhicitta as the basis of Reality; its production and perfection are then the results of sexual and alchemical practices. Most of the recipes in these works aim at procuring a particular siddhi for the yogin or at fixing his bodhicitta (and consequently his body) like a vajra. This signifies, at one and the same time, the attainment of the ultimate in a Vajrāyāna system, as well as physical immortality.

Fixing the bodhicitta is the yogic process of controlling one's flow of semen on the physical level, which develops along with attaining the state of mahāsukha (i.e., nirvāṇa) as the ultimate spiritual goal. Arresting the flow of semen during a ritual union with a consecrated consort is the heart of the teachings of the Luñ Anuyoga vehicle. The texts transmitted by Vimala thus combine this view of bodhi-citta as materia prima with the most sexual aspects of yogic and Tantric teachings, and we see bodhicitta as the purely Tantric reflex of the more abstract rasa in Padma's system.²⁵³

Other points of distinction may also be drawn between these systems. First of all, there is a large element of magic (sometimes black magic) in some of Vimala's recipes; the power to kill is taught, for example, and organs from bodies are used to attain powers. Further, Vimala's texts show clear Hindu influences (as mentioned above, this should not be surprising)²⁵⁴ which, in view of the nature of Padmaism, one could not find in the latter's literature, despite the fact that both concepts of rasāyana owe something to Hindu traditions. Finally, there is a large body of Rdzogs-chen terminology embedded in Vimala's texts, which bids us to investigate closely the relationship between this system and esoteric scientific practices in Tantrism. (It will be clear to anyone well-read in Padmaist literature that considerable Rdzogs-chen flavoring is often to be found therein as well, but it must always be kept in mind that, with no evidence to

the contrary, it would be hazardous to date any important sādhana cycles or other practices attributed to him before the twelfth or thirteenth centuries.²⁷¹⁾ Of course, these points have been exemplified in the writings studied above.

In conclusion, we venture to hope that we have attained, in the minds of the most critical of those who may read this work, two of the goals set forth in the Introduction as worthy to attain. These are an illustration of some of the parallel principles which governed the development of esoteric sciences within Gnosticism and Tantrism, as well as a statement of a few examples from Tibetan literature where these conceptions have been developed to a degree not known from Indian materials. Whether this is a belief resting on ignorance concerning as yet undiscovered materials, or whether these are indeed novel conceptions representing new developments, remains to be decided to a greater degree of certainty only in later researches, some of which cannot be now carried out.

FOOTNOTES TO PART TWO AND CONCLUSIONS

1. Tucci, in his Tibetan Painted Scrolls [Rome, 1949], prefers Vimalamitra to Padmasambhava as a figure responsible for the spiritual continuity of Rñiñ-ma traditions: "(Rñiñ-ma) doctrines centred around particular interpretations of the Guhyagarbha, of the Mayājāla and particularly of the Khasama-tantra, and were traced back to the esoteric teachings of the first Vimalamitra, who came to Tibet in K'ri-sroñ-lde-btsan's times; they represented the foundations of the rdzogs-c'en school." (Page 108.)
2. 'Dodrup Chen' is not the author's name, but his title: he is the fourth Rdo-grub-chen, a Rñiñ-ma incarnation line in A-mdo. Among other works edited or authored by him is The Collected Works (Gsuñ-'bum) of Rdo-grub-chen 'Jigs-med-bstan-pa'i-ñi-ma [Gangtok, 1974], his predecessor. The author's full ecclesiastical name is Kun-bzañ-'jigs-med-chos-dbyiñs-rañ-grol, Rdo-grub.
3. This is perhaps the Rdzogs-pa-chen-po-sñiñ-tig-gi-lo-rgyus-chen-mo, found in the second part of the Bi-ma-sñiñ-thig section of the Sñiñ-thig-ya-bñi (Volume IX in the New Delhi, 1970 edition, which is the edition used in all references below). Material on Vimala begins on folio 68r.
4. The Gter-'byuñ-rin-po-che'i-lo-rgyus, found in the first part of the Mkha'-'gro-yañ-thig (Volume IV of the Sñiñ-thig), does not contain much data on Vimala.
5. If one emends 'Vi-ma' to read 'Bla-ma', this source would be the Rdzogs-pa-chen-po-gsañ-ba-sñiñ-tig-gi-lo-rgyus-rin-po-che'i-phreñ-ba, Klon-chen-dri-med-'od-zer's chronicle accompanying the Bla-ma-yañ-thig (Sñiñ-thig-ya-bñi, Volume I), known also as the Lo-rgyus-rin-po-che'i-phreñ-ba (see below, page 128). It contains an extensive biography of Vimala which begins on folio 11r.
6. This is the Lo-rgyus-rin-po-che-'od-kvi-phreñ-ba, the opening work in the Zab-mo-yañ-thig (Sñiñ-thig-ya-bñi, Volume X). Vimala is only occasionally mentioned here.
7. This is a middle-length version of Padmasambhava's life composed by O-rgyan-gliñ-pa best known as the Padma-bka'-thañ-ñel-brag-ma, and whose title page reads U-rgyan-ghu-ru-padma-'byuñ-gnas-kvi-skyes-rabs-rnam-par-thar-pā-rgyas-par-bkod-pa-padma-bka'i-thañ-yig. For more information on this work see Andrej VOSTRIKOV, Tibetan Historical Literature (see above, page 91, note 121), pp. 32ff.

8. No works by Padma-rañ-'byun-rdo-rje have yet been seen by this author. However, it is not surprising that the gsuñ 'bum of 'Jigs-med-gliñ-pa would contain much material on Vimala, since it includes the entire Kloñ-chen-sñiñ-thig cycle revealed to him at Bsam-yas. 'Jigs-med lived from 1729-1798.
9. Li-thañ Thub-chen-byams-gliñ is a monastery founded in the sixteenth century by the third Dalai Lama Bsod-nams-rgya-mtsho [Luciano PETECH, China and Tibet in the Early XVIIIth Century; History of the Establishment of Chinese Protectorate in Tibet. Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1972; Mono-graphies du T'oung pao, Vol. I. Page 21]. In extreme eastern Tibet, it lies at ca. 30° long. & 100° lat.
10. A few of Toussaint's translations and interpretations will be noted below. The notes given here are intended to compliment those provided by Toussaint.
11. The terms used here are sku rten and gsuñ rten for images and texts. Along with thugs rten they represent the kāya, vak and citta on a material level which allow the ruler both to further the religion in his kingdom and to improve his own spiritual state at one and the same time [TUCCI: 23].
12. This is apparently a reference to some more extreme Tantric practices, as chos la dag ther ma thon would only refer to other Buddhists.
13. TOUSSAINT renders bon chos yin min med par bsgyur dgos, "Existe-t-il ou non une religion tibétaine? Il y a beaucoup à traduire." As has previously been pointed out, T. has misread here bod chos for bon chos--perhaps due to a faulty text--and has erred in rendering vin min [HOFFMANN 1950: 136]. This vin min is coordinated with the vin min at the end of 286r: sñar gyi chos rnams vin min der gsal snam, '... clear whether or not our former doctrines are valid.' Thus, the negation of the expression means approximately the same as the positive; cf. regardless and colloquial irregardless.
14. A gśen--a sort or priest--may be distinguished from a certain class of Bon-po; they are not inherently related concepts [see Helmut HOFFMANN's Gsen. Eine lexicographisch-religionswissenschaftliche Untersuchung. ZDMG 1944, page 344 in particular. In some contexts we may be certain that a Bon-po who holds sacrificial animals is being referred to [TUCCI: 256], but here we have to do with the class of bon gśen, whose special duties included "diffusing the doctrines of Bon of the Enlightened Ones", according to Legs-bśad-mdzod: 80.

15. On Ārya-pa-lo we may quote here LAUFER, Loan-words in Tibetan. T'oung pao XVII, 1916, p. 451: "From Sanskrit Āryāvalokita (written Ote) . . . (it seems) to have been adopted literally from Indian vernacular."
16. Of course, this cannot be historically verified, and should be considered a literary ornament enhancing the magnitude of Khri-sroṅ's activities on behalf of Buddhism.
17. See note 13, above.
18. Three translators who are among the most famous in rendering canonical works. We know that Rin-chen-mchog was killed in a suppression of Buddhism following Khri-sroṅ's death [HOFFMANN: 82].
19. Frequently, as here, miswritten as Indrabodhi, it was the name used by several kings of Oḍḍiyāna.
20. The birthplace of the Buddha. Notice that Indrabhūti is quickly replaced by Dharmarāja, implying some sort of hiatus. DODRUP CHEN consistently refers only to Indrabhūti.
21. Mchod gnas; according to TUCCI: 150 a family chaplain. Although his functions seem to be the same as a purohita, the etymology of the term is obscure and there is no evidence that the office follows an Indian model.
22. Another glorification of Khri-sroṅ, later regarded to be one of the three chos skyoṅ/dharmapālas.
23. Submitting a mandala to a teacher signifies a request to become his student. Such a gift is often an amount of gold or precious stones in a bag or wrapped in a scarf.
24. TOUSSAINT renders don gyis soṅ ḡig as "Par bénédiction veuille venir!"; don gyis should be: beneficially, or 'as a benefit'.
25. Another expression from an Indian vernacular. The last element could be krodhe, "Oh Angry One!", in the feminine, perhaps an address to a dākinī. DODRUP CHEN has Vimala saying here "Gha-gha-pa-rī", which better fits a later context; see note 86, below. Also, SAṆS-RGYAS: 228r adds after this dhāraṇī the phrase bo dhi sattva thim. On gha gha pa ri see note 113, below, and on thim Part One, note 107.
26. The Zen-ish form of this dialogue is meant to reveal Vimala's state of perfection in Rdzogs-chen while at the same time testing the spiritual development of the respondents.

The arrow and the ship are frequently used symbols in dohā

literature and the caryāgītis; note, e.g., discussions in MOJUMDER: 22ff and BAGCHI: 76-9. Portions of several cāryas show a special affinity to the above statements: "Turn the guiding arrows of the guru into a bow and shoot your mind with arrows. Take one arrow, shoot it, towards 'Nirvāṇa'", in MOJUMDER's rather bland translation (gurubāk puñcā bindha niamana bāṇe / eke śarasandhāṇe bindhaha bindhaha paramanivāṇe) [MOJUMDER Part II: 16 and 66]. Śavarapāda is here saying that one must rely on his guru's words to destroy the attachments to this world. And Saraha has said: "Make the mind quiet and steer the boat--by no other means can one reach the other shore. The boatman tows the boat . . ." (cā thira kari dharahure nāhī / āna upāve pāra na jāi / naubāhi naukā tāgua guṇe . . .) [MOJUMDER Part II: 21 and 79; see also M. SHAHIDULLAH's translation in Les chants mystiques de Kāṇha et de Saraha. Paris, 1928. Texts pour l'étude du Bouddhisme tardif, t. I. Page 234].

The first two formulations here are parallel in their intended meanings: The bow string, also the ferry's fetter line (sometimes replaced by a sail), represents the yogi's (Vimala's) instructions. The space between the archer and target or between one shore and another is occupied by the river of existence (samsāra). The thumb or boat is kāya, while the arrow or passenger is citta. Of course, the target or the 'other shore' is the non-dual state of Mahāsukha.

The third illustration emphasizes the suppleness or adaptability of the realized yogin, one who relies on his natural virtues or abilities (guṇa) to be an effective, living example of the dharma. MOJUMDER [Part II: 89f] has shown that guṇa expresses both the towing rope as well as the more usual 'virtue' or 'quality'. The message here is that the guru's instructions and his being are flowing as one. Thus, the statements of the translators are praises for Vimalamitra's attainment in Rdzogs-chen. (The reader should compare the above interpretations with those found in BAGCHI: 79 and DODRUP CHEN: 14f.)

27. We remind the reader here of the catholicity of the Tantric approach to religion, yoga and science (see above, page 8).
28. Sñiñ-thig ma bu, which ought to apply to nearly all Rdzogs-chen literature transmitted by Vimala, such as Tantras in the Rñiñ-ma'i-rgyud-bcu-bdun. On ma and bu see VOSTRIKOV: 115n.
29. Cis lan, literally, "With what is the answer?" or "In what way is the outcome of this?".

30. Bla mchod, contracted from bla ma dan mchod gnas, the counselor and sacrificial priest (above, note 21) to a royal figure. DAS' definition of this compound as "the entire body of the sainted lamas (Bodhisattva), &c, who are most worshipful", must be emended.
31. I.e., a Mu-stegs-pa, standard epithet for a Śaivite in Tibetan literature. Indeed, Vimāla had to compose a credo to pacify skeptical ministers about his orthodoxy; it is found both on page 176 and page 282 of Volume of the Bstan-'gyur, Peking edition. It is entitled Skyabs-'gro-yan-lag-drug-pa (*Ṣaḍaṅgaśaraṇagamana), and in it Vimāla says: rgyal blon yid ches mā gyur pas .skyabs 'gro'i tshig bdag gis bśad.
32. 'Bras bu gsañ śnags, the more powerful mantra teachings, the less being mantras of cause [TUCCI: 67].
33. That same temple wherein Khri-sroṅ was staying when he dreamed of Amitāyus (supra, pp. 59 and 93).
34. Kha brgyags, not attested in lexicons of literary or 'classical' Tibetan, means here 'to speak irresponsibly' or 'to gossip', perhaps with some maliciousness. Today kha rgyags means "cheeky, sassy, impertinent" (Melvyn GOLDSTEIN, Tibetan-English Dictionary of Modern Tibetan [Kathmandu, 1975], page 110).
35. According to SAṆS-RGYAS the ministers were arguing amongst themselves at the site of the tomb-building when a letter about Vimāla reached them. [229r].
36. Mtha' mi, which CHOS-GRAGS: 381 renders as phvi rol gyi mi, may mean one outside the dharma as well as simply an alien.
37. A phra men mkhan knows how to manipulate evil demons, as phra men pa = srin po [DAG-YAB: 423] or rākṣasas.
38. We must assume that Vimāla has caused this to happen, so as to have a more dramatic background to display his powers.
39. Ye śes lha'i lha, *jñānadevadeva, "the god representing transcendental truth" [DODRUP CHEN: 20]. This recalls the third interpretation of the ma nu du ru kro he pronouncement, that Vimāla incarnates the dharma to a degree that the statue of Vairocana could not. This term is very likely closely related to the concepts of jñāna-sattva and jñānakāya, which express the identity of the guru with a Buddha manifest on the sambhogakāya level. [MKHAS-GRUB: 26, 234-36].

40. Sgyu ma gzugs kyi lha, *māyārūpadeva, and kun rdzob gzugs kyi lha, *samvṛttirūpadeva, may thus be seen as equivalents.
41. Bžin gyi dkyil 'khor űams may be rendered literally as "their faces fell" or "sank". TOUSSAINT: 36: "le cercle de leur face n'etait plus intact."
42. Rgya-gar lugs. To our translation of O-RGYAN, and that of DODRUP CHEN: 22 ("the clod . . . transformed into a very handsome image of Vairocana, like that of the Indian style") there might be preferred the reading in SAÑS-RGYAS: 230v, gzugs sku śha ma bas kvañ legs pa rgya gar lugs ltar gyur ciñ 'od zer dpag tu med pa byuñ ste . . . ("The image came to be, in its Indian style, even more beautiful than before, and measureless rays of light appeared on it.").
43. Another name for Dbu-rtse-lha-khañ, about which O-RGYAN: Btsun-mo says [p. 35], dbu rtse rigs gsum sku gsum žiñ khams : dpe kha gsum yod pas : dbu rtse rigs gsum žes bya, that its three stories have styles representing the realms (ksetras) of the three nāthas, on which latter see the next note.
44. Rigs gsum mgon po, which are Avalokiteśvara, Vajrapaṇi, and Mañjuśrī [NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ: 221].
45. I.e., the five Tathāgatas.
46. In various contexts Vimāla's name may from time to time be spelled this way. DPA'-BO: 157 says, bi ma la mi tra dri med bśes gñen 'di dga' rab rdo rje'i dños slob ste phyag rgya rgya chen žes bi ma la mu tra dag par kloñ chen pa 'chad, "Vimalamitra, our Dri-med-bśes-gñen, was a direct disciple of Dga'-rab-rdo-rje, and the mudrā known as Mahāmudrā is explained by Kloñ-chen-pa as the pure vimalamudrā (? It is interesting that the last element is invariably mutra, while here only mudrā could be meant.) Apparently a miswritten form of his name has given rise to a folk etymology within some circle of his followers, but it cannot be rejected that perhaps this was one of his initiatic names; Padmasambhava had at least eight such names [DARGYAY: 233].

Incidentally, the assertion of Vimāla's studentship under Dga'-rab, the first figure in Rdzogs-chen traditions, is at variance with several other authoritative spiritual genealogies [cf. DARGYAY: 18, 20f, and the charts on page 27].

We note without comment TOUSSAINT's rendering [p. 316] of this cryptic line: "Le sable ignore l'eau basse dont on le souille."

47. This would be a date in the 770's, the second decade of Khri-sron's reign.
48. This Siŋga-la is almost certainly a small country north-west of India [D.C. SIRCAR, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India. Delhi, 1960. Page 110]. Mā-ru-rtse is either Mar-rtse-laṅ or Miruchay, two locations just south of Leh. See A.H. FRANCKE, Antiquities of Indian Tibet. New Delhi, 1910. Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol. XXXVIII. These localities are discussed on pp. 64-7 of Volume I and appear on the accompanying map.
49. Such lists of those who conveyed Buddhist literature, philosophy, and practices are common in Padmaist literature. In addition to rnam thars of Padma, there is a long list in the thirty-third chapter of O-RGYAN: Lo-pan which separates the dramatis personae into panditas, lo-tsā-bas (by country and family), upadhyāyaś, etc. The availability of Lo-pan allows scholars to ascertain more exactly the spelling of names and ethnic affiliations. In the case of hwa śaṅ, for example, we find there Mahādeva for our Deva [f. 97r].
50. O-RGYAN: Lo-pan: Ā-tsarya Gsal-mchog-dbyaṅs [98v-99r].
51. Later in O-RGYAN: Padma his name is given as Dha-na-śrī-la, leaving us uncertain as to whether the -śī- is a Prakritized form of -śrī- or correct as in śīla; the latter would seem preferable.
52. O-RGYAN: Lo-pan [96v] gives Śi-la-pra-bodhi, to which Silendrabadhi is preferable.
53. O-RGYAN: Lo-pan does not mention Ga-ga-kīrtti, but rather a Buddha-kīr-ti. Could these be interchangeable?
54. This is another name for Dran-pa-nam-mkha'. On gśen bon see note 14 above.
55. 'Phrul bon is short for 'phrul gśen bon po, on which see David SNELLGROVE, The Nine Ways of Bon. London, 1967, '98ff.
56. See note 15 above.
57. See note 123 of Part I above. By comparing this episode with the Padmasambhava story in Part I we may obtain a clearer idea about how Buddhists and Bon-pos approached this ritual and carried it out, and how such an action relates to their attitude toward kingship. More importantly, however, it shows us one way in which these religions served the Tibetan rulers, whose religious character is sometimes altogether effaced in the comparison of early Bon and Buddhism in Tibet.

58. The significance of this ritual has been discussed in HOFFMANN 1950 [p. 175f].
59. Gyer ba, from dgyer ba, is a loan-word from Ṣaṅ-ṣuṅ and, like almost all such vocabulary, a technical term in Bon religious texts. Here, in a verbal usage, it could be rendered 'to act like a Bon' or even 'to Bon'; as a substantive it designates Bon or the state of Bon-ness (bon nid). For ideas on its usage, consult ŊI-MA-GRAGS-PA: 7, 9, 11.
60. Khri-sroṅ is here referring in particular to the fate which befell Vairocanarakṣita, the subject of Chapter Eighty-three.
61. Rgyal-ba'i-blo-gros, *Jinamati, is well-known in Padmaist devotional literature, such as the Gsol-'debs-le'u-bdun-ma and Zaṅs-mdog-dpal-ri'i-smon-lam materials, as that yogin who turns a corpse (the vetāla) into gold; this is usually presented formulaically in statements like rgyal ba'i blo gros ro laṅ gser bsgyur. See also HOFFMANN 1961: 61.
62. Nag nus 'gran 'jug pa, literally 'to have a contest on the powers of words'.
63. The fact that Khri-sroṅ ordered these debates to take place on Don-mkhar-thaṅ gives the royal imprimatur to his role of arbiter; Mu-ri was the traditional place of internment for Tibetan kings [HOFFMANN 1950: 260n].
64. In older literature Sāntarakṣita is often referred to with this epithet.
65. His name is also found as Ṣaṅ-ri'i-dbu-chen. In Ṣaṅ-ṣuṅ his name is Ṣa-ri-u-chen, usually rendered in Tibetan as Dpal-ldan Gsaṅ-chen (*Śrī- or Śrīmad- Mahāguhya or Mahāgupta) [ŊI-MA-GRAGS-PA: 19]. His name is typical of the large amount of vocabulary in that language: ṣa ri/dpal ldan is śrī(-mad), while u might be a greatly corrupted form from guhya or gupta; this latter association is highly speculative.
66. This passage, along with the opening lines of Chapter Eighty-three, shows Vimala's high status during his stay in Tibet. It is only after Padmasambhava's cult begins to take shape that Vimala is neglected and even deliberately shunned as a contributor to the introduction of Buddhism; Padma then comes to fill the void thus created. While all this is quite reasonable as a hypothesis, there is almost no solid evidence now to support this particular sequence. Thus, while DARGYAY's basic conclusion may in fact be correct [p. 31], we should note that it is both a needless step and an unnecessary incongruity to conclude that Padma was ignorant of Rdzogs-chen.

As an alternative to such a conclusion [DARGYAY: 32], it would seem just as reasonable to assume that Padma — an accomplished yogin — had practiced Rdzogs-chen techniques and had contributed to their spread, just as had Vimala. However, Vimala also introduced the dominant lineage for this yoga, and it was this implicit bid for equality with Padma which caused the latter's subsequent followers and worshippers to unreasonably diminish Vimala's role.

67. Bon gyi theg dgu, chos kyi theg dgu. Note that O-RGYAN does not pass judgement on the priority of either system; i.e., does not put forward the argument that Bon is a priori false because it is only a plagiarization of Buddhist literature, lore, and yogic methods. For an explanation of O-RGYAN's attitude one could consult Per KVAERNE's Aspects of the Origin of the Buddhist Tradition in Tibet [Numen XIX, 1972, pp. 22-40].
68. The kham gsum are Dbus-gtsaṅ, Mdo-kham, and Mña'-ris-skor-gsum [WYLIE: 55].
69. Skra bsgor pha jo; pha jo is rendered by R.A. STEIN as "pères et vénérables" or "doyens" [Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet, Paris, 1959 (Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, XIII), page 458]. 'Fatherly masters' would seem a more accurate and colourful rendering; perhaps we are even dealing with a Bon technical designation.
70. We have thus here an aetiological myth for the traditional appearance of some Bon pos, especially the shags pas or sorcerers. Lhad may mean simply 'dirty' [DAG-YAB 764: skyon daṅ dri ma sogs kvis gos pa], and thus has no ritual significance.
71. Zan is a combination of flour and water frequently used in the creation of sacrificial images. See NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ: 319f.
72. The Legs-bśad-mdzod, quoting a gter ma, enumerates twelve kinds of knowledge making up Rgyu'i bon, the 'Bon of Cause'. One of these is g.yaṅ ses phya bon, rituals which increase wealth and well-being in the material sphere. It is probably the literature of this vehicle here referred to; see page 31 of the above work for a brief discussion of it.
73. Bskyal, preterite of skyel ba, which means basically either 'to send' or 'to accompany; conduct'. Thus, we might also read here: 'Their servants accompanied them to Bye-ma-g.yuṅ-druṅ...'. In either case read kyis for kyi.

74. Bye-ma-g.yuñ-druñ is in old Žaṅ-žuñ and, just as described here, only a short distance north of the point of origin of the Gtsaṅ-po; see the map at the conclusion of the Legs-bśad-mdzod translation and study.
75. In all but one case these ancient localities are difficult to locate precisely. Save for Yu-mo-mgul they are, however, mentioned by Śar-dza Bkra-śis-rgyal-mtshan as refugees to which Bon priests (gśen) fled [Legs-bśad-mdzod: 64 — a discrepancy in the scenario here is that the priests departed from Glaṅ-gi-gyim-śod]. In addition to the following data we also report here the parallel passage from SANS-RGYAS [f. 234v] with the general proviso that this author's spellings of personal and place names tend to be inferior to C-RGYAN's: rtsa mi śiṅ mi ljaṅ mi gor ga'i yul daṅ sog po spre slag can gyi yul rnams su spyugs so.

Rtsa-mi-śiṅ-mi must have shared a border, as they are nearly always mentioned in this doublet. STEIN [p. 72] discusses Ca-mi (i.e., Rtsa-mi) and concludes that it must have been far in the east, in the old Mi-ñag area. This view is supported to a certain extent by a report in the La-dwags-rgyal-rabs, which locates Rtsa-mi and Śiṅ-mi in 'the east' while speaking of their conquest by Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po [FRANCKE II: 83]; however, merely being east of westernmost Tibet is hardly a precise description.

Ljaṅ-mo-mig-dgu most likely refers to an area in the far southeast, as Ljaṅ/'Jaṅ designates the old Mo-so country, a center of the Bon even to modern times [Rolf STEIN, Tibetan Civilization (Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1972), p. 241]. We cannot positively identify Mig-dgu as an area in this country because there appears to have been another Ljaṅ/'Jaṅ located relatively to the northeast [THOMAS III: 107] or to the northwest [DAS: 452] from the center of Tibet. One of the thirty-seven places most sacred to Bon is 'Jaṅ-kyi-rgyaṅ-mkhar [Legs-bśad-mdzod: 40 and Rgyal-rabs: 56v read 'Jad-^o, while the map accompanying the Legs-bśad-mdzod gives it as 'Jed-^o and locates it on the upper Gtsaṅ-po in the Dar-ldiṅ region], and this locality apparently induced DAS to locate 'Jaṅ to the northwest. Thus we may have had two regions with like-sounding names, prone to be confused also by their connection to Bon. Interested readers are referred to a brief discussion in THOMAS III: 107 and to references in important historical works to 'Jaṅ-tsha-'phan-snaṅ [Rgyal-rabs 57v] and 'Jaṅ-tsha-lha-dbaṅ [THOMAS: III: 321n], descendants of Ljaṅ-mo mothers.

Glaṅ-gi-gyim-śod is one area whose location is in no

great doubt; a Sum-pa Glañ-gi-gyim-śom (same as °-śoñ, °-śod) is found on the map of Zañ-žurñ accompanying NI-MA-GRAGS-PA, located between the confluence of the Sog-chu and the Nag-chu to the west and Ri-rtse-drug to the east in Khyuñ-po. Although not on the map to the Legs-bśad-mdzod, the monastery Rtse-drug is found there, lending credence to the otherwise sketchier map in NI-MA-GRAGS-PA. In view of this, the reader is invited to compare the observations on Rtsa-mi, Śiñ-mi and Glañ-gi-gyim-śod in STEIN: 72.

On Yu-mo-mgul (the Gor-ga'i-yul of SAÑS-RGYAS?) there has as yet been found no data.

Sog-po Spre'u-slag-can is a very puzzling and potentially very interesting toponym. Without engaging in a lengthy discussion on the identity of Sog in its various occurrences (a topic of considerable complexity), we will center here on the common conception that Sog-po must mean "a Mongolian" this or that, no matter the consequences. Thus we have the text of Śar-dza Bkra-śis-rgyal-mtshan, a twentieth-century scholar, and the translation by Samten Karmay: sog po yul nas spre'u slag žig gon nas 'oñ pas miñ sog po spre'u slag can tu btags / "As he came from Mongolia wearing a robe of monkey skin he was called . . . (Mongolian monkey-skin robe)" [Legs-bśad-mdzod: 105, 271]; note also Sog-po Spre'u-slag-gon-pa [ibid.: 64, 239] and the interesting equation "Sog-po sprel-slag-can (Mongolia)" [ibid.: 5]. Aside from the anachronistic nature of this rendering (in a discussion of ninth-century history), we might question the comprehensibility of a monkey-skin robe from Mongolia. Actually, we need attach no importance to the -can or -gon pa suffix here; it was undoubtedly added to this toponym in a mistaken analogy with such attributional names of Bon personalities as Dbal-bon Khyuñ-lag-can, Dbal-bon Stag-slag-can, Ti-ti Me-slag-can, G.yag-slag-can and Grum-bu Siñ-slag-can [ibid.: 49-50, 106-07]. Of course, Sprel-slag is not to be explained in this way; it is even identified as a country in DAS: 813 and by Sum-pa-mkhan-po [see HOFFMANN 1952: 224n].

DAS' reference comes from the Bāi-ḍūr-g.ya'-sel of Sde-srid Sañs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho (1653-1705), which has been described as a defense of one of his prior works but is really more valuable as another of those encyclopaedic sources of information for which he is justly famous. Its sixth section presents a variety of views on the shape and size of geographical divisions of the world (sa'i gliñ tshad dañ dbyibs mtshan ma'i skor gliñ phran gnas pa). Let us join the discussion in progress at a convenient point of entry:

Mkhas-grub-dge-dpal [1385-1438; abbot of Dge-lḍan -- GZON-NU-DPAL: 1079] gyi de ñid snañ

bar 'di ka'i Mhon-pa dan 'Gal-spon gi skabs
sogs bśad pas na / de ñid snañ bar 'dzam bu'i
gliñ chen po la gliñ bñi rnams kyi thun moñ
ma yin pa'i so so'i mtsham gsuñs pa źes khams
le'i bcu bdun pa mtshams sbyor gyi 'grel
tshig bśad rjes /

bla ma Bi-bhū-ti-tsandra [Vibhūticandra, a
 Nepalese pandita of the thirteenth century --
 GZON-NU-DPAL: 727] yi phyag dpe'i rgya dpe
las / śar du rluñ zlum po phyed pa źes pa ni
śar rluñ gi dkyil 'khor gyi rañ bñin gyis (!)
zlum po phyed pa ste zla ba phyed pa'i rnam
pa'o źes pa dan / byañ du chu'i dkyil 'khor
gyi rañ bñin gyi zla ba ña ba'i rnam pa'o źes
'byuñ la /

kha gcig (Bla-ma-dam-pa) [this is a note to the
 text itself; Chos-rje Bla-ma-dam-pa was a 14th-
 15th century Bka'-brgyud-pa -- GZON-NU-DPAL:
 658] de ltar bvas na gzuñ goñ 'og thams cad dan
mi 'grig ces zer ro / de ltar ma bvas na 'di
da lta ñid du gañ žig śar zlum po phyed dan
nub gru bñi yin pa de'i phyir źes 'byuñ ba dan /
le'u 'og ma dag tu'añ rluñ zla ba phyed pa'i
rnam pa dan / chu zlum por yañ yañ bśad pa
thams cad dan / 'gal bar 'gyur gyi / de lta
byas pa na mi 'grig pa gañ yañ med pas ldog
ste ma smra žig / des na rgya dpe ltar bva
dgos so źes gsuñs pa dan /

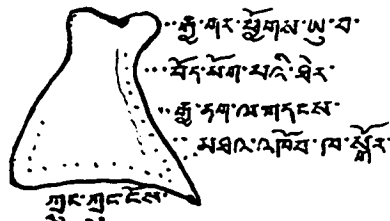
yañ lho'i gru gsum gyi rtse ños byañ dan lho
phyogs gañ la Gtad-rgyud-'grel du mi gsal yañ
bśad rgyun dan bris cha phal cher la byañ ños
bstan vod pa'i rgyu mtshan phyi nañ chos
mtshuñs pa'i mi'i gdon dbyibs kyi lkog ma ños
sog pa'i yu ba'i rnam pa rgya chuñ ba / dpral
dbyes sog pa'i kruñ kruñ gi rnam pa kha skor
(usually kha sgor) ños yin źes dan / Rab-byed-
dgu-pa'i-'grel-pa der yañ zur gcig byañ gi
bsil ri phyogs la bstan tshul śog bu ñer bdun
pa'i rgyab śog tu bśad 'dug ciñ / bris rñiñ
phal cher la yañ de g.yoñ gi 'dug kyañ dogs
par / Rab-dgu'i-'grel-pa'i śog bu ñer brgyad
pa'i rgyab tu luñ 'dren la 'dug pa ltar /

rgyal ba Yañ-dgon-pa'i Ri-chos [the Ri-chos-
 skor-gsum of Yañ-dgon-pa, a Bka'-brgyud-pa
 who lived from 1213 to 1258 -- GZON-NU-DPAL:
 200, 688f] su / sa dpyad skabs 'dzam gliñ gi
dbyibs sog knar yod pa'i bod rnams sog pa'i
ter ter dan / rgya gar / kha che / ta žig rnams
sog pa'i yu ba dan / rgya nag / 'jañ / hor
rnams sog pa kruñ kruñ la gnas par bśad pa
dan / 'grel pa de ñid snañ bar yañ mi'i byad

dbyibs sog pa'i rnam par yod pa bśad ciñ /
Ratna-gliñ-pa'i Phur-pa-yañ-gsañ-bla-med-
kyi chos skor [this gter ston lived from
 1403 to 1479; his text is mentioned in
 DARGYAY: 147] dpyad nas / lho 'dzam bu
gliñ pa'i mi rnams kyañ mi'i gdon mgo lus
lhu tshigs rnams dan / lus po thams cad pa
sog khar yod pa'o / bod rnams sog pa'i ther
la yod pas drañ žiñ dbul 'phoñs dran pa
gsal ba'o / rgya gar / kha che / ta zig
gsum sog pa'i yu ba la yod pas sems chuñ /
blo srab / 'byor ba ldan pa'o / rgya nag /
hor / 'jañ gsum sog pa'i kha gdañs dag la
yod pas rgya che / khog yañs / rig pa bzo /
loñs spyod phun gsum tshogs pa'o /

gžan yañ sog pa'i kha sgor la mtha' 'khob
sum cu so drug ces bya ba la / klo dan /
rdo dan / kha khra dan / kha sag dan / gža'
dan / kha sur dan / dmar dan / rtswa phun
dan / rdo bo ro dan / bram cha dan / nu
thug dan / kha gliñ dan / sprel slag dan /
khvi khvo dan / dar slog dan / žañ tsha bya
sogs pas / 'di dag ni mun pa'i gliñ ste /
sañs rgyas bstan pa'i miñ med / dkon mchog
gi miñ mi šes / dge sdig mi šes / rgyu 'bras
mi go / ša khrag la dga' žiñ gsod gcod la
rnams pa / mi min 'dre min dud 'gro'i rnam
pa mañ ño / . . .

Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho then concludes his discussion of this geographical conception with a few words and the following illustration (text and illustration have been taken from Volume I, pp. 95-97, of The 18th Century Sde-dge Redaction of the Sde-srid Saṅs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho's Vai dūrya Gya' sel, with the Sñan sgron ñis brgya brgyad pa [Dehra Dun, 1976]):



As the above discussion shows, there were several opinions--an entire school, one might say--on the scapula shape of world regions. Considering the antiquity of this viewpoint it would seem that, in addition to doing away with a few more thoughtless equations of Sog-po with something Mongolian, many other references to sog po, sog kha, etc., in early texts will have to be reconsidered. Also, one must keep in mind that anyone

from the Sog-chu area in east-central Tibet is a Sog-po (see the map in NI-MA-GRAGS-PA). This area is called Sog-sde, and its principal valley Sog-khul [PETECH: 162n], as at DPAL-LDAN II: 624: Hor stod Sog-sde'i-khul khul du tiñ rñu Bon dgon Nor-bu-gliñ. Sog G.yuñ-druñ gliñ and Sog Gser-thur-dñul-thur [ibid.: 598f, 627] are no doubt also located in that region. Of course, as in all later literature Dpal-ldan-tshul-khrim's history (completed only a few years ago) identifies that Sog-po which is Mongolia: śar mtha' Rgyal-mo-khyi-khyo Tho-gar gñis / byañ mtha' Sog-po dan ni Sbal-kha gñis [ibid.: I: 61, taken from Rgyal-rabs: 11]. To conclude—as if the problem were not complex enough—we have not even approached the question of the Sog, Sog-dag, etc., in contexts suggesting Soghdians or other Iranian peoples; on this see FANG-KUEI Li, Notes on Tibetan Sog, in Central Asiatic Journal III, 1958: 139-42, and Helmut HOFFMANN, The Tibetan Names of the Sakas and Soghdians, in Asiatische Studien XXV, 1971: 440-55, and the references therein for an orientation to this problem.

Now, as to Sprel-slag: Can we determine precisely which country might have been meant here? Perhaps not, at least for now, inasmuch as it is more difficult to find mention of than several other mtha' 'khob in the above list. The mtha' 'khob, as is clear from their description above, are primitive and vicious border peoples [DAS: 189]. For example, the Kḷo are most likely the Kḷa-kḷo or Muslims (i.e., meat-eaters), while the Kha-khra and Khyi-khyo are mentioned in DPAL-LDAN [I: 61]. More identifications and citations could be brought forward, but the significant point is that Sprel-slag is not found in such lists from Bon sources or published geographical works. Let us, then, merely suggest an identity: Sprel-slag is the area of Kapiśa, a realm just north-east of present-day Kabul, forming part of the region between the Kubhā and Suvāstu rivers.

Evidence for this identification is based, first of all, on the equation of kapi and sprel with 'monkey', so well attested that further discussion is unnecessary [e.g., Mahā. #4830 and the standard lexicons]. To equate -śa with slag we must understand what Tibetans and Indians centuries ago took Kapiśa to mean as a Sanskrit word, although this toponym is probably not of Indian origin at all (hence variant readings such as Kāpiśī, Kāpiśyām and Kāpiśa). In Sanskrit the suffix -śa forms derivative adjectives, such as kapiśa, 'brownish', from 'possessing a monkey (-brown color)', or kṛṣṇaśa, 'blackish'. However, tradition seems to have associated this suffix with the idea of hairiness or furriness itself, which is close to the idea of slag, a fur or hair covering. Thus

we have this etymology for kapiśah in the Śabdakalpa-druma, a traditional Indian lexicon: kapiḥ varṇaviśeṣaḥ astasya kapināmāsyāsti vā lomāditvāt śaḥ, " . . . and because it has body hair, etc., (there is the suffix) śaḥ" [Sabda. II: 25]. The author no doubt had in mind that lomaśa/romaśa, 'hairy, woolly, shaggy', is one of the few further examples of the use of this suffix. Thus, the color kapiśah as well as its homonymic toponym was analyzed to be monkey + hair-covered, very close to sprel slag. We also note with interest that Hiuen-tsang described the population of Kapiśa as wearing hair garments or those trimmed with fur, and as being rude and barbarous [LAW: 90]. Thus, local custom may have served to reinforce this etymology of the name of that region.

Finally, need for further research prevents us from pursuing a next deduction which would equate Sprel-slag with Ka-pi or Ka-pi-ta. It is from the language of the gods of that country that, according to some traditions, the Bon-po are supposed to have received their sacred texts [Rgyal-rabs 106: Bye-brag-khri-drug-'bum las / Ka-pi-ta lha skad las Saṅskri-ta dag par bsgyur . . .; see also NI-MA-GRAGS-PA: 3 and 6 and HOFFMANN 1952: 98n].

76. SAṆS-RGYAS: 234r has an interesting addition to this formulation: sems can gśad pa la dga' bas bśan par btags nas Gśen-rab-ston-pa zer.
77. Za-hor is Sābhār or Sabara, a city in East Bengal's Vikrampūr District; see Alfonsa FERRARI's mK'yen-brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet, Rome, 1958 [Serie Orientale Roma, XVI], p. 130.
78. Symbolic of the desire by Khri-sroṅ that these teachers instruct him and, by extension, Tibet in general.
79. This stone has not yet been precisely identified. Three common Indian equivalents are vairata [DAS: 968; 'JAM-DPAL: 37] and rājāvarta or rājapaṭṭa [DAS: 311].

Of these vairata is the most problematic, being a vrddhi-derivative meaning 'come from Virat' which could apply to several products. It may be a sort of diamond [DUTT: 23; GARBE: 9ln], as rājāvarta might also be [GARBE: 9ln].

Rājāvarta (rgyal po 'khyil ba—DAS: 311) and rājapaṭṭa are usually associated with lapis lazuli [GARBE, *ib.*; FINOT: xviii; most lexicons], which fits very well the description in 'JAM-DPAL: 37, although the latter gives vairata: gser thig 'dres pa ni mchog / sño nag thig med pa ni rdo mu men phal pa'o certainly fits lapis best.

80. The system for rendering texts which developed in Tibet hinged on teaming translators (almost always Tibetans) with Indian scholars. TOUSSAINT has not understood this and has read: "Les lotsava furent installés séparément . . ." [p. 320].

81. This is one of the few passages in these chapters from O-RGYAN finding neither repetition nor reformulation in SANS-RGYAS. Also, this work is not listed by DODRUP CHEN in his list of Vimala's works in the Rñiñ-ma'i-rgyud-'bum, nor is it found in the Tripitaka Index of Suzuki.
82. Rgyal-mo-roñ is the old Sum-pa country of far eastern Tibet, beyond the Mekong River; Tsha-ba'i-roñ was located between the Salween and the Mekong [WYLIE: 98].
83. In later usage a chos grwa denotes a monastic facility for teaching; at this time we see that it applies to a much simpler structure. This confirms the definition of Csoma de Kőrös, 'a cell', for grwa, which was questioned by Jaeschke.
84. 'The Three Gates to Liberation', Skt. Vimokṣasamukha-(traya), is the literal meaning of this interesting place name. The three are: śūnyatā, animitta, and apraṇihita, Voidness, the Unconditioned, and the Unattached [Mahā.: ##1541-44]. SANS-RGYAS: 235v reads Sgañ-gsum-thañ here.
85. His destination, of course, is Bsam-yas, as is clear from SANS-RGYAS' version of the following line: spa mkhar riñ mo žig phyag tu bsnams te Bsam-yas su Bi-ma-la-mi-tra chos gsuñ ba'i chos grwar byon [235v].
86. A plausible rendering of this phrase into Skt. would be 'passing beyond (pariñ) the speech of the raven (kākaḥ)'. SANS-RGYAS gives here kā ka sa ri, an inferior reading.
87. Brda thim; see Part I, note 107.
88. Bande skya are laymen living near a monastery who provide services for monks which, according to Vinaya proscriptions, they cannot provide for themselves [TUCCI 1958: 58].
89. Simhanāda, 'the lion's roar', is a traditional expression of the power and majesty wielded by the ultimate truth of Non-duality. Hence it has become a symbol for the Buddha's teaching itself, and he becomes Advayavādī [DAS: 493].
90. Stoñ gsum sa for trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu, a common expression for our world system in later Mahāyāna works. SANS-RGYAS reads stoñ gsum stoñ [236r].
91. Gžuñ log pa is to depart from or turn one's back to an essential part (gžuñ) of something. Compare lam log pa and chos log pa at Jaeschke: 553.
92. Bha-ka-ra, a corrupt form of bakakāra. In Indian literature the crane (bakāḥ) is a symbol for hypocrisy; a -kāra is one who acts in that way [cf. APTE: 1149].
93. Thub-bstan-rdo-rje-brag is one of the three principal

- Rñiñ-ma monasteries, along with Rdzogs-chen-ru-dam-bsam-gtan-chos-gliñ and O-rgyan-smin-grol-gliñ [DARGYAY: 322].
94. A brief discussion of the transmission line for this system is found at DARGYAY: 38-43.
 95. The Mañjuśrī of pp. 39 and 84 above.
 96. This figure is better known in relation to the transmission of the Guhyagarbha and Guhyasamāja systems [DARGYAY: 30].
 97. There has as yet been no success in ascertaining the location or Indian name of this city.
 98. Sukhāvaticakra and Svaprakāśikā, respectively, according to DODRUP CHEN. It is not known on what authority these equations are made, but there is no reason to doubt them.
 99. Rigs kyi bu, a term which in Indian literature refers to any son of a noble family, but in such contexts means 'a Buddhist' as one who belongs to one of the families (kula) of the Tathāgatas [MKHAS-GRUB: 43].
 100. *Śītaḍāna? Also, how seriously are we to take references to locations Chinese in Rdzogs-chen lo-rgyus? Skepticism is certainly not unhealthy here, but what is needed most is a group of sources outside that cycle which grew up around the Sñiñ-thig materials, sources which thoughtlessly repeat themselves through a long period of incestuousness.

DODRUP CHEN's version of this experience more closely follows the narration of LO-RGYUS:

"Once, while he was accompanied by Ye-śes-mdo a resident of the city called Kamalashila in eastern India, the son of Shantilagpa belonged to the lower caste and whose mother was dGe-ba'i Sems-pa was going to a garden at a place about a distance within an earshot towards the west of the said city. A voice was proclaimed from the heaven and the god dPal-rDo-rJe Sems-dPa' bodily appeared to them and gave spiritual precepts to them, saying,—
"You two, . . . " (the remainder of the paragraph is nearly identical to Padma-phrin-las' account given above).
[DODRUP: 2]

slob dpon Śrī-siñhas . . . dur khrod chen po Bsil-sbyin du gśegs so / de'i tshe rgva gar nub phyogs Glan-po-sgañ zes bya ba'i groñ khyer na / khyim bdag Bde-ldan-'khor-lo dan yum Gsal-rig-ma zes bya ba'i sras slob dpon chen po Bi-ma-la-mi-tra dan / rgva gar śar phyogs Ka-ma-la'i groñ khyer na / yab gdol-pa San-tiñ-lag-pa dan / yum Dge-ba'i-sems-ldan-ma gñis kyi sras Ye-śes-mdo zes bya ba gñis rigs pa'i gnas lña la mkhas śiñ / Rdo-rje-ldan la bžugs pa'i tshe . . .
(narrative here same as above)
"kye rigs kyi bu gñis . . ."
[LO RGYUS: 11r-v]

101. Lo-rgyus: 11v adds the expected comment that Vimala also received the spiritual instructions passed orally through Rdzogs-chen lineages (sñan brgyud kyi gdams pa rnams).
102. As with the remainder of those great cemetaries (mahā-śmaśāna or, as DPA'-BO: 207 refers to them, dur khrod gtso bo) mentioned here, we really have no idea where they were located.
103. Lo-rgyus reads also bha-siñ [folio 12r], DPA'-BO ba-siñ [p. 206], and DODRUP CHEN: 5,6 "Bha-Shing".
104. DODRUP CHEN refers to this text as a "last will" [p. 5], which shows that he followed a tradition like DPA'-BO's, wherein the text is termed a śal chems [p. 206]. Both Lo-rgyus: 12r and DPA'-BO identify the work as the Bžag-thabs-bžī-pa. It was delivered to Vimala in this way: "Within the luminous circle of light in the sky Jnyanasutra showed his face personally and offered [that work] : contained in a basket (Za-Ma-Tog) studded with five Precious articles, by stretching the lower portion of his right hand (below the elbow) to Vimalamitra. Immediately, he could follow the words thereof with their meanings." [DODRUP CHEN: 8].

Such a method of instruction was also used when Śrīsimha bequeathed the Gzer-bu-bdun-pa to Jñānasūtra [Lo-rgyus: 12r].
105. See Part II, note 21 above.
106. Kāmarūpa is now a district of Assam. It long played an important role in the transmission of Tantric practices to Tibet. On its location see LAW: 226ff.
107. We thus follow the reading of DODRUP CHEN: 9, whose source apparently reads Bhīr-ya-la; cf. also DARGYAY: 25. Lo-rgyus: 12v reads bhi-ru'i groñ khyer, and either alternative seems preferable to PADMA-PHRIN-LAS' bhirgya, unless one sees all these as permutations of Bharukaccha/Bhrgukaccha/Bhirukaccha, the modern Broach on India's western seacoast. Although the Tibetan form is too brief to allow a tentative identification, this city is cited in several Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist sources and certainly deserves consideration as the intended location [see LAW: 277ff.].
108. The appearance of a king Indrabhūti indicates Padmaist influence; while discussing episodes in Padma's career "the appearance of the older and younger Indrabhūti in the legend must be regarded as typical . . ." [HOFFMANN: 56].
109. This is SANS-RGYAS; on folio 224v is Vairocana's speech, which is not to be found in O-RGYAN.
110. This passage about Tiñ-ñe-'dzin-bzañ-po, who was Khri-sroñ-lde-btsan's guardian in his childhood as well as

a recipient of Vimala's Rdzogs-chen precepts [GZON-NU-DPAL: 167, 174], is not found in O-RGYAN or SAÑS-RGYAS, but is found in Lo-rgyus: 12v as well as DPA'-BO: 208. This indicates a more august position of this minister-advisor in Rdzogs-chen materials than in Padmaist texts.

111. Three of the most important lo-tsa-bas of their time, this passage definitely illustrates Vimala's fame among Tibetans and Indians even before his arrival in Tibet. It is also cited in all the sources used here; see, for example, page 113 above.

Rin-chen-mchog and Tiñ-ñe-'dzin were later killed in the persecution under Glañ-dar-ma; could it be this circumstance which caused PADMA-PHRIN-LAS to note the dispute about the time of the former's death on pages 134-5 here? [On these events, see HOFFMANN: 32].
112. Gser gyi pa tra, i.e. pātra, interpreted by DODRUP CHEN as "golden pictures" but probably simply gold leaf.
113. See above, Part II, note 25; here again the Rdzogs-chen and Padmaist traditions differ, for Lo-rgyus: 13r and DODRUP CHEN have kā ka pa ri.
114. That the vessel is the human (body) is clear from the final lines in O-RGYAN and PADMA-PHRIN-LAS, grus kyañ chu bo sgrol bar nus and mi yi [read yis, as Lo-rgyus: 13r] rgya mtsho'i pha rol sgrol. See Part II, note 26 above.
115. We thus see that 'bem la skyol (i.e., skvel) ba and 'bem druñ phyin pa are equivalent expressions.
116. PADMA-PHRIN-LAS follows Lo-rgyus: 13r; SAÑS-RGYAS, predictably, O-RGYAN.
117. DPA'-BO has not included any of the above interrogation, rather abruptly shifting from Tiñ-ñe-'dzin's vision of Vimala to just that point where PADMA-PHRIN-LAS continues here.
118. Note the interesting construction here: bod du byon pas rgya gar gyi ltas mkhan rnams la . . .
119. Rdo-rje-sems-dpa'-sgyu-'phrul-drwa-ba, the most basic text of the Mahāyoga tradition, which teaches the meditative creation of universal powers in terms of Tantric deities. See DARGYAY: 28f for Vimala's role here.
120. Theg pa, an elliptical phrase for books from the three Vehicles (yāna); the dañ bcas pa which follows it here is awkward, and Lo-rgyus: 13v is preferred.
121. DODRUP CHEN: 24 reads gSang-sNgags Phyi-Nang-Gi rGyud, Tantras on the exoteric and esoteric mantras (those of cause and effect?).
122. On Dbu-rtse-lha-khañ, see Part II, note 43 above.

123. PADMA-PHRIN-LAS here refers directly to our Lo-rgyus, where Kloñ-chen-pa says: rgyal sras mu ne btsad po / ñaṅ ska cog gñis daṅ lña gsuṅs so / rma ni de dus 'das pas med do. We have seen above (note 111) that the latter is, indeed, mistaken.
124. A khog dbub or khog 'bug is a critical analysis of the topics within another work (see Kristina LANGE, Die Werke des Regenten Saṅs-rgyas rgya mc o (1653-1705) [Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 1976], p. 133), e.g., don gyi khog phub pa, an analytical probing of important subjects (don as artha) at DAS: 643.
- The work in question here is, no doubt, G.yuñ-ston-pa's thirteenth century commentary noted at GZON-NU-DPAL: 149. Unfortunately, that author does not give us its full title, but since few of G.yuñ-ston's works have appeared in the West that information has no great value now in any event.
125. DPA'-BO: 238 also supports this assertion.
- Problems concerning the enumeration of works within the Sgyu-'phrul-sde-brgyad are discussed at DARGYAY: 28f; see also DPA'-BO: 238f.
126. According to DPA'-BO: 239 these four works are the Grol-lam-rim-gyis-ston-pa-ye-śes-sñiñ-po, the Cig-char-ston-pa-rdo-rje-me-loṅ, the Thabs-lam-rim-gyis-ston-pa-rdo-rje-thal-ba, and the Cig-char-ston-pa-rdo-rje-rgya-mtsho.
127. The Sa-skyapa Rin-chen-rgyal-mtshan, born 1238, whose brother was 'Phags-pa Bla-ma and thus had close ties to the court of Qubilai (Se-chen) [GZON-NU-DPAL: 211f].
128. Interestingly, because Kloñ-chen-pa believed, and transmitted the tradition accordingly, that Rma-ban Rin-chen-mchog was by this time deceased, we must search any historical source outside of the Kloñ-chen Sñiñ-thig materials to appreciate his importance.
129. The context leads one to believe that these two texts were also written by Se-ston, but that is by no means certain.
130. On the real importance of Rma-ban to Rdzogs-chen traditions, see DARGYAY: 29, 60.
131. This collection of the 119 most secret instructions was originally contained in an Indian text (bla na med pa'i gsaṅ ba sñiñ tig gi po ti rnams rgya'i dpe las bod kyi yi ger bsgyur [Vi-ma I: 4 and IIIA: 163]).
132. See Part I, note 150; to judge from GZON-NU-DPAL: 110 Dge-goñ is a location within the Mchims-phu area. PADMA-PHRIN-LAS has this from Lo-rgyus: 13v.

133. The last such incarnation noted in DARGYAY is 'Jam-dbyaṅs-mkhyen-brtse'i-dbañ-po (1820-1892).
This concluding remark is not in Lo-rgyus, and seems to represent an informal observation by Padma-phrin-las.
134. Tantric traditions have posited both divine luminosity and physical immutability as goals of alchemical practice, exemplified in the apposition of such terms as divyadeha/siddhadeha and śuddhamāyā respectively. These ideas were never successfully integrated; they represent, rather, two means of concretizing the elusive concept of jīvan-mukti, one who is liberated while still embodied. Ideas of relative and absolute immortality were manipulated for the same purpose. See DASGUPTA 1969: 254f for a concise statement of these positions.
135. Simply put, those principles include the ever-present doctrine of correspondences (at the foundation), the spiritual bases of psycho-physical experiences (in diagnosis), and the effectiveness of sharing many medical and religious practices and even pharmacopoeia (in 'treatment'). Although well-exemplified in Vimala's texts, one could consult a massive amount of Rñiñ-ma ritual literature and such works as the Bahyāntara-amṛta-kalpa / Phyiñ-nañ-bdud-rtsi-bcud-len-gdams-pa of the Tantric and alchemist Vyādi-pa [Peking Bstan-'gyur, Volume 69, p. 215], best known for his metallic and mercurial recipes [Part I, note 2].
136. It was published at Delhi in 1973 as the fifth volume of his History of Science and Technology in India, which has now reached six volumes and threatens to grow larger.
137. Kailash I, 2, 1973, pp. 153-159.
138. Page 159: "It is plain that the cures (of others -- mlw) - such as occurred - depended on psychological art factors, including the magnificence of the Bhaiṣajya-guru cult trappings and paraphernalia."
139. Tantric Medicine and Ritual Blessings. The Tibet Journal I, 3-4, 1976, pp. 55-69.
140. Page 65: "Aesthetics is obviously an important aspect of the rite where ideas such as beauty and happiness play an important role in the effectiveness of the ritual. . . . The tantric ceremonial circle of healing, is then a holistic method par excellence that appeals to man's thirst for aesthetic experience, a healthy existence and liberation."

If one truly accedes to the existence of a doctrine of correspondences in Tantrism (as do the two writers above), and if one acknowledges that levels of significance exist in Tantric texts and rituals (which cannot be denied), the superficiality of this formulation is indeed striking.

Socially-oriented manifestations of esoteric traditions are by nature reduced to their most attractive, least

difficult-to-grasp elements. To then define such an exoteric ritual while ignoring its inner core--the tradition from which it came--is to sever it from its true roots and render a balanced view impossible. Since this deficiency may hardly be said to be remedied by viewing or interviewing those connected with such rites--those who, to be realistic, may be relatively poorly trained or educated and will operate at any rate under initiatic injunctions--one's powers of judgment should not be greatly influenced by setting only.

The reader is invited to peruse these articles and to compare this viewpoint--social applications of some Tantric concepts--with Vimala's materials. Vimala deals in a very "plain" language (symbolically profound but totally lacking in aesthetic content!) with an equally important and more essential dimension of Tantric science. (Indeed, we are obliged to say: We hope not to have overstepped certain bounds in rendering such materials.) Any view of the practice and theory of Tantrism pretending to be comprehensive must cope with these very different manifestations and yet remain judicious in its appraisals.

141. A Medical-cultural system among the Tibetan and Newar Buddhists: Ceremonial Medicine. Kailash I, 3, 1973, pp. 193-203.
142. E.g., construing samādhi as a 'use of the imagination' and thus fabricating an interesting etymology for tiñ ne 'dzin (p. 197n), or his lack of understanding of the complementary nature of exo- and esoteric procedures in a ritual setting (p. 201n).
143. Since these texts "contain the most important teachings of the Rdsogs-chen system as to its practical application" [DARGYAY: 3lf], it would behoove interested parties to undertake the time-consuming tasks of locating the bka' brgyad literature and arranging it in its proper hierarchical value.
144. SAÑS-RGYAS: 290r-v: luñ anu yo ga'i 'gyur byad la / . . . bla med don rdzogs kvi spyi rgyud sgos rgyud [general and specialized ts.] / sgrub pa bka' brgyad kvi sgos rgyud Sgyu-'phrul-brgyad-pa [see Part II, note 125] / Bzi-bcu-pa / Brgyad-bcu-pa / Sgyu-'phrul-bla-ma / Legs-ldan-'jam-dpal-rgyud / Sgyu-'phrul-drwa-ba-chen-po / rgyud Thabs-kvi-zags-pa / *Bdud-rtsi-'dus-pa-rtsa-ba'i-rgyud / Rol-pa'i-rgyud / Dum-bu'i-rgyud / Bdud-rtsi-bam-po-brgyad-pa / . . .

It must be pointed out that SAÑS-RGYAS' division of Tantras here is not generally accepted; indeed, the above works are usually considered to belong to the Mahāyoga class. This would seem to make perfect sense, for if we look into the bka' brgyad materials as a whole one point which is clear is that it deals with the meditative generation and control of the sde brgyad (*aṣṭasena) or eight sorts of

supernatural beings. They then serve the yogin in his further spiritual exercises, as on pages thirty-eight to forty-three above. However, it is clear that our alchemical works here develop beyond that point; perhaps SAÑS-RGYAS wishes to tell us that they are Anuyogic continuations beyond the Mahāyoga stage. All in all, the situation is considerably more complex than any previous study has shown, and despite compartmentalizing by generations of scholastics such as Kloñ-chen-pa into systems such as those of Mahā-, Anu-, and Ati-yogas, the bottom line is that Padma's system originally had little to do with Rdzogs-chen [see DARGYAY: 61].

145. Pages 97-99, where we read: "Der wichtigste Aspekt ist hier das Zusammensein des Vaters (yab) und der Mutter (yum), d.h. des Meisters und seiner Paredra, in inniger Umschlingung. . . . In der zweiten Weihe nimmt die Paredra den Platz des bla ma ein, in der dritten tritt an die Stelle der Anrufung der Gottheiten die Vergottung des bla ma und seiner Paredra . . . Vierfach ist auch die Überlegenheit der zweiten Weihe dieser Gruppe im Vergleich mit der vorhergehenden. Der bla ma befindet sich hier nicht mehr ausserhalb, sondern der Körper des Initianden ist mit dem in das maṇḍala verwandelten bla ma identisch geworden. In dieser zweiten Weihe steht die Paredra nicht ausserhalb des Initianden, sondern sie ist mit ihm in eins verbunden . . ."; reference to divinization contrasts Anu- to Mahā-yoga. In the Padmaist ritual in Part One we saw the descent of the jñānasattva through Padma's evocation; this is classic Mahāyoga, and is to be compared with Vimala's Text Six, pages 168-174.
146. TUCCI: 97: "Die Symbolkraft dieses Prozesses, in dem die Erleuchtung mit dem aus dieser Vereinigung hervorgehenden Samen gleichgesetzt wird, durchdringt das ganze Schema." On the metaphysical basis of this doctrine, see Text One, page 161.
147. DPA'-BO: 240f: Bdud-rtsi-rol-pa / Bam-po-brgyad-pa sogs Bdud-rtsi-yon-tan gyi rgyud dgu. He also tells us there 34 tantras for 'Jam-dpal-sku, 12 for Padma-gsuñ, 18 for Yañ-dag-thugs, etc., among the bka' brgyad materials.

With the two tantras listed in SAÑS-RGYAS [note 144 above] we have now identified four of the nine alchemical texts in the Bdud-rtsi-yon-tan cycle.
148. DARGYAY: 145f.
149. I.e., Padma and, for example, Vimala stood far apart in their use of sādhana (Tantric practice). We might say that, within their traditions, the former was more magician than yogin and the latter more philosopher. Nevertheless, membership in one gaṇacakra does not exclude other study and practice, so we may suppose that many of their contemporaries (Vairocana, Gnubs Sañs-rgyas-ye-śes, Khri-sroñ's son *Mu-ne-btsad-po, et alii) were already synthesizing their positions. There is now no indication that we shall meet with a significant body of literature the "real"

the "real" viewpoints of one or the other. Indeed, as sādhana is the essence of Tantrism, a history of its doctrinal viewpoints would be its elegy, and is still not possible.

150. The Sanskrit original for this title has been poorly preserved in its Tibetan transliteration; we give here the original with a reconstruction, by the editors of the Sde-dge Bka'-'gyur, in brackets: Sarvapañcāmṛta-sarasiddhimahadūka- [sārasiddhimahadgata-] hrdayāna-parabīdṭvanāṣṭa [hrdayaparivartāṣṭaka]. The several emendations bring the Tibetan and Sanskrit closer, where sāra is quite plausible for rañ bñin, 'essence', and parivarta-aṣṭaka for bam po brgyad pa (yet we must read po to bring perfect agreement: 'the eight-fold chapter (arrangement)' (our translation on page 159 follows the Tibetan only). Also, siddhimahadgata is an imaginative reconstruction which could easily be rendered dños grub chen po. From the unreconstructed version, however, we can derive hrdaya-anapara, sñiñ po mchog. By such an accommodation these two versions may be brought tolerably close to their Tibetan calque.
151. Luñ, Skt. āgama, covers both traditional sacred knowledge (āgama as the Vedas, for example) as well as supplementary oral spiritual instructions in both the Hindu and Buddhist Tantric traditions.
- There is a peculiar Rdzogs-chen use of this term which bears noting here. Some who read the renderings of the texts below will doubt the literal interpretation given these rituals. "Surely," some will say, "these must be interpreted symbolically." However, in Rdzogs-chen tradition luñ applies to the direct or literal interpretation of a text (as khrid and dbañ apply to technical and initiatic meanings), to guide the disciple in the actual physical performance of his sādhana [Herbert V. Guenther, Kindly Bent to Ease Us, Part II (Dharma Publishing, Emeryville, California, 1976, on page vii of the foreword by Tarthang Tulku)].
152. The reading of luñ gi rgyal po chen po rtog pa'i mchog is problematic; the entire phrase may be an informal title for a group of teachings. Rtog pa'i mchog is very awkward and has been interpreted here as in an apposition to Luñ gi rgyal po chen po, but this is certainly open to question.
153. Sde-dge 222r; which corresponds to Peking 226v: bdud rtsi chen po mchog gi luñ / luñ gi rgyal po chen po rtog pa'i mchog las 'khor lo bskor ba'i nañ nas luñ gi bam po chen po brgyad pa'i 'grel pa chen po'i don / bam po chen po brgyad pa rdzogs sho // spyir bdud rtsi 'bum sde las myur śas tsam cig bi ma la mi tras bśad ciñ / lotstsha ba dzñāna ku ma ras bsgyur ba'o / rdo rje

yañ dbaṅ gter gyi lags rdzogs so //

Gñags Jñānakumāra was a prominent translator of Khri-sroṅ's time. In addition to aiding Vimāla in this work, he studied Rdzogs-chen with Vairocanarakṣita, an important figure in the study and translation of scientific works [DARGYAY: 33, 49].

A Bdud-rtsi- 'bum-gcig finds mention at GZON-NU-DPAL: 953. There is, however, no special evidence convincing us to equate this text with that one mentioned above.

154. The titles of these eight sections are: 1. Byaṅ chub sems de kho na ṅid bstan ciṅ dkyil 'khor kun tu 'phrul pa; 2. Ra sa ya na sgo mtha' yas par bstan pa; 3. Chos thams cad gñis su med pa'i tshul du yañ dag par sbyar ba'o; 4. Khro bo'i dkyil 'khor mñon par 'du mdzad pa; 5. Dños grub kyi dkyil 'khor ñe bar bsgrub pa'i tshul; 6. Dkyil 'khor gsaṅ ba'i bdud rtsi bsgrub pa'i cho ga; 7. Bsñen bsgrub chen po'i gnas la 'jug pa'i tshul bstan; 8. Ne bar bsdus pa'i tshul bstan pa.
155. A Treatise on Indo-Tibetan Alchemy, by Michael Walter [M.A. Thesis, Indiana University, 1975].
156. The implication of the term mahāsiddhi being that those successful in this method will join the Mahāsiddhas, the greatest magicians in Hindu and Buddhist Tantric traditions [DASGUPTA 1969: 202ff].
157. The Ādibuddhas of the Rñiṅ-ma-pas, i.e., their First Principle both in matters of spiritual lineage and as a metaphysical entity. The first text here, unlike many studied up to this time, emphasizes his metaphysical position; cf. WAYMAN 1973: 75.
158. Gnas mchog yum gvi dkyil 'khor, i.e., of Samantabhadra. Unlike other Buddhist Tantric traditions the feminine reflex of this Bodhisattva is his equal, their dual existence continuing through the highest aspects of their being. Here, in union with Her, Samantabhadra communicates essential truths directly; secondary teachings usually are passed via a form of Mañjuśrī, or Amṛtarāja (as in Text Six) or related supernatural beings.
159. This is taking place on the Sambhogakāmic plane, in accordance with the Vajrayānic tradition making this the communicative manifestation of a Bodhisattva; cf. Rol-pa 226r: raṅ gi ye śes gnas loṅs spyod / thabs mchog gsaṅ ba'i dkyil 'khor ṅid / bde chen dgyes la gsaṅ ba'i sku / Kun-tu-bzaṅ-po kun gvi mchog / saṅs rgyas kun gvi gtso bo vis / dkyil 'khor gnas loṅs spyod pa'o //
160. Raṅ rgyal theg chen mdo sde might also be read Pratyekabuddhas, Mahāyānikas, and Sautrantikas, which better follows the rhythm of the language. However, this leaves us to deal with "Mahāyānika", a very vague term.

161. Dgoñs pa does not mean simply 'to think' but more 'to intend; to will; to project mentally with a desire to inform'. Rol-pa: 226r gives us Kun-bzañ thugs kyi dkyil 'khor nas / dgoñs pa'i don kun rnam par gsal / thabs dañ šes rab rol pa'i mthus / . . ., "Here are explained fully those subjects which have been projected from the mandala created within Samantabhadra's spirit. By virtue of the play taking place there between prajñā and upāya . . . (he spreads the illuminative power of his wisdom)." [On dgoñs pa see also BAGCHI: 76.]

The above statement also explains the title of the work, which is in full: *Mahātantrarājāmrtavinātananāma / Rgyud-kvi-rgyal-po-chen-po-dpal-bdud-rtsi-rol-pa šes-bya-ba. The Tibetan transliteration gives us o-bi-na-sa-na-ma, but vinātanam brings forward the idea of the playful dance (rol pa). The vocabulary here not only suggests the creative aspect of Śiva's sexual activity (wherein retention of the semen, as is also the case above, is a necessity to retain creative potency), but a general likeness of this situation to that met in Hindu Tantras [DASGUPTA 1974: 119-20]. It is through this metaphysical view of sporting in closed polarity that rol pa developed in usage to mean both illusory existence (from an absolute viewpoint; its lexically attested use) as well as simply 'to be' (from the relative viewpoint). So, in both traditions the internal transformation of feminine and masculine principles (prajñā/upāya, śakti/Śiva) into a purified bodhicitta famed as the 'elixir', amṛta, is given as an on-going cosmic process to which the yogi must be brought into harmony to overcome mortality. [DASGUPTA 1969: 29-31; see also the use of kṛitavān/rol pa as quoted from the Dākṛṇava in DASGUPTA 1974: 121n].

162. Srid gsum or tribhuvana represent three possible realms of existence: rūpa, ārūpya, and kāma, i.e., those of deities in forms and heavens recognizable to man, those beyond such forms, and all sentients in various modes of existence from the infernal and earthly through all spirits.

Beneath the pentadic formulation here, wherein each elixir is the essence of an element filtered through the kulas of Tathāgatas (as per the text on extracting essences studied above), we see the remains of a fascinating and truly ages-old Indo-European mythology exemplified in the correspondence of ambrosia and amṛta. Of relevance to the discussion here is the metaphysical position of this substance: Higher beings, who are just like the first beings and thus serve as models for us, are predominantly amṛtic in nature (as was all of Creation at that time). Gradually, of course, human beings became coarser in nature and lost their way spiritually. Discovering the amṛta in nature and cultivating it is to return to that former state of immortality.

Bibliography: FESTUGIERE 1: 255-60; WAYMAN 1973: 24-29; Helmut von GLASENAPP, Unsterblichkeit und Erlösung in den indischen Religionen [Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft, Heft 1, Halle, 1938], pp. 2 and 34 in particular; and, for some Semitic and Central Asian notices with references, P.J. de MENASCE, Une légende indo-iranienne dans l'angelologie judéo-musulmane: à propos de Hārūt et Mārūt, Asiatische Studien I, 1947, pp. 10-18.

163. TUCCI: 100 gives us the first clear conception of Samantabhadra in this role: "In seiner Verwirklichung (the ground of existence, ño bo ñid kyi sku) entfaltet er sich spontan als Intelligenz, "nous" (rig pa); sein symbolischer Name ist Kun tu bzang po. Wir sind selbst im Wesensgrunde diese rig pa . . . Nicht-Intelligenz ist die Ursache der uns an die Kette der saṃsārischen Erscheinungen schmiedenden trügerischen Dichotomien. Diese Dichotomien sind eine Wirkung des sems, der also wohl von rig pa zu unterscheiden ist." The dualism of thought here, as well as the natural tendency of the intellect to rise, provide profound similarities to Gnostic doctrine.
164. Samatajñāna/ye śes mñam ñid, on which see DASGUPTA 1974: 160.
165. Rdo rje gsañ ba'i gral bkod de. This is a way of saying that S. is speaking from his 'heart of hearts'. Cf. Guhyasamāja: 40: tatredaṃ paramaṃ vajrarahasyam / hrdayamadhyagataṃ sūkṣmaṃ maṇḍalānāṃ vibhāvanam / tasya madhyagataṃ cintedakṣaraṃ paramaṃ padam, "That excellent vajra-secret, the innermost essence in the middle of (the Tathagata's) heart, that point of origin of maṇḍalas, should be thought of as inside his heart, as its highest, imperishable part."
166. Rol-pa: 228r reads bdud rtsi dam pa mchog gi luñ / sñiñ po bsdus pa'i nes don 'di / thams cad byañ chub 'byuñ ba'i gnas, "The ultimate meaning of this spiritual discourse on that excellent and sacred elixir, reduced to its essentials, is that all things find their point of origin in bodhicitta." This seems to make better sense.
167. Is this really a reference to a text, or merely a restatement that these teachings come from the vajra-rahasya?
168. On theg pa/yāna see note 120, p. 201.
169. Here the Bam-po has elucidated and corrected Rol-pa, which reads here ye nas bya byed bya mi dgos [228r].

In this clear formulation of bodhicitta as the materia prima of our universe we see that it is the precise Tantric reflex of amṛta (as discussed in note 162 above), and that these concepts are interchangeable; especially in works such as the Bam-po and Rol-pa, which show influences from both Hindu and Buddhist traditions. Thus: "Bodhicitta

has two aspects; in the former restless aspect (i.e., in the form of gross sexual pleasure . . .) it is called Samvṛta, and in the motionless aspect of intense bliss it is called Vivṛta or the Paramārthika. This Samvṛta and Paramārthika represent . . . the phenomenal . . . and the ultimate aspect of Mahāyāna philosophy" is the attitude of the Buddhist Sahajiyās, while the knowledge that "the quintessence of the body in the form of soma or amṛta being thus dried up, the body falls victim to the fire of destruction (Kālāgni), -- this is how death comes as the inevitable catastrophe of life in the course of things. This ordinary course of the flow of nectar must be checked and regulated . . . conservation and the yogic regulation of the Mahārasa are at the centre of the yogic Sādhana of the Nāth Siddhas." [DASGUPTA 1969: 93, 240-42; see also DASGUPTA 1974: 157 and Rol-pa 249r for Buddhist adaptations of kālāgni and mahārasa/rtsi chen.]

170. The Guhyasamājatantra mentions deha-, bhaga- and bodhi-citta-maṇḍalas. These are, respectively, those of the physical body of the yogin, the 'mother-lotus' of the yoginī, and the mind of the yogin (i.e., those mentally produced). See WAYMAN 1974: 135f.
171. ltuñ gnas med, 'having no place to fail', could also be read as 'not being provided with a place to fall' and thus refers to the retention of semen.
172. I.e., the Buddha-dharma.
173. Rol-pa 228v reads lña bñi'i nañ du 'khor ba las; we could judge that this thus refers to the five skandhas coming forth from the four mahābhūtas; this certainly would be a logical step in Vajrayānic cosmogony [DASGUPTA 1974: 151]. More likely, because of the similarity of context, is that this refers to the generation of the nine goddesses mentioned herein on page 166.
174. Spros med thig le, which presupposes an incredibly highly developed state of yogic concentration, requires one to realize within himself all potentialities of existence without any meditative consciousness of a difference between his (subjective) creative powers and their (objective) creations, i.e., his own existence and theirs [TUCCI: 105: thig le as therefore the same as the dharma-kāya of a Buddha, to which the yogin indeed becomes equal according to the text here].
175. I.e., Samantabhadra in closed polarity with his consort Samantabhadrā (the Prajñā). The peculiar pseudo-compound prajñā-bhagavān-mahārāja emphasizes the authority of his teaching while in this posture.
176. On Anuyoga see note 145, p. 205; in view of this exposition, how could these materials be viewed as simply mahāyogic (as per note 144)?

177. Even armed with the only commentary to this text, there is still no guaranty of success in interpretation when the necessary oral supplements are lacking. Thus, few of the items enumerated in this paragraph can be explained satisfactorily. The parallel passage in Rol-pa reads mi spañ ba dañ dañ du blañ / spyad pa'i dam tshig gtso lña bsrūñs / śes lña bsgrub lña bsrūñ ba gsum / ñi śu rṭsa bṛgvad gtso bo mchog / stoñ rṭsa bṛgvad du rnams spros pas / thams cad don kun rdzogs par sbyor [254r]. From this we can see that Vimala wishes us to read bco for gtso, turning 'five principal vows of practice' into fifteen (less important?) vows. The śes lña are in all probability the Tathāgatas' accompanying wisdoms [DASGUPTA 1974: 84n]. Also, if we add the sgrub lña above to the enumeration in Bam-po we have the twenty-eight most important items (providing, however, we retain the bco lña reading!).
178. On ñi, rgyas and dbañ spirits see TUCCHI: 192, 269. Abhicāra/mñon spyod as "magic" covers a wide area of occult doings, and is also a technical term for a set group of Tantric rituals. [DASGUPTA 1974: 63, 71].
179. Here Bam-po clearly renders Rol-pa understandable, for the latter gives no warning of the change of subject. The verse added by Vimala, dañ la ga ni luñ bśad de, has the transliterated ganin, a teacher who is a leader of a yogic group [EDGERTON: 208: tshogs kyi slob dpon].
180. Literally, stod smad phyed la means "half above and half below (the waist)".
181. There is really no way to obtain eleven items from this list. Also, the last item as read in Rol-pa: 254r is bcu gñis lon, "(at least) twelve years old". The list here has obviously been taken--in damaged condition--from another text or tradition.
182. I.e., the pañcajñāna/ve śes lña again. The 'families' (kula) represent meditational and emanational points of concentration for the yogin [Hevajrat Tantra I: 30f, 128], among which are Guhyamatṛ ('Goddesses of the Elements') mentioned below, and the mahābhūtas. "It has often been assured in Buddhist Tantras that in response to the muttering of these bīja-mantras the ultimate void (śūnyatā) will transform herself into the particular form of god or goddess and confer infinite benefit on the reciter." [DASGUPTA 1974: 57.]
183. Apparently orally, for nothing of this teaching is given here or in Rol-pa: 254v. It is interesting that Ratna-sambhava's kula is here singled out for its excellence, since Samantabhadra belongs to Vairocana's family.
184. Dbañ-rta-mchog, or simply Rta-mchog, also known as Aśva-ratna. "Buddhist legend claims that he was manifested

333 times on earth . . . and that all the manifestations were human, with the exception of the miraculous horse Balāha . . ." [Alice GETTY, The Gods of Northern Buddhism, Rutland (Vermont) and Tokyo, 1962, p. 59].

185. Presumably the kula of Vajrasattva is meant here [DASGUPTA 1974: 88; Hevajratantra I: 28f]. Rol-pa reads ñi šu rtsa la sogs dag / kun tu las rnams spyod mkhas pas / thog med byañ chub sems mchog 'dren [254v]. The reading thogs med in Bam-po is preferred; Vajrasattva is identified with (better: he is the idealization of) bodhicitta, perfect wisdom [DASGUPTA 1974: 88].
186. Gzuñs/dhāraṇī may also refer to the consecrated woman, in one of those common Tantric developments where a consort embodies any and all ritual apparatus [see WAYMAN 1973: 65]. Thus, Rol-pa: 254v reads bde chen 'du 'bral med pa'i gzuñs / rigs rnams lha mo gañ bsñen dag, "Those who would propitiate the full compliment of devīs (i.e., consorts) for each of the families, devīs who are supports (in practice) identical with the attainment of mahāsukhā . . ." Further on Rol-pa refers to her by yet another name, rigs kvi lha mo (kuladevī).
187. Rol-pa adds phyi nañ: phyi nañ khruś byas, an 'external' and an 'internal' bath or lustration. All the following ritual actions must, of course, be carried out by the yogin physically as well as within his spirit, with the result that the mandala and its yoginīs are replaced by the proper corresponding spiritual entities. This will also apply to all the recipes below, in accordance with the universal alchemical attitude that all such procedures are projections from psycho-spiritual powers into the material realm.

See Hevajratantra I: 133f for a discussion of bāhya and adhvātṃika, the bāhyāntara of Vyāḍi's text (Part II, note 135 above).

- NB: The remainder of these two texts will be basically concerned with the ritual use of physical substances, some so well known as not to require discussion. However, those which are problematic present us with two levels of difficulty in interpretation and identification. First, one must be constantly aware of the intentionally misleading Tantric terminology (sandhābhāṣā, sandhāvacana). In a few instances Vimāla has substituted items, and we may assume that thereby he explains the item in Rol-pa to be either really that thing, or equal to it in effectiveness. (Thus supplementing our meager vocabulary of these secret Tantric terms.) In cases where the difficulty is more or less lexical--a matter of the incompleteness of our dictionaries and pharmacological works--the best approach would be that of Meulenbeld's study of Mādhava [G.J. MEULENBELD, The Mādhavanidāna and its Chief Commentary, Chapters 1-10, Leiden, 1974 (Orientalia Rheno-Traiectina,

Volume XIX)]. Rather than choosing one of a number of alternatives for the reader--a choice by necessity more or less arbitrary--Meulenbeld merely lists the most important and plausible alternatives, in descending order of preference. Such a methodology is not yet possible here because most of the principal alchemical and medical works in Tantrism have yet to be indexed. For now we must be content with some more 'standard' approach, relying (unfortunately) on standard Āyurvedic studies whose applicability to Tantric contexts is yet untested.

NB: Henceforth all references to the page number of dictionary entries are omitted if the entry is found in exactly the spelling given in the text itself or the form just preceding the reference.

188. Dri žim tsandan go ban dan / is not found in Rol-pa. Dri žim (saffron) is not difficult, while we may support the identification in MONIER-WILLIAMS of candanagopā with *Ichnocarpus frutescens*, "Indian Sarsaparilla", which is more usually called sārivā [SINGH: 429f; Pharm. II: 446].
189. Spelled ghu ru rtse in Rol-pa, these are Middle Indian forms from Skt. gudūcī, *Tinospora cordifolia*; presently used vernaculars for this plant include gurach, gulancha, and gurjo [Pharm. I: 55; DUTT: 106; an even more analogous form, unattested elsewhere, is Hindi guruca at SINGH: 141].
190. This is "the Sanskrit name of a rutaceous berry, apparently that of *Luvunga Scadens*. . . . The berries are used in preparing a perfumed medicinal oil (*Kakkolaka*) . . ." [Pharm. I: 267]. SINGH: 61f is therefore to be corrected; without any justification he has identified it as a pepper, while the present context entirely supports the (older) identification.
191. Rol-pa gives arura, which is a very famous medicine but one not known for its aromatic properties. Vimāla has emended this to agaru or aloe, world-famous as a perfume from early antiquity [Pharm. III: 217f].
192. Du ru ka or du ru ska for turuška, is one of the few ancient Indian products showing a clear foreign origin in its name (i.e., via Turkestan). Olibanum is frankincense from the Levant [MONIER-WILLIAMS; SINGH: 188 gives us storax, "the Turuška of Āyurveda, which is a balsam obtained from foreign trees of Liquidamber (*L. orientalis* Miller and *L. styraciflua* Linn.)." Unfortunately, he provides no documentation for this identification, and it is virtually an argument ex silencio if compared with critical research (i.e., Pharm. I: 593f).
193. Rol-pa here reads bdud rtsi lña sogs rdzas kyis byug, interpreted by Vimāla as urine only, or perhaps with

the understanding that urine is the dominant ingredient (it is a common practice in Āyurveda, for example, to list a compound only under a principal constituent as a sort of shorthand). In other Tantric traditions rdo rje dri chu has come to mean only 'scented water' [WAYMAN 1973: 193; MKHAS BRUB: 289], and the Chinese also glossed mūtra (urine) in Tantric language with kasturikā (musk) [BAGCHI: 30]. Since dri means 'odor' and dri ma 'filth, excrement', Tibetan traditions have been able to stand on both banks of that river at the same time. However, the best guide to interpreting bdud rtsi lha/pañcāmṛta is no doubt the general tenor of each text and the tradition to which it belongs.

194. Śa chen is likely not 'human flesh' here, since sorts of incense are called for. Mahāmāṃsa is also 'a little shrub' [MONIER-WILLIAMS], but nothing further seems to be known about it. Only two well-known materia could fit here without a painful torture of the context. Māṃsa is the same as bala in Tantric language [BAGCHI: 32], so with a slight emendation we have mahābala, *Sida spinosa* Linn. [SINGH: 270; Pharm. I: 208]. A better bet, perhaps, is *Nardostachys jatamansi* (i.e., jatamāṃsī) [DASH: 366; DUTT: 181], an aromatic root sometimes known simply as māṃsī. Vajra- and mahā- are occasionally prefixed to names of items used in Tantric rituals, and this might be another case.
195. Pog is equated with śrīvāsa in Aṣṭāṅgahrdayasaṃhitā [FILLIOZAT: 180]. The latter is the well-known resin of *Pinus longifolia* [DUTT: 247]. See note 228 below.
196. The gum resin of *Boswellia serrata*, which "has all the characters of olibanum, but does not harden like that article. It burns readily, and diffuses an agreeable odor" [Pharm. I: 303].
197. Another verse inserted by Vimala to explain an abrupt transition in Rol-pa. On the bhaga, see supra note 170, p. 210.
198. Baṃ las, 'from the vaṃ'. Quoting the Tantric text Samputikā, Dasgupta tells us: "Prajñā is said to be the 'e' while Upāya is the syllable 'vaṃ'; and this 'e' shines only when it is adorned with 'vaṃ' . . . this 'e' and 'vaṃ' have also been associated with the moon and the sun" [DASGUPTA 1974: 110]. Thus the Rol-pa reads here thabs daṃ śes rab gsal bar bsgom . . . zla ba'i dkyil 'khor gnas su bṣag . . . pa (i.e., vaṃ) las padma'i mkha' dkyil 'khor du / gru gsum me 'od 'bar 'dra bsaṃ / ṇi ma la gnas rdo rje ṇid / hūṃ om sva vis rnam mdzes pa'o [255r].
199. Gṛān-gyis-mi-thub-ma, also known as *Krodha Aparājītā* or *Prajñāntaka*. She has a close connection with *Vajra-vetālī* (cf. next note).

200. Mahāvetālī is the Prajñā, in her complementary furious aspect (Krodha), of the Krodha form of Mañjuśrī, Yamāntaka, just as Prajñāntaka is also; the first guards the eastern direction, the second the southern, according to MALLMANN: 113-115.
201. Bhr̥kūtī is the respective Krodha Prajñā of Padmāntaka, the Krodha Mañjuśrī of the west. Similarly, Ekajaṭī is the Prajñā of Vighnāntaka, who turns out to be identical to Amrtakunḍalin, the personification of the alchemical practice mentioned above [Part One, note 116]. On these points see MALLMANN: 117n, 119f.
202. Bka', ājñā; it has a special application in sādhana: spvi bka' represent fully and more generally explained ritual procedures, while zur bka' are centered on one level of realization or one set of rituals [MKHAS-GRUB: 113].
203. Here we are on the purely psycho-spiritual level; these Mudrās are not the yogin's consorts, but rather refer to the passage of the bodhicitta through the nirmaṇa-, dharmā-, sambhogā-, and mahāsukha- cakras (of course, the mahā-mudrā corresponds to the last cakra). This paragraph actually represents a summation of the internal transformations which should have taken place during this sādhana [DASGUPTA 1974: 174f]. We can see that, in fact, these mudrās are only symbolic stages for mahāsukha in the parallel passage from Rol-pa: phyag rgya chen pe gzi'i bdag, where Bam-po reads phyag rgya bži ru bdag . . .
204. Rol-pa: 255r amplifies this description: don kun [see note 161, p. 208] gsaṅ ba ston byed pa'i / thabs daṅ śes rab dkyil 'khor tshogs / raṅ bžin lha mo rgyan bcas pa / mdzad pa bcu gñis 'phro 'du daṅ / 'phrin las rnam bži kun gsal byed / mar me 'phreh ba ji bžin du / chos rnam thams cad bdud rtsi'i dbyiṅs / nes par bstan pa'i don chen . . .
205. For a good discussion of some of the yogic aspects of the defeat of these Māras see Alex WAYMAN, Studies in Yama and Māra, Part II, Indo-Iranian Journal III, 2, 1959, pp. 112-131.
206. For which reason Rol-pa equates union with the Prajñā as entering the realm of space (akaśadhātu), which is eternal, unchanging, and ever-pure: bdud rtsi chen po mkha' dbyiṅs su / saṅs rgyas sems can mñam par sbyor, "Mahāmṛta is the bringing into union (samputa) in the realm of space (here identical with the sky in the text) of (all) Buddhas and sentient beings."
207. DASGUPTA 1974: 137f: ". . . that perfectly pure knowledge, which in essence is the goddess herself (Prajñā), is called the Vajra-sattva--it is also called the supreme bliss; it is self-originated--of the nature of Dharmakāya and to it belongs Prajñā . . . Sukhā itself pervades the whole world as the pervader (vyāpaka) as well as the pervaded (vyāpya)."

208. Vimala has here given an alternative reading to the dhāraṇī in Rol-pa: 255v: om bo dhe tsi ta ga ra pu tsa ho.
209. Gzuñs kyi mtshan ñid; see note 186, p. 212 above.
210. This deity finds brief mention in many Tantras and their studies, but the text herein is one of the few as yet known in which he has such a high function, i.e., as an equal in teaching to Samantabhadra. His epithet here, 'King of Elixirs', emphasizes what has been said above, i.e., that he is a personification of the process of transformation.
- Discussions on Amṛtakunḍalin (Bdud-rtsi-thabs-sbyor, Bdud-rtsi-'khyil-ba) have basically centered on questions of iconography or the 'real' spelling of his name. On the former see NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ: 320ff and MALLMANN: 119-21, and on the latter Franklin Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary, Volume I, New Haven, 1953, pp. 71, 72, 79.
211. Sgrub pa chen po/Mahāsādhana means literally 'Great Evocation'. However, since all Tantric work is sādhana, the above rendering was chosen to bring the text in line with the world's alchemical literature.
212. All texts read gā na, but we must presume that a gathering is meant. Rol-pa gives us dbañ gi dus su, 'at the time of calling up the vaśya (spirits)', those concerned with subduing evil influences. Thus, we have a gana of vaśya spirits.
213. Thus the texts appear to read. Rol-pa: 269r mñon spyod refers to abhicāruka or 'terrible rites', noted at MKHAS-GRUB: 177. How mahāsthāna relates to this is as yet unknown.
214. Pāuṣṭika/rgyas pa. Again, see MKHAS-GRUB: 177.
215. Rol-pa reads here kham s gsum dag pa'i rdzas rnams bñag, 'materials exalted throughout the three worlds (tri-loka)', i.e., of gods, spirits, and men.
216. I.e., the physical bodhicitta, holding within it the potential of spiritual perfection [see note 169, p. 209].
217. What these groups of materials might be composed of is not certain. The 'five essentials' could be a group of pañcāmṛtas. This term is a collective phrase for various substances whose use depends on the sort of sādhana performed (see, for example, DASGUPTA 1974: 73).
218. Of these eight:
- Gojihvā is Elephantopus scaber, Linn., a common plant throughout India [Pharm. II: 243f].
- Leñ leñ hwa is one of the most mysterious items on our lists. We can only say it bears an interesting similarity to the Chinese term for 'white lotus', ling hua ().

This identification is not improbable, since this term found its way into Central Asia at an early time, as exemplified by Uyğur linxua (Drevnetjurskij Slovar'), Leningrad, 1969, p. 333).

Rasāyana is used very seldom to denote a particular plant product or mineral; perhaps we simply have a mis-writing here, e.g., rasāñjana. However, first of those plants listed in MONIER-WILLIAMS under rasāyana is Embelia ribes, Burm., which is very famous in Ayurvedic materials [Pharm. II: 349ff, which does not, however, list rasa-ayana as one of its synonyms].

None of these eight items are enumerated in Rol-pa, which says only rtsa brgyad stoñ du sbyar.

219. For ger we should probably read skyer, which is identified by LAUFER with haridrā [p. 314], which is Curcuma longa or turmeric [Pharm. III: 407f]. It is also explicitly identified with dārvī in the Yogaśatakam [DASH: 278], which latter is Berberis aristata, the barberry [Pharm. I: 64f].
220. Rgya a ru ra. Rol-pa has given us an entirely different set of ingredients in the second half of the list: na li ger brgya a ga ru. The list in Bam-po seems to make better sense.
221. Five sorts of flesh are discussed at WAYMAN 1973: 116f, following the exegesis of Tsoñ-kha-pa; however, no idea of the interpretation of these items is given beyond a connection to Hindu mythological tradition. Ultimately their consumption symbolizes victory over the five skan-dhas [Hevajratantra I: 72f], just as consumption of pieces of the five sense organs--whether meant to be literally present--symbolize control over those organs, the sign of a true yogi.
222. Spelled śiñ thog in Rol-pa, it is the well-known kapittha of Ayurveda, Feronia elephantum [Pharm. I: 281ff]. Here again Yogaśataka has given us something unexpected, an equation of sin tog with tila, Sesamum indicum [DASH: 338].
223. On kakkola see note 190, p. 213 above.
224. Nāgakeśara, Mesua ferrea, Linn.; "the dried blossoms are prescribed by Hindu physicians as an adjunct to medicinal oils on account of their fragrance" [Pharm. I: 170].
225. Rol-pa has here 'ga' na pa tsa, which makes no sense. Gandhabhadra/dri bzañ, 'good smelling', is not often met with in Indian botanical or pharmaceutical works, but is described in 'JAM-DPAL: 200.
226. See above, note 192, p. 213.

227. See above, note 195, p. 215.
228. Although simple pog has been identified with śrīvāsa above, as a member of a compound it simply signifies the use of that substance as an incense; cf. sarjarasa or sra rtsi pog (Vatica or Shorea robusta) [LAUFER 1896: 397] and the synonym compound pog spos (Mahā. #6260) for kunduru. Already DAS had noticed that pog was the same as spos [p. 786], which calls into question the value of accepting that pog is kunduru, one sort of incense, as is stated once in the Bstan-'gyur [LAUFER 1896: 397, repeated in DAS]. Thus, in lce pog we have 'lce used as incense'. Lce is Skt. jihvā, the root of Ceylon jasmine or Tabernaemontana coronaria [MONIER WILLIAMS; Pharm. II: 413f]. This identification is, however, tentative, since data on the aromatic nature of this root are lacking.
229. In place of turquoise Rol-pa gives conch-shell (duñ).
The reader has no doubt noticed the many series of five-fold materials here; as our knowledge of the pañca-tathāgata system increases we can improve our analysis of the distribution and meaning of these items.
230. Grahe, vocative of grahi; for the table or bench on which the work takes place? There is also a group of female spirits, the Grahī, who perhaps would be invoked here [MALLMANN: 167]. However, the vocative here ought to be Grahi.
Rol-pa [269v] says that this is Amṛtakundalin's dhāraṇī:
bdud rtsi 'khyil ba'i shags kyis sbyaṅs / om a mri ta ha na ha na a mri ta mu sa la svāhā.
231. I.e., that perfect knowledge-set gained from a complete experience of the five families--the pañcajñāna [WAYMAN 1973: 34]. This is made clear in Rol-pa: rta mgrin dbaṅ gi dkyil 'khor gyis / dños grub bdud rtsi'i dkyil 'khor rdzogs / rgyu 'bras mthun par soyad pa yaṅ / rigs tshogs 'bras bu'i dkyil 'khor ñid.
232. I.e., appropriate offerings to each of the kulas; see WAYMAN 1973: 81 for a small selection of possible materials here. Rol-pa does not mention this, nor the mental arrangement of maṇḍalas which follows here, but rather a long series of maṇḍalas representing aspects of the kulas, the last that given in the note above.
233. Mahākrodheśvarī is the Krodha or fierce aspect of the consort of the Ādi-buddha, Samantabhadra (in other systems one would speak here of Vajrasatta and Vajradhatvīśvarī--MKHAS-GRUB: 143). This is why the following dhāraṇī refers to the mudrās, the Guhyamātrī or Goddesses of the Elements, of all the Tathāgatas.
234. A very basic concept in Buddhism is that of the tridoṣa, lust (rāga), delusion (moha) and hatred (dveṣa).

235. Nes pa'i don, nītārtha, has several applications in Buddhism. It is always opposed to neyārtha, the 'simpler' (i.e., shallower) interpretation of realities. Not only does nītārtha mean that the yogi now fully understands the real meaning of the ritual he has undergone (in the samādhi he has entered), it also applies to the very material used, following the Tantric custom of using outwardly repulsive materials to reveal the most profound truths. Thus, the term nītārtha itself is a secret Tantric term for menstrual blood, and hes pa'i don dbaṅ is the descriptive name for this ritual [WAYMAN 1973: 87f, 133].
236. A short and not extremely enlightening discussion of the eight siddhis is found at MKHAS-GRUB: 220n. In our text they are referred to as yon tan brgyad, the aṣṭa-guṇa; cf. WAYMAN 1977: 314.
237. The four methods are the four mudrās, the Goddesses, as sources (i.e., methods) of enjoyment for the yogin [DASGUPTA 1974: 174f has a good discussion of these]. What these thirty lakṣaṇas are is not yet certain; Rol-pa has an entirely different reading: mtshan mchog bzaṅ po bdud rtsi gñis / cha lugs rdzogs par ma 'dres gsal, 'With this woman) the excellent, auspicious sign and the elixir will be visible in an uncombined form upon her perfect attributes', where the sign is her mark of femininity and the elixir bodhicitta; cha lugs probably refers to designs, etc., on her Tantric garb.
238. Thus greatly improving on the reading in Rol-pa: zla gsaṅ dkar dmar kluṅ kar lci [270v].
The secret moon (guhvacandra) is the yoginī's padma; the 'red and the white' are menstrual blood and semen; the 'heavy white wind' is that normally uncontrolled power within the human body responsible for pushing it inexorably forward in life, dependent upon the sense organs. When the yogi controls it it takes upon itself a spiritual power, the inward-directed and quieting white (light). See WAYMAN 1977: 195f and 1973: 159f.
239. For gṣag par bya Rol-pa reads ñe bar sbyar, upasaṃharati, which may involve sorts of foreplay.
240. This use of rasāyana is quite unique to Vimala and this Anu-yoga insofar as our knowledge of Tantric systems--largely confined to studies of the Guhyasamāja- and the Hevajra- Tantras--is concerned.
241. Kun byed is sarvakarmakṛt, that which makes all to act; and, according to the Guhyasamāja tradition, is that combination of unrestrained bodhicitta and wind described in note 238 above: prāṇabhūtaśca sattvānām vāyvākhyah sarvakarmakṛt ("That which is called 'wind' is the prāṇic-force element of all beings, and the doer of all", says Nāgārjuna in his Guhyasamāja commentary, the Pañcakrama) [WAYMAN 1977: 198].

The reference to 'consuming' (za ba) the kun byed appears as a metaphor for the gradual and moderate controls applied by the yogin in samādhi when tackling this powerful force; "The fault of not doing it that way is that the wind swirls, whereupon the heart gets diseased, the body heavy; one is panic-stricken and one's thoughts become tumultuous (i.e., they race). Moreover, if one holds the breath fiercely, a fault occurs in this case: it is taught that upon reverting from that, the samādhi is spoiled. When, like an animal, the vital air is not controlled, it is said, "There is no accomplishment of samādhi." . . . " [WAYMAN 1973: 148].

What appears as a somewhat important technical point in the hatha-yogic systems of the Guhyasamāja, etc., materials is to the Rdzogs-chen a most fundamental doctrine. Indeed, the first independent essay devoted to Rdzogs-chen centers on a discussion of the Byañ-chub-sems-kun-byed-rgyal-po, AKA Kun-byed-rgyal-po or simply Kun-byed, which the author of this article considers to be one of the most important texts of that school [Samten KARMAY, A Discussion on the Doctrinal Position of rDzogs-chen from the 10th to the 13th Centuries, Journal Asiatique 1975, pp. 147-56]. It was considered a heretical concept and actively suppressed at various times; this reaction has been explained by Karmay as due to the similarity between kun byed and the prakṛti of Sāṃkhya as active creators of the universe. Be that as it may, it was nevertheless the practices of the Rdzogs-chen which aroused great ire [*ibid.*, p. 150], and in this connection we may compare Vimala's materials: they would certainly ruffle feathers in any society, at any time.

242. It is a universal characteristic of such ~~occult~~ doings as these occult rituals, that the violation of those vows which have bound supernatural beings to help the yogin will bring down upon him their vengeance. Also, Amṛta-kundalin is here echoing the Buddhist attitude that one either succeeds completely or falls back into the arms of samsāra; there is no 'little' success.
243. Rol-pa reads here: rigs lña gtso bo yum bcas kun / rañ 'byuñ bdud rtsi'i dkyil 'khor ñid / ye śes lña las der snañ ba'i / ñi śu rtsa lña'i 'phro 'du las / khams gsum 'gro ba'i don mdzad ciñ / ñi śu rtsa lña'i 'phro 'du vis / khams gsum bsgral ba'i don mdzad ciñ / . . . [272v]. Such is the logical conclusion of the Tantric system, combining the Bodhisattva ideal with a system centered upon the metaphysical reality of amṛta [see note 162, p. 208].
244. The following five 'most excellent' pañcāmṛtas which now flow as the essences of the Tathāgatas represent a bridging of Mahā- and Anu-yoga practices, and are not

simply utpatti-krama methods, as indicated by WAYMAN [1973: 116], inasmuch as mahāsukha is associated with the highest stages of yoga. In the chart on WAYMAN 1973: 34 the amrtas are thus associated with the Tathāgatas: Vairocana with excrement (dri chen, mahāgandha), Amitabha with semen (bodhicitta), Amoghasiddhi with human flesh (mahāmāṃsa), Ratnasambhava with menstrual blood (rakta), and Aksobhya with urine (dri chu, mūtra). This is merely another application of repulsive material terms to the highest truths, not so much to hide anything as to shock, and to force one's mind to adapt a facile, anti-formal attitude toward those truths. Even yogins can fall victim to this trick of combining truly 'horrible' rituals with a smoke-screen vocabulary; see WAYMAN 1973: 219, where a misunderstanding may be cleared up with reference to our present passage under consideration.

245. This eight-spoked wheel (its color not mentioned in Rol-pa) is symbolic of Vairocana, Tathāgata of the sahasrāra-cakra. This center is located, in terms of gross anatomy, at the crown of the head. The nectar drips down from there when the opening which is normally there has been closed by the yogin [DASGUPTA 1969: 240f]. This opening, the vairocanadvāra, is also known as 'the golden portal' [WAYMAN 1973: 218].
246. Rol-pa formulates it thus: dmār po hrīh (text: tri) las padma gyur / chags pa'i ragta sbyoñ byed pa'o [27lv].
247. Jāpa, i.e., vajrajāpa; it is "nothing but prāṇāvāma associated with the mantra for the control of the vital wind . . . to control the vital wind is to control the mind, and to control the mind and to destroy it is to realize the essencelessness of the dharmas" [DASGUPTA 1969: 168].
248. One of a number of possible readings; see the text, page 158. To arrive at this interpretation we have read brla, 'thigh', perhaps as a password for the mūladhara-cakra. Rol-pa reads here tiñ 'dzin me dañ 'dra ba la / bzlas brjod rluñ dañ 'dra bas bskul / le lo ñams spañs g.yeñ ba yi / dbyal dañ sbrid pas bar mi bcañ, "In that fire-like samādhi, which is urged on by jāpa that is like (i.e., equal to) the wind, (the yogin) is not hindered by being torpid along with having dbyal (?) which distracts the yogi's mind from removing its impurities; nor is he hindered by indolence." [273r]
249. Such as when the Sādhanaṃālā mentions rasarasāyana siddhi [edited by Benoytosh BHATTACHARYYA in Gaekwad's Oriental Series Nos. 26 and 41, Daroda, 1925-28, p. 350], or when a famous yogi's biography speaks of smān gyi bcud len, bdud rtsi bum pa, and gser 'gyur gyi rtsi as separate siddhis [GZON-NU-DPAL: 1036].

250. E.g., those works listed in notes 135 and 155 in Part II, above.
251. Various chapters throughout the versions of his biographies emphasize his mastery of outer, i.e., exoteric sciences as well as inner. It was as much for his omniscience as his religious and salvational activities that he was accorded this epithet.
252. Such as when the Goddess Drdhā vows to satiate herself with an 'imbibing' of the Dharma, after which she will moisten the earth with that nectar which brings longevity and health to sentient: ātmanam cānena dharmasravanena dharmāmrtarasena samtarpayisyāmi . . . prthvīmandalam snigdheṇa prthivīrasena snehiṣvāmi . . . āyurbalāvarṇendriyani vivardhayiṣyanti [Suvarṇaprabhāsaśūtra, ed. by Sitansusekhar BAGCHI, Darbhanga, 1967 (Buddhist Sanskrit Text Series No. 8), p. 64)]. This story is very similar to Padma's activities in the third chapter of the Lha-'dre-bka'-thañ (the first book of the Bka'-thañ-sde-lña), wherein various forms of Padma create elixirs to aid all sorts of non-human sentient on earth.
253. In fact, we have yet to find Padmaist materials in which rasa or amṛta carries the real metaphysical importance it has been shown to have (in note 241, p. 219) in Rdzogs-chen.
254. See p. 117 and note 31, p. 187 above.
255. The first Gter-ston whose activities were closely connected to Padmasambhava was Nāñ-ral Ni-ma-'od-zer (1124-92), who gathered materials ascribed to Padma from, among other localities, Mchims-phu [DARGYAY: 97-99].

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