

Esoteric Buddhism at Dunhuang

rites and teachings for this life and beyond



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Cover illustration: IOL Tib J 1364. Ritual implement featuring Vajrasattva.
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PREFACE

The last few decades have seen great strides in the study of Tibetan and Chinese manuscripts from the ‘library’ cave at Dunhuang, and, in particular, new work on previously neglected aspects of religious life relating to esoteric, or ‘tantric’, Buddhism. During most of the twentieth century research on the Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts employed the texts to illuminate historical and cultural aspects of the Tibetan imperial period. Major historical works like the *Old Tibetan Annals* and *Chronicle* were naturally a focus of this initial phase of scholarship, along with an examination of religious texts for insights into the culture of pre-Buddhist Tibet. The early catalogues of the Pelliot and Stein collections, though great contributions to learning, were written in a period when the tantric Buddhism of Tibet was little understood, and could not do justice to this aspect of the manuscripts. At the same time, the esoteric elements of Chinese religions, if not altogether ignored, were generally marginalised as mere artifacts of popular superstition. The recent change of emphasis has come in part from a generation of scholars more familiar with later manifestations of tantric Buddhism in Tibet, while specialists of Chinese religions have simultaneously shed new light on medieval beliefs and practices.

Among Tibetanists, Samten G. Karmay has been particularly important in tracing connections between texts found in the Dunhuang manuscripts and the Great Perfection and Mahāyoga works of the Rnying ma tradition in Tibet. His discovery of manuscripts containing Great Perfection texts, and his identification of a doxographical model from Pelliot tibétain 849 as a prototype of the nine-vehicle structure expounded in later Rnying ma literature showed that there was more continuity with the later tradition than had previously been apparent.¹

¹ See KARMAY 1988. For other pertinent studies of Tibetan tantric manuscripts, see BISCHOFF 1956 and 1971, IMAEDA 1979 and EASTMAN 1983. References to most works cited in this Preface, together with fuller documentation of the scholarship to date on esoteric Buddhism at Dunhuang, will be found in the following list of ‘Abbreviations and Selected Bibliography’.

The links between the Dunhuang documents and later trends in Tibetan Buddhism also appear more significant now that many of these manuscripts have been dated to well after the Tibetan imperial period. Whereas it was once thought that the Tibetan texts in the Dunhuang collections must have been produced during the Tibetan occupation (between the conquest of Dunhuang of about 786 and the fall of Tibetan power there in 848), a significant proportion of the 'library' has now been assigned to a later age, and some works to only a few years before the closing of the cave at the beginning of the eleventh century. Indeed, few if any manuscripts containing tantric texts have been securely dated to the earlier, imperial period.² Some of those that we will look at below have now been firmly dated to the tenth century, and without contrary evidence, we may take it as a working hypothesis that all of the tantric materials under discussion here postdate the Tibetan rule of Dunhuang, and indeed may well be as late at the end of the tenth century.³

Regarding the milieu in which these manuscripts were produced, there are some indications that there was a relatively wealthy audience for tantric texts in the region of Dunhuang. We have, for example, the beautifully produced manuscripts of the *Guhyasamājatantra* (IOL Tib J 438) and the commentary on the *Upāyapāśatantra* attributed to Padmasambhava (IOL Tib J 321). A ritual item featuring Vajrasattva (and reproduced on the front cover of this volume) is decorated with the expensive pigments lapis lazuli and vermilion (IOL Tib J 1364).

Though Dunhuang is far from Central Tibet, in the tenth century it was a neighbour of two thriving centres of Tibetan Buddhist culture in northeastern Amdo and Gansu: Tsong kha and Liangzhou. The passage of merchants and pilgrims along the old Silk Routes continued in the tenth century to keep the Buddhists of these areas in contact, as attested by some of the Dunhuang manuscripts. In the first half of the ninth century the last of the great Tibetan imperial benefactors of Buddhism, Khri Gtsug lde btsan (or Ral pa can, reigned 815–c. 838) commissioned several monasteries and meditation centres in northern Amdo. Some of these, such as those situated in Tsong kha and Dan

² Among these late dated manuscripts containing tantric material we may mention PT 44, PT 849 and Or.8210/S.95. For a discussion of criteria for dating, and a much longer list of manuscripts, see TAKEUCHI forthcoming.

³ A possible exception is the *Rdo rje sems dpa'i zhus lan*, studied in this volume in the chapter by K.M. Takahashi.

tig, became major centres of monastic Buddhism after the fall of Tibetan imperial power.

According to the traditional accounts of the 'age of fragmentation' (*sil bu'i dus*) in Tibetan historical literature, it was here in northeastern Amdo that the Vinaya lineage was maintained and exported back to Central Tibet. The traditional histories also contain hints that Amdo and the northern regions of Khams played a similar role in the revitalization of tantric lineages in Central Tibet. For example, one of the few tenth-century figures identified by historians as significant in the formation of Rnying ma lineages (especially the Great Perfection lineage adopted by the Khams tradition), A ro Ye shes 'byung gnas, seems to have been active in Amdo.⁴ The founder of the Zur tradition, Śākya 'byung gnas, is said to have been born and educated in his father's tantric lineage in northern Khams at the beginning of the eleventh century. Similarly, the founder of the Khams tradition, Dam pa bde gshegs, was born and received his early education in northeastern Khams in the early twelfth century.⁵

Thus the geographical position of Dunhuang need not lead us to dismiss the manuscripts as peripheral to mainstream Tibetan cultural interests. Rather we may consider them as representing a local expression of a formative period in the development of rituals and doctrines that later became identified as the purview of the Rnying ma lineages. The fact that so many of the manuscripts containing Tibetan tantric texts date from the tenth century means that they are almost direct antecedents of the period when the Rnying ma lineages began to take shape during the eleventh century.⁶

In connection with Chinese materials, the evolution of scholarship devoted to esoteric Buddhism has followed a rather different course. What was crucial did not in the first instance concern the Dunhuang

⁴ NYANG RAL NYI MA 'OD ZER identifies A ro Ye shes 'byung gnas as an Amdo man (*mdo smad pa*) in his *Chos 'byung me tog snying po* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1988), p. 491. 'GOS LO TSA BA has him as a resident of the Amdo district of Glong thang (incidentally the site of one of Ral pa can's temples); see G. ROERICH, trans., *Blue Annals* (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976 [1949]), pp. 167, 999-1000.

⁵ The birthplaces of these two figures are given in DUDJOM RINPOCHE, *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism: Its Fundamentals and History*, trans. and ed. by G. Dorje and M. Kapstein (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1991), I.617, 688.

⁶ SNELLGROVE 1987, to be sure, already anticipated this conclusion, though the research available on Dunhuang Tantric materials at that time was not adequate to support it so decisively as seems to us to be now possible.

manuscripts, but instead the dawning recognition that the tantric component of Chinese religions had been both more widespread and deeply felt than previous scholarship had known. The shift in perspective that was required was made plain not in work specifically related to documents from Dunhuang, but above all in the posthumous publications of one of the most farsighted interpreters of East Asian religions, Michel Strickmann, the impact of whose contribution continues to shape the field today.⁷ Though the precise applications of the categories of tantra and esotericism in the Chinese setting have been much contested in recent years, it seems unlikely that, having entered the stage, they will leave it any time soon.⁸

In Chinese Dunhuang studies in particular, the developments that have recently brought tantric materials to the fore have been quite diffuse. Besides Strickmann's bold reconfiguring of the position of tantra in the history of East Asian religions overall, Dunhuang scholarship has become increasingly clear in asserting that what had once seemed marginal—divination manuals and almanacs, talismans and exorcistic recipes, miracle tales and rites to achieve postmortem salvation—were in fact central to the medieval Chinese experience.⁹ The importance of esoteric Buddhism (however one defines it) among the Chinese population of Dunhuang during the late Tang dynasty and for some centuries thereafter began to be discerned primarily in connection with documents such as these. But it was further seen to be in evidence in the magnificent painted *maṇḍalas* found in Mogao Cave 17 and produced for Chinese donors. In these works, too, it became clear that Tibetan and Chinese tantric traditions were in some respects interlinked, though such connections as may have existed in this area remain obscure.¹⁰ At the same time, as Christine Mollier's

⁷ STRICKMANN 1996. See, too, STRICKMANN 2002. His early interest in promoting greater dialogue among those engaged in Indian, Tibetan and Chinese Tantric studies, and Taoist studies as well, is clearly demonstrated by the unsurpassed collection STRICKMANN 1981-83.

⁸ Refer to SHARF 2002, Appendix 1, On Esoteric Buddhism in China, and to MCBRIDE 2004. Pertinent background may also be found in ORZECZ 1998.

⁹ This is not the occasion for a complete bibliography of relevant sinological contributions. As points of departure one may consider: DREGE 1999-2000, FRASER 2004, KALINOWSKI 2003, KUO 1994, MOLLIER 2008, NING. 2004, REIS-HABITO 1994, SØRENSEN 1991-92, SOYMIÉ 1987, TEISER 1988 and 1994, WANG-TOUTAIN 1998 and 2007. Many recent works on the art of Dunhuang, besides the few mentioned, are of relevance here as well.

¹⁰ See, for instance, GIES AND COHEN 1995: 395-405.

recent investigations have shown, Chinese Buddhist esoteric traditions at Dunhuang were frequently distinctively Sinitic in character, as often tied to Taoist as to Indic antecedents.¹¹

The present volume had its origin in a panel convened at the September 2005 London colloquium of the International Association of Buddhist Studies that was intended to explore and to further scholarship on Tibetan and Chinese Tantric Buddhism, as known from the documents discovered at Dunhuang.¹² Although only three of the original presentations—those by Sam van Schaik, Kammie Morrison Takahashi, and Matthew T. Kapstein—could be included, the intentions that motivated the panel are advanced here by the additional contributions of Cathy Cantwell and Robert Mayer, Yoshiro Imaeda, and Katherine R. Tsiang. In accord with a well-known tantric formula, we have organized their six studies under the rubrics of rites and teachings for this life and those intended to guide one's passage beyond.

The first chapter, by Cantwell and Mayer, is part of their broader project of analysing the Vajrakīlaya (*rdo rje phur pa*) manuscripts in the Dunhuang collections and relating them to the material preserved in the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*—the collected tantras of the Rnying ma traditions. Here the focus is on the ritual manual IOL Tib J 331.III. They show that this work contains text that is also found (in variant forms) in several tantras from the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*. In particular, the text is almost entirely reproduced in a single tantra, the '*Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*, a work that in turn influenced at least one branch of the later Rnying ma commentarial literature on Vajrakīlaya. The Dunhuang text is also shown to contain

¹¹ MOLLIER 2008.

¹² The panel in question, organized by Jacob Dalton and Sam van Schaik, was to include the following communications: Robert Sharf, 'On Tantric Buddhist Practice at the Mogao Caves'; Amanda Goodman, 'Why did Bodhidharma Ascend the Vajradhātu? Some Thoughts on the *Fu fazang pin* of the *Tanfa yize* (P. 3913)'; Kammie Takahashi, 'Meditatively Contemplating All the Tathāgatas: Early Mahāyoga in the *Rdo rje sems dpa'i zhus lan*'; Carmen Meinert, 'Wrathful Activity in the Dunhuang Manuscripts'; Jacob Dalton, 'How to Organize the Tantras: Remarks on Two New Doxographical Works from the Dunhuang Collection'; Sam van Schaik, 'The Development of Tantric Vows in Early Tibetan Buddhism'; Matthew T. Kapstein, 'Between *Na rak* and a hard place: Evil Rebirth and the Violation of Vows in early Rnying ma pa Sources and their Dunhuang antecedents'; and Christine Mollier, 'The Dipper at Dunhuang: Materials on the Development of a Buddho-Taoist Cult'. DALTON 2005, MEINERT 2006, and MOLLIER 2008 may be consulted for three of the contributions that could not be included here.

correspondences with the main Vajrakīlaya ritual of the Sa skya school, derived from the 'Khon family's Rnying ma heritage.

Like Kapstein, in his chapter below, Cantwell and Mayer demonstrate that studying Dunhuang texts can help us to appreciate the complexities involved in the construction of the Rnying ma tantras, although a complete understanding of these processes is still a distant ideal. Though they point out that it is not always certain how far the inclusion of material from one text in another may indicate deliberate selection or reworking, and how far accidental loss may have played a part, all three of these authors suggest that what we see in the overlapping material between the manuscripts and the tantras is evidence of the practice that Lévi-Strauss judiciously termed *bricolage*.

Another example of a specifically Tibetan development of Indic tantric Buddhism is described in van Schaik's chapter on the *samaya* vows of Mahāyoga. Among the Dunhuang manuscripts we find discussions of a multiplicity of tantric vow systems, brought to Tibet in different tantric lineages before the tenth century. Among them is a twenty-eight vow system that, while comparable to those of the *Guhyagarbha* tantra and the exegete Vilāsavajra, are not known outside of Tibetan Buddhism. However, it is identical to the *samaya* vow system adopted by the later Rnying ma traditions.

The *Questions and Answers of Vajrasattva* (*Rdo rje'i sems dpa'i zhus lan*) demonstrates that the continuities between the Dunhuang manuscripts and the Rnying ma traditions are also found in philosophical or doctrinal matters. The text was preserved and eventually printed in the Peking and Snar thang editions of the canonical collection of treatises and commentaries, the *Bstan 'gyur*, and various citations are embedded in the *Lamp for the Eyes of Contemplation* (*Bsam gtan mig sgron*) of Gnubs Sangs rgyas ye shes (tenth century). Takahashi's chapter in the volume presents the first critical edition of this important text, bringing together the major manuscript and canonical sources. The *Questions and Answers of Vajrasattva* is a vital historical document for the development of Mahāyoga and the Great Perfection in Tibet, and Takahashi shows how the text reframes instruction on ritual and meditative aspects of Mahāyoga in a wider realm of philosophical discourse that is similar to the later Mind Series (*sems sde*) literature preserved in the Rnying ma canons. This is represented in the question-and-answer format of the text, in which the questions are concerned largely with details of ritual, meditation and their results, while the answers emphasize the inherent emptiness

of ritual forms and the spontaneous presence of the enlightened state—central concerns of the later Great Perfection literature.

While all three of these chapters are focused upon ritual and the refinement of practice and understanding to be undertaken by adepts with a view to mastery, or at least efficacy, here and now, in the second section of the volume our concern shifts to tantric approaches to mortuary rites. Imaeda's discussion of the influence of early Tibetan funerary practices on the later Buddhist texts concerning the intermediate state is an extension of an earlier work, one of the groundbreaking studies of the tantric manuscripts from Dunhuang, in which the author examined a text known as *Overcoming the Three Poisons* (*Dug gsum 'dul ba*) which was to be read out at the time of death, with the dead or dying person's name inserted into the prayer at relevant points. The text uses Buddhist mantras drawn from the *Sarva-durgatipariśodhanatantra*, among other sources, and is notable as the only instance of the famous six-syllable mantra of Avalokiteśvara in the Dunhuang manuscripts. In his chapter in the present volume, Imaeda places these manuscripts in the broader context of Tibetan religious practice, connecting them with similar texts from the fourteenth-century *Bar do thos grol*, famed in the West as 'The Tibetan Book of the Dead', and related works on death and dying mainly found in the revealed treasure (*gter ma*) literature of the Rnying ma. He argues that this gives us a clear view of one instance in which Buddhism was 'Tibetanised', rather than Tibet being 'Buddhicised'.

The development of mortuary rites among the Rnying ma traditions is also the subject of Kapstein's chapter. Taking as his point of departure the morphological similarities relating a lotus-maṇḍala described in a Dunhuang Tibetan text to the maṇḍalas of the *Sarva-durgatipariśodhanatantra* and those of the Rnying ma ritual cycle known as the *Na rak dong sprugs*, the 'Churner of the Depths of Hell', he shows that an additional element from the *Na rak* cycle, its major tantra the *Dri med gshags rgyud* ('Taintless Tantra of Contrition'), may also be traced in part in the Dunhuang finds. He sees here, however, not evidence that the *Na rak* cycle already existed at the time these manuscripts were produced, perhaps during the tenth century, but rather that they provide us with a glimpse of the types of sources that were available to the great redactors of the *Na rak* and other Rnying ma tantric collections, beginning during the eleventh century and continuing at least until the eighteenth, when the much of the corpus of the 'Oral Teachings of the Rnying ma' (*Rnying ma bka'*

ma) was given its modern form by the hierarchs of the Central Tibetan monastery of Smin sgrol gling.

The final chapter, Tsiang's study of printed images and texts of the eighth through tenth centuries, examines an important body of stamped images, texts and *dhāraṇīs*, some arranged in maṇḍala-like concentric designs, that have been discovered at Dunhuang and in tombs throughout China in recent years. Her discussion shows us how these were related to hopes for protection and prosperity, and were sometimes sealed as amulets attached to the corpse of the deceased. Developing Strickmann's insights regarding the cardinal role of ensigillation in Chinese 'magical medicine', Tsiang argues that the early development of printing in China was in large measure driven by the need for precise multiple copies of esoteric images and texts.

Tsiang's contribution reminds us that it was among the goals of this project to initiate a dialogue between those working on Chinese and Tibetan esoteric materials, respectively, as these are represented at Dunhuang. For those familiar with later Tibetan Buddhist practice, once more among the Rnying ma in particular, it will be clear, moreover, just how suggestive such a dialogue can be. For one of the practices much promoted as Rnying ma tantric traditions evolved was that of *btags grol*, 'liberation by wearing', referring to amulets based upon *mantras* and *dharaṇīs* to be worn by the living or fastened to the dead, much as was practised in late first millennium China as Tsiang shows. It is to be hoped that greater communication among scholars working in both domains will clarify the relevant points of contact, or of common inspiration, that may be supposed to have formed the background for developments such as these.

The chapters in this volume make it clear that various 'proto-Rnying ma' materials are indeed to be found among the Tibetan tantric manuscripts from Dunhuang. The authors suggest various ways in which these doctrinal and ritual elements cast light upon the murky period in which the content of the Rnying ma lineages was taking shape, and on their implications for later manifestations of religious life. Thus the research presented here provides evidence of fluidity and development among the doctrines and texts of ninth and tenth century tantric Buddhism. Future work on both Tibetan and Chinese tantric texts from Dunhuang will undoubtedly yield further insights into the development of esoteric Buddhism in general. It is a particularly striking conclusion of the present collection, however, that all of the contributions, including Tsiang's which is devoted exclusively

to Chinese materials, find strong parallels in the Rnying ma traditions of the eleventh century onward. Though the precise histories of these traditions have been much mythologised in later Rnying ma narrations, it is fair to hold that their genuine continuity with the esoteric Buddhism of the late first millennium is now established beyond reasonable doubt. It remains a task for future research to clarify the many details.

For bringing the present work into publication, we are particularly grateful to our friends at Brill, Albert Hoffstädt and Patricia Radder. Our thanks are due as well to the editors of Brill's Tibetan Studies Library: Henk Blezer, Alex McKay, and Charles Ramble.

Matthew T. Kapstein
Sam van Schaik

ABBREVIATIONS AND SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations used in only a single chapter will be found listed at the end of the chapter in question.

- IOL Tib India Office Library Tibetan (now preserved in the British Library).
- M *The Mtshams brag manuscript of the Rñin ma rgyud 'bum (rgyud 'bum/ mtshams brag dgon pa)*. 1982. Thimpu: National Library, Royal Government of Bhutan. Forty-six volumes. (Microfiche available from The Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions, LMPj 014,862—014, 907.)
- PT *Pelliot tibétain* (Bibliothèque Nationale de France).
- Q *The Tibetan Tripiṭaka: Peking Edition, Kept in the Library of the Otani University, Kyoto*. Edited by Daisetz T. Suzuki. Tokyo/Kyoto: Tibetan Tripiṭaka Research Institute, 1961.
- T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 [The Buddhist Canon Newly Compiled during the Taishō Era]. Edited by Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭. 100 vols. Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924-1935.
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rites and teachings for this life...

A DUNHUANG PHURPA CONSECRATION RITE: IOL TIB J 331.III'S CONSECRATIONS SECTION*

Cathy Cantwell and Robert Mayer

INTRODUCTION

IOL Tib J 331 is a complete and well-preserved manuscript of three texts. The three texts are separate, probably discrete parts within one collection, although there is a possibility that the first and third text might have had some connection or at least originally have been part of one volume. The Phurpa text considered here is the third and final text of the trio, while the first two are essentially discussions of tantric *sādhana* practice, with specific relation to Vajrasattva. Apart from some nine *tshig rkang* found in the opening sections of IOL Tib J 331.III,¹ the entire text is paralleled in a slightly different order within a *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* text, the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*.² The nature and significance of this parallel, as well as the sharing of substantial passages with other *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* texts, is discussed below.

The style of handwriting is similar across the three texts, with the main text in a beautifully executed script which is midway between *dbu med* and *dbu can*, and which is found in many of the Dunhuang

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¹ Note that of these nine lines, four are found in the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*'s *Phur pa bcu gnyis*.

² We have consulted three editions of the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* in considering this long parallel: the MTSHAMS BRAG edition (M), beginning Vol. Chi 1023.4; the SDE DGE xylograph edition (D), beginning Vol. Wa 348v.7; and the GTING SKYES edition (T), beginning Vol. Sha 523.6. These three are representatives of the three lines of textual descent (Bhutanese, Eastern Tibetan, Southern Central) which we have found in our other studies of Phurpa texts from the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* (CANTWELL AND MAYER 2007: 16-18, 65-74). Here, MTSHAMS BRAG has been used for citation of the parallel text, but it has been noted if there are significant variants in the other editions consulted.

manuscripts.³ There are a number of distinctive features about IOL Tib J 331.II in comparison with the other two texts. The size and colour of the folios is exactly the same, but the paper does seem slightly different in texture. The format of a main text in larger handwriting, with annotations given above or below the line in smaller writing (often with slightly less attention to careful formation of each letter), is found in both the first and third text, but the second has only the larger writing without commentary. There are also slight differences in the style of handwriting of the second text in comparison with the other two: notably, while the first and the third texts give the reversed *gi gu* almost exclusively,⁴ its usage in the second text is extensive but not invariable. The *yig mgo* is almost identically shaped in IOL Tib J 331.I and III, but is more horizontally shaped in IOL Tib J 331.II.

The first folio of IOL Tib J 331.I is marked *kha* and the first folio of IOL Tib J 331.II is marked *cha*.⁵ There is no identifying letter on IOL Tib J 331.III. If it had been produced as part of the same collection as IOL Tib J 331.I, and perhaps penned by the same scribe, as their similarities might lead us to conjecture, this would suggest that each identification letter perhaps represented more than one text. In any case, it would appear that there should be other texts between IOL Tib J 331.I and 331.II (even if the letters correspond to individual texts rather than volumes, we are missing *ga*, *nga* and *ca*).

There is no explicit linkage in subject matter across the three texts, but nonetheless, we do find some overlap. Since the three might be from one collection, and IOL Tib J 331.I and III might have been produced at the same time, possibly even within the same volume or bundle of texts, it is worth considering what kinds of textual connections there might be between them. At the same time, like other

³ The folios closely resemble IOL Tib J 594 and 647, the writing of which KARMAY (1988: 42, 59) identified as early examples of the 'Bru ma script later found in parts of Khams and Amdo.

⁴ In the third text, there are just three instances of *phyir* and two instances of *ni* where the *gi gu* are not reversed. The first text has a single instance of an unreversed *gi gu* on the word *dmyigs*.

⁵ LA VALLÉE POUSSIN (1962: xv) pointed out that such identification letters in Dunhuang manuscripts may relate to the numbering of texts or volumes, or may alternatively represent each hundred pages, as in IOL Tib J 619. In this manuscript fragment of one text (see the manuscript images at <http://idp.bl.uk>), folio *Ka brgya' tham* is followed by *Kha gcig*. In the case of IOL Tib J 331, the texts are paginated separately, and none of them are long enough for the figures to exceed one hundred. LA VALLÉE POUSSIN (1962: xvi) also discusses various other uses of alphabetical lettering for folio pagination purposes, but again, this is not at issue here.

collections of tantric texts, they are quite separate works. What parallels we have found in other sources have not crossed over the divisions between the three. For instance, as noted above, virtually the whole of IOL Tib J 331.III is found in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*, but we have not identified any passages from the other two texts there. Similarly, Dalton (DALTON AND VAN SCHAIK 2006: 208-9) points out the connection between IOL Tib J 331.II and 464.I, quite unconnected in that case from material in the other sections here.

IOL Tib J 331.I and II are briefly discussed by EASTMAN (1983: 52-53). The first, very brief text of two folios (IOL Tib J 331.I), is attributed to 'Jam dpal bshes gnyen, perhaps referring to the Mañjuśrīmitra from Ceylon famous for his important place in the Rdzogs chen lineages and for his many works in the *Bstan 'gyur*, especially those on the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti*. Certainly the colophon here identifies him as the teacher from Sing ga la (*sing ga la 'i sloba dpon 'jam dpal bshes gnyen*).⁶ The text gives a resume of important aspects of *sādhana* practice, including preparations, non-discursive meditation (the interlineal commentary refers to the *samādhi of thusness*), body, speech and mind consecration through the three seed syllables (*ōm āṃ/aṃ hūṃ*),⁷ meditation on the white syllable *a* at the heart as sym-

⁶ We do not know for certain whether the attribution is historically valid or not, especially given the subsequent production of pseudepigrapha attributed to Mañjuśrīmitra by later Rnying ma authors of the Rdzogs chen tradition. DAVIDSON (1981: 3ff) has discussed Mañjuśrīmitra's known writings on the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti*. On examining IOL Tib J 331.I and comparing it with Mañjuśrīmitra's works, and in particular, his *Bodhicittabhāvanā* texts (Tô 2562-3 and 2591), Ronald Davidson advises us (personal communication 26/03/2008) that it is unlikely to have been written by Mañjuśrīmitra, since the language, such as the use of *ye nas* (1v.3), does not fit with Indian Buddhist terminology in general nor with Mañjuśrīmitra's works in particular. On the separate question of a possible link between IOL Tib J 331.I and the Rdzogs chen works attributed to Mañjuśrīmitra, J.-L. ACHARD, who has studied several of these works, considers IOL Tib J 331.I not quite consistent with their very recognisable style (personal communication 5/5/2005).

⁷ Note that the second syllable, *āṃ* or *aṃ*, does not appear to be an error for *āḥ*, which is more usual in Tibetan practice. It is repeated twice here, and is furthermore consistent with the set of three given in the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum's rdo rje phur bu chos thams cad mya ngan las 'das pa'i rgyud chen po* [*Myang 'das*] (Chapter 18: D Vol. Zha 68r; M Vol. Chi 149v(298); G Vol. Chi 133v; T Vol. Sa 171v(342); R Vol. Sa 138v; N Vol. Sha 80r), where we find *ām* in the SDE DGE edition and *aṃ* in all other editions. In the *Myang 'das*, the speech syllable *ām/aṃ* is located above the tongue (*Ice steng*); in IOL Tib J 331.I, in the mouth (*khar*). This contrasts with the speech syllable *āḥ* in the usual series, which is associated with the throat centre. Moreover, we seem also to have an instance of red *ām* at the tongue given in the present Phurpa text, IOL Tib J 331.III (3v), where the interlinear comments outline

bol of the *dharmakāya* and on balls of light (*'od ril*), on the syllable *hūṃ*, further meditations and offerings, and the dissolution.

The second, unattributed, text (IOL Tib J 331.II) is six folios in length and gives greater detail on tantric visualisation practice. It begins and ends by stating the goal of transformation into Vajrasattva. It lists prerequisites for the practice, while the core of the text elaborates on the meditative visualisation, starting with the famous three *samādhis* of Mahāyoga, and continuing with reference to building up the foundation of the elements, and the Immeasurable Palace above with the deity and retinue. *Mantras* for the five buddhas are given, and other *maṇḍala* deities (the wrathful ones, the protectors) are mentioned. The white syllable *a*, 'white and shining like Venus' (1v.5), is again mentioned as symbol of primordial wisdom. The hundred syllables—presumably the hundred syllable *mantra* for Vajrasattva—are referred to, as are various consecrations. The emanation of Yamāntaka, Mahābala, Hayagrīva, and Amṛta-

five seed syllables at five places in the body (see below), and IOL Tib J 331.II (4v.5) similarly spells out the five syllables with *ām* in the second place. There remains the possibility that the appearance of *m* in these texts might have originated in an attempt to represent Sanskrit *visarga* before a standard convention for its representation was established. There is no direct evidence to support this speculation, however. Elsewhere in this manuscript of three texts, there are a number of instances where a *visarga* has simply been omitted where we might expect it (e.g., we find *hri*, and *dza hūṃ baṃ ho*). It is worth noting that the root text of the *Rgyud gsang ba'i snying po* gives the syllables of the five Buddhas in the context of its Chapter 8 on consecrations as, *hūṃ*, *om*, *sva*, *am* and *ha* (*gsang ba'i snying po de kho na nyid nges pa*, Mtshams brag NGB edition [M] Vol. Wa: 176-177; T Vol. Pha: 25-6). Moreover, other Dunhuang Mahāyoga texts also give the triad of *om*, *am*, *hūṃ*. The text following this one in the IOL collection, a manuscript with connections to the *Sgyu 'phrul drwa ba/Rgyud gsang ba'i snying po* literature, gives *ōm ām hūṃ* in the context of purifying one's body, speech and mind (IOL Tib J 332: f.7r.2-3). We have found an occurrence—in this case, of *ōm*, *ām* (with a final *ma*, not an anusvāra, and again indicating the mouth—*khar*), *hum*, *swa*, *ha*—in PT 42 (f.46.1-2), and another similar reference in the same text (f.50.2-3), associating *am* with the speech. A brief mention of the three syllables, *om*, *am*, and *hum* in the context of body, speech and mind consecrations respectively, also occurs in IOL Tib J 754, Section 8. See also VAN SCHAİK AND DALTON's discussion [2004: 66] of PT 626 and 634. Furthermore, *ām* as the appropriate syllable for the speech in the context of the family syllables meditated on at the parts of the body is preserved in the Phurpa tradition of the fifteenth century Ratna Gling pa (see the popular *gter mdzod* edition of the regular practice, *rdo rje phur pa yang gsang bla med kyi gsang sgrub rgyun gyi phrin las rnam rol snying po*, in *dpal chen kl la ya'i chos skor phyogs bsgrigs* Vol. 10, 431.2), and also in the more recent Bdud 'joms *gter gsar* tradition of the *Gnam lcags spu gri* (in the *Las byang* Ritual Manual, BDUD-'JOMS, Vol. Tha 106.1; and the *Bsnyen yig* Commentary, Vol. Da, 106.3).

kuṇḍalin in the four directions, and of the offering goddesses, is also discussed, and in the final section, the importance of sustaining meditation in post-meditation activities is stressed.

Against this backdrop emphasising the deity *sādhana* meditations of Vajrayāna practice, the Phurpa text, IOL Tib J 331.III, might seem rather a contrast: in common with other Dunhuang manuscripts relating to Phurpa, the focus is primarily on practical ritual instructions, aimed at overcoming obstacles or evil forces. Although this ritual process may be infused with the ultimate view, there is little of the standard Mahāyoga *sādhana* visualisations which we find in IOL Tib J 331.I and II, and which became fundamental to the practice of and the commentarial literature on Phurpa in Tibet, where self-generation of the yogin as the *heruka* deity Vajrakīlaya (usually with Vajrasattva visualised at his heart) features overwhelmingly as the central focus. Nonetheless, this text is the longest of the three, some eleven folios long, and it contains much material repeated in variant forms in a number of *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* texts, some of which remains relevant to the broader Phurpa practice traditions, including those of the Sa skya pa. Above all, virtually in its entirety, the text is replicated in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*, and that text has had a clear impact on at least one branch of the commentarial literature, as represented by MAG GSAR (2003), which will be considered below.

THE STRUCTURE AND CONTENT OF THE TEXT

The text is entitled, *Zhi ba 'i mchog 'pho ba 'i 'phrin las bsdu pa* (*The Concise Enlightened Activity which [effects] Transference [into] the Supreme Peace*). Its brief opening section begins with the classic justification for the Phurpa practice: the necessity to subdue the extremely ferocious, who cannot be subdued by peaceful means. It continues with preliminaries, such as prostrations, *bodhicitta*, and a very brief mention of deity meditation. The main text refers to an abiding in the blood-drinker's heart or the blood-drinker dwelling in the heart, identical with the supreme pinnacle of primordial wisdom, while the interlinear annotations add that the true nature of the *heruka* heart phurpa is the totally pure primordial wisdom *dharmadhātu*.

The title and a few of the introductory lines are the only text which is absent from the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*. The opening verse on the justification for the destructive practice, however, is found at the beginning of Chapter 8, where the parallelling starts. The verse also has a precise parallel in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*'s pivotal

Chapter 7 on the taming of Rudra (D Vol. Pa 206r-v),⁸ while a variant of it is found in Chapter 3 of the *Rdo rje phur bu chos thams cad mya ngan las 'das pa'i rgyud chen po* [Henceforth *Myang 'das*] (D Vol. Zha 47v).⁹ The seven *tshig rkang* which are found immediately after the verse are missing from the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*, but a close parallel for some twelve lines in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*'s Chapter 8 (D Vol. Pa 212v) begins just three lines after the verse. This means that we have not identified parallels in any sources for only five *tshig rkang* in the entire text, including the two which make up the title.

On the second side of the first folio, we embark on the principal topics of the text, structured around a list of 'the seven perfections' (*phun sum tshogs pa bdun po*), of the (i) form, (ii) consecrations, (iii) recitation, (iv) activities, (v) time, (vi) place and (vii) oneself (ie. the practitioner). It is on the second of these, consecrations, that this article will focus. The sevenfold classification is a little different from 'the five perfections' (*phun sum tshogs pa lnga*)—of (i) the place, (ii) the principal practitioner, (iii) the retinue, (iv) the requisite substances and (v) the time—referred to widely in ritual manuals and commentaries in a Mahāyoga generation stage context.¹⁰ The fifth, sixth, and seventh categories as given here are exactly the same as the other list's numbers five, one and two respectively. The other list's 'retinue' (*'khor*), however, is not mentioned in our list. The other list's category of 'substances' (*rdzas*) may include consideration of the wrathful substances and the ritual effigy's form,¹¹ thus corresponding with part of our section on activities. Yet most of what is in this text included in the sections on the form, consecrations and activities do have parallels elsewhere in the Phurpa literature, but they tend to be found in other

⁸ See MAYER 1996:169.

⁹ See CANTWELL AND MAYER 2007: 144-145, and citations given in the notes to the text edition below.

¹⁰ Phurpa texts which discuss this list include the *'Bum nag* commentary (*Bdud 'joms Bka' ma* edition: Vol. Tha 272-287; BOORD: 143-153), that by 'JAM-GON A-MYES-ZHABS (146-156), and the *sgrub khog* section of the *Bdud 'joms gnam lcags spu gri* cycle (230-231). The list is itself a variant of a list by the same name, also referred to as five certainties (*nges pa lnga*)—of teacher, teaching, retinue, place and time—which relate to the attributes of the *sambhogakāya* (DORJE AND KAPSTEIN, in DUDJOM 1991 Vol. 2:141). The commentary by MAG GSAR (2003), however, uses the same list of the seven *phun sum tshogs pa* that we have in IOL Tib J 331.III, following the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*, which (as noted above) includes almost the whole of IOL Tib J 331.III's content.

¹¹ For example, in the *'Bum nag* (*Bdud 'joms Bka' ma* edition: Vol. Tha 284-285; BOORD 151ff).

sections of standard ritual manuals rather than within sections specifically subsumed according to the ‘perfections’. The most substantial section here, some five folios, is that on activities. The consecrations also take up around three and a half folios, while the other five sections are very brief. Thus, while the *phun sum tshogs pa* classification is partially shared with the later tradition’s most widely evidenced set, the real interest of this text is in two categories—consecrations and activities—which do not form part of the list of the *phun sum tshogs pa* found most commonly in later sources.¹²

The perfection of form is concerned with the materials from which the phurpa/phurba ritual implement is made, and its features. After the following consecrations section, to be considered at length here, we then have a short section on recitation, which is concerned with a *mantra* recitation focussed on sending forth a wrathful phurpa deity from one’s heart to accomplish wrathful activities. The next section, on activities, ranges from making symbolic boundaries by establishing the ten phurpas in the ten directions, to making an effigy for the *sgrol ba* (‘liberating/killing’) rite, the various activities relating to the effigy and the destruction of the visualised negative forces, and activating various deities to carry out appropriate duties. The final lines of the text (just over one side of the folio) deal with the remaining three perfections of the time, place, and the person who performs the practice.

The most extensive parallel of IOL Tib J 331.III is found in the text of Chapters 8 to 11 of the *Rnying ma’i rgyud ’bum*’s *’Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa’i rgyud*. Chapter 8 contains much of the introductory material in our text. The list of perfections is given twice in this introduction. The first list is in the same order in both IOL Tib J 331.III and the *’Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa’i rgyud*, and this order is reiterated in IOL Tib J 331.III’s version of the second list. However, this second list is given in an alternative order in the *’Phrin las phun*

¹² As noted above, unlike many of the most well-known Phurpa commentaries, MAG GSAR (2003) does use the seven-fold list to structure his work on Phurpa. Interestingly, however, while he follows the *’Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa’i rgyud* closely in presenting the perfections of practitioner, place, and form, the content of his sections on the remaining categories of the list entirely departs from the *’Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa’i rgyud*: he uses the headings of consecrations, recitation and activities to discuss the successive stages of the Phurpa deity *sādhana* practice. It is also worth noting that the parallel passage in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*’s Chapter 8 (D Vol. Pa 212v) mentioned above ends with the same *phun sum tshogs pa* list found here and in the *’Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa’i rgyud*. However, the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* simply presents the list but does not proceed to use it to order any of its subsequent material.

sum tshogs pa'i rgyud, which is then used to structure its next chapters containing the same content as IOL Tib J 331.III. Thus, the order of its sections is not the same as the order we find in the Tib J 331.III, as outlined in the summary above. In the '*Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*, perfection of oneself, the practitioner, is completed in Chapter 8; Chapter 9 includes the perfections of time, place and form, and begins consecrations; the remainder of the section on the perfection of consecrations takes up Chapter 10, and Chapter 11 consists of the sections on the perfection of recitation and activities.

Besides this parallel for the whole text, eleven passages of the text have lines or verses reminiscent of other *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*, *sādhana* and commentarial Phurpa texts; in some cases, merely the themes correspond, while in others we find very closely parallel text which must indicate a shared source.¹³ The longest of these parallel passages occur in our two longest sections. The whole of the consecrations section—some eighty-eight *tshig rkang* in length—runs parallel to a long section of the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*'s *Myang 'das* Chapter 9, while over two folios of the activities section, describing *mudrās* and *mantras*, runs in parallel to a substantial passage in the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*'s *Phur pa bcu gnyis* Chapter 14. Although this passage from the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*'s Chapter 14 omits the *mantras*, the corresponding *mantras* are found in exactly correct order (right up to and including that which completes the activities section) in Chapter 13 of the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*.

It is quite possible that our text was directly drawing on the then extant versions of what later became the '*Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* or these other *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* tantras, although it does not specifically say so. Precise citation of exact textual sources has not been universally followed in Buddhist writings. Nevertheless, it did occur in the Dunhuang version of the *Thabs zhags* root text and commentary, where several scriptural titles are named that are later found also in the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*, including a *Phur pa bcu*

¹³ As a brief summary, we have identified similar or parallel text in the following *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* texts apart from the '*Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*: the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* (Chapters 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 20), the *Myang 'das* (Chapters 3, 8, 9, 13), the *Rdo rje khros pa phur pa rtsa ba'i rgyud* (Chapters 6, 7), and the *Dur khrod khu byug rol pa'i rgyud* (Chapter 10). As we shall see, variations on some parts of the Consecrations section are also found widely throughout the literature, and MAG GSAR's commentary (2003), following the '*Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*, has further parallels.

gnyis and its *Phyi ma*.¹⁴ PT 44 also makes a less precise kind of citation, where an entire collection of Phurpa texts is mentioned, called the *Phur bu'i 'bum sde*. It is not certain that a specific text bearing the title of the *Myang 'das* existed at the time when this Dunhuang text was written, although two Phur pa scriptural texts by that name were referred to in 1094 by a polemical opponent of dubious tantras, Pho brang Zhi ba 'od, at the very head of his list of Phurpa tantras considered to be Tibetan compositions and not authentically Indian.¹⁵ We have not yet found any early references to the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* as such.

Although IOL Tib J 331.III gives no explicit acknowledgement of the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*, it remains a possibility that it was drawing from an early version of it—not only is virtually the entire text paralleled within the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*, but the parallels are very close with few variants. The main evidence that we do not have a simple case of copying from one source to the other is the different ordering of the sections. The framing of the shared text is also rather different. Whereas IOL Tib J 331.III appears as a well-structured teaching on the topics concerned, the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* explicitly presents itself as Buddha Word. Each chapter or section begins with a preamble in which Karma Heruka questions the Victorious One about the subject, and the teaching is then his response. After the topic is completed, it is marked off as speech, and there may be the title given, or a further bridging section to introduce the following section in the same way. There is no way of knowing whether IOL Tib J 331.III might have merely omitted this discourse which frames the text as a scripture, or whether the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*—or at least the common ancestor of all the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*

¹⁴ See the *Thabs kyi zhags pa pad ma 'phreng ba*: IOL Tib J 321. This citation of the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* might refer to either of the two other quite separate *Phur pa bcu gnyis* texts in the NGB rather than to that discussed here (which does not have a *phyi ma*), or to a further *Phur pa bcu gnyis* tantra now lost; or to earlier and slightly different prototypes of one or more of the texts of that name now found in the NGB. The *Thabs zhags* commentary cites some lines of text from its version of the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*, but despite some searching, we have not yet found them in the version analyzed here (we soon hope to establish if they exist in either of the other two *Phur pa bcu gnyis* texts in the NGB).

¹⁵ KARMAY 1980: 14-15; see also KARMAY 1998: 135-6. Specifically, Zhi ba 'od speaks of a long and short version of the text (*'mya ngan las 'das pa che chung la sogs pa*', KARMAY 1980: 18).

editions which we have today—might have added in the framing narrative to create the text as a tantric scripture.

The other aspect of the differing presentation is that for IOL Tib J 331.III, this text is clearly presented as a stand-alone teaching with its own title, not a fragment of a larger work. In the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*, on the contrary, our text makes up only Chapters 8 to 11 out of a text of fifteen chapters. A full study of the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* would be necessary to judge the relative probabilities of IOL Tib J 331.III selecting an extract from an already existent longer text, or of the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* integrating an independent text into a larger scripture.

It is rather less likely that our Dunhuang text was drawing directly on early versions of the *Myang 'das* or the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*. Had it done so, we might also expect it would take passages which form in some sense discrete units in these texts, but this is not in general what we find. The specific frames given for them in the two scriptures are rather different from those in this Dunhuang text.¹⁶

There might also have been early versions of other Phurpa tantras extant at the period of the manuscript's compilation which could have been further possible sources for the shared text. Another possibility is

¹⁶ The pattern is not neat and consistent. (1) In the case of the substantial parallel passage between IOL Tib J 331.III's activity section and part of the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*'s Chapter 14, the IOL Tib J 331.III passage is completed near the end of the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*'s Chapter 14, and its end would appear to mark approximately the end of a discrete section; yet it begins in the middle of a *Phur pa bcu gnyis* Chapter 14 section describing *mudrās*, the earlier ones of which are not included here. (2) The *Myang 'das* parallel for IOL Tib J 331.III's consecration section is from a chapter which is primarily concerned with the consecration of ritual materials, including the phurpa, and the establishment of the deity forms. The overall topic is therefore in line, although the selection is not a clearly discrete unit within the chapter. The parallel begins in the middle of a series of consecrations described within the *Myang 'das*, and ends before a description of the established deities which elaborates on the earlier rites. (3) It is also worth noting that in the case of the corresponding section within the *Khu byug rol pa*, the parallel text extends from the final part of the consecrations section through into the first two *tshig rkang* of the recitation section, but continues with a quite different discussion of recitation. It would seem that there is much creative re-embedding of passages which do not necessarily constitute complete units in themselves, and there may also be some element of accidental mechanisms, such as folio loss or displacement, which may have resulted in a recontextualising of the passages as they move from one Phurpa source to another. In our comparison of IOL Tib J 331.III with these Phurpa tantras, it is only in the case of the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* where specific discrete sections are given in complete form, although ordered differently, in accordance with its second re-ordered version of the list, and not its first list which it shares with IOL Tib J 331.III.

that there might instead have been separate common sources for the parallel sections. As yet, we have not identified what they might have been. Although the evidence of PT 44, of the Dunhuang *Thabs zhags* commentary and the early polemical literature, (and several other sources too), does collectively point towards several fully formed Phurpa scriptures already being in existence before the Dunhuang collection was closed, in addition, the sources for this particular text might also possibly include various other Tantric traditions that we know were in circulation at the time, for example, *Rgyud gsang ba'i snying po*¹⁷ or *Guhyasamāja*, both of which have much to say on the phurpa.

As mentioned above, in contrast to the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*'s use of the shared material, the text here is presented as a teaching on Phurpa rites, but not as *bka'* (*buddhavacana*) or the direct utterance of enlightened beings. It is hard to say whether or not its extensive (but unacknowledged) citations were from texts themselves already considered as *bka'* at the time it was compiled. Yet certainly, if these passages were not taken from Phurpa texts already considered as *bka'*, they later became considered *bka'* through their incorporation into the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* tantras. While there is no evidence to suggest an established canon of Rnying ma tantras existed before Nyang ral's time (1124-1192), we know that scriptural Mahāyoga tantric texts considered to be *buddhavacana* were certainly in circulation in a less structured way by the time the Dunhuang caves were closed.

Much of the content of the text—and this especially applies to the recitation and activities sections—corresponds more closely to what is classified in the Phurpa commentarial traditions as subsidiary ritual (*smad las*) rather than the primary ritual (*stod las*) for the attainment of Enlightenment. There are nonetheless a few clear references to Phurpa as a deity with whom one should identify: we find one brief mention in the opening preliminaries (as discussed above) and one in the context of the perfection of recitation, which begins with a reference to 'oneself entering into the *samādhi* of the *karma* deity'.¹⁸ There is also a meditation on the phurpa implement arising as the deity and *maṇḍala* in the consecrations section discussed here.

¹⁷ For instance, the root *Gsang ba'i snying po*'s Chapter 20 elaborates on performing the four activities, 'striking' with appropriate phurpas, such as a phurpa of joyous pride for increasing (*nga rgyal dga' 'phro'i phur pas gdab*), or a *vajra* passion phurpa (*rdo rje chags pa'i phur pas gdab*) for subjugating (*gsang ba'i snying po de kho na nyid nges pa*, MTSHAMS BRAG NGB edition [M] Vol. Wa: 213-214).

¹⁸ *bdag nyid las kyi lha 'i ting nge 'dzin du zhugs te* (6r)

THE SECTION ON THE PERFECTION OF CONSECRATIONS

1. *Summary of content*

Having outlined the materials and features of the phurpa in the section on its form, this section begins with discussion of a three *kāya* consecration. The *dharmakāya* consecration is only briefly referred to, consisting of a meditation on emptiness. The *sambhogakāya* consecration concerns deities of the five families in union with their consorts, arising from the seed syllable, *hūṃ*. In later tradition, *hūṃ* remains the central *mantra* syllable for Phurpa visualisations. The *nirmāṇakāya* consecration focuses on the deified phurpa itself, the upper part visualised as a wrathful heruka, while the lower part is the triangular pointed iron phurpa blade.

In later *sādhana*s and commentaries, we may find the central Phurpa deity, consort and inner circle described as the root *maṇḍala*, whose essential nature (*ngo bo*) is the *dharmakāya*, their immediate retinue of ten wrathful ones (*khro bo bcu*) is described as the essential nature of the *sambhogakāya*, while the *nirmāṇakāya* manifests as an outer emanation or retinue, variable in enumeration, but always exactly such deities of half-heruka, half-implement form, which can also be identified as the hand-implement.¹⁹ Clearly, in this consecration ritual, the deified phurpa as hand implement is centre stage, and we can also equate it with these '*nirmāṇakāya*' forms of the later tradition.

The text continues by specifying that the five family consecration is performed by consecrating the seeds at the five places, while the body, speech and mind consecration is effected through seed syllables at the phurpa's crown, waist and point. Further meditations on syllables *phaṭ* at the (blade's?) edges and *hūṃ* at the sides follow; wrathful ones are emanated in the ten directions, and powers and consecrations drawn in. We then have a meditation, versions of which are found extensively in the Phurpa literature, in the context of consecration and empowerment. Syllables on the fingers of the hands are transformed into male and female deities of the five families, uniting when the hands are joined. The phurpa is held and deities dissolved into it. After further *mudrās* and *mantras*, the phurpa emits sparks of fire, and is established in front, struck with mustard seeds and fumigated with frankincense.

¹⁹ See, for instance, the '*Bum nag* (*Bdud 'joms Bka'* ma edition: Vol. Tha 324.1-2; BOORD: 177) and the *Bdud 'joms gnam lcags spu gri bsnyen yig* (Vol. Da 98.2-3).

2. Parallel passages in other sources

The *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*'s parallel for this lengthy section (M Vol Chi: 1031.1-1036.5) runs from Chapter 9, which has the three *kāya* consecrations, through to the end of Chapter 10, which consists of discussion of the remaining consecrations. In this case (as in the other sections of this text), we clearly have a copy of the same passages as those in IOL Tib J 331.III; significant variants are noted in our edition below. The commentator Mag gsar, who follows the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* for the list of perfections, and also for the content of three out of seven of them, does not, however, rely on this scriptural source for his commentary on consecrations. He discusses the Generation Stage (*bskyed rim*) sections of the *sādhana* practice in great detail instead (MAG GSAR 2003: 167-267).

As mentioned above, the *Myang 'das*'s Chapter 9 contains an equivalent passage for the entire section.²⁰ Much of it has very similar wording, line by line, and is clearly an alternate version of an identical common source; while other sections include paraphrases, summaries or expansions of the same material. The *dharmakāya* consecration is discussed in slightly different terms, and the opening of the *sambhogakāya* consecration section is phrased differently, making brief mentions of the same points; but the following lines begin to run more exactly parallel, clearly demonstrating a shared source. This part includes the description of the deified phurpa implement, which is, however, rather more lengthy in the *Myang 'das*. Following the shared conclusion to the *nirmāṇakāya* consecration, the next two *tshig rkang* given in our Dunhuang manuscript (3v.3-4) are absent in the *Myang 'das*, but it then continues with the syllables on the forehead, waist and tip, a slightly re-ordered version of the body, speech, and mind consecration, as also for the syllables on the phurpa blade. One *tshig rkang* is quite different in the two texts, but then again, the consecrations of wrathful ones, emanating *maṇḍalas*, the sounds of *hum* and *phaṭ* and so on, are all shared, although the *tshig rkang* are arranged a little differently. Both texts continue into the discussion of the deities on the palms of the hands and all the following *mudrās* and *mantras*. Here the *Myang 'das* becomes abbreviated for a few lines; its wording is not quite such a close parallel as that given in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* (see below). With the *su ra ta stwaṃ* (*suratas tvam*) mantra, close parallelling resumes, continuing into the next sections, again

²⁰ See Appendix A, where the parallel passage is given in full.

including lines where the Dunhuang text is slightly more elaborate, a single *tshig rkang* in the *Myang 'das* becoming three in the Dunhuang text (5v line 4). Then the *Myang 'das* gives a *mantra* not found in IOL Tib J 331.III, after which the consecration section ends with further parallel lines.

Chapter 19 of the *Myang 'das* also has two *tshig rkang* seemingly parallel to the lines concerning the syllables on the blade,²¹ but its context is quite different, not even concerning a phurpa! This would appear to be an instance of the insertion of a stock phrase, rather than a parallel passage.

The *Phur pa bcu gnyis* also contains equivalents for a significant part of this section of IOL Tib J 331.III. The description of the deified phurpa corresponds to a number of lines in Chapter 11.²² These are comparatively brief, and jump from mention of the snake ornaments to the implements held, yet it is fairly clear that the wording derives from the same source. Further down the same folio in the Sde dge edition, we have a slightly longer passage with some parallels to the Dunhuang text.²³ The five family consecration is mentioned, similarly to IOL Tib J 331.III (3v.3); the next *tshig rkangs* phrase differently the principle of seed syllables marking the various places in the body. In both texts, a single primordial wisdom consecration follows, and both refer to three syllable *hūms* and the three *phaṭs* on the phurpa blade. The next lines concern empowerment through wrathful ones emanating and dissolving, although they are phrased differently in the two texts, and also are more elaborated in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*. The *tshig rkang* on the syllables *hūm* and *phaṭ* resounding is very similar.

The lines on empowerment through the males and females of the five families arising upon the two hands and uniting as the hands are joined (4v.1-2), also occur in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*. The passage is a good deal more elaborated in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*: it begins with a verse in which three out of four lines are quite closely parallel,²⁴ after which equivalents for further lines in IOL Tib J 331.III are interspersed with additional material. Thus, while our Dunhuang text merely links the specific fingers with specific syllables arising upon them, the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* makes explicit the names of the Buddhas generated from each. Nonetheless, in this case, IOL Tib J 331.III's

²¹ The SDE DGE edition reads: /ngos gsum du ni hūm gsum gzhaḡ /zur gsum du ni phaṭ gsum gzhaḡ (D Vol. Zha 70v).

²² See first italicised lines in Appendix B.

²³ Again, see the next section of italicised lines in Appendix B. Similarly, the following parallels are also given in italics in Appendix B.

²⁴ The SDE DGE edition (Vol. Pa 217v) begins: /lag pa g.yas...

interlineal commentary adds the appropriate Buddha family. This corresponds to the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* ordering, apart from a reversal of the associations for the final two fingers: the syllables at the ring and little fingers are said in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* to generate Amoghasiddhi and Amitābha respectively, but here, the commentator notes associations with the lotus and activity family respectively. The *Phur pa bcu gnyis* also specifies that the listed fingers refer to the right hand, and it then adds a verse concerning the female consorts arising on the fingers of the left hand.

The remaining lines then closely parallel each other in the two texts, except for a few additional or alternative lines. In both, we have the description, following the joining of the two hands, through the *mudrās* of various ways of holding the phurpa, along with the *mantras* and appropriate meditations on consecration through the dissolving of deities into the phurpa.

The *Dur khrod khu byug rol pa'i rgyud*, a text found in the Anuyoga section of the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* collections,²⁵ contains a parallel discussion to part of our Dunhuang text in its Chapter 10. It does not appear to be another version of an identical source—unless it has been substantially rewritten—but a few *mantras* or key phrases follow in sequence, interspersed by some lines in which the same material is covered more briefly and largely (although not entirely) in different words. The parallels begin with the three syllables (*om*, *hūm* and *phaṭ*) on different parts of the phurpa (MTSHAMS BRAG edition [M] Vol. Ba 277.4), and proceed with the *hūms* and *phaṭs* on the blade (M. Vol. Ba 277.5-6). There is then a brief summarised version of the ten deities on the fingers uniting, causing light to come forth and perform consecration (M. Vol. Ba 277.6-7). The next side continues with the buddhas of the ten directions dissolving, and the body, speech and mind consecration (M. Vol. Ba

²⁵ This text is found in SDE DGE's Vol. Nya; MTSHAMS BRAG's Vol. Ba; and GTING SKYES's Vol. Da (see <http://ngb.csac.anthropology.ac.uk/csac/NGB/da/2>). It is most probably to be identified with the *Phur pa'i rgyud la khu byug rol pa* specified (along with the *Myang 'das* and a number of other Phurpa tantras) in the list of tantras considered of dubious origin by Pho brang Zhi ba 'od in his late eleventh century polemical open letter (KARMAY 1980: 18; see above, note 15). A text referred to as the *Mdo khu byug rol pa* is also mentioned in the *'Bum nag (Bdud 'joms Bka' ma* edition: Vol. Tha 269; BOORD: 141), as significant for codifying the teachings of the *Rig pa mchog gi rgyud Bidyotta ma la* [i.e., *Vidyottama la*] *'bum sde's vajra* family chapter and a little below (*Bdud 'joms Bka' ma* edition: Vol. Tha 271; BOORD: 141), the *Phur pa khu byug rol pa* is also referred to as representing Mahāyoga in a list of various texts, each encompassing one of the nine *yānas*. It is quite possible that both of these references are intended to indicate our *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* text.

277.7-278.2). The following *mudrā* and *mantra* run parallel, while the next *mudrā* is described somewhat differently, but shares what is clearly a version of the same *mantra*, and the third *mudrā* and *mantra* are closely parallel (M. Vol. Ba 278.2-5). The *Dur khrod khu byug rol pa* explicitly equates this sequence of three *mudrās* and *mantras* with the respective transformation of mind, speech and body into *vajra*.²⁶ The final lines of our Dunhuang consecration passage are paralleled by a similar but shorter description of striking the phurpa with mustard seeds and frankincense and making offerings (M. Vol. Ba 278.5-279.1).

The *Guhyasamāja*'s Chapter 14 has a set of three *mantras*,²⁷ together with meditations and *mudrās* for striking and transfixing body, speech and mind with the phurpa. These *mantras* correspond to the set of body, speech and mind *mantras* which we find in IOL Tib J 331.III and in our other Phurpa sources, as mentioned above.²⁸ However, as far as we have seen so far within its vast literature, the context for these *mantras* in the *Guhyasamāja* tradition would seem to vary between ritual stabbing and destruction²⁹ and consecrating,³⁰ whereas in the Phurpa texts, their significance is more consistently in their activity of consecrating body, speech and mind. As far as we have seen so far, it would appear that only the *mantras* are shared, rather than any of the *mudrās* or other words or explanations. The Phurpa texts considered here present a sequence of mind, speech and body, rather than body, speech and mind as found in the *Guhya-*

²⁶ This is implied in our other Phurpa sources but not always altogether explicit. In IOL Tib J 331.III, the interlineal commentary identifies the first two as the heart/mind and speech families respectively, but makes no such comment on the body *mantra*.

²⁷ (1) *om tshin da tshin da ha na ha na da ha da ha dīpta badzra tsakra hūṃ phaṭ* (*om chindha chindha hana hana daha daha dīptavajracakra hūṃ phaṭ*) (2) *om hriḥ bhur bhu baḥ* (*om hrīḥ bhūr bhuvah*) (3) *om badzra rā dza hūṃ* (*om vajra rāja hūṃ*) Each with some slight variants, these *mantras* and their activities are discussed in Chapter 14 of many *Guhyasamāja* commentaries—the commentary chapters often correspond to the Root Tantra chapters—see for example the Karmapa *Sde dge Bstan 'gyur*, Vol. Ha, 267-9; Ti, 51; Pi, 132; Wi, 51).

²⁸ A brief version of the *mantras* and their significance is found also in another Dunhuang Phurpa text we have studied: IOL Tib J 754, Section 7; see MAYER AND CANTWELL 1994: 58-59.

²⁹ See, for instance, the Sanskrit and English translation of the passage in Candra-kīrti's *Pradīpoddyotana*, given in BOORD 2002: 39-44.

³⁰ See for example the *Sde dge Bstan 'gyur*, Vol. Ji's *Upadeśaniścaya-nāmaśrīguhyasamājavṛtti* (*dpal gsang ba 'dus pa'i 'grel pa man ngag gan la dbab pa zhes bya ba*), Chapter 14, page 69ff in the Karmapa edition, where consecration is the theme.

samāja texts we have looked at so far.³¹ Although the versions of the *mantras* vary somewhat in our Phurpa texts, they also share some variants lacking in the *Guhyasamāja* sources we have consulted, such as the addition of *satwa* in the mind consecration *mantra*.

The consecration through the five families by the arising of the male and female deities on the hands and their unification when the hands are brought together, found as we have seen in the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* texts discussed above³² and in IOL Tib J 331.III, also corresponds to rituals outlined in other Dunhuang texts.

PT 44, a text on, 'the origins and doctrines of Phurbu',³³ is concluded with a passage which alludes to a variation of the rite, although there is no explicit indication that its purpose is consecration. The passage reads:

Holding the Mount Meru *kīlaya* [with] planed edges³⁴ in the right hand, [one] holds a *cakra* in the left hand. In the centre of the right palm, from a [arises] a moon *maṇḍala*, [while] in the centre of the left palm, from ma [arises] a sun *maṇḍala*. The natural expression of the phurpu is meditated on [as] the heruka[s] of the five families [appearing] above the upper knot.³⁵ At the spokes, [one] meditates on the eight [females,] Ke-'u-ri, Tse-'u-ri [etc.]. On the head of the knot, the wrathful ones are displayed; meditate on the ten clearly manifesting.³⁶

³¹ IOL Tib J 754 also has them in the order of body, speech and mind, however. See MAYER AND CANTWELL 1994: 58.

³² Another *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* Phurpa text we have examined, the *Rdo rje khros pa phur pa rtsa ba'i rgyud*, also contains some apparent reference to this practice, although the mention is brief, not a precise parallel, and the SDE DGE edition does not read in the same way. Based on the MGTRNK readings, the lines translate: "Meditate on the *maṇḍalas* of sun and moon on the palms of your hands, And raising it [ie the *phur pa*] in the hands, rotate it as well; The suffering of the three worlds will be liberated". (*mthil* [MG 'thil] *la nyi zla'i dkyil 'khor bsgom/ /lag tu blangs te dril nas kyang/ /kham s gsum sdug bsngal bsgral bar 'gyur/*) [Chapter 6: M Vol. Ji 195v-196r; G Vol. Ji 175; T Vol. Sha 73r-v; R Vol. Sha 68r; N Vol. Sa 81v; K Vol. Sa 90r; see CANTWELL AND MAYER 2007: 256.] It is quite likely that other Phurpa tantras in the collection may contain further parallels.

³³ 'phur bu 'i khungs dang gtan tshigs' (1v)

³⁴ *zur pan*: the translation here is uncertain. We are reading it as *zur 'ben*, although it is very questionable whether this is intended.

³⁵ A standard phurpa has two 'knots', each interlacing in a continuous circle around the phurpa. The upper one forms its neck and the lower one is at its waist. These are discussed in many Phurpa sources: for instance, the *Myang 'das*'s Chapter 8, 9, and 17 describe them and their symbolic significances.

³⁶ /phyag g.yas na ki la ya/ /ri rab kyi zur pan snams pa'/ /phyag g.yon pa na tsa kra sna/ /ms pa/ /g.yas kyi tha/ /mo 'i dkyil na a las zla/ /ba 'i dkyil 'khor/ /g.yon/ /gyi

Here, the meditation reverses the positioning we find in the texts described above (and later tradition), in which the right hand is associated with means, having a sun *maṇḍala* arising from the syllable *ma*, while the left hand is associated with wisdom, and a moon *maṇḍala* arising from *a*. Moreover, the five male herukas do not appear to be matched by five females, but we clearly have the germ of the rite found in IOL Tib J 331.III and the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* sources.

Similarly, in PT 349, another Dunhuang text explicitly concerning Phurpa rites,³⁷ we find:

From out of the single [non dual] expanse, on the palm of the right hand, [visualise arising out of] the syllable *ta*, a moon *maṇḍala*; being of the nature of skilful means, the Ten Great Wrathful Ones [arise upon it]. On the left palm, from the [syllable] *ma* arises a sun *maṇḍala*; [since they are] [—] the symbol of the nature of wisdom, the Ten Great Female Wrathful Ones are meditated on as [arising upon it] and so forth.³⁸

Again, we witness the moon *maṇḍala* on the right and the sun on the left. In this case, the focus is exclusively on the ten male and ten female wrathful ones (*khro bo bcu*).

The existence of clearly parallel lines on the sun and moon consecration between IOL Tib J 331.III, the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* and the other two *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* texts, together with the hints relating to the practice found in PT 44 and 349 (as well as other *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* scriptures), is evidence that these ritual traditions were of significance in the genesis and early development of the Phurpa traditions in Tibet.³⁹ Such rites remain a

thal mo 'i dkyil na ma/ /[la nas(/las)] nyi ma 'i dkyil 'khor/ /phur bu 'i rang bzhin ni rgya/ /mdud/ /gong ma 'i steng du/ /rigs lnga 'i he ru ka sgom mo/ /rtsibs la ke 'u ri tse 'u/ /ri brgyad sgom/ /rgya mdud/ /kyi mgo bo la khro bo rol/ /pa bcu gsal bar sgom/ (20r-21v)

³⁷ See MAYER 2005.

³⁸ dbyings gcig pu las/ /lag pa g.yas kyi mthil tu/ nya las zla ba'i dkyil tu [sgyur?] / thabs kyi rang bzhin yin bas/ /khro bo chen po bcu/ g.yon kyi mthil du ma las/ /nyi ma 'i dkyil 'khor tu gyur te//shes [rab] kyi rang bzhin kyi rtags [~~tags~~?] [yin bas?] khro bo chen mo bcu dmyigs pa la tsogs pa ni/ (lines 8-11)

³⁹ A similar meditation is found in the root *Rgyud gsang ba'i snying po Tantra*'s Chapter 8 on consecrations, and this may well be related to these phurpa consecr-

part of the contemporary Phurpa scriptural tradition, and versions of the passage have also entered the extant commentarial texts and practice liturgies.

The influential *'Bum nag*⁴⁰ contains a section on 'empowering through the five families'.⁴¹ It briefly describes a visualisation of the five lords upon suns arising from the syllable *ma* on the right-hand fingers, the five consorts upon moon *maṇḍalas* arising from the syllable *a* on the left-hand fingers, and the *bodhicitta* produced by their union dissolving into and empowering the 'supreme son' (phurpa).⁴² It then cites the *Gsang rgyud* in elaboration. The first verse mentions the generation of Samantabhadra and Samantabhadrī on the right and left palms; the second verse lists the five Buddhas appearing at the five right-hand fingers, the ordering corresponding with that given in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* (see above). Finally, the third verse describes that the empowerment is effected through the union of the 'wisdom' and 'means', slightly intertwining the fingers and rolling the phurpa.⁴³

MAG GSAR's commentary also gives some discussion of this aspect of consecration. Most of his long consecrations section (2003: 167-

ations, but in the *Rgyud gsang ba'i snying po*, there is no mention of a phurpa held between the hands. The meditation is purely on the male and female seed syllables arising on sun and moon discs respectfully, and uniting together, giving rise to primordial wisdom emanations (*gsang ba'i snying po de kho na nyid nges pa*, MTSHAMS BRAG NGB edition [M] Vol. Wa: 175-178; T Vol. Pha: 24-27).

⁴⁰ This Phurpa commentary (already noted above for its references to various aspects of the material considered here) has had a major impact on all the Phurpa practice traditions. It is extensively cited in later Phurpa commentaries, the categories it uses to structure its exposition of the practice—whether or not they were original—are followed in later texts, and tellingly, the passages it cites from root tantric texts are often precisely the passages quoted in later commentaries, in some cases sharing the *'Bum nag*'s readings of those passages in contrast to the readings found in the source texts, or at least, in the current extant versions of those source texts. (CANTWELL AND MAYER 2007: Chapter 2.V demonstrates this process in some detail.)

⁴¹ rigs lngas dbang bskur (*Bdud 'joms Bka' ma* edition, Vol. Tha 354; BOORD, 197).

⁴² g.yas kyi sor mo lnga la ma las nyi ma'i steng du rigs lnga/ g.yon gyi sor mo lnga la a las zla ba'i dal steng du yum lnga yab yum sbyor ba mdzad/ byang sems sras mchog la thim pas dbang bskur ro/ (*Bdud 'joms Bka' ma* edition, Vol. Tha 354.1-2)

⁴³ gsang rgyud las/ lag g.yas mthil du nyi dkyil la/ /kun bzang 'od dang bcas pa bskyed/ /g.yon gyi a las zla dkyil du/ /kun tu bzang mo a las bskyed/ /gung mo nram par snang mdzad de/ /mthe bong la ni mi bskyod pa/ /mdzub mo rin chen 'byung ldan no/ /srin lag don yod grub pa ste/ /mthe'u chung snang ba mtha' yas so/ /g.yon pa lnga la yum lnga 'o/ /thabs dang shes rab snyoms 'jug dus/ /sor mo cung zad bsnol bar bya/ /phur pa 'dril bar bya ba yin/ /ces dbang bskur ro/ / (*Bdud 'joms bka' ma* edition, Volume Tha 354.3-5)

267) is devoted to the development of the *sādhana* practice, that is, the consecration of oneself as the deity, but he begins with the ritual articles needed for the practice, giving special attention (2003: 168–170) to the practice phurpa. Again, there is the feature of the fingers of the two hands, the letter *ma* producing sun discs above which the five male syllables arise on the right-hand fingers, and moon discs with the female seeds arising on the left-hand fingers.⁴⁴ The fingers are intertwined with a meditation on the males and females uniting, the phurpa is rolled, and consecrated by a stream of white and red *bodhicitta* from their union. Further *mudrās* and *mantras* follow, not identical but with some similarities to the description in IOL Tib J 331.III, 5r.

The *Sa skya Phur chen*, which is the text for the major full-length Phurpa *sādhana* in the Sa skya pa tradition, includes the meditation both in its preliminary ritual for making the boundaries for the practice, and then later, within its section on generating the material phurpa deities. The recitation uses different phrasing from the lines in IOL Tib J 331.III,⁴⁵ yet it shares details, such as some of those relating to the seed syllables and *mantras*. It begins (4r.5) with a meditation on the syllable *ma*, together with a sun *maṇḍala* on the right hand, and the syllable *a*, with the moon *maṇḍala* on the left hand, above which the syllables *hūṃ* and *āḥ* respectively arise, becoming a *vajra* and lotus. Ten seed syllables are then given, representing those for the five Buddhas and their consorts, arising at

⁴⁴ Part of the passage reads as follows: rang nyid rdo rje gzhon nur gsal ba'i lag pa g.yas kyi sor mo lnga la ma lnga dang ma sūrya maṇḍala zhes brjod pa'i/ rkyen gyis nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor la/ om hūṃ swā āḥ hāḥ las rigs lnga yab lnga dang/ g.yon gyi sor mo lnga la/ a tsaṇḍa maṇḍa la brjod pa'i rkyen gyis zla ba'i dkyil 'khor la muṃ lām mām pām tām las rigs lnga yab yum lngar gyur/ de nas shes rab kyi rang bzhin g.yon gyis phur ba blangs te/ om badzra anydza li hūṃ: zhes sor mo bsnol bas rigs lnga yab yum sbyor ba mdzad par gyur/ badzra bhan ha a be sha ya a āḥ zhes brjod pas rigs lnga yab yum gyi sbyor mtshams nas byang chub kyi sems dkar dmar gyi rgyun babs pa phur ba la thim pas sangs rgyas thams cad kyi thugs rje'i nus rtсал rdzogs par gyur par bsam la phur ba 'gril lo/ (2003: 169)

⁴⁵ ma sūrya maṇḍalā/ a tsanda maṇḍalā/ zhes brjod pas/ rang gi lag mthil g.yas g.yon du nyi zla'i dkyil 'khor re re/ de dag gi steng du hūṃ dang āḥ las rdo rje dang padma/ g.yas g.yon gyi sor mo la om hūṃ swā āḥ hā sāṃ mām lām bām hām las rnam par snang mdzad/ mi bskyod pa/ rin chen 'byung ldan/ 'od dpag med/ don yod grub pa/ kun tu bzang mo/ ma mā kī/ spyān ma/ gos dkar mo/ sgrol ma rnam su gyur/ par bsam la/ sa ma ya stwām/ zhes brjod cing thal mo sbyar bas snyoms par 'jug par bskul/ badzra anydza li hūṃ/ zhes dang/ rdo rje thal mos rjes su zhugs/ badzra bandha dang/ rdo rje bsdams pas phan tshun ro gcig tu gyur/ badzra anydza li dzaḥ zhes brjod pas/ yab yum bcu'i sbyor mtshams nas khro chung mtshon cha thogs pa mang po byung ste/ lag mthil gyi hūṃ dang āḥ la thim/ (4r.5–4v.3)

each of the fingers. With ‘*samaya stwaṃ*’ (*samayas tvam*) the palms are joined and the deities are enjoined to unite. They are meditated upon as doing so with ‘*badzra anydza li hūṃ*’ (*vajra aṅjali hūṃ*) and become completely bound together and unified with, ‘*badzra bandha*’ (*vajra bandha*). Finally, with ‘*ba dzra anydza li dzaḥ*’ (*vajra aṅjali jaḥ*) little wrathful ones are produced by the union, and dissolve into the *hūṃ* and *āḥ* syllables on the hands.

It is clear that the rite has its variants, yet equally, that they have much in common, preserving the flavour and even some of the specific details of the versions given in our IOL Tib J 331.III and the *Rnying ma*’i *rgyud* ’*bum* texts.

3. The Text: transliteration and translation

(2r.5) /*dang po kho na stong pa nyld du byIn kyIs*

(2v.1) *brlabs te/*

First, (having) simply consecrated (it) in emptiness,

(small writing below:)

bdag dang phur bu dang chos kun

oneself and the *phur bu* and all phenomena

/*chos kyI skur byIn kyIs brlab pa dang/*

(it) is consecrated as the *dharmakāya*, and

(small writing below:)

*badzra he ru ka yum khro ti shwa ri*⁴⁶

~~Vajra Heruka, [and his] consort Krodhīśvarī~~

/*de ’I steng du rgya mdud gzhal yas khang du dmyIgs te/ /*

upon it, visualising the knot as the Immeasurable Palace,

(small writing below:)

phur bu ’dI nyld nI ri rab tsam la de ’I steng na pho brang rgya che ba ’a

The *phur bu* itself is as big as Meru,⁴⁷ and above it is the vast palace;

⁴⁶ This comment occurs on the line below; almost certainly, it was written in the wrong place and crossed through when the error was noticed.

⁴⁷ This imagery of the *phurpa* or *kīla* as an immovable Mount Meru seems to have widespread South Asian antecedents, for example, in the Vedic mythology of the *Indrakīla* as the cosmic mountain, in *Silpaśāstra* literature on the *stūpikīla*, and in the Pāli Buddhist *Indakhīla* ritual traditions. It remains a constant in the Tibetan tradition, in particular in relation to the *phurpa* held by the central deity. For instance, the twentieth-century *gyer ma* liturgy collection of the *phur pa spu gri reg phung* of

(2v.2) phyogs bzhI dbus dang lngar hūm sgrIl ma lnga bzhag ste/
at the four directions and the centre, making five, five concentrated⁴⁸
hūms are established;
(small writing below:)

ma las nyI ma 'I dkyIl 'khor du gyur pa 'I dbus su
from [the syllable] *ma*, transformed into a sun *maṇḍala*, in the centre

/dbus su he ru ka/
in the centre (is) Heruka,
(small writing below:)
badzra he ru ka yum kro dhI shwa rI
Vajra Heruka, [and his] consort Krodhīśvarī;

/shar du khams sum rnam par rgyal ba /
in the east (is) Trailokyavijaya,⁴⁹
(small writing below:)

BDUD 'JOMS 'JIGS BRAL YE SHES RDO RJE reiterates this widespread symbolism (e.g., in *The Collected Works*, Vol. Ba: 523.5).

⁴⁸ *sgril ma*. We find the phrase, *hūm sgril ma* (concentrated / unified / condensed / rolled up *hūm*), elsewhere. In this Dunhuang manuscript, the text above (IOL Tib J 331.II, 4r), which is not a *phur pa* text and probably not originally found in an immediately preceding position to this text, also has *hūm sgril ma*, describing the syllable *hūm* after the body, speech and mind consecrations are dissolved. A perhaps closer parallel usage to that here is in the section on making the boundaries in the Sa skya *Phur chen* (4.2), where we have a concentrated / rolled up *hūm* giving rise to *mantra* syllables and effecting a transformation into the *vajra* form. The word *sgril ma* in the *Phur chen* is commented on in A myes zhabs (189.2), as *bsgril ba* / *bsgril ma* (note that the M and T 'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud editions give *bsgril* and D gives *sgril*). GRAGS PA RGYAL MTSHAN's elaboration (in his *rdo rje phur pa'i mngon par rtogs pa*) of what is clearly the same practice, presents a *hūm* emerging from the deity, becoming unified with a *hūm* in the sky, and then dividing and dissolving again. In this case, the term, *sgril ma* is not used, but the word *sbrel ma* occurs in the corresponding place, describing the unification of the *hūms*. It would thus seem that 'concentrated', 'unified' or 'condensed' is the most appropriate sense of the term *sgril ma* in this context.

⁴⁹ The four deities listed here as arising in the four directions correspond to four of the standard list of the *khro bo bcu*, the ten Wrathful ones who form the immediate retinue of the *Phurpa* deity in the traditional cycles of practice on *Phurpa* as a *yi dam* deity (the positions and names of these deities tend to be reasonably constant across different *Phurpa* texts, even if their appearances and hand implements might vary). In the case of the second and third given here, they are situated in the appropriate direction associated with the *khro bo bcu* deities of the same names. Trailokyavijaya is generally situated in the northeastern direction, although Vijaya is usually in the east. Mahābala / Stobs chen is generally associated not with the north, as given here, but with the below direction.

hūṃ las tra log kya bl dza ya ma ha kro dhe shwa rī hūṃ zhes brjod pas 'phro 'dur
gyur las de nas skur gyur gzhan kun yang de dang 'dra 'o
from [a syllable] *hūṃ* [comes the *mantra*] *trailokyavijaya mahākrodhīśvarī hūṃ*;
through reciting this, [it] comes to radiate and reabsorb [light rays]; then it transforms
into the [buddha] body; and all the other [deities] are also similar to this [ie. in the
way they arise].

(2v.3) lhor gshIn rje gshed/
in the south (is) Yamāntaka,
(small writing below:)
ya man ta krId badzra kro dha hūṃ
yamāntakṛt vajrakrodha hūṃ

/nub du rta 'grIn/
in the west (is) Hayagrīva,
(small writing below:)
ha ya grI ba badzra kro dha hūṃ
hayagrīva vajrakrodha hūṃ

/byang du stobs po ce/
in the north (is) Mahābala,
(small writing below:)
ma ha pa la badzra kro dha hūṃ
mahābala vajrakrodha hūṃ

/'dI rnam so so 'I snyIng po dran {b}tsam⁵⁰
(2v.4) gyIs bskul la/
(they) are enjoined, by appropriately remembering the essence
[*mantra*] of each of them, and
(small writing below:)
skur gyur pa las
having become [buddha] body

/gzungs dang gnyIs su myed pa/
non-dual with their *dhāraṇīs*,⁵¹

⁵⁰ Prefixed *ba* inserted below line, with attention drawn to it by a cross above the line. There is no *tshag* given after it, but *ba tsam* would also be a possibility: 'by merely remembering...'. This would also be consistent with the '*Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* reading of *ba tsam* (MTSHAMS BRAG NGB Vol. Chi, 1032.3).

⁵¹ Note that the '*Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* gives 'gzugs' for 'gzungs' (MTSHAMS BRAG NGB Vol. Chi, 1032.3), so that the sense would be, 'non-dual with the (phurpa) form'. This would make good sense: since we do not know in which

/mchod pa yang 'khor rgyas par dmylgs pa 'o/
(you) meditate on offerings and the extended retinue beyond.⁵²

/phyI nang gI mchod pa
(2v.5) cI 'byor pa phul te/
Offering whatever outer and inner offerings have been collected,
(small writing below:)

phyI nang gI mchod pa 'I lha mo dang lcags⁵³ kyu la stsogs pa sgo bzhI kun
the outer and inner offering goddesses with the iron hook etc., (at) all four doors

/dam tshI g rjes su bskul nas/
having enjoined (the deities), following the *samaya*,
(small writing below:)

mchod pa rnam lnga dang bdud rtsI lnga
the five offerings and the five *amṛtas*

/gnyIs su myed pa 'I rgyan rdzogs par mdzad pa nI /
(this) embellishment of non-duality is perfected;⁵⁴

(3r.1)⁵⁵ \$/ /longs spyod rdzogs pa 'I skur byIn kyIs brlab {s}⁵⁶
pa 'o/

direction the movement of text went, nor whether either text has a scribal error here, we are not in a position to judge which is the earlier reading.

⁵² Note that the sense of the '*Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*'s version (MTSHAMS BRAG NGB Vol. Chi, 1032.3-4) is slightly different here, giving '*khod pa dang/ for /mchod pa yang*, linking the '*khod pa* to the line above: 'established in non-duality...'. MT also give *rgyas btab* for *rgyas*, suggesting that the retinue is sealed, rather than that the retinue is extensive, but this may be a scribal error. MTSHAMS BRAG's text for this and the above line is: *gzugs dang gnyis su med par 'khod pa dang/ 'khor ba rgyas btab par dmigs te* (D: '*khor rgyas* for '*khor ba rgyas btab*).

⁵³ This comment runs onto the next line: its continuity is indicated by a cross given after the *lcags* and matched by an identical cross in front of the *kyu*.

⁵⁴ The sense here is not entirely certain. The idea of ornamentation or embellishment is often linked to offerings, and taking the line in this sense would seem to fit with the commentator's note above on the appropriate *samaya* offerings. However, a rather different sense might be intended: having enjoined (the deities) in accordance with *samaya* [ie. as *samaya* forms], [they, ie. the deities] are perfected [as] non-dual ornaments [ie. as primordial wisdom forms]. The same slight ambiguity is found in the *Myang 'das*'s parallel verse (D Vol. Zha 56r). Either understanding would fit with the notion of a *sambhogakāya* consecration. In the first case, the emphasis would be on the visualisation of the offerings embellishing the deities; in the second, on the visualised forms and their ultimate nature.

⁵⁵ The new folio numbering is again given in the left-hand margin: *gsum*.

(this) is the consecration as the *sambhogakāya*.

(small writing above:)

bsgrub pa pos bcol pa 'I las 'dl grub bar mdzod cIḡ par bsgo

The practitioner commands that (they) should act to accomplish the activity which is entrusted (to them)⁵⁷

/ [extended ornamental shad] /de las sras phur bu 'I ngo bor skyes pa nI/

From this, (it) is born as the Son (which is) the essence of *Phur bu*,⁵⁸

(small writing below:)

he ru ka 'I thugs ka 'I hūmng⁵⁹ las

from *hūm* at the heart of the heruka

⁶⁰/lte ba man chad⁶¹ mthIng nag

(3r.2) la/

dark blue below⁶² the waist, upon (which)

/dbu kham pa gyen du 'greng ba 'a/

(his) reddish-brown head [of hair?]⁶³ is standing up on end.

⁵⁶ Final *sa* is inserted beneath the line, with a cross above the line marking the place for the insertion.

⁵⁷ This would not appear to be a very appropriate comment here! It may be that it is in fact intended to fit with the *tshig rkang* which occurs at the same position along the page on the final line of the sheet above (beginning *gnyis su myed...*). If so, it might seem surprising that the scribe did not write it in the ample space beneath that line. One possible explanation is that the scribe might have copied from a source in which the two lines were not on different sheets and the comment was seemingly attached to the line below. Generally in this manuscript, the interlineal comments are positioned below the line, although there are a few instances (in sections other than the consecrations section) where comments are written above.

⁵⁸ Note that the '*Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*'s version (MTSHAMS BRAG NGB Vol. Chi, 1032.5) gives a slightly different reading here: *de la sras phur pa khro bor bskyed pa ni*; on this basis, (it) is generated as the Son Phurpa Wrathful One.

⁵⁹ Here the scribe seems to have added both the *m* and the final *nga*; clearly, *hūm* or *hung* is intended.

⁶⁰ Note that the description given here (and in the parallel passages in the '*Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*', the *Myang 'das* and in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*) is similar to that found in *Guhyasamāja* commentaries, such as the *Piṇḍikṛtasādhana* and the *Piṇḍikṛtasāadhanopāyikāvyūttiratnāvalī* (MAYER 2005:158-9).

⁶¹ It is most likely that *man chad* is in error, and *yan chad*—which is found in the '*Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*'s version (MTSHAMS BRAG NGB Vol. Chi, 1032.5) is intended.

⁶² See note above; the probable intended meaning is, 'dark blue above'.

/brang gIs 'gro ba chen po dang/
Great snake(s) and

/thod rlon gyIs b[~~sha~~(/zha)]cIngs⁶⁴ shIng bzhags pa' /
fresh skulls coil around and beautify⁶⁵ (him).

/spyang gsum
(3r.3) sdang dmyIg du dgrad de/
(His) three eyes are staring, in an angry expression,

/phyag g.yon pa 'I phur pa la gzIgs pa' /
looking at the phurpa in (his) left hand,

/mche ba gtsIgs pa dur khrod kyI mye dpung gi
(3r.4) nang na/
baring (his) fangs; (he is) within a mass (of) cremation flames.

/lte ba man chad lcags kyI phur pa zur gsum pa/
Below the waist, (is) a three sided iron phurpa,

/e 'I nang du sum ca tsam nub pa la/
as much as a third (of which) is descending/disappearing⁶⁶ into the *e*.
(small writing below:)

chos nyId yum gyI mkha'I rang bzhIn te yum lta bur gyur pa nI dgos pa 'I ye shes te
nman par myI rtog pa 'I⁶⁷ chos nyId la bya

⁶³ The '*Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*'s version (MTSHAMS BRAG NGB Vol. Chi, 1032.5) gives *dbu skra kham pa*: probably, there is an omission of the syllable *skra* here. Moreover, both the versions of this line in the *Myang 'das* and in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* give *ral pa* in place of *dbu*. It would seem that a description of the hair is in any case the most likely connotation.

⁶⁴ The deleted syllable *sha* or *zha* (which has been rubbed from the sheet), occurring between the prefixed *ba* and main letter *ca*, was probably an error (the eye moving to *shing* or *bzhags*) which was noticed and corrected straight away. The '*Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*' (MTSHAMS BRAG NGB Vol. Chi, 1032.6) gives *bcings*.

⁶⁵ *bzhags*: *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* (2434): (mrying) gzhags pa'am gzhabs pa'ang zer/ brgyan pa'am mdzes pa/. The '*Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*' (MTSHAMS BRAG NGB Vol. Chi, 1032.6) gives *bzhad*.

⁶⁶ *nub pa*: the sense here is slightly uncertain. *Nub pa* usually has the meaning of declining/setting, which could suggest here the image of the bottom third not being visible (the *e* would indicate the *phur khung*). We have *sum cha nub nas* in the *Myang 'das* parallel lines.

⁶⁷ This comment runs onto the next line: its continuity is indicated by a cross given after the *pa'i* and matched by an identical cross in front of the *chos*.

The elemental state is the very nature of the sky of the *yum*, becoming like the *yum*; this is the necessary primordial wisdom, acting in the non-discursive elemental state.

/phyag bzhI pa ste g.yas pa 'I

(3r.5) gong ma sta re kha yar bstan te ltag pas rdeg par bya ste/

(Having) four arms, the upper right (hand) exhibits an axe above [the level of?] the face, and strikes with the back (of the axe);

/’og ma la rdo rje rI rab kyIs gnong pa 'I thabs su 'dzIn pa 'a/ /
the lower (hand) grasps the *vajra* Mount Meru, in the manner of
suppressing.

(small writing below:)

phur des mnan pas sus kyang myI phyIn ba 'I don

This means (that) by suppressing with this phur(pa), whoever [is the object, they will] not [be able to] leave.

(3v.1) g.yon dang po rdo rje kha twang ka dkrol zhIng bdud kyI kham
sum 'jIlg pa/

The first left [hand holds] a *vajra khaṭvāṅga*, reverberating (or:
releasing [beings]),⁶⁸ destroying the three realms of māras;

(small writing below:)

myI mgo la sII snyan byas pa

playing cymbals with? the human head(s),⁶⁹

/’og ma la phur pa zur gsum pa 'debs pa 'I thabs su gzIgs⁷⁰

⁶⁸ The meaning of *dkrol* here is not entirely unambiguous: see following note.

⁶⁹ The beginning of this comment is written close to the word *dkrol* and presumably elaborates on it: it can mean playing / ringing / resounding a musical instrument such as a bell or cymbals. It might seem slightly more likely that the verb *dkrol* in the text is indicating the releasing / liberation of beings. However, it is also quite possible that the sense here of *dkrol* is to resound, reverberate or to make music; the '*Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (MTSHAMS BRAG NGB Vol. Chi, 1033.2), as well as all editions of the *Myang 'das*, have '*khrol*, which would seem to make this more likely, since this is its primary meaning (although it can also be a form of '*grol*). A *khaṭvāṅga* may have pendants with attached bells and *ḍamarus* (see Plate 115 and 116 in BEER 1999: 255, 257). The human skulls mentioned in the comment might suggest an attached drum made of human skulls. Alternatively, the *la* may indicate *at* the heads, and might perhaps refer to bells / *ḍamarus* / cymbals attached to or at the heads. A further possibility is that this comment might refer to the reverberation of the human heads / skulls of the *khaṭvāṅga* itself.

⁷⁰ Note that the '*Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (MTSHAMS BRAG NGB Vol. Chi, 1033.2) reads *gzas*, which gives a rather clearer meaning: 'brandishing (it) as though as to strike'.

(3v.2) shIng ngan song gsum 'jIg pa/
the lower [hand holds] a three-sided phurpa, in the manner of striking,
gazing at and destroying the three lower realms,

/stobs dang mthu dpung la stsogs pa 'a//
khro bo thams chad 'dus pa bas kyang lhag par che ba gcIg 'og du
(3v.3) phyung ste/
sending out below masses of inherent and magical powers etc., even
greater than a whole assembly (of) wrathful ones, so

/rtag pa chen por bstan pa 'dI nI sprul pa 'I skur byIn kyIs brlabs
pa 'o/
this teaching on the (phurpa's) great permanence/eternity is the
consecration as the *nirmāṇakāya*.

/de la rIgs lngar byIn kyIs brlab par bya ste/ /
On this basis, performing the consecration as the five (buddha)
families,

(3v.4) 'bru lnga gnas lngar byIn kyIs brlabs pa 'o/
the five seeds at the five places are consecrated.

/de nas sku gsung thugs su byIn kyIs brlab par bya ste/
Then, performing the consecration as (buddha) body, speech (and)
mind,

(small writing below:)

rIgs lnga dang sku gsung thugs gnyI gas⁷¹ byIn kyIs brlabs na yang bzang gang
yang⁷² rung ba gcIg byas na yang rung/ [extended ornamental shad]
(It is) good whether the five families and the (buddha) body, speech (and) mind
consecrations (are) both performed, or either one is (also) suitable;

/spyI gtsug du ō⁷³/ /
(the syllable) ō is meditated on at the crown of the head,
(small writing below:)

ōṃ dkar po lte bar bsam
meditate on a white ōṃ at the centre/navel,⁷⁴

⁷¹ *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* (978): *gnyi ga* = *gnyis ka* (archaic)

⁷² Final *nga* subscribed.

⁷³ *a chung* subscribed; most probably, *ōṃ* is intended. The '*Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* parallel text gives *om* (M and T) or *ōṃ* (D).

⁷⁴ *lte ba* would usually indicate the navel, but it may be here that the centre of the crown of the head is the intended sense here. An alternative, perhaps more likely,

(3v.5) rked par hrI/
hri at the waist,

/rtse mor phat bsam mo/
 (and) *phat* at the point [of the phurpa?].⁷⁵
 (small writing below:)

ām⁷⁶ dmar po lce hung sngon po snyIng ga s[w?]a ser po 'phral bar ha ljang ku
 rkad⁷⁷ par bsam

meditate on a red *ām* (at the) tongue,⁷⁸ blue *hung* (at the) heart, yellow *swa* (at the)
 forehead,⁷⁹ (and) a green *ha* at the foot/waist (?).⁸⁰

possibility is that navel was intended, but that the words *lte ba* and 'phral ba (= dpral ba, forehead) below (see note 79) have been transposed. This would fit neatly with the tradition's associations of the five seed syllables with the body centres (see, for instance, *Bdud 'joms gnam lcags spu gri bsnyen yig*: Vol. Da 82.1-2), and also with the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*'s Chapter 11 (D Vol. Pa 217r), but of course, we do need to exercise caution in reading early sources and not assume uniformity!

⁷⁵ We have a parallel to this in the *Sa skya phur chen*, where the *kīlas* of the 5 families are generated, and consecrated as buddha body, speech and mind, with *om* meditated on at the crown, *hrīh* at the waist, and *phaṭ* at the tip (24r.2-3).

⁷⁶ There is a very slight uncertainty here; *ām* is most likely, and consistent with our first text's association of *ām* with the mouth (see note 7 above). However, there is a very short horizontal line over the letter *a* which just possibly might be intended to represent a *na ro*, in which case, the syllable would be *ōm*.

⁷⁷ sic. = *rkang* or *rked*?

⁷⁸ There is some slight uncertainty in meaning here: it is just possible that the *hung* is meant to be at the tongue, and then the *swa* would be at the heart etc., but this seems unlikely, given that it would then be unclear where the *ām* should be, and the reference to *rkad* / *rked* / *rkang pa* at the end would seem odd!

⁷⁹ 'phral ba: archaic for dpral ba, forehead (*Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*: 1792). It is possible that *lte ba*, navel, is the intended word here, and that *lte ba* given above and 'phral ba here have been transposed (see note 74 above). Another possibility is that we have a scribal error here: that *phyal ba*, belly, is intended.

⁸⁰ This is uncertain. A scribal error of *da* for *nga* (*rkang par*) is a strong possibility. In PT 42 (f.46.1-2), we find yellow *ōm* at the crown of the head, red *ām* at the mouth, white *hum* at the heart, blue *swa* at the waist and green *ha* at the sole(s) of the foot / feet. Interestingly, the *Khu byug rol pa*'s Chapter 10 (M Vol. Ba: 277) also gives *rked pa* (waist) for the fourth place, but *yan lag* (limb[s]) for the fifth, which nonetheless might fit with this reading of foot/feet here. However, reading *rkad par* as *rked par*, at the waist, would have the advantage that the alternative spelling preserves the pronunciation, and it also fits with the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*'s Chapter 11 (D Vol. Pa, 217r), where SDE DGE gives, *sked pa*. In terms of what became the standard associations, we might expect to find the private parts (*gsang ba* or *gsang gnas*) in this position (see, for instance, *Bdud 'joms gnam lcags spu gri bsnyen yig*: Vol. Da 82.3).

/ (extended ornamental shad) /de 'I 'og du thugs kyI ye shes rtse gcIg
par byIn kyIs brlabs te/

⁸¹Following this, [the phurpa?] is consecrated in the single-pointed
heart primordial wisdom.

(small writing below:)

dpal chen po 'I thugs [~~ye shes~~?] nam par myI rtog pa 'I ye shes
the Great Glorious (One)'s heart, non-discursive primordial wisdom

/zur gsum du

(4r.1)⁸² \$/ /phaṭ gsum/

At the three edges [of the blade?] three (syllable) *phaṭs*,

(small writing below, written beneath *phaṭ* and *gsum* respectively:)

gsung thugs

(buddha) speech mind

/ngos gsum du hūm gsum gzhag go/

(and) at the three sides three *hūms* are placed.

(small writing below:)

hūng gsum las 'das par 'ong pa'

from the three *hūms* will come to transcendence [or: will come to transcend the three
hūms]

/ (extended ornamental shad) /de nas sku rtas⁸³ pa dang/

Then, the (buddha) body becomes extensive/protected⁸⁴ and,

⁸¹ This line, and the point below concerning the three *hūms* and three *phaṭs* has a parallel in the 'Bum nag (BOORD, 196), which simply quotes 'the tantra'. But it may be that the *gsang rgyud* is intended, since this is quoted a little above. Interestingly, in this case the positioning of the *hūms* and *phaṭs* is the reverse of that in our text here. The *Bdud 'joms Bka' ma* edition of the 'Bum nag gives: *sras mchog 'di yang sku gsung thugs ye shes rtse gcig tu byin gyis brlabs te/ dbal gyi zur gsum hūm gsum/ logs gsum du phaṭ gsum/ rtse mo la a dkar po zhig bsam ste/ rgyud las/ logs la phaṭ gsum bzhag pa yin/ /zur gsum hūm gsum gzhag pa yin/ /zhes so/*. The 'Phrin las phun sum *tshogs pa'i rgyud* parallel text, as well as the *Myang 'das* parallel passage in its Chapter 9 and the parallel lines in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*'s Chapter 11 agree with the positioning in the text here, and differ from the 'Bum nag. This would also appear to be the case with the differently worded *tshig rkang* on the subject in the *Dur khrod khu byug rol pa'i rgyud*. It gives */hūm gsum dang ni phaṭ gsum gyis/ /ngos gsum dang ni zur gsum la/* (MTSHAMS BRAG edition Vol. Ba: 277).

⁸² The new folio numbering is again given in the left-hand margin: *bzhi*.

⁸³ It is possible that *rtas* here may be an error for *brtag*, the reading which is found in the 'Phrin las phun sum *tshogs pa'i rgyud* (MTSHAMS BRAG NGB Vol. Chi, 1034.2).

⁸⁴ *rtas pa* = *brtas pa*, pft. of *brta ba*. However, see note above on possible scribal error.

(small writing below:)

gong du gzhal myed khang [phub(/phrab)]⁸⁵ pa 'I nang na bzhugs pa 'I khro bo yab yum bcu po

above, the ten *yab yum* wrathful ones abide within the protective covering [uncertain] (of) the Immeasurable Palace.

/rIgs so so 'I khro bo thams chad kyIs byIn kyIs brlab

(4r.2) cIng dbang bskur bar bya ste/

the consecrations and empowerments (of) all the wrathful ones of the various families are to be performed and,

/khro bo 'I dkyIl 'khor de dag nyId phyogs bcur 'phros te/

the *maṇḍalas* of these same wrathful ones are emanated in the ten directions, and

/slar 'dus nas hūṃ hūṃ {dang}⁸⁶ phat phaṭ kyI sgra 'byIn cIng/ /

having once again merged together, the sounds of *hūṃ hūṃ* and *phaṭ phaṭ* are emitted.

(4r.3) de nyId sku la bstlms te {dbang}⁸⁷ dang byIn rlabs thams chad kyIs bcIn par bya 'o/

These too dissolving into the (buddha) form, all the powers and consecrations should be received.⁸⁸

(small writing below:)

khro bo {mang po}⁸⁹ phur pa la thIm ba 'I don⁹⁰

⁸⁵ *phub*: this is slightly uncertain, although probable given the upward curve which is more consistent with *zhabs kyu* in this manuscript than with attached *ra*. *Phub* would also make more sense than *phrab*, if we take *phub pa* (from '*bubs pa*') as indicating the protective covering of the Immeasurable Palace. Just possibly here, *phrab* = *khrab* (armour/shield)?

⁸⁶ Inserted beneath line with a cross above the line marking the place.

⁸⁷ Inserted beneath line with a cross above the line marking the place.

⁸⁸ Received: guesswork here, purely from the context, though we are uncertain what word might have been intended. We have *bcin*, possibly = '*byin*', or '*phyin*'? It is also possible that the reading *bcing*, found in the MTSHAMS BRAG and GTING SKYES editions of the '*Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*' (MTSHAMS BRAG NGB Vol. Chi, 1034.4), was intended. This could be translated, '(the phurpa) should be bound up with all the powers and consecrations'. The SDE DGE edition gives, *tshim*, '(the phurpa) should be satiated with...').

⁸⁹ *mang po* is written beneath: its positioning is indicated by a cross above the line before *phur*.

⁹⁰ *thim ba 'i don* is placed under the *bcin par bya*, while the first part of the comment is placed under the *sku la bstims*.

this means that many wrathful ones are dissolving into the phurpa

/ (extended ornamental *shad*) /de nas 'gro ba 'I don la gshegs na
dphyogs bcu

(4r.4) 'I bde bar gshegs pa thams chad kyIs kyang/

Then, coming for the benefit of beings, all the sugatas of the ten
directions,

(small writing below:)

sprul pa 'I khro bo 'byung ba nyId bsgrub pa pos bsam ba thams chad sgrub pa 'I

phyI r gshegs⁹¹ pa la 'gro⁹² ba 'I don ces bya 'o

coming in order for the practitioner to accomplish all wishes, this very arising of the
emanated wrathful ones is said to be (for) the benefit of beings.

/stong grogs⁹³ mdzad cIng sngon zhal gyls bzhes pa lags pas/
since formerly (they) verily promised to act as allies,

/de 'I stong grogs mdzad cIng

(4r.5) de 'I sku la 'jug pa dang/

acting as this (phurpa's) allies, (they) enter into this (buddha) form
and

(small writing below:)

phur pa 'I khro bo

thIm ba'⁹⁴

phurpa wrathful ones

dissolve

/bdag nyId kyang bdag nyId chen po yIn bas/

since even you yourself are the great lord,

(small writing below:)

sngags mkhan

dpal chen po'⁹⁵

⁹¹ This comment runs on to the next line: its continuity is indicated by a cross given after the *gshegs* and matched by an identical cross in front of the *pa*.

⁹² There is some very slight uncertainty here over the attached *ra*: it does not resemble many of the attached *ras* previously given in this manuscript, although it is consistent with a number of instances of *khro* in the notes and it does clearly resemble the *gra* in the word *grangs*, which occurs in a comment 5v line 5. It can also be guessed from the context.

⁹³ Presumably (and in the case below) for *stongs grogs*, which is found in the MTSAMS BRAG edition of the '*Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (Mtshams brag NGB Vol. Chi, 1034.5), although not in SDE DGE or GTING SKYES (which agree with *stong grogs*).

⁹⁴ The first part of the comment is below *de 'i stong grogs*, and the second part is below, '*jug pa dang*.

⁹⁵ The first part of the comment is below *nyid kyang*, and the second part is below, *yin bas*.

the *mantra* practitioner the great glorious one

/phur pa yang bdag nyId chen por dbang bskur zhIng/
so, in order to empower and consecrate the phurpa also as the great lord,

/byIn kyIs brlab
(4v.1) pa 'I phyIr/

/lag mthll g.yas par ma las nyI 'I dkyll 'khor du gyur pa 'I steng du hūm/

meditate that [the syllable] *ma* (is) in the palm (of) the right hand, transforming into a sun *maṇḍala*, with *hūm* above, (*small writing below*:)

'dI man chad nI tIng nge 'dzIn gyIs byIn kyIs brlab par 'chad byang
chub kyI sems rdo rje 'I don

From this point, (this) is explained as consecrating through *samādhī*... (this) means the *bodhicitta vajra*⁹⁶

/g.yon pa 'I lag par ta las zla ba 'I dkyll
(4v.2) 'khor du gyur pa 'I steng du a bsams la/
(and) [the syllable] *ta* (is) in the left hand, transforming into a moon *maṇḍala*, with [the syllable] *a* above, and (*small writing below*:)

nI shes rab kyI rang bzhIn kun du bzang mo 'I don
for [the syllable *ta*], wisdom's natural expression⁹⁷ (this) means
Samantabhadra⁹⁸

/gung mo la ōṃ/
at the middle finger (is) [the syllable] *ōṃ*, (*small writing below*:)

ōṃ ste 'bu ta 'I rIgs
ōṃ is the buddha family

/mthe bo la hūm/
at the thumb, *hūm*, (*small writing below*:)

⁹⁶ This second part of the comment appears beneath the *gyur pa*... *hūm*, presumably applying to the sun *maṇḍala*.

⁹⁷ Comment appears beneath the *ta las zla ba 'i*.

⁹⁸ Comment appears beneath the *a bsams la*.

rdo rje 'I rIgs
the *vajra* family

/ʼdzub mo la tram/
at the forefinger, *tram*,
(*small writing below*:)
rIn po ce 'I rIgs
the jewel family

/srIn lag la hrI/
at the ring finger, *hri*,
(*small writing below*:)
pad ma 'I rIgs
the lotus family

/mthe'u
(4v.3) chung la [a(/ya)]⁹⁹/
at the little finger, *a*;
(*small writing below*:)
las kyI rIgs
the activity family

/ʼdI nmams zla ba 'I dkyIl 'khor gyI steng du bzhag ste su ra ta stwaṃ
zhes brjod la/
establishing these above moon *maṇḍala*[s],¹⁰⁰ and reciting, '*suratas*
tvam',

thal mo mnyam bar sbyar ro/ /
the palms [of the two hands] are joined together.

(4v.4) ōṃ badzra a 'dza' II hūṃ zhes brjod pas sor mo cung zad bsnol
lo/
Reciting, '*oṃ vajra aṅjali hūṃ*', the fingers are intertwined a little.

/ōṃ badzra bhan dha hūṃ zhes brjod pas/
Reciting, '*oṃ vajra bandha hūṃ*',

⁹⁹ The parallel text in the '*Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (MTSHAMS BRAG NGB Vol. Chi, 1035.1) gives *ha* (D Vol. Wa, 350v.7: 'hā').

¹⁰⁰ It is uncertain whether the plural is implied (in which case, each syllable would have its own disc). This would seem quite likely from the rather expanded version of the parallel text in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* (MTSHAMS BRAG Vol. Dza, 905), or other sources, such as MAG GSAR 2003: 169.

/sor mo rgyab du [𑀧𑀺?] bsnol te

(4v.5) bsdam/

[the hands are] bound (together), intertwining the fingers (back to) back.

/sa ma ya stwaṃ zhes brjod la/

Reciting, 'samayas tvaṃ', and

(small writing below:)

dam tshlg skongs pa zhes bya

(this) is called, restoring the *samaya*

/phur pa blangs te chang ba¹⁰¹ 'I nang du bcug nas/

taking the phurpa, putting (it) within the (closed) fist,

/lag pa 'I rtIng phye nas mthe bo gnyls srIn lag

(5r.1)¹⁰² \$/ /dang mthe 'u chung gl bar du bcug nas/

(you) open/separate the stem(s) of the hand(s), putting (it)¹⁰³ between the two thumbs, the ring finger(s) and the little finger(s), and

/mthe bos cung zad bsgul zhIng drud do/¹⁰⁴

the thumbs pull¹⁰⁵ and move (it) a little.

/ōṃ badzra a be sha a¹⁰⁶ a zhes brjod pas/

Reciting, 'oṃ vajra āveśa a a',

/phyogs bcu dus

(5r.2) gsum gyI bde bar gshegs pa sras dang bcas pa thams chad zhe

sdang rjes su dran ba 'I sku yungs 'bru tsam bar mtshams myed par

phur pa la bsdu zhIng

¹⁰¹ Presumably = 'changs pa (Das) / *changs pa* (*Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*). The parallel text in the '*Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (MTSHAMS BRAG NGB Vol. Chi, 1035.3) gives *chang pa'i*.

¹⁰² The new folio numbering is again given in the left-hand margin: *lga*.

¹⁰³ The parallel verse in the '*Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (MTSHAMS BRAG NGB Vol. Chi, 1035.3) and in the *Myang 'das* adds in *phur pa* (*bar du phur pa*), making it clear that it is the phurpa being referred to here.

¹⁰⁴ The parallel text in the '*Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (MTSHAMS BRAG NGB Vol. Chi, 1035.4) gives *dril lo*, and the *Myang 'das* gives '*dril*.

¹⁰⁵ See above note: the translation of the '*Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* and *Myang 'das* versions would be 'roll,' which may seem a rather clearer reading.

¹⁰⁶ There is a clearly formed *a* here; one would expect that *ya* might be intended, but it is worth noting that the '*Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (MTSHAMS BRAG NGB Vol. Chi, 1035.4) shares the reading of *a*.

(5r.3) bstlm mo/

all the sugatas of the ten directions (and) the three times, together with (their) sons, mindful (of) hatred, (their buddha) bodies the size of mustard seed(s), gather without (leaving any) gaps,¹⁰⁷ and dissolve into the phurpa.

(comment appears beneath the 'zhe sdang ...':) khro bo la bya

acting as wrathful ones

(comment starts beneath the 'yungs 'bru ...':) sngags mkhan bdag nyld kyang

yungs 'bru tsam bar mtshams myed pa mang por bstlm

also the *mantra* practitioner oneself dissolves into many (forms) like mustard seed(s), without (leaving any) gaps¹⁰⁸

/ [extended ornamental shad] /sku gsung thugs kyI bdag po chen po
nyld du rdzogs par byIn kyIs brlab cIng dbang bskur bar bya ste/
Consecrating and empowering (it) in perfecting (it) as the essential
great lord of (buddha) body, speech (and) mind, and

/sor mo rgyab

(5r.4) du bsnol la/

intertwining the fingers (back) to back,

(small writing below:)

'dI yan chad sngags¹⁰⁹ dang phyag rgyas byIn kyIs brlab pa ston

up to this point, consecrating with *mantra*(s) and *mudrā*(s) is demonstrated

/gung mo gnyIs gshlbs te bsgreng ba 'I bar du phur pa gzung la/
(you) hold the phurpa between the two middle fingers (which are)
positioned upright, and

/ōṃ badzra sa twa ra dzā hūṃ zhes bzlas/

recite, 'ōṃ vajrasattva rāja hūṃ'.

(small writing below:)

thugs rdo rje rIgs kyIs

the mind/heart *vajra* family

¹⁰⁷ Alternatively, this may mean, 'bodies gathering without (leaving any) gaps even the size of a mustard seed'.

¹⁰⁸ Again, this may alternatively mean, 'dissolves into many (forms which) have no gaps between (them) even the size of a mustard seed'. It is also possible that the comment intends to suggest rather that the sugatas are also dissolving into oneself, although this is certainly not spelt out.

¹⁰⁹ This comment runs onto the next line: its continuity is indicated by a cross given after the *sngags* and matched by an identical cross in front of the *dang*.

/de nas sor mo [pug pug(/prag prag)]

(5r.5) por byas la/

Then, making the fingers into *pug pug po* (?)¹¹⁰

/lag pa 'I rtIng pas phur pa bzung la/

holding the phurpa with the base¹¹¹ of the hand(s),

/ōṃ bur bu ba phaṭ ces brjod do/

(you) recite, 'ōṃ bhūr bhuvaḥ phaṭ'.

(small writing below:)

gsung pad ma 'I rIgs kyls

the speech lotus family

/de nas sor mo rgyab du bsnol te mthe bo gshlbs pa'I

(5v.1) chang par¹¹² bcug nas/

Then intertwining the fingers (back) to back, (you) put (it)¹¹³ within the (closed) hands, positioned [between?] the thumbs¹¹⁴ and,

¹¹⁰ Or: *prag prag po*; we cannot find either of these possibilities in any of the dictionaries. *Prag* can mean the space between objects, but this would not seem to help us greatly! Moreover, the 'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud (MTSHAMS BRAG NGB Vol. Chi, 1035.7) gives *pug pug por* (also in D and T), so this would seem most likely here. The *Myang 'das*'s Chapter 9 gives the reading of *phug phug po*. The three groups of *Rnying rgyud* editions of the *Myang 'das* agree on *phug* (R has pug and N bug for the second phug), although D has a marginal note giving an alternative reading, *sug sug*. Although *phug phug po* is not crystal clear (D's marginal note would seem to indicate the recognition of some problem), it might be related to 'bugs / 'big's, rendering a meaning of, 'making the fingers (as though they are?) piercing'. In a parallel line in the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*'s Chapter 11, D gives the reading, *thug por* for *pug pug por* (against TRK's *phug por* and M's *sug por*). This would make sense (touching), but it would seem highly unlikely that this was an earlier reading from which all our instances of *phug* / *pug* / *sug* derive! It is more likely that *thug* was an editorial attempt to make sense of a rather obscure word in this context. In *dbu med* sources, we are quite likely to find confusion between *pa* and *sa*, but far less likely for confusions of either of these letters with *tha*. In the *Dur khrod khu byug rol pa'i rgyud*'s parallel passage, which is a very differently phrased presentation of the material (although unmistakable in that, for instance, the *mantras* are in the same sequence), the description at this point would seem to suggest that the two hands are made into a lotus shape, with the fingers of each hand touching each other (/lag gnyis sor mo rtse sprad de/ /padma lta bur byas pa yi/ [MTSHAMS BRAG edition, Vol.Ba: 277]). It is perhaps just possible that *pug* might be for *spug*, a jewel, which would seem to fit, but a problem would still remain with the following *pug po*!

¹¹¹ Generally, *ring pa* would indicate the heel of the foot: in the case of the hands, it presumably means the base of the hands, just above the wrists.

¹¹² See note 101 above.

¹¹³ The 'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud (MTSHAMS BRAG NGB Vol. Chi, 1036.1) parallel passage makes this explicit: *phur pa bcug*.

/ōm ha na ha na tīb ta tsa kra hūṃ phaṭ ces brjod nas drlI te/
reciting, 'oṃ hana hana dīptacakra hūṃ phaṭ',¹¹⁵ (it) is rolled, and

/bdag nyId chen po thams chad gnyIs su myed pa 'I sbyor ba
(5v.2) mdzad pa 'I gzI byIn thams chad phur pa 'I sku la zhugs nas/
all the majestic powers created (by) all the great lords in non-dual
union enter into the (buddha) body of the phurpa.

(small writing below:)

lag pa g.yas pa thabs te rIgs lnga g.yon shes rab ste yum lnga thabs dang shes rab¹¹⁶
kyl bdag nyId kun sbyong [ba?]¹¹⁷ 'I byang chub kyl sems
the right hand being means, the five families, the left being wisdom, the five consorts,
(this demonstrates) the purifying *bodhicitta* (of) all the (male and female) lords of
means and wisdom

/stong khams gang bar mye stag 'phro zhIng dmyIgs pa thams chad
nges par 'grub¹¹⁸ {pa}'¹¹⁹

(5v.3) byIn dang/

Sparks of fire radiate, filling the thousand-fold realms, and

(small writing below:)

khro bo 'I¹²⁰
of wrathful ones

/dbang chen po dang ldan bar 'gyur ste/

[the phurpa] becomes fully consecrated and empowered to really
accomplish all aspirations.

/mdun gyI nam mkha' la e gru gsum gyI gdan la bzhugs par gsol nas/
Having requested [the phurpa (deity)] to abide upon the throne of the
triangular *e*¹²¹ in the space in front,

¹¹⁴ The *mudrā* here is rather unclear.

¹¹⁵ This *mantra* has its parallel to that in the *Guhyasamāja*'s Chapter 14 (*oṃ tshin da tshin da ha na ha na da ha da ha dīpta badzra tsakra hūṃ phaṭ*): see the Dunhuang version, IOL Tib J 438: 55r.1 (*ōm tshin da tshIn da/ [nga/(da?)] [...] ha na ha na dIb btātsa kra hūṃ phaṭ*).

¹¹⁶ This comment runs onto the next line: its continuity is indicated by a cross given after the *rab* and matched by an identical cross in front of the *kyl*.

¹¹⁷ Letter *ba* unclear; rubbed from the sheet.

¹¹⁸ Appears to have been corrected from an original 'bro ba, with the *na ro* and *shad* rubbed from the page, and *ba* amended.

¹¹⁹ *pa* inserted beneath line.

¹²⁰ Comment appears beneath the 'phro zhing.

(5v.4) yungs kar gI rgyal pos brdeg cIng/
striking with the king of white mustard seeds,
(small writing below:)
'phrIn las bskul ba'
enjoining activities

/gu gul sbyar mas bdugs la/
fumigating with compounded¹²² frankincense,

/phyI nang gI mchod pa thams chad dbul bar bya 'o/
all the outer (and) inner offerings should be offered.
(small writing below:)
mchod pa lnga sman lnga
the five offerings the five medicines¹²³

/de nas yId la
(5v.5) brnag pa 'I 'phrIn las bcol te 'dI nI byIn kyIs brlabs pa phun
sum tshogs pa 'o/
Then, entrusting the activities which have been mentally focused
upon, this [completes] the perfection (of) consecrations.
(small writing below:)
las 'dI lta bu grub par mdzod cIg ces
say, 'accomplish activit(ies) like this!'

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

The content of IOL Tib J 331.III is recognisable as equivalent to many familiar ritual sequences we find throughout the Phurpa tradition's root texts and its systematised practices. The framing of the material may vary: the structure of the 'seven perfections', of which the consecrations make up one section, is ordered differently in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* (and in Mag gsar, who follows this

¹²¹ The triangular *e*, symbolic of the female organ, the 'dharma origin' (*chos 'byung*), is represented in ritual practice as the container / stand in which the phurpa is inserted.

¹²² *sbyar ma*: a little uncertain; *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* gives: (1) *mang po kha sbyar nas bzos pa'i dngos chas*, and gives examples of wood, paper, material. The *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* gives the more straightforward, *sbyar bas* (MTSHAMS BRAG NGB Vol. Chi, 1036.4).

¹²³ The first part of the comment appears to be linked to *phyi*, and the second part to *nang*.

root text), and it does not quite correspond to the schemas for ordering Phurpa rites in many other sources. Moreover, the orientation of the ritual, centred on the phurpa implement itself and its deified form rather contrasts with the later tradition's focus on the *heruka* deity and the soteriological aspects of the meditative visualisation. Clearly, this does not indicate less interest in Mahāyoga meditative techniques such as the three *samādhis*, which are discussed in the other texts in the manuscript (and are found in many other Dunhuang sources), but the specific versions of these practices which are—or which became—linked to the Phurpa heritage are here not found integrated with the Phurpa rituals. It is difficult to know whether this comparative neglect in the context of Phurpa rites is a feature of the narrow range of surviving Dunhuang Phurpa materials, or whether the complex forms of the Phurpa *heruka* meditations in what became classed as the primary ritual for realisation (*stod las*) were greatly developed later.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the textual content of IOL Tib J 331.III is the substantial shared passages of text between this manuscript and Phurpa tantras in the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*, which we have discussed. There is no doubt that the material has a common source, although in parts, one of our texts may paraphrase, summarise or elaborate on the other version. Interestingly, apart from the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*, which in effect shares the entire text, a shifting passage may not always correspond neatly to a specific topic in both texts, but may, for instance, span the ending of one topic and beginning of another in the alternative version. As with our previous analysis of the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* (MAYER 1996), we are reminded of the Lévi-Straussian technical term, 'bricolage'.¹²⁴ It is not always certain how far the inclusion of specific material may indicate deliberate selection or reworking, and how far accidental loss of text may have played a part, although this Dunhuang text, and the corresponding sections in the *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud*, give the impression of being carefully constructed on the basis of the outline given at the beginning. Beyond this specific case, studying Dunhuang texts may also help us to understand the construction of the Rnying ma tantras. Whether the Dunhuang manuscripts drew on early versions of these tantras, whether the Rnying ma tantras incorporated

¹²⁴ This morally neutral anthropological technical term, occasionally used in the present context not only by us but also by other scholars such as KAPSTEIN (refer to his contribution to the present volume), seems rather curiously to have been misunderstood by Ruegg as insulting and derogatory (RUEGG 2001:739). On the contrary, LÉVI-STRAUSS's coinage (1976: 16 ff) was warm, affectionate and playful, as well as insightful.

and re-embedded selections of tantric materials found elsewhere, or whether both these processes were at work, comparative studies may help us to understand both sources.

APPENDIX: PARALLEL TEXTS

A: Passage parallel to the IOL Tib J 331.III Consecrations section in Chapter 9 of the Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum's Rdo rje phur bu mya ngan las 'das pa'i rgyud chen po (Myang 'das)

Sigla: D = SDE DGE; G = SGANG STENG; M = MTSHAMS BRAG; N = NUBRI; R = RIG 'DZIN TSHE DBANG NOR BU; Rc = corrections to R in red ink; T = GTING SKYES

This excerpt is from a critical edition.

SDE DGE: Volume Zha 56r; MTSHAMS BRAG: Volume Chi 130v(260); SGANG STENG: Volume Chi 116v; GTING SKYES: Volume Sa 157r(313); RIG 'DZIN: Volume Sa 126r; NUBRI: Volume Sha 59v.

/sku gsung¹²⁵ thugs su byin brlab¹²⁶ pa//
 ma bcos chos nyid dag pa la//
 rang byung¹²⁷ ye shes mngon¹²⁸ gsal¹²⁹ na//
 dang por chos skur byin brlab¹³⁰ pa'o^{131/132}
 /dang po'i rgya¹³³ mdud gzhal yas la/¹³⁴
 /rigs lnga'i sangs rgyas 'khor dang bcas//
 lte ba¹³⁵ rtsibs dang ldan pa la/
 /phyogs mtshams¹³⁶ khro bo 'khor dang bcas//

N60r

¹²⁵ gsung: MG dang

¹²⁶ brlab: D brlabs; TN rlab; R rlabs

¹²⁷ byung: TRN 'byung; Rc byung

¹²⁸ mngon: MG sngon

¹²⁹ gsal: N bsal

¹³⁰ brlab: D brlab (gap of about one syllable); TRN rlabs

¹³¹ pa'o: Rc pa

¹³² This *dharmakāya* consecration begins the section which runs parallel to IOL Tib J 331.III. As with the *dharmakāya* consecration, the following lines paraphrase the text in IOL Tib J 331.III for the first lines of the *sambhogakāya* consecration, but closer parallels begin below.

¹³³ rgya: N rgyu

¹³⁴ /dang po'i rgya mdud gzhal yas la/: MG omit

¹³⁵ lte ba: MG lte ba'i; TRN lta ba

¹³⁶ mtshams: T 'tshams

rgya mdud 'og ma'i gzhal yas la//
 steng 'og khro bo 'khor dang bcas/¹³⁷
 /go'u rī¹³⁸ brgyad¹³⁹ dang bse mor bcas¹⁴⁰//
 zur¹⁴¹ stengs sing ha¹⁴² stag gdong¹⁴³ bcas¹⁴⁴//
 zur¹⁴⁵ gsum logs la sgo ma'i tshogs//
 spyi dang rtse la yab yum gnyis//
 so so'i snying po dran tsam gyis/¹⁴⁶
 /gzugs¹⁴⁷ dang gnyis su¹⁴⁸ med par bsam¹⁴⁹//
 gnyis su med pa'i¹⁵⁰ mchod pa dang//
 phyi nang gsang ba'i mchod pas mchod//
 dam tshig rjes su¹⁵¹ dran par¹⁵² bskul¹⁵³/ M131r(261)
 /gnyis su¹⁵⁴ med par rgyan¹⁵⁵ rdzogs par//
 longs¹⁵⁶ spyod rdzogs skur byin brlab¹⁵⁷ pa'o¹⁵⁸//
 lte ba man chad zur gsum la//
 ro stod mthing nag zhal¹⁵⁹ gsum po¹⁶⁰/ G117r
 /ral pa kham nag bhṛ gu¹⁶¹ ta//
 gyen du 'greng zhing srid rtser¹⁶² 'bar//

¹³⁷ /rgya mdud 'og ma'i gzhal yas la/ /steng 'og khro bo 'khor dang bcas/: MG omit these two tshig rkang

¹³⁸ go'u rī: MG ke'u ri; TRN ki ri

¹³⁹ brgyad: N brgya ba

¹⁴⁰ bse mor bcas: MG ma mor byas

¹⁴¹ zur: MG zung

¹⁴² sing ha: D seng ha; MG sing nga; TN si nga; R sing

¹⁴³ gdong: MG dang; R bdong

¹⁴⁴ bcas: N cas

¹⁴⁵ zur: N szur (sa written as though a prefix, not a head letter)

¹⁴⁶ With this line, close parallelling with the consecration section in IOL Tib J 331.III (2v.4) begins.

¹⁴⁷ gzugs: MG gzungs

¹⁴⁸ gnyis su: R gnyisu

¹⁴⁹ bsam: R bsams

¹⁵⁰ pa'i: MG par

¹⁵¹ rjes su: R rjesu

¹⁵² par: MG pas

¹⁵³ bskul: TRN skul

¹⁵⁴ gnyis su: R gnyisu

¹⁵⁵ rgyan: MG brgyan

¹⁵⁶ longs: TR long

¹⁵⁷ brlab: MG brlabs; TRN rlab

¹⁵⁸ pa'o: Rc pa

¹⁵⁹ zhal: N zhag

¹⁶⁰ po: MGR pa'o; Rc pa

¹⁶¹ bhṛ gu: MG 'bri ku; TRN 'bri gu

brang gis 'gro dang thod rlon dang//
 stag dang glang chen zhing lpags¹⁶³ kyis//
 sku dang yan lag shin tu brgyan¹⁶⁴//
 spyan bgrad¹⁶⁵ mche gtsigs¹⁶⁶ shin tu¹⁶⁷ rngam¹⁶⁸//
 dur khrod rgyan brgyad¹⁶⁹ me dpung na¹⁷⁰//
 gru gsum e yi¹⁷¹ nang du ni/ T157v(314)
 /sku smad lcags phur zur gsum pa'o¹⁷²//
 sum cha nub nas g.yon la gzigs//
 phyag g.yas dang po sta¹⁷³ ltag¹⁷⁴ rdeg¹⁷⁵//
 'og ma ri rab gnon tshul 'dzin//
 g.yon gyis¹⁷⁶ rdo rje khaṭwām¹⁷⁷ 'khrol//
 'og ma phur pa 'debs pa'i tshul//
 bdud dpung 'joms shing¹⁷⁸ ngan song sbyong¹⁷⁹//
 mthu dang rdzu 'phrul gzhan pas¹⁸⁰ che//
 rtag¹⁸¹ pa chen por bzhugs par¹⁸² bsam//
 sprul pa'i sku ru byin brlab¹⁸³ pa'o¹⁸⁴/ R126v
 /spyi bor ṓm¹⁸⁵ la sked¹⁸⁶ par hrīḥ¹⁸⁷/ D56v
 /rtse mo'i¹⁸⁸ ngos¹⁸⁹ su phaṭ bsam¹⁹⁰ la¹⁹¹//

¹⁶² rtser: D rtse

¹⁶³ lpags: MG pags

¹⁶⁴ tu brgyan: TR du rgyan; N tu rgyan

¹⁶⁵ spyan bgrad: D zhal bgrad; M spyan bgrang; TRN spyan dgrad; Rc spyan bgrad

¹⁶⁶ mche gtsigs: T mtshe gtshigs; R mche gtshigs

¹⁶⁷ tu: TR du

¹⁶⁸ rngams: DN rngams

¹⁶⁹ rgyan brgyad: MG brgyan brgyad; TRN dang ni

¹⁷⁰ na: TRN ni

¹⁷¹ e yi: MG ma e'i; TRN a'i

¹⁷² pa'o: MGTRN po

¹⁷³ sta: D rna; MGTRN lta

¹⁷⁴ ltag: MG stag

¹⁷⁵ rdeg: D gdengs; TR rdag

¹⁷⁶ gyis: MG na; TRN pa

¹⁷⁷ khaṭwām: D khaṭwām; MG kha twām; TRN kha tong

¹⁷⁸ shing: D shing (final nga resembles da); TRN zhing

¹⁷⁹ sbyong: D sbyang; N spyod

¹⁸⁰ pas: MG las

¹⁸¹ rtag: MG rtags

¹⁸² par: TRN pas

¹⁸³ brlab: N rlabs

¹⁸⁴ pa'o: Rc pa

¹⁸⁵ ṓm: MGTRN om

¹⁸⁶ sked: MG rked; TRN rkyed

¹⁸⁷ hrīḥ: MGTRN hri

sku gsung thugs su byin gyis brlab¹⁹²/ N60v
 /ngos gsum hūm gzhag¹⁹³ zur gsum phaṭ//
 shin tu¹⁹⁴ gsal zhing 'tsher ba dang//
 so so'i khro bo thams cad kyis//
 byin gyis brlabs shing¹⁹⁵ dbang bskur te¹⁹⁶//
 khro bo'i dkyil 'khor de dag nyid//
 phyogs bcur 'phros nas slar 'dus te/ M131v(262)
 /hūm hūm phaṭ phaṭ¹⁹⁷ sgra 'byin cing//
 sku la bstim la¹⁹⁸ dbang rnams sbyin//
 de nas 'gro ba'i don la gshegs¹⁹⁹//
 phyogs bcu'i²⁰⁰ bder²⁰¹ gshegs thams cad kyis//
 sngon²⁰² chad stongs²⁰³ grogs bya ba ru//
 zhal gyis bzhes shing dam bcas pas//
 de yi²⁰⁴ stongs²⁰⁵ dang grogs mdzad do/ G117v
 /de yang bdag nyid chen po las²⁰⁶//
 phur pa'ang²⁰⁷ bdag nyid chen po ru//
 byin brlab²⁰⁸ dbang rnams bskur ba'i phyir//
 g.yas g.yon nyi zla'i dkyil 'khor la//
 hūm dang āh²⁰⁹ ni shin tu²¹⁰ gsal//
 gung mo mthe bong mdzub²¹¹ srin dang//

¹⁸⁸ mo'i: TRN mo

¹⁸⁹ ngos: TR ngo

¹⁹⁰ bsam: MGT bsams

¹⁹¹ la: D pa

¹⁹² brlab: MG brlabs

¹⁹³ gzhag: TRN bzhaḡ

¹⁹⁴ tu: TR du

¹⁹⁵ brlabs shing: MG brlabs cing; TRN rlab cing

¹⁹⁶ te: TRN ste

¹⁹⁷ phaṭ: N omits

¹⁹⁸ bstim la: D bstim zhing; TRN stim la

¹⁹⁹ gshegs: R gshye

²⁰⁰ bcu'i: MG bcur

²⁰¹ bder: D bde; Rc bde

²⁰² sngon: MG sngan

²⁰³ stongs: DTRN stong

²⁰⁴ de yi: TRN de'i

²⁰⁵ stongs: Rc stong

²⁰⁶ las: TRN bsang

²⁰⁷ pa'ang: TRN pa

²⁰⁸ brlab: MG brlabs; TRN rlab

²⁰⁹ āh: MGTRN a

²¹⁰ tu: TRN du

²¹¹ mdzub: TRN 'dzub

mthe'u²¹² chung la sogs g.yas g.yon la//
 òm²¹³ hūm traṃ hrīḥ āḥ²¹⁴ la sogs//
 rim pa bzhin du gsal bkod la/
 /su ra ta stwām²¹⁵ zhes brjod pas//
 thal mo mnyam par sbyar bar bya'o²¹⁶//
 om badzra anydza²¹⁷ li hūm/
 sor mo cung zad bsnol²¹⁸ bar bya'o²¹⁹//
 om badzra bhandha²²⁰ hūm/
 sor mo rgyab tu bsnol te²²¹ bsdam²²²//
 sa ma ya stwām²²³//
 phur pa²²⁴ blangs te chang²²⁵ par gzhug²²⁶//
 lag pa'i rting pa kha phye²²⁷ la//
 mthe bong gnyis dang sran lag dang/²²⁸
 /mthe'u²²⁹ chung bar du phur pa gzhug²³⁰
 /mthe bong bsgul la²³¹ phur pa²³² 'dril²³³/
 /òm badzra ā²³⁴ be sha ya a a²³⁵//
 phyogs bcu²³⁶ bde²³⁷ gshegs sras dang bcas//

T158r(315)

N61r

²¹² mthe'u: TRN mthe

²¹³ òm: MGTRN om

²¹⁴ traṃ hrīḥ āḥ: MG traṃ hri a; TR hri traṃ a; N hri traṃ ā

²¹⁵ ta stwām: D stwām; MGTR ta stom; N twām (the parallel *mantra* in IOL Tib J 331, 4v.3, gives ta stwām)

²¹⁶ sbyar bar bya'o: D sbyor ro

²¹⁷ anydza: MG a dzha; T a na dza; R an dza; N an dzwa

²¹⁸ bsnol: TRN snol

²¹⁹ bya'o: D bya; Rc bya

²²⁰ bhandha: MGTRN ban dha

²²¹ bsnol te: TRN snol ste

²²² bsdam: M bstan; G bstam

²²³ stwām: TRN stom

²²⁴ pa: D bu

²²⁵ chang: Rc 'chang (perhaps Rc is more 'correct' here)

²²⁶ gzhug: D bcang; MG bzhugs

²²⁷ phye: D phyes

²²⁸ N inserts two more tshig rkang, then attempts to delete them, but leaves them partially legible: mtha chang dang sran lag dang/ / mtha chang gnyas dang sran lag dang/ (apparently a dittography).

²²⁹ mthe'u: TRN mthe

²³⁰ gzhug: MG bzhugs; T bzhug

²³¹ bong bsgul la: D bo bsgul la; TRN bong bar du

²³² phur pa: N phu bu

²³³ 'dril: D sgril; TRN dril; Rc 'dril

²³⁴ òm badzra ā: MGTRN om badzra a

²³⁵ a: MG ā

zhe²³⁸ sdang rjes su dran pa²³⁹ yis²⁴⁰//
 nyungs²⁴¹ 'bru tsam gyi skur 'thon²⁴² nas//
 bar mtshams²⁴³ med par phur pa la//
 bsdu zhing bstim²⁴⁴ la byin gyis brlab²⁴⁵/ M132r(263)
 /sku gsung thugs²⁴⁶ su dbang bskur²⁴⁷ nas²⁴⁸/ R127r
 /sor mo rgyab bsol²⁴⁹ gung mo gshib²⁵⁰//
 bsgrengs pa'i²⁵¹ bar du phur bu gzung²⁵²//
 ōm²⁵³ badzra sa twa rā dza²⁵⁴ hūm/
 de nas sor mo phug phug²⁵⁵ por/²⁵⁶
 byas te rting²⁵⁷ pas²⁵⁸ phur bu bzung²⁵⁹//
 om²⁶⁰ bhūrbhu ba²⁶¹ pha/
 de nas sor mo rgyab bsol²⁶² te//
 mthe bong²⁶³ gshib²⁶⁴ pa'i chang²⁶⁵ par gzhug²⁶⁶

²³⁶ bcu: TRN bcu'i

²³⁷ bde: MG bder

²³⁸ zhe: N zhes

²³⁹ dran pa: MG 'dus pa'i

²⁴⁰ yis: MG sku; TRN yi

²⁴¹ nyungs: DRc nyung

²⁴² 'thon: MG thon

²⁴³ mtshams: TRN 'tshams

²⁴⁴ bstim: MGR bstims; TN stims

²⁴⁵ brlab: MG brlabs; TR rlab

²⁴⁶ thugs: R thud

²⁴⁷ bskur: G skur

²⁴⁸ nas: TRN na

²⁴⁹ rgyab bsol: TN rgyad snol; R brgyad snol

²⁵⁰ gshib: TR gzhib; N zhib

²⁵¹ bsgrengs pa'i: TRN bsgreng ba'i

²⁵² gzung: MG bzhugs; TRN bzung

²⁵³ ōm: MGTRN om

²⁵⁴ sa twa rā dza: MG swa ta ra tsa; TRN sa ta ra tsa

²⁵⁵ phug: R pug; N bug

²⁵⁶ por/: D por (there is a line of dots from here to the foot of the page, where we find a marginal note or insertion/alternative reading: sug sug kyang); TRN po/

²⁵⁷ rting: MG sting

²⁵⁸ pas: MN bas

²⁵⁹ bzung: TRN gzung

²⁶⁰ om: T ō

²⁶¹ bhūrbhu ba: MG phur bu; TRN phur bu pa

²⁶² rgyab bsol: TRN brgyad snol

²⁶³ mthe bong: T the bo ba; R the bong ba; N the bong

²⁶⁴ gshib: MG gshibs; TRN gzhibs; Rc gshibs

²⁶⁵ chang; Rc 'chang (perhaps Rc is more 'correct' here)

²⁶⁶ gzhug: MG bzhugs

/ōṃ²⁶⁷ ha na ha na dībta tsakra²⁶⁸ hūṃ phaṭ//
 drag tu brjod cing dril byas la²⁶⁹/ D57r; G118r
 /bdag nyid sbyor ba'i²⁷⁰ gzi byin kun//
 phur pa'i sku la rab²⁷¹ bzhugs²⁷² pa'i²⁷³//
 stong kham gang bar me stag 'phro//
 dmigs pa thams cad nges 'grub²⁷⁴ pa'i²⁷⁵//
 byin dang dbang chen ldan 'gyur²⁷⁶ te//
 e yi gdan²⁷⁷ la bzhugs gsol nas//
 brdeg²⁷⁸ cing bdug ste²⁷⁹ mchod pas mchod²⁸⁰/ T158v(316)
 /ōṃ²⁸¹ badzra yaksha kro ta tshal²⁸² pa hūṃ phaṭ²⁸³//
 ōṃ²⁸⁴ badzra hūṃ bai tā lī ha na ha na hūṃ²⁸⁵//
 sngags dang bcas pas²⁸⁶ brdeg cing bdug²⁸⁷
 /yid la brnag²⁸⁸ pa'i 'phrin²⁸⁹ las bcol/

²⁶⁷ ōṃ: MGRN om

²⁶⁸ dībta tsakra: MG tib ta tsakra; TR tib ta tsa kra (R originally tsam for tsa, but deletion of final ma indicated by black dots above); N tib ta tsag kra; Rc tib ta tsak kra

²⁶⁹ la: N las

²⁷⁰ ba'i: TRN pa'i; Rc ba'i

²⁷¹ rab: N rab tu

²⁷² bzhugs: MG zhugs; Rc zhugs

²⁷³ pa'i: TRN pas

²⁷⁴ 'grub: D grub

²⁷⁵ pa'i: MG par

²⁷⁶ 'gyur: D gyur

²⁷⁷ yi gdan: T yigdan; N yi gdam

²⁷⁸ brdeg: R bdag

²⁷⁹ ste: T ste/

²⁸⁰ mchod: D mchod do

²⁸¹ ōṃ: MGTRN om

²⁸² yaksha krodha tshal: D yaksha kro ta tshal; MG kro dha yag sha tshal; TR yag sha kro ta tshal; N yag sha kra ta tshal

²⁸³ phaṭ: MGTRN omit

²⁸⁴ ōṃ: MGRN om

²⁸⁵ hūṃ bai tā lī ha na ha na hūṃ: MG kro dha du ma pe ta li ha na ha na hūṃ phaṭ; TR du ma le ta li ha na ha na hūṃ phaṭ; N du ma le ta li ha na ha na hūṃ phaṭ

²⁸⁶ pas: TRN la

²⁸⁷ bcas pas brdeg cing bdug: MG bkas shing bdug cing brdeg

²⁸⁸ brnag: MG gnag

²⁸⁹ 'phrin: D phrin

B: Passages parallel to the IOL Tib J 331.III Consecrations section in Chapter 11 of the Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum's phur pa bcu gnyis kyi rgyud ces bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo (Phur pa bcu gnyis)

Sigla: D = SDE DGE; M = MTSHAMS BRAG; R = RIG 'DZIN TSHE DBANG NOR BU; T = GTING SKYES; K = KATHMANDU

This excerpt is from a simple diplomatic transcription, using D as the base text.

SDE DGE: Volume Pa 217r; MTSHAMS BRAG: Volume Dza 904; GTING SKYES: Volume Dza 109; RIG 'DZIN: Volume Dza 49v; KATHMANDU: Volume Ma 187v.

/padma las 'phros 'od dpung las//	
so so'i yig 'bru phyag mtshan ²⁹⁰ gyur//	
de las sku bzhengs 'jigs ²⁹¹ pa'i tshul/ ²⁹²	R50r
/sku stod zhal gcig phyag bzhi ste//	
sku smad sngo sangs ²⁹³ zur gsum pa//	
ral pa kham ²⁹⁴ nag gyen du 'bar//	
brang gis ²⁹⁵ 'gro ba chen pos brgyan/ ²⁹⁶	
/phyag g.yas dang po sta re la/	K188r
/de 'og rdo rje rgya gram ²⁹⁷ bsname//	
g.yon gyi dang po kha 'twām ²⁹⁸ 'khrol/ ²⁹⁹	
/de 'og khro bo'i ske nas ³⁰⁰ 'dzin//	
de ni phur pa bskyed pa'o//	
byin gyis brlab pa ³⁰¹ bstan pa ni//	
sngon la sku gsung thugs su ³⁰² brlab/ ³⁰³	

²⁹⁰ mtshan: T 'tshan; R 'tshal

²⁹¹ 'jigs: TR 'jig

²⁹² tshul/: MTRK gzugs/

²⁹³ sngo sangs: M sngo bsangs; T smo bsang; R sngo bangs; K sngo bsang

²⁹⁴ kham: TRK khams (T has final s subscripted)

²⁹⁵ gis: TRK gi

²⁹⁶ brgyan/: K rgyan/

²⁹⁷ gram: K grams

²⁹⁸ 'twām: TRK 'twam

²⁹⁹ 'khrol/: R khrol/

³⁰⁰ ske nas: TRK skye gnas

³⁰¹ brlab pa: M brlab par; TRK brlabs par

³⁰² thugs su: TR thugsu

³⁰³ brlab/: K brlabs/

/sku yi³⁰⁴ rdo rje sku yi³⁰⁵ gnas//
 shin tu brjid par³⁰⁶ byin gyis brlab/³⁰⁷
 /gsung gi rdo rje gsung gi³⁰⁸ gnas³⁰⁹//
 gdangs sgra grags par³¹⁰ byin gyis brlab/³¹¹
 /thugs kyi rdo rje thugs kyi gnas/
 /zhe sdang rtse gcig ldan par brlab/³¹²
 /de nas rigs lnga³¹³ byin brlabs ste/³¹⁴
 /sku gsung thugs kyi³¹⁵ yi ge gsum/
 /rang rang thugs kyi³¹⁶ mtshan ma³¹⁷ gnas//
 lte bar swā dang sked par hā/³¹⁸
 /rigs rnam 'dus pa 'i³¹⁹ ngo bor³²⁰ brlab/³²¹
 /de nas thugs nyid³²² mi 'gyur ba//
 ye shes gcig tu byin gyis brlabs/³²³
 /logs gsum hūṃ gsum mi 'gyur rtags/³²⁴
 /zur gsum phaṭ gsum 'joms pa 'i rtags//
 de nas shin tu brtas³²⁵ pa dang/³²⁶
 /dzaḥ yi³²⁷ dkyil 'khor gdon³²⁸ pa dang//
 bdag nyid mdun na³²⁹ gnas par brtag/³³⁰

M904

T110

³⁰⁴ sku yi: TRK sku'i

³⁰⁵ sku yi: TR sku'i; K sku yis

³⁰⁶ M gap for three letters after par

³⁰⁷ brlab/: K brlabs/

³⁰⁸ gi: K gis

³⁰⁹ gnas: T final s subscripted

³¹⁰ grags par: M drag por

³¹¹ brlab/: MTRK brlabs/

³¹² brlab/: K brlabs/

³¹³ lnga: MTRK lngar

³¹⁴ brlabs ste/: MTR: brlab ste/; K brlabs ste/

³¹⁵ kyi: K kyis

³¹⁶ kyi: K kyis

³¹⁷ ma: MTRK: mar

³¹⁸ swā dang sked par hā: D's sked par is smudged and indistinct; MTRK swa dang rkyen mchan (K:mtshan) ha/

³¹⁹ 'dus pa 'i: R 'dul ba'i

³²⁰ bor: MTRK bo

³²¹ brlab/: K brlabs/

³²² nyid: TRK gnyis

³²³ brlabs/: MTR brlab/

³²⁴ rtags/: MTRK brtag/

³²⁵ brtas: MTRK rtas

³²⁶ dang/: MTRK yang/

³²⁷ dzaḥ yi: M dza yis; TR dza dza yis; K (unmetrically) dza dza yis

³²⁸ gdon: MTR 'don

/de nas rigs kyi ³³¹ khro bos ³³² ni//	
rang rang ³³³ so so'i dbang yang bskur//	
'chol par spros la ³³⁴ so sor bstim//	
<i>hūm hūm phaṭ kyi³³⁵ sgra 'byin cing/³³⁶</i>	
/rang rang rigs la ³³⁷ zhugs gyur ³³⁸ pas//	
dbang dang byin rlabs ³³⁹ thams cad ³⁴⁰ kun//	
de nyid la ni 'dus ³⁴¹ thim bsam/ ³⁴²	D217v
/de nas sngon gyi ³⁴³ dam tshig bsgrag/ ³⁴⁴	
/de rjes bdag nyid chen por brlab/ ³⁴⁵	
<i>/lag pa g.yas pa 'i mthil du la/³⁴⁶</i>	
<i>/nyi ma 'i dkyil 'khor gyur pa 'i dkyil/³⁴⁷</i>	
<i>/hūm bdag kun tu bzang po 'i sku//</i>	
<i>g.yon pa³⁴⁸ a pas³⁴⁹ zla dkyil bsam/³⁵⁰</i>	R50v
/a bzhag kun tu bzang mo 'i sku/ ³⁵¹	
/yab yum rjes su ³⁵² chags pa las/	K188v
/byang chub sems kyi 'od byung ste//	
g.yas pa 'i <i>gung mo 'i³⁵³ dkyil du om//</i>	
de zhu rnam par snang mdzad sku//	
<i>mthe bong dkyil du hūm gsal³⁵⁴ las/</i>	M905

³²⁹ na: K nas

³³⁰ brtag/: TRK btag/

³³¹ kyi: K kyis

³³² bos: K bo'i

³³³ rang: TRK re

³³⁴ la: MTRK pas

³³⁵ kyi: K gyis

³³⁶ cing/: K zhing/

³³⁷ la: K las

³³⁸ gyur: K 'gyur

³³⁹ rlabs: RK brlabs

³⁴⁰ thams cad: K thamd

³⁴¹ 'dus: MTRK bsdus

³⁴² bsam/: R bsa/

³⁴³ gyi: K gyis

³⁴⁴ bsgrag/: MTRK bsgrags/

³⁴⁵ por brlab/: K po brlabs/

³⁴⁶ la/: MTRK: ma/

³⁴⁷ dkyil/: K dbus/

³⁴⁸ pa: MTRK: par

³⁴⁹ pas: MTRK: las

³⁵⁰ zla dkyil bsam/: M zla ba'i dkyil/; TRK (unmetrically) zla ba'i dkyil 'khor/

³⁵¹ sku/: MTRK mkha'/

³⁵² rjes su: R rdzasu

³⁵³ mo'i: K ma'i

/de las mi bskyod³⁵⁵ pa yi³⁵⁶ sku//
 'dzub³⁵⁷ mo'i dkyil du trāṃ³⁵⁸ bsams³⁵⁹ la//
 de las rin chen 'byung ldan bskyed//
 srin lag dkyil du hrīḥ³⁶⁰ bsams³⁶¹ la//
 de las don yod grub pa'o//
 mthe'u³⁶² chung dkyil du āṃ³⁶³ bsams³⁶⁴ te/³⁶⁵
 /de las snang ba mtha' yas³⁶⁶ bskyed/
 /kun kyang zla ba'i dkyil 'khor la'o//
 g.yon gyis³⁶⁷ sor³⁶⁸ mo rnams la yang//
 yi ge gong ma bsam pa 'am/³⁶⁹
 /yang na yum lnga'i snying po las//
 yongs su³⁷⁰ rdzogs par bskyed byas la/³⁷¹
 /rjes su³⁷² chags pa'i brda³⁷³ yis bskul//
 thal mo mnyam par³⁷⁴ byas³⁷⁵ nas ni//
 oṃ dang badzra anydzali/³⁷⁶
 /hūṃ zhes yongs su brjod nas ni//
 sor mo cung zad bsnol³⁷⁷ bar bya//
 badzra ban dha³⁷⁸ hūṃ zhes brjod//
 sor mo rgyab tu bsnol³⁷⁹ te bsdams/³⁸⁰

T111

³⁵⁴ gsal: K bsam

³⁵⁵ bskyod: TK skyod

³⁵⁶ pa yi: TRK pa'i

³⁵⁷ 'dzub: M mdzub

³⁵⁸ trāṃ: MTRK traṃ

³⁵⁹ bsams: K gsam

³⁶⁰ hrīḥ: MTRK hri

³⁶¹ bsams: K bsam

³⁶² mthe'u: TRK 'theb

³⁶³ āṃ: MTRK a

³⁶⁴ bsams: R bsams; K bsam

³⁶⁵ te/: MTRK: la/

³⁶⁶ yas: K las

³⁶⁷ gyis: M gyi

³⁶⁸ sor: K gsor

³⁶⁹ 'am/: K pa'a/

³⁷⁰ yongs su: TRK yongsu

³⁷¹ la/: T na/

³⁷² rjes su: TRK rjesu

³⁷³ brda: R brda'

³⁷⁴ mnyam par: MRK mnyam por; T nyam por

³⁷⁵ byas: MTRK: sbyar

³⁷⁶ anydzali/: MTRK a dza li/

³⁷⁷ bsnol: K snol

³⁷⁸ ban dha: M bandha; K bhan dha

/de nas sa ma ya stwām³⁸¹ zhes/³⁸²
/brjod la³⁸³ phur pa lag tu³⁸⁴ gzhug/³⁸⁵
/lag pa 'i rting pa³⁸⁶ rab phye ste//
mthe³⁸⁷ bong mthe 'u³⁸⁸ chung srin lag gsum//
dbus su³⁸⁹ phur bcug 'dril³⁹⁰ bar bya//
om dang³⁹¹ badzra ā³⁹² be sha³⁹³//
ya³⁹⁴ dang a zhes brjod pas ni//
phyogs bcu dus gsum³⁹⁵ bde gshegs kyi/³⁹⁶
/yab yum sras dang bcas pa yis/³⁹⁷
/zhe sdang rjes su³⁹⁸ dran pa 'i sku//
yungs³⁹⁹ 'bru grangs med phur par⁴⁰⁰ bstim/⁴⁰¹
/de nas sku gsung thugs nyid kyi/⁴⁰²
/bdag nyid chen por dbang bskur te//
sor mo rgyab tu bsnol⁴⁰³ nas ni//
gung gnyis bsgreng⁴⁰⁴ bar phur bu gzhug/⁴⁰⁵

³⁷⁹ bsnol: K snol

³⁸⁰ bsdams/: MTR bsdam/

³⁸¹ stwām: D's stwām is followed by a space for one letter; MTRK stwam

³⁸² /: M omits the /, placing it two syllables ahead

³⁸³ M inserts /

³⁸⁴ tu: MTRK par

³⁸⁵ gzhug/: M gzhag byas la/, (M lengthening the phrase by two syllables, to compensate for the shortening caused by its misplaced shad after brjod la); R bzhugs/, K bzhug/

³⁸⁶ pa: RK par

³⁸⁷ mthe: TRK 'the

³⁸⁸ mthe'u: TRK 'theb

³⁸⁹ dbus su: T dbusu

³⁹⁰ 'dril: MTRK dril

³⁹¹ dang: K omits

³⁹² ā: MTRK a

³⁹³ K inserts ya

³⁹⁴ ya: R yang

³⁹⁵ M dus gsum compressed

³⁹⁶ kyi/: K kyis/

³⁹⁷ yis/: MTRK rnams/

³⁹⁸ rjes su: TRK rjesu

³⁹⁹ yungs: K yung

⁴⁰⁰ par: MTRK la

⁴⁰¹ bstim/: K stims/

⁴⁰² kyi/: K kyis/

⁴⁰³ bsnol: K snol

⁴⁰⁴ bsgreng: K bsgrengs

⁴⁰⁵ gzhug/: M gzhag/, TR bzhugs/, K bzhug/

/om dang badzra sa twa ⁴⁰⁶ rā / ⁴⁰⁷	M906
/dza hūm zhes ni brjod pa las//	
sras mchog bdag nyid thugs 'drar 'gyur//	
de nas sor mo thug ⁴⁰⁸ por bya/	R51r
/lag pa 'i rting pas phur bu bzung/ ⁴⁰⁹	
/badzra phur bu ⁴¹⁰ zhes brjod pas/	D218r
/des ⁴¹¹ ni bdag dang gsung 'drar 'gyur//	
de nas sor mo brgyad ⁴¹² bsnol te/	K189r
/mthe ⁴¹³ bong gshibs ⁴¹⁴ pa 'i bar du ni//	
phur pa ⁴¹⁵ bcug nas 'di skad brjod//	
om dang tstshinḍa tstshinḍa ⁴¹⁶ dang/	T112
/ha na ha na tista ⁴¹⁷ dang//	
tsakra hūm zhes rab brjod pas//	
bdag nyid yab yum byang chub ⁴¹⁸ sems//	
rab tu spro ⁴¹⁹ zhing de la ⁴²⁰ bstim/ ⁴²¹	
/stong khams gang ba 'i me stag 'phro//	
dmigs pa thams cad ⁴²² nges 'grub pa 'i//	
byin dang dbang chen ldan gyur ⁴²³ te//	
gsang ba yum gyi ⁴²⁴ dbus bzhugs gsol/ ⁴²⁵	

⁴⁰⁶ twa: TRK ta

⁴⁰⁷ rā /: MTRK ra/

⁴⁰⁸ thug: TRK phug; M sug

⁴⁰⁹ bzung/: K gzungs/ (final s subscripted)

⁴¹⁰ badzra phur bu: Most other sources give variants of *om bhur bu ba* in such a context (i.e. *om bhūr bhuva*, famous in India as the opening of the Gāyatrī, or Vyā-hṛī). Hence we think it likely that the badzra phur bu shared by all our editions here arises from an error in an archetype. See above, notes 27 and 28, and note also that in the *Myang 'das*, the SDE DGE edition alone gives *bhūrbhu ba*, while the other editions give *phur bu* or *phur bu pa* (note 261).

⁴¹¹ des: TRK de

⁴¹² brgyad: MTRK rgyab

⁴¹³ mthe: R 'the

⁴¹⁴ gshibs: K gshib

⁴¹⁵ pa: K bu

⁴¹⁶ tstshinḍa tstshinḍa: MTR tsin dha tsin dha; K tshin dha (haplography)

⁴¹⁷ tista: (for *dīpta*); MTR tipta; K tibta

⁴¹⁸ byang chub: MTRK sbyor ba 'i

⁴¹⁹ spro: MTRK sbyor

⁴²⁰ la: MTRK ltar

⁴²¹ bstim/: K stim/

⁴²² thams cad: K thamd

⁴²³ gyur: MTRK 'gyur

⁴²⁴ gyi: K gyis

⁴²⁵ bzhugs gsol/: K bzhugsol/

/gu gul nag po 'i⁴²⁶ dud pas⁴²⁷ bdug/⁴²⁸
 /yungs⁴²⁹ nag khro chung rgyal pos⁴³⁰ brdeg/

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Editions of the Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum

- SGANG STENG [G]: The *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* manuscripts preserved by
 Sgang steng monastery, Bhutan. Forty-six volumes. (Digital images have
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 sity.) The *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* is found in Volume Chi,
 the *Myang 'das* is found in Volume Chi, the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* is in
 Volume Dza, the *Rdo rje khros pa phur pa rTsa ba'i rgyud* is in Volume
 Ji, and the *Dur khrod khu byug rol pa'i rgyud* is in Volume Ba.
 GTING SKYES [T]: *Rñin ma rgyud 'bum*. Reproduced from the MS preserved
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 LMPj 011,825—012,584.) The *'Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* is
 found in Volume Sha, the *Myang 'das* is found in Volume Sa, the *Phur pa
 bcu gnyis* is in Volume Dza, the *Rdo rje khros pa phur pa rTsa ba'i rgyud*
 is in Volume Sha, and the *Dur khrod khu byug rol pa'i rgyud* is in Volume
 Da.

⁴²⁶ po'i: TR pos

⁴²⁷ pas: T final s subscripted

⁴²⁸ bdug/: K 'dug/

⁴²⁹ yungs: TRK yung

⁴³⁰ pos: K po'i

SDE DGE [D]: The Sde dge edition of the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*. Twenty-six volumes, Ka-Ra, plus *dKar chag*, Volume A. Sde dge par khang. The '*Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* is found in Volume Wa, the *rdo rje phur bu chos thams cad mya ngan las 'das pa'i rgyud chen po* [*Myang 'das*] is found in Volume Zha, the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* is in Volume Pa, the *Rdo rje khros pa phur pa rTsa ba'i rgyud* is in Volume Wa, and the *Dur khrod khu byug rol pa'i rgyud* is in Volume Nya.

MTSHAMS BRAG [M]: *The Mtshams brag manuscript of the Rñin ma rgyud 'bum* (rgyud 'bum/mtshams brag dgon pa). 1982. Thimpu: National Library, Royal Government of Bhutan. Forty-six volumes. (Microfiche available from The Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions, LMPj 014,862—014, 907.) The '*Phrin las phun sum tshogs pa'i rgyud* is found in Volume Chi, the *Myang 'das* is found in Volume Chi, the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* is in Volume Dza, the *Rdo rje khros pa phur pa rTsa ba'i rgyud* is in Volume Ji, and the *Dur khrod khu byug rol pa'i rgyud* is in Volume Ba.

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NUBRI [N]: Manuscript edition of the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* from the Nubri area, held by The National Archives, Kathmandu. (Microfilm is available.) The *Myang 'das* is found in Volume Sha, the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* is in Volume Ma, the *Rdo rje khros pa phur pa rTsa ba'i rgyud* is in Volume Sa, and the *Dur khrod khu byug rol pa'i rgyud* is in Volume Da.

KATHMANDU [K]: Manuscript edition of the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* from the Nubri area, held by The National Archives, Kathmandu. (Microfilm is available.) Its version of the *Myang 'das* is unavailable (Volume Sha is missing), the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* is in Volume Ma, and the *Rdo rje khros pa phur pa rTsa ba'i rgyud* is in Volume Sa (Reel no.: AT18/3).

⁴³¹ Note that we find corrections in red ink through much of the text of the *Myang 'das* in this edition. We have used the sigla *Rc* to refer to such corrected words in the Rig 'dzin edition.

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THE LIMITS OF TRANSGRESSION: THE *SAMAYA* VOWS OF MAHĀYOGA

Sam van Schaik

Whether vows are honoured or flouted, they define a Buddhist community. Social groups are held together by shared value systems, and the Buddhist saṅgha is no exception. Of the three collections of early scripture, it was the Vinaya and its associated *prātimokṣa* vows that set out what it was to be a Buddhist monastic. Disagreements over the Vinaya, rather than over other doctrinal or philosophical matters, were the root causes of sectarian divisions between the early monastic orders.

When the Mahāyāna movements appeared, the followers of the Mahāyāna defined their distinct mode of being Buddhist using the language of vows. Most Mahāyāna monks lived in the same communities as the followers of mainstream Buddhism and adhered to the same *prātimokṣa* vows. They expressed and reified their difference through an additional set of vows, the bodhisattva vows. These new vows augmented and recontextualized the *prātimokṣa* vows, but did not meddle with them. The new context set out in the bodhisattva ideal, the salvation of all sentient beings, made it possible to reinterpret the prohibitions of the earlier monastic vows, so that even killing could be acceptable if the greater good of sentient beings was at stake. But the original *prātimokṣa* vows remained the basic definition of what it meant to be a Buddhist monk.

THE *SAMAYA* VOWS

The topic of this paper is the next major set of vows to appear after the bodhisattva vows: the *samaya* vows of Vajrayāna Buddhism. With the emergence of the tantras we see a new understanding of what it means to be a Buddhist, and at the same time, the formulation of new vows. In the seventh century, tantras like the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*

articulated a significantly new approach to Buddhist practice, history and cosmology. They also expounded a new kind of vow called *samaya*.

The use of the term *samaya* in the tantras is closely related to its root meaning in Sanskrit as a conjunction or meeting place.¹ In the tantras, the *samaya* is the place where wisdom (Tib. *ye shes*, Skt. *jñāna*) becomes embodied. This might be a physical representation of a deity, an empowerment, a visualization or a sacramental substance. Thus in empowerment and *sādhana* practice the wisdom being (Tib. *ye shes sems dpa'*, Skt. *jñānasattva*), becomes embodied in the *samaya* being (Tib. *dam tshig sems dpa'*, Skt. *samayāsattva*), the representation or visualized form of the deity. This is known as the *samayamudrā* (Tib. *dam tshig gi phyag rgya*). The five nectars of tantric ritual—the faeces, urine, semen, blood and human flesh—are known as the *samaya* substances (Tib. *dam tshig rdzas*) because they embody this ritualized inherence of the divine in the ordinary. Likewise, the sexual sacrament of the perfection stage practices is often referred to as the supreme *samaya* (Tib. *dam tshig mchog*).

In the course of empowerment or *sādhana*, the *samaya* vows are often invoked at the very culmination of the ritual, when *jñāna* and *samaya* come together. This conjunction is considered to be extraordinarily powerful.² Vilāsavajra, in his *Exposition of the Samaya* (*Dam tshig gsal bkra*) writes:

[The *samaya*] is by nature a pure conjunction;
Therefore it gives great power to the good and evil [deeds]
Of those who are [respectively] able or unable to maintain it.³

In order to live up to this conjunction, to become an embodiment of the deity's wisdom, one must abide by certain strict codes of behaviour. The results of failing to do so are often graphically described.⁴ The following warning from one of the Dunhuang manuscripts is typical:

¹ A definition of *samaya* in the early Tibetan commentarial tradition preserves the original Sanskrit etymology, rather unusually for Tibetan etymologies of Sanskrit words; see RONG ZOM's *Rgyud rgyal gsang ba snying po'i 'grel pa*: 404-405.

² On the ritual role of the *samaya* substances, see DALTON 2004: 18-19.

³ Q. 4744, f.579b.5: so mtshams dag gi rang bzhin pas// bsrung ba thub dang ma thub las// nyes legs stobs chen 'byed pa'o//.

⁴ See for example, IOL Tib J 346/2, IOL Tib J 419/3, IOL Tib J 473, and IOL Tib J 552.

If the *samaya* deteriorate, then while you live your complexion will deteriorate, your mind will become unclear, you will be subject to many illnesses and your wishes will go unfulfilled. Innumerable spirits and demons will wound you like an animal. When you die, your senses will become clouded, your tongue will stick [to your palate], you will smell unpleasant, and you will die vomiting blood. You will be escorted [from this life] by innumerable malicious demons.⁵

The benefits of keeping the vows are concomitantly great; the same text says:

If these three *samaya* do not deteriorate, then your body, speech and mind will be transformed into the *vajra* nature. While you live your hopes will be fulfilled, while at the time of death you will have a clear mind, untroubled by the sickness of the defilements. [Your body] will have a pleasant odour, you will not forget the instructions, and the deities will come as escorts.⁶

This presentation of the *samaya* has continued through to the present day. Contemporary Tibetan lamas often like to compare someone who holds the *samaya* vows with a snake inside a tube of bamboo. For the snake, there are only two ways out of the tube; similarly for the *samaya* holder, there are only two results: enlightenment or the deepest hell.

Considering the weightiness of the *samaya* vows, it is perhaps surprising that the discussions of these vows in the tantras themselves are neither systematic nor consistent; no two tantras present the same version of these vows. It was left to the commentarial tradition to turn these passages from the tantras into a coherent system of vows.⁷ Two

⁵ IOL Tib J 718 r.12: dam tshlg nyams pa na/ tshe 'dI la yang mdog nyams pa dang/ sems myi [r13] gsal ba dang/ nad mang ba dang/ bsam pa myI 'grub pa dang/ rI dags sman ma dang 'dra ste// 'dre sRI na yang bsam gyIs myI khyab pas [r14] glags gcod do/ 'chI ba'I dus su yang/ dbang po myi gsal ba dang/ lce lta babs pa dang// dRI ma myI zhibs pa dang/ khrag skyug nas snying gas te 'chI 'o/ sun mar yang 'dre gnon [r15] bsam gyIs myI khyab par 'ong/.

⁶ IOL Tib J 718 r.11: 'dI gsum ma nyams na ni lus ngag yid gsum/ rdo rje rang bzhIn du gyur te/ tshe 'dI la yang/ bsam ba 'grub pa dang/ 'chI ba'I dus byung na yang/ sems [r12] gsal ba dang/ nyon mongs pa pa'i nad kyI pa myI brlungs pa dRI ma zhIm ba dang/ man ngag myI brjed cing/ sun mar yang lha nams pa byon no/.

⁷ It is not possible here to review the vast topic of how the transgressive statements found in the tantras were interpreted in Indic tantric exegesis. Recent discussions of

systems became popular in Tibet, one transmitted within the Rnying ma, and the other in the ‘new’ (Tib. *gsar ma*) schools, especially the Sa skya and Dge lugs. The Rnying ma system comprises twenty-eight vows, divided into three root vows and twenty-five branch vows. The *gsar ma* system comprises fourteen root downfalls and eight branch downfalls. Let us look in more detail at the twenty-eight vows of the Rnying ma *samaya*.⁸

The three root vows are:

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

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

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

This is a rather long list, but one thing that is immediately striking about it is that some of the vows commit the practitioner to perform apparently transgressive or immoral actions. While the root vows (of venerating the guru, practising the *mantras* and *mudrās* and keeping the teachings secret) are relatively innocuous from this point of view,

this material can be found in ONIANS 2001, DAVIDSON 2002 (especially chapter 6) and WEDEMEYER 2007. See also the bibliography of the latter for earlier discussions.

⁸ The fourteen vows of the *gsar ma* system are well enough known that no repetition is needed here. The Indic antecedents of this vow system have been discussed in DAVIDSON 2002: 22-327. This system clearly gained currency in India by the tenth century, as evidenced by the number of treatises devoted to it in the *Bstan gyur* (Q. 3303-3314).

the branch vows involve commitments to eating the five forbidden substances, accepting the five defiling emotions, and practising ritual slaying and sexual union.

Transgression is one of the main themes of the higher tantras. Rules of purity and moral conduct are deliberately subverted in order to blur the distinction between pure and impure. The *samaya* vow systems drawn from these tantras integrate the transgressive rhetoric of tantric ritual with proscriptions limiting the behaviour of mantrins. The *samaya* vows protect the soteriological purpose of transgression, while at the same time telling tantric practitioners that they can't actually just do whatever they feel like. Here, transgression and restriction are brought into the same sphere, where they coexist, and not without some tension.

This dual function of the tantric vows was recognised by the Tibetan scholastic tradition. According to the nineteenth century scholar 'Jams mgon Kong sprul, some scholars divided the tantric vows into *saṃvara* (Tib. *sdom pa*)—injunctions to engage in certain kinds of behaviour—and *samaya* (Tib. *dam tshig*)—prohibitions restraining certain kinds of behaviour.⁹ However, Kong sprul notes that some scholars used these terms the other way round, and yet others considered them synonymous.

VOWS IN MAHĀYOGA

A good proportion of the Dunhuang Tibetan manuscripts are concerned with the ritual and theory of Mahāyoga. In my recent work on the meanings of the term 'Mahāyoga' in the tenth century I have shown that some Dunhuang texts define themselves in terms of the doxographical category of Mahāyoga and many others may be classified as Māhayoga in that they inhabit the same ritual universe (VAN SCHAIK 2008).¹⁰

⁹ *Shes bya kun khyab*: aḥ 79a: 'dir nyams su blang bya bsgrub pa'i tshul khriṃs la sdom pa/ /sbyang bya bzlog pa'i tshul khriṃs la dam tshig/ (See also the English translation in KONGTRUL 2003: 249).

¹⁰ IOL Tib J 436/1 is a brief treatise on the definition of Mahāyoga, and the two doxographical texts IOL Tib J 644 and PT 656 offer definitions of Mahāyoga. As I show in my article (VAN SCHAIK 2008) there is a substantial consistency between these three texts, as well as others found in the Dunhuang manuscripts. Elsewhere I have also traced the development of the early Great Perfection (*rdzogs chen*) movement within the sphere of Mahāyoga (VAN SCHAIK 2004).

It is likely that these manuscripts originally came from a community of tantric practitioners active in the Dunhuang area in the tenth century. The discussions of the *samaya* vows contained in the manuscripts should give us an idea of the relevance of the *samaya* vows to Mahāyoga practitioners, ‘on the ground’. The Mahāyoga texts from Dunhuang are particularly interesting because they were composed during the so-called Tibetan Dark Age when many of what were later to become Rnying ma doctrines were being formulated.

Of the many Dunhuang texts which discuss the *samaya*, eleven actually spell out the exact nature of the Mahāyoga *samaya* vows (a brief summary of these texts appears below in Appendix 1). Perhaps the most striking thing about these manuscripts, none of which has ever been discussed before, is their variety. They show that before the arrival of the authoritative figures of the new schools, beginning with the Sa skya pa master Grags pa rgyal mtshan in the twelfth century, there was no concerted attempt to impose a single interpretation upon the tantric vows. Thus multiple vow systems, each derived from different tantras and indeed different stages in the development of tantric Buddhism all exist together in the Dunhuang manuscripts.

In order to understand this situation, we need to look at how the Mahāyoga *samaya* vows developed. Transgressive *samaya* vows actually appeared before the Mahāyoga tantras, in tantras of the Yoga class, the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* and the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana*. The transgressive vows of these tantras are basically reversals of the standard vows of a layperson. They are injunctions to (i) kill, (ii) steal, (iii) lie and (iv) fornicate.¹¹ Obviously these vows are part of the rhetoric of transgression which appears in the Yoga tantras and in a greatly magnified form in the Mahāyoga tantras. They are clearly not vow systems designed to control people’s behaviour; yet it should be noted that restrictive vows are also found in both of these texts.

These four vows seem to have become very well established by the time of the *Guhyasamājatantra*, one of the earliest of the Mahāyoga tantras, and perhaps the most influential treatise on transgressive practices. In the *Guhyasamāja*, killing, stealing, lying and fornicating are simply referred to as the four *vajra* vows. The *samaya* vows are expounded in the *Guhyasamāja*’s chapter seventeen in a rather chaotic jumble of vows exhorting the yogin to engage in the ritual

¹¹ These are discussed in SNELGROVE 1987: 1.175-6, 268.

consumption of the five nectars and in ritualized sexual practices. There is little in the way of restriction, except for the injunction to venerate the master and the injunction to secrecy. These two behavioural restrictions are the solid weight which anchors all the transgression which surrounds them in the *Guhyasamāja*.¹²

In later Mahāyoga tantras, the vows became both more restrictive and more organized. The *Guhyagarbhatantra*'s nineteenth chapter organizes the *samaya* vows into five root and ten branch vows. The five root vows are:

- (i) Not to abandon the unsurpassed [vehicle]
- (ii) To venerate the guru
- (iii) Not to interrupt the [practice of] *mantra* and *mudrā*
- (iv) To have loving-kindness for those who enter the genuine path
- (v) Not to divulge the secret truths to others

Additionally, the ten branch vows comprise the five things not to renounce, which are the five defiling emotions, and the five things not to reject, which are the five nectars. Here the five root vows are all restrictive, and the transgressions have been organized into the two sets of five branch vows.¹³ The sexual transgression which is the mainstay of the *Guhyasamāja* vows is entirely absent from the *Guhyagarbha* vows.

These *Guhyagarbha* vows are similar to the *samaya* vow system that was adopted by the Rnying ma school, which we looked at earlier. But they are not the same: there are only fifteen of these *Guhyagarbha* vows, while the Rnying ma system has twenty-eight. For something closer to the Rnying ma system we must look beyond the tantras themselves to a treatise attributed to the eighth-century Indic tantric exegete Vilāsavajra.

Vilāsavajra wrote commentaries on several tantras, including the *Guhyagarbha*, but when he came to compose a treatise on the *samaya* vows, he did not choose to follow the *Guhyagarbha* system. In his *Exposition of the Samaya* (*Dam tshig gsal bkra*) he whittled down the root vows from five to four, and extended the branch vows from ten to

¹² Note however that the explanatory tantra to the *Guhyasamāja*, the *Sandhyā-vyākaraṇa*, explains these transgressive actions as metaphors for normative Buddhist activities (see WEDERMEYER 2002: 184-187).

¹³ Killing, stealing, lying and fornication are mentioned in chapter 19 of the *Guhyagarbha*, but they are not integrated into the vow system of the tantra.

twenty-five. The only later development in the Rnying ma system was that these four root vows were further whittled down to three. Vilāsavajra's fourth root vow, the vow of *bodhicitta*, dropped away, leaving the three root vows which now neatly represented the classic triad of body, speech and mind. This final stage can already be seen in the Dunhuang manuscripts.

THE *SAMAYA* VOWS IN THE DUNHUANG MANUSCRIPTS

So far we have seen how the Mahāyoga *samaya* vows had been systematised by the ninth century. Yet the variety of presentations of the *samaya* vows in the Dunhuang manuscripts shows that over a century later several different ways of formulating the *samaya* vows all existed concurrently. The variety of formulations can be seen in Appendix 1, where all of the manuscripts containing formulations of the Mahāyoga *samaya* vows are listed.¹⁴ Here we will look only at the four main systems found in the manuscripts:

¹⁴ Although in this article I have chosen to focus on the Mahāyoga *samaya* vows, the Dunhuang manuscripts do also provide us with treatments of the vows of other tantra groups, especially Kriyā and Yoga, and of the newer classes of yoga which had begun to be placed above Mahāyoga, that is, Anuyoga and Atiyoga. As a single example, PT 656 represents an important tenth century classification of the tantric vow systems; I will briefly summarize its treatment of each class of vows here:

Kriyā: five vows—(i) not to abandon the three jewels, (ii) to regard and respect the *vajra* master as if he were a buddha, (iii) not to have negative thoughts about, and to remain harmonious with, one's *vajra* brothers and sisters, (iv) to perform the cleansings three times a day, (v) not to eat or drink meat, garlic, onions, and alcohol.

Yoga: seven vows—(i) to regard and respect the *vajra* master as if he were a buddha, (ii) not to generate negative thoughts about, and to remain harmonious with, one's *vajra* brothers and sisters, (iii) not to forsake the mind of enlightenment, (iv) not saying a word [about the secret teachings] until one has been granted initiation as a *vajra* master, (v) not to consort with beings of lower vehicles, nor (vi) [drink] the water of their valley, and (vii) to always hold one's bell and vajra.

Mahāyoga: the twenty-eight vows, grouped into three kinds—the vows of view, practice, and accomplishment.

Anuyoga: four vows—(i) reality, (ii) compassion, (iii) equality, and (iv) union with the sense-objects.

Atiyoga: one single vow—the indiscriminate (*phyal ba*). The text explains that *phyal ba* means that one naturally remains in the sphere of the infinite supreme bliss. While vow means something not to be transgressed, to be *phyal ba* is to be beyond the concepts of maintaining or not maintaining a vow. For a translation, transcription and reproduction of this manuscript, see DALTON 2005. Note that *phyal ba* also occurs in a separate doxographical context where it refers to ordinary worldlings, uninformed by

The four vajra vows

These vows, which, as I mentioned earlier, derive from pre-Mahāyoga tantras like the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, appear infrequently in the manuscripts. In PT 337 they are called “the vows of the four buddha families.”¹⁵ However, this treatise does not mention Mahāyoga and seems to be in an earlier tradition of classifying the tantras only into ‘inner’ and ‘outer’ yoga.¹⁶ In the Great Perfection text IOL Tib J 647 each of these four vows is reinterpreted to accord with the text’s rhetoric of transcending ritual activity.¹⁷ In fact there is no evidence from the manuscripts that these four vows were considered to belong to Mahāyoga at all. It seems that when Mahāyoga began to develop into a discrete category of yoga (a process which we can observe in the Dunhuang manuscripts), the four *vajra* vows were not incorporated into Mahāyoga vow systems.

The five defiling emotions

The vows to engage in the five defiling emotions of desire, hatred, ignorance, pride and jealousy feature as one of the sets of branch vows in the *Guhyagarbha*, in Vilāsavajra’s *Exposition of the Samaya*, and in the Rnying ma twenty-eight vow system. They also seem to have circulated as an independent set of vows, appearing in several manuscripts (in IOL Tib J 321 and 583; PT 42, 288 and 337) as the central *samaya* vows. These vows are thoroughly transgressive, yet these texts usually try to put them into a normative context. For example, in one manuscript the practice of the five defiling emotions is framed in a way that makes them acceptable within the Mahāyāna Buddhist context:

Desire is defined as developing the great desire for the ultimate liberation of all beings. Hatred is defined as hatred which tames those

philosophical views, as in PADMASAMBHAVA’s *Rosary of Views* (*Man ngag lta ba’i ’phreng ba*). See KARMAY 1988: 152-153. Another example of a reinterpretation of *samaya* vows according to the Atiyoga approach is found in IOL Tib J 647: 3v-4v (for a translation and transcription see KARMAY 1988: 54-55, 58).

¹⁵ PT 337: panel 4, ll.16-21. On the four deity *maṇḍala* system of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, see SNELLGROVE 1987: 196-197.

¹⁶ On this stage of tantric doxography, see DALTON 2005: 121-124.

¹⁷ See KARMAY 1988: 54-55, 58.

beings who harbour ill will towards the Mahāyāna, and thinking of them with love. Ignorance is defined as not differentiating phenomena, because they are pure by nature; this is designated as the valid cognition of phenomena. You should develop pride in yourself as the greatest, because you show that language obscures the equality of all things. Jealousy [is acceptable] because ordinary sentient beings are not [suitable] receptacles for this Mahāyana Vajrayāna.¹⁸

In later centuries it became standard practice for Rnying ma authors to present the *samaya* vows in this way. Such presentations appear in the works of authors like Rong zom pa (b.eleventh c.) and Klong chen pa (1308–1364). Given the well-known criticisms levelled in the eleventh and twelfth centuries of previous Tibetan misunderstandings regarding the transgressive language of the tantras, it is interesting to see a metaphorical reading of these transgressive vows in a tenth century text. Furthermore, the presence of this reading in tenth century Tibetan tantric exegesis supports a characterization of Rong zom's statements in this area as a continuation of earlier traditions, rather than a reaction to polemical statements from the emerging 'new' traditions.¹⁹

The three root vows

In another well-represented system of Mahāyoga vows, the three root vows of body, speech and mind are discussed alone, with no reference to any branch vows. The most extensive example of this genre, IOL Tib J 718, is translated and transcribed in Appendix 2. A shorter text on the three *samaya* vows appears in two manuscripts, Or.8210/

¹⁸ PT 288, v4.3: de la 'dod chags ni/ 'gro ba thams shad bla na myed pa'i/ +bsgral ba'i 'dod chen po bskyed par [v5] bya 'o/ /zhe sdang ni/ theg pa chen po'i cha la/ ngan sems skye ba 'dul zhing byams pa'i/ bsam bas zhe sdang bya'o/ /gti mug ni/ chos thams cad rang bzhin gis/ rnam par dag pas/ rnam [v6] par myi byed do/ chos gyi tshad mar {'dog} pa 'o/ /nga rgyal ni/ thams cad mnyam ba nyid du gyur pa la/ mying sna tsogs gyis dgrib pa/ de dag thams cad bstan pa ni [v7] 'phyir/ bdag kun gyi gtso bo yin bar nga rgyal bskyed do/ phrag dog ni thed[sic] pa chen po rdo rje theg pa 'di sems can phal gyis shes pa'i snod pa ma yin.

¹⁹ On the polemics of the 11th and 12th centuries, see KARMAY 1980 and WANGCHUK 2002. The relevant commentaries are RONG ZOM's *Rgyud rgyal gsang ba snying po'i 'grel pa* and KLONG CHEN PA's *Phyogs bcu'i mun sel*. For a translation of the discussion of the five defiling emotions in the latter, see DORJE 1987: 1204-1210.

S.9223 and PT 269.²⁰ Finally, the Mahāyoga ritual in PT 840 concludes with a discussion of the *samaya* according to the three vows. All of these texts share similar phraseology, and may derive from a single tradition.

This system represents the most condensed *samaya* vow tradition. Where we had five root vows in the *Guhyagarbhatantra*, and four in the Vilāsavajra's *Exposition of the Samaya*, we now have three. Furthermore, in contrast with both of these previous sources, the branch vows are entirely absent. The existence of other vows is simultaneously acknowledged and dismissed in IOL Tib J 718: "If you strive at these *samaya*, there is no need to augment them with any others."²¹

The twenty-eight vows

Perhaps most importantly, the twenty-eight vow system that is still used by the Rnying ma school today is also seen in the Dunhuang manuscripts. The twenty-eight vow system is mentioned in two treatises, both of which specifically link these vows with the Mahāyoga tradition. The two manuscripts are PT 656 and IOL Tib J 436. The system is treated in more detail in the latter (f.34v–35r) though the scribe has missed out the five branch vows to be accepted, probably in error. As far as I know, these manuscripts are the earliest datable appearance of this classic Rnying ma vow system.²²

It seems that as Mahāyoga came into focus as a doxographical category, it was increasingly associated with the twenty-eight vow system. In both of these manuscripts, the entire twenty-eight vows are subsumed into another triad: (i) the *samaya* of the view, (ii) the *samaya* of practice and (iii) the *samaya* of accomplishment, which

²⁰ I would like to thank Kazushi Iwao for pointing out these two manuscripts to me.

²¹ IOL Tib J 718. See Appendix 2.

²² We can find these twenty-eight vows in some tantras from the *Rnying ma rgyud 'bum* collection, including the *Dri ma med pa'i bshags pa'i rgyud* (M. vol. Wa, pp. 2.1-123.5), on which see, too, M. KAPSTEIN's contribution to the present volume. The twenty-eight vows are mentioned in the confession prayer in Chapter 6, which is entitled *Dam tshig nyi shu rtsa brgyad pa'i bshags pa*. However, the dating and geographical origin of most of the tantras in this collection is often impossible to determine; many certainly originate from post-tenth century Tibet.

comprises the second root vow (to continue the *mantras* and *mudrās*) and the five branch vows to be accomplished.

What are the relevant *samaya*? One should assemble the *samaya* in order to embrace that which is concordant, in order to restrain that which is discordant, and in order to obtain and accomplish. There are twenty-eight *samaya* in the transmitted precepts (*lung*). According to the esoteric instructions (*man ngag*) they are grouped into three. This one should know.

“What are they?” They are (i) the *samaya* of view, (ii) the *samaya* of practice and (iii) the *samaya* of accomplishment. Now to distinguish these. The *samaya* of mind (not disseminating the secret instruction to others) and the five aspects to be known are the *samaya* of the view. The *samaya* of the body (not developing animosity or scorn towards the *vajra* master and brothers and sisters), the five *samaya* to be practised and the five *samaya* not to be renounced are the *samaya* of practice. The *samaya* of speech (not ceasing [the performance of] *mantras* and *mudrās*) and the five *samaya* to be accomplished are the *samaya* of accomplishment. The result of these three is the nature of accomplishment.²³

One can see why the twenty-eight vow system became popular. It boiled down the restrictions on tantric practitioners into three basic vows: venerating the guru, practising the deity’s *mantras* and *mūdras*, and keeping the secret teachings secret. At the same time, it kept the transgressive vows associated with the defiling emotions and the rituals of Mahāyoga in the twenty-five branch vows. But while the twenty-eight vows came to dominance in Rnying ma lineages in later centuries, in the Dunhuang manuscripts they are merely one of many systems of *samaya* vows.

²³ IOL Tib J 436, 1v, l.1: .../de la c[i]’[i] phy[i]r [l.2] dam tsig ce na/ /’dra bar dka’ ba’i phyIr dang/ my[i] ’dra bar sdom ba’i phyIr dang/ /thob par cing [l.3] grub pa’I phyir dam tsig tseg bya/ ’o/ /de la dam tsig nyI shu rtsa brgyad ni/ /lung yin la man ngag gis ni gsum du ’dus pa [l.4] shes ga par bya ste/ /dpe yang gang zhe na/ /lta ba’i dam tsig dang/ spyod pa’i dam tshig dang/ bsgrub pa’i dam tsig go/ /de la dbye na [l.5] thugs kyi dam tsig gsang ba’i man ngag/ /gzhan la myi spel ba dang/ /shes par bya ba’I dam tsig lnga ni/ lta pa’i dam tsig go [l.6] sku’i dam tsig nI rdo rje slob dpon dang/ mched lcam dral la ngan sems dang/ dpya sems myi bskyed pa dang/ /spyang par bya [l.7] dang myi spang ba lnga ba lnga ste/ spyad pa’i dam tsig go/ /gsung gi dam tsig sngags phyag rgya rgyun myi gcang pa dang [2r, l.1] dam tsig lnga nI bsgrubs pa’i dam dam tsig go/ /’di gsum ya char ma gyur pa’i ’bras bu nI grub pa’I rang bzhin no/ /

STANDARDIZATION OF THE *SAMAYA* VOWS

The existence of so many different variations of the *samaya* vows in the Dunhuang manuscripts should be understood against the background of Indic tantra and the political situation in tenth century Tibet. An almost inconceivable variety of tantric texts emerged in India between the sixth and twelfth centuries. R.M. Davidson has argued that the plethora of tantric texts is directly related to the chaotic political scene of medieval India. There is little doubt that the lack of any central controlling system allowed variation to thrive.²⁴

Most tantric cycles developed in specific communities of *tāntrikas*, who would have been bound by the *samaya* vows expounded in their particular texts. Initially, perhaps, practitioners would be bound by the vows of the tantra into which they had been initiated. As these cycles became more widely disseminated, it is likely that Indic teachers transmitted their own versions of the vows as part of their oral instruction lineage. Some of these systems came to be written down, in treatises like *Vilāsavajra*'s, or indeed in our Dunhuang manuscripts. Thus the *samaya* vows would continue to vary between one oral lineage and another. This theory is given some support by one of the Dunhuang manuscripts (PT 337), a commentary on an unidentified tantra. After discussing the *samaya* vows, the commentary says: "The *samaya* are the transmitted precepts (*lung*) of the *vajra* master, passed down from one person to another".²⁵

When these tantric cycles appeared in Tibet in the late ninth and tenth centuries, the political situation was equally fluid. With the end of the authority of the imperial kings, there was no religious imperative to regulate the transmission of Indic lineages, or to limit the flourishing of a multitude of coexisting systems of practice. This is the situation that characterises the 'age of fragmentation' (*sil bu'i dus*) of the mid-ninth to late tenth centuries in Tibet

By the twelfth century certain Tibetans saw the need for a single authoritative system of tantric vows. One reason for this development may be that the forefathers of the new schools (especially the Sa skya) felt impelled to present a unified version of authentic Indic Buddhism, against the cacophony of voices from the existing tantric lineages of

²⁴ DAVIDSON 2002: 114-116.

²⁵ PT 337: panel 4, l.22: sloba dpon gyi lung gclg du brgyud cIng bshad pa yIn. Note that the system of twenty-eight vows is also described as 'the transmitted precepts' (*lung*) in the passage from IOL Tib J 436 cited earlier.

Tibet.²⁶ Thus we see the fourteen root and eight branch downfalls set out as the only correct *samaya* system by the Sa skya patriarch Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147–1216) at the beginning of the thirteenth century.²⁷ The Sa skya forefathers were also keen to rescue tantric practice from the bad reputation it had gained for itself in some quarters. Thus the vow system Grags pa rgyal mtshan chose tends to emphasize the restrictive and normative vows, with less emphasis on transgressive practices. In Grags pa rgyal mtshan's treatment, such transgressive elements that do appear in this vow system are glossed over.

Ultimately, the most significant factor in the standardization of the *samaya* vow systems in Tibet must have been the growth of monastic communities. It became common practice in these communities for monks to receive tantric initiations, and the relationship between the tantric *samaya* vows and the monastic Vinaya quickly became a subject of discussion and debate. Treatises on the correct way to integrate the *samaya* vows with the monastic vows were circulating in Tibet by the twelfth century.²⁸

The classic treatment of this question was written by Sa skya Paṇḍita (1182–1251) in the thirteenth century. His *Differentiating the Three Vows* (*Sdom gsum rab dbye*) was the first major work in what became a Tibetan genre dedicated to assimilating the *prātimokṣa*, bodhisattva and *samaya* vows, which became collectively known as the three vows (*sdom gsum*).²⁹ In this way the *samaya* vow system was integrated with the monastic vows of Tibet's great monastic communities.³⁰ As I suggested earlier, Buddhist communities are defined by their vow systems. Once the *samaya* vows became

²⁶ On the activities of the early Sa skya patriarchs in the reinvigoration of Tibetan Buddhism during this period, see DAVIDSON 2005, especially chapters 8 and 9.

²⁷ In his *Clarifying and Dispelling Error* (*Rtsa ba'i ltung ba bcu bzhi pa'i 'grel pa gsal byed 'khrul spong*). See bibliography for details.

²⁸ SOBISCH 2002: 177.

²⁹ The *sdom gsum* genre is a vast topic, which has been treated in great detail in SOBISCH 2002. The *Sdom gsum rab dbye* has been translated and discussed in RHOTON 2002. Note that despite its significant influence on discussions of various doctrinal matters, especially for the Sa skya school, the *Sdom gsum rab dbye* could not really serve as a model for later *sdom gsum* literature, as it deals with the vow systems only in passing, being more concerned with discussions of contested topics related to them.

³⁰ An impression of how this worked in practice can be gained from LOPEZ 1995, which includes a translation of a ritual for restoring infractions of the *prātimokṣa*, bodhisattva and *samaya* vows, written by TSONG KHA PA in the fifteenth century.

integrated into large monastic communities, multiplicity was no longer an option.

The value of our Dunhuang documents is that they tell us that it was not always thus. In pre-twelfth century Tibet, and probably in the context of Indic Vajrayāna Buddhism as well, a multiplicity of *samaya* vows was quite acceptable. This attitude is well expressed in a passage from the *Guhyagarbhatantra* itself:

This *samaya* is a great wonder!
There are as many *samaya* as there are concepts to be subdued
Among the sentient beings of the three levels of existence
In the ten directions of the six world systems.³¹

APPENDIX 1

MAHĀYOGA *SAMAYA* VOWS IN THE DUNHUANG MANUSCRIPTS

IOL Tib J 321

Padmasambhava's commentary on the *Upāyapāśatantra*.³² Chapter 2 discusses the *samaya*, as three kinds of purity: (i) the *samaya* of the five buddhas (i.e. the five defiling emotions), (ii) the five sacred foods, and (iii) the *samaya* of the lack of virtue or sin in phenomena, and of food being pure and unimpaired.

IOL Tib J 348/2

The three aspects of *samaya*: secrecy regarding (i) the *yi dam* deity, (ii) the *vajra* master, (iii) the heart mantra of the *yi dam*.

The four conditions: (i) not having bad thoughts about the *vajra* master and siblings, (ii) not looking at tantras which the *vajra* master has not given the empowerment for, (iii) not contesting the *vajra* master (iv) not coveting the wealth and jewels of *vajra* siblings.

IOL Tib J 436/1

The twenty-eight vows, classified into three groups: (i) the *samaya* of the view, which comprises the third root vow (secrecy) and the five

³¹ M. vol. Wa, p. 212.2-3: /dam tshig 'di ni rmad po che//jig rten drug gi phyogs bcu na//srid gsum 'gro ba ji snyed pa//rtogs 'dul dam tshig de snyed spro/.

³² The canonical version of this commentary is found in the Peking *Bstan 'gyur* at Q. 4717. The tantra itself is in the *Bka' 'gyur* at Q. 458. The Sanskrit name of the tantra is attested in another manuscript, IOL Tib J 454.

branch vows to be known; (ii) the *samaya* of practice, which comprises the first root vow (to venerate the guru) and the five branch vows to be practiced, the five to be accepted, and the five not to be renounced; (iii) and the *samaya* of accomplishment, which comprises the second root vow (continue the *mantras* and *mudrās*) and the five branch vows to be accomplished.

IOL Tib J 583/9 & PT 288

The seven injunctions: (i) to cut through ordinary phenomena; (ii) to examine the three realms; (iii) to attain the five principal buddhas; (iv) to maintain the five *samaya* (i.e., the five defiling emotions); (v) to accept the five nectars; (vi) to practice the ten nonvirtues; (vii) to uphold the eight laws.

IOL Tib J 647

3v–4v: The four *vajra* vows and the five defiling emotions interpreted in the context of Atiyoga.

IOL Tib J 718/1

Extensive discussion of the three roots of *samaya*: (i) not ceasing [the performance of] *yi dam*, *mantra* and *mudrā*, (ii) not disseminating these instructions to others, (iii) not developing bad thoughts or desire and aversion to the *vajra* master and the *vajra* brothers and sisters.

Or.8210/S.9223

Verso: A treatment of the three root *samaya* vows. The same text appears in PT 269 and a lengthier treatment of the same vows appears in IOL Tib J 718.

PT 42

Verso 27.1–28.1: The five vows (i.e. the five defiling emotions).

PT 269

Recto: A treatment of the three root *samaya* vows. The same text appears in Or.8210/S.9223, and a lengthier treatment of the same vows appears in IOL Tib J 718.

PT 280/2

Defines *samaya* as the three root vows of body, speech and mind. The *samaya* of practice, ‘and so on’. Seems to be indicating the group of twenty-eight *samaya* vows.

PT 337

3.20: Four kinds of licentiousness:

Perform anything: perform the four *samaya* vows, such as not killing.³³

Do anything: do any worldly activity like dancing and singing.

Eat anything: such as the five nectars.

Drink anything: such as beer.

4.16-21: *Samaya* of the four buddha families: not to kill (*vajra* family), fornicate (jewel family), lie (lotus family), or steal (action family).

PT 656

A brief enumeration of the *samaya* vows of each kind of tantra. Mahāyoga vows are twenty-eight vows grouped into three (see IOL Tib J 436/1 above).

PT 840

A brief treatment of the *samaya* of body, speech and mind. The same text appears in Or.8210/S.9993 and a lengthier treatment of the same vows appears in IOL Tib J 718.

APPENDIX 2

A TREATISE ON THE THREE ROOT *SAMAYA* VOWS (IOL Tib J 718/1)

IOL Tib J 718/1 is the most extensive commentary on the Mahāyoga *samaya* vows found among the Dunhuang manuscripts. The text is closely linked to two other manuscripts, PT 269 and Or.8210/S.9223 (see Appendix 1 above). The manuscript containing this text is in

³³ Note that PT 337 seems to be unique among the Dunhuang discussions of the *samaya* vows in that the four *vajra* vows proscribe, rather than encourage killing, lying, stealing and fornicating. In the absence of other versions of this treatise, it is not clear whether PT 337 represents a specific tradition of the *samaya* vows, or a scribal anomaly.

concertina form. In it, the text is followed by another, a description of a *yogiṇī maṇḍala*.

IOL Tib J 718/1: *Translation*

This is a teaching on how sentient beings attain the result of ordinary body, speech and mind as the buddhas' body, speech and mind. According to one source, the *samaya* is like the ground, because it supports the ocean. So it is said.³⁴ It is also like three roots. The meaning of these three is:

- [i] Not ceasing [the performance of] *yi dam*, *mantra* and *mudrā*.
- [ii] Not disseminating these instructions to others.
- [iii] Not developing bad thoughts or desire and aversion to the *vajra* master or the *vajra* brothers and sisters.

Let us say more on the meaning of not ceasing [the performance of] *yi dam*, *mantra* and *mudrā*. The *yi dam* means settling without forgetting. Performing *mantras* is explained as counting many *mantras*. In ultimate truth [the *mantras*] are the great blessings of the buddhas' body, speech and mind. They should be recited from the heart without declining into being mere words. Not ceasing refers to the superior continuity, the middling continuity and the inferior continuity. The superior continuity is abiding like the course of a river at all times and in all behaviors. The middling continuity is to meditate six times in one day, making offerings, performing activities, and saying prayers. The inferior continuity is [to meditate] twice, once in the morning and once in the evening, and not to transgress this for months and years. If you keep this [vow], you will be transformed into the *vajra*-like body. If you transgress it, you will be born in the great Avīci hell.

As for the meaning of not disseminating the secret instructions to others: whom are the secrets to be kept from, and how is one supposed to act according to the instructions? There are three kinds of secrecy: the outer secrecy, the intermediate secrecy and the secrecy of the gates. The outer secrecy is keeping [the instructions] secret from outsiders, those with divergent views, heretics and criminals. The

³⁴ This may be a reference to VILĀSAVAJRA's *Dam tshig gsal bkra* (Q. 4744: 579b.4).

intermediate secrecy means keeping them secret by not distributing them even to other yogins with different masters, incompatible *maṇḍalas*, incompatible ritual items, or incompatible instructions, and to those with contentious natures. The secrecy of the gates comprises the secret *yidam* deity, the secret heart *mantra*, the secret instructions of the master, and the secret symbols. These secret signs should not be spoken, even as mere words. It is said in the scriptures that the power that comes from the secret *mantras* is such that those who cannot rely on the *samaya* of secret awareness will die suddenly. So act in accordance with this.

Do not develop bad thoughts, desire and aversion, or derisory feelings towards the *vajra* master and brothers and sisters. What is a *vajra* master? His compassion toward you is greater than that of your own parents, greater even than that of the *sugatas*. It is also said in the scriptures that the qualities of the *vajra* master are greater than those of the *tathāgata* buddhas of the three [times]. Seeing your brothers and sisters as gods and goddesses, do not develop bad thoughts, desire or aversion toward them. Do not even utter slanderous words.

If these three *samaya* do not deteriorate, then your body, speech and mind will be transformed into the *vajra* nature. While you live your hopes will be fulfilled, and at the time of death you will have a clear mind, untroubled by the sickness of the defilements. [Your body] will have a pleasant odour, you will not forget the instructions, and the deities will come as escorts.

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

To sum all of this up, work hard! If you strive at these *samaya*, there is no need to augment them with any others.

IOL Tib J 718/1: *Transcription*

Parts of the Tibetan text are written in red, rather than black, ink; they are indicated here by italics. The opening curl is represented by (\$), decorative *shad* by (!), and the reversed *gi gu* with a capital *i* (I).

[r1]

*\$/ /sems can lus ngag yId gsum sku gsung thugs
kyI 'bras bu thob par bzhed pa nI/ /dam tshlg sa gzhl
lta bu las/ /brten te rgya mtsho snyed cig gsungs na/
yang/ /rtsa ba lta bu gsum ste/ /yI dam sngags tang*

[r2]

*phyag rgya rgyun myI gcad/ /gsang ba'I man ngag gzhan la
myI spel// ! //rdo rje slobd dpon dang mched tang lcām
dral la dang na sems dang zhe sdang myI skyed/ /'dI gsum
gyI don yang// ! //yI dam sngags tang phyag rgya rgyun myI gcad
zhes bgyI ba'I don yang/ /yI dam ~~ni~~ yang nam du yang/*

[r3]

*myI brjed pas bzhag pa'I// ! //sngags kyls bya ba yang/
sngags kyl rnam grangs mang po zhig tu gsungs na yang//
don dam par sgu gsung thugs kyI che ba'I byin kyI rlabs//
tshlg tsam du yang zur myI gcad cing/ brnag ... bzla ba ... bgyi*

[r4]

*'o/ /rgyun myI gcad ces bya ba'I don yang/ /rgyun gyI
rab tang rgyun kyI 'bring dang/ rgyun kyI mtha' ma'o/ /rgyun kyI
rab nI/ dus tang rnam pa tham cad du rtsang po'i gzhung
lta bur gnas pa'o/ ! /rgyun kyI 'bring nI zhag gcig la*

[r5]

*dus drug du bsgom pa dang/ /mchod pa dbus ba dang/ /'phrin
las bcol ba dang/ smon lam gdab pa'o// ! //rgyun kyI mtha'
ma nI/ nang chub dus gnyls tang/ /lo dang zla ba la myI 'da'
ba'o// ! //dI ltar bsrungs na sku rdo rje lta bur 'gyur ro*

[r6]

*'di las 'das 'das na/mnar myed pa'I
dmyal ba chen por skye'o/ /gsang ba'I man ngag
gzhan la myI spel lo zhes bya ba'I don ni/ /gsang ba nI su la
gsang/ /man ngag gls bgyI bgya'I don cI lta ba lags//*

[r7]

*gsang ba la yang rnam pa gsum ste/ /spyI gsang dang
bar gsang dang/ /sgo gsang ste gsum mo/ /*

[r8 blank]

[r9]

*spyI gsang nI myI nang dang/ lta ba myI gcig pa dang mu
stegs pa dang/ /rkun gnas dang/ dam tshlg nyams las
gsang ngo/ /bar gsang nI rnal 'byor pa yin
na yang/ slobd dpon myI gcig pa dang/*

[r10]

dkyIl 'khor ma 'dres pa dang/ dam rdzas ma 'dres
 pa dang/ /man ngag ma 'dres pa dang/ thugs tshod
 mnga' yang spyang myI 'bris pas na gsang ngo/ /
 sgo gsang nI/ yI dam gyI lha gsang/ sngags kyi

[r11]

snyIng po/ /gsang/ slob dpon gyI man ngag gsang/ /
 rtags pa gsang/ /mtshan ma gsang/ /'dI dag nI
 tshIg tsam du yang myI smra/ /lung las kyang/ gsang sngags
 las byung mnga' 'I don/ /gsang ba rIg pa dam tshigs las

[r12]

myI brtan thub pas lhan cIg 'chI/ zhes byung ba
 bzhIn du bgyI 'o/ /rdo rje slob dmon dang mched tang
 lcam dral la/ dngan sems dang zhe sdang/ dpya sems
 myI bskyed/ /rdo rje slob dpon gang zhI na/ lus kyI

[r13]

pha ma bas kyang drin che/ /dus gsum gyI bde bar gshegs
 pa bas kyang/ /bdag gI thad kar drin che/ lung las
 kyang/.../du/...

[v1-2 blank]

[v3]

gsum bder gshegs sangs rgyas pas/ /rdo rje
 slob dpon yon +tan che zhes 'byung ste/ /mched dang
 lcam dral nI/ /lha dang lha mo lta bur blta ste//
 de ngan sems dang zhes sdang lta zhlg ga la bskyed de

[v4]

tshIg tsam gyIs kyang myI smod do/ /dam tshIg
 'dI gsum ma nyams na ni lus ngag yid gsum/
 rdo rje rang bzhIn du gyur te/ /tshe 'dI la yang/ bsam
 ba 'grub pa dang/ 'chI ba'I dus byung na yang/ sems

[v5]

gsal ba dang/ nyon mongs pa pa'i nad kyI pa myI brlungs
 pa drI ma zhIm ba dang/ man ngag myI brjed cing/ /sun mar yang lha
 rnams pa byon no/ /dam tshIg nyams pa na/
 tshe 'dI la yang mdog nyams pa dang/ sems myi

[v6]

gsal ba dang/ /nad mang ba dang/ bsam pa
 myI 'grub pa dang/ rI dags sman ma dang 'dra ste//
 'dre srI na yang bsam gyIs myI khyab pas

[v7]

glags gcod do/ /'chI ba'I dus su yang/
 dbang po myi gsal ba dang/ /lce stibs pa dang//
 drI ma myI zhibs pa dang/ khrag skyug nas snying
 gas te 'chI 'o/ /sun mar yang 'dre gnon
 [v8]
 bsam gyIs myI khyab par 'ong/ /'dI
 gsum nyams na dmyal ba chen por 'gyur ro//
 de bas na cI dang yang sdom te 'bod cig//
 'dI ltar 'bad na dam tshIg gzhan ma dag
 [v9]
 gIs bsnan myI gdos so// ! ! ! //

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RITUAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SPECULATION
IN THE *RDO RJE SEMS DPA'I ZHUS LAN*

Kammie Morrison Takahashi

The rich history of the development of tantra in Tibet commenced with the transmission of Mahāyoga from India, but the first three centuries of the process of transmission and development, from the eighth to tenth centuries, remain shadowy at best, despite recent scholarly advances in the studies of Indian and Tibetan esoteric Buddhism.¹ Based on this research, it appears that the *Guhyagarbhatantra* and other tantras belonging to the Māyājāla cycle were perhaps circulating in Tibet by the mid-eighth century, and the following decades brought an increasing number of commentaries on Mahāyoga texts in general, as well as ritual manuals designed to guide one in the progression of rites and practices.²

Simultaneously with these tantric developments, of course, Tibetans were composing their own philosophical treatises on exoteric subjects within Mahāyāna from the eighth century onward. However, for the most part, these two streams of literature—the esoteric ritual literature and the exoteric philosophical literature—remained distinct throughout the eighth, and into the ninth, centuries. In fact, based on the texts found at Dunhuang, most later Mahāyoga authors of the ninth and tenth centuries continued to address the issue of ritual in practical terms and to avoid philosophical speculation. Indeed, this bifurcation appears to have been standard in India itself even longer than it prevailed in Tibet, with the *Kālacakratantra* and the Ārya tradition of the *Guhyasamājatantra* serving as prominent exceptions.

The *Rdo rje sems dpa'i zhus lan* is one of a mere handful of Mahāyoga texts from Dunhuang to bring these two literary traditions into

¹ See, for example, DAVIDSON 2002; GERMANO 2002; DALTON 2004; and VAN SCHAIK 2004.

² Unfortunately, the earliest clear evidence for dating the existence of the Māyājāla texts in Tibet is to be found in the Dunhuang documents which date from the tenth century.

dialogue, directly addressing the issues of wrathful, ritualized Mahāyoga praxis in epistemological and ontological terms.³ In so doing, the *Zhus lan* is also able to reconcile the apparent ideological contradiction between the themes of deliberately violent practice commonly associated with the Mahāyoga literature, and the themes of spontaneous, expansive awareness just beginning to appear in the philosophical literature, and is almost certainly one of the earliest Tibetan texts to do so. The text strikes a distinctive balance between the priorities of praxis and gnosis, and as S. van Schaik has demonstrated, it appears to represent a stage in tantra's development between the directed design we see in the liturgical Mahāyoga material from Dunhuang and the more relaxed and open style of the philosophical discussions associated with the *sems sde* literature and the Rdzogs chen movement.⁴

The catechistic literary form of the *Zhus lan* also exemplifies this balance. An interlocutor, concerned largely with ritual, meditation, and the immediate results of yogic practice, questions apparent contradictions and paradoxical assertions made within the tantric tradition, and is answered by the master, whose perspective frames and gives meaning to the rites and meditations, while ultimately asserting their emptiness. In fact, the text might be seen as an edifying conversation between the young Mahāyoga movement focused rather narrow-mindedly on the technical aspects of the practice, and a developing philosophical sophistication in the form of the master, who is able to illuminate for his young student the more subtle, profound teachings to be garnered through thoughtful enquiry into the nature of that practice.

Not a great deal is known about the *Zhus lan*'s author, identified in the colophons as Dpal dbyangs. He almost certainly lived during the ninth century, and was said to be a disciple of Vimalamitra and to have instructed the author of the *Bsam gtan mig sgron*, Gnubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes. The controversy regarding the identity of this figure with the second abbot of Bsam yas also named Dpal dbyangs, who presided over the Bsam yas debates, has loomed for centuries, and differing opinions continue to be published.⁵

³ Other such texts include IOL Tib J 454, IOL Tib J 508, and IOL Tib J 647.

⁴ VAN SCHAİK 2004.

⁵ TUCCI 1958; YAMAGUCHI 1975; UHEYAMA 1977 and 2003; KARMAY 1988.

THE *ZHUS LAN*'S TANTRIC IDEOLOGICAL FOUNDATION

Though several later Dunhuang texts mentioning Mahāyoga do not appear to have been intended for an audience of exclusively esoteric practitioners or even to be commenting upon an esoteric tradition,⁶ the *Zhus lan* was clearly written for those deeply involved in tantric practice. If we follow R.M. Davidson's polythetic approach to defining the category of tantra,⁷ the *Zhus lan* contains most of the central, defining variables listed by Davidson. The *Zhus lan* opens with a description of Vajrasattva, the reigning buddha of the Māyājāla tantras, and touches upon such topics as the five primordial wisdoms and their covalence with the five buddhas, the importance of *mantra* and *mudrā*, the correct attitude with which to approach the use of sacramental substances, the necessity of keeping one's *samaya* commitments, and the practitioner's own divine transformation.

The *Zhus lan* also makes overt reference to what Davidson calls the overarching narrative of tantra—the act of the practitioner assuming power and exercising dominion as a lord or ruler through a variety of tantric rites, including most importantly the *abhiṣeka* ceremony. Dpal dbyangs employs this sustaining narrative throughout the text. In Question 9, the interlocutor asks, 'Then what is the distinction of the accomplishments attained through yoga?' In response, the master juxtaposes two methods of gaining accomplishment, the outer and the unexcelled, by comparing the relative power-sources of a minister and a king.

For example, like a king appointing a minister,
The bequeathal of accomplishments from above is the outer method.
Like gaining power through the people offering the kingdom [to the
king's command],
[Their] self-emergence is great perfection, the unexcelled method.

In the 'outer method', the practitioner, like a mere minister, obtains empowerments and receives power and accomplishments from an external, higher source in the form of blessings. In the 'unexcelled method', by contrast, the practitioner-made-sovereign deploys his or her own natural power, derived from an internal, ever-present source, like the subjects of one's own realm.

⁶ See, for example, PT 116V.

⁷ DAVIDSON 2002.

Further, in the answer to Question 36, Dpal dbyangs affirms that the royal simile is indeed central to the intent of tantra itself.

To worship mundane gods and *nāgas*,
 Despite making vows to Samantabhadra-Vajrasattva,
 Is like a king conducting himself as though he were a commoner—
 It does not fit the circumstances, and contradicts the aim of Yoga.⁸

THE QUESTIONS: MAHĀYOGA RITES, WRONGS, AND RESULTS

Now that we have seen that the *Zhus lan* is firmly built on an esoteric foundation, what evidence of early, ritualized Mahāyoga specifically, then, can we see in this text, other than Dpal dbyangs's own assertion in the opening lines that the *Zhus lan* is an explanation of 'Mahāyoga, the supreme system?'⁹ The clues to the practical matrix of Dpal dbyangs's teachings lie in the questions of the interlocutor—in the assumptions, aims, and expectations of his student as s/he envisioned the practice of Mahāyoga. Taking the questions as our focus, we catch a glimpse of the path with which his students must have been most familiar. It contains many aspects of practice and perspective that are either unique to, or at least characteristic of, the type of Mahāyoga practice we see in other Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts, though certainly not all. As is apparent from various references to Mahāyoga itself in the questions, a practical system had already been established, and a set of authoritative Mahāyoga scriptures seems to have been known as such to Dpal dbyangs's students. Meditative cultivation of oneself as the tutelary deity with the full entourage in a *maṇḍala* realm appears to have been the main practice, with the attendant expectations of acquiring powers and yogic feats, as well as of the signs and marks to verify such accomplishments. Though there is no mention of the sort of organized panoply of peaceful and wrathful deities that we see in the *Guhyagarbhatantra*'s one hundred *zhi khro'i lha*, Dpal dbyangs's interlocutor mentions a particular rite involving a wrathful deity, in which it seems a buddha figure was visualized as ritually trampled beneath the feet of a wrathful deity. The interlocutor

⁸ This verse has been discussed elsewhere. Cf. EASTMAN 1983 and KAPSTEIN 2002 [2000].

⁹ Q. 5082: 134a1.

also expresses an obvious familiarity with the practices of emanation and absorption, though the details of these practices are not provided. Vajrasattva is apparently understood by Dpal dbyangs's interlocutor to be the primary form of the highest deity, a sort of meta-buddha to the five buddhas, and *vidyādhara* is assumed to be the highest state one might achieve through the practice of Mahāyoga.

Within the interlocutor's questions, there is some evidence of the social aspect of this group of practitioners as well. Empowerments from one's teacher were an accepted prerequisite to the meditations, and the continued necessities of offerings and obedience to one's master, though questioned by them, were not new concepts for Dpal dbyangs's students. Unfortunately, it is not clear from the text whether Dpal dbyangs's audience was monastic or whether they formed some other kind of community. It is obvious, however, that the master's role was central. In the concluding section, the disciple questions Dpal dbyangs about the authority of the master and the necessity of becoming a master to receive the proper empowerments. Such questions are an indication that the abuse of power and false claims of mastery were real problems for Mahāyogins in Dpal dbyangs's day.

We also see in the *Zhus lan*'s questions the type of tensions that might arise early in a tradition's development and practical standardization. Regarding the forms of one's tutelary deity, the disciple expresses confusion over what must have been conflicting forms of available advice. For instance, the interlocutor wonders whether it is correct to cultivate multiple forms of the deity, such as the peaceful *sambhogakāya* as one's tutelary deity, a wrathful manifestation as the 'active deity' (*las kyi lha*) or ritual agent effecting specific ritual ends, and so forth. Is the exclusive cultivation of a single deity sufficient? Is it necessary to gain accomplishments? Dpal dbyangs's interlocutor also expresses what must have been the concerns of many practitioners in a time when Mahāyoga was becoming established to such a degree that it began to compete with the autochthonous traditions, and was beginning to absorb such practices as its own. In Question 36, s/he asks, 'If yogins provide offerings to Tibetan gods and demons, are these acts concordant with the scriptures?' We also see concern over the relationship of tantric practice to broader exoteric studies: 'In practicing *mantra*, how important are the axioms taught in *sūtra*?' and 'Once one [has] great power, does it matter that one does not develop skill in the Dharma?'

Though this view is by no means complete, the picture of ninth-

century Mahāyoga practice that might be drawn from the interlocutor's questions points to methods associated with the *Guhyagarbha-tantra* early in its propagation in Tibet. As we have seen, the characteristically Mahāyoga propitiation of wrathful deities and rites of domination appear to have been perceived by the interlocutor as the central aspect of his or her tradition, and Dpal dbyangs himself does not hesitate to participate in the metaphors of taming and subduing. In response to Question 35, Dpal dbyangs issues the following injunction:

Constantly, with neither timidity nor aspiration,
Like a Great Conqueror who has subdued the earth [deities],
One commands and reigns over all without exception.

In obvious references to a clearly differentiated tradition, Dpal dbyangs calls the *Zhus lan* a description of 'Mahāyoga, the supreme system', and his interlocutor wonders how to act in accordance with the authoritative Mahāyoga scriptures (*ma ha yo ga'i gzhung*).¹⁰ Indeed, a distinction between Mahāyoga and less effective, older forms of tantra is made explicit in Dpal dbyangs's *Thugs kyi sgron ma*. There, he asserts that while there are three subdivisions of the lower, outer form of the fifth, unsurpassed vehicle, Mahāyoga is its ultimate, 'secret' form.¹¹ Further, there is no recognition by either speaker in the *Zhus lan* or, indeed, elsewhere in Dpal dbyangs's texts, that there are different types of Mahāyoga, or any higher forms of tantra. There can be no doubt that Dpal dbyangs considered Mahāyoga to be the ultimate method of esoteric Buddhist practice.

Davidson distinguishes two types of Indic tantric practice: an older, institutional esotericism, in which the themes of violence and dominion are played out in tantric rites of appropriating and deploying power, and which served to reinforce hierarchical organizations such as are present in monasteries; and a newer, noninstitutional esotericism, involving sexual yoga and other antinomian practices, which

¹⁰ Q. 5082: 138a2.

¹¹ 'The fifth [vehicle includes] the secret as well as the outer: The first [aspires to] completely pure intrinsic awareness; the second follows the former and latter [outer tantras]; [and] the third arranges the seven grounds of the clear light of the expanse itself in order (*lnga pa gsang ba'ang phyi pa'ang/ dang po rang rig rnam par dag/ gnyis pa snga phyi rjes su 'brangs/ gsum pa dbyings nyid 'od gsal ba'i/ sa bdun rim par bkod pa*'). *Thugs kyi sgron ma*, Q. 5918: 276a7. The last line of this section begins a longer, continuing citation from Buddhaguhya's *Mārgavyūha* (Q. 4736: 468a2), which is quoted throughout the *Thugs kyi sgron ma*.

served to undercut such established hierarchies.¹² While recognition of the wrathful aspect of Mahāyoga practice and the use of royal metaphors are pervasive, there is no mention in the *Zhus lan* of the 'union and liberation', or *sbyor sgrol*, practices normally associated with the *Guhyagarbhatantra* that were condemned in Tibet beginning in the late tenth century. Neither is there any clear evidence of the type of sexual practices described in detail in numerous Mahāyoga sādhana texts from Dunhuang, or of the extreme, polyvalent language typical of slightly later forms of tantra such as the *yoginī* tantras. There is also no indication that the text's several references to seals, or *phyag rgya*, refer to partners in sexual yoga. Further, while the practice of meditatively cultivating the deity as oneself is central to the Mahāyoga path as defined by Dpal dbyangs, neither the author nor his interlocutor mentions any form of internalized, subtle body yogic activity involving channels, drops, and winds, which also might be indicative of later developments in the practice of deity yoga.¹³ In fact, Dpal dbyangs's definition of *vajra*, in which lies the best opportunity for the use of such polysemantics, appears to be completely uneroticized. He says, in answer to Question 1, 'Unproduced, the spontaneously [arising] expanse of primordial wisdom, Unchanging, indestructible—that is the definition of *vajra*'.

These absences are puzzling, especially given that Dpal dbyangs can be dated with some confidence to the ninth century, the earliest possible period in which these literary elements were first employed in the Tibetan Dunhuang material and the corresponding rites were being described. Despite a few ambiguous terms in the *Zhus lan* that might be interpreted as possible references to the developed yogic systems we see in much of the Mahāyoga Dunhuang material explicating the three meditative stabilizations and the three yogas, for example,¹⁴ it

¹² DAVIDSON 2002.

¹³ References to practices involving subtle body technologies are, in fact, quite rare among the Dunhuang Tibetan manuscripts in general. DALTON 2004.

¹⁴ The *Zhus lan* includes a single mention of the first of the three meditative stabilizations, the meditative stabilization of Suchness (*de bzhin nyid kyi ting nge 'dzin*; Q. 5082: 136a5), but does not refer to any of the other meditative stabilizations commonly associated with it in the Dunhuang material, or to any sets of three or four. Though IOL Tib J 470 and PT 837 include interlinear notes to Question 13 which do mention the three meditative stabilizations (*ting nge 'dzin rnam gsum dang cho ga rnam sum gis sku gsung thugs su blo la gsal bar bya*), these two copies appear to be later than PT 819, which includes no such notation.

A second phrase in the *Zhus lan*, the 'two yogas' (*rnal 'byor rnam gnyis po*; Q. 5082: 135a5) is too vague to irrefutably identify with either the generation and

would be an intellectual stretch to imagine the *Zhus lan*'s author as a contemporary representative of this more advanced tradition of Mahāyoga. Rather, Dpal dbyangs's Mahāyoga seems to straddle the gulf between early Indic Mahāyoga and the more fully developed Mahāyoga we see in many of the Dunhuang texts. However, we should be cautious not to rush to date the *Zhus lan* merely according to these general thematic standards. Though we cannot ignore the fact that the *Zhus lan* fits so neatly into Davidson's first category of tantra with little hint of engagement with the second, neither can we make the assumption that it therefore appeared between them chronologically. Davidson's templates, useful as they are to understanding the order of the emergence of certain practices, cannot be used to determine with certainty the date of any particular tantra or tantric exegesis subsequent to the earliest known examples, either in India or in Tibet, because both forms of esotericism—the institutional and the noninstitutional—continued to develop roughly contemporaneously from at least the eighth century onward. Whether Dpal dbyangs's students truly were aware only of the first type of esotericism, or whether, in choosing the questions he would address in his *Zhus lan*, Dpal dbyangs's was a conscious choice to ignore entirely what might have been considered to be the most transgressive features of the second, noninstitutional forms of tantric praxis, is not immediately evident. The preponderance of Dunhuang texts describing Mahāyoga sexual rites and practices date roughly from the ninth and tenth centuries. Because of our inability to date any of the extant manuscripts of the *Zhus lan* more precisely than this same period based on orthographic evidence,¹⁵ at this point the *Zhus lan* can be said only to be roughly contemporaneous to the vast majority of Dunhuang Mahāyoga texts, but distinct from them in terms of the tantric system it propounds.

completion stages, or with the systems of three or four yogas also quite common in the Dunhuang literature. As with Buddhaguhya's commentary on the *Mahavairocana-bhīṣambodhi Tantra* and the *Man ngag lta ba'i phreng pa*, it may be a reference to the twofold division of yoga into outer and inner. I'd like to thank Sam van Schaik for alerting me to the presence of a third text, PT 337, and its possible parallels in this usage of the term 'two yogas' (*yo ga phyi pa* / *yo ga nang pa*) with that in the *Zhus lan*. See also DALTON 2005: 122-124.

¹⁵ The earliest of these, PT 819, can only be said to be older than the other two manuscript copies, which themselves can only be dated to the post-imperial period (mid-ninth to late tenth centuries). VAN SCHAİK 2004: 171-172, fn. 20.

THE ANSWERS:
EFFORT, SPONTANEITY, AND BALANCE

Its lack of explicit sexual reference is not the only aspect in which the *Zhus lan*'s teachings differ from other Mahāyoga texts found at Dunhuang, despite its firm founding in the Mahāyoga tradition. In response to the questions in the text, which are focused almost purely on the technical aspects of the practice, the *Zhus lan*'s answers point to the subtle, spontaneous states of realization that characterize coeval *sems sde* poetry, and the later Rdzogs chen literature. If we might return to Dpal dbyangs's definition of *vajra*, we see that not only does he employ the standard terms we see in the *Vajrasekharatantra*—'unchanging' and 'indestructible'—but he expands the definition to include descriptions more characteristic of the *sems sde* literature—'unproduced, the spontaneously [arising] expanse of primordial wisdom'. This is typical of the answers given by the master. Dpal dbyangs's responses often not only transcend the outlook and aims of the questions, but by exposing an ignorant attachment to the techniques and observable benefits of the practice, turn the wrong assumptions of the interlocutor inside out, rendering the question itself illogical. For example, there is the following exchange in Question 19:

Then, is it suitable to rest in 'non-meditation'?

If the topic of your question existed [i.e. meditation],
There would also be a meditator.
If it is true that mind is without production,
What is it that rests in 'non-meditation'?

When the disciple asks, in Question 10, about what signs to expect in accomplishment, Dpal dbyangs replies:

The intrinsic nature of a Conqueror is just insight and meditative
stabilization.
With those, the issue of external signs and marks is extraneous.
For example, in the case of wanting fire, once the fire is found,
The issue of there being smoke as the sign of fire is extraneous.

In two stanzas taken almost verbatim from Buddhagupta's *Sbas pa'i rgum chung*,¹⁶ Dpal dbyangs asserts that there is no reason for

¹⁶ *Sbas pa'i rgum chung*, IOL Tib J 594: 1b19.

transformation, and that awakening is without cause. In answer to Question 7, he says:

One's own nature abides as the sky. This means that
There is no reason to transform oneself into the sky.
The mind itself is the sky, the expanse of awakening;
There is no cause of the attainment of awakening.

Without ground or root, the mind itself,
Like the sky, is not [made] pure by cleansing.
Awakening, free of production,
Is without any cause or fruit of awakening whatsoever.

Later, in the answer to Question 13, Dpal dbyangs also asserts that the optimal circumstance for drawing near to the deity is one that occurs spontaneously:

When it appears as oneself, if the Reality Body
Comes to be understood as unchanging like the sky, and
If that ritual approach is not perceived in terms of object and subject,
There being neither toil nor exertion, this is the highest form of drawing
near.

In fact, Dpal dbyangs makes clear that there is nothing to cultivate, as we see in these lines from the answer to Question 18:

The Conquerors of the three times do not contrive;
From the beginning, one's own mind is unproduced.
If one's own mind, unproduced, is reality,
Reality is not something to be meditatively cultivated.

However, despite Dpal dbyangs's regular assertions of the non-production of mind and the causelessness of awakening, Dpal dbyangs does not reject outright the value of rites and meditative cultivations of deity and *maṇḍala* in favor of a purely natural, gnostic approach. Rather, Dpal dbyangs's teachings maintain a careful balance of emphasis on both aspects, and the play between exertion and relaxation appears throughout the rejoining stanzas, though, as we shall see, relaxation finally triumphs.

In answering Question 10, Dpal dbyangs makes clear the importance of effort:

The two yogas, the foundation of the Conquerors of the three times,
Arise within oneself. Having perceived this, strive to view the mind's
experience.

We see the clarification in his answer to the next question, 'There will be accomplishment only by means of insight and meditative stabilization, indeed', and further, as in this example from the answer to Question 13:

A wise person possessed of such realization
Clearly cultivates the three seals of marks in meditation.
While persevering without distraction and never abandoning [the
practice],
Employing all the rituals, he or she will approach the wisdom deity.

How does Dpal dbyangs reconcile these seemingly opposing statements regarding effort and non-effort, the need for deliberative rites and the expansive speculation which dissolves such need? The key lies in his summation of a discussion of the ultimate state, that of *vidyādhara*, near the end of the text, in answer to Question 47. There he describes the three necessary ingredients for achieving the ultimate state of *vidyādhara*: 'Through one's own yoga, the Conqueror's blessings, and incomparable, unrivalled virtuous roots, [*vidyādhara*] will be actualized'.

The first of these three requirements—one's own yoga—is indeed to be engaged without effort, but effort is not to be discarded entirely. The natural entrance into meditative stabilization and the state of spontaneous presence of accomplishments that are described by Dpal dbyangs as optimal come about only after having first exerted oneself toward that end repeatedly. He answers Question 31, saying:

Regarding that which is to be achieved,
Having strived, one rests in meditative equipoise again and again.
Then, having meditated and slowly entered the flow [of practice],
It is accomplished without effort, spontaneously.

We see how effortlessness arises in the path here, too, in the answer to the question that follows:

If it is obvious that sentient beings must strive,
Is it false [to say that] Conquerorhood is spontaneously accomplished?
It is like the letters and so forth: with diligence, again and again,

Having grown to be proficient, [literacy] comes to one without effort.

The second ingredient for attaining *vidyādhara*—the blessing—is treated in a similar fashion to effortless yoga. Though Dpal dbyangs first explains that blessings arise in accordance with one's effort, he later makes clear in answer to Question 11 that when the mind is finally pure in yoga, they then arise without striving.

As when sediment settles and water becomes clear again,
 One does not need to strive for the reflections of the sun and moon to
 come into view.
 When one's own mind emerges in pure yoga,
 One does not need to strive for the arising of the Conqueror's blessings.

Finally, Dpal dbyangs makes clear the necessity for conventional, intentful Mahāyoga practice in his description of the third requirement for *vidyādhara*, special virtuous roots. These incomparable, unrivaled virtuous roots are those that ripen naturally in this lifetime, but they are the exclusive result of having engaged in esoteric rites and of having practiced secret *mantra*. Thus, in each of these three elements on the path to *vidyādhara*-hood, Dpal dbyangs explains that effort and a directed set of rites and meditations, though necessary to the Mahāyoga path for most practitioners, do not cause awakening or accomplishments, and fall away in the final stages of realization. The ultimate state emerges as spontaneous, effortless realization through philosophical speculation on the emptiness of the practice and its manifestations.

CONCLUSION

Three versions of the *Zhus lan* were found at Dunhuang. All three appear to have been created and collected as independent texts, to which the internal pagination marks of the older manuscript, PT 819, and the insular scroll format of the other two manuscripts, PT 837 and IOL Tib J 470, attest. All three manuscripts were written in slender, loose handwriting with a Tibetan wood pen, from which we might infer that such texts were copied for private use by individual monks or practitioners. As noted by Ueyama Daishun, PT 837 was discovered with repairs to its top scroll rod, which is the original one,

indicating that it was carefully kept and thus highly valued.¹⁷ The *Zhus lan* is quoted in at least one other Dunhuang manuscript, PT 699, and is quoted extensively in the tenth-century work, the *Bsam gtan mig sgron*. It also is included in the Peking, Snar thang, and the more recently published facsimile of the Dga' ldan Golden Manuscript (or Kinsha, as it is called by scholars in Japan) editions of the *Bstan 'gyur*.¹⁸

The Rnying ma tradition, which claims the Mahāyogin Dpal dbyangs as a member of one of its earliest lineages in Tibet, is distinguished by its peculiar, but essential, marrying of two perspectives: the gradual, violent esotericism of the tantras, on the one hand, with the philosophical assertions of primordial spontaneity and release that culminated in the Rdzogs chen teachings, on the other. Though several factors probably contributed to the *Zhus lan*'s enduring popularity both in Dunhuang and in Tibet itself, the text's early confluence of these two perspectives regarding practice and philosophy is clearly among them. Indeed, it is with the *Zhus lan* that which one might witness at least one event in the birth of philosophical Tibetan Vajrayāna.

THE RDO RJE SEMS DPA'I ZHUS LAN:
ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Due to a desire for logical understanding of
Mahāyoga, the supreme system,
The student asked the spiritual guide
About doubts appearing in his/her mind.

Following an understanding of reality,
Without contradicting the definitive scriptures,
With intrinsic awareness, [these] verses were composed
To teach according to the way things are.
[Q1] Who is Vajrasattva?

Unproduced, the spontaneously [arising] expanse of primordial
wisdom,

¹⁷ UHEYAMA 1977.

¹⁸ Q. 5082, Snar thang ru 121a3, Kinsha 3081.

Unchanging, indestructible—that is the definition of ‘*vajra*’.
The Vajrasattva is defined as having acted for the benefit of beings
With a mind of adamantine primordial wisdom.

[Q2] What does it mean to say that Vajrasattva is ‘the *vajra* Mind of
all the Tathāgata of the three times’, and ‘is the Master of Body,
Speech, and Mind?’

He is identical to the matchless realization of nonproduction of the
Conquerors of the three times,
The intrinsic nature of all, Sugata, with a Mind like the ocean.
Because he is the actual foundation of all the varieties of marks of
Body, Speech, and Mind,
Vajrasattva is explained to be the Master.

[Q3] What does it mean that Vajrasattva is ‘the intrinsic nature of all
beings and phenomena?’

All phenomena and beings without limit
Are of one flavor in the unproduced, ultimate expanse.
Therefore, that itself is the reality of the Conquerors of the three times
and

The sphere of Samantabhadra-Vajrasattva.¹⁹

[Q4] What does it mean to teach that ‘the five Primordial Wisdoms
are the five [Conqueror] lineages?’

¹⁹ The names *Rdo rje sems dpa'* (Vajrasattva), *Kun tu bzang po* (Samantabhadra), and *Kun tu bzang po rdo rje sems dpa'* (Samantabhadra-Vajrasattva) appear to be used interchangeably in the *Zhus lan*. In particular, question and answer pairs 3 and 22 are almost identical in their descriptions of Samantabhadra and Samantabhadra-Vajrasattva, in whose sphere all emanations and absorptions are said to be of one flavor. Descriptions in the *Zhus lan* of all three include both apparent references to a particular deity, as in the cases of question and answer pairs 17 and 36, and to a more abstract concept of the intrinsic nature of all, as in question and answer pairs 1, 2, 3, and 22. A similar equivalency between these terms can be found in the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgrahasūtra*. WEINBERGER 2003.

The author of IOL Tib J 647, a commentary on the *Rig pa'i khu byug*, apparently felt the need for clarification on this issue. ‘In all the tantras, it is stated that Vajrasattva is the chief of all yoga, but here Kun-tu bzang-po is mentioned as the chief. ...It is thought that Vajrasattva is mentioned when it is about seeking a desired goal and when there are different grades in the achievement. But here one does not seek any kind of goal like that. Taking this into account, Kun-tu bzang-po is even more suitable’. KARMAY 1988.

Unproduced primordial wisdom is equal to the expanse of reality, and
Its distinct attributes appear as fivefold.

Just those [appearances] are the defining characteristics of the five
Primordial Wisdoms.

Those skilled in expedient means teach them as the five Conqueror
lineages.

[Q5] What is the difference between Expanse of Reality Primordial
Wisdom and Mirror-like Primordial Wisdom? Why is the
Expanse of Reality called Primordial Wisdom?

Because primordial wisdom and the expanse of reality are
indistinguishable,

Unproduced primordial wisdom is wisely known to be like a mirror.

Because primordial wisdom is indivisible from the sphere of
awareness,

The expanse of reality is explained to be 'Expanse of Reality
Primordial Wisdom'.

[Q6] Through meditation on a single tutelary deity, it is said that one
will be meditatively cultivating all the Tathāgatas. What does
this mean?

The five lineages of the Conquerors and so forth,
And all the seals of expedient means without exception,
Are of one flavour in the adamant Reality Body.
They are not as they appear, however [variously] that might be.

By thus meditatively cultivating a single Conqueror,
Within yogic awareness one will possess
The realm of all the Conquerors, rather than merely a single one.
When this occurs, there is nothing which is not a meditative
cultivation of the Tathāgatas.

[Q7] How is one to view the meaning of the teaching that 'there is no
attainment of awakening?'

One's own nature abides as the sky. This means that
There is no reason to transform oneself into the sky.
The mind itself is the sky, the expanse of awakening;

There is no cause of the attainment of awakening.

Without ground or root, the mind itself,
Like the sky, is not [made] pure by cleansing.
Awakening, free of production,
Is without any cause or fruit of awakening whatsoever.²⁰

[Q8] Then in what manner does a mantric practitioner attain achievements?

Because intrinsic nature abides just as it is,
Indeed, there is not one iota of attainment.
However, in accordance with one's effort and devotion,
Blessings [appear in the] manner of a wish-fulfilling jewel.

[Q9] Then what is the distinction of the accomplishments attained through yoga?

For example, like a king appointing a minister,
The bequeathal of accomplishments from above is the outer method.
Like gaining power through the people offering the kingdom [to the king's command],
[Their] self-emergence is great perfection, the unexcelled method.

[Q10] When one's yoga is luminous and yet the signs and marks do not emerge, is that not a method unsuitable for [attaining] accomplishments?

The intrinsic nature of a Conqueror is just insight and meditative stabilization.

With those, the issue of external signs and marks is extraneous.
For example, in the case of wanting fire, once the fire is found,
The issue of there being smoke as the sign of fire is extraneous.

²⁰ As has been pointed out by Samten Karmay, these two stanzas are taken almost verbatim from Buddhagupta's *Sbas pa'i rgum chung*, which Karmay tentatively has dated to the eighth century. The lines correspond to the final lines in the Dunhuang version, IOL Tib J 594: 1b19. The *Zhus lan* differs only in the sixth line, where it reads *bkrus pas myi 'dag* instead of IOL Tib J 594's *btsal bas myi rnyed*, meaning 'it cannot be sought and found'. KARMAY 1988.

Consequently, do not aspire [to attain accomplishments] with a mind
that clings to the emanation of signs and marks,
Wondering whether 'one day [they] will arise from elsewhere'.
The two yogas, the foundation of the Conquerors of the three times,
Arise within oneself. Having perceived this, strive to view the mind's
experience.

[Q11] Does one accomplish only by means of insight and practising
meditative stabilization, or will there be blessings as well?

The appearances of all things [arise] when mistaken conceptions have
proliferated.
Accordingly, there will be accomplishment only by means of insight
and meditative stabilization, indeed.
Like the reflections of the sun and moon in clear water,
Blessings of compassion continuously emerge.

[Q12] When blessings are caused to arise, is this due to having
developed aspirations, or through what action do they arise?

As when sediment settles and water becomes clear again,
One does not need to strive for the reflections of the sun and moon to
come into view.
When one's own mind emerges in pure yoga,
One does not need to strive for the arising of the Conqueror's
blessings.

[Q13] How does one ritually approach the Sugata?

When it appears as oneself, if the Reality Body
Comes to be understood as unchanging like the sky, and
If that ritual approach is not perceived in terms of object and subject,
There being neither toil nor exertion, this is the highest form of
drawing near.
A wise person possessed of such realization
Clearly cultivates the three seals²¹ of marks in meditation.
While persevering without distraction and never abandoning [the
practice],

²¹ The three seals refer to the Buddha's Body, Speech, and Mind, to be cultivated with *mudrā*, *mantra*, and concentration. Cf. IOL Tib J 454: 111.

Employing all the rituals, he or she will approach the wisdom deity.

[Q14] When one draws near to the wisdom deity, if one engages in trivial activity,²² will there be defilement or not?

Except for meditatively cultivating Body, Speech, and Mind,
Do not seek achievement of any other accomplishments.
If one does not begin by setting up abiding and non-abiding in mutual contradiction,
There will be no meditating, nothing separate, and therefore, no contradiction.

[Q15] When it is said that ‘the tutelary deity involves meditation upon the Complete Enjoyment Body in its peaceful aspect, and the active deity involves meditation upon the wrathful form, and so forth’, is that definitive or not?

The principal [deities] and their emanations, the peaceful and the wrathful, and so forth,
Are of one flavor in the Reality Body. They are equal in their skill in means and in acting for the benefit of beings.
Therefore, without having ascertained the root and ground of the Sugata,
It will be merely a matter of accordance with one’s fortune and affinities.

[Q16] Having established the tutelary deity, if one meditates on another, is this not a moral offence?

In employing expedient means, the teachings are given separately, but the expanse is only one.
In concretely conceptualizing and abandoning, defilement is endless.
Realizing [their] indivisibility, one’s continuum of action is concordant [with that realization].
In such a way, meditation on all the buddhas is the faultless, sublime root of virtue.

²² This term appears to refer to tantric ritual activity meant to bring about yogic abilities, perhaps as part of the preliminary exercises of deity yoga. I would like to thank Matthew Kapstein for his suggestion that this may refer to ritual activity.

[Q17] What does it mean to say, 'If one possesses an elevated view, it is suitable even to be without a tutelary deity?'

When one realizes that there is no self to depend on a tutelary deity,
and that

The intrinsic nature of Vajrasattva has been present primordially,
That very realization is the sphere of all the Conquerors, and thus
There is no act or actor to ritually approach a remote tutelary deity.

For example, as Vajrasattva is without a tutelary deity,
So a realized yogin should not take as an object of observation any
deity other than the expanse of Self.

In the same way that the Conquerors tame for the benefit of beings,
Just so, one is absorbed in manifold meditative stabilizations on the
ocean of buddhas.

[Q18] How does one cultivate the meditative stabilization of
Suchness?²³

The Conquerors of the three times do not contrive;
From the beginning, one's own mind is unproduced.
If one's own mind, unproduced, is reality,
Reality is not something to be meditatively cultivated.

[Q19] Then, is it suitable to rest in 'non-meditation'?

If the topic of your question existed [i.e. meditation],

²³ The *de bzhin nyid kyi ting nge 'dzin*, or *tathatā-samādhi*, is associated with the generation stage of Mahāyoga tantra. The *de bzhin nyid kyi ting nge 'dzin*, or a similarly titled meditation, is described as the first meditative stabilization in an ordered progression of three meditative stabilizations in several Mahāyoga texts from Dunhuang, including IOL Tib J 436, IOL Tib J 437, IOL Tib J 579, IOL Tib J 716/1, PT 626, and PT 634. IOL Tib J 508 and IOL Tib J 454 also mention a list of four meditative stabilizations. In many of these texts, the generation and perfection stages are described as a continuum of practice. Therein, the *de bzhin nyid kyi ting nge 'dzin* is a meditation on emptiness before meditatively cultivating the *maṇḍala*. DALTON 2004. An example of such usage in a canonical text attributed to Vimalamitra can be found in his *Guhyagarbha* commentary the *Māyājālopadేశakramatraya*. 'The stages of symbolic meditation, and meditation on Suchness are said to be the two types', (*mtshan mar bsgom pa 'i rim pa yang/ de bzhin nyid du bsgom pa yi/ byed brag rnam pa gnyis su gsungs*). Q. 4742: 568a1. Unfortunately, as this is the only reference of its type in the *Zhus lan*, it is not clear to what context Dpal dbyangs's reference belongs.

There would also be a meditator.
 If it is true that mind is without production,
 What is it that rests in 'non-meditation'?

[Q20] Is it important for a master to correct one's mind?

When the mind that clings to self takes logic as its base,
 The discriminating consciousness will be like a [mere] leaf without a
 root.
 If an intelligent person, lacking assurance, desires the teachings and is
 not a master,
 Then he or she will greatly value correction [in accordance with] the
 unmistakable meaning.

[Q21] What does it mean to say, 'When a yogin becomes competent
 in insight and meditative stabilization, that yogin is equal to a
 buddha?'

The intrinsic nature of Mind is the realization of the unproduced
 expanse.
 The intrinsic nature of Body clearly appears with well-proportioned
 marks.
 The intrinsic nature of Speech possesses emanation syllables.
 By means of the Sameness of that which is not the same, [one] is said
 to be equal to the buddhas.

[Q22] It is said, 'Emanation and absorption are important'. If the
 Reality Body is all-pervasive, then aren't emanation and
 absorption contrary to the principle of reality?

That which emanates from, and is absorbed into, everything
 Is of one flavour in the sphere of Samantabhadra.
 Therefore, though one cannot perceive the expanse being absorbed
 into, or emanating from, itself,
 It is not at odds with expedient means, for that very reason.
 [Q23] If one performs emanation and absorption, what are its good
 qualities?

Given that there is appearance as something where there is nothing at
 all,

However absorption occurs, emanation is carried out for the benefit of beings.

The reabsorption of the many Sugatas,
Oneself growing brilliant as the Conquerors, is for one's own benefit.

[Q24] For the mantric practitioner, how is it best to view [the distinction between] the two—Yogā[cāra]-Madhyamaka and Sautrāntika-Madhyamaka?²⁴

One gains mastery in the method of the meditative stabilization of marks

Through the method of secret mantric practices.

All those meditative stabilizations which fail to view those marks as mere aspects of consciousness

Will lack a connection to the mind, and therefore, will not accomplish the singular [Reality Body].

[Q25] With regard to conventional truth, if one does not view [all marks] as mind only, and yet one is aware of there being no phenomena whatsoever, is it not possible to achieve transformation through meditative stabilization?

If one cultivates a meditative stabilization on something other than mind,

[That] other object will not transform.

Further, as for there being nothing whatsoever,

For that very reason, mind will be unable to manifest [buddhahood].

[Q26] In practicing *mantra*, how important are the syllogisms taught in sūtra?

By means of uttering mere equanimous and pure words,

²⁴ These were two early forms of Mādhyamika thought in Tibet, and are described by Zhang Ye shes sde in his eighth-century *Lta ba'i khyad par*, PT 814: 5a-9b, and in Vimalamitra's *Rim gsum*, Q. 4742: 567b7. The former school is also mentioned in IOL Tib J 607: 6v4. Yogācāra-Madhyamaka was founded by Śāntarakṣita and promulgated by his disciple Kamalaśīla at Bsam yas, where it appears to have been the reigning philosophical system during the dynastic era. The founding of Sautrāntika-Madhyamaka is attributed to Bhāvaviveka. Neither of these terms appear in any known Indic literature. Differences between the views of the two schools are rooted in their approaches to conventional truth regarding external objects.

One's afflictive emotions will not be outshone, and liberation will not be attained.

Intelligent ones who have relinquished coarse behavior and pride,
Value utterly the logical syllogisms regardless.

[Q27] What is the root of the defect of not being equal to all of the Superior Ones?

The sole cause of becoming is the root of negative actions—
One's own ignorance, which is clinging to the self.
Because this great poison exists in the hearts of beings
They cannot attain the path of liberation, and [the cycle of] birth and death will be endless.

[Q28] If calm abiding without conceptualizing external objects is appropriate, will there be no liberation if one also has a view which clings to self?

Having completely abandoned attachment to the self,
There is no clinging to [external] phenomena anywhere.
As long as there is a deceiver clinging to self,
Though one attains an abiding calm as a mountain, there will be no liberation.

[Q29] If it is said that, 'Clairvoyance and magical powers are attained through concentration', why not seek them through calm abiding?

Even though concentration is spontaneously achieved in the *Brahmakāyika*²⁵ and other such places, and
Lights and colors may appear clearly to a clairvoyant consciousness,
Haven't you ever heard that by not abandoning latent concepts of self, [One] will fall into hell?

[Q30] Then, should a one-pointed calm abiding type of meditative stabilization not be sought?

²⁵ In Buddhist cosmology, the *Brahmakāyika* is considered to be the first and lowest realm of the twenty-one highest Form and Formless Realms of cyclic existence. Through meditating with tranquility and renouncing conflicting emotions, one is said to advance to this realm and upward.

Calm abiding based on nonmistaken realization and
 Meditative stabilization [in which] the seals of marks clearly
 [appear]—

The superior path of awakening, possessing aims like this,
 Is bound to lead to excellence time and again.

[Q31] Does that person for whom meditative stabilization
 spontaneously arises accomplish through effort or effortlessly?

Regarding that which is to be achieved,
 Having strived, one rests in meditative equipoise again and again.
 Then, having meditated and slowly entered the flow [of practice],
 It is accomplished without effort, spontaneously.

[Q32] Because [meditative stabilization] is effortless, isn't it
 contradictory to explain that accomplishment will be met
 through effort?

If it is obvious that sentient beings must strive,
 Is it false [to say that] Conqueror-hood is spontaneously
 accomplished?
 It is like the letters and so forth: with diligence, again and again,
 Having grown to be proficient, [literacy] comes to one without effort.

[Q33] Is the saying, 'The commitments do not have to be kept',
 contradictory or not?²⁶
 Like the thoughts and acts of a Sage who is free of self,
 [For those] free of attachment to self, occasions of transgression [by
 way of] the three gates

²⁶ *Dam tshig* generally refer to the commitments undertaken in empowerment ceremonies, though their content and the context for receiving them in this case are not made explicit. Another Dunhuang text, IOL Tib J 647, a commentary on the *Rig pa khu byug*, discusses the commitments in a similar fashion, rejecting the very possibility of transgression for those who have realized suchness. Like the *Zhus lan*, it describes a state of natural, spontaneous compliance with the deeper principles of the vows. Following a discussion of the importance of abandoning attachments, the text reads, 'When one abides in the teachings of Suchness, even the vows of one's practice abide entirely in spontaneity', (*ji bzhin pa'i lung la gnas pa'i dus na/ spyod pa'i dam tshig kyang lhun gyis grub pa nyid du tshang bar gnas*). IOL Tib J 647: 3b5. For a detailed examination of the treatment of this topic in the Dunhuang manuscripts, see VAN SCHAIK's chapter in the present volume.

Do not arise in the slightest, and there is no need to keep the vows.
Therefore, ask yourself whether you have committed the transgression
of being attached to self.

[Q34] How ought one to view the appearance of one's own body as
the Great Seal and the *maṇḍala* of one's own meditative
stabilization?

Though there are appearances as physical bodies and as the Great Seal,
Because they are aspects of mind, bodies as such do not exist.
Though the emanations of the *maṇḍala* will bend and laugh,
Because they are aspects of one's meditative stabilization, they are
one's own mind.

Though mind and the distinguishing characteristics of its aspects are
indistinguishable,
If the appearances of self and other are of exactly equal rank,
'Consider your body to be chief!'—this is not asserted.
Everything is [your own] body. See everything as an emanation.

[Q35] How should one act in order to conform to the authoritative
Mahāyoga scriptures?

Realization and meditative stabilization are the Mind and Body of the
Conqueror.
Constantly, with neither timidity nor aspiration,
Like a Great Conqueror who has subdued the earth [deities],
One commands and reigns over all without exception.

[Q36] If yogins provide offerings to Tibetan gods and demons, are
these acts concordant with the scriptures?

Worshipping worldly gods and nāgas
While making pledges pertaining to Samantabhadra-Vajrasattva
Is like a king conducting himself as though he were a commoner.
It does not fit the circumstances, and contradicts the significance of
yoga.

[Q37] Is it contradictory to meditatively cultivate the body of a
Superior crushed beneath the feet of wrathful deities?

Being that the ultimate is of a single flavor, without high and low,
If the mind which has abandoned conceptual attachment to self and
other

Understands all to be skillful means, there is no contradiction.
There will be no definitive [realization] through overpowering the
particularities of conceptualization.

[Q38] By propitiating a single Sugata, are the activities of all [Sugata]
accomplished?

In propitiating a particular Sugata,
By means of a view profound and vast, if one deeply comprehends,
Though all the paths of many Conquerors might be undertaken,
The wise explain that one will accomplish all [Conquerors' activities].

[Q39] Though one does not meditate thereafter, [if] one conducts
oneself with great discipline with regard to the sacramental
substances of inner [tantra], is there no accomplishment?

Regarding the so-called 'materials of accomplishment',
The meditative cultivation of insight and meditative stabilization are
the means of accomplishment, and
Without these, one will not attain accomplishments and will be like a
beast.
Therefore, acquire the requisites for [practicing] yoga.

[Q40] Once one [has] great power, does it matter that one does not
develop skill in the Dharma?

The power of a Conqueror, unrivaled in the three realms of existence,
Arises from wisely realizing phenomena's intrinsic nature.
Without that, if one does not have a mind of awakening,
Where is the suitability in something like the powers of *yakṣa* or
rākṣasa?

[Q41] What is held as the standard measure of one who possesses
yogic knowledge? Is it keen sight and so forth?

[By] realizing the meaning of non-production, the Eye of Primordial
Wisdom through Insight [is obtained].

By means of yoga, the pure Divine Eye [is obtained].
 But other, common, worldly people's common types of vision—
 Keen vision and so forth—are not the standard measures of yogic
 [knowledge].²⁷

[Q42] How is one to act in order to gain great power?

[With] a nonmistaken view, realization of the significance of the two
 truths, and
 A mind of equanimity, knowing oneself and Buddha to be
 indistinguishable,
 Endowed with meditative stabilization, secret *mantra*, *mudrā*, and
 rites,
 Not casting away the accomplishments of meditation, the mind will
 grow steady and powerful.

[Q43] What does it mean that one might achieve awakening in one
 lifetime?

It is explained that, by means of the remainder body²⁸ itself,
 [The stage of] Immortal Lineage Holder (*rigs 'dzin*) is obtained;
 With that very [immortal] life of one possessing ('*dzin*) knowledge
 (*rig*),

²⁷ Though the system of the Five Eyes (Tib. *spyān lnga*; Skt. *pañcacakṣuḥ*) is the more common, at least in tantric Tibetan literature, Dpal dbyangs appears to be referring here to the less referenced system of the Three Eyes (Tib. *spyān gsum*; Skt. *trayaścakṣuḥ*). The Three Eyes are mentioned in various sūtra and exegetical texts, including the *Samgūtiparyāya*, the *Itivṛttakasūtra*, the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*, the *Abhidharmakośa* and the *Avataṃsakasūtra*. The three therein described are: 1) the Physical Eye (Tib. *lus kyi spyān*; Skt. *māṃsacakṣuḥ*); 2) the Divine Eye (Tib. *lha'i spyān*; Skt. *divyaṃcakṣuḥ*); and 3) the Wisdom Eye (Tib. *shes rab kyi spyān*; Skt. *prajñācakṣuḥ*) or the Noble Primordial Wisdom Eye (Tib. *'phags pa'i ye shes kyi spyān*; Skt. *āryajñānacakṣuḥ*). Dpal dbyangs employs a combination of the latter two terms for the third. References to the Eye of Insight (*shes rab spyān*) in Dpal dbyangs's *Thugs kyi sgron ma* identify the *shes rab spyān* as the ultimate eye (*mchog gi spyān*). Q. 4446: 284b. Despite the similarity of this term to the name for an empowerment ceremony described in many Mahāyoga texts from Dunhuang, the *shes rab ye shes dbang*, I see no reason to suspect a connection between them.

²⁸ The term *lhag mar bcas pa'i lus* means literally 'the body which remains' and refers to the aggregates or the substratum of existence which may remain after enlightenment. Samten Karmay includes a useful discussion of this issue and its significance for both Mahāyoga and Rdzogs chen thought, including passages on the topic from the *Bsam gtan mig sgron* and Dunhuang treatise PT 699, in his *Great Perfection*. KARMAY 1988: 191-96.

Unexcelled awakening is obtained.²⁹

[Q44] What is the so-called *vidyādhara* (*rig 'dzin*)? Where is his or her abode?

Insight is the definition of knowledge.

Realizing that, the practice of *mantra* is to hold knowledge.

The abode of the Lineage Holder is to ripen in the lineage of

Vajra Holder (Rdo rje 'chang),³⁰ who is the [ultimate manifestation] of the deities and so forth.

[Q45] How is one to approach, and then to reach, the abode of the Lineage Holder?

Because any given appearance, as the abode of mind,

Is an aspect of one's own mind, there is no abode of mind.

Without abiding anywhere, wherever the mind goes,

It is merely an appearance, which has ripened according to karmic fortune.

[Q46] According to the correct Mahāyoga way, what is the pinnacle of meditative practice? How does one become a Lineage Holder?

[According to] our own system, the Great Seal of the conquerors,

The deity meditatively cultivated and directly perceived

Possessing the primary and secondary marks of perfection and clairvoyance,

Is known as the Great Seal Lineage Holder.³¹

²⁹ There is a play on the words 'knowledge' (*rig*) and 'lineage' (*rigs*) here and in the following passages. I have chosen to remain close to the Tibetan in my translation to give a sense of that play, and of the significance of lineage to this highest of achievements, *vidyādhara*-hood.

³⁰ Rdo rje 'chang (Vajradhara) is an emanational form of Samantabhadra, according to the later Rnying ma tradition. The *vidyādhara*'s relationship to Vajradhara within Mahāyoga can be found in a Dunhuang doxographical text, IOL Tib J 644. "A *vidyādhara* of Mahāyoga is called a 'vajradhara buddha'", (*ma ha yo ga'i rigs 'dzin ni/ rdo rje 'chang gi sangs rgyas zhes bya*). DALTON 2005.

³¹ The *Guhyagarbhatantra* includes a discussion of the Great Seal within a section on attaining *vidyādhara* in Chapter 11. 'With great intensity, visualize light radiating and blazing forth. Cause it to dissolve without accumulation. Having transformed [thus in] nonduality, the Great Seal [is attained]', (*'od 'phro 'bar ba rab tu sgom/ /tshogs med tshul gyis bstim par bya/ /gnyis med gyur nas phyag rgya che/*). *Guhyagarbhatantra* 36.5.

[Q47] If the ripening of other roots of virtue arises in a later life, how is the fruit of mantric acts—Lineage Holder—achieved in this life?

Regarding special virtues as well as special sins,
The fruit of both ripen in this life.
Therefore, secret mantric acts are distinctive—
Their full ripening does not lie in a later [life], but arises from this one.

Because other virtuous roots [not created through mantric practice] are weak,
They cannot actualize an intense fruit.
However, through one's own yoga, the Conqueror's blessings, and Incomparable, unrivaled virtuous roots, it will be actualized.

[Q48] Does one attain accomplishments without obtaining empowerments from the master?

With regard to the Great Secret concealed by the Conquerors of the three times,
An assertion that achievement occurs by means of a false [mastery] on one's own,
Though one searches the entire ocean of sacred discourse,
Will not be found, nor should it be.

[Q49] How great is the risk of acting as a master without obtaining a master's empowerments? Is it beneficial for one who has requested empowerments in this way to obtain them?

However a criminal might appoint someone to the rank of minister,
There will be no power gained, and s/he is certain to be defiled.
Because one does not possess the resources or powers of a *vajra*-king,
Having been appointed to [such a] rank, it is said that both oneself and others will be forsaken.

[Q50] Is it a self-serving fabrication to say that, 'When one receives empowerments from a master, one is requested to offer gifts?'

Having been lost in *saṃsāra* for innumerable æons, and now, having found

The path of liberation to unsurpassed awakening, [the teachings are]
an enduring treasure.

Therefore, if it is not extreme even [to offer] an array of tens of
millions of lives,

Anything else goes without saying. Look to all the secret tantra for
what is true and what is false.

[Q51] How great is the sin of disobeying one's master?

Whatever the sin committed in the three realms,
It is not a fraction of the sin of disobeying the master.
Because it is similar to certain causes for [rebirth in] Hell and so forth,
Never having heard [the teachings] and being without suffering would
be extremely pleasant [by comparison].

The *Zhus lan* is hereby complete.

THE *RDO RJE SEMS DPA'I ZHUS LAN*:
CRITICAL EDITION

A: IOL Tib J 470

B: PT 837

C: Q. 5082, vol.87, 134a1-139b6

D: PT 819, including a missing folio mistakenly catalogued with IOL
Tib J 578

STMG: *Bsam gtan mig sgron*

Notes on the Critical Edition

This translation was made possible by a fellowship from the Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai, and with the generous guidance and inspiration of Ueyama Daishun. Dr. Ueyama has published a Japanese translation of the *Rdo rje sems dpa'i zhus lan* based upon the textual work we did together.³² The present translation is also based on that research, though I have further consulted PT 819. I would also like to thank Drongbu Tsering Dorje, David Germano, Matthew Kapstein, and Sam

³² UHEYAMA 2003.

van Schaik for numerous helpful comments and suggestions. I am solely responsible for any omissions or errors.

Where variations exist to the modern standards of applying *gi/kyi/gyi* and *pa/ba*, the transliteration generally reflects PT 819's usage. Given the numerable discrepancies between the four versions in the punctuation of the questions, the transliteration has been punctuated following PT 819 where possible. *Shad* are marked with a forward slash. Folio and scroll opening and closing marks have not been noted. Folio and line numbers in square brackets correspond to pagination in the Peking version. Reverse *gi gu* are not noted, though they appear in all Dunhuang manuscript versions, generally in conformance to the system described by Fujieda.³³ Finally, passages quoted in the *Bsam gtan mig sgron* are here given in italics, with the transcribed passage from the *Bsam gtan mig sgron* in the footnotes.

[134a1] rnal 'byor chen po mchog gi lugs//
rigs bas shes par³⁴ 'dod pa'i phyir//
blo la snang ba'i the tshom rnams/³⁵
/[2] slob mas dge ba'i bshes la dris/

/nges pa'i lung dang myi³⁶ 'gal zhing//
chos nyid rig pa'i rjes su 'gro//
rang³⁷ rig 'brel bcas [3] tshigs su bcad//
ci³⁸ ltar gnas pa bzhin du bstan/

[Q1] /rdo rje sems pa dpa' ci³⁹ lta bu lags/

/skye myed ye shes rang [4] gi dbyings/⁴⁰
/myi 'gyur myi shigs rdo rje'i don/⁴¹
/sems⁴² ye shes rdo rje ste/
'gro don rdo rje sems dpar bshad do/⁴³

³³ FUJIEDA 1969.

³⁴ C: shas par

³⁵ A: the tsham dag; B: entire line is illegible.

³⁶ C: pa'i lus mi

³⁷ C omits rang.

³⁸ C: ji

³⁹ C: sems dpa' zhes bgyi ba'i don ji

⁴⁰ AB: skye ba myed pa ye shes rang gyi dbyings

⁴¹ AB: myi 'gyur myi shigs pa'i rdo rje'i don no

⁴² C: sems dpa'i

[Q2] /rdo rje sems dpa' ni dus [5] gsum gyi de bzhin⁴⁴ gshegs pa
thams cad kyi⁴⁵ thugs rdo rje/ lags la/⁴⁶ sku gsung⁴⁷ thugs kyi
bdag po lags so zhes bya⁴⁸ ba'i don ci⁴⁹ lta bu lags/

/dus gsum rgyal bas skye med rtogs par mnyam/⁵⁰
/[6] kun gyi⁵¹ rang bzhin bde bshegs⁵² rgya mtsho'i thugs//
sku gsung thugs kyi mtshan ma ci⁵³ snyed pa'i//
dngos⁵⁴ gzhi nyid du gyur pas bdag por⁵⁵ bshad/

[Q3] /rdo rje sems dpa' ni 'gro ba kun⁵⁶ dang chos [7] thams cad kyi
rang bzhin yin⁵⁷ no zhes bgyi⁵⁸ ba'i don ci⁵⁹ lta bu lags/

/chos rnams thams cad 'gro ba mtha' dag ni//
skye myed⁶⁰ don dam dbyings su ro gcig pas//
de nyid dus gsum rgyal ba'i chos [8] nyid de//
kun tu bzang po rdo rje sems dpa'i ngang/

[Q4] /ye shes lnga rigs lngar bstan pa'i don ci⁶¹ lta bu lags/

/skye myed⁶² ye shes⁶³ chos kyi dbyings dang mnyam/⁶⁴

⁴³ AB: 'gro ba'i don byed pas rdo rje sems par bshad do

⁴⁴ C: gyi bde bar

⁴⁵ AB: kyi yang

⁴⁶ C omits lags la.

⁴⁷ AB: gsungm

⁴⁸ C: 'byung

⁴⁹ C: ji

⁵⁰ A: dus gsum gyi rgyal bas kun skye ba myed par rtogs par mnyam ba myed pa'i
rang bzhin du mnyam; B: dus gsum kyi rgyal bas kun skye ba myed par rtogs par
mnyam ba myed pa'i rang bzhin du mnyam

⁵¹ AB: kyi

⁵² AB: bzhin bar gshegs pa

⁵³ C: ji

⁵⁴ AB: dngos po

⁵⁵ B: po

⁵⁶ C omits kun.

⁵⁷ C omits yin.

⁵⁸ C: bya

⁵⁹ C: ji

⁶⁰ C: med

⁶¹ C: ji

⁶² AB: skye ba myed pa'i; C: med

⁶³ AB: shes ni

/de'i yon [134b] tan khyad par lngar⁶⁵ snang ba//
 de nyid ye she lnga'i mtshan nyid de//
 thabs la mkhas pas rgyal ba rigs lngar bstan/⁶⁶

[Q5] /chos kyi dbyings kyi⁶⁷ [2] ye shes dang/ mye⁶⁸ long lta bu'i ye
 shes la khyad par⁶⁹ ci mchis/ chos kyi⁷⁰ dbyings la ji'i phyir⁷¹
 ye shes kyi⁷² bgyi/

/ye shes chos kyi dbyings dang khyad myed⁷³ pas//
 skye myed⁷⁴ [3] ye shes⁷⁵ mye⁷⁶ long lta bur mkhyen/⁷⁷
 /ye shes rig pa'i ngang dang dbyer myed⁷⁸ phyir//
 chos kyi dbyings la chos nyid⁷⁹ ye shes brjod/⁸⁰

[Q6] /yi dam gyi lha gcig bsgoms [4] pas de bzhin gshegs pa kun
 bsgoms par 'gyur ro zhes bgyi ba'i don ci lta bu lags⁸¹/

/rgyal⁸² ba⁸³ rigs lnga la stsogs⁸⁴ pa//
 thabs kyi phyag rgya ma lus kun//
 chos sku⁸⁵ rdo rjer⁸⁶ ro [5] gcig ste//
 ji ltar snang ba de ltar myin/⁸⁷

⁶⁴ AB: mnyam la

⁶⁵ B omits lngar.

⁶⁶ C: bstan

⁶⁷ B omits kyi.

⁶⁸ C: me

⁶⁹ C omits par

⁷⁰ B: nyid

⁷¹ C: ci'i slad du

⁷² C: zhes

⁷³ C: med

⁷⁴ AB: myed pa'i; C: med

⁷⁵ AB: shes ni

⁷⁶ C: me

⁷⁷ AB: mkhyen no

⁷⁸ C: med

⁷⁹ AB: nyid kyi

⁸⁰ A: shes zhes brjod; B: shes zhes brjod do

⁸¹ A: don ci lta ba lta bu lags; C: don ji lta bu lags

⁸² A: rgya

⁸³ B: ba'

⁸⁴ BC: sogs

⁸⁵ AB: skur

⁸⁶ AB: rje

/de ltar⁸⁸ rgyal ba gcig bsgoms pas/⁸⁹
 /gcig nyid ma yin⁹⁰ kun gyi ngang//
 rnal 'byor rig pa 'dir⁹¹ ldan na//
 bder⁹² gshegs ma bsgoms gang yang [6] myed/⁹³

[Q7] /byang chub thob pa myed⁹⁴ par bstan⁹⁵ pa'i don ci⁹⁶ lta bu lags/

/rang bzhin nam kar⁹⁷ gnas pa ni//
 nam kar⁹⁸ gyur⁹⁹ pa'i¹⁰⁰ rgyu ma yin//
 sems nyid nam ka¹⁰¹ byang cub¹⁰² [7] dbyings//
 byang chub¹⁰³ grub¹⁰⁴ pa'i rgyu ma yin/

gzhi rtsa myed pa'i¹⁰⁵ sems nyid la/¹⁰⁶
 /bkrus pas myi¹⁰⁷ 'dag¹⁰⁸ nam ka¹⁰⁹ bzhin//
 skyed¹¹⁰ dang bral ba'i byang cub¹¹¹ la//
 [8] byang cub¹¹² rgyu 'bras yong gyis¹¹³ myed/¹¹⁴

⁸⁷ C: min

⁸⁸ C: bas

⁸⁹ C: pa

⁹⁰ C: men la

⁹¹ C: 'di

⁹² C: bde

⁹³ C: gcig kyang med

⁹⁴ C: med

⁹⁵ AB: bsten

⁹⁶ C: ji

⁹⁷ AB: nam khar; C: namkhar; D: extant text begins with gnas.

⁹⁸ AB: nam khar; C: namkhar

⁹⁹ C: 'gyur

¹⁰⁰ ba'i

¹⁰¹ AB: nam kha; C: namkha'

¹⁰² ABC: chub

¹⁰³ D: beginning of line illegible.

¹⁰⁴ AB: bsgrub; C: 'grub

¹⁰⁵ C: med pa

¹⁰⁶ AB: ni; C: de

¹⁰⁷ C: mi

¹⁰⁸ AB: dag

¹⁰⁹ AB: nam kha; C: namkha

¹¹⁰ C: skye

¹¹¹ ABC: chub

¹¹² ABC: chub

¹¹³ D: kyis

¹¹⁴ C: med

[Q8] /ʼo¹¹⁵ na sngags spyod pas dngos grub tshul ci ltar thob/¹¹⁶

rang bzhin gnas pa nyid¹¹⁷ kyi phyir//
 thob pa rdul tsam¹¹⁸ [135a] myed¹¹⁹ mod kyi//
 rtsol¹²⁰ dang mos pa ci¹²¹ bzhin du//
 byin rlabs¹²² yid bzhin nor bu'i tshul/

[Q9] /rnal¹²³ 'byor pas¹²⁴ dngos grub thob pa'i khyad par¹²⁵ ci ltar¹²⁶
 mchis/

/[2] dper na rgyal pos blon po¹²⁷ bskos¹²⁸ pa ltar/¹²⁹
 /grub pa gong nas byin¹³⁰ pa phyi'i tshul/¹³¹
 /'bangs kyi sgyal¹³² srid phul nas dbang sgyur¹³³ ltar//
 rang 'byung [3] rdzogs chen bla na myed¹³⁴ pa'i tshul/

[Q10] /rnal 'byor¹³⁵ gsal na¹³⁶ rtags dang mtshan ma ma byung na
 yang dngos grub tu myi rung ba'i tshul ma lags sam/¹³⁷

¹¹⁵ AB: rgyu 'bras myed pas 'o.

¹¹⁶ AB: grub tshul ci ltar 'thob; C: grub ci lta bu 'thob

¹¹⁷ D: gnas pa nyid is illegible.

¹¹⁸ C: rtsam

¹¹⁹ C: med

¹²⁰ AB: rtsol ba

¹²¹ C: ji

¹²² C: brlabs

¹²³ AB: 'o na rnal

¹²⁴ A: bas; D: pa

¹²⁵ D: bar

¹²⁶ ABC omit ltar.

¹²⁷ D: po is illegible.

¹²⁸ C: blon por bsgos

¹²⁹ AB: na; C: bzhin

¹³⁰ BC: 'byin

¹³¹ AB: tshul lo

¹³² AB: rgyal ba'i

¹³³ AB: bskur

¹³⁴ C: med

¹³⁵ AB: 'byor pa lta ba

¹³⁶ AB: na yang

¹³⁷ A: mtshan ma ma byung na 'grub tu myi btub pa'i ci lags; B: mtshan mas byung na 'grub du myi btub pa'i ci lags; C: mtshan ma ma byung na 'grub tu ma gtub ba'i tshul lags sam

/rgyal ba'i rang bzhin [4] shes rab¹³⁸ ting¹³⁹ 'dzin kho na¹⁴⁰ bas//
 de yod¹⁴¹ phyi rol¹⁴² rtags dang mtshan ma'i khar ma lus/¹⁴³
 /dper na mye¹⁴⁴ 'dod¹⁴⁵ nye¹⁴⁶ ni rnyed 'gyur¹⁴⁷ na//
 nye¹⁴⁸ rtags du ba yod dang¹⁴⁹ myed¹⁵⁰ pa'i khar ma¹⁵¹ lus/

/[5] de bas¹⁵² rtags dang mtshan mar 'phros shing zhen pa'i blos/¹⁵³
 /gzhan nas nam¹⁵⁴ 'byung snyam du re ba myin bya'i/¹⁵⁵
 /dus sum sangs rgyas¹⁵⁶ dngos gzhi rnal 'byor¹⁵⁷ rnam gnyis po//
 rang la¹⁵⁸ byung bar rig nas sems [6] nyams lta zhing 'brtson/¹⁵⁹

[Q11] /shes rab dang ting nge 'dzin bsgoms 'ba' zhig gis 'grub
 bam/¹⁶⁰ / lhas kyang byin gyis rlabs par 'gyur/¹⁶¹

¹³⁸ AB: rab dang

¹³⁹ B: ting nge

¹⁴⁰ AB: na yin

¹⁴¹ AB: yod dang

¹⁴² AB: rol gi

¹⁴³ AB: ma lus so; C: ma las

¹⁴⁴ D: na mye is illegible.

¹⁴⁵ C: me long

¹⁴⁶ AB: pas ni nye; C: pas ni med

¹⁴⁷ AB: par gyur

¹⁴⁸ C: med

¹⁴⁹ C: kyang

¹⁵⁰ C: med

¹⁵¹ C omits ma

¹⁵² AB: bas na

¹⁵³ C: mar zhen cing 'phros pa'i blos

¹⁵⁴ AB: nam zhig na

¹⁵⁵ AB: re bar myi bya zhing; C: re ba mi bya'i

¹⁵⁶ AB: dus sum du rgyal ba; C: dus gsum sangs rgyas

¹⁵⁷ C omits rnal 'byor

¹⁵⁸ ABC: las

¹⁵⁹ C: 'brtshon. This verse is also cited in the *Bsam gtan mig sgron*: rgyal ba'i rang bzhin shes rab snying rje kho na bas// de yod phyi rol rtags dang mtshan ma'i khar ma lus/ dper na mi 'dod pa'i me ni rnyed gyur na// me rtags du ba yod dang med pa'i khar ma lus// de bas rtags dang mtshan mar zhen pa'i blos// gzhan nas nam 'byung snyam du re ba mi bya'o/ /dus gsum sangs rgyas dngos gzhi rnal 'byor rnam gnyis po/ rang las byung bar rig nas sems mnyam lta zhing brtson/ ces gsungs so/ STMG 256.2.

¹⁶⁰ AB: 'dzin ba zhig bsgoms pas 'grub; C: 'dzin bsgoms ba 'ba' zhig gis 'grub bam

¹⁶¹ A: lhas kyang byin gyis rlabs bar 'gyur; C: byin gyi brlabs kyis kyang stong par 'gyur; D: byin gyi brlabs kyis kyang stong bar 'gyur

/ʼkhrul¹⁶² rtog rtas nas¹⁶³ [7] thams cad snang ba bzhin//
 shes rab¹⁶⁴ ting¹⁶⁵ ʼdzin¹⁶⁶ kho nas ʼgrub mod kyi//
 dang baʼi chu la nyi zlaʼi gzugs¹⁶⁷ brnyan bzhin//
 thugs¹⁶⁸ rjeʼi¹⁶⁹ byin brlabs¹⁷⁰ sdod¹⁷¹ pa myed¹⁷² [8] par ʼbyung/

[Q12] /byin¹⁷³ ʼbyung bar bgyi na re ba bskyed dam ci¹⁷⁴ ltar bgyis
 na ʼbyung bar ʼgyur/

/ci¹⁷⁵ ltar chu la rnyog pa dangs ʼgyur¹⁷⁶ na//
 gnyi¹⁷⁷ zlaʼi gzugs brnyan ʼchar [135b] ba btsal myi dgos/¹⁷⁸
 /rang sems rnal ʼbyor dag par gyur pa¹⁷⁹ na//
 rgyal baʼi byin rlabs¹⁸⁰ ʼbyung bar brtsal myi¹⁸¹ dgos/¹⁸²
 [Q13] /bde bar gshegs pa la bsnyen pa ci¹⁸³ ltar bgyis na nye/

/[2] bdag tu¹⁸⁴ snang ba nyid¹⁸⁵ na chos kyi¹⁸⁶ sku//

¹⁶² AB: ʼkhrul paʼi

¹⁶³ AB: brtas pas

¹⁶⁴ AB: rab dang

¹⁶⁵ AB: ting nge

¹⁶⁶ A: ʼdzin rtse gcig pa; B: tse gcig pa

¹⁶⁷ AB: gzus

¹⁶⁸ AB: ye shes kyi lhaʼi thugs

¹⁶⁹ D: rje

¹⁷⁰ AB: brlabs kyang

¹⁷¹ B: sdig

¹⁷² C: med

¹⁷³ AB: byin brlabs; C: byin gyi

¹⁷⁴ C: ji

¹⁷⁵ C: ji

¹⁷⁶ AB: rnyog pa dangs par ʼgyur; C: rnyog ma dangs gyur; D: rnyog pa dang ʼgyur

¹⁷⁷ C: nyi

¹⁷⁸ AB: brnyan ʼbyung ba btsal myi dgos pa bzhin; C: brnyan ʼchar ba brtsal mi dgos

¹⁷⁹ C: ba

¹⁸⁰ C: brlabs

¹⁸¹ AB: ba bsgrub pa myi; C: ba brtsal mi

¹⁸² Also cited in the *Bsam gtan mig sgron*:

zhus lan las/

ji ltar chu la rnyog ma dangs ʼgyur na//

nyi zlaʼi gzugs brnyan ʼbyung ba btsal mi dgos//

rang sems rnal ʼbyor dag par gyur pa na//

rgyal baʼi byin rlabs ʼbyung ba btsal mi dgos//

zhes pa dang/ STMG 255.6.

¹⁸³ C: ji

'gyur myed nam kar lta bur rtogs 'gyur cing/¹⁸⁷
 /bsnyen pa¹⁸⁸ bya¹⁸⁹ dang byed par¹⁹⁰ myi dmyigs¹⁹¹ na/¹⁹²
 /tshegs dang 'bad pa myed¹⁹³ pas¹⁹⁴ [3] bsnyen pa'i mchog/¹⁹⁵

/'di 'dra'i¹⁹⁶ rtogs¹⁹⁷ dang ldan pa'i blo can gyis/¹⁹⁸
 /mtshan ma'i phyag¹⁹⁹ rgya nram²⁰⁰ gsum gsal bar bsgom/²⁰¹
 /g.yeng ba myed²⁰² par²⁰³ brtson²⁰⁴ zhing myi²⁰⁵ gtong la/²⁰⁶
 /cho [4] ga kun²⁰⁷ ldan²⁰⁸ ye shes lha dang nye/²⁰⁹

[Q14] /ye shes kyi lha'i bsnyen ba byed pa'i tshe/²¹⁰ /las phra mo
 rtsom ba sgrib 'am myi²¹¹ bsgrib/²¹²

/sku gsung²¹³ thugs su goms pa ma gtogs par/²¹⁴

-
- ¹⁸⁴ A: du
¹⁸⁵ AB: nyid kyi dus
¹⁸⁶ AB: gyi
¹⁸⁷ AB: 'gyur ba myed pa nam ka lta bur rtogs par 'gyur cing; C: 'gyur med
 namkha' lta bur rtogs 'gyur cing
¹⁸⁸ AB: pa don dam par
¹⁸⁹ AB: bya ba
¹⁹⁰ ABC: pa
¹⁹¹ AB: byed par myi dmyis; C: byed pa mi dmigs
¹⁹² D: kyang
¹⁹³ C: med
¹⁹⁴ CD: pa
¹⁹⁵ AB: mchog go
¹⁹⁶ Illegible in D.
¹⁹⁷ AB: rtogs pa
¹⁹⁸ D: kyis
¹⁹⁹ AB: phag
²⁰⁰ A: rnam
²⁰¹ AB: bsgom mo
²⁰² C: med
²⁰³ C: pas
²⁰⁴ A: brtson grus; B: brtson 'grus
²⁰⁵ C: mi
²⁰⁶ C: na
²⁰⁷ AB: kun dang
²⁰⁸ AB: ldan ba na
²⁰⁹ AB: nye'o
²¹⁰ ABC: kyi lha la bsnyen pa bgyid pa'i dus su
²¹¹ C: sgrib bam mi
²¹² ABC: sgrib
²¹³ AB: sku dang gsung dang
²¹⁴ ABC: pa

/bsgrub par bya [5] ba'i dngos grub²¹⁵ gzhan myi²¹⁶ tshol²¹⁷//
 gnas dang gnas myin²¹⁸ 'gal bar²¹⁹ ma bstsams²²⁰ na//
 goms myed gud na myed pas 'gal ba myed/²²¹

[Q15] /yi²²² dam kyi²²³ lha ni long²²⁴ spyod [6] rdzogs pa'i sku/ /zhi
 ba'i²²⁵ cha lugs su bsgom/ /las kyi lha ni khro bo la bstsogs²²⁶
 par bsgoms²²⁷ zhes 'chad pa dag mchis na/ 'di ltar nges sam ma
 nges/

/gtso dang sprul pa zhi khro la bstsogs²²⁸ kun/²²⁹
 /chos skur [7] ro gcig thabs mkhas 'gro don bsnyams/²³⁰
 /de bas²³¹ bder²³² gshegs²³³ gzhi rtse²³⁴ ma²³⁵ nges ste /²³⁶
 /skal ba dang ni mos ba ci ltar 'tsham bar zad/²³⁷

[Q16] /[8] yi dam kyi²³⁸ lha bzahag ste²³⁹ gzhan bsgoms²⁴⁰ na nyes

²¹⁵ AB: grub ni

²¹⁶ C: mi

²¹⁷ AB: tshol lo

²¹⁸ AB: myed; C: min

²¹⁹ C: par

²²⁰ AC: brtsams

²²¹ AB: goms byed gud na myed pas sgrib pa myed do; C: goms byed gud na med
 pas sgrib pa med

²²² AB: yid

²²³ ABC omit kyi.

²²⁴ C: longs

²²⁵ C: ba

²²⁶ AB: bo las btsogs; C: bo la sogs

²²⁷ A: par sgom mo; B: par bsgom mo

²²⁸ C: sogs

²²⁹ AB: gtso bo dang sprul pa 'khor dang bcas pa'i zhi khro las stsogs pa kun

²³⁰ AB: chos skur ro gcig thabs la thugs rje dbang gis mkhas mkhas 'gro don bstan
 par mnyam mo; C: chos skur ro gcig thabs mkhas don bstan par mnyam

²³¹ AB: bas na

²³² AB: bde bar; C: bde

²³³ AB: gshegs pa'i

²³⁴ D: rtse yi dam

²³⁵ C: pa

²³⁶ C: te

²³⁷ AB: 'tshal bar zad do; C: 'tshal bar zad

²³⁸ ABC: gyi

²³⁹ AB: bzahag nas lha; C: bzahag nas

²⁴⁰ AB: bsgos

myi mchis/²⁴¹

/thabs kyis²⁴² so sor bstan kyang dbyings gcig la//
 dngos rtog²⁴³ spong [136a] len sgrib²⁴⁴ pa mu mtha' myed/²⁴⁵
 /dbyer²⁴⁶ myed²⁴⁷ rtogs par²⁴⁸ las rgyud 'tsham ba bzhin//
 sangs rgyas kun bsgoms nyes²⁴⁹ myed²⁵⁰ dge rtsa 'phags/

[Q17] /lta ba [2] mtho na yi dam kyi²⁵¹ lha myed²⁵² kyang rung ngo
 zhes bgyi ba'i don²⁵³ ci²⁵⁴ lta bu lags/

yi dam lha la rten pa'i bdag nyid myed²⁵⁵ pa dang//
 rdo rje sems dpa'i²⁵⁶ rang bzhin ye nas yin [3] rtogs na//
 rtogs pa de nyid rgyal ba kun kyi ngang yin bas/²⁵⁷
 /gzhan du yi dam²⁵⁸ bsnyen bar²⁵⁹ bya dang byed²⁶⁰ pa myed/²⁶¹
 /dper na rdo rje sems dpa'²⁶² yi dam²⁶³ lha myed na/²⁶⁴
 /[4] rtogs ldan bdag kyi²⁶⁵ dbyings las gzhan ba'i²⁶⁶ lha dmyi
 dmyigs/²⁶⁷

²⁴¹ ABC: nyes pa mchis sam ma mchis

²⁴² B: kyis don; C: thab kyi

²⁴³ AB: dngos por rtog cing; D: rtoggs

²⁴⁴ AB: spong ba dang sgrib

²⁴⁵ C: med

²⁴⁶ AB: dber

²⁴⁷ C: med

²⁴⁸ ABC: pas

²⁴⁹ D: nyen

²⁵⁰ C: med

²⁵¹ ABC: gyi

²⁵² C: ba mthon yi dam gyi lha med

²⁵³ AB: bgyi ba

²⁵⁴ C: zhes bya ba'i don ji

²⁵⁵ C: la rten pa bdag med

²⁵⁶ D: pa'i

²⁵⁷ AB: kun kyi rang bzhin bas; C: kun gyi ngang yin pas

²⁵⁸ AB: dam lha la

²⁵⁹ AB: ba

²⁶⁰ C: dbyed

²⁶¹ C: med

²⁶² AB: sems pa la; C: sems dpa; D: pe

²⁶³ AB: dam gyi

²⁶⁴ AB: lha myed pa ltar; C: lha med par

²⁶⁵ AB: rtogs pa dang ldan ba bdag gyi; C: gi

²⁶⁶ C: ma'i

²⁶⁷ C: lha mi dmigs

/’gro don²⁶⁸ ’dul ba’i ’phrin las rgyal bas ci²⁶⁹ mdzad bzhin//
 sangs rgyas [5] gya mtsho’i²⁷⁰ ting²⁷¹ ’dzin sna tshogs²⁷² snyoms
 par ’jug/

[Q18] /de²⁷³ bzhin nyid kyi ting nge ’dzin ci²⁷⁴ ltar bsgom/²⁷⁵

/dus sum²⁷⁶ rgyal bas ma bcos²⁷⁷ te//
 rang²⁷⁸ sems gdod²⁷⁹ [6] nas skye ba myed/²⁸⁰
 /rang²⁸¹ sems ma skyes²⁸² chos nyid na/²⁸³
 /chos nyid bsgom par²⁸⁴ bya ba myed/²⁸⁵

[Q19] /’o na bsgom²⁸⁶ du myed²⁸⁷ par bzhag na²⁸⁸ rung ’am myi²⁸⁹
 rung/

/gal [7] te brjod gzhi²⁹⁰ yod na ni//
 bsgom²⁹¹ pa po yang yod par ’gyur//
 sems ni skye ba myed²⁹² bden na//
 bsgom²⁹³ du myed²⁹⁴ par ’jog pa gang/²⁹⁵

²⁶⁸ AB: ’gro ba don; C: ’gro ba

²⁶⁹ AB: ci ltar

²⁷⁰ AB: gya mtsho; C: rgyas mtsho’i

²⁷¹ B: ting nge

²⁷² ’dzin sna tshogs is illegible in D.

²⁷³ C: deng

²⁷⁴ C: ji

²⁷⁵ AB: sgom

²⁷⁶ AB: gsum gyi; C: gsum

²⁷⁷ B: bcongs; D: cos

²⁷⁸ AB: rang gyi

²⁷⁹ C: bzod

²⁸⁰ C: med

²⁸¹ AB: rang gyi

²⁸² AB: skyes pa

²⁸³ AB: yin

²⁸⁴ AB: bsgoms pa

²⁸⁵ C: med

²⁸⁶ AB: sgom

²⁸⁷ C: med

²⁸⁸ AB: gzhag du; C: gzhag tu

²⁸⁹ AB: rung ram myi; C: rung ngam mi

²⁹⁰ D: zhi

²⁹¹ C: sgom

²⁹² C: med

²⁹³ D: bsgom is illegible.

[Q20] /slob dpon gyis²⁹⁶ sems [8] bcos pa gces sam myi²⁹⁷ ces/

/bdag tu 'rdzin pa'i sems ni tshad mar gzhir bzhag nas/²⁹⁸

/rtsa ba²⁹⁹ ma gtogs³⁰⁰ rnam shes lo ma³⁰¹ lta bu/³⁰²

/rdeng myed³⁰³ [136b] dbang gyis chos³⁰⁴ 'dod slob dpon³⁰⁵ ma yin
na//

blo ldan ma nor don bcos shin tu gces/³⁰⁶

[Q21] /rnal 'byor pa shes rab dang ting nge 'dzin las su rung na/ /^[2]
sangs rgyas dang mnyam mo zhes 'byung ba'i don ci lta bu/³⁰⁷

/thugs kyi rang bzhin skye myed dbyings su rtogs//

sku'i rang bzhin³⁰⁸ mtshan dang dpe³⁰⁹ byad gsal/³¹⁰

/gsung [3] gi rang bzhin sprul pa'i yig 'brur ldan/³¹¹

/myi³¹² mnyam³¹³ mnyam pas³¹⁴ sang rgyas mnyam par³¹⁵ gsungs/

²⁹⁴ C: med

²⁹⁵ AB: gang gang yin. This verse is also cited in the *Bsam gtan mig sgron*: de bzhin nyid kyi ting nge 'dzin ltar bsgom/ dus gsum/ rgyal bas ma bcos te/ rang sems gzod nas skye ba med/ rang sems ma skyes chos nyid la// chos nyid bsgom par bya ba med// 'o na bsgom du med pas bzhag du rung lags sam// gal te brjod gzhi yod na ni// bsgom pa po yang yod par 'gyur// sems ni skye ba med bden na/ bsgom du med par 'jog pa gang// zhes 'byung/ STMG 240.1.

²⁹⁶ AB: 'o na slob dpon gyis; D: slobbs pon kyi

²⁹⁷ C: pa gces sam mi

²⁹⁸ AB: bdag dang bcas pa'i sems ni rnam par shes pa tshad ma; C: bdag dang bcas pa'i sems ni tshad ma

²⁹⁹ AB: ba ni

³⁰⁰ AB: rtogs la; C: rtogs

³⁰¹ AB: shes pa la

³⁰² AB: bu la

³⁰³ AB: myed pa'i; C: med

³⁰⁴ AB: 'cos; C: bcos

³⁰⁵ AB: 'dod pa'i slobbs dpon; D: slobbs pon

³⁰⁶ AB: nor don bzhin bcos pa shin du gces so; C: nor tshul bzhin 'chos pa shin tu gces. The verse is also cited in the *Bsam gtan mig sgron*: mkhan po dpal dbyangs gyis kyang/ blo ldan ma nor don bzhin bcos pa shin tu gces/ STMG 30.3.

³⁰⁷ AB: zhes bgyi ba'i don ci lta bu lags; C: zhes bgyi ba'i don ji lta bu lags

³⁰⁸ AB: bzhin ni

³⁰⁹ AB: dphe

³¹⁰ B: byed lags

³¹¹ A and B order the presentation according to the following: Body, Speech, and Mind.

³¹² C: mi

³¹³ AB: mnyam ba'i

³¹⁴ AB: bas

[Q22] /'phro 'du gces so zhes byung ba/³¹⁶ /chos kyi skus khyab [4]
pa la spro³¹⁷ zhing bsdu ba chos nyid kyi rigs pa dang myi 'gal
lam/³¹⁸

/gang nas gang zhig gar 'phro 'du ba dag//
kun tu³¹⁹ bzang po'i ngang du³²⁰ ro gcig phyir//
dbyings la dbyings nyid 'du 'phro myi dmyigs³²¹ [5] kyang/³²²
/thabs la myi³²³ 'gog gtan tshigs de nyid yin/

[Q23] /'phro³²⁴ 'du bgyi ba na³²⁵ yon tan ci mchis/

/ci yang myed³²⁶ la cir³²⁷ yang snang ba'i phyir//
cis [6] 'dus³²⁸ spru/³²⁹ zhing 'phro ba 'gro ba'i don//
bder³³⁰ bshegs mang po slar yang 'du ba³³¹ bdag//
rgyal ba'i gzi 'drar gyur te bdag gi don/

[Q24] /sngags spyod³³² pa la rnal 'byor³³³ dbu ma dang/ / [7] mdo sde
dbu ma gnyis³³⁴ gang ltar bltas na bde/

/gsang sngags³³⁵ spyod pa mams kyi tshul gyis³³⁶ ni//

³¹⁵ AB: bar

³¹⁶ AB: 'phro 'du bgi ba'i don ci lta bu lags; C: 'phro 'du bgyi ba gces so/
/zhes 'byung ba; D: 'du 'phro gces so zhes byung ba

³¹⁷ C: sbro

³¹⁸ AB: 'gal 'am; C: dang mi 'gal lam

³¹⁹ AB: 'du

³²⁰ C omits du.

³²¹ AB: 'phro 'du myi dmyigs; C: 'phro 'du mi dmigs

³²² D: myid dmyigs kyang is illegible.

³²³ C: mi

³²⁴ AB: 'o na

³²⁵ AB: 'du bgyid par 'tshal na; C: la

³²⁶ B: mye; C: med; D: myin

³²⁷ B: ci; D: ci

³²⁸ AC: 'dul

³²⁹ D: spre

³³⁰ C: bde

³³¹ C omits ba

³³² AB: sngags sbyod

³³³ ABC: 'byor spyod pa'i

³³⁴ AB: mdo sde'i dbu ma; C: mdo sde spyod pa'i dbu ma gnyis

³³⁵ AB: sgags

³³⁶ AB: gis

mtshan ma'i ting 'dzin thabs la dbang sgyur³³⁷ bas//
 rnam rig tsam du³³⁸ [8] ma bltas ting 'dzin kun//
 sems dang 'brel ba myed³³⁹ pas gcig myi³⁴⁰ 'grub/

[Q25] /kun rdzob tu sems tsam du ma bltas³⁴¹ na/ /yang/ /chos ci yang
 myed par [137a] rig na/³⁴² /ting nge 'dzin kyis ci ste sgyur du
 myi rung/³⁴³

/brel myed³⁴⁴ ting³⁴⁵ 'dzin gzhan na sgom/³⁴⁶
 /gzhan kyi³⁴⁷ yul la³⁴⁸ 'gyur ba myed [2]/³⁴⁹
 /ci yang myed³⁵⁰ pa nyid la yang/³⁵¹
 /sems kyis³⁵² de phyir snang myi³⁵³ nus/³⁵⁴

[Q26] /sngags³⁵⁵ spyod pa la mdo sde'i³⁵⁶ gtan tshigs bsab pa ci³⁵⁷
 tsam du gces/

/mnyam [3] zhing dag pa'i tshig tsam smras pa³⁵⁸ yis//

³³⁷ B: bsgyur

³³⁸ AB: rig tshul; C: rig tsam

³³⁹ C: med

³⁴⁰ C: mi

³⁴¹ A: rdzob du sems pa tsam du ma bltas; B: rdzob du sems du sems pa tsam du
 bltas; C: rdzob tu sems tsam du yang ma bltas

³⁴² A: chos ci yang ma yang par na; B: chos ci yang ma yang ma yin na; D: chos su
 yang myin par rig na

³⁴³ AB: gyis bsgyur du ci ste myi; C: gyis ci ste dbang bsgyur du mi

³⁴⁴ C: med

³⁴⁵ B: ting nge

³⁴⁶ AB: bsgom

³⁴⁷ AC: gyi; B: gi

³⁴⁸ AB: na

³⁴⁹ AB: gyur pa myed; C: 'gyur ba med

³⁵⁰ C: med; D: myin

³⁵¹ AB: pa'i yin na yang

³⁵² AB: nyid

³⁵³ C: mi

³⁵⁴ Also cited in the *Bsam gtan mig sgron*: zhus lan las/ ci'ang med pa nyid la'ang//
 sems nyid de phyir snang mi nus/ 'brel med ting 'dzin gzhan na bsgom// gzhan gyi yul
 na 'gyur ba med//

ces 'byung/ STMG 219.3.

³⁵⁵ AB: sangs ngags

³⁵⁶ B: sde

³⁵⁷ AB: tshigs ci; C: tshigs ji

³⁵⁸ AB: tsam smras pa; C: tsam smra ba; D: tsam spa smras pa

nyon mongs zil gyis³⁵⁹ myi³⁶⁰ non grol myi³⁶¹ 'gyur//
 rtsing chos nga rgyal spangs³⁶² pa'i blo ldan³⁶³ la//
 ci³⁶⁴ bzhin rig pa'i³⁶⁵ gtan tshigs [4] shin tu³⁶⁶ gces/

[Q27] /'phags pa kun³⁶⁷ dang myi³⁶⁸ mnyam pa'i³⁶⁹ skyon kyi³⁷⁰ rtsa
 ba gang³⁷¹ lags/

/srid³⁷² rgyu nyes pa'i rtsa ba gcig pu pa//
 rang sems³⁷³ ma rig bdag tu³⁷⁴ [5] bzung ba³⁷⁵ ste//
 'gro ba'i snying la dug chen 'di³⁷⁶ yod pas/³⁷⁷
 /thar lam myi³⁷⁸ thob skye dang 'chi³⁷⁹ la rtag/

[Q28] /phyi'i³⁸⁰ yul la myi³⁸¹ rtog par zhi gnas³⁸² las³⁸³ su rung na/
 [6] bdag tu³⁸⁴ 'dzin pa lta zhig mchis na yang myi³⁸⁵ grol
 lam/³⁸⁶

³⁵⁹ ABC: gyi; D: kyis

³⁶⁰ C: mi

³⁶¹ C: mi

³⁶² C: spyod

³⁶³ C: can

³⁶⁴ C: ji

³⁶⁵ C: ba'i

³⁶⁶ AB: du

³⁶⁷ C: rnam

³⁶⁸ C: mi

³⁶⁹ AB: ba'i

³⁷⁰ C: gyi

³⁷¹ AB: ba ci lta bu

³⁷² AB: srid pa'i

³⁷³ AB: gyis

³⁷⁴ AB: du

³⁷⁵ ABC: 'dzin pa

³⁷⁶ AB: de

³⁷⁷ AB: pa; D: pa'

³⁷⁸ C: mi

³⁷⁹ AB: skye dang 'ci; C: skye zhing 'chi

³⁸⁰ C: phyi rol gyi

³⁸¹ AB: yul myi; C: yul mi

³⁸² C: zhig nas

³⁸³ B omits las.

³⁸⁴ AB: bdud du

³⁸⁵ C: mi

³⁸⁶ C: grol lags sam

/bdag tu 'dzin pa³⁸⁷ yongs su spangs nas³⁸⁸ ni//
 chos su 'dzin par³⁸⁹ byed pa gang yang myed/³⁹⁰
 /[7] ngar 'dzin sgyu³⁹¹ mkhan yod kyi bar du ni//
 ri 'dra'i zhi gnas thob³⁹² kyang grol myi³⁹³ 'gyur/³⁹⁴

[Q29] /bsam gtan kyis³⁹⁵ mngon par shes pa dang rdzu 'phrul 'thob³⁹⁶
 ces 'byung/ na/³⁹⁷ /zhi [8] gnas kyis ma 'tshal ba ci mchis/

/tshangs ris las³⁹⁸ stsogs³⁹⁹ bsam gtan lhun grub cing//
 'od dang⁴⁰⁰ khad dog mngon shes⁴⁰¹ gsal 'gyur kyang/⁴⁰²
 /bdag rtog⁴⁰³ bag la nyal ba⁴⁰⁴ ma [137b] spangs phyir/⁴⁰⁵
 /sems dmyal lhung bar 'gyur ba ma⁴⁰⁶ thos sam/

³⁸⁷ AB omit pa.

³⁸⁸ AB: na

³⁸⁹ D: pa

³⁹⁰ C: med

³⁹¹ AB: bdag 'dzin sems la sgyu; C: bdag 'dzin rgyu

³⁹² C: bsgoms

³⁹³ C: mi

³⁹⁴ Also cited in the *Bsam gtan mig sgron*: bdag 'dzin sgyu mkhan yod kyi bar du ni/ 'di 'dra'i zhi gnas yod kyang grol mi 'gyur// bdag tu 'dzin pa yongs su spangs nas ni// chos su 'dzin par byed pa gang yang med/ ces 'byung ngo/ STMG 228.1.

The first two lines of this stanza, in addition to two lines that do not appear in any other version of the *Zhus lan*, are also quoted in the interlinear notation of PT 699, a Mahāyoga commentary on a Chan text. Van Schaik and Dalton 2004. The text reads 'In the rDo rje sems pi {sic} zhul lan as well it is said: "As for that which clings to self, it is not abandoned completely. As for that which clings to phenomena, it is without an independent self. Abiding in view of this, neither does one abide in external objects, nor in the internal—the mind—nor anywhere at all"'. (*rdo rje sems pi zhus lan las kyang/ bdag du dzin pa'i de ni yongs ma spangs/ chos su 'dzin pa de ni rang dbang bdag myed par mthong zhing gnas pa de ni phyi'i yul la yang myi gnas/ nang gi sems la yang myi gnas gang la yang myi gnas sho//*). PT 699, 4b.

³⁹⁵ AB: rtan gis; C: gtan gyis

³⁹⁶ AB: thob

³⁹⁷ ABC: bas

³⁹⁸ D: ris las is illegible.

³⁹⁹ C: la sogs

⁴⁰⁰ AB: 'on tang

⁴⁰¹ D: mngon shes kha dog

⁴⁰² C: shes ldan gyur kya

⁴⁰³ AB: sdog

⁴⁰⁴ D: ba'i

⁴⁰⁵ AB: pas

⁴⁰⁶ A: sems can dmyal lhung bar lhung bar 'gyur gsungs ma; B: sems can dmyal ba lhung bar 'gyur gsungs ma; C: dmyal lhung bar gsungs ba

[Q30] /o⁴⁰⁷ na rtse gcig pa'i zhi gnas pa'i⁴⁰⁸ ting nge 'dzin yongs
su⁴⁰⁹ myi 'tshal⁴¹⁰ lags sam/

/ma nor rtogs [2] dang ldan pa'i zhi gnas dang/
mtshan ma'i phyag⁴¹¹ rgya gsal ba'i ting nge 'dzin//
'di⁴¹² 'dra'i don ldan byang cub⁴¹³ lam mchog ste//
yang nas yang tu⁴¹⁴ khyad par⁴¹⁵ 'gro bar [3] bya/⁴¹⁶

[Q31] /ting nge 'dzin⁴¹⁷ lhun kyis grub pa pa de/ rtsol⁴¹⁸
bas 'grub 'am/⁴¹⁹ rtsol ba med pas 'grub/

/bsgrub par bya ba gang⁴²⁰ yin de la ni//
rtsol bas yang nas yang du mnyam [4] bzhag ste//
goms pas klung tu⁴²¹ gyur nas⁴²² khad kyis⁴²³ ni//
rtsol ba⁴²⁴ myed⁴²⁵ pas lhun gyis⁴²⁶ grub par 'gyur/

[Q32] /rtsol ba myed⁴²⁷ pa'i rgyu/ rtsol ba las grub⁴²⁸ par bshad
pa⁴²⁹ myi⁴³⁰ 'gal lam/

⁴⁰⁷ C: 'on

⁴⁰⁸ AB: kyī; C: sam

⁴⁰⁹ D: yong

⁴¹⁰ A: 'dzin yong myi 'tshal ba; B: 'dzin yongs myi 'tshal ba; C: 'dzin yongs su
mi'tshal

⁴¹¹ C: phyags

⁴¹² AB: de

⁴¹³ ABC: chub

⁴¹⁴ ABC: du

⁴¹⁵ AB: bar

⁴¹⁶ C: 'gyur

⁴¹⁷ C omits 'dzin.

⁴¹⁸ AB: lhun gyis grub par rgyur ba de; C: lhun gyis grub pa'i rgyu rtsol

⁴¹⁹ ABC: bam

⁴²⁰ D: gang is illegible.

⁴²¹ ABC: du

⁴²² AB: pas

⁴²³ AB: gyis

⁴²⁴ D omits ba.

⁴²⁵ C: med

⁴²⁶ AB: kyis

⁴²⁷ C: med

⁴²⁸ ABC: rtsol bas 'grub

⁴²⁹ AB: de

⁴³⁰ C: mi

/sems can [5] rtsol ba dgos pa⁴³¹ mngon sum na//
 rgyal ba lhun kyis⁴³² grub pa brdzun⁴³³ nam ci//
 yi ge la stsogs⁴³⁴ rtsol bas yang nas yang/⁴³⁵
 /goms pas 'bad pa myed⁴³⁶ par⁴³⁷ [6] 'byung ba bzhin/⁴³⁸

[Q33] /dam tshig bsrung myi⁴³⁹ dgos zhes mchi⁴⁴⁰ ba 'gal lam
 myi⁴⁴¹ 'gal/

/nga myed⁴⁴² thub pa'i dgongs dang mdzad pa bzhin//
 bdag tu 'dzin myed⁴⁴³ [7] sgo⁴⁴⁴ gsum nyes pa'i tshe/⁴⁴⁵
 /rdul tsam myi⁴⁴⁶ 'byung sdom srung⁴⁴⁷ myi dgos pas//
 ngar⁴⁴⁸ 'dzin⁴⁴⁹ 'gal ba yod myed⁴⁵⁰ rang la dris/

[Q34] bdag gi⁴⁵¹ lus phyag rgya chen por snang ba dang/⁴⁵² /bdag gi
 ting nge 'dzin kyi⁴⁵³ dkyil 'khor la [8] ci⁴⁵⁴ ltar blta bar bgyi/

⁴³¹ AB: can 'bad rtsol 'dod pa; C: can rtsol bas 'grub par

⁴³² ABC: gyis

⁴³³ C: rdzun

⁴³⁴ C: la sogs; D: las tsogs

⁴³⁵ C: rtsol ba yang dang yang

⁴³⁶ C: med

⁴³⁷ AB: pas

⁴³⁸ Also cited in the *Bsam gtan mig sgron*: /mkhan po dpal dbyangs kyī man ngag las// bsgrub par bya ba gang yin pa de la ni// rtsol bas yang du mnyam bzhag ste// goms pa klong du gyur cing gang kyis ni// rtsol ba med par lhun gyis grub par 'gyur// zhes pa dang/ /yang/ rtsol ba med pa'i rgyu rtsol bas/ 'grub par bshad pa mi 'gal lam// sems can rtsol ba dgos pa mngon sum na// rgyal ba lhun gyis grub pa rdzun nam ci// yi ge la sogs btsal bas yang nas yang// goms pas 'bad pa med par 'byung ba bzhin// ces 'byung ngo/ STMG 225.2.

⁴³⁹ C: mi

⁴⁴⁰ AB: bgyi

⁴⁴¹ C: mi

⁴⁴² C: med

⁴⁴³ C: med

⁴⁴⁴ AB: sko

⁴⁴⁵ ABC: gsum nyes pa'i cha; D: gsum ye nyes pa'i tshe

⁴⁴⁶ C: mi

⁴⁴⁷ AB: bsdam srung myi; C: bsrung sdom mi

⁴⁴⁸ C: rang

⁴⁴⁹ D: 'tshin

⁴⁵⁰ C: med

⁴⁵¹ AB omit gi.

⁴⁵² AB: yang

⁴⁵³ ABC: gyi

*/’byung ba’i lus dang phyag rgya chen po yang
sems kyi rnam pa⁴⁵⁵ yin phyir⁴⁵⁶ lus nyid myed/⁴⁵⁷
/dkyil ’khor sprul pa dgyed cing bkod⁴⁵⁸ pa yang//
ting ’dzin [138a] rnam pa yin pas⁴⁵⁹ bdag⁴⁶⁰ gi sems/⁴⁶¹*

*/sems dang rnam pa’i mtshan nyid dbyer⁴⁶² myed⁴⁶³ la//
bdag dang gzhan snang rnam par go mnyam na/⁴⁶⁴
/bdag lus⁴⁶⁵ [2] gtso bo⁴⁶⁶ ’di zhes gzhag tu⁴⁶⁷ myed/⁴⁶⁸
/kun kyang lus yin thams cad sprul par blta/*

[Q35] /ci⁴⁶⁹ ltar spyad na ma ha⁴⁷⁰ yo ga’i gzhung dang mthun/

*/rtogs dang ting ’dzin rgyal ba’i [3] thugs dang sku//
rtag tu zhum pa⁴⁷¹ myed⁴⁷² pas smon pa myed/⁴⁷³
/rgyal po chen po lta bu’i⁴⁷⁴ sa mnan nas/⁴⁷⁵
/ma lus kun la sgo zhing dbang du byed/⁴⁷⁶*

⁴⁵⁴ AB: ji; C: ’khor ji

⁴⁵⁵ AB: par

⁴⁵⁶ ABC: mnyam pas

⁴⁵⁷ C: med

⁴⁵⁸ AB: pa dgye zhing dgod; C: pa ’byed cing ’god

⁴⁵⁹ AB: bas

⁴⁶⁰ ABC: rang

⁴⁶¹ Also cited in the *Bsam gtan mig sgron*: de nyid las/ ’byung ba’i lus dang phyag rgya chen po yang/ sems kyi rnam par mnyam pas lus nyid min// dkyil ’khor sprul pa dgye zhing dgod pa yang/ ting ’dzin rnam pa yin pas rang gi sems// zhes ’byung STMG 202.4.

⁴⁶² AB: dber

⁴⁶³ C: med

⁴⁶⁴ C: pas

⁴⁶⁵ D: lu

⁴⁶⁶ AB: bor

⁴⁶⁷ AB: du

⁴⁶⁸ C: med

⁴⁶⁹ C: ji

⁴⁷⁰ AB: omit ma ha; C: ma ha’

⁴⁷¹ AB: ba

⁴⁷² C: med

⁴⁷³ C: med

⁴⁷⁴ BC: ba’i

⁴⁷⁵ C: bas

⁴⁷⁶ Also cited in the *Bsam gtan mig sgron*: zhus lan las/ rtogs dang ting ’dzin rgyal po’i thugs dang sku// rtag tu zhum pa med cing smon pa med// rgyal po chen po ltu bur sa mnan nas// ma lus kun la bsgo zhing dbang du byed// ces gsungs te/ STMG

[Q36] /rnal 'byor pa⁴⁷⁷ [4] dag bod kham's kyi lha ma srin dag⁴⁷⁸ la
mchod pa bgyid pa⁴⁷⁹ mchis na/ /gzhung⁴⁸⁰ dang mthun⁴⁸¹ nam
myi⁴⁸² mthun/

/kun bzang⁴⁸³ rdo rje sems par⁴⁸⁴ khas 'ches⁴⁸⁵ la//
'jig rten lha klu⁴⁸⁶ dag la yar mchod pa//
[5] rgyal po dmangs⁴⁸⁷ kyi spyod⁴⁸⁸ pa byed pa bzhin/⁴⁸⁹
/rkyen du myi 'tsham⁴⁹⁰ rnal⁴⁹¹ 'byor don dang 'gal/

[Q37] /khro bo rnams kyi⁴⁹² zhabs 'og tu/ /'phags pa'i sku brdzis
par 'byung na/⁴⁹³ /'di⁴⁹⁴ ltar bsgoms pa 'gal [6] ba mchis sam
ma mchis/⁴⁹⁵

/don dam ro gcig mthon dman myed⁴⁹⁶ pa la//
bdag dang gzhon du zhen rtog⁴⁹⁷ spangs pa'i blos/⁴⁹⁸
/thams cad thabs su shes na myi⁴⁹⁹ 'gal te//
[7] rtog⁵⁰⁰ pa'i khyad par brtsan pas nges⁵⁰¹ pa myed/⁵⁰²

201.6.

⁴⁷⁷ AB: ba

⁴⁷⁸ AB: omit ma srin dag; C: omits dag

⁴⁷⁹ ABC: pa dag

⁴⁸⁰ A: rnal 'byor gi gzhung; BC: rnal 'byor gyi gzhung

⁴⁸¹ C: 'thun

⁴⁸² C: mi

⁴⁸³ AB: bzangs

⁴⁸⁴ C: dbar

⁴⁸⁵ D: 'ches is illegible.

⁴⁸⁶ C: 'dre

⁴⁸⁷ ABD: rmangs

⁴⁸⁸ C: sbyod

⁴⁸⁹ C: ltar

⁴⁹⁰ C: tu mi 'tshal

⁴⁹¹ A: brnal

⁴⁹² B: bo rnams gi; C: bo dag gi

⁴⁹³ ABC: ba

⁴⁹⁴ AB: de

⁴⁹⁵ ABC: bsgoms pa la 'gal ba

⁴⁹⁶ C: med

⁴⁹⁷ ABD: rtogs

⁴⁹⁸ AB: byos

⁴⁹⁹ C: mi

⁵⁰⁰ ABC: rtogs

⁵⁰¹ AB: des

⁵⁰² C: med

[Q38] /de bzhin gshegs pa gcig la bsnyen pa bgyis na/⁵⁰³ /kun
kyi⁵⁰⁴ 'phrin⁵⁰⁵ las kyi rgyud rnams/ 'grub 'am⁵⁰⁶ myi⁵⁰⁷ 'grub/

/bde bar gshegs pa 'ga'⁵⁰⁸ zhig [8] bsnyen byas la//
lta ba zab cing yangs pas⁵⁰⁹ 'phang chod na/⁵¹⁰
/rgyal ba mang po'i lam⁵¹¹ rgyud kun brtsams kyang//
thams cad 'grub par 'gyur zhes mkhas pas⁵¹² bshad/

[Q39] /nang pa'i dam rdzas⁵¹³ la [138b] brtul zhugs che slan chad/
/ma bsgoms kyang myi 'grub 'am/⁵¹⁴

/grub⁵¹⁵ pa'i rdzas su gsungs pa rnams la ni/⁵¹⁶
/grub⁵¹⁷ byed shes rab ting 'dzin bsgom⁵¹⁸ pa⁵¹⁹ ste//
'di myed⁵²⁰ grub⁵²¹ par [2] myi⁵²² 'gyur dud 'gro bzhin//
de phyir rnal 'byor yo byad ldan par bya/

[Q40] /mthu che slan cad⁵²³ chos myi⁵²⁴ mkhas na yang myi rung/
lags sam/⁵²⁵

⁵⁰³ ABC: pas

⁵⁰⁴ ABC: gyi

⁵⁰⁵ A: pa bgyis pas/ /kun kyi 'phrin; B: pa bgyis pas/ /kun kyi kyi'i 'phrin; C: pa
byas bas kun gyi 'phrin

⁵⁰⁶ C: bam

⁵⁰⁷ C: mi

⁵⁰⁸ D: 'ga

⁵⁰⁹ D: sa

⁵¹⁰ D: na is illegible.

⁵¹¹ ABC: las

⁵¹² AB: par

⁵¹³ C: zas

⁵¹⁴ A: zhugs ches sla chad/ /ma bsgom kyang myi 'grub lags sam; B: zhugs ches sla
chad/ /ma bsgoms kyang myi 'grub lags sam; C: zhugs chen slan chad ma bsgoms
kyang 'grub pa ma lags sam; D: zhugs che slad cad/ /ma bsgoms kyang myi 'grub 'am

⁵¹⁵ C: bsgrub

⁵¹⁶ B omits ni

⁵¹⁷ C: 'grub

⁵¹⁸ AC: sgom

⁵¹⁹ AB: ba

⁵²⁰ AB: de myed; C: de med

⁵²¹ C: 'grub

⁵²² C: mi

⁵²³ C: chad

⁵²⁴ C: mi

⁵²⁵ A: mkhas kyang myi rung lags sam; B: mkhas kyang myi rung lasags sam; C:

/srid gsum 'gran zla myed⁵²⁶ pa rgyal [3] ba'i mthu//
 chos kyi rang bzhin mkhas shing rtogs las 'byung//
 de myed⁵²⁷ byang cub⁵²⁸ sems dang ma⁵²⁹ ldan na/⁵³⁰
 /gnod sbyin srin po'i mthu 'dra⁵³¹ ci ru rung/

[Q41] /rnal 'byor rig pa can [4] kyi⁵³² tshad mar 'dzin⁵³³ pa gang
 lags/ /dmyig⁵³⁴ rnon la stsogs⁵³⁵ pa la⁵³⁶ bgyi'am myi⁵³⁷ bgyi/

/skye myed⁵³⁸ don rtogs shes rab ye shes spyen//
 rnal 'byor mthu las lha dmyig⁵³⁹ rnam par dag//
 gzhan du 'jig rten phal las [5] myi dkon ba'i/⁵⁴⁰
 /dmyig⁵⁴¹ rnon la stsogs⁵⁴² rnal 'byor tshad ma myin/⁵⁴³

[Q42] /ci⁵⁴⁴ ltar spyad na mthu che bar 'gyur/

/lta ba ma nor bden gnyis don rtogs shing//
 bdag dang sangs rgyas dbyer⁵⁴⁵ [6] myed⁵⁴⁶ mnyam pa'i blos//
 gsang sngags phyag⁵⁴⁷ rgya ting 'dzin cho gar ldan//
 bsgoms bsgrub myi⁵⁴⁸ gtong yid ring⁵⁴⁹ mthu ldan 'gyur/

mkhas kyang rung/ /mi lags sam

⁵²⁶ C: med

⁵²⁷ C: med

⁵²⁸ ABC: chub

⁵²⁹ AB: myi; C: mi

⁵³⁰ D: na is illegible.

⁵³¹ AB: lta

⁵³² ABC: gyi

⁵³³ ABC: gzhag

⁵³⁴ C: dmig

⁵³⁵ C: sogs

⁵³⁶ C omits pa la

⁵³⁷ C: mi

⁵³⁸ A: skyed myed; B: skyed; C: skye med

⁵³⁹ C: mig

⁵⁴⁰ C: la mi bkon pa'i

⁵⁴¹ C: dmig

⁵⁴² C: sogs

⁵⁴³ AB: myed; C: min

⁵⁴⁴ C: ji

⁵⁴⁵ AB: dber

⁵⁴⁶ C: med

⁵⁴⁷ C: phag

⁵⁴⁸ C: mi

⁵⁴⁹ AB: ris

[Q43] /sangs rgyas⁵⁵⁰ tshe gcig gis 'grub pa 'i⁵⁵¹ don ci⁵⁵² lta bu/⁵⁵³

/lhag [7] mar bcas pa 'i lus nyid kyis//

tshe la dbang ba 'i rigs 'dzin 'thob/⁵⁵⁴

/rig pa 'dzin pa 'i tshe⁵⁵⁵ nyid kyis⁵⁵⁶

bla myed⁵⁵⁷ byang cub⁵⁵⁸ thob par bshad/⁵⁵⁹

[Q44] /rig⁵⁶⁰ 'dzin zhes⁵⁶¹ bgyi ba ci⁵⁶² [8] lta bu la bgyi/⁵⁶³ /gnas
gang na mchis/

/shes rab rig pa 'i mtshan⁵⁶⁴ nyid de//

rtogs pas⁵⁶⁵ sngags spyod rig pa 'dzin//

lha las stsogs⁵⁶⁶ pa rdo rje 'chang//

rigs [139a] mthun smyin pa⁵⁶⁷ rigs 'dzin gnas/

[Q45] /rigs 'dzin gyi gnas su tshul ci⁵⁶⁸ ltar bgrod cing mchi/⁵⁶⁹

/sems kyi gnas su snang ba gang yang rung//

rang sems nram pa yin phyir sems gnas myed/⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁵⁰ AB: rgyas sku

⁵⁵¹ AB omit pa 'i.

⁵⁵² C: ji

⁵⁵³ C: bu lags

⁵⁵⁴ ABC: thob

⁵⁵⁵ C: che

⁵⁵⁶ AB: gyis

⁵⁵⁷ C: med

⁵⁵⁸ ABC: chub

⁵⁵⁹ C: 'gyur. The verse is also cited in the *Bsam gtan mig sgron*: de yang zhus lan las/ sangs rgyas tshe gcig gis 'grub pa 'i don ji lta bu lags// lhag mar bcas pa 'i lus nyid kyis// tshe la dbang pa 'i rig 'dzin 'grub// rig pa 'dzin pa 'i tshe nyid kyis// bla med kun tu bzang por bgyur// zhes pa 'i phyir 'dis bgrub ste/ STMG 277.3. The final line replaces the *Zhus lan*'s 'awakening' (*byang cub*) with 'Samantabhadra' (*kun tu bzang po*).

⁵⁶⁰ ABC: rigs

⁵⁶¹ C: ces

⁵⁶² C: ba 'i don ji

⁵⁶³ AB omit la bgyi.

⁵⁶⁴ D: mthad

⁵⁶⁵ D: pa

⁵⁶⁶ C: lha la sogs

⁵⁶⁷ C: rigs 'thun smin pas

⁵⁶⁸ AB: su ci; C: su ji

⁵⁶⁹ ABC: mchi bar bgyi

⁵⁷⁰ C: med

/[2] gang na myi⁵⁷¹ gnas sems te gang tu⁵⁷² 'gro//
skal pa mthun bar smyin cing snang bar zad/⁵⁷³

[Q46] /ma ha' yo ga'i tshul bzhin/ ci ltar⁵⁷⁴ bsgoms pa'i mtha'/
rigs 'dzin ci⁵⁷⁵ lta bu [3] zhig du 'gyur bar⁵⁷⁶ bzhed/⁵⁷⁷

/rang lugs⁵⁷⁸ rgyal ba'i phyag rgya⁵⁷⁹ che//
bsgoms pas mngon sum⁵⁸⁰ gyur pa'i lha//
mtshan dang dpe byad⁵⁸¹ mngon shes ldan//
phyag rgya chen po'i rigs 'dzin [4] grags/

[Q47] dge ba'i rtsa ba gzhan gyi⁵⁸² rnam par smyin⁵⁸³ pa ni tshe phyi
ma la 'byung na/ /sngags spyad⁵⁸⁴ pa'i 'bras bu'i/⁵⁸⁵ rigs 'dzin
tshe 'di la 'grub pa ci'i phyir/

/dge ba dang ni sdig pa khyad par can//
gnyi [5] ga'i⁵⁸⁶ 'bras bu skye ba 'di la smyin/⁵⁸⁷
/de bas gsang sngags spyod pa'i⁵⁸⁸ khyad par che/⁵⁸⁹
/rnam smyin⁵⁹⁰ phyi mar myi⁵⁹¹ sdod 'di las⁵⁹² 'byung/

⁵⁷¹ AB: na myi; C: na yang mi; D: na yang myi

⁵⁷² ABC: sems de gang du

⁵⁷³ AB: skal pa mthun bar smyin cing snang ba kho nar zad; C: skal 'thun par smin
cing snang bar zad

⁵⁷⁴ C omits ci ltar.

⁵⁷⁵ C: tshul ji

⁵⁷⁶ C: bu 'byung par

⁵⁷⁷ D is missing the end of this line, beginning with tshul and ending with 'gyur bar.

⁵⁷⁸ D: lugs

⁵⁷⁹ A: ba'i phag gya; B: ba'i phag; C: ba'i phag rgya

⁵⁸⁰ C: pas mdon du

⁵⁸¹ B: byed

⁵⁸² AB: gi. D is missing a section comprising the beginning of this line and part of
the two preceding it, beginning with ldan/ and ending with gzhan gyi.

⁵⁸³ C: smin

⁵⁸⁴ C: spyod

⁵⁸⁵ ABC: bu

⁵⁸⁶ A: gnyig ga'i; C: gnyi ka'i

⁵⁸⁷ C: smin. D is missing a section beginning with dang ni sdig pa and ending with
la smyin.

⁵⁸⁸ ABC: pa

⁵⁸⁹ ABC: can

⁵⁹⁰ C: smin

⁵⁹¹ C: mi

⁵⁹² ABC: la

/dge ba'i rtsa ba gzhan ni mthu chung phyir//
 'bras bu drag por [6] 'byin par⁵⁹³ myi⁵⁹⁴ nus kyi//
 rang gi⁵⁹⁵ rnal⁵⁹⁶ 'byor rgyal pa'i byin kyi⁵⁹⁷ brlabs/⁵⁹⁸
 /dge rtsa⁵⁹⁹ dpe zla myed⁶⁰⁰ pas⁶⁰¹ mngon par 'grub/⁶⁰²

[Q48] /slob dpon⁶⁰³ la dbang ma thob⁶⁰⁴ par [7] dngos grub thob
 myi⁶⁰⁵ thob/

/dus gsum⁶⁰⁶ rgyal bas sbas ba'i⁶⁰⁷ gsang chen la//
 gzu lums⁶⁰⁸ rang byan 'grub⁶⁰⁹ par bshad pa ni//
 gsung rab⁶¹⁰ rgya mtsho ma lus kun btsal yang/⁶¹¹
 /myi⁶¹² [8] rnyed snyed⁶¹³ par 'os pa ma yin no/

[Q49] /slob dpon⁶¹⁴ gyi dbang ma thob par/⁶¹⁵ slob dpon⁶¹⁶ bgyid na
 nyen ci tsam/⁶¹⁷ /des dbang bskul pa pas dbang thob pa la sman
 nam myi [139b] sman/⁶¹⁸

⁵⁹³ AB: ba

⁵⁹⁴ C: mi

⁵⁹⁵ C: sems

⁵⁹⁶ D is missing a section beginning with mthu chung phyir and ending with rang gi rnal.

⁵⁹⁷ ABC: gyi

⁵⁹⁸ AB: byin rlabs kyis

⁵⁹⁹ AB: dge ba'i rtsa ba

⁶⁰⁰ C: med

⁶⁰¹ AB: par

⁶⁰² AB: mngon bar grub

⁶⁰³ AB: slob dpon; D: slob pon

⁶⁰⁴ AB: mnos; C: nos

⁶⁰⁵ C: bam mi

⁶⁰⁶ AB: gsum gyi

⁶⁰⁷ D is missing a section beginning with par dngos grub and ending with sbas ba'i.

⁶⁰⁸ C: lu

⁶⁰⁹ AB: byan kyis grub; D: rang byan is illegible

⁶¹⁰ AB: rabs; C: ba

⁶¹¹ C: kyang

⁶¹² C: mi

⁶¹³ C: rnyed

⁶¹⁴ AB: slob pon

⁶¹⁵ D is missing a section beginning with kun btsal and ending with dbang ma thob par.

⁶¹⁶ A: slob dpon; BD: slob pon

⁶¹⁷ A: bgyid pa pa'i sdig ci tsam; B: bgyid pa'i sdig ci tsam; C: bgyid pa'i nyes pa dzi tsam mchis; D: tsam is illegible

⁶¹⁸ A: des dbang bskur na dbang thob pa la sman nam myi sman; B: des dbang

/nong bus blon gral bskos pa gang yin te/⁶¹⁹
 /btsan⁶²⁰ par myi⁶²¹ 'gyur rang⁶²² nyid nyams par nges/⁶²³
 /rdo rje rgyal po yon tan dbang myed⁶²⁴ pas/⁶²⁵
 /go 'phang bskos pas [2] bdag gzhan brlag par bshad/⁶²⁶

[Q50] /slob dpon⁶²⁷ la dbang nod⁶²⁸ pa'i dus su/ yon dbul 'tshal lo⁶²⁹
 zhes bgyi ba rang bzo⁶³⁰ ma lags/ /sam/

/bskal pa grangs med 'khor bar lam stor gzod rnyed pa'i/⁶³¹
 /[3] bla myed byang cub⁶³² thar lam⁶³³ g.yung drung gter//
 des⁶³⁴ ni lus srog bye bas gcal kyang ma ches na/⁶³⁵
 /gzhan lta bden rdzun ci smos gsang ba'i⁶³⁶ rgyud kun ltos/⁶³⁷

[Q51] /slob dpon⁶³⁸ kyi⁶³⁹ bka' bcag pa'i sdig ci⁶⁴⁰ tsam/

bskur na dbang thob pa la sman myi sman; C: des dbang bskur bas dbang thob pa la sman nam mi sman

⁶¹⁹ AB: nong bus byon ba'i gral bsgom pa gang yin ba

⁶²⁰ AB: brtsan

⁶²¹ C: mi

⁶²² AB: de

⁶²³ AB: nges so; D is missing a section beginning with nong bus and ending with mnyams par nges.

⁶²⁴ C: med

⁶²⁵ C: par; D: myed pas is illegible

⁶²⁶ AB: go 'phang bskos pas bdag dang gzhan brlag par 'gyur; C: go 'phang bskos pas bdag gzhan rlag par bshad; D: go 'phang bskos pa 'ang bdag gzhan brlag par bshad

⁶²⁷ A: slob dpon; B: slob; D: slob pon

⁶²⁸ AB: mnod

⁶²⁹ C omits lo

⁶³⁰ D is missing a section beginning with dbang nod and ending with rang bzo.

⁶³¹ AB: skal pa grangs myed 'das par lam skol gdod snyed pa; D: lam skol gzod rnyed pa

⁶³² ABC: chub

⁶³³ C: bla med thar lam byang chub

⁶³⁴ C: de

⁶³⁵ D is missing a section beginning with myed byang cub and ending with ma ches na.

⁶³⁶ D: gsang ba'i is illegible.

⁶³⁷ AB: lta ci smos bden rdzun gsang ba'i rgyud la kun ltos; C: lta ci smos gsang ba'i rgyud kun ltos

⁶³⁸ AB: slob pon

⁶³⁹ B: kyi

⁶⁴⁰ C: ji

/srid [4] gsum sdig par byas pa ci⁶⁴¹ snyed gyis/⁶⁴²
 /slob dpon⁶⁴³ bka' bcag pa'i sdig pa'i⁶⁴⁴ char myi⁶⁴⁵ phod/⁶⁴⁶
 /dmyal pa'i nges rgyu [5] la stsogs pa'i 'dra pas/⁶⁴⁷
 /gdod nas ma thos nyen myed⁶⁴⁸ shin tu⁶⁴⁹ dge//⁶⁵⁰
 /zhus lan rdzogs s+ho//⁶⁵¹

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⁶⁴¹ C: bya ba ji

⁶⁴² C: pas

⁶⁴³ AB: slob dpon gyi; C: slob dpon gyi; D: slob dpon

⁶⁴⁴ B: gyi

⁶⁴⁵ C: mi

⁶⁴⁶ D includes an illegible passage between sdig pa'i and char myi 'phod. Following char myi 'phod, the rest of the text is largely illegible. The text ends with this illegible section.

⁶⁴⁷ AB: rgyu 'dra la stsogs pas; C: rgyu 'di ltar bas gas pa bas

⁶⁴⁸ C: nyen nyes med

⁶⁴⁹ AB: du

⁶⁵⁰ D: ends with this line.

⁶⁵¹ CD omit this line. PT 837 and IOL Tib J 470 include the following colophon:
 slob dpon dpal dbyams kyis mdzad/ mtshan don las btags/phyogs ma ha yo gar bsdu
 zhing rgyud ni/ gcig gzhung gcig nas bsdu pa ma mches ste/ rgyud kyi nad myi gsal
 zhing the tsom du gyur pa [IOL Tib J 470 omits pa] bsal ba'i phyir gsungs/ dgos ched
 ni sna nam ldong khyu'i don du 'am/ phyi rabs kyi rnal 'byor pa blo la myi gsal zhing
 the tsom dang sdug par gyur pa'i gags [IOL Tib J 470 has gnas instead of gags] bsal
 ba'i don gsungs/ mgo mjug du bsdu pa'i don zhus pa'i tshig lnga bcu rtse gsum lan
 btab pa la/ bcu rtse gsum/ de yang de yang zhus pa dang lan btab pa gnyis su 'dus so//
 [IOL Tib J 470 only: phu shi meng hwe'i 'gyog kyis bris]

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...AND BEYOND

THE *BAR DO THOS GROL*:
TIBETAN CONVERSION TO BUDDHISM
OR TIBETANISATION OF BUDDHISM?*

Yoshiro Imaeda

In 1959, the Dalai Lama XIV escaped to India, followed by roughly a hundred thousand Tibetan refugees who brought with them numerous texts that had been previously inaccessible outside of Tibet. They thereby made it possible for foreign students of Tibet, for the first time, to gain direct access to tens of thousands of titles and, what was most important, to direct oral commentary from learned Tibetan scholars. Since then, Tibetan studies have witnessed dramatic progress, accelerated in recent years by new textual discoveries within Tibet itself. Despite these developments, however, most aspects of Tibetan Buddhist literature remain poorly known outside of restricted circles of scholars, researchers, and serious students of Tibetan religion. Until quite recently, indeed, only the biography and songs of *Mi la ras pa* and the *Bar do thos grol*—the fourteenth-century revelation of Karma gling pa that is better known today as the ‘Tibetan Book of the Dead’—could be counted as widely diffused works of Tibetan literature in the West.¹

The translation of the *Bar do thos grol* under the title of *The Tibetan Book of the Dead, or the After-Death Experiences of the Bar-do Plane*, was first published in 1927. French and German translations

* The present article is derived from a previously unpublished communication written in French in 1991. In its essence, my view remains unchanged. Nonetheless, with the kind help of Prof. M. Kapstein, co-editor of this volume, I have attempted, in the notes, to take stock of the chief contributions bearing upon the present subject-matter that have appeared since that time.

¹ Both the biography of *Mi la ras pa* and the ‘Book of the Dead’, of course, were first introduced and popularized during the late 1920s through the EVANS-WENTZ (1927, 1928) editions of the translations of the Sikkimese Kazi Dawa-Samdup. The collected songs of the *Rje btsun mgur 'bum* became available to Western readers only much later, through the English version of CHANG (1962) and the French translation of LAMOTHE (1986-93).

soon followed, in 1933 and 1935 respectively, both based on the English translation and not directly upon the original Tibetan text. C.G. Jung added a 'psychological commentary' to the German edition, and this appeared in subsequent reprints in English.² In 1949, the great Buddhologist and Tibetologist G. Tucci published an Italian translation accompanied by a scholarly introduction and notes.³

The *Bar do thos grol*, as is by now familiar, gives a precise, carefully structured, and vivid description of the experience of the deceased person during the period of forty-nine days between death and rebirth in the cycle of transmigration. The text develops in this context some fundamental Buddhist doctrines, such as those of transmigration (*'khor ba*), Intermediate Existence (*bar do*, or *bar ma do'i srid pa*), and the 'Six Destinies' (*'gro ba rigs drug*). It also includes many elements that are characteristic of Tibetan Tantric Buddhism, such as the 'Five Jina Families' (*rgyal ba rigs lnga*), and the 'Peaceful and Terrifying Deities' (*zhi khro*). The richness of the work has attracted the attention of not only Tibetologists and Buddhologists, but also of poets, artists and psychologists. The fact that, owing to the mere analogy of the title chosen by Evans-Wentz, the work has been compared, wrongly in my opinion, to the famous *Egyptian Book of the Dead* must have certainly contributed to its popularity, as did the addition of the 'psychological commentary' of C.G. Jung. Whatever the reasons, however, through its translations in major European languages, this fourteenth-century Tibetan work has come to play a major role in the diffusion in the West of certain fundamental concepts of Buddhism such as those mentioned above. The steady flow of reprint editions and of new translations in both European and non-European languages reflects the sustained interest in this work, which is now firmly established as a 'classic' of Tibetan Buddhism.⁴

² EVANS-WENTZ 1960 [1927], 1933, 1935. For a recent study of the reception history of 'the Book' in the West, see LOPEZ 1998: ch. 2. CUEVAS 2003 provides a valuable account of its redaction and transmission in Tibet.

³ TUCCI 1972 [1949].

⁴ English translations include TRUNGPA AND FREEMANTLE 1975, THURMAN 1993, and DORJE 2006. A Spanish version is given in PRATS 1996. In Japanese, the first translation was KAWASAKI 1989. However, in fact, the *Bar do thos grol* was first introduced to Japan in 1973 by ÔE MASANORI, who translated EVANS-WENTZ's English edition. A new French translation, CORNU 2009, offers the fullest version of the text to have appeared so far. Studies of the work may be found in BACK 1979, BLEZER 1997, and LAUF 1994 [1975].

The *Bar do thos grol* is an important part of a still-living tradition in the Tibetan world. The funeral ritual related to it, for example, is extremely popular in Bhutan. This ritual is known as the *Kar gling zhi khro*, ‘The Peaceful and Terrifying Deities according to Karma gling pa’, after the title also given to the entire collection of instructions from which these mortuary rites are derived. The doctrinal elaborations of the *Bar do thos grol* and the properly ritual texts within the collection are complementary, and what was translated in the West as *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* was the *Bar do thos grol*, not the broader range of texts from the *Kar gling zhi khro*, an important part of which has only recently become available in English translation.⁵

In the course of some ten years of residence in Bhutan, I observed on numerous occasions that persons with whom I was directly or indirectly acquainted explicitly expressed the wish that their funerals be executed according to the *Kar gling zhi khro*. Among lay people who have no access to the texts of the *Bar do thos grol* or the *Kar gling zhi khro*, even peasants and children are aware of their contents, primarily through the dramatic representations of these learned works. In Bhutan, the festival called *Tshes bcu*, the ‘Tenth Day’ (of the Lunar Month), which honours Gu ru Rin po che, founder of the Rnying ma pa School, is celebrated every year in the majority of *rdzong* or ‘fortress-monasteries’. The programme of the masked ‘*cham*’ dances generally includes the so-called *Raksha mang ‘cham*, the ‘dance of the assembly of *rakshas*’, which is in fact the choreographic name for the *Bar do thos grol* in Bhutan. The sophisticated doctrines exposed in the theatrical representation of this work under the form of ‘*cham*’ performance have already been studied elsewhere.⁶ However, there are a number of points in connection with the *Bar do thos grol* and its traditions that seem to merit further investigation.

The abridged version of the Tibetan title can be translated as the ‘Deliverance by hearing [the instructions during] Intermediate Existence’. This so-called ‘intermediate existence’ (*bar ma do’i srid pa*, Skt. *antarābhava*), along with the cycle of transmigration in which the identity of the deceased person is integrated, form the doctrinal core of the living Tibetan Buddhist tradition of the *Bar do thos grol*. Strangely, however, the characteristics of the deceased individual who transmigrates in the Intermediate Existence, who may be called either

⁵ DORJE 2006.

⁶ IMAEDA 1994.

gandharva (*dri za*) or *pudgala* (*gang zag*), was not very well defined in early Buddhist doctrine: there was no consensus in regard to this issue among the various schools. Although some attached great importance to questions surrounding the individual's passage from one lifetime to the next, these questions appear to have been sometimes considered almost heretical, and so were left to one side by many of the early schools.⁷ As André Bareau once summarized it: 'The *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, which represents the opinion of European scholars, considers the theory of Intermediate Existence and the speculations concerning it as belonging to late Buddhist Schools, alien to primitive Buddhism and not in accordance with its fundamental teachings.'⁸ It was, however, precisely these 'late Buddhist Schools' that contributed to the formation of Tibetan Buddhism, and the *Bar do thos grol* may be seen in relation to their speculations as a veritable sum, incorporating elements of earlier tradition in a grand, coherent system.

In his preface to the French translation, Jacques Bacot emphasized the originality of this indigenous Tibetan work, which appears to be from the hand of a single author: 'This *Tibetan Book of the Dead* attacks with assurance the difficult problem, the point where the ring of causal connection closes, without being joined, where a cycle ends and the following one starts: the mechanism of transmigration. While canonical texts introduce, awkwardly enough, the *gandharvas*, true *dei ex machina*, the *Bardo Thödol* follows a more satisfactory discursive development, and it determines by the play of attraction and repulsion not only the parents but also the sex of the being to incarnate.'⁹

The coexistence here of the Five Jinās and the Six Munis of the Six Destinies in this text is a notable aspect of its inheritance from earlier sources of the Rnying ma pa tradition.¹⁰ It may well be that, in its origins, this configuration of the pantheon concealed several points of dispute, if not internal contradictions, that are difficult to reconcile.

⁷ For a survey of recent work on this topic in Buddhist Studies generally, see CUEVAS 2003, ch. 3.

⁸ DEMIÉVILLE et al., *Hōbōgirin* 5 (1975): 559a.

⁹ BACOT 1933: vii-viii. One may note, however, that aspects of the Oedipus complex seem already to have been present in the Indian sources: FILLIOZAT 1971.

¹⁰ These groups are present in the *sgyu 'phrul zhi khro* cycle associated with the *Guhyagarbhatantra* and in the *Na rak dong sprugs* cycle, discussed by KAPSTEIN in his contribution to the present volume, as well as elsewhere throughout the early Rnying ma maṇḍala systems.

According to the *Bar do thos grol*, during the first five days of what is called the *chos nyid bar do*, which starts just after death, each of the Five Jinas, together with their retinues, appears one after another on successive days in the vision of the deceased. Then, on the sixth day of the *chos nyid bar do*, the Six Munis of the Six Destinies appear all together. The descriptions these texts offer of the Five Jinas are already present in the literature of “classical” Tantric Buddhism and represent the pantheon as known therein.

The deities of the first five days all belong to the category of the Peaceful Deities (*zhi ba*), as opposed to the Terrifying Deities (*khro bo*) who were later additions to the *maṇḍala* system in question. The evolution which ended by incorporating these deities of different origins and classifying them into two categories in Tibetan Buddhism unfolded through a long process of elaboration which is still only poorly understood.¹¹ Let us just note here that the *Bar do thos grol* does not put the Five Jinas directly in relation with the Five Destinies of transmigration, and that a doctrinal point that was subject to long discussion among the early Buddhist schools, about which there was no final consensus, concerned whether the number of Destinies should be fixed as five or six. Though this subject lies outside the scope of these present remarks, it is nevertheless of some interest that, contrary to the *Bar do thos grol*, some texts and rituals of the cycle do present the Five Jinas as saviours of the Five Destinies,¹² while in the former work it is the Six Munis who are saviours of the Six Destinies, the Five Jinas playing no eschatological role.

Currently, it is the conception of the Six Munis as saviours of beings in each of the Six Destinies that is most widespread among Tibetan Buddhists, in accord with the *Bar do thos grol* as well as works belonging to other ritual cycles. In the *Kar gling zhi khro* and various texts of the same tradition, each of the Six Munis embodies the saving power of one of the Six Syllables of the famous formula of Avalokiteśvara, the Tibetan bodhisattva par excellence. In an earlier study of the Dunhuang manuscripts, I had noted that this formula, *Om maṇipadme hūṃ*, does not seem to have played a predominant role during the ancient period. Furthermore, along with other formulae, it

¹¹ Refer to BLEZER 1997 and to KAPSTEIN’s chapter in this volume for further remarks on the evolution of the *zhi khro* pantheon.

¹² For instance, this is the case in the *Zhi khro dgongs pa rang grol las/ las bzhi sbyin sregs kyi dpe’u ris las thog mar zhi ba’i dpe’u ris*, a manuscript of which I was able to consult thanks to the courtesy of Mr. E. G. SMITH in New Delhi.

was recited for a different purpose than that which is now assigned to it. This role is illustrated, for example, by a text entitled *Dug gsum 'dul ba*, or 'Taming of Three Poisons'.¹³ In this treatise, three formulae, of which *Oṃ maṇipadme hūṃ* is part of just one, are recited in order to 'tame' each of the three poisons (passion, anger and ignorance) which drive deceased persons into the Evil Destinies. Its employment to save beings from each of the Six Destinies by means of each of the six syllables is in this case unknown. It was perhaps beginning in the eleventh century that the six-syllable formula began to play the prominent role in the cult of Avalokiteśvara with which it is now generally associated.¹⁴

However popular the theory of the Six Munis of the Six Destinies has become, it nevertheless recalls a doctrinal contradiction stemming from the Indian background of Tibetan Buddhism. In contrast with, for example, Chinese Buddhism, which adopted different traditions of the Vinaya, the schools of Tibetan Buddhism are based on a single Vinaya tradition, that of the Mūlasarvāstivāda. This tradition upheld the Five Destinies and not the Six, though Mahāyāna sources sometimes preferred the latter enumeration.¹⁵ It is of some interest, therefore, that, despite the authority of the Vinaya, Tibetan Buddhism favoured the elaboration of an eschatological theory founded on the Six, and not Five, Destinies. At the same time, in the compresent schemes of the Five Jinas and Six Munis, as we find in the *Bar do thos grol*, a recollection of the ancient tension between the two approaches appears to have been conserved.

The literary form of the *Bar do thos grol* is another aspect of the work which has received little attention from researchers to date. Professor Kawasaki Shinjō, who translated the text into Japanese in 1989, remarked that the style was different from that of the canonical texts with which he was familiar. Kawasaki noted that it tends to the vernacular, and that it contains many instances of direct discourse addressed to the deceased in the second person.¹⁶ R.A.F. Thurman, too, divides the entire text into two distinct parts: first, the instruc-

¹³ IMAEDA 1979. We have hitherto found three manuscripts: PT 37(1), IOL Tib J 420 and 421. See now, too, VAN SCHAIK 2007: 193-204.

¹⁴ On the development of the Tibetan Avalokiteśvara cult during the period with which we are here concerned, see KAPSTEIN 1992 and VAN SCHAIK 2006.

¹⁵ Refer to LA VALLÉE POUSSIN 1970: vol. 3, p. 11, n. 2, for a survey of views on this matter.

¹⁶ KAWASAKI 1989: "atogaki."

tions of the author of the book, Karma gling pa, to the reader; and, second, the discourses that the intended reader, namely, the officiant of the ritual, must address to the dying or deceased.¹⁷

Thurman does not relate this distinction to the question of literary style per se, but, in fact, these two parts of the book can be distinguished on the basis of stylistic criteria. The first group is a collection of instructions that Karma gling pa wrote for the benefit of those charged with carrying out the funeral ritual. The instructions that I place in this group are characterized by an impersonal discursive style, for instance, in a passage at the beginning of the *Bar do thos grol* that reads:

If there be no corpse, then the bed or the seat to which the deceased had been accustomed should be occupied [by the reader], who ought to expound the power of the Truth. Then, summoning the spirit [of the deceased], imagine it to be present there listening, and read.¹⁸

Other passages show more explicitly that the instructions are addressed to the attention of the officiant:

Having read this, repeat it many times in the ear of the person dying, even before the expiration hath ceased, so as to impress it on the mind [of the dying one].¹⁹

When all the symptoms [of the death] are all about to be completed, then enjoin upon [the one dying] this resolution, speaking in a low tone of voice in the ear.²⁰

The second group of instructions are those which the officiant should give to the dying or deceased person. In contrast to the instructions of the first group, the instructions of the second group are written in direct discourse:

Oh, nobly born (so and so by name), the time hath now come for thee to seek the Path [of reality].²¹

Oh, nobly born, that which is called death being come to thee now, resolve thus: 'O this now is the hour of death.'²²

¹⁷ THURMAN 1993.

¹⁸ EVANS-WENTZ 1960 [1927]: 87.

¹⁹ Ibid., 91.

²⁰ Ibid., 94.

²¹ Ibid., 91.

²² Ibid., 94.

Oh, nobly born, listen with full attention, without being distracted.²³

Oh, nobly born, that which is called death hath now come. Thou art departing from this world.²⁴

Oh, nobly born, whatever fear and terror may come to thee in the Chönyid Bardo, forget not these words; and, bearing their meaning at heart, go forwards.²⁵

In this way, the officiant directly addresses the deceased in order to guide him during his hazardous passage through Intermediate Existence. It was precisely this usage that Kawasaki found somewhat perplexing when compared with canonical scriptures.

The use of direct address in in this fashion is a peculiar characteristic of the *Bar do thos grol* that reveals its very nature. Regarding this subject, Bacot made an extremely perspicacious remark in his preface to the French translation:

The origin of this book is unknown. Tibetan adaptation of an Indian original, or, more likely, a Buddhist adaptation of a Tibetan tradition anterior to the seventh century, the *Bardo Thödol* is a treatise on death founded on the basis of far eastern animism.²⁶

One of the funeral rituals practiced among Tibetan and Bhutanese Buddhists that is decidedly of Indian origin is based on a canonical text whose abbreviated Tibetan title is *Ngan song sbyong ba* (i.e., the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*), the ‘Elimination of Evil Destinies’.²⁷ The circumstances of the introduction of this tantra to Tibet towards the end of the eighth century are well known. According to traditional accounts, the Indian master Buddhaguhya, who was meditating in the region of Mount Kailash, recommended the practice of this tantra in response to the request of the Tibetan king Khri Srong lde btsan (r. 755-c. 797). This tantra is classified as a Yogatantra, the third in the system of four groups of tantras. Nevertheless, in Buddhaguhya’s day, none of the tantras which later constituted the supreme category of Anuttarayogatantra (or Niruttarayogatantra) seems to have been known. The *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* thus represented the culminating point in Indian Buddhist tantrism and as such was

²³ Ibid., 102.

²⁴ Ibid., 103.

²⁵ Ibid., 103.

²⁶ BACOT 1933: vii.

²⁷ This important work has been studied and translated in SKORUPSKI 1983.

recommended by Buddhaguhya to the Tibetans. Beginning in that period, then, the Tibetans have been familiar with the funeral rite derived from this tantra. As evidence of this, there are a considerable number of texts related to this tantra in the Dunhuang manuscripts and some of them without any doubt concern funeral rituals.²⁸

At the present time, the 'Brug pas of Bhutan continue to execute the funeral ritual in accordance with the *Ngan song sbyong ba*, which they popularly call Mi 'khrugs pa (Akṣobhya), after the central deity in their version of the rites. In this nomenclature, the same relationship exists between *Ngan song sbyong ba*, taken as the title of the tantra, and Mi 'khrugs pa, naming the ritual, as holds between the *Bar do thos grol* and the *Kar gling zhi khro*: one is regarded as a theoretical exposition, while the other is a practical application based on it. It is well known that the central deity of the *Ngan song sbyong ba* is Kun rig (Sarvavid), a form of Rnam par snang mdzad (Vairocana); however, when a 'violent' (*drag po*) rite is concerned, he is replaced by Mi 'khrugs pa (Akṣobhya). In this version of the funeral ritual, in contrast with the tradition of the *Bar do thos grol*, the officiant does not directly address the deceased, but instead formulates prayers and performs a merit-transfer in his favour for the his betterment in the next life. These brief observations raise a key question for us: did a funeral ritual in which the officiant directly addresses the deceased ever exist in Indian Buddhism? On the basis of what we know to date, the answer appears to be negative.

Let us now recall the proposition of Bacot, who spoke of a 'Buddhist adaptation of a Tibetan tradition anterior to the seventh century'. To test his hypothesis, we can glimpse early indigenous Tibetan funeral rites thanks to their preservation in a certain number of Tibetan manuscripts discovered at Dunhuang.²⁹ According to the ancient concept of the hereafter, there were two destinations for the deceased: one to be avoided and the other to be attained. The former is 'the country of misery and suffering' (*nyon mongs sdug pa'i yul*) and the latter is "the country of joy and happiness" (*dga' dang skyid pa'i yul*), the celestial land of the dead (*gshin yul*) where the deceased awaits resurrection at the beginning of the subsequent cosmic cycle.

²⁸ Refer to IMAEDA 2007, n. 17. See now, too, DALTON and VAN SCHAİK 2006: entries 318, 384, 420, 439, 440, 507, 579, 712, and Or. 8210/S.421. KAPSTEIN, in the present volume, also studies one of these texts (IOL Tib J 318) in relation to the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*.

²⁹ For detailed discussions, see MACDONALD 1971 and BLONDEAU 1976.

We also know that animals like the yak, horse, and sheep were sacrificed, as they were supposed to have been sufficiently courageous and intelligent to guide the deceased in the hereafter on his or her way to the land of the dead.

Among the Dunhuang manuscripts, we find also some documents that attempt to harmonize these indigenous ideas and practices with Buddhist concepts, examination of which may put the fourteenth century *Bar do thos grol* into a more precise historical context. Several of the relevant texts are those comprising the *Skye shi* ('*khor lo'i*) *lo rgyus*, or the 'History (of the cycle) of birth and death', a work that I have studied in detail elsewhere.³⁰ It seems that this text was written in order to demonstrate to the Tibetans, who were still followers of indigenous religious practices, the efficacy of Buddhism as the means to remedy death.

The 'History of birth and death' serves as an introduction to two additional texts, which follow it in some of the manuscripts.³¹ In the *Bsngo ba*, here 'substitution', the text that immediately follows the *Skye shi lo rgyus*, the funeral rituals that had a primordial importance in the pre-Buddhist religion are rejected and Buddhist practices are substituted for them.³² The final text is entitled either *Lha yul du lam bstan pa*, the 'exposition of the way to the land of the gods', or *Gshin lam bstan pa*, the 'exposition of the way of the deceased'. This text shows that, with the recitation of three formulae, of which one is that of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana* mentioned above, the deceased escapes from the three Evil Destinies and arrives at the blessed land of the gods, a place of peace and happiness.³³ This objective has no Buddhist character; instead, it seems that this was precisely the objective of the funeral rituals of the pre-Buddhist religion. The entire trilogy of texts, therefore, which is constituted of perfectly Buddhist elements, does not bring the deceased person to the paradise of a Buddha or to a 'precious human body', the usual destinations advocated in later Tibetan Buddhism.³⁴ The early Buddhists of Tibet, it appears, did not immediately change the post-mortem objective of the indigenous religion, but instead left it in place without imposing on Tibetans what may have seemed too abstract an idea.

³⁰ IMAEDA 1981, 2007.

³¹ Refer to IMAEDA 2007: 166-72.

³² STEIN 1970.

³³ LALOU 1949.

³⁴ Cf. the similar conclusions of KAPSTEIN 2000: 8.

When we compare this trilogy of ninth and tenth century with the *Bar do thos grol* of the fourteenth, what is most striking, however, is their common literary style: both adopt direct discourse in delivering the instructions to the deceased. In the *Lha yul du lam bstan pa*, the officiant addresses him or her as follows:

Oh, you who are deceased, listen to me. For you who are deceased, the moment of swift impermanence, which is the nature of all the phenomena of the world, has arrived.³⁵

Oh, you who are deceased, don't be distracted. Without diverting the spirit, think always of the Triple Gem and follow the Triple Gem.³⁶

We know that in the early indigenous religious practices of Tibet, one sacrificed animals in order that they guide the deceased in the hereafter and that it was these sacrificial victims whom the officiant directly addressed. The practice of animal sacrifice, being in contradiction with the Buddhist refusal to take life, was understandably subject to the criticism of early Buddhist protagonists. However, instead of banning it outright, they proposed Buddhist rituals as substitutes. Thus, in the *Bsngo ba*, or 'substitution', it is the cult of Balaha, the cunning horse who is a manifestation of Avalokiteśvara, that is proposed to stand in for the sacrifice of horse. But although indigenous practices were thus replaced by Buddhist rituals, the aim of the indigenous funeral rite did not itself disappear. The partisans of Buddhism seem not to have been preoccupied by this, however, and so left the orientations of the preëxisting practice largely intact. The sacrificed animals to whom the officiants spoke directly have disappeared, but the essential idea of guiding the deceased survived. Hence, it is now the deceased to whom the officiant addresses himself. By a process of substitution the means were thereby 'Buddhicised', but the ends remained what they had been in autochthonous tradition.

Several centuries later, in the *Bar do thos grol*, the officiant continued to directly address the deceased, but his discourse began with a typical Buddhist formula: 'Oh, son of good family (*rigs kyi bu*).³⁷ As for the objective to be attained, it came to be perfectly harmonised with the Buddhist aim of assuring the best possible rebirth

³⁵ PT 239 recto, fol. 2-3: *tshe 'das pa khyod nyon shig// tshe 'das pa khyod la 'jig rten thams cad gyi// chos nyid glo bur myi rtag pa'i dus la bab ste//*

³⁶ PT 239 recto, fol. 4 : *tshe 'das pa khyod yid ma gol// sems ni ma log par// dus thams cad du dkon mchog gsum kyi yid la sbyos la// dkon mchog la rjes su phyogs la//*

in the cycle of the transmigration, or to escape from the cycle through transcendence or rebirth in a Buddha-realm. Everything here seems perfectly Buddhist. Nevertheless, the principle and the techniques of remote guidance of the deceased, which are indigenous to Tibet and not of Indian Buddhist origin, were always maintained.

In this way, ancient tradition has been preserved to this day. For example, in the *Complete Works* of Bdud 'joms gling pa (1835-1904), there are several texts marginally titled *Gnas lung*. These are funeral rituals, and they start with the initial formula, 'Oh, son of good family, listen to me', followed by a series of instructions written in direct discourse. Here, there is an astonishing continuity, if not immutability, of style and of principle in the field of funerary ritual.

To conclude this quick survey of the specific aspect of Tibetan religion discussed here, one can say that at least insofar as this point is concerned, Buddhism has been 'Tibetanised' in Tibet, by contrast with the more typical assertion that it was Tibet that was 'Buddhicised'. The historical evolution in its totality was of course far more complex, however, and one cannot propose such a simple schematization. What is nevertheless striking is the distinctively Tibetan elaboration of a completely novel form of Buddhism, which succeeded in integrating into a seamless whole such elements as hierarchical reincarnation (*sprul sku*, or *yang srid*), the tradition of the texts concealed and rediscovered (*gter ma*), and much more. The history of Tibetan Buddhism is thus, in short, the history of the original expression of Tibetan genius through the Buddhist religion.

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BETWEEN *NA RAK* AND A HARD PLACE:
EVIL REBIRTH AND THE VIOLATION OF VOWS IN EARLY
RNYING MA PA SOURCES AND THEIR DUNHUANG
ANTECEDENTS

Matthew T. Kapstein

THE LOST MURALS OF 'UG PA LUNG

In the histories of the Rnying ma pa tradition, we find a notable record of the iconographic program of the eleventh-century temple of 'Ug pa lung, founded by one of celebrated masters of the period, Zur po che Shākya 'byung gnas.¹ The passage, which has been faithfully reproduced in a succession of historical writings down through the centuries, is translated in the late Dudjom Rinpoche's compilation as follows:

Zurpoche installed images of the peaceful deities, of whom Vairocana-Samantamukha (*kun tu zhal*) was foremost, in the four-pillared upper shrine of the temple; images of Hayagrīva and Amṛtakundalin as the door-keepers of the upper court, which had eight pillars; and in the shrines of the north and south wings, he installed images of the Great Mother [Prajñāpāramitā] and Dīpaṃkara, each surrounded by four offering goddesses. In the protectors' shrine, he made images of Bhagavat, Śrīdevī, Brahma, and Śakra. Frescoes of the gurus of the lineage were painted in the eight-pillared upper court, and those of twenty-three maṇḍalas, such as the 'Hundred-petalled Lotus', on its surrounding wall. In the lower court, which had twenty pillars, there were frescoes of the Thousand Buddhas; the Buddhas of the Ten Directions; Amitāyus surrounded by the [Eight] 'Closest Sons'; the Seven Generations of Buddhas; the twelve deeds; the bodhisattva

¹ 'Ug pa lung was located south of the Gtsang po, some 30 kilometres to the east of Gzhis ka rtse. If the traditional dates given for Zur po che's main successor, Zur chung Shes rab grags (1014-1074), are correct, its foundation may be assigned very roughly to ca. 1040. This is further supported by indications that Zur po che was a junior contemporary of 'Brog mi Shākya ye shes (993-1050); see DUDJOM RINPOCHE 1991: I.633.

Dharmodgata; Tārā, who protects from the eight fears; the Lords of the Three Families; the Malaya Buddha-field; the wheel of life; et cetera.²

The text seems to suggest that in the scheme of twenty-three *maṇḍalas* painted in the upper court, the so-called ‘Hundred-petalled Lotus’ (*padma brgya ldan*) was particularly important, at least sufficiently so that it was the sole *maṇḍala* in the group to be recalled by name. But just what was the *maṇḍala* of the ‘Hundred-petalled Lotus’? And why was it so esteemed? As the temple of ’Ug pa lung seems to have been already in ruins during the nineteenth century, there is no possibility of answering these questions by research at the site, or even through available testimony concerning it.³

² DUDJOM RINPOCHE 1991: I.623-624. The same passage is found, for example, in GU RU BKRA SHIS 1990 [1807-13]: 256. However, it is quite certain that it was derived from an earlier collection of Zur lineage *rnam thar*-s, which has not so far been discovered, but which is referred to in KLONG CHEN 1991: 430, and which no doubt also served as the basis for the summary accounts given in the *Blue Annals*: ’GOS LO 1984 [1476]: 142ff.; trans. ROERICH 1976 [1949]: 110ff. As VAN DER KUIJP 2007 has now convincingly shown, the history attributed to Klong chen Rab ’byams pa was in fact by Rgyal sras Thugs mchog rtal and likely composed in 1422.

³ ’Jam dbyangs Mkhyen brtse’i dbang po (1820-92), who visited the region in the 1840s, briefly mentions ’Ug pa lung in his famous guidebook, stating: ‘In the upper part of sPan t’ag ma of this region [downstream from Gzhis ka rtse to the south of the Gtsang po] there is the place called Zur ’Ug pa luñ, which was formerly a great residence of the rñin ma pa of the earlier period. Although today it is merely a village, there are still some chapels and blessing-bestowing sacred objects’. (’JAM DBYANGS MKHYEN BRITSE 1989: 306; trans. FERRARI 1958: 70.) Elsewhere, in his record of tantric monasteries (*Gangs can bod yul du byon pa’i gsang sngags gsar rnying gi gdan rabs mdor bsduṅ ngo mtshar padmo’i dga’ tshal*), he specifies that: ‘Zur seats at ’Ug pa lung and Gsang sngags chos gling, etc., though they were formerly greatly expanded, do not appear nowadays to have much teaching or practice, except for just the continuous familial lineage of Gsang sngags chos gling’. (’JAM DBYANGS MKHYEN BRITSE 1989: 4: *zur gyi gdan sa ’ug pa lung dang/ gsang sngags chos gling pa sogs sngar dar rgyas ha cang che yang/ deng sang gsang sngags chos gling pa’i gdung brgyud ma chad tsam las bshad sgrub sogs rgya cher mi snang ngo.*)

KAH THOG SI TU 1999: 350-351, recounting a visit to the region in 1919, informs us that: ‘At ’Ug pa lung, in the upper valley of Thag in Pan, about one generation has passed since the whole temple was [or: all the temples were] destroyed, for which reason I did not go there’. (*pan gyi thag gi ’ug pa lung lha khang thams cad ’jig nas mi rabs gcig tsam song bas der ma song*). Elsewhere (291-292), he provides a remarkable description of a statue of Yang dag he ru ka, said to have been constructed under Zur chung Shes rab grags at Zur lung dpal chen lha khang. While it is therefore possible that some artefacts stemming from the early Zur lineages survived into the twentieth century, there is no hint, of which I am aware, of material remains that would shed light on our present topic.

At the time that Gyurme Dorje and I were completing work on the first edition of Dudjom Rinpoche's book some two decades ago, the 'Hundred-petalled Lotus' was one of the residue of outstanding points that we did not have the opportunity to resolve in consultation with the author.⁴ Not long afterwards, however, it became clear that it in fact designates one of the two major *maṇḍalas* of an unstudied, but by no means unimportant, ritual cycle belonging to the so-called 'oral' (*bka' ma*) tradition of the Rnying ma pa (*Rnying ma bka' ma* hereafter), and entitled *Na rak dong sprugs*, the 'Churner of the Depths of Hell'. This cycle, found in the thirteenth volume of the *Rnying ma bka' ma rgyas pa* collection (see Appendix), is among those held to have been transmitted early on through the Zur lineage.⁵ Can this then be taken as settling the matter with regard to the iconography of Zur po che's temple?

Although, in a very broad sense, perhaps it does, we must remain a bit cautious in our assumptions regarding the *Na rak* cycle as known to the Zur masters of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; for the ritual manuals that are now at our disposal are compositions stemming from the great efforts to redact the *Rnying ma bka' ma* traditions that were undertaken at the Central Tibetan monastery of Smin sgrol gling during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries under Gter bdag gling pa 'Gyur med rdo rje (1646-1714) and his brother Lo chen Dharmaśrī (1654-1717).⁶ That they sought to be faithful to the earlier traditions as known to them is certain, but at the same time they were seeking to bring order to diverse oral and textual materials derived from the several different lineages to which they had access.⁷ What

⁴ Our last meetings with the author to discuss the work occurred in 1983, four years before H. H. Dudjom Rinpoche's passing.

⁵ Refer to the *Rnal 'byor gyi spyi khrus dong sprugs kyi brgyud 'debs* by Gter bdag gling pa, supplemented by 'Jigs bral ye shes rdo rje (i.e. Bdud 'joms Rin po che). This is text B. of the cycle, as listed in the Appendix.

⁶ Their role in the redaction of the *Na rak dong sprugs* cycle will be evident on consulting the Appendix below.

⁷ Though the *brgyud 'debs* referred to in n. 5 above and similar materials present the illusion of a clear and direct, linear transmission, this evidently was not the case. As Lo chen Dharmaśrī frankly states in a note at the conclusion of the *Khrom dkrugs cho ga* (text C., p. 239): "The ritual arrangements in the old texts were exceedingly condensed and hence unclear, and, among the compositions of the scholars of intervening periods, stemming from differing traditions, there appear to be some admixtures; and some, too, are exceedingly expanded and combine together many various writings so that the essential points are obscured—for these and other reasons I did not see much of benefit to the beings of these late times..." (*las khrigs gzhung*

the Smin sgrol gling tradition gives us, therefore, is an ideal reconstruction and not a simple reproduction of an eleventh-century ritual corpus.

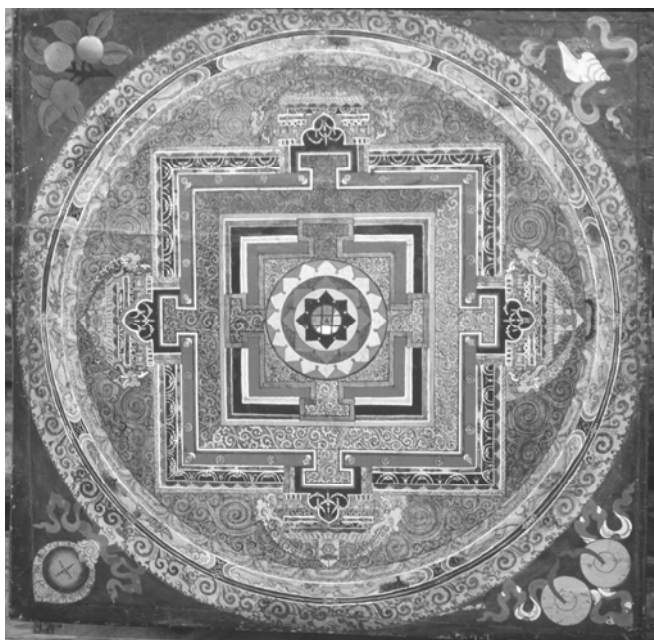


fig. 1 The *Na rak dong sprugs maṇḍala* used during purificatory and funerary rites at Smin sgrol gling Monastery. Photographed by the author on site, June 2002.

The *Na rak* cycle has long played a significant role in Rnying ma pa confessional and mortuary ritual, though this is somewhat obscured because its presence in Rnying ma pa practice is evident primarily through the revealed *gter ma* cycles it inspired, rather than through direct practice of the *Rnying ma bka' ma* rituals themselves. The celebrated thirteenth-century treasure-revealer Guru Chos dbang (1212-1270) is counted among those inspired by this cycle, and the Nara (< *na rak*) festival stemming from his lineage occupies a major place in the ritual calendar of the people of Yol mo, Nepal, even

*rnying rnams ni ha cang bsdus shing mi gsal ba dang/ bar skabs su byon pa'i mkhas
pa dag gis mdzad pa yang lugs srol tha dad pa'i nang gses cung zad 'dres pa ltar
snang ba dang/ 'ga' zhig ni ha cang rgya ches pa dang yig sna mang du bsdus pas
snying po'i don la sgrib pa sogs dus mtha'i 'gro ba la phan pa che bar ma mthong...*)

today.⁸ One of the most popular of Rnying ma confessional litanies, the *Nyams chag sdig sgrib thams cad bshags pa'i rgyal po na rag dong sprugs*, derived from both Chos dbang's and the fourteenth-century 'Northern Treasure' (*byang gter*) traditions, is clearly, both by title and contents, indebted to the same cycle.⁹ It is evident, too, that the *zhi khro maṇḍala* of the famous eighteenth-century revelation, the *Klong chen snying thig*, is based primarily upon the *Na rak dong sprugs* rites.¹⁰ For the tradition of Smin sgrol gling, however, the *Na rak dong sprugs* itself, as given in the *Rnying ma bka' ma* collection, continues to occupy a major place in mortuary ritual. Considered primarily as general rite of purification, it is regarded as providing particularly efficacious means for expiating the violation of tantric vows (*samaya*), identified as a primary cause of infernal rebirth.¹¹ Hence, in relation to the *Na rak dong sprugs* cycle, contrition for transgressions and the purification of evil rebirths are but the two sides of one and the same medallion.

As noted, there are in fact two versions of the *maṇḍala* transmitted at the present time, both of which involve the configuration of the entire group of one hundred peaceful and wrathful divinities into a single concentrically arranged *maṇḍala*. At the outset, this distinguishes it from many of the other Rnying ma pa cycles based upon the same pantheon, such as the better-known *sgyu 'phrul zhi khro*, in which the peaceful and wrathful divinities are divided into two complementary *maṇḍalas* of forty-two peaceful and fifty-eight (or

⁸ CLARKE 1991. BLEZER 1997: 56-60 briefly surveys works from the *Rin chen gter mdzod* and elsewhere involving the *Na rak dong sprugs* rituals.

⁹ This short text is included in many collections of regular Rnying ma pa prayers and practices (*chos spyod*), and also frequently issued as a separatum. The colophon states that it combines the confessional litanies of the *Bka' brgyad gsang ba yongs rdzogs* revelations of Guru Chos dbang together with those of the *Byang gter bka' brgyad drag po rang byung rang shar*, the latter having been revealed by Rig 'dzin Rgod kyi lde 'phru can (1337-1409).

¹⁰ The *Zhi khro ngan song sbyong ba* will be found in any complete edition of the *Klong chen snying thig* or of its *sādhana*s. In the appended volumes of the *Rin chen gter mdzod* ('JAM MGON KONG SPRUL 1976) it appears in vol. 107. Its affinity with the *Na rak dong sprugs* is seen in the common arrangement of the *maṇḍala*.

¹¹ Its role in the purification of the tantric vows is very widely extolled. 'JAM MGON KONG SPRUL 2002: 398, for instance, writes that owing to its great purificatory power, when practised on the full moon, new moon and eighth of the month, "it is fitting to take an oath" (*g.yar dam bya ba*) to so practise it. Refer to VAN SCHAIK's chapter above for a detailed discussion of *samaya*.

sixty) wrathful divinities respectively.¹² The distinction between the two versions of the *Na rak dong sprugs maṇḍala*, however, is appar-



fig. 2 Blue Vajrasattva with consort, surrounded by the eight major bodhisattvas.
Central Tibet, ca. thirteenth century. Musée Guimet, Paris. Photo credit:
© Photo RMN. MA 1089.

ently a unique feature of this tradition, and seems to conserve a remarkable snapshot of the early evolution of Tibetan *maṇḍala* systems. The first version of the *maṇḍala*, the one referred to as the ‘Hundred-petalled Lotus’, is said to be related to the tantras of the Mahāyoga class. (The schematic and simplified *maṇḍala* shown in

¹² This division of the pantheon into two *maṇḍalas* is perhaps best known, in fact, from the *Kar gling zhi khro*, the ritual system of which the *Bar do thos grol* is part. Cf. the preceding chapter by IMAEDA and, for a thorough analysis of the *zhi khro* pantheon, BLEZER 1997.

Fig. 1 is the one currently used for funerals at Smin sgrol gling.) The second *maṇḍala* is arranged upon the concentric hubs of a great wheel, and is qualified as belonging to the Anuyogatantra.¹³ In both *maṇḍalas*, the central divinity is the blue Vajrasattva, accompanied by his consort Vajradhātviśvarī. While the pantheon in both cases is essentially similar, the ‘Mahāyoga’ *maṇḍala*, our ‘Hundred-petalled Lotus’, expressly places the female divinities to the side of their male consorts.¹⁴ It is a distinct possibility, in fact, that the several exceptional early *thangkas* depicting a blue Vajrasattva with consort, as in the magnificent example from the collection of the Musée Guimet (Fig. 2), are to be related to the *Na rak* rituals.¹⁵ That this arrangement

¹³ This is the rite called the *Khrom dkrugs cho ga* as given in text C. of the *Bka’ ma* collection. It is perhaps notable that the arrangement of the *maṇḍala* upon a wheel, in contrast to the lotus, seems to be the pattern preferred throughout the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*.

¹⁴ Thus, in the *Spyi khros cho ga* (i.e., the *Padma brgya ldan*, text E.), we are told (p. 286) that, following the generation of the central Vajrasattva, Vajradhātviśvarī is to be generated ‘to the left of the father[-consort], beside his lap ... embracing him with her right hand that holds a bell, her left holding a *vajra* to her heart, and her legs wrapped around him in **vratāsana*’ (*yab kyi g.yon phyogs nye ba’i ’phang* [sic! read: *phang*] *du yum rdo rje dbang phyug ma sngon mo phyg g.yas dril bu ’dzin pa yab la ’khyud cing/ g.yon rdo rje thugs kar ’dzin pa/ brtul zhugs kyi skyil mo krung gis ’khril ba*). The **vratāsana* (meaning something like the ‘posture of yogic discipline’) is unfamiliar to me, but, given that the goddess clearly must be placed to the central figure’s side, it probably resembles the pose of Vajrasattva’s consort in the Musée Guimet’s *thang ka* in figure 2. The same posture is assumed by the consorts of the Jinas of the five families (*ibid*, p. 303).

¹⁵ On this work, attributed to the thirteenth century and inventoried as MA 1089 in the Musée Guimet collection, see BÉGUIN 1995: 76-78. (The *thang ka* was acquired in southern Tibet by Pt. Rahula Sankrityayana and was presented to the Musée Guimet by Giuseppe Tucci, who had also published it in TUCCI 1949: vol. 3, plate F, described in vol. 2, p. 332.) It is possible that this *thang ka* was commissioned for rites performed in accord with the *Na rak* cycle of the Zur or other early Rnying ma pa lineages. However, blue forms of Vajrasattva are also known from Gsar ma sources (DE MALLMAN 1986: 419-420) and it would be imprudent to exclude these from consideration. Nevertheless, in reference to another striking example, now in the collection of the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts but also formerly in the possession of Tucci (and similarly reproduced in TUCCI 1949: vol. 3, plate 1, with description in vol. 2, pp. 331-332), HUNTINGTON AND HUNTINGTON (1990: 309-313) demonstrate the Zur lineage provenance quite conclusively. In this painting, dating probably to the late eleventh or early twelfth century, blue Vajrasattva, with Vajradhātviśvarī posed at his side, is surmounted by seven identified members of the lineage beginning with Vimalamitra, and the patron depicted in the lower right corner is a direct disciple of Zur chung Shes rab grags, Glan bla ma Shākya byang chub. Significantly, the

of the male and female divinities was typical of early Mahāyoga is, incidentally, suggested too by the Musée Guimet's exceptional Dunhuang *maṇḍala* of the forty-two peaceful deities (Fig. 3), a group that as a whole is incorporated within the inner circles of the *maṇḍalas* that concern us here.¹⁶



fig. 3 The *maṇḍala* of the forty-two peaceful deities. Dunhuang, ca. tenth century. Musée Guimet, Paris. Photo credit: © Photo RMN. EO 1148.

The Anuyoga *maṇḍala*, by contrast, places the male and female divinities in full union, as is familiar from the *yab yum* iconography that we often associate with the so-called ‘Anuttarayogatantras’ in general.¹⁷ Though this version of *maṇḍala* of the peaceful and wrath-

brgyud 'debs noted above (n. 5) also makes Glan to be Zur chung's successor in this lineage.

¹⁶ The painting is numbered EO. 1148 in the collection of the Musée Guimet. See VANDIER-NICOLAS and HAMBIS 1974-76: 62-66 and plate 29. Recent discussions of it include TANAKA 1992 and idem in GIÈS and COHEN 1995: 396-398.

¹⁷ Thus, the generation of the deity in this case states that the central goddess (here Samantabhadrī) is posed not beside, but *in the lap* (*de'i phang du*) of the father-

ful divinties is mentioned just to illustrate this difference and will be of no further concern to us here, it seems nevertheless worthwhile to note that the explicit difference in the two *maṇḍalas*' depictions of the deities with their consorts raises a general question of some importance for the study of Tibetan religious art: should ritual stipulations or artistic practices be regarded as the primary sources of agency in any given case in which similar discrepancies are noted? Were the rituals, in other words, driving the development of iconographic features, or were the rites themselves sometimes redacted in response to variations that had been explored first in art? While there was no doubt a mutual feedback relation obtaining between the two over the long term, in connection with the issue at hand, that is, the pose of male and female divinities, Tibetan Buddhist tradition by and large privileged ritual in its expositions of the relations of divine consorts. Summarizing Indian sources, Sa chen Kun dga' snying po (1092-1158), for instance, writes:

Based upon the Paranirmitavaśavartin deities, a species of divinity in the realm of desire, whose males and females gaze upon one another, one satisfies the torment of entanglement in desire by mutual gazes, and in that way there is a path of perfect enlightenment without renunciation. Because this is taught, there is the Kriyātantra, which grants just so much bliss. [...] Again, among some there is the desire to laugh, so that to teach them that there is a path that does not renounce that, there is the Caryātantra, which permits just so much bliss. [...] Some have the desire to embrace, so that in order to teach them that there is a path in which that is not renounced, there is the Yogatantra, which permits just so much bliss as comes from embraces. [...] Similarly, some have the desire of a couple copulating, and there is a path of perfect enlightenment that does not abandon them. In order to teach this, the Highest Tantra permits just so much bliss. [...] Thus, there are four divisions of degree among the passions of the beings of the realm of desire, wherefore, in order to indicate that without renouncing them, there are the paths of perfect enlightenment whose significance is taught [in the four classes of tantra]—this is held to be so by master Kaṇha, Padmavajra and their followers, following the *Dvikalpa* [i.e., the *Hevajratantra*], the *Saṃpuṭa*, etc.¹⁸

consort Samantabhadra. (Text C., p. 155). Recently, several scholars have pointed out that the source term for *ṛnal 'byor bla med* found in available Sanskrit texts is in fact *niruttarayoga* and not **anuttarayoga*, though the term *anuttara* figures prominently in the Śaiva tantrism of Kashmir.

¹⁸ SA CHEN 1968: 5-6.

The *maṇḍalas* of the *Na rak dong sprugs* thus appear in their iconography to capture one aspect of the passage from Yogatantra to Highest Tantra as this was understood here and in similar works. Though we may regard the presentation we find in Sa chen's text as being somewhat fanciful, it is clear that ritual and icon were evolving throughout the late first and early second millennia, and that traditional authors drew upon the narratives available within the traditions with which they were familiar to describe and to explain the changes that were taking place around them.

Let us return now to our main topic and briefly summarize the pantheon surrounding (A. 1-2) the central Vajrasattva and his consort Vajradhātviśvarī in the Mahāyoga *maṇḍala* of the hundred-petalled lotus:

- (B. 3-6) First are four divinities: Vajrākṣobhya and Samantabhadra and their consorts.
- (C. 7-14) Around them are eight: the Tathāgatas of the four families and their consorts.
- (D. 15-30) These are surrounded in turn by sixteen: the eight bodhisattvas and eight offering-goddesses.
- (E. 31-62) Following is a heterogenous group of thirty-two: the four wrathful gate-protectors with their consorts, the six sages (*thub pa drug*), the *herukas* of the five families with their consorts and finally the eight Gaurīs.
- (F. 63-102) The outer circle of forty divinities is populated by the rabble of animal-headed *ḍākinīs*.

In short, the pantheon of the peaceful divinities occupies the center and inner circles (A.-D.), including gate-protectors and sages of the circle of thirty-two (E. 31-44); while the wrathful pantheon takes up the remainder of that circle and the outer periphery of the *maṇḍala* (E. 45-F. 102).

THE LOTUS MAṆḌALA AT DUNHUANG

It would appear that the 'Hundred-Petalled Lotus' as known to the later *Rnying ma bka' ma* tradition is to be identified straight away with the *maṇḍala* of the Zur temple, were it not for the fact that lotus *maṇḍalas* of various descriptions are legion throughout Tantric milieux. From Hindu diagrams such as the Śrīyantra, to the Garbha-

maṇḍala of Japanese Shingon, the lotus serves as an ubiquitous template for the layout and design of sacred realms. At Dunhuang, accordingly, lotus *maṇḍalas* are very well represented in both the Tibetan and Chinese collections. A particularly striking example is Stein painting 172 (Fig. 4), with its intricate concentric series of petals. Most noteworthy in the present context is, however, a short

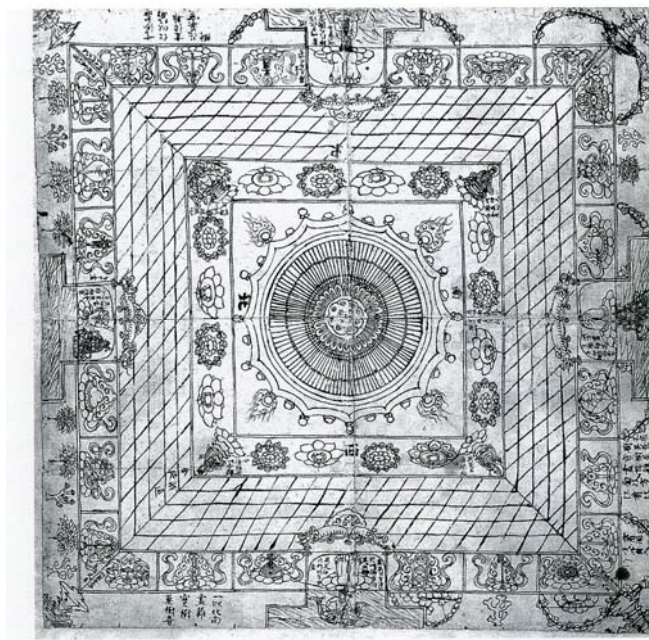


fig. 4 Stein painting 172 (British Museum no. 1919,0101,0.172). Dunhuang, ca. tenth century. This image is reproduced by kind permission of © The British Museum.

Dunhuang Tibetan manuscript, IOL Tib J 318, that was first noted in L. de la Vallée Poussin's catalogue of the India Office Library collection: a "memorandum for arranging the divinities in a *maṇḍala* of 108 lotus petals" (*padma 'kha brgya rtsa brgyad pa la lha bkod pa'i brjed byang*).¹⁹ A glance at the actual content of this short text (edited

¹⁹ LA VALLÉE POUSSIN 1962: Refer now too to the entry in DALTON and VAN SCHAIK 2006: 49-50. The text, three folios in length (and numbered ka, 'kha, ga), is in fact in two parts: the first (lines ka.a1-ka.b6) provides instructions for the general layout of the *maṇḍala* (referred to hereafter as *maṇḍala* followed by the numbering of the deities concerned), mentioning groups of deities without enumerating them individually, while the latter (lines ka.b6-ga.b5) names the divinities in each group and

and translated below) immediately suggests a pronounced morphological relationship between it and the Hundred-Petalled Lotus *maṇḍala* of the *Rnying ma bka' ma* tradition. We find here the following arrangement:

- (A. *maṇḍala* 1-2) Center: Prajñāpāramitā and Vairocana.
- (B. *maṇḍala* 3-10) Eight white petals: the eight means and wisdom divinities of the four families.²⁰
- (C. *maṇḍala* 11-26) Sixteen red petals: ten *pāramitā* goddesses²¹ and six offering goddesses.²²
- (D. *maṇḍala* 27-42) Sixteen yellow petals: two remaining offering goddesses,²³ ten directional buddhas,²⁴ four foremost arhats.²⁵

specifies their appropriate *mudrās* (referred to hereafter as *mudrā* followed by the numbering of the deities concerned). As is typically the case in tenth-century Dunhuang tantric texts, the Sanskrit is quite poorly transcribed and sometimes unrecognizably so. For examples of this, see especially n. 32 below.

²⁰ *Mudrās* 3-10: Akṣobhyavajra, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi; Bud-dhalocanā, Māmākī, Paṇḍaravāsīnī, Āryatārā.

²¹ The list of the *pāramitās* is defective: *mudrās* 11-17 are given as Dānapāramitā, Jñānapāramitā, Prajñāpāramitā, Balapāramitā, Upayapāramitā, Prañidhānapāramitā, and Jñānapāramitā. The repetition of Jñāna is clearly in error, and the list is missing four of the perfections: Śīla, Kṣānti, Vīrya and Dhyāna. In the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana* (*SDP* hereafter) the *pāramitās* are assimilated to the offering goddesses and only eight are listed (SKORUPSKI 1983: 8).

²² *Mudrās* 57-62: Vajralāsyā, Vajramālā, Vajragītā, Vajranṛtyā, Vajradhūpā, Vajrapuṣpā (though our text suggests rather Vajraphullā). These are of course identical in the *SDP* (SKORUPSKI 1983: 8).

²³ *Mudrās* 63-64: Vajrālokā and Vajragandhā.

²⁴ It has not so far been possible to establish a clear correlation between the list of the Buddhas of the ten directions given here and any other known enumeration. Although all ten are named in our text—Śrīkānti, Ratnaloka, Prajñābhadrā, *pa ra ba myu ka*, Śrī *ba ra ma*, Śrī aśoka, Śrījñāna, Śrī bhadravajra, Ratnaṃ *pa ra ma*, Jñāna-cakra—and despite the fact that the underlying Sanskrit is clear in all but three among them (as indicated by the use of *italics*), the group as a whole remains puzzling. The elements found in these names, however, are frequently met with in other lists—in particular, *śrī*, *aśoka*, *ratna*, and *bhadra*—though perhaps these are generally so common that this in itself is of little significance.

Correspondence with several colleagues has in any case revealed that, while inventories of the direction Buddhas are well-known from a variety of sources, they diverge considerably from one another. Though it is not precisely my present topic, for convenience of reference I summarise elements of this correspondence here. I thank Hartmut Buescher, Paul Harrison, Inoue Takami, Peter Jilks, Hodaya Kandahjaya, Leslie Kawamura, Christian Luczanits, Jan Nattier, Jonathan Silk, Jacqueline Stone, and Nobuyoshi Yamabe for their learned remarks and observations.

- (E. *maṇḍala* 43-58) Sixteen green petals: sixteen inner bodhisattvas.²⁶
- (F. *maṇḍala* 59-76) Sixteen black petals: eight great wrathful deities²⁷ and eight great gods.²⁸ (Two additional wrathful deities, above and below, are to be added in *samādhi*.)²⁹
- (G. *maṇḍala* 77-92) Sixteen rose-colored petals: eight great *nāgas*³⁰ and eight great *ṛṣis*.³¹

An early list of the Buddhas of the ten directions is given in the “Proto-Buddhāvataṃsaka” translated by Lokakṣema (or immediate members of his school) in the late 2nd century (*T* 280, *Dousha jing* 兜沙經). (This work is the object of a study-in-progress by Harrison and Nattier.) Also early is the naming of the Buddhas of the six directions found in the *Mahāvastu* (I.123-25; JONES 1949: 97-98). A variety of lists may be found elsewhere in the Mahāyāna sūtra literature: in a series of *gāthās* from the *Foming jing* (佛名經, *T* 440 and 441) and some versions of the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha* (on this conundrum, see HARRISON et al. 2002); in the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrā Prajñāpāramitā*, the apparent source of inscriptions referring to the ten Buddhas in the early West Tibetan temple of Tabo, Himachal Pradesh (PETECH and LUCZANITS 1999: 126-135); and in the *Ratnacandrapariṣchāsūtra*, cited in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāravṛtti* of Ārya-Vimuktisena (PENSA 1967: 27). On the Buddhas of the directions in Chinese Buddhist visualisation practices, refer to WILLIAMS 2005.

²⁵ The arhats are included in the basic *maṇḍala* of the *SDP* as elaborated by Buddhaguhya (SKORUPSKI 1983: 313n). Their precise enumeration is not, however, quite the same as we find here. For our present text, the first four arhats are *mudrās* 97-100: Kāśyapa, Śāriputra, Subhūti, and Maudgalyāyana, among whom the third is not found in Buddhaguhya’s list. The remaining four arhats are listed as *mudrās* 101-104, but there may be some conflation here of arhats and *ṛṣis*, concerning which refer to n. 31 below.

²⁶ The sixteen “inner bodhisattvas” (*nang gi sems dpa’*), or “Vajrasattvas,” are well known throughout the Yogatantras. For their description in *SDP*, see SKORUPSKI 1983: 41-42, 312. Their variants are tabulated by DE MALLMAN 1986: 396-400. For their precise enumeration here, refer below to *mudrās* 31-46 and the accompanying notes.

²⁷ *Mudrās* 47-54: Acala, Yamāntakṛt, Hayagrīva, Amṛtakuṇḍalin, Aparājita, Nīla-daṇḍa, Takkirāja, Mahābala. Buddhaguhya’s list (SKORUPSKI 1983: 313n) is identical with the exception of Takkirāja, instead of whom we find Trailokyavijaya. Variant enumerations of the ten wrathful deities are given by DE MALLMAN 1986: 219-222.

²⁸ *Mudrās* 65-72: Maheśvara, Mahādeva, Rudra, Viṣṇu, Mahākāla, Daṇḍin, Kārtikeya, Bhṛṅgiriṭi. The list is idiosyncratic; cf. SKORUPSKI 1983: 61n53.

²⁹ *Mudrās* 55-56: Hūṃkara and Padmakūṇḍalin.

³⁰ *Mudrās* 73-80: Karkoṭa, Śaṅkhaṇḍa, Kulika, Ananta, Śaṅkara, Vāsuki, *A bran ta* (?), Takṣaka. The list in the *SDP* (SKORUPSKI 1983: 57), is similar, but has Padma and Varuṇa in place of Śaṅkara and the otherwise unidentified *A bran ta*.

³¹ The *ṛṣis* have apparently dropped out of the list of *mudrās* altogether, though the *mudrās* include eight arhats whereas the *maṇḍala* counted only four. It seems plausible, therefore, that the author has confounded these two categories. In Buddhaguhya’s commentary on *SDP* (SKORUPSKI 1983: 313n) both the eight *śrāvakas* and eight great *ṛṣis* are indeed included in the *maṇḍala*, though only the first group

(H. *maṇḍala* 93-108) Sixteen light green petals: eight *asura* generals³² and eight *yakṣa* generals.³³

As seen in the notes, though several of the groups of divinities listed here are known from various well-studied *maṇḍalas*, there is a distinct, though imperfect, correspondence with the *maṇḍala* system of the *SDP*, as it was elaborated by Buddhaguhya in particular. This suggests that it may be plausible to think of the *maṇḍala* described in IOL Tib J 318 as an iteration of the *maṇḍala*-system of the *SDP*. For the indications regarding the forms of the *maṇḍalas* given in the *SDP* itself are sufficiently varied so that we can imagine our Dunhuang document as emerging from the many changes that may be rung upon the instructions provided within the tantra.³⁴ However, one also finds a striking correlation between certain of the lists found in our text and the groups of deities mentioned in the *Mahāvīyutpatti*. While the general morphology of the *maṇḍala* may therefore have been inspired by traditions related to the *SDP*, its actual population seems to have been filled in part from other sources, including perhaps generic inventories of divine figures.

are actually named. The *Mahāvīyutpatti* (SAKAKI 1916-1925: no. 3447-3472) lists twenty-five great *ṛṣi*s, but this does not permit us to establish just who are the eight at issue here.

³² Several of the *asuras* listed here (*mudrās* 81-88) may be clearly identified among the eleven *asuras* of the *Mahāvīyutpatti* (SAKAKI 1916-1925: nos. 3391-3402): Vemacitra (no. 3393), Śambara (no. 3394), Vairocana (no. 3396), and Bṛhadāra (no. 3399). Padmaśrīsambhava (86) is perhaps an error for Vatsaśrīsambhava (no. 3401). *Su pra ti rtsa ri* (87) is probably to be explained by Suvratasvara (no. 3402). *La pe pu sa ri* (86) may have its origin in a severely mangled transmission of Balavipula-hetumati (no. 3400). No. 81, *Kra hi sa ti*, eludes me altogether. Two of the *asuras*, Vemacitra (82) and Vairocana (84), are mentioned also in the *Niṣpannayogāvali* among the emperors of the *asuras* (DE MALLMAN 1986: 105).

³³ The eight *yakṣa* generals (*mudrās* 89-96) may be all identified among the thirteen *yakṣa* lords of the *Mahāvīyutpatti* (SAKAKI 1916-1925: no. 3366-3379): Mahā-ghoṣeśvara (no. 3368), Mahāmati (no. 3370), Arcineta[-adhipati] (no. 3371), Pañcika (no. 3379), Āṭavakayakṣa (no. 3377), Merubala[-pramardī] (no. 3375), Vajradr̥ḍhanetra (no. 3372), Suvīra (= Agravīrabāhu, no. 3373). This list corresponds not at all with any of the groups of eight *yakṣas* tabulated by DE MALLMAN 1986: 460.

³⁴ The *SDP* itself contains descriptions of ten *maṇḍalas* that have been further elaborated within its commentarial traditions. These began to become known in Tibet during the eighth century. DALTON and VAN SCHAIK 2006: index pp. 372-373 note ten Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts in relation to the *SDP*; TANAKA 2000, ch. 5, provides a detailed study of IOL Tib J 579, an important ritual manual setting forth the consecrations of the *SDP*.

What then of the relation, if any, of our *maṇḍala* to the “Hundred-petalled Lotus” of the *Na rak* cycle? In general terms, it appears the latter might have been derived from something like the former through a development entirely consistent with the passage from Yogatantra to Mahāyogatantra *maṇḍala* systems as has by now been well established in several contexts. Accordingly, the worldly divinities of the Yogatantra system, as seen in our Dunhuang *maṇḍala*, were replaced by the Herukas, Gaurīs, and Īśvarīs, etc., of the Mahāyoga and Anuyoga systems, as found in the *Na rak dong sprugs* and elsewhere.³⁵ This, however, is a morphological transformation of such generality that it probably does not argue for a strict relationship between our *maṇḍalas*. Considered together with the fact that the designation “lotus *maṇḍala*” occurs elsewhere in the Dunhuang Tibetan corpus, for instance, in IOL Tib J 507, as S. van Schaik has kindly called to my attention, and there in a context that superficially, at least, seems to have little relationship to the materials we are here examining, the relation of the “Hundred-Petalled Lotus” of the *Na rak* cycle to IOL Tib J 318 would appear to be quite weak.

Let us recall, however, that there is some reason to think our Dunhuang *maṇḍala* to be related to the *SDP*. If we were to show the *Na rak* “Hundred-Petalled Lotus” to share a similar origin, this might put matters into another perspective.

To begin, let us note that the expression *Na rak dong sprugs* can be interpreted as nothing other than a paraphrase of the title *SDP*; for *na rak* embraces all evil destinies, and their churning is but a metaphorical designation for their purification. Functionally, too, the *Na rak* cycle, with its role in mortuary rites, seems a Rnying ma pa analog to the *SDP*. But beyond these rough indicators, there is one striking aspect of the *maṇḍala* itself that seems surely to argue for a direct, genetic connection between the two.

At the beginning of the third chapter of the *SDP*, the instructions for the creation of the Cakravartin *maṇḍala* start with a list of options for the choice of the central divinity:

In the centre he should draw *Vajra*... or *Vajrasattva* or *Samantabhadra* the Great Bliss...³⁶

³⁵ TANAKA 1992: 276 considers the 58 wrathful deities of the Rnying ma pa *maṇḍalas* to have originated specifically from *Sarvabuddhasamāyogatantra* and the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgrahatantra*.

³⁶ SKORUPSKI 1983: 74.

If we turn now to the “Hundred-Petalled Lotus” of the *Na rak dong sprugs*, we find remarkably that the center of the *maṇḍala* includes all three of these options: at the center itself we find Vajrasattva and consort, surrounded by Vajrākṣobhya and Samantabhadra, with their consorts. This inner group seems distinctive of the *Na rak* cycle, among the major Rnying ma pa *maṇḍala* systems, and I do not think that it can have originated accidentally. What we may hold, therefore, is that our Dunhuang *maṇḍala* and the *Na rak* cycle are related as paradigms of two stages in the general transformation from Yoga to Highest Yoga (*rnal 'byor bla med*),³⁷ but that at the same time they both seem to reflect Tibetan adaptations of the *maṇḍala* systems derived from the *SDP*. This is not to say that there is a linear connection between them—not one that can be demonstrated, at least. It is nevertheless remarkable that we do find, among the Dunhuang Tibetan documents, some rather precise evidence that elements of the *Na rak* cycle were already beginning to assume their characteristic form before the sealing of Mogao Cave 17 toward the beginning of the eleventh century.

The foremost tantra of the *Na rak* cycle is a peculiar work entitled in brief the *Dri med gshags rgyud*, the *Taintless Tantra of Contrition* (*Dam tshig thams cad kyi nyams chag skong ba'i lung/ bshags pa thams cad kyi rgyud dri ma med pa'i rgyal po*). It occupies a singular place in Rnying ma pa liturgy and includes several chapters that even today are known by heart by virtually every Rnying ma pa monk or tantric adept. Now, one of the Dunhuang texts in London, IOL Tib J 584, provides a short litany of tantric confession that may be found to be entirely embedded within the *Dri med gshags rgyud* as we know it today. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, it seems likely that the tantra evolved directly as the elaboration of the text we find in IOL Tib J 584, or from some now missing source of the latter.

Besides this, there may now be some reason to posit a genuine connection between our two Dunhuang texts, IOL Tib J 318 and 584, for the paleographic researches of DALTON, DAVIS and VAN SCHAIK (2007) have suggested that one and the same scribe may have produced both manuscripts. They may thus have been regarded as in some sense *belonging* together, even if their association was originally only fortuitous. In sum, therefore, I believe that they do have something to

³⁷ In the developed Rnying ma pa systems of the late-tenth or eleventh century on, ‘Highest Yoga’ is taken as embracing Mahāyoga, Anuyoga and Atiyoga.

tell us of the emergence of the *Na rak dong sprugs* cycle and, by analogy, that of many other parts of the *Rnying ma bka' ma* collections.³⁸ A careful reading of the traditional account of the transmission of the *Na rak* lineage, as given in the *Smin gling* recension, demonstrates not a singular line through which a unique body of ritual lore was passed down, but rather the aggregation of a ritual corpus on the basis of fragments derived from many differing sources.³⁹ If we assume now that early *Rnying ma pa* masters, for instance the patriarchs of the *Zur* line, were confronted with materials that resembled more the Dunhuang documents than they did the modern *Rnying ma bka' ma* materials, we can also imagine that disparate documents, like IOL Tib J 318 and 584, might have been sometimes grouped to form the basis for common liturgical compilations. In this way, the *Na rak* cycle arose not as the linear development from an *Ur-Na rak* corpus, but from a process of on-going bricolage and refinement, drawing upon a wide range of available texts, fragments, and oral traditions.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

I offer here transcriptions and interpretations of the two principle texts from Dunhuang that I have discussed above. Although neither of these manuscripts provides any precise data that would permit us to establish their provenance, their form and contents suggest that they may be assigned to the middle or late tenth century. Both adhere closely to the conventions of orthographically 'correct' classical Tibetan and so seem to support an argument that I have advanced elsewhere, concerning 'literacy and learning in a dark age', the century and a half following the collapse of the Tibetan empire.⁴⁰ At

³⁸ Refer to our discussion in the Preface.

³⁹ See especially, in the *Rnying ma bka' ma* collection, text C., pp. 238-40, which begins by stating that 'this ritual has a few different traditions depending upon the respective tantras and instructional texts...' (*cho ga 'di la rgyud dang man ngag gi gzhung so so la brten pa'i lugs srol tha dad pa 'ga' zhig mchis te*). The conclusion of this same passage (n. 7 above) only serves to reinforce the impression that we are in fact dealing with a construction based on disparate fragments.

⁴⁰ KAPSTEIN: 2000: 12: 'As the historiography of the Nyingmapa tradition underscores, the persecution [of Buddhism by Glang Dar ma] is not supposed to have much affected lay adherents of tantric Buddhism, and other sources, too, emphasize familial lineages of tantric practitioners active during this time. Many of the Dunhuang Tibetan tantric manuscripts probably are also to be attributed to the period intervening be-

the same time, Sanskrit usage is based on approximate phonetic equivalents, as these would appear to an untrained Tibetan ear, and not on the system of exact transcription that was standardized by the translation committees of the imperial period. In this respect, too, our texts resemble other documents of the tenth century, such as the famous PT 849.⁴¹

IOL Tib J 318: Text

The following transcription was initially achieved on the basis of a microfilm of the original manuscript. A subsequent cross-check that became possible thanks to the finely scanned image posted on the website of the International Dunhuang Project (<http://idp.bl.uk>) permitted the clarification and resolution of many points of detail. The excellent digital research tool now made available by the IDP is an exceptional contribution to the field, and all of those involved in Dunhuang Studies must count themselves in their debt. However, it must be noted that even with the finest images, it remains difficult to be certain of the readings of signs that are not clearly distinguished in the scribe's own hand. Thus, in the present case, we find frequent ambiguities in the representation of such pairs as *d/t*, *p/s*, *b/c*, *i/e*, and *e/o*, among others. Though context often permits one to judge which of two alternatives is preferable in any given case, this procedure seems particularly ad hoc in respect to Sanskrit phrases, given the very imprecise conventions in use. Nevertheless, as it would just clutter the text beyond practicality to mention every graphic ambiguity that occurs, I provide here only my best assessment, noting just those cases that appear to require special comment, or adding a question mark immediately following a syllable whose reading is doubtful. Readers

tween the fall of the dynasty and the cultural renaissance in western Tibet towards the end of the first millenium. However we interpret reports, beginning as early as the late-10th century, that the Tibetan tantrism of this period had grown degenerate, we may nevertheless attribute to tantric circles some role in maintaining basic skills of alphabetization. Just as the Japanese *kana* syllabary is supposed to have been derived from principles used in the phonetic representation of Buddhist mantras, so in the Tibetan case the ritual requirements of esoteric Buddhism, though not involved in the initial formation of the script, may well have contributed to its maintenance and promotion'.

⁴¹ On PT 849, see HACKIN 1924 and KAPSTEIN 2006. See, too, DALTON, DAVIS and VAN SCHAIK 2007.

interested in the paleographical fine points may find it profitable to consult the scanned manuscript referred to above.

The text of IOL Tib J 318 consists of three folios, 'numbered' in the left hand margin of the obverse of each with the syllables *ka*, *'kha*, and *ga*. Despite the uncertainties referred to above, the handwriting is neat and regular, with few corrections. These are mostly syllables that had been omitted and were added later in fine characters beneath the point at which they were to be inserted, as indicated here by the use of subscript print.

- (ka.a1) @ /pad ma 'kha brgya rtsa brgyad pa la lha bkod
pa'I brjed byang /pad ma'i snying po la/ yum shes rab
kyi phyin pa'i mdun du rnam par snang mdzad/ pad
ma_dkar
- (ka.a2) po lce brgyad la/ rigs bzhi thabs dang shes rab brgyad/
de 'i phyi rim pad ma dmar po 'kha bcu drug pa la/
pha rol du phyin pa bcu 'I lha mo dang/ phyi nang kyi
- (ka.a3) mchod pa'i lha mo drug/ de 'i phyi rim pad ma ser po
kha bcu drug la/ nang du ma gtsol ba'I_{chod pa'i} lha mo
gnyis dang/ phyogs cu 'i sangs rgyas dang/ 'od srungs
las
- (ka.a4) stsogs pa nyan thos dgra bcoM ba chen po bzhi bkod/
de 'i phyi rim pad ma ljang ku la/ nang kyi sems pa
bcu drug bkod/ de 'i phyi rim pad ma nag po kha bcu
- (ka.a5) drug la/ khro bo chen po brgyad dang lha chen po
brgyad spel te/ bkod/ steng 'og kyI khro bo ting 'dzIn
gyIs bkod/ de 'i phyi rim pad ma dmar skya kha
- (ka.a6) bcu drug la/ klu chen po brgyad dang drang srong
chen po brgyad spel te bkod/ de phyi rim pad ma
ljang skya kha bcu drug la/ lha ma yin kyi sde dpon
chen po
- (ka.a7) brgyad dang/ gnod sbyin gyi sde dpon chen po brgyad
spel te bkod/ de 'i phyi rim sgyamthso 'i pad ma bzhi
la gang po la stsogs pa dgra bcoM ba chen po
- (ka.a8) bzhi bkod/ skal bzangs dang phyogs skyong la stsogs
pa dkyil 'khor thams cad ni/ pad ma'i phyi rim man
chad ting nge 'dzin kyis bkod/ dgra bcoM ba
- (ka.b1) dag gyi sku mdog/ rab 'byord gang po/ kun rga bo
skra gcan 'dzin dag ni ser/ gzhan ni dmar/ kun kyang

- chos_{gos} gsum pa/ thub pa la chos nyan ba'i tshul du
thal mo
- (ka.b2) sbyar te 'god do/ pad ma 'dab ma stong pa'i lha 'god
pa yang/ don 'di nyid du zad de/ 'dod 'khaMs kyi lha
rIgs drug dang/ gzugs 'khaMs gyi lha'i gtso bo/
tshangs pa chen
- (ka.b3) po la stsogs pa gzhung gzhan dang sbyar te pad ma la
bkod/ gza' dang rgyu skar dang skal bzangs dang/
rgyal chen dang phyogs skyong bcu gCig la bstsogs pa
dam tshig
- (ka.b4) can dang/ dkyil khor thaMs chad pa ni pad ma'I lce
la/ drngos su bkod do/ byaMms pa la stsogs pa rnams
ni/ phyogs bcu 'i sangsrgyas kyi khor du byung te/
byaMms
- (ka.b5) pa dang 'jam dpal dang/ phyag na rdo rje la stsogs pl'
bskal bzangs brgyad ni/ dmyigs gyis kyang shag gya
thub pa byang shar gyi mtshams du 'byung ba'i
- (ka.b6) khor du bkod// ! //dkyil 'khor kyi lha rnams gyi
sngags dang phyag rgya'i brjed byang la/ oM prad
nya pa ra myi ta ti hi shri man swa ha/ sor mo nang du
bcings te/
- (ka.b7) 'dzub mo bshags te bsgreng/ oM be ro tsa na oM⁴²/
byang chub mchog kyi phyag rgya ni/ oM ag sho bya
ba dzra swa ha/ sa gnon gyi phyag rgya/ oM rad na
saM bha bha traM hu'M/
- (ka.b8) rin po che 'bar ba/ om a myi da be swa ha/ pad ma
kha ma bye ba/ oM a mo ki si di a/ skyabs sbyin/
oM 'bu da lo tsa ne oM/ spyang gyi phyag rgya/
- ('kha.a1) @ / oM rad na ma ma ki hu'M/ ud pa la/ oM pan da ra
bha si ne hu'M/ pad ma kha 'byed pa/ oM a rya da ra
hu'M / ral gri/ pha rol du phyin pa bcu 'i phyag rgya
la/
- ('kha.a2) oM da ra bha ra mi ta swa ha/ khu tshur spi bor bcing/
gya na bha ra myi ta swa ha/ chos chad pa'i tshul/

⁴² Reading doubtful. In the ms. we find two forms for the Tibetan *a*: one is much like the standard form in the *dbu can* script; the second resembles this, but with the stroke at left bent downward to the left, instead of rising vertically as in the common form. It is most plausible to read the *ming gzhi* of this final syllable as a variant of the latter, though formed somewhat irregularly, in which case the syllable reads *oM*.

- prad nya pa ra myi ta swa ha/ khu tshur 'dzub rtse
sbrel/ oM bha la' bha ra myi ta swa ha/
('kha.a3) sor mo phyIr bskor te pang par bzha g/ oM u ba ya ba
ra myi ta swa ha/ g.yon pa'i mthe bo dang/ g.yas pa'i
mthe'u chung sbrel/ oM pra ni da ye pa ra myi ta swa
ha/ thal
- ('kha.a4) mo zur sbyar/ theb 'dzub rtse sbrel/ oM nya na pa ra
myi da ye swa ha/ thal mo snying kar bzung/ phyogs
bcu 'i 'bu ta'i phyag rgya la/ oM shri kan te ye swa
ha/ rdo rje rtse lnga
- ('kha.a5) pa/ oM rad na lo ki hu'M/ rin po che 'bar ba'/ oM
prad nya a ba dra (?) sa hu'M / pad ma kha 'byed pa'/
oM pa ra ba myu ka hu'M / rdo rje rgya gram/ oM
shri ba ra ma huM/ khor
- ('kha.a6) lo/ oM shri a sho ka hu'M/ thal mo gnyis bzung ba'/
oM shri nya na huM/ ral gri 'i phyag rgya/ oM shri ba
dra ba dzra huM/ khor lo/ oM rad naM pa ra ma huM/
sdam pa'i khu tshur/
- ('kha.a7) oM nya na ca kru huM/ ral gri'i phyag rgya// ! // sems
dpa' bcu drug rgyud gzhan bzhIn brtag/ khro bo chen
po brgyad gyi phyag rgya la/ a rya a ca la huM 'dza'/
- ('kha.a8) a a ral gri/ oM ya man da krid huM/ gtun kyi phyag
rgya/ oM ha ya 'gri huM huM ha/ khu tshur 'dzub rtse
sbrel/ oM a mra ta gun da li huM a/ bdud rtsi thal
- ('kha.a9) mo/ oM a ba ra tsid ta huM a/ ral gri shubs nas
phyung ba/ oM ni la dan da huM na'/ dgra sta/ oM ta
gi ra tsa huM ta/ ral gri/ oM ma ha pa la huM/ thal mo
sbyar^{ba/}
- ('kha.b1) oM huM ka ra huM/ ta ka'i phyag rgya/ oM pad ma
kun da li huM/ khor lo/ ! / mchod pa'i lha mo brgyad
gyi phyag rgya la/ oM ba dzri la sye huM/ phyag bkur
brtan/
- ('kha.b2) oM ba dzra ma le tram/ phreng ba thogs/ pa/ oM ba
dzra 'gir te huM/ bi wang brdung ba'/ oM ba dzra nir
tre a/ gar byed/ du pe la bstogs pa mchod pa'i lha mo
bzhi rgyud
- ('kha.b3) gzhan bzhin brtag/ lha ched po brgyad gyi phyag rgya
la/ oM ma ha shwa ra ya swa ha/ g.yas gyi mthe bo
bsgreng/ oM ma ha de ba ye swa ha/ g.yas gyi 'dzub
mo

- (’kha.b4) bsgreng/ om ru tra ye ra/ khu tshur phyar ba/ oM bhi
snu ba/ mthe’u chung g.yas lce la reg pa/ oM ma ha
ka la ye swa ha/ khu tshur gnyis snying ka/ oM tan ti
na’/
- (’kha.b5) khu tshur/ oM kar ti ka ta/ gyas kyi srin la o g⁴³ mthe
bos gnan/ oM ’bring kyi ri tra ri/ thal mo spi bor
bzha[g]⁴⁴// :⁴⁵ //klu chen po brgyad kyi phyag
- (’kha.b6) rgya la/ oM kar ta ki to huM phu/ g.yon kyi mthe bo
sbrul mgo/ g.yas skyabs byed/ oM sha ka pa le huM
phaT/ thal mo g.yas sbrul mgo/ g.yon
- (’kha.b7) dung phor/ oM ku lu huM phu/ mthe’u chung gnyis ka
rtse sbrel sbrul mgo/ oM a tan ta pem/ g.yas gyi gung
mo sbrul mgo/ oM shang ka re huM phyas/ g.yas
- (’kha.b8) kyi ’dzub mo sbrul mgo/ oM ba su ka huM phyi/ thal
mo g.yas sbrul mgo/ oM a bran ta pheM/ g.yas kyi
gung mo mgo/ oM da sha ya
- (’kha.b9) ku hum pho/ sor mo bcu⁴⁶
- (ga.a1) @ /sbrul mgo/ : /lha ma yin brgyad gyi phyag rgya
la/ oM kra_{hi} sa ti/ mthe’u ’dzub bzhi sbrel/ yang na
rdo rje rtse gsum/ oM bye ma tsi ta ri/ dri shu la/
- (ga.a2) oM sham ’ba ri/ g.yas gyi ’dzub mo bsgreng/ dmyig
g.yon du bri/ oM be ro tsa na ka ri/ khu tshur mchan
khung du gzugs/ oM bri ha da ta ri/ ’khor lo/ oM la pe
pu sa ri/ rdo rje ku tshur phyar ba/ oM pad ma shri
sam bha ba’/ mthe’u chung gnyis sbrel/ oM su pra ti
rtsa ri/ ral gri rtse sprad/ : /gnod sbyin gyi sde dpon
chen po brgyad gyi
- (ga.a4) phyag rgya la/ ma go she shwa ra ya/ thod pa’i phyag
rgya/ oM ma ha ma dri ya/ thal mo snying kar glan/

⁴³ There is a small hole in the page intervening between *la* and *g*.

⁴⁴ There is some smudging around the hole in the page at the syllable that I read as *spi*. The following *bor* has, above the *na ro*, an additional mark that appears rather like a *gi gu* (perhaps in fact the final *-g* of *bzha[g]*?). The reading I have adopted, though not perfectly certain, represents what seems the best of the available alternatives; the characters here very closely resemble *spi bor* in line ga.a5, where this reading seems quite certain.

⁴⁵ The punctuation here changes from the snake-like design used earlier (and indicated by the exclamation point) to two small circles, placed one above the other and resembling the *gter shad*.

⁴⁶ This line is written to the extreme right, in the lower right hand corner.

- oM e tse na_{dra} y'e/ 'dzub mo gnyis bsgreng/ oM pan
tse la mo/
- (ga.a5) thal mo spi bor bsnol/ oM a tha ba ka ya sha ya/ thal
mo gnyis 'gram par glan/ bruM me ru ba la ya/ thal
mo mchan khung du sba/ bruM ba dzra rta
- (ga.a6) dra ne tra ya'/ khu tshur gung mo sbrel/ bruM su byi
ra ya/ khu tshur g.yas bsgreng/ g.yon bkur brtan/ :
/nyan thos chen po brgyad la/ laM ga sha pa'/ 'od
srungs
- (ga.a7) lam bha shu (?) ri pu tra oM su pu ti/ rab 'byor/ oM
med ka la ya na/ me'u 'gal gyi bu/ muM pu rna me⁴⁷
dri ya ni pu tra/ byams pa'i bu gang po/ bruM ma ha
- (ga.a8) ka la ya na/ ka'o bran chen po/ sa u nan/ ta/ kun rga⁴⁸
bo/ oM ra hu la sgra gcan 'dzin/ : / nang gyi sems pa
bcu drug gyi phyag rgya la/ oM
- (ga.a9) ba dzra sa twa hu'M /rdo rje rtse lnga pa/ oM ba
dzra ra ga huM/ rdo rje mda' gzhu'/ oM ba ra dza
huM/ rdo rje lcags kyo/ saM ba dzra sa du huM/
- (ga.b1) rdo rje se gol snol ma/ oM ba dzra rad na traM/ rin po
che 'bar ba/ oM ba dzra ke tu traM/ rgyal mtshan
phyar ba/ oM ba dzra su rya traM/ nyi ma'/ oM ba
dzra
- (ga.b2) ha sa tram/ bzhad pa'i phyag rgya/ bruM ba dzra da
rma hri⁴⁹/ pad ma/ bruM ba dzra tig sna hri/ ral gri/
oM ba dzra ra tsag kra hri/ khor lo/ oM ba dzra pa sha
hri/ rdo rje/
- (ga.b3) oM ba dzra kar ma ha/ rdo rje rgya gram/ oM ba dzra
ya ho/ go cha/ oM ba dzra ra ha/ mche ba'/ oM ba
dzra mu she ha/ khu tshur/ mchod pa'i lha mo
- (ga.b4) bzhi 'i phyag rgya la/ bruM ba dzra du pe/ pog por/
bruM ba dzra pu la/ men tog ma/ bruM ba dzra a lo
ka/ mar me ma/ bruM ba dzra gan de/ dri chab 'thor
- (ga.b5) ba'// : //rdzogs s+hauM// : //

⁴⁷ The character here is smudged, but must be read *mi*, *me*, or possibly *mai*.

⁴⁸ Read: dga'

⁴⁹ Here and in the following mantra this appears almost as *rhri*.

IOL Tib J 318: Translation

- (ka.a1) A memorandum on the array of deities upon the hundred-and-eight petalled lotus. In the heart of the lotus: Mother Prajñāpāramitā, before whom is Vairocana. On the white lotus[’s]
- (ka.a2) eight petals: the means and wisdom of the four families, eight [in all]. On the sixteen-petalled red lotus surrounding that [white lotus]: the goddesses of the ten perfections (*pāramitā*), and the outer and inner
- (ka.a3) offering goddesses [who number] six. On the sixteen-petalled yellow lotus surrounding that: the two ^{offering} goddesses who were not included within, and the buddhas of the ten directions, and Kāśyapa et
- (ka.a4) cetera, [i.e.,] the four great śrāvaka-arhats, are arrayed. On the green lotus surrounding that: the sixteen inner [bodhi]sattvas are arrayed. On the sixteen-petalled black lotus surrounding that:
- (ka.a5) the eight great wrathful [deities] and the eight great gods are arrayed together. The wrathful of the zenith and nadir are arrayed by *samādhi*.⁵⁰ On the surrounding pink lotus
- (ka.a6) with sixteen petals: the eight great *nāgas* and the eight great *ṛṣis* are arrayed together. On the surrounding sixteen-petalled pale green lotus: the great commanders of the *asuras*
- (ka.a7) [numbering] eight and the eight great commanders of the *yakṣas* are arrayed together. On the four lotuses in the ocean surrounding that, the great arhats, beginning with Pūrṇa,
- (ka.a8) [numbering] four are arrayed. [The thousand buddhas of] the Fortunate Æon (*Bhadrakalpa*) and the protectors of the cardinal directions (*Dikpāla*), etc., all [the inhabitants of] the *maṇḍala*, are arrayed by *samādhi* around the outer periphery of the lotus. [As for] the arhats’

⁵⁰ Cf. the indications concerning the placement of the *daśakrodha* summarized by DE MALLMAN 1986: 219-222.

- (ka.b1) colours: Subhūti, Pūrṇa, Ānanda, and Rahula are yellow; the others are red. All, moreover, [wear] the three religious robes and, in the manner of hearing the Dharma before the Sage, their palms
- (ka.b2) are pressed together—thus they are arrayed. Even if one were to array the deities of the thousand-petalled lotus, the meaning is subsumed in this. The six classes of deities of the Kāmadhātu, the foremost deities of the Rūpadhātu, Mahābrahma,
- (ka.b3) etc., are arrayed on lotuses, having juxtaposed [the present text] with other texts.⁵¹ The planets, constellations, [buddhas of] the Fortunate Æon, and the eleven protectors of the cardinal directions and other oath-
- (ka.b4) bound [deities]—all those [belonging to] the *maṇḍala*—are actually arrayed on the petals of the lotus. As for Maitreya, etc., those belonging to the retinue of the buddhas of the ten directions: Maitreya,
- (ka.b5) Mañjuśrī, and Vajrapāṇi, etc., among the eight of the Fortunate Æon,⁵² may be visualized, too, at the north-eastern boundary, where Śākyamuni is present,
- (ka.b6) arrayed among [his] retinue.
- A memorandum of the mantras and mudrās of the deities of the *maṇḍala*. (1) Oṃ prajñāpāramitā ti hi śrīmān svāhā. Fingers bound within,
- (ka.b7) the [index] finger separated and extended. (2) Oṃ vairocana oṃ. The *mudrā* of supreme enlightenment, indeed. (3) Oṃ akṣobhyavajra svāhā. Bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā. (4) Oṃ ratnasambhava traṃ hūṃ.
- (ka.b8) Blazing gem. (5) Oṃ amitābha svāhā. Unopened lotus. (6) Oṃ amoghasiddhi a. Granting refuge. (7) Oṃ buddhalocane oṃ. Eye-*mudrā*.
- (‘kha.a1) (8) Oṃ ratna māmākī hūṃ. Blue lotus (*utpala*). (9) Oṃ paṇḍaravāsīnī hūṃ. Opened lotus. (10) Oṃ āryatārā hūṃ. Sword. (11-20) As for the *mudrās* of the ten Perfections:

⁵¹ Cf. *SDP* and the elaborations of Buddhaguhya, in SKORUPSKI 1983: 75, 313n.

⁵² This would appear to refer to the eight major bodhisattvas.

- (’kha.a2) (11) Oṃ dānapāramitā svāhā. Fist joined to the crown of the head. (12) jñānapāramitā svāhā. In the manner of expounding the Dharma. (13) prajñāpāramitā svāhā. Fist with the tips of the fingers interlocked. (14) Oṃ balapāramitā svāhā.
- (’kha.a3) The fingers revolve outwardly and are poised in the lap. (15) Oṃ upayapāramitā svāhā. Left thumb and right little finger interlocked. (16) Oṃ praṇidhānapāramitā svāhā. Palms
- (’kha.a4) joined at the edge, tips of thumbs and index fingers joined. (17) Oṃ jñānapāramitaye svāhā. Palms held at the heart. (21-30) As for the *mudrās* of the Buddhas of the ten directions: (21) Oṃ śrīkāntaye svāhā. Five-pronged vajra.
- (’kha.a5) (22) Oṃ ratnāloke hūṃ. Blazing gem. (23) Oṃ prajñābhaddra sa hūṃ.⁵³ Opened lotus. (24) Oṃ pa ra ba myu ka hūṃ. Crossed vajra. (25) Oṃ śrī ba ra ma hūṃ.⁵⁴ Wheel.
- (’kha.a6) (26) Oṃ śrī aśoka hūṃ. Clasping the two palms. (27) Oṃ śrījñāna hūṃ. Sword-*mudrā*. (28) Oṃ śrī bhadravajra hūṃ. Wheel. (29) Oṃ ratnaṃ pa ra ma hūṃ. Clenched fist.
- (’kha.a7) (30) oṃ jñānacakra hūṃ. Sword-*mudrā*. (31-46) As for the sixteen *sattva*-s, examine them according to another tantra.⁵⁵ (47-56) Now, as for the *mudrās* of the eight⁵⁶ great wrathful ones: (47) Ārya acala hūṃ jah.
- (’kha.a8) A a sword.⁵⁷ (48) Oṃ yamāntakṛt hūṃ. Pestle-*mudrā*. (49) Oṃ hayagrī[va] hūṃ hūṃ hā. Fists with thumb-

⁵³ I am supposing that in the phrase *prad nya a ba dra sa* the syllable *a* represents in fact the final long vowel of *prajñā*. As for the *sa*, it may be that the scribe started to write *swa ha* (= *svāhā*), but then switched to a closing *huM*, without deleting the *sa*. These suppositions are, of course, quite open to question.

⁵⁴ *ba ra ma* might represent any of several Sanskrit words: Varman, Brahman, *parama*, etc.

⁵⁵ They are in fact enumerated below, lines ga.a8-b3.

⁵⁶ Actually ten are listed. The scribe perhaps had in mind the earlier indication (line ka.a5) that eight wrathful are to be actually placed in the *maṇḍala*, with the two of the zenith and nadir only visualised.

⁵⁷ The syllables *a a* should perhaps better be construed as completing the preceding mantra.

- tips joined. (50) *Om amṛtakunḍali hūṃ a.* Nectar-palm.
- (ʼkha.a9) (51) *Om aparāṇita hūṃ a.* Drawing a sword from the sheath. (52) *Om nīladaṇḍa hūṃ nā.* Battle-axe. (53) *Om ṭakkirāja hūṃ ta.* Sword. (54) *Om mahābala hūṃ.* Palms joined.
- (ʼkha.b1) (55) *Om hūṃkara hūṃ.* *Mudrā* of *ta ka*.⁵⁸ (56) *Om padmakunḍali hūṃ.* Wheel. (57-64) As for the *mudrās* of the eight offering-goddesses: (57) *Om vajralāsyē hūṃ.* Hand placed above the hip.
- (ʼkha.b2) (58) *Om vajramāle traṃ.* Holding a garland. (59) *Om vajragīte hūṃ.* Playing a lute. (60) *Om vajranṛtye a.* Dancing. (61-64) As for Dhūpā and the other four offering-goddesses,
- (ʼkha.b3) examine them according to another tantra.⁵⁹ (65-72) As for the *mudrās* of the eight great gods: (65) *Om maheśvarāya svāhā.* Extend the right thumb. (66) *Om mahādevāya svāhā.* Extend the right forefinger.
- (ʼkha.b4) (67) *Om rudrāya ra.* Raise the fist. (68) *Om viṣṇu va.* Touch the right little finger to the tongue. (69) *Om mahākālāya svāhā.* Two fists at the heart. (70) *Om daṇḍī nā.*
- (ʼkha.b5) Fist. (71) *Om kārṭikeya.* The right ring finger pressed by the thumb. (72) *Om bhṛṅgiriṭi ri.* Palm placed on the crown. (73-80) As for the *mudrās* of the eight great nāgas:
- (ʼkha.b6) (73) *Om karkoṭa*⁶⁰ *hūṃ phu.* The thumb of the left a snake-head, the right offers refuge. (74) *Om śaṅkha-pāla hūṃ.* The right palm a snake-head. The left
- (ʼkha.b7) a conch vessel. (75) *Om kulika hūṃ phu.* The tips of the two ^{little} fingers joined [to form] a snake-head. (76)

⁵⁸ *Ta ka* might transcribe *tarka*, though I think it rather more likely that it abbreviates *Trailokyavijaya*, the epithet of Hūṃkara that often also names his distinctive *mudrā*, formed with fists crossed before the chest. Refer to DE MALLMANN 1986: 381 and plate XX-2.

⁵⁹ In fact, they are listed below, lines ga.b3-5.

⁶⁰ Though *kar ta ki to* only roughly resembles *Karkoṭa*, this seems to be what context requires. Possibly the scribe mixed this up with *kar ti ka ta* (Kārṭikeya) from the preceding line.

- Om ananta peṃ. The right middle finger a snake-head. (77) Om śaṅkara hūṃ phyā. The right forefinger a snake-head. (78) Om vāsuki hūṃ phyi. The right palm a snake-head. (79) Om *a bran ta* pheṃ. The right middle finger a [snake-]head. (80) Om takṣa-
- (’kha.b9) ka hūṃ pho. The ten fingers
- (ga.a1) snake-heads. (81-88) As for the *mudrās* of the eight asuras: (81) Om *kra hi sa ti*. Thumb and four fingers joined. Or again, three-pronged vajra. (82) Om vema-citra ri. Trident.
- (ga.a2) (83) Om śambara. Right forefinger extended. Gaze to the left (?). (84) Om vairocana ka ri. Fist pressed into the armpit. (85) Om bṛhadāra ta ri. Wheel. (86) Om *la pe*
- (ga.a3) *pu sa ri*. Brandishing the vajra-fist. (87) Om padma-śrīsambhava. Two little fingers connected. (88) Om *su pra ti rtsa ri*. Touching a sword-tip. / : / (89-96) As for the eight great Yakṣa generals’
- (ga.a4) *mudrās*: (89) mahāghoṣeśvarāya. Skull-*mudrā*. (90) Om mahāmataye.⁶¹ Press the palm(s) at the heart (91) Om arcinetrāye. Two forefingers extended. (92) Om pañcikāya.⁶²
- (ga.a5) Palms crossed at the crown. (93) Om āṭavakayakṣā-ya. Two palms pressed to the jaw. (94) Brūṃ merubalāya. Palms hidden in the armpits. (95) Brūṃ vajradṛ-dhanetrāya. Fists with middle fingers connected. (96) Brūṃ suvīrāya.⁶³ Right fist extended, left planted on the thigh. (97-104) As for the eight great *śrāvakas*: (97) Laṃ kāśyapa. Kāśyapa.

⁶¹ The correspondence between *ma ha ma dri* and Mahāmatī (SAKAKI 1916-1925: no. 3370) is made problematic by the unusual transcription of *t* by *dr*, but nevertheless this seems the most plausible interpretation.

⁶² *pan tsa la mo* is perhaps to be read as a Sanskrit-Tibetan hybrid: *pāñcika la namo*.

⁶³ Suvīra is no doubt equivalent to Agravīrabāhu in the *Mahāvīyutpatti*’s list (SAKAKI 1916-1925: no. 3373).

- (ga.a7) (98) *Laṃ bha śāriputra*.⁶⁴ (99) *Oṃ subhūti*. *Subhūti*. (100) *Oṃ maudgalyāyana*. *Maudgalyāyana*. (101) *Muṃ pūrṇamaitrāyaṇīputra*. *Maitrāyaṇī*'s son *Pūrṇa*. (102) *Brūṃ mahā-*
- (ga.a8) *kātyāyana*. *Mahākātyāyana*. (103) *sa ānanda*. *Ānanda*. (104) *Oṃ rāhula*. *Rāhula*. (31-46) As for the *mudrās* of the sixteen inner *sattvas*:⁶⁵ (31) *Oṃ*
- (ga.a9) *vajrasattva hūṃ*. Five-pronged vajra. (32) *Oṃ vajra-rāga hūṃ*. Vajra-bow and -arrow. (33) *Oṃ vajrarāja hūṃ*. Vajra-hook. (34) *Saṃ vajrasādhu hūṃ*.
- (ga.b1) Vajra-fingers-poised-to-snap.⁶⁶ (35) *Oṃ vajjaratna traṃ*. Blazing gem. (36) *Oṃ vajraketu traṃ*. Hoisting a victory-banner. (37) *Oṃ vajrasūrya*⁶⁷ *traṃ*. Sun. (38) *Oṃ vajra-*
- (ga.b2) *hāsa traṃ*. *Mudrā* of laughter.⁶⁸ (39) *Brūṃ vajra-dharma hri*. Lotus. (40) *Brūṃ vajratīkṣṇa hri*. Sword. (41) *Oṃ vajracakra hri*. Wheel. (42) *Oṃ vajra-bhāṣa*⁶⁹ *hri*. Vajra.
- (ga.b3) (43) *Oṃ vajrakarma ha*. Crossed-vajra. (44) *Oṃ vajraya[kṣa] ho*. Armour. (45) *Oṃ vajrara[kṣa] ha*. Fangs.⁷⁰ (46) *Oṃ vajramuṣṭi*⁷¹ *ha*. Fist. (61-64) As for the four offering goddesses'

⁶⁴ Though the reading of the second and third syllables of this line is somewhat uncertain, there can be no doubt that Śāriputra is intended. Śāriputra's name is not repeated in Tibetan as are those of the other arhats.

⁶⁵ One may compare the *SDP*'s descriptions of the sixteen Vajrasattvas, SKORUPSKI 1983: 41-42, 312n. In the notes that follow I mention only significant points of discrepancy from the names and attributes as we find them recorded there.

⁶⁶ SKORUPSKI 1983: 312n has Vajrasādhu holding a five-tipped vajra, but the corresponding *mudrā*, p. 41, n. 18, describes one as "putting together the finger nail and the first joint of the thumbs, [and] press[ing] the tips of the thumbs to form a square."

⁶⁷ To be identified with Vajratejas in the tradition of the *SDP*. As DE MALLMAN 1986: 400 shows, this variant is met with in other sources as well.

⁶⁸ SKORUPSKI 1983: 312n gives Vajrahāsa's attribute as an ivory rosary, but the *mudrā*, p. 41, n. 18, requires "the middle fingers ... stretched out, bent and positioned so as to point towards the face."

⁶⁹ Or: vajrapāśa. Vajrabhāṣa is, however, the form given in *SDP*, where the attribute is properly a "vajra tongue-tip" (SKORUPSKI 1983: 312n).

⁷⁰ According to Buddhaguhya (SKORUPSKI 1983: 312n), it is Vajrayakṣa who is characterized by fangs, and Vajrarakṣa by armour.

⁷¹ *SDP* has Vajrasandhi, but, as DE MALLMAN 1986: 499 shows, Vajramuṣṭi is a well-known variant.

- (ga.b4) *mudrās*: (61) Brum vajradhūpe. Incense vessel. (62) Brum vajraphullā.⁷² Flower-girl. (63) Brum vajrā-lokā. Lamp-girl. (64) Brum vajragandhe. Scattering perfumed water. Finis.
- (ga.b5)

IOL Tib J 584: Text and Translation

I have divided this short text into twelve sections, I–XII, in each of which are given a transcription of the Tibetan, an English translation, and, in *italics*, the parallel passage(s) located in the *Dri med bshags rgyud* (DMSHG, in *Rnying ma bka' ma rgyas pa*, vol. 13). Note that chapter four of the DMSHG (*Ye shes lha dang 'khon gcugs bshags pa ste le'u bzhi pa'o*, but always referred to in popular contexts as the *Brjod med don gyi bshags pa*), is among the best known Rnying ma pa liturgical texts, and occupies pages 68.4–72.4 in the *Rnying ma bka' ma* edition. It will be seen that most of our parallels occur just here. A portion of the DMSHG transcribed with single underline is one that appears similar to the section of IOL Tib J 584 under which it is given; one marked by a double underline has its parallel in another section, as indicated by the superscript roman numeral.

I. Invocation

- (line 1) \$\$ // : //kun bzangs ye nas bdal pa la/ /snang srid
 rnam 'dag lha dang lha mo 'i tshogs/ cir yang
- (2) sprul pa gter cen g.yung 'drung lha/ mnyes bzhed
 dam *** tsig ^{ldan ma} chos rnam dang/ dbang bsgyur
 rgya mtsho
- (3) thams cad dgo'ngs su gsol/

In the primordial expansion of Omnibeneficence, the pure range of possible appearance, the assembly of gods and goddesses, emanating in all sorts of ways, the great treasure, the eternal divinity—please attend to the dharmas endowed with the pleasing commitments, and to the whole ocean of empowerments!⁷³

⁷² For Vajrapuṣpā.

⁷³ If, following the *Dri med bshags rgyud*, we emend *dbang bsgyur* to read *dpang gyur*, it would be preferable to translate: ‘... may the eternal divinity, with those

DMSHG 69.5-70.4: kun bzang rdzogs chen ye nas brdal pa la// phyi nang gsang ba bkod pa'i dkyil 'khor ni// snang srid rnam dag lha dang lha mo'i dbyings// byung dang 'byung 'gyur yab yum lhun rdzogs rnam// gsang chen rab dgyes gzugs can bdag nyid ma// mkha' dbyings klong yangs padmo 'khyil ba las// gnyis med thig le chen por 'od gsal zhing// ma bcos spros med byang chub snying po'i sku// cir yang snang ba bde chen g.yung drung lha// 'du 'bral med pa gsang ba'i dkyil 'khor^(III.) 'dir// bdag nyid chen po rigs lnga yab yum dang// byang chub lcam dral^(XII.) khro bo khro mo'i tshogs^(IV.) // rdo rje lha mo tshogs rje tshogs kyi bdag^(VIII.) // rigs lnga dpal chen^(V.) khro rgyal yab yum bcu// gnas dang yul gyi phyag rgya^(VII.) sgo ma bzhi^(IX.) // ye shes sprul pa'i lha tshogs mang po dang// ma ltar byams shing sring ltar gdung la sogs // legs nyes stangs 'dzin dam tshig rjes gcod ma// phyi nang mkha' 'gro rnal 'byor ma yi tshogs// dpang gyur rdo rje dam can dgongs su gsol//

II. Confession of faults due to contact with those who have fallen from their vows

- (3 cont.) bka' las 'byung zhing de ltar ma bgyis pas/ gsang sngags chos pas dbye
- (4) bsal rka ba dang/ nyams dang lhan cig nyams la chos bshad pas/ nyams 'gyur nges pa'i dri mas
- (5) phog ko tsha'l /'phags mgon khyed gis thugs rjes dbye bsal mdzad du gsol/ /

Not having done what was commanded, and [faults] being difficult to discern by those in the dharma of secret mantra, may you, Sublime Lords, compassionately make [us] discern all those taints, certainly leading to falls, that afflict [us], whether due to [our dwelling] together with those who have fallen, or explaining the dharma to those who have fallen.

DMSHG 71.3-72.2: rnal 'byor gang zhig dam tshig nyams pa dang// skad cig tsam yang 'phrad par mi bya zhes// bka' las byung zhing de ltar ma lcogs te// gsang sgo 'chol bas dbye bsal dka' ba dang// mngon shes med pas skyon can ma rtogs te// nyams dang tshogs 'dres nyams

dharmas that are the endowment of pleasing commitments—the whole ocean of witnesses—attend [to those performing contrition].

pa bskang ba dang// nyams dang snod min rnams la chos bshad dang// nyams la mi 'dzem nyams pa'i skyon la sogs// nyams dang 'grogs shing nyams pa de dag gis// nyams grib skyon gyis gos par gyur to 'tshal// tshe 'di'i rkyen dang yun gyi sgrib gyur rnams// rab gnong 'gyod pa'i sems kyis mthol lo bshags// byams pa'i thugs brtses bdag la dgongs nas kyang// gnyis med dbyings las mi 'gyur bdag bkod de// dmigs med btang snyoms ngang la bzhugs nas kyang// gnyis med don gyi tshangs pa stsal du gsol//

III. Petition to the Conquerors' *maṇḍala*

- (5 cont.) ma rig bdag cag lus
 (6) dang ngag sems gyis/ bag myed tshul gyis dam las
 'das 'gyur te/ rgyal ba'i dgyil 'khor thugs
 (7) dang ci 'gal ba'/ thugs rje che mnga' khyed la bzod
 par gsol/

We, ignorant, through body, speech and mind, have heedlessly transgressed our commitments; in whatever ways [we] oppose the spirit of the Conquerors' *maṇḍala*, we pray that you, compassionate ones, be forbearing of it.

DMSHG 71.1-3: *yun du mi gtong 'da' bar mi bgyid la// don las gol zhing zlog sems ma mchis kyang// gdod bya long yod snyam pa'i le lo yis// klong du ma gyur rtsal shugs chung ba dang// shes bzhin mi ldan bag med dbang gyur te// sgom la mi brtson bsnyen sgrub g.yel la sogs// tshor dang ma tshor ma rig dbang gis ni// ston pa'i bka' dang dam las 'gal gyur te//*

90.6-91.1: *phung po lnga ni ye nas mngon sangs rgyas// rgyal ba rigs lnga'i dgongs spyod de 'dra yang// de ltar bdag gis ma rig ma rtogs te// rgyal ba rigs lnga'i thugs dang ci 'gal ba// thugs rje che mnga' khyed la bzod par gsol//*

IV. Petition to the wrathful divinities

- (8) ma rig bdag cag lus dang ngag sems
 gyis/ khro bo khro mo thugs dang ci 'gal ba'/ ye shes
 spyen can khyed la bzod par gsol/

We, ignorant, through body, speech and mind, [have heedlessly transgressed our commitments;]⁷⁴ in whatever ways [we] oppose the spirit of the wrathful male and female [divinities], we pray that you who possess the eye of gnosis be forbearing of it.

DMSHG 100.3-5: *o9/ dang por gsang mchog sdom pa 'di mnos nas// 'da' dka' khas blangs dam las g.yel gyur te// khrag 'thung rigs lnga'i thugs dang ci 'gal ba// thugs rje che mnga' khyed la bzod par gsol// ga na'i sbyor mchog rtog 'dzin bar chad kyis// yum chen krodh'i thugs dang ci 'gal ba// khro mo dbyings phyug ma la bzod par gsol//*

V. Petition to Śrīmat Heruka

- ma rig bdag
 (9) cag lus dang ngag sems gyis/ bag myed tshul gyis
 dam las 'das 'gyur te/ dpal can he ru 'i thugs
 (10) dang ci 'gal ba'/ thugs rje che mnga' khyed la bzod
 par gsol/

We, ignorant, through body, speech and mind, have heedlessly transgressed our commitments; in whatever ways [we] oppose the spirit of Śrīmat Heruka, we pray that you, compassionate ones, be forbearing of it.

[DMSHG 102.6: *de nas yang dpal chen po he ru ka la sogs pa'i dam tshig la gnas pa'i gtso 'khor rnams kyis bshags pa 'di gsungs so//*]

VI. Petition to the twenty-eight Īśvarīs

- ma rig bdag cag lus dang ngag
 (11) sems gyis/ bag myed tshul gyis dam las 'das 'gyur te/
 dbang phyug nyi shu rtsa brgyad thugs dang ci
 (12) 'gal ba/ ma srin rgya mtsho khyed _{gi} spya ngar mthol
 zhing bshags/

We, ignorant, through body, speech and mind, have heedlessly transgressed our commitments; in whatever ways [we] oppose the spirit of

⁷⁴ The phrase *bag myed tshul gyis dam las 'das 'gyur te*, as found elsewhere throughout the text, appears to have been omitted in this case by the scribe at this point.

the twenty-eight Īśvarīs, we repent of it before your eyes, ocean of mother ogresses.

DMSHG 101.2-3: *longs spyod 'byams nas tshogs kyi phud nyams te// phud yul*^(VIII.) *dbang phyug thugs dang ci 'gal ba// dbang mo nyi shu brgyad la bzod par gsol//*

VII. Petition to the eleven Earth Goddesses

- (13) ma rig bdag cag lus dang ngag
sems gyis/ bag myed tshul gyis dam las 'das gyur ste/
ldan ma bcu gcig thugs dang ci 'gal ba'/
- (14) sprul pa'i tshogs rnams khyed la mthol zhing bshags/

We, ignorant, through body, speech and mind, have heedlessly transgressed our commitments; in whatever ways [we] oppose the spirit of the eleven Earth Goddesses, we repent before you, emanational assembly.

DMSHG 101.1-2: *'da' dka' khas blangs 'khor drug ma thul te// ma bdun sring bzhi'i thugs dang ci 'gal ba// mkha' 'gro bcu gcig sku la bzod par gsol//*

VIII. Petition to the recipients of the first fruits

- (15) ma rig bdag cag lus dang ngag sems
gyis/ bag myed tshul gyis dam las 'das 'gyur ste/ rdo
rje phud yul thugs dang ci 'gal
- (16) ba' thugs rje che mnga' khyod la mthol zhing bshags/

We, ignorant, through body, speech and mind, have heedlessly transgressed our commitments; in whatever ways [we] oppose the spirit of the recipients of the first *vajra*-fruits,⁷⁵ we repent of it before you, compassionate ones.

[See VI. above for the parallel in the *Dri med bshags rgyud*.]

⁷⁵ By 'first *vajra*-fruits' (*rdo rje phud*) one means the best of the ritual offerings, consecrated to be consumed during the *tshogs 'khor* (Skt. *gaṇacakra*).

IX. Petition to the Dvārapālas

- (17) ma rig bdag cag lus dang ngag sems
 gyis/ bag myed tshul gyIs dam las 'das 'gyur ste/ sgo
 ba sgo ma thugs dang ci 'gal (18) ba'/ thugs rje che
 mnga' khyed la mthol zhing bshags/

We, ignorant, through body, speech and mind, have heedlessly transgressed our commitments; in whatever ways [we] oppose the spirit of the male and female gate-keepers, we repent of it before you, compassionate ones.

DMSHG 100.6-101.1: *shar lho nub byang sgo bzhi ma phyed de//rta gdong sgo ma'i thugs dang ci 'gal ba// ye shes sgo ma bzhi la bzod par gsol//*

X. Petition to the Vajrācārya

- (19) ma rig bdag cag lus dang ngag sems
 gyis/ bag myed tshul gyis dam las 'das 'gyur te/ rdo
 rje slob dpon thugs dang ci 'gal
 ba'/ thugs rje che mnga' khyod la mthol zhing
 bshags/ /

We, ignorant, through body, speech and mind, have heedlessly transgressed our commitments; in whatever ways [we] oppose the spirit of the Vajrācārya, we repent of it before you, compassionate ones.

DMSHG 124.1-3: *rdo rje slob dpon byams pa'i bka' drin gyis// snyan khung brgyud nas sems kyi dkyil du bzha// thugs kyi man ngag byin pas dam tshig 'dres// gsang mtshams 'das nas 'chol bar smras la sogs// thugs kyi dam tshig nyams pa mthol lo bshags//*

XI. Request for the accomplishment of purification

- (21) mthol bshags phul nas tshangs pa'i
 rngos sgrub gsal tu gsol/

Having offered our repentance, we pray that you grant the *siddhi* of purity.

DMSHG 125.5: *dus gsum byas bsags sdig sgrib mthol bshags na// tshangs par mdzad nas sku gsung thugs la sogs// mchog dang thun mong dngos grub stsal du gsol//*

XII. Petition to the brethren and siblings

- (22) ma rig bdag cag_{lus dang ngag} sems gyis/ bag myed tshul
gyis dam las 'das
'gyur te/ mched dang lcām 'dral thugs dang ci 'gal
ba'/ /thugs rje che mnga' khyed la mthol
- (23) zhing bshags// // I'ti // : //

We, ignorant, through body, speech and mind, have heedlessly transgressed our commitments; in whatever ways [we] oppose the spirit of the brethren and siblings [with whom we share common vows], we repent of it before you, compassionate ones. Iti.⁷⁶

DMSHG 102.3: *byang chub mched lcām thugs dang ci 'gal ba// rdo rje ming sring sku la bzod par gsol//*

APPENDIX:

THE NA RAK DONG SPRUGS CYCLE IN THE RNYING MA BKA' MA

DUDJOM RINPOCHE 1982-87: *Rnying ma bka' ma rgyas pa*, vol. Pa (13): *Na rag dong sprugs kyi skor*. The cycle as given here consists of fourteen texts (A.-N.) as follows:

A. *Dri med bshags rgyud* (full title: *Dam tshig thams cad kyi nyams chag skong ba'i lung/ bshags pa thams cad kyi rgyud dri ma med pa'i rgyal po*), pp. 5-126 (61 folios)

1. *gleng gzhi dang gleng bslang ba'i le'u ste dang po'o*, 1.1-12.4
2. *theg pa lam zhugs kyi bshags pa ste gnyis pa'o*, 12.4-18.5
3. *nyams chag dang rtog sgrib sbyong ba'i bshags pa ste le'u gsum pa'o*, 18.5-68.4
4. *ye shes lha dang 'khon gcugs bshags pa ste le'u bzhi pa'o*, 68.4-72.4

⁷⁶ Borrowed from Sanskrit, but meaning roughly “it is done,” in the sense of sealing the closure of a ritual text, instead of merely “closed quote.” Cf. the comments of MEINERT 2007: 277-279.

5. *nyams grib bskang ba'i bshags pa ste le'u lnga pa'o*, 72.4-77.6
6. *dam tshig nyi shu rtsa brgyad pa'i bshags pa ste le'u drug pa'o*, 77.6-82.3
7. *rdo rje dpal chen gyi bshags pa ste le'u bdun pa'o*, 82.3-86.2
8. *ye shes mkha' 'gro'i bshags pa ste le'u brgyad pa'o*, 86.2-90.3
9. *chos nyid zhi ba'i bshags pa ste le'u dgu pa'o*, 90.3-96.6
10. *khro bo'i dkyil 'khor khrag 'thung bshags pa ste le'u bcu pa'o*, 96.6-102.6
11. *rū tre'i smre bshags te le'u bcu gcig pa'o*, 102.6-108.1
12. *rgyud lung man ngag gi bshags pa ste le'u bcu gnyis pa'o*, 108.1-110.3
13. *grol lam lta ba'i bshags pa bstan pa'i le'u ste bcu gsum pa'o*, 110.3-114.2
14. *thabs lam dbang gi bshags pa ste le'u bcu bzhi pa'o*, 114.2-119.3
15. *'bras bu'i don ma rtogs pa bshags pa ste le'u bco lnga pa'o*, 119.3-122.4
16. *yongs su gtad pa'i bshags pa dang rjes su yi rang ba ste le'i bcu drug pa'o*, 122.4-126.1

Colophon, 126.2-4:

*rgya gar gyi mkhan po bi ma la mi tra dang/ bod kyi lo tsā ba gnyags
jñā na ku mā ras bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa'o// //dus
phyis yi ge rgyun 'phugs pas ma dag rnams sngar gyi dpe rnying
khungs thub dag la gtugs shing gong ma'i gsung rgyun dang/ gzhung
don la dpyad de rang bzos ma bslad par dge slong mtsho skyes bzhad
pas brda tshig gnyis ka dpyis phyin par zhus dag par bgyis te yid
brtan du rung ba'i phyi mor bsngags pa dge zhing bkra shis par gyur
cig// //slar yang khams dang bod phyogs su sngar nas yig rgyun so
sor gyes pas tshig 'bru 'ga' re chad lhag 'dug pa rnams dge pañ
zhabs nas rnying rgyud spar gyi skabs zhib par bcos te yid brtan du
rung bar mdzad pa las zhal bshus pa siddhi ra stu// //*

- B. *rnal 'byor gyi spyi khrus dong sprugs kyi brgyud 'debs*, 127-128
[A. 'Gyur med rdo rje, i.e., Gter bdag gling pa, supplemented by
'Jigs bral ye shes rdo rje, i.e., Bdud 'joms Rin po che]
- C. *na rag dong sprugs kyi [spyi khrus chen po'i] cho ga 'khor ba kun
sgrol*, 129-241 [A.Rig pa 'dzin pa 'Gyur med rdo rje, i.e., Gter
bdag gling pa, dated to his 49th year, 1694]

- D. *na rag dong sprugs kyi cho ga 'khor ba kun sgrol gyi zur 'debs lhan thabs ngo mtshar rin chen phreng ba*, 243-257 [unsigned]
- E. *na rag dong sprugs kyi cho ga bde chen lam bzang* (= *padma brgya ldan gyi cho ga*), 259-384 [A. Lo tsā ba Ngag gi dbang phyug Chos dpal rgyal mtsho (i.e., Dharmśrī), on the basis of the work of Rig pa 'dzin pa 'Gyur med rdo rje, i.e., Gter bdag gling pa, and dated to the *rnam gnon* year (= *lcags 'brug*), 1700]
- F. *na rak dong sprugs las phyag gi bkol byang*, 385-407 [unsigned, excerpted from the *Dri med bshags rgyud*]
- G. *na rak dong sprugs kyi sngon 'gro bla ma'i rnal 'byor*, 409-410 [A. Dznyā na, i.e., Bdud 'joms Rin po che]
- H. *na rag dong sprugs phyag rgya gcig pa'i sgrub thabs zab don nying khu*, 411-430 [A. Dharmśrī, dated 1703 (*chu lug*)]
- I. *na rag dong sprugs phyag rgya gcig pa'i rgyun khyer yang zab snying po*, 431-439 [A. 'Jigs bral ye shes rdo rje, i.e., Bdud 'joms Rin po che]
- J. *na rag dong sprugs phyag rgya gcig pa'i khrid yig zab lam snang byed*, 441-460 [A. Dharmśrī]
- K. *na rag dong sprugs kyi dbang gi cho ga mtshams sbyor gyis brgyan pa bde chen lam bzang*, 461-538 [A. Rgyal sras Gzhan phan mtha' yas, on the basis of the earlier work by Rje btsun Mi 'gyur dpal sgron, and edited by 'Jigs bral ye shes rdo rje, i.e., Bdud 'joms Rin po che]
- L. *na rag dong sprugs phyag rgya gcig pa'i zhi ba'i sbyin sreg*, 539-549 [A. Pra dznyā]
- M. *dong sprugs phyag rgya gcig pa'i zhi ba'i sbyin sreg snying por dril ba*, 551-558 [A. 'Jigs bral ye shes rdo rje, i.e., Bdud 'joms Rin po che]
- N. *gshin po rjes su 'dzin pa'i cho ga thar ba'i myur lam*, 559-571 [A. Rig pa 'dzin pa 'Gyur med rdo rje, i.e., Gter bdag gling pa, dated as written in a *bag yod* year, but this must be an error for *bag med*, equivalent to *chu mo glang*, i.e., 1673]

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BUDDHIST PRINTED IMAGES AND TEXTS
OF THE EIGHTH-TENTH CENTURIES:
TYPOLOGIES OF REPLICATION AND REPRESENTATION*

Katherine R. Tsiang

INTRODUCTION

Among the treasures hidden in the Dunhuang library cave, Mogao Cave 17, were numerous examples of early Buddhist printed images and texts. Since their discovery in 1900, other important archeological finds of early prints in East Asia have also come to the attention of scholars. Until very recently the early Buddhist printed material has been discussed mainly with regard to the history of printing for the dissemination of textual and visual information, but the contexts of recent finds indicate that they had other important symbolic and talismanic functions. The use of woodblock-printing of texts and images on paper is believed to have begun in China in the Tang dynasty (618-907) and to have quickly spread over much of East Asia.¹ The origin of printing technology—beginning with the use of stamps to make impressions on the surface of clay vessels and tiles,

*An earlier version of this paper was presented at the symposium, 'From Prints to Photography', organized by the Center for the Art of East Asia at the University of Chicago and held in May 2003. Since then I have benefited from recent publications and advice of scholars and their assistance which has enabled me to see numerous actual examples. I thank Prof. Ma Shichang 馬世長 in the Department of Archeology at Peking University, Wang Rui 王睿 at the National Museum of Chinese History, Li Li 李力, and Zhang Xiaozhou 張小舟 at the Cultural Relics Publishing House, Mr. Cheng Linquan 程林泉 at the Xi'an Office for Cultural Preservation and Archeology, Ms. Shen Qinyan 申秦燕 at the Shaanxi Museum of History for introducing materials in China. I am also grateful to Matthew Kapstein, Jinhua Chen, and Paul Copp for their comments. I hope that the information and perspectives presented here will serve as a basis for further study and discussion.

¹ Speculation on the origins of printing at first sought evidence in historical accounts but has turned increasingly to actual surviving examples. XIANG 1928; ZHANG 1988; BARRETT 2001; TSIEN 1995; SU 1999; LI 2000; and *Zhongguo zhi he yin shua wenhua shi* 2004. See, too, NEEDHAM 1985.

the casting of seals in bronze for official and personal identification, the stamping of patterns on textiles, etc.—and the invention of paper began long before. The use of ensigillation for protection and expelling illness and malevolent spirits also has a history that can be traced back to pre-Tang times.² The application of printing technology in the Tang to create a medium for the distribution and consumption of cultural information such as literary and religious texts, calendars, etc., is a major historical transition in which the promotion and implementation of Buddhist beliefs and practices appears to have been a significant driving force. The beginnings of printing of Buddhist material also engendered new attitudes toward texts, new kinds of imagery, and new formats for their presentation.³

This article focuses on the early prints with Buddhist content and, using the Dunhuang material as a starting point, surveys the types of early Buddhist prints in order to explore aspects of their reproduction and reception. Examination of the images and texts within historical, archeological, and artistic contexts may better illuminate factors relating to the emergence of these prints and to their religious meanings and functions.

The prevalence of Buddhist material in the earliest known printed works may be attributable to Buddhist beliefs regarding the merit of reproducing scriptures and images, need for guidelines or scripts for religious practice and texts for study, and the cult of texts and images and belief in their protective efficacy. An existing literary culture in China could also have played a role, where the manufacture and collecting of books in manuscript form already had an established tradition and the reading and copying of Buddhist texts appears to have been readily and widely adopted.⁴ Once begun, regional centers of printing emerged. The cache of textual and visual material in the Dunhuang library cave contained a significant group of early prints linked to the region of Guazhou and Shazhou in present day north-western China in the tenth century and possibly going back into earlier centuries. Important additional discoveries that can be assigned to the eighth to tenth centuries have been made in other areas: in the north-

² STRICKMAN 2002. The popular religious practice of making and impressing seals, as recorded in Buddhist and Daoist texts, may be especially relevant to developments in early printing described in this study.

³ For discussions of Buddhism and the development of book production, see, PAN 1990 [1982]; KIESCHNICK 2003: 164-185.

⁴ See TSIEN 2004.

ern metropolitan areas of Chang'an and Luoyang, in Chengdu in the southwest, in the Jiangsu-Zhejiang area in the east, and also in Korea and Japan. The printing of Buddhist scriptures appears to have begun as early as the eighth century and to have become common by the late Tang and into the tenth century.

The existing examples of early printing known both from Mogao Cave 17 and from scattered finds outside of Dunhuang indicate that the earliest printing in China was predominantly Buddhist and had distinctly esoteric elements. Newly introduced teachings or practices, particularly those that can be associated with so-called Esoteric Buddhism or *mantrayāna* practice, appear to have been an important factor.⁵ Foreign linguistic structures, including Sanskrit texts and designs based on new religious practices and conceptual frameworks, created new kinds of integration of text and image not previously seen in East Asia. While we today would presume that the reproduction of printed texts and images was primarily for viewing and reading, many of the earliest known printed images and texts, in fact, appear to have served other purposes and have been found in situations in which they could not be or were not meant to be seen. These include prints that may have had principally symbolic or talismanic functions, and which have been found buried in tombs and hidden inside of stūpas or pagodas.

A number of specific types or formats of prints can be identified among the examples from Mogao Cave 17 at Dunhuang, around which the following discussion is structured: 1) stamped images, 2) printed texts in horizontal scroll form, some of which include images, 3) printed single sheets usually with text and image. Within each type, the discussion expands from the Dunhuang examples to other related material.

STAMPED IMAGES

Repeated images stamped in rows on sheets or scrolls of paper are believed to be among the earliest prints that were preserved in the Dunhuang library cave, Mogao Cave 17 (Fig. 1). Some have hand-

⁵ A catalogue of the more than 200 texts acquired in China by the Japanese monk and precept master E-un 惠運 includes a printed scroll of the 'Eighteen assemblies of Trailokyavijaya', or *Jiangsanshi shibahui* 降三世十八會. He returned to Japan in the year 847. *T* 2168B 惠運律師書目錄 (卷 1) v. 55, 1091c.

written notations of days which seem to indicate that they were accumulated over time by devotees, perhaps through visits to temples (as is still practiced in Japan today), or perhaps as a reward for religious activities, offerings, and service to temples or monasteries.⁶ These images, unlike most of the other examples of early printing to be discussed here, are not accompanied by any printed words and none are dated. This kind of printing was not for the dissemination of teachings, though it may have been linked to religious training. They are not known in other early contexts outside of Dunhuang.

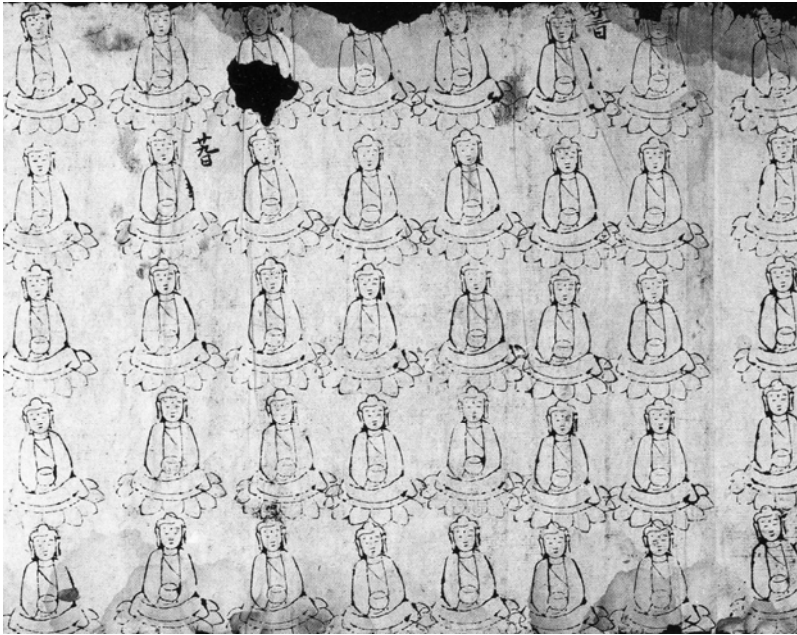


fig. 1. Stamped Buddha images, part of a roll of stamped impressions on paper, eighth or ninth century. British Museum, 1919,0101,0.256 (Ch. 00417). From Mogao Cave 17, Dunhuang. H: 30 cm. This image is reproduced by kind permission of © The British Museum.

⁶ WHITFIELD 1983, fig. 156a. Stamped votive images of Buddhas (*shūbutsu*) were placed inside of carved wooden sculptures in Japan from the twelfth century, as in one example made by Kōen, dated 1249, in the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Cologne. GOEPFER 1983: 71, 79-80.

The act of stamping itself appears to have been considered meritorious.⁷ The technique of printing by stamping repeated images could have grown from the habit of pressing images out of clay or stamping images in soft clay and sand. By Tang times, the practice of *yinshafo* 印沙佛, ‘stamping Buddhas in the sand’, was an annual ritual. A bronze disc with rows of small seated Buddhist images arranged around five larger Buddhas on one side and a loop for a strap on the reverse may have been used in such observances. Identified as a ‘water stamp’ (*shuiyin* 水印), it was commissioned by He Jingxian 何敬仙, Palace Official and Eunuch Ceremonial Secretary, and made in the thirteenth year of *zhenyuan* 貞元 (798).⁸ In this practice, Buddhist images were impressed in the sand or silt along river beds in the first month of the lunar New Year, serving as a ritual of both protection and renewal. With the rising of the waters of spring, they would be washed away.⁹

PRINTED SCROLLS

The printed texts in scroll format have the text arranged in traditional Chinese vertical rows of characters. The scrolls are unrolled from right to left and in some cases have an illustration at the beginning of the scroll. The earliest, irrefutably dated, printed work of this type from China is the British Library’s famous *Diamond Sūtra*, or *Jingang banruo boluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經, from Mogao Cave 17, a canonical scripture in scroll form, dated 868 (Fig. 2). Printed in sections on paper and mounted as a scroll, it has a depiction of a Buddha with an assembly of attendants at the front and a printed dedication at the end: ‘In the ninth year of Xiantong, the fourth month,

⁷ STRICKMAN 2002: 124-141.

⁸ The dated inscription is engraved on the reverse side. The object is preserved in the Forest of Stone Tablets Museum, Xi’an. LI et al. 2003, no. 77.

⁹ About twenty records of this practice were found in the Dunhuang library cave, Cave 17. They describe pressing a mold or stamp into sand along a shore with the right hand, counting on a rosary with the left, and chanting simultaneously. These impressed images were offered with wishes for peace and prosperity for the state, for the perpetuation of the Buddhist teachings, etc. Clay images of Buddhist figures and stūpas were also shaped by molds and laid out to dry and would be revered with circumambulation and a New Year’s lamp-lighting ceremony that night. TAN 2000: 69; HOU 1984: 205-210.

fifteenth day, Wang Jie respectfully makes and universally bestows [this sūtra] for his parents'. 咸通九年四月十五日王玠為 二親敬造普施.¹⁰ The dedication indicates that Wang Jie sponsored the printing project to earn merit for his parents and in order to distribute the copies widely. Canonical texts such as this were traditionally hand-copied and kept primarily in monasteries. Even after the advent of printing, the hand-copying of sūtras remained an important merit-generating activity among devotees. The reproduction of texts in larger numbers is likely to have facilitated private ownership.



fig. 2 *The Diamond sūtra*, frontispiece, Buddha preaching to Subhuti.

Woodblock print on paper, dated 868. British Library, Or.8210/P.2 (Ch.ciii. 0014). From Mogao Cave 17, Dunhuang. H: 23.7 cm, W: 28.5 cm. This image is reproduced by kind permission of © The British Library.

The design with its very fine and detailed illustration at the beginning of the *Diamond Sūtra* may have derived from traditional Chinese illustrated manuscripts. In the opening scene the Buddha is seated with an assembly of attendant bodhisattvas, disciples, guardians, and lay figures standing at his sides. They are shown in three-quarter view, looking to their right. In front of the Buddha is a table with three ceremonial vessels beside which two lions crouch rather like pet dogs. Two heavenly figures hover above the assembly at

¹⁰ WHITFIELD 1983, v. 2, fig. 144. The frontispiece has been widely published.

either side of the canopy. The Buddha raises his right hand in the teaching gesture to address the monk Subhūti, depicted as kneeling in the lower left corner of the picture. In the upper left corner are the words *Qishu jigudu yuan* 祇樹給孤獨園 which identify the setting as the Jetavana Park, near Śrāvastī.¹¹ It refers to the beginning of the *Diamond Sūtra* when Subhūti, one of the elder disciples, bares his right shoulder and kneels on his right knee before the Buddha to ask for his teaching.

The illustration with the grouping of images is like that seen in Tang mural paintings of the type known as *jingbian* 經變 or ‘sūtra transformation’ paintings, which are illustrations based on canonical texts. The diagonal arrangement can be seen as part of larger compositions in which three Buddhas are often depicted in a triangular design. While the central Buddha of these mural compositions has a symmetrical arrangement of its attendant divinities, the two side Buddhas are frequently shown in three-quarter view with attendants placed diagonally. On the printed scroll, the direction of the Buddha’s gaze leads the viewer to the text which he speaks. The first words of the printed text, however, are not scriptural but are an insertion that instructs all those who would read the sūtra to first purify the mouth by reciting a series of *mantras* or mystic syllables ten times. The addition indicates that this edition of the printed scripture was intended to be read aloud.

Earlier known printed texts, specifically scrolls or strips of paper printed with scriptures containing *dhāraṇī*, recitations or spells believed to be distillations or encapsulations of the Buddha’s teachings, were not meant to be read, but placed inside of stūpas or pagodas beginning in the eighth century. The formulaic invocations, originating in India, were composed of Sanskrit syllables and written in Indic scripts or transcribed phonetically into Chinese characters. The *dhāraṇī* syllables, though they had little or no meaning in Chinese, were considered sacred sounds with magical powers.¹² The earliest known printed versions have been found in Korea and Japan. The *Sūtra of the Great Dhāraṇī of Pure Light* (*Wugou jingguang da tuoluoni jing* 無垢淨光大陀羅尼經), found in the Śākyamuni Stūpa,

¹¹ This is exactly the wording that appears in the version of the *Diamond Sūtra* translated by Kumārajīva. *T* 235, v. 3, 748c.

¹² For further reading on *dhāraṇī* and *mantra*, see LAMOTTE 1976: 1954-69; ALPER 1989; SNELGROVE 1987: 141-144.

of the Pulguk-sa 佛國寺釋迦塔 in Kyongju 慶州, South Korea, in 1966 (Fig. 3) is perhaps one of the first printed texts. This printed scroll was found in the second level of a stūpa constructed in 751, and the text includes altered characters that were adopted under the reign of Wu Zetian 武則天, or Wu Zhao 武曌 (623-705).¹³ The Chinese translation of this text appeared during her reign. A stone stūpa at another Korean temple, the Huangboksa 皇福寺 contained a gilt bronze box with an inscription inside the cover recording that a copy of the same text was placed in the stūpa's second level in 706. Unfortunately, the actual object no longer exists.¹⁴



fig. 3 The *Sūtra of the Great Dhāraṇī of Pure Light*, first half of the eighth century, found in the Śākyamuni Stūpa (constructed in 751) at the Pulguk-sa. After Chon Hye-Bong, *Han'guk ko inswaesa*, 1976. Reproduced with permission of the author.

¹³ The scroll is 6.5 cm high and 4 cm in diameter when rolled up. Part of the first section has been lost, but it is estimated to have been about 7 meters long. CHON 1976: 116-17. The scroll includes eight of the nineteen new characters that were established in 689 and used throughout the empire during Wu Zetian's reign. They are believed to have been abolished with her forced abdication in 705, and were rarely used afterward. PAN 1996. However the stūpa was recorded to have been damaged in an earthquake and repaired in 1038. Jindal Bae has suggested that the scroll may actually have been placed in the pagoda at this time.

¹⁴ KIM 1981: 19.

The *Sūtra of the Great Dhāraṇī of Pure Light* is believed to have been brought to China in 680 and presented to Wu Zetian by Jiyou 寂友 (or Mituoshan 彌陀山, Mitraśānta, also Mituoxian 彌陀仙, Mitra-sena) who completed the translation into Chinese in around 704.¹⁵ The sūtra includes several *dhāraṇī* spoken by the Buddha. Though Wu Zetian is not known to have promoted this particular *dhāraṇī* text, her support of the translations of *dhāraṇī*-sūtras is documented.¹⁶

Aside from the incantations, the text of the *Wugou jingguang da tuoluoni jing* describes the many rewards and benefits to be gained from the construction, repair, and worship of stūpas and the placement of copies of the *dhāraṇī* inside them. The scripture offers protection for devout practitioners from dangers and inauspicious matters of everyday life, including malevolent creatures, poisons, warfare, bandits, natural disasters, fire, famine, untimely death, and nightmares. Those who keep, recite, or copy the text are promised the ultimate rewards of prolonged life, protection from danger and illness, pardon from deadly sins, escape from Hell, and rebirth in a heavenly paradise.

It includes instructions for the performance of rituals at stūpa sites, including instructions for monks to wash themselves, put on clean garments, fast for one day and one night, and circumambulate a stūpa in a clockwise direction while reciting the *dhāraṇī* one hundred and eight times. It also recommends making a square altar in front of a stūpa, spreading cow dung on the ground and placing bottles filled with perfumed water at the corners. On the altar, incense should be burned and offering bowls and jars placed to hold food of three flavors, the three pure white foods, a full ninety-nine varieties of fruits, four kinds of grain, and fragrant flowers. Copies of the *dhāraṇī* are to be placed in the [stūpa's] central pillar and around the four sides, and ritual incantation to be performed.¹⁷

Furthermore, the sūtra addresses itself specifically to empowerment and protection which would have special appeal to rulers.

¹⁵ T 1024, vol. 19, 717c. A native of Tokhara 吐火羅國 in northern Afghanistan, Jiyou traveled to China, where he worked on *sūtra* translations, including projects with two famous and influential monks, Śikṣānanda 實叉難陀 (625-710) and Fa-zang 法藏 (643-712). This information kindly supplied by Jinhua Chen.

¹⁶ In particular Wu Zetian played an important role in translating the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經, the *Sūtra of the Honoured and Victorious Dhāraṇī of the Buddha's Topknot*, four Chinese versions of which appeared during her reign and that of her husband the emperor Gaozong: T 967-970. CHEN 2002: 103-9.

¹⁷ T 1024, 19:720a and b.

If one possesses this king of *dhāraṇī*, copies, receives it [ritually] or reads and recites it; makes offerings to it, worships and wears it on the body; its majestic power will protect this person. The *dhāraṇī* will cause all hateful people and vengeful groups, all *yakṣas* and *rākṣasas*, *fudana*, etc. to be unable to do evil to this person, to become afraid, and to flee in all directions. ... Those who would obey the words of this person... will have the five unpardonable sins eliminated. Those who hear this person's voice, or come under the shadow of, or touch the body of this person will have all hindrances and suffering dispelled. Poisons will not harm, fire will not burn, nor will water drown them. ... 若有於此咒王。如法書寫受持讀誦。供養恭敬佩於身上。以咒威力擁護是人。令諸怨家及怨朋黨。一切夜叉羅刹富單那等。皆於此人不能為惡。各懷恐怖逃散諸方。若有得共彼人語者。亦得除滅五無間業。若有得聞此人語聲。或在其影或觸其身。令彼一切宿障重罪皆得消除。所有諸毒不能為害。火不能燒水不能漂。¹⁸

As emperor of China from 690-705 and de facto ruler before seizing the throne, Wu Zetian is known to have made extensive use of Buddhism to advance her political aims. Her temple and stūpa-building activities and her interest in relics of the Buddha have been widely studied.¹⁹ At the site of the Dayun si (Great Cloud Monastery) in Jingchuan County, Gansu 甘肅涇川大雲寺 one in the empire-wide network of Buddhist monasteries established with this name during her reign, a stone relic container with inscription dated 694 found in the base of the stūpa records that the empress had the earlier monastery at this site rebuilt.²⁰ The reconstruction project is likely to have included the stūpa. The excavation report makes no mention of evidence of the burial of scriptures in the stūpa base, nor does history record her sponsorship of this practice, though some scholars have

¹⁸ T 1024, 19: 721a.

¹⁹ Aspiring to the universal Buddhist kingship of the *cakravatin* or wheel-turning king, as exemplified by the third century BCE Indian emperor Aśoka, she gave herself the title of 'Golden Wheel Cakravartin', and promoted Buddhism across China. See FORTE 1976, 1984, 1988, and 1990. See also CHEN 2002: 103-16.

²⁰ The Empress had 'Great Cloud' monasteries built in all prefectures across the empire. At Jingchuan, relics were unearthed from a stūpa that had been constructed there by the Sui Emperor Wen and reburied in a newly made set of nesting reliquaries in 694. GANSU 1966: 8. See also JULIANO and LERNER 2001, no. 120.

proposed that this was possible. It is also suggested that the practice was begun after her death.²¹

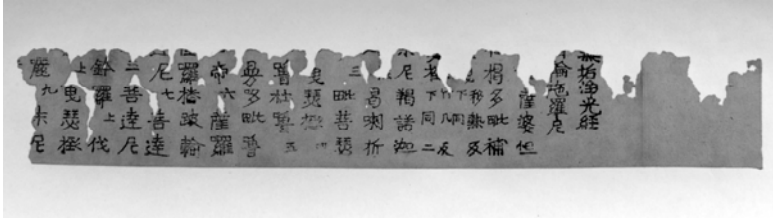


fig. 4 *Dhāraṇī* scroll of the *Sūtra of the Great Dhāraṇī of Pure Light*, from the reign of Empress Shotoku, 764-770. L: 47.4 cm. Sheide Collection, Princeton University Library.

Printed scrolls of the four *dhāraṇī* from the *Sūtra of the Great Dhāraṇī of Pure Light* were placed into small wooden stūpas by another female ruler in the eighth century. This ruler was the Japanese Empress Shōtoku (稱徳天皇 717-770) who reigned from 749 to 770. In 764 in the face of an uprising, she resolved to make a million small wooden stūpas, *hyakuman to* 百万塔 (mostly 21.5 cm high), into which strips of paper printed with the *dhāraṇī* were inserted. The printed characters look quite different in style from those on the scroll found in Korea but they also include altered characters from the Wu-Zhou period (Fig. 4). This and the size of the printed text indicate that the Japanese blocks may have been cut following an earlier version from China or Korea. The million stūpas were completed in 770 and distributed to ten major monasteries in the empire, a feat that numerically far surpasses the miraculous construction of 84,000 stūpas by Aśoka, after whom the effort was modeled. Of these stūpas, the group

²¹ Because the *dhāraṇī* was translated in the Wu Zhou reign, scholars have proposed that the practice of enshrining this text in a stūpa may have begun connected with Wu Zetian. Jinhua Chen suggests that it was initiated as part of funeral observances after her death under emperor Zhongzong (r. 705-710): KORN-ICKI 1998: 114-111; BARRETT 2001: 51-58; CHEN 2002: 116.

Chen also indicates that Empress Wu may have been the first Chinese ruler to promote the cult of 'dharma-relics'. *Ibid.*, 131. However, already in the early fifth century the identification of texts as a kind of relic of the Buddha can be seen in the engraving of canonical teachings on miniature stone stūpas of the Northern Liang dynasty. Later in the Northern Dynasties period, the Northern Qi dynasty court sponsored the carving of Buddhist scriptures in stone inside stūpa-form caves. TSIANG 1996: 254-257.

at Horyu-ji, Nara, are preserved today along with some other examples that have been dispersed.²²

The printed scrolls of the *Sūtra of the Great Dhāraṇī of Pure Light* did not include pictorial images. The illustrated frontispiece does not appear on the scroll from the Pulguk-sa or the *dhāraṇī* printed in the time of the Empress Shōtoku. By the middle of the tenth century, however, a printed version of another *dhāraṇī sūtra*, the *Yiqie rulai xin mimi quanshen sheli baoqie yin tuoluoni jing* 一切如來心秘密全身舍利寶篋印陀羅尼經 *Dhāraṇī-sūtra of the Mudrā of All the Secrets in the Minds of Buddhas Contained in the Precious Casket of the Whole Body Relics* (abbreviated below to *Dhāraṇī-sūtra of the Whole Body Relics*), does include an opening illustration. The king of Wuyue, Qian Hongchu 吳越王錢弘俶 (or Qian Chu, r. 947-978) is recorded to have printed 84,000 copies of this *dhāraṇī-sūtra* in three known editions (in the years 956, 965, and 975) and to have had 84,000 miniature stūpas made, following the example of King Aśoka.²³ Copies of the *sūtra* were placed inside of stūpas. A large number were placed in the hollow bricks of the Leifeng ta (Thunder Peak Pagoda 雷峰塔) which was constructed on the shore of the West Lake, Hangzhou, between about 972 and 977. The printed scrolls came to light in 1924 when the pagoda collapsed into a heap of rubble.²⁴

²² None of the stūpa groups at other monasteries have been kept intact. YIENGPRUKSAWAN 1986/7: 230-231. See also, *Kokuho Horyuji ten*, pp. 285-287; and KEIŌ 1996, no. 71. The strip of paper is about six centimeters wide and 47 centimeters long. The block used in the printing of the *dhāraṇī* from the Pulguk-sa in Kyongju, South Korea, is the same size, though the script is very different in appearance.

²³ The stūpas were constructed from melted *wuzhu* copper coins, beginning in the middle of the tenth century. A number of finds of the *dhāraṇī* prints have been made in Huzhou, Anhui, Hangzhou, and Shaoxing. The base of the Chengguan stūpa in Shaoxing contained a copy of the *Baoqie Sūtra* that was discovered in 1971. It begins with the heading, 'The king of Wuyue Qian Chu, reverently making 84,000 copies of the *Baoqie Sūtra*, eternally makes offerings to the fullest extent, recorded in the *yichou* year 吳越國王錢俶敬造寶篋經八萬四千卷永充供養時乙丑歲記'. The cyclical date corresponds to the year 965. ZHANG 1978: 74-76.

²⁴ ZHUANG 1926: 331-332. Before long, the printed scrolls from the Leifeng ta became sought after as collector's items. Forgeries soon appeared as the price rose, so that among the examples that are known to exist today, some appear to be forgeries made in the twentieth century. Hu Shi once noted how the printed scrolls increased in value from pennies at first to as much as 100 *yuan* per roll. Quoted in LI 1962: 155. EDGREN 1972: 141. Edgren has noted inconsistent features including the fact that they appear to have been printed from different blocks and on different kinds of paper.

The translation of the *Dhāraṇī-sūtra of the Whole Body Relics* in the eighth century is attributed to Bukong 不空 (Amoghavajra 705-774). Its text instructs people to place the sūtra inside of stūpas and images of the Buddha and promises that all places where these stūpas and images are erected will be protected by the power of the Buddha and his heavenly guardians.²⁵

The illustration at the beginning of the scroll shows multiple scenes with a Buddha and brahman figure. A Buddha sits with two disciples in a landscape setting on the right side of a rectangular frame. The brahman is shown kneeling in front of the group in the middle of the picture, inviting the Buddha and his disciples to his residence. The Buddha can be seen again in the left half of the picture standing in front of a mound of earth in the Fengcai garden. The brahman stands on the other side, facing him. Lines rising from the top of the mound can be seen to represent the light and songs of praise that are emitted from the earth from this former stūpa site. A stūpa appears in the upper half of the picture, above the standing Buddha, perhaps representing the original one. At the left we can just see the entrance of a building or walled courtyard, the brahman's home, positioned diagonally and seen from above.²⁶

Ibid., 146. See, also, EDGREN 1984, no. 3. Archeological excavation of the foundation in recent years reveals that the eight-sided stūpa had an under-ground chamber or crypt. ZHEJIANG 2002: 4-22. See, also, ZHENG and SHI 2005.

²⁵ In the text, the brahman 'Pure and Marvelous Light', Wugou Miaoguang 無垢妙光, who had often heard of the Buddha Śākyamuni, goes to seek him out and to invite the sage and his assembly to his residence. On the way there, the Buddha stops by a garden called Fengcai 豐財 'Abundant Wealth' where he sees the ruins of an ancient stūpa. As he approaches the site, a brilliant light emerges from the earth along with songs of praise that Śākyamuni has entered this place of extreme excellence. The Buddha walks around the stūpa site three times, takes off his outer garment and places it on the ruin. He weeps and all those around him also begin to weep. Vajrapāṇi bodhisattva asks the Buddha why he cries, and he replies that this is the great stūpa of the aggregate whole body relics of all the Tathāgatas [Buddhas]. The Buddha says that any sons and daughters of good families who write this sūtra will have written all the other sūtras. If people read and recite it, they will have read all the sūtras of all the Buddhas of the past. If one writes this sūtra and places it inside stūpas, those stūpas will be adamantine storehouses of the relics of all Buddhas. If one places this sūtra inside of images of the Buddha, the images will be as though made of the seven treasures. *T* 1022A, 19: 710-711, *T* 1022B, 19: 714.

²⁶ Examples of the *Dhāraṇī-sūtra of the Mudrā of the Whole Body Relics* are known in the Library of Congress, Harvard University, and the Machida City Museum of

Another edition of this sūtra was printed in Korea in the early eleventh century and found in the Chongji Monastery in Kaisong. The illustration at the beginning of the Korean scroll is similar to that on the Wuyue editions of the scroll, but the Buddha appears three times instead of twice. The printed dedication at the beginning of the scroll records the name of the abbot Hong-cheol, *Jīn-nyom-guang-jae-dae-sa-sok-Hong-cheol* 真念廣濟大師釋弘哲. The printing project was begun in 1007.²⁷

SINGLE SHEET PRINTS

The single sheet prints generally have both image and text and are of various types. The printed text may include *mantras* or *dhāraṇī*, that are frequently all or partly in Sanskrit. Transcription of the sounds of Sanskrit into Chinese characters also occurs, as seen in the early scrolls. There are two principal formats of the single sheet prints. One is rectangular with a Buddhist deity in the upper portion and a printed text in the lower. This type of single-sheet print is sometimes referred as a 'prayer sheet'. The second type is a roughly square piece of paper printed with a concentric arrangement of *dhāraṇī* text and pictorial representations of deities and other symbolic images.

Numerous examples of the prayer sheet type were preserved in Cave 17 at Dunhuang. Some of these are known to have been produced in Dunhuang in the tenth century by Cao Yuanzhong, the military ruler of the region. One depicting the bodhisattva Guanyin or Avalokiteśvara standing in a graceful dance-like pose, holding a lotus in the raised left hand and a holy water bottle in the right, is dated 947 (Fig. 5). A number of copies are preserved, some with only the printed image of the bodhisattva.²⁸ At the sides of the figure there is the

International Prints, Japan, to mention a few. Another was recently sold at auction in Beijing. HUMMEL 1936: 169-171; EDGREN 1984, pl. 3a; TAKIMOTO 1988.

²⁷ The illustration first shows the Buddha with two disciples in the lower right corner being invited by the brahman who kneels before him. In the middle, the group stands around a small mound of earth, the site of the ruined stūpa, with lines radiating upward from it. At the left, the Buddha is seen entering the doorway of the walled compound, the home of the brahman. CHON 1976: 120.

²⁸ WHITFIELD 1983, v. 2, Fig. 155. One copy in the Metropolitan Museum of Art preserves the sheet of paper with a wide border (h: 46.4, w: 32.4). Given by Paul Pelliot to the Morgan Library, it was donated to the museum in 1924. EDGREN 1985,

inscription. 'Made by Cao Yuanzhong, Military Commissioner for the Army of Returning to Righteousness and Acting Grand Mentor. The Greatly Merciful and Compassionate Rescuer from Suffering, the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. 歸義軍節度使檢校太傅曹元忠造. 大慈大悲救罪觀音菩薩'.



fig. 5 Prayer sheet with bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, commissioned by Cao Yuanzhong, dated 947. British Library Or.8210/P.9 (Ch. 00185).

From Mogao Cave 17, Dunhuang. This image is reproduced by kind permission of © The British Library.

no. 1. Others from the Pelliot and Stein collections are stamped in rows on a large sheet of paper without the text below. See, too, Grès et al. 1994, vol. 2, fig. 40.

A printed text recording Cao's list of titles under the Later Jin Kingdom and the benefits that he hoped for in the carving of this woodblock for printing appears under the bodhisattva:

The Disciple Cao Yuanzhong, Military Commissioner in charge of the Army of Returning to Righteousness, Supervisory Commissioner for the Surveillance of Gua and Sha Districts, and Commissioner for Agriculture and for Western and Other Affairs in the Region, Lord Specially Advanced Grand Mentor and Dynasty Founding Marquis of Qiao Commandery, had this printing block carved and offers it in order that the city walls and trenches be secure, and the villages and prefecture towns be peaceful. May the roads to the east and west remain passable, and the trouble-makers in the north and south become obedient. ...

This is followed by the date and name of the woodblock carver Lei Yanmei 雷延美.²⁹

Another print made by Cao Yuanzhong and bearing the same date corresponding to the year 947 depicts the 'Divine *lokapāla* Vaiśravaṇa', *Dasheng Pishamen tianwang* 大聖毗沙門天王, a powerful military figure in the center wearing full armor and standing on an earth deity. One of the four celestial kings (*lokapāla*, *tianwang*), he was widely worshiped in Central Asia. The wishes for peace, happiness and security expressed in the text are similar to those above.³⁰

Cao Yuanzhong held the position of Military Commissioner of the Army of Returning to Righteousness (*Guiyi jun*) controlling the Dunhuang region for 30 years from 944 to 974.³¹ As the de facto ruler of this region, he had trade and diplomatic relations with neighbouring and distant kingdoms, including a marriage alliance with Khotan. For maintaining peaceful relations and profitable commercial activity, keeping the roads passable was a major security concern and political responsibility. Ambassadors, monks and merchants came and went

²⁹ SU 1999, pl. 8.

³⁰ 'The Great Divinity of the North, Bishamen, rules all on the earth.... Cao Yuanzhong asks the craftsman to carve this printing block with the sole wish that the kingdom be secure and people respectful, that the country have lasting prosperity and the roads are peaceful, and that the world be happy. Recorded in the fourth year of Kaiyun Great Jin (947) ...' WHITFIELD, 1983, vol. 2, fig. 153.

³¹ The regional army known as Guiyijun had first been established in Shazhou in 851 after the defeat of the Tibetans or Tubo in the northwestern territories. It continued to exist after the fall of Tang into the Five Dynasties period through the Later Tang, Jin, Han, and Zhou periods, and into the Song. RONG 1996.

between Khotan and Dunhuang frequently. Uighurs and Tibetans sent official envoys. Cao also sent envoys to the Jin court at Chang'an and after 960 to the Northern Song court in Kaifeng.

Other single-sheet printed images with text below, believed to be of the tenth century, were found in Dunhuang. These include images of Amitābha, Mañjuśrī, Samantabhadra, and Avalokiteśvara that are accompanied by instructions for proper forms of worship. They are very similar in format, workmanship and design and distinct from those dedicated by Cao Yuanzhong, and so may be the products of a different regional workshop. A seated bodhisattva holding a large flower is identified as *Sheng guanzizai pusa* 聖觀自在菩薩 'Divine Observing Sovereign Bodhisattva' (another name of Guanyin). In other examples, the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī is depicted on his lion mount, sometimes several prints on a large sheet.³² The brief texts below instruct worshippers to pay reverence to the images, make offerings, perform prostrations, and recite the name of the deity and the associated *mantra* or secret spell, and describe the benefits to be gained. An important element of these texts are the *zhenyan* 真言 'true words', or *mantra*, associated with the deities and that derive from Sanskrit syllables that were believed to call upon divine powers.³³

A number of centers of printing emerged by the ninth century or late Tang period and into the tenth century after the fall of Tang, including those in Chang'an, Chengdu, Dunhuang, and Shaoxing. A group of four single sheet prints believed to have been produced in Shaoxing, Zhejiang, in the tenth century and which are preserved in Japan includes images of the bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī 文殊菩薩 and Samantabhadra 普賢菩薩 in similar formats, with image above and text below. The words below describe the benefits of invoking the deity with the *mantras* given. A third print from this group depicts Maitreya bodhisattva in Tuṣita Heaven and is recorded to have been designed by the artist Gao Wenjin 高文進 and carved in 984 by the Tiantai monk, Zhili, of Yuezhou 越州僧知禮雕. A fourth print is an especially detailed representation of the *Lotus Sūtra* with three Buddhas in a mountain setting and a multistorey pagoda, the *Shijia Duobao rulai quanshen sheli baota* 釋迦多寶如來全身舍利寶塔

³² GIES et al, 1994, vol. 2, fig. 41. WHITFIELD 1983: pl. 140, 141-143, 147-148.

³³ The secret syllables are an important aspect of Esoteric Buddhism; the Shingon sect in Japan takes its name from the term 'true word'.

(Many treasures stūpa of the whole body relics of *tathagathas* Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna), in the foreground. These prints, were brought from China to Japan in 985 by the Japanese monk Chōnen (938-1016) 喬然 along with the famous wooden statue of the Udayana Buddha at the Seiryō-ji 清涼寺, Kyoto. The printed sheets were found inside of the statue along with viscera made of silk and other objects including a tooth relic that x-rays show encased in the head.³⁴ The objects contained in the statue served to authenticate and enliven the sculpted image.

Roughly contemporary with the Seiryō-ji prints is the well-known printed sheet from Dunhuang Cave 17, dated 980, with Sanskrit text written in a spiraling circle (Fig. 6). It is similar in design to the above tenth-century prints with pictorial images occupying the upper part of the sheet and a text in the lower part. However, its content relates it to an earlier group of prints with Sanskrit texts and pictorial elements that have specific esoteric content and that are unlike the above printed sheets and scrolls. In the complex composition of the 980 print, the Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* is represented as the focus of worship. It rests on a large lotus rising out of the waters and is supported by two guardians figures, perhaps *nāgarāja* or dragon kings. The circular form associates it with the Buddhist wheel of the law or *dharmacakra*. The circle has a narrow border with a dense scrolling pattern composed of ritual objects and weapons whose trailing ribbons are intertwined into a scrolling vine-like design. The outer border of the rectangular page is filled with representations of five-pointed *vajras* alternating with roundels containing images of divinities and Sanskrit seed characters set on lotuses.³⁵

In the middle of the circle is a small eight-armed bodhisattva, likely to be the Mahāpratisarā bodhisattva, who embodies the wish-granting powers of the *dhāraṇī*. The figure wields in his left hands sword, rope, axe, and what appears to be a thunderbolt, and his right hands hold a

³⁴ NAGAOKA 2001, pls. 3-6. See, also, SU 1999, pls. 23-26. Yuezhou is the area of northern Zhejiang including Shaoxing.

³⁵ WHITFIELD 1983, v. 2, fig. 151. Matsumoto Eiichi has analyzed the contents, identifying the eight seed characters of the bodhisattvas of offerings and wisdom in the outer border. He suggests that the images of the *lokapālas* and other deities in the border may correspond to those mentioned in the scripture. MATSUMOTO 1937: 604-609.

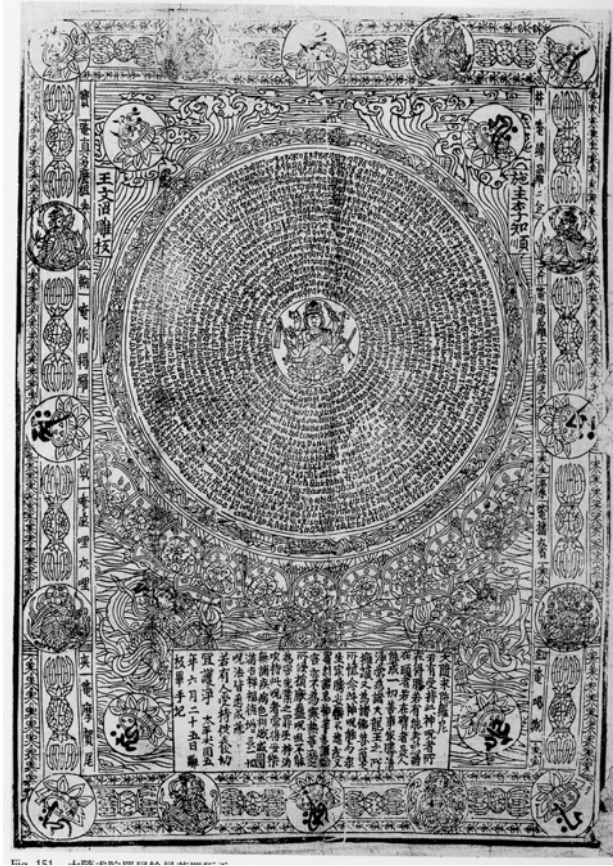


fig. 6 *Da Suiqiu tuoluoni* (*Mahāpratisarā Dhāraṇī*), Sanskrit text, woodblock print on paper, dated 980. British Museum 1919,0101,0.249 (Ch.xliii.004). This image is reproduced by kind permission of © The British Museum.

wheel and a staff with banner attached.³⁶ The other objects are not identifiable. The Chinese text, which appears in a rectangular panel at bottom, identifies the *dhāraṇī* as the *Da suiqiu tuoluoni* or *Mahāpratisarā Dhāraṇī* and contains a description, derived from the sūtra, of the benefits the *dhāraṇī* can bestow. In summary, if one wears it either on the head or arm one is assured of the ability to achieve all good deeds, of having the protection of great dragon kings

³⁶ Despite the feminine gender of the name Mahāpratisarā and the female form of the divinity in South Asia and Tibet, the deity associated with this *dhāraṇī* in East Asia was typically represented as male.

and of all the Buddhas and bodhisattvas. One who keeps the *dhāraṇī* will be safe from demons, heat, cold, and illness, and enjoy peace, happiness and freedom from illness, etc. The print is dated the fifth year of the Taiping xingguo era 太平興國五年, or 980 in the early Northern Song dynasty. The name of the donor, Li Zhishun and that of the carver of the printing block, Wang Wenzhao, are prominently placed at either side of the *dhāraṇī* wheel.³⁷

An esoteric sūtra from the Song dynasty, the *Foshuo yujia dajiaowang jing* 佛說瑜伽大教王經, contains a description of the Mahāpratisarā bodhisattva.

The Great Wish-granting Bodhisattva [has] eight arms and four faces, each with three eyes. His body appears golden in colour, completely majestic and virtuous.... His first right hand holds a sword, the second hand a wheel, the third holds a trident and the fourth an arrow. His first left hand holds a *vajra*, the second holds a rope, the third an axe, and the fourth a bow. Sitting on a lotus flower, he emits brilliant light. 大隨求菩薩. 八臂四面面各三目. 身現金色具大威德. . . . 右第一手持劍. 第二手持輪. 第三手持三叉. 第四手持箭. 左第一手持金剛杵. 第二手持罽索. 第三手持鉞斧. 第四手持弓. 坐於蓮花上放大光明.³⁸

A painting in the Kanshi-ji, Osaka, believed to be of the twelfth or thirteenth century, depicts the bodhisattva much as described above, with eight arms and golden skin, but only one face. He wears rich green and red and floral patterned garments and sits on a white lotus (Fig. 7).³⁹ He holds most of the attributes named in the *Foshuo yujia dajiaowang jing*—the sword, axe, trident, *vajra*, wheel and rope—

³⁷ Three examples are known, one in the Stein collection in the British Museum, a second in the Pelliot collection now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, and a third in the Musée Guimet. See DRÈGE 1999-2000: 27 and fig. 2. The inscription on the print appears to have been adapted from the introductory passage of the *Mahāpratisarā Dhāraṇī-sūtra*, *Foshou sui qiu jide dazizai tuoluoni shenzhou jing* 佛說隨求即得大自在陀羅尼神咒經, T 1153, 20:637b and c.

³⁸ The *Foshuo yujia dajiaowang jing* (*Sūtra of the King of Great Yogic Teaching spoken by the Buddha*), was translated in 1001 by the monk Faxian 法賢: T 890, v. 13:568a.

³⁹ This bodhisattva is included in the Taizo mandara 胎藏曼荼羅, *garbhadhātu maṇḍala* in Japan. SAWA and HAMADA 1984, vol. 3, p. 220 and pl. 58; *Heian, Kamakura no bijutsu*, no. 12.



fig. 7 Mahāpratisarā bodhisattva, polychrome on silk,
H: 133.3, W: 108.2. Kamakura period, Kanshin-ji, Osaka.
Photograph courtesy of Yutaka Mino.

though not in the designated hands. His flaming aureole is set against a white moon-like circle.

A single printed sheet resembling the Dunhuang print (H: 44.5, W: 36.1 cm), with a large circular text in Chinese characters, was found in a gilt bronze reliquary placed in the pagoda of the Ruiguang monastery 瑞光寺 in Suzhou in 1978 (Fig. 8). The design is less complex than the Dunhuang sheet but related in design and content. The circular text begins with prayers to the *Mahāpratisarā Dhāraṇī* and then records eight *dhāraṇī* incantations. It is framed by four celestial guardians, *lokapālas*, or *tianwang* 天王, placed at the corners and has a few flowers and objects tied with long ribbons floating at the top. A small seated Buddha appears in the center that Ma Shichang

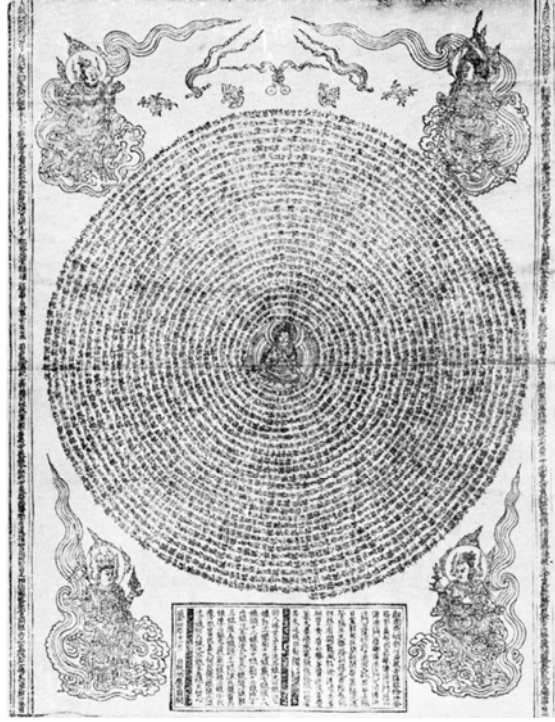


fig. 8 *Da Suiqiu tuoluoni*, Chinese text, woodblock print on paper, dated 1101. From the pagoda of the Ruiguangsi, Suzhou. After Wenwu, 11 (1979), plate 6:1.

identifies as Vairocana.⁴⁰ There are dedicatory inscriptions in narrow rows at the sides and a Chinese text on the lower part listing names of donors and recording the printing in the fourth year of Xianping 咸平 (1001) in Hangzhou.

Another representation of the *Mahāpratisarā Dhāraṇī*, printed in 926, was discovered in the eastern outskirts of Luoyang in 1978 at the site of the Shijiawan brick factory 史家灣磚廠. It is a nearly square sheet, wider than it is long, that has eight rows of Sanskrit text in a circle around a central eight-armed bodhisattva. Seven additional rows of text form a square around the circular section. The central bodhisattva holds in his hands various objects including a rope, trident, wheel, sword, and jewel. Images of Buddhas, Sanskrit seed characters, and *vajras* appear in the outer border with the four *lokapālas* in the

⁴⁰ MA 2004: 575, fig. 13. The excavation report had identified the Buddha as Śākyamuni. SUZHOU 1979: 21-31.

corners. There is a printed Chinese text on the right side of the sheet that reads:

The *sūtra* says, the Buddha told the god Brahma that the *Suiqiu tuolouni* was spoken in the past by nine hundred ninety million Buddhas in unison. If a person should write and wear it according to the [prescribed] methods all retribution for evil deeds and serious transgressions will be annulled. At that time, the person will have increased support from all the Buddhas, will receive protective attention of bodhisattvas and will be guarded by heavenly dragons.... In the Yinxu [year] (926), on the eighth day of the summer month, the monk Zhiyi of the Baoguo Monastery made a vow and had it printed. The commoner Shi Hongguang carved the words. 經云, 佛告大梵天王此隨求陀羅尼過去九十九億諸佛同共說. 若人依法書寫佩戴, 所有惡業重罪並得消除. 當如是人一切如來加持, 一切菩薩護念, 一切天龍守護. ... 在丙戌朱明之月初有八日. 報國寺僧知益發願印施. 布衣石弘廣雕字.

Below it is an inscription written in ink with the date, 'In the second year of Tiancheng (in the later Tang, 927) the eighth day of the first month, the disciple Xu Yin submits himself to the Buddha and records it 天成二年正月八日徐殷第子依佛記.⁴¹ The process of making the print can be seen to have progressed in stages from the monk who commissioned the work to be done by a lay artisan carver of the block. The individual devotee who receives a copy is also recorded.

This same format with two sections of printed text, one in a square enclosing an inner circular section, appears on another print of the *Da Suiqiu dhāraṇī* from Dunhuang, now in the Musée Guimet, which has a dedicatory text at the bottom almost identical to that on the 980 print. As in the Ruiguang monastery print, a small Buddha is depicted in the center of the circle.⁴² The outer border has Sanskrit seed characters and *vajras* closely resembling those in the 980 print. This layout with *dhāraṇī* text written in a circle within a square also appears on a group of smaller prints from Dunhuang believed to be of the tenth century

⁴¹ Unfortunately, the circumstances of its find are not recorded. The list of bene-fits of the *sūtra* are taken from the text of the scripture itself. The sheet measures 29.5 by 38 cm ZHONGGUO 2005, no. 135; DRÈGE 1999-2000, fig. 7; see, also, WEN 1993: 350-351.

⁴² Musée Guimet, Paris, MG 17688. DRÈGE 1999-2000, 28 and fig. 3; MA 2005, fig. 16. See also, a handwritten Chinese version in square format with a lotus in the center, the text filling the sheet of paper. Found in Mogao Cave 17 (P. 3982), it is also believed to be of the tenth century. DREGÉ 1999: 154, fig. 54.

(Fig. 9).⁴³ The basic layout of the above early Song examples of *dhāraṇī* prints is like the contemporary ‘prayer sheets’ from Dunhuang and Shaoxing which have the main image in the upper part and the text below. However, their design, content, and function are derived from an earlier type of print popular in the Tang dynasty that is known from archeological finds of the last half century in China. The 926 print from Luoyang with its square format can be regarded as a transitional work between the earlier *dhāraṇī* prints and the Dunhuang examples.



fig. 9 Miezu tuoluoni (*Dhāraṇī* for extinguishing suffering), woodblock print, Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* text, ca. tenth century. British Museum, 1919,0101,0.248 (Ch. 00151.t). H: 13.8, W: 17.3 cm. This image is reproduced by kind permission of © The British Museum.

DHĀRAṆĪ SHEETS OF THE TANG DYNASTY

The remainder of this article is devoted to a discussion of a subgroup of the single sheet prints, the earlier square-sheet *dhāraṇī* prints known from excavations of burials believed to be of the Tang dyna-

⁴³ WHITFIELD 1983, v. 2, Fig. 152.

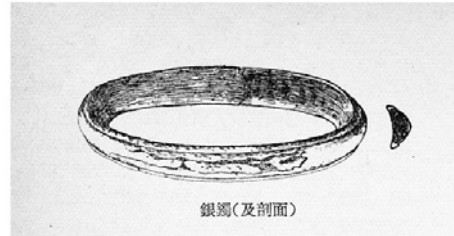
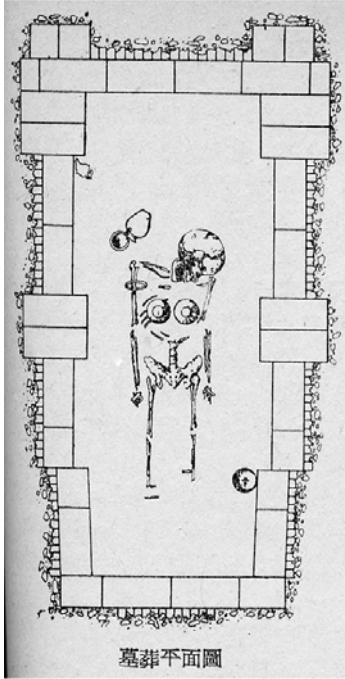
sty. Their production appears to have begun in the eighth century, or mid-Tang period. As well as being among the earliest known, the square *dhāraṇī* sheets are the most overtly foreign-looking of the early Buddhist printed materials. They occur most frequently with Sanskrit text (written in Siddham script) together with images of ritual and symbolic objects.⁴⁴ These finds have been scattered and fragmentary, but they comprise a substantial group of material, printed from a wide variety of different carved blocks and displaying different configurations of text and image. Some examples have selected images painted in. Fully handwritten and painted examples are also known, which I mention below together with the printed sheets. In spite of the range of production, the printed and painted square sheets seem to be closely related in content and purpose, and they all appear to represent the *Mahāpratisarā Dhāraṇī*. They typically have the main textual portion written in a square spiraling arrangement surrounding a central square panel. The central area and a border zone around the text are reserved for pictorial images which may be printed or added by hand.

1) The first recorded find was made in 1944 in a burial found inside the Sichuan University campus in Chengdu (Fig. 10 a, b, and c). The *dhāraṇī* text occupies most of the printed surface of the paper (which measures 31 cm high and 34 cm wide) around a small central square area.⁴⁵ As in the case of the circular *dhāraṇī*, the text is meant to be read in a spiral. The seventeen or eighteen lines of text are oriented to be upright when viewed from the center of the page. In the square central zone, a seated eight-armed bodhisattva is shown enclosed by double lines. Its hands hold various implements, weapons, and other objects like that in the Dunhuang print of 980. The objects unfortunately are not clearly visible because of the damaged condition of the paper. In the outer border surrounding the Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* text there is a row of sixteen Buddhist deities seated on lotus thrones that alternate with representations of sixteen ritual objects or emblems, each set on a lotus flower base and having a flaming aureole. The

⁴⁴ SU 1999, on printing in the Tang and Song periods, provides the first survey of this with information on individual finds. DRÈGE 1999-2000: 25-44 has also published an overview of this subject. More recently, MA 2004: 527-581 has made the imagery of the *Mahāpratisarā Dhāraṇī* prints the focus of a longer article.

⁴⁵ The print is now in the National Museum of Chinese History. FENG 1957: 48-51. See also SU 1999, pl. 7c; MA 2004: 571, fig. 9. (TWITCHETT 1983: 18, mentions this important find, but mistakenly reported that the printed paper was rolled up inside a small 'silver bell' that was resting on the skeleton.)

deities appear to be bodhisattvas. The eight objects include a *vajra*, wheel, and trident, and an object resembling a triangular jewel. The remaining representations are of eight pairs of hands performing symbolic gestures or *mudrā*, known in Chinese as *yin* 印.



figs. 10a, b, c, counterclockwise from top right: a. Printed *dhāraṇī*, Sanskrit text, woodblock print on paper, Sichuan, ca. ninth century. National Museum of Chinese History, Beijing. b. Drawing of the burial. c. Silver arm band in which the *dhāraṇī* was found. After FENG, 1957: 51, 49, 50.

A brief printed Chinese text on the right side of the printed sheet identifies what must have been a print workshop, located in the Longchi ward in Chengdu district, Chengdu garrison 成都府成都縣龍池坊. The Chengdu garrison is recorded to have been established in the 757 after the Emperor Xuanzong's year in exile there from the capital.⁴⁶ From this historical evidence the print is believed to be not

⁴⁶ FENG 1957, 50. In 756, when Emperor Xuanzong escaped to this area, it was known as Shu commandery 蜀郡. When the emperor returned to Chang'an the following year, he had the name changed to Chengdu fu to indicate his sojourn there.

earlier than 757. The modest tomb in which this *dhāraṇī* sheet was found is of brick construction typical of the Tang period and contained a single skeleton. The remains had two inverted bowls placed over the chest, two Tang *kaiyuan* coins in the mouth, a coin and a piece of jade-like stone in each hand, and a silver arm band worn high on the right arm. The printed sheet of paper was found inside the arm band, folded and tightly rolled. Aside from these objects the tomb also contained three other ceramic vessels: a jar, small cup and a bowl. All the ceramics appear to be ‘Chang ware’ a type of ceramic made in Chengdu in the Tang and early Five Dynasties period. Feng Hanyi, author of the excavation report was of the opinion that the tomb was of the ninth century.⁴⁷

2) A print of nearly identical design, also folded and rolled to fit into a similar type of arm band, was discovered in 1999 in Sanqiao-zhen 三橋鎮 in the vicinity of the Tang capital of Chang’an (Fig. 11, a and b).⁴⁸ Though the paper is somewhat better preserved than the sheet found in Chengdu, it has some similar losses from the diagonal folding and rolling of the thin sheet. The upper right and lower left corners are substantially damaged, with fragments of paper separated from the main piece. Like the print found in Chengdu, the sheet is divided into three zones—a central zone with a seated eight-armed bodhisattva, the middle zone with Sanskrit text, and the outer border zone with sixteen bodhisattvas, ritual objects, and pairs of hands in symbolic gestures. The objects, like those on the above print, include a wheel, *vajra*, trident, and jewel.

On the far right side is a printed Chinese inscription identifying a donor (who may be a monk) as Shengzun, from the Bao’en monastery in Huanhuaxi, Chengdufu, who had the print made. 成都府浣花溪報恩寺 ... 生尊敬造此印施, On the left are mantra syllables written

This has been taken by some scholars to date the print to the eighth century, but Feng presents much evidence that the tomb is more likely to be of the ninth century.

⁴⁷ FENG 1957, 48-49. Though the tomb was discovered in 1944, the report was not published until more than a decade after its excavation. The placement of the bowls covering the breasts, is very unusual and suggests that the deceased may have been a woman. However the skeleton was destroyed before it could be examined, so its gender was not positively identified. The coins have the character Yi on the obverse, indicating that they were cast in Sichuan, it is believed, in the middle of the ninth century. Coins held in the hands of the deceased are a feature of Tang burials that was not carried over into post-Tang period.

⁴⁸ The bronze arm band was decorated with chased scrolling vine and ring stamped patterns. ZHOU 2001: 133 and 146-7; MA 2004: 572, fig. 10.

in Chinese characters. In the central square, to the right of a bodhisattva, there is the handwritten name of the monk Shaozhen, 比丘僧少贞.



figs. 11 a, b. above: Printed *dhāraṇī*, Sanskrit text, woodblock print on paper, detail. Printed in Sichuan, ca. ninth century, found in Xi'an. Shaanxi Museum of History.
below: Same, lower right corner. Photographs by the author.

The above two prints appear to be modeled on still earlier versions of the *dhāraṇī* that were painted and written by hand, examples of which are mentioned below. The two handwritten Sanskrit examples, unlike the printed Chengdu prints, have the text oriented as though to be read from the viewpoint of one walking around the edges of the page rather than from the central position.

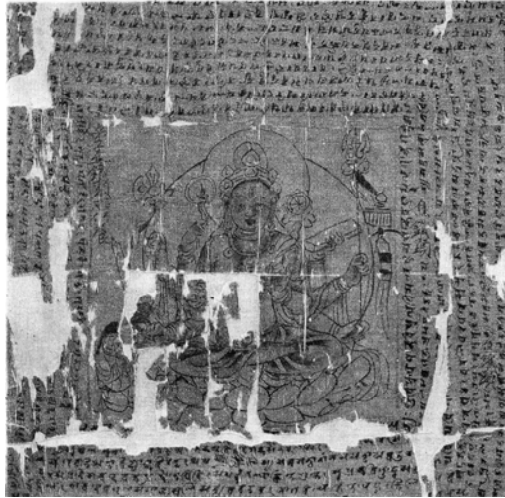
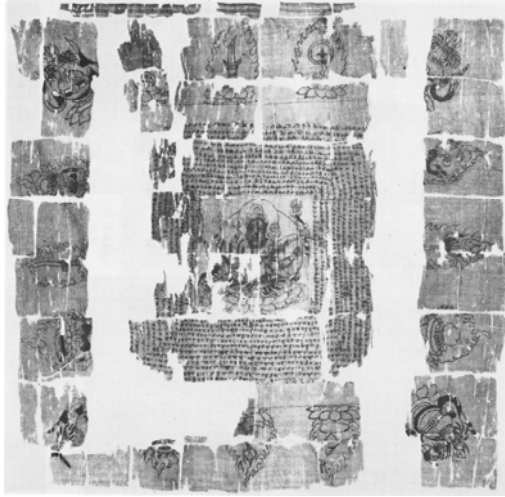
3) A finely painted and handwritten example on silk (Fig. 12, a, b) was found in a Tang tomb west of Xi'an at the site of the Fenghaolu Zilaishui Yichang (豐瀆路自來水一廠 (Fenghao Road First Water Treatment Plant) in 1983. The silk square (26.5 cm long on each side) was folded vertically and horizontally, rather than diagonally, and inserted into a small gilt bronze cylinder (4.5 cm high and 2.4 cm wide) attached to an arm band also of gilt bronze. The tomb also contained three large stūpa-shaped jars and six human and animal tomb figures, mostly small in size. All are made of painted pottery and can be assigned roughly to the middle to late Tang period, or from the eighth to ninth century.⁴⁹

Like the above prints produced in Chengdu, the handwritten *dhāraṇī* sheet on silk is designed with three concentric square zones: In the central zone, a bodhisattva with eight arms and three eyes is shown seated on a lotus flower. The painting is in ink outlines and polychrome pigments, still showing touches of green, blue, and orange. The folds of the lower garment are shaded in black. The bodhisattva wears a jeweled crown and holds various objects in his eight hands, including a trident, wheel, book (?), and staff with striped pennant in the right hands; and a rope, sword, and axe in the left. A small male figure kneels at the deity's right side. Above him is an inscription in Chinese that reads, 'the disciple Jiao Tietou makes offerings with complete devotion 弟子焦鐵頭一心供養'.

The Sanskrit text is written in thirteen lines spiraling outward from the middle. Interspersed among the Sanskrit letters are Chinese characters, including the name, Jiao Tietou ('Iron-head' Jiao), and other phrases: *yiqie foxin zhou* 一切佛心咒 (*dhāraṇī* or incantation of the minds of all Buddhas, one of the *dhāraṇī* in the *Mahāpratisarā Dhāraṇī* scripture), *guantang* 灌湯, (wash or sprinkle with boiled water), and *jijie* 吉界, (auspicious realm). These appear to refer to the

⁴⁹ LI and GUAN 1984: 50-52; LI 1984:, 102 and pl. 8; MA 2004: 565, fig. 1. It is now in the Xi'an Forest of Stone Tablets Museum. CHENG 2000: 153.

devotee and to aspects of the preparation for or performance of an esoteric Buddhist ritual.⁵⁰



figs. 12a, b. a. Sanskrit *dhāraṇī*, handwritten and painted, ink and polychrome on silk, Fenghaolu Zilaishiu Yichang, Xi'an. Shaanxi Museum of History.
After LI and GUAN 1984, pl. 4. b. Detail, central deity.

⁵⁰ Ma Shichang suggests that some of the Chinese characters may have been miswritten, and that *quantang* should be *guanding* 灌頂, or *abhiṣeka*, and that *jijie* should be *jiejie* 結界 (binding the realm).

The outer zone of the square composition has a water bottle in each corner, and three other objects along each side. The latter are religious ceremonial objects or emblems set on lotus pedestals and surrounded by flaming aureoles. They include a knife, sword, trident, conch shell, lotus flower, and flaming jewel, many decorated with ribbons tied around them. Each of the bottles is also tied with wide sash. Unlike the Chengdu prints, there are no *mudrā* shown.

4) A fragmentary example, found in 2000 in the western outskirts of Xi'an, has the *dhāraṇī* text written in Chinese characters on paper. When removed from the armband in which it was inserted, the pieces were adhered together and could not be separated. Only a few fragments are published that show the text written in a band between depictions of *mudrā* on one side and objects set on lotuses on the other. The painted images and text appear to be in a circular arrangement and not a square. Aside from the *dhāraṇī* text, the writing included large characters that have been read as '... *sanzai jiuyue* 三載九月', and that are believed to be a recorded date.⁵¹

5) A well-preserved Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* written and hand-painted on silk in the square format is in the Yale University Art Gallery (Fig. 13). It is believed to have been found in Henan province.⁵² It is painted in ink and red, blue, and green pigments with a figure of a seated bodhisattva and a small female devotee kneeling at his right side in the central zone. The bodhisattva holds a thunderbolt scepter in his left hand and extends his right hand to place it on the woman's head. At the sides of the square panel are two lines of writing recording the name and age of the devotee. 'Recipient [of the *dhāraṇī*], Wei Daniang, makes offering and respectfully accepts it whole-heartedly, [year] *zai* 63 受持者魏大娘一心供養奉受載六十三'.⁵³ The *dhāraṇī* is written in a square occupying ten lines around the central panel.

⁵¹ MA 2004: 528 proposes that the date should be in the Tianbao era, either the third year or the thirteenth year, 743 or 753. He also illustrates two fragmentary handwritten and painted *dhāraṇī* found in Turfan. The Sanskrit text is written in a circle with painted divinities and ritual objects featured prominently in the outer zone, including figures of *lokapālas* in the four corners, which he suggests are also very early in date.

⁵² Hobart and Edward Small Moore Memorial Collection: bequest of Mrs. William H. Moore. The square sheet, about 21.5 cm on each side, was purchased from Edgar Worch, New York, in 1930. HACKNEY and YAU 1962: 167; LEE 1970: 42, no. 63; NEILL 1982: 95-96, no. 42; and in RHIE 1980: 23-24, no. 11.

⁵³ MA 2004: 529-530 holds that the *zai* here refers to the age of Wei Daniang.

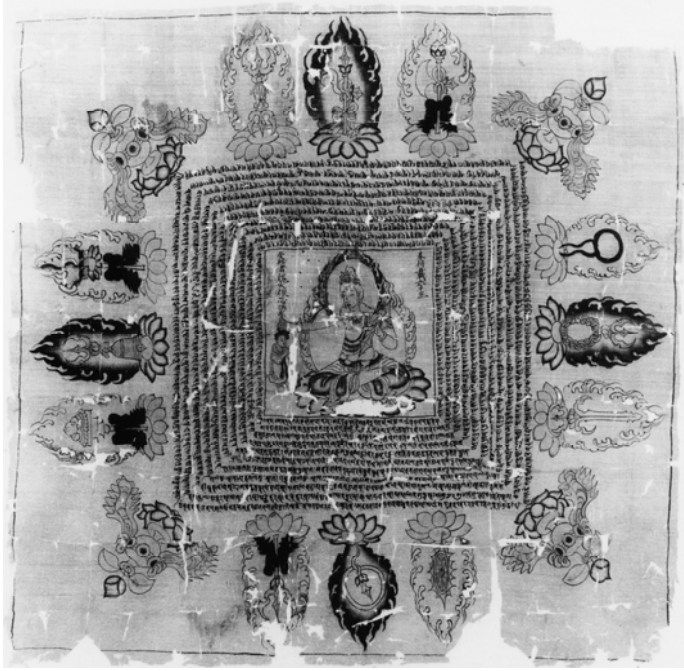


fig. 13 Tantric Buddhist charm, handwritten and painted in ink and polychrome on silk. Yale University Art Museum, Hobart and Edward Small Moore Memorial Collection, bequest of Mrs. William H. Moore.

Around it are twelve ritual objects and a vase holding a lotus bud at each corner.

The use of the character *zai* on these two examples is believed to be a key to their dating. The character *zai* was substituted for the character *nian* 年 to refer to years in the third year of *tianbao* 天寶 during the reign of emperor Xuanzong, and its use revoked in the third year of the *zhide* 至德 period in the reign of emperor Suzong. Thus it was in use between 742 and 758. On this basis, the above two handwritten examples of the *Mahāpratisarā Dhāraṇī* are assigned to the middle of the eighth century.⁵⁴

Several other existing examples of *dhāraṇī* printed on square sheets of paper have been excavated from burials in the area of the Tang capital, Chang'an. They have similar arrangements of images and text in three concentric square zones—the central panel usually with

⁵⁴ ZHOU 2001: 147; MA 2004: 530, 532.

pictorial representation of a deity whose identity can vary, the text surrounding it in the middle zone, and an outer zone with depictions of various symbolic objects and/or Buddhist deities.

6) Of these, the one that is closest in design to the handwritten and painted examples in the Yale University Museum and from Fenghao Road west of Xi'an is the one unearthed in Chang'an county and now in the Xi'an Forest of Stone Tablets Museum.⁵⁵ Well-preserved and published with a clear photograph, the most notable feature is the central seated bodhisattva which has two arms, like the one depicted on the Yale *dhāraṇī* sheet. The bodhisattva's left hand holds a large lotus flower and the right hand rests on the head of a small kneeling male figure. The Sanskrit text around it occupies a large area in the middle zone and, like the handwritten examples on silk has the text oriented to read from the outer edges of the paper. Interspersed in the text and written at the bottom of the page is the name Aluo 阿洛. Between the text and the outer zone is a border of repeating thunderbolt patterns. The outer zone is divided into a single row of squares inside which are depicted ritual implements—trident, bell, wheel, sword, axe, *vajra*, conch, etc.—each with a lotus base and flaming aureole. In the corners, as in the above examples, there is a vase tied with a sash around the body. While in the example painted on silk each vase holds a lotus, in the Yale and Chang'an examples each of the vases has a *vajra* emerging from its mouth.

7) Another printed Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* was found in 1974 at the site of the Xi'an Chaiyou Jixiechang 西安柴油機械廠 (Xi'an Fuel Oil Factory) (Fig. 14) in the western outskirts of Xi'an.⁵⁶ The sheet of paper (27 x 26 cm) was folded vertically and horizontally and had deteriorated in burial so that much of it is lost. Although both the text and outer sections are fragmentary, they can be seen to have a design generally similar to that of the Tang examples mentioned above. The outer zone of the Chaiyou factory *dhāraṇī* is more elaborately worked and with a larger assortment of floral elements, ritual implements, and *mudrās*, and also what appear to be constellations arranged in two rows but no images of deities. The astronomical configurations seem

⁵⁵ No excavation report is known for this example (H: 24.5, W: 23.5). The paper is well preserved and shows signs of being folded horizontally and vertically, as are nearly all the *dhāraṇī* sheets from the Xi'an area. CHENG 2000: 153.

⁵⁶ It is now in the Xi'an City Cultural Artifacts Preservation and Archeology Office. HAN 1987: 406, fig. 2; SU 1999: 125, pl. 7b.

to introduce elements of time and cosmic context to that of ritual performance. The outer border of the printed area is a pattern resembling a thick twisted cord or rope. The central square (h: 6 cm and w: 7 cm) has been left blank, as though meant to be painted in. A brief inscription in Chinese was written in ink on the right side of the empty panel, 吳德 — 福, the name Wu De ... and *fu* meaning fortune. One of the characters appears to be missing.

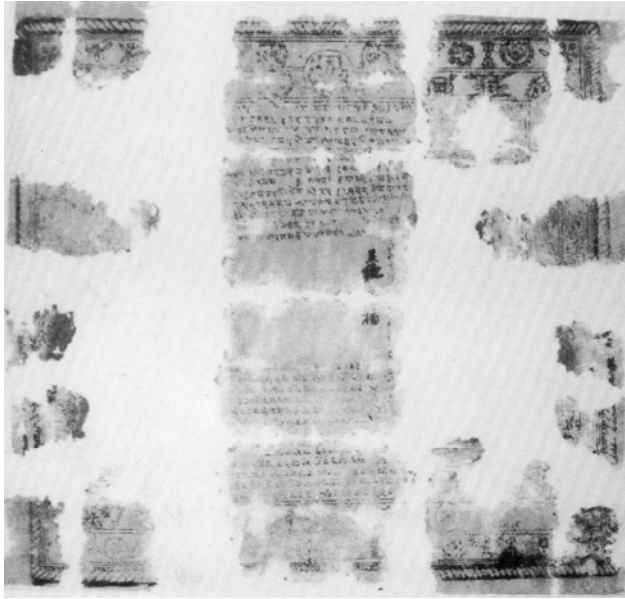


fig. 14 Printed *dhāraṇī*, Sanskrit text, woodblock print and painting on paper, from Xi'an Chaiyou Jixiechang. After HAN 1987: 406, Fig. 2.

The Chaiyou Jixiechang *dhāraṇī* sheet was found inside a curved narrow bronze object described as a chin support but which seems more likely to have been tied around the neck of the deceased. The cords attached to each end of the object are 12 centimeters in length, too short to have been tied around the top of the head to hold a chin support in place, but the proper length for tying around the neck.⁵⁷ Textual evidence in the *Mahāpratisarā Sūtra* itself supports the identification of the object as one meant to be worn on the neck. The accompanying grave goods have mostly been lost, unfortunately,

⁵⁷ HAN 1987: 404; MA, 2004: 568, fig. 6.

except for a bronze mirror with the animal symbols of the four cardinal directions.⁵⁸

8) A further example came to light in 1967 in Fengxi, at the site of the Xi'an Zaozhiwang chang 西安造紙網廠 (Xi'an Paper Netting Factory). The well-preserved sheet of paper (which measures approximately 28 x 32 cm) was also found in a small bronze tube.⁵⁹ This example differs from those seen above in a number of ways. In contrast with their use of continuous spiraling text, here the *dhāraṇī* is organized in four rectangular sections that could have been carved one section at a time.⁶⁰ In the central panel there is a painted figure of a standing guardian deity clasping a large *vajra* with his left arm (*jingang lishi* 金剛力士). Beside him is a small kneeling man. The figures are painted in black ink, the *vajra*-bearer depicted with exaggerated jutting brows and cheekbones, a sturdy bare torso, and muscular arms. His right hand is extended and placed on the kneeling man's head. He is dressed in a *dhoti* and has a long scarf billowing up over his shoulders and behind his head. His bare feet stand on rocks. Above the kneeling figure, an auspicious *ruyi*-shaped cloud billows upward. The kneeling man would appear to be the lay practitioner Jing Sitai 荆思泰 whose name is inscribed on the far right of the sheet of paper. Close examination of the printed Sanskrit text section shows that the same three characters are also written ten times more into reserved spaces in the printed text.

The outer zone around the printed text is also painted. The various objects and hand gestures have a somewhat looser organization and directional orientation than in the printed examples mentioned above, and they are interspersed with small flowering plants or herbs and other painted designs. There are weapons and implements including a lance, three-pointed *vajra*, a long thunderbolt-scepter resembling that

⁵⁸ These burials of modest size were found by farmers and workmen and mostly not excavated by archeologists. HAN 1987: 406, fig. 3.

⁵⁹ Discovered in 1967, during the Cultural Revolution, it was not published until 1998 in response to the recent growth of interest in early printing. The printed *dhāraṇī* had been inserted in a small bronze tube just four centimeters long and only one centimeter in diameter. The tomb was not excavated scientifically at the time of its discovery, and none of its other contents has been preserved. AN and FENG 1998: 86-92 and pl. 8; SU 1999, pl. 7a; MA 2004: 570, fig. 8; and DRÈGE 1999-2000, fig. 9.

⁶⁰ AN and FENG 1998: 87. The authors of the report feel that the text was carved and printed in four separate blocks, but the lines of the outer and inner edges of the text are unbroken and do not appear to be done in four sections.

held by the central deity, conch shells, an axe, and a wheel, all of which are shown tied with long trailing ribbons. In addition, there are four *mudrās* or pairs of clasped hands, one on each side. The hands are set on lotus flowers but do not have flaming aureoles.

9) Another printed *dhāraṇī* with painted imagery was found in a Tang burial in 1975 at the Xi'an Yejin Jixiechang 西安冶金機械廠 (Xi'an Smelting Factory), also in a small bronze container.⁶¹ It has the printed text in Chinese, arranged in a square format much the same way as the spiraling Sanskrit texts (Fig. 15). The text is identified at the beginning as the *Fo ... de dazizai tuoluoni shenzhou jing* 佛 ... 得大自在陀羅尼神咒經. The missing characters can be filled in and the full title recognized as that of the *Sūtra of Great Sovereign Dhāraṇī Spirit Incantations that Answer All Prayers Spoken by the Buddha* (*Foshuo suiqiu jide dazizai tuoluoni shenzhou jing* 佛說隨求即得大自在陀羅尼神咒經).

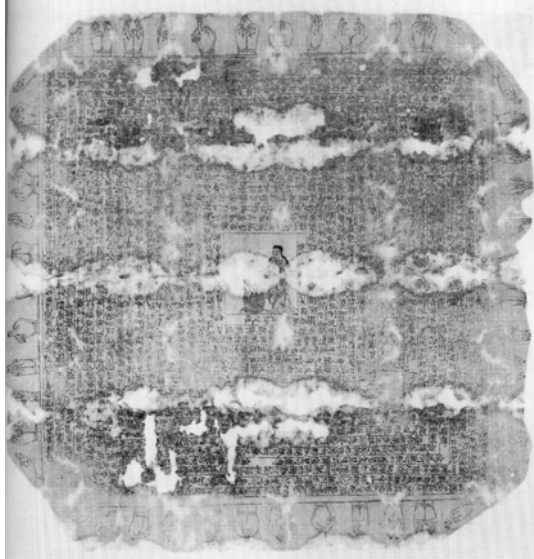


fig. 15 *Da Suiqiu tuoluoni*, Chinese text, woodblock print on paper, from Yejin Jixiechang, Xi'an. After HAN 1987: 405, Fig. 1.

⁶¹ The square printed sheet measures 35 centimeters on each side. The bronze container in which it was found was so badly corroded that its form was unrecognizable; it has not been preserved. HAN 1987: 404-5, fig. 1; SU 1999, pl. 7d. MA, 2004: 569, fig. 7.

On this example, the central square (h: 5.3 cm, w: 4.6 cm) is painted in ink and colour with a standing figure and another figure kneeling beside it. The standing figure is shown from a three-quarters view, turned toward the kneeling figure. With full face, gentle smile, and long hair falling over the shoulders, it may possibly be a female divinity. The figure is dressed in a long blue outer garment or scarf and a red skirt with touches of red pigment also on the cheeks. The kneeling figure is dressed in red and green. It cannot be identified because the upper half is missing.

The outer edge of the text is bounded by a double line separating it from the outer zone. This rather narrow band is filled with depictions of forty-four *mudrās*, ten on each side and also a pair of hands outstretched to the sides at each of the corners. They rise directly from the double line border surrounding the *dhāraṇī* text and have no lotus flower bases.

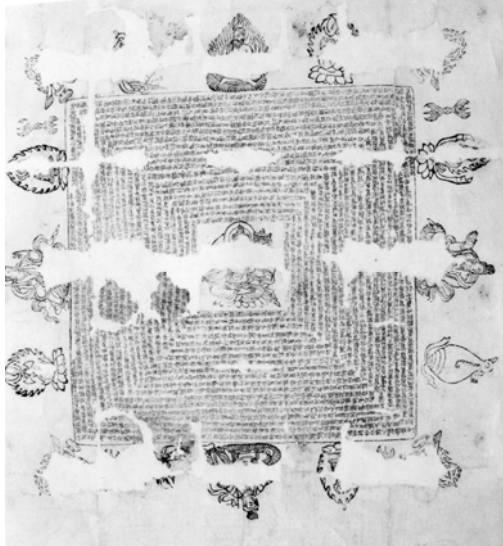


fig. 16 Printed *dhāraṇī*, Chinese text, woodblock print on paper, found in 1990.
Photograph courtesy of Xi'an City Cultural Artifacts
Preservation and Archeology Office.

10) A printed *dhāraṇī* sheet with Chinese text was found in the western outskirts of Xi'an in 1990 and is now in the Xi'an City Cultural Artifacts Preservation and Archeology Office (Fig. 16) It has a seated bodhisattva in the central square that appears to have only

two arms. The outer zone is filled with rather large representations of deities and ritual objects, approximately the same size as the central figure. There are three bodhisattvas and a bearded brahmin-like figure.⁶²

Other examples have been found in Jiangsu, Anhui, and Xinjiang provinces but cannot be discussed here. Most have not been published with illustrations or descriptions of the contexts in which they were found.⁶³

THE *DHĀRAṆĪ* SHEETS' SCRIPTURAL BACKGROUND

The printed *dhāraṇī* sheets depict deities with religious symbols, ritual implements, and gestures employed in their worship arranged in distinctive diagrammatic configurations of text and images. The wide variety and personalized quality of the existing examples, especially from the Tang capital area of Chang'an, suggests that they were produced in substantial numbers, though they are today known only from isolated finds. At first handwritten, the growing demand must have outpaced the ability of a presumably small number of people to produce written Sanskrit copies. This would have provided an impetus to make printed copies. The script of the Sanskrit examples has been identified as Siddham, or Siddhamāṭṭkā, which was introduced with Buddhist scriptures from India to China. Developed in northern India around the late sixth century, it was promoted as a sacred script in Tang dynasty China, especially for the writing of magic spells.⁶⁴ The printed *dhāraṇī maṇḍalas* could readily be customized by writing in names and painting selected images in the blank central panel and borders.

All the known Tang-dynasty examples appear to represent the *Da sui qiu tuoluoni jing* (*Mahāpratisarā Dhāraṇī-sūtra*), and the central

⁶² I was able to view this print at the Xi'an City Wenwu baohu kaogu suo in September 2005. The circumstances of its discovery are not recorded.

⁶³ Su Bai mentions that two were found in burials believed to be of the Tang period in Anhui. One is now in the Anhui Province Archeological Research Bureau and the other in the Anhui Provincial Museum, Hefei. Still another was unearthed from a burial in Zhenjiang, Jiangsu. SU 1999: 7-9.

⁶⁴ It continued to be used in northern India into the tenth century when it was replaced by Devanāgarī. SALOMON 1998: 39 and Appendix no. 8. See, also, STEVENS 2005.

multi-armed deity in many of these can be understood to represent the deified scripture, Mahāpratisarā bodhisattva. The Chinese printed version found at the Xi'an Yejin Jixiechang (Fig. 15), which positively identifies the *sūtra*, has elements of design and imagery that can be related to other examples. Its representations of *mudrās* in the outer border are a feature shared with the Chengdu prints, examples 1 (Fig. 10) and 2 (Fig. 11). The representation in the central panel of a deity with a small kneeling figure beside it also appears on a number of other prints and painted versions, including examples 5 (Fig. 13), 6, and 8. Many of the images depicted on the *dhāraṇī* sheets—principal deities, ritual gestures and implements—follow guidelines specifically prescribed in the *sūtra* itself to suit the intentions and needs of practitioners.

The *Dhāraṇī Scripture by Whose Sovereignty All that is Requested Can Be Granted* was translated by the Indian monk Baosiwei (*Mañicintana or *Ratnacintana, d. 721) in 693. It appears to have become popular in the early years of the eighth century around the time of its use in imperial rituals to invoke rainfall. The highly influential monk Fazang, who was called upon to exercise his magical powers for relief of drought at the capital, made use of this scripture. He performed rain-making services for both emperors Zhongzong 中宗 (r. 705-710) and Ruizong 睿宗 (r. 710-712). In the fifth month of 708, during the reign of Zhongzong, the emperor ordered him to gather eminent monks at the Jianfu monastery 薦福寺 at the capital to pray for rain and conduct religious rituals. On the seventh day, a heavy downpour began that lasted for ten days.⁶⁵ Again in 711, under Emperor Ruizong, Fazang was called to the palace after a period of drought and a winter with no snowfall. On that occasion he is recorded to have recommended construction of an altar and the copying of *dhāraṇī* incantations from the *Suiqiu zede dazizai tuoluoni* 隨求則得大自在陀羅尼, copies of which were to be thrown into a dragon pool. This brought much snowfall in the mountains ensuring a good season for planting crops.⁶⁶ The text is most likely the same

⁶⁵ T no. 2054, vol. 50: 284b. My thanks to Jinhua Chen for this information. More details of Fazang's talents and remarkable life are featured in CHEN 2007.

⁶⁶ T 2054, 50: 284b.

scripture that has been handed down as the *Dasuiqiu jide dazizai tuoluoni jing*.⁶⁷

Later in the eighth century, the influential monk Bukong also promoted this scripture. He gave an amber Buddha image and a copy of the *dhāraṇī* to the Emperor Suzong in 758 together with a letter recommending that the emperor wear the *dhāraṇī* on his person. Also,

In the Qianyuan era (758-60) the emperor Suzong invited [Bukong] to the palace to perform a *homa* ritual and seven-treasures consecration ceremony for the emperor as a cakravartin ruler. In 761 the emperor was not well. Bukong used the *Mahāpratisarā* mantras to cleanse him of the seven transgressions [defilements]. The next day he was cured. The emperor's respect [for Bukong] greatly increased. 乾元中帝請入內。建道場護摩法。為帝受轉輪王位七寶灌頂。上元末帝不豫。空以大隨求真言祓除至七過。翼日乃瘳。帝愈加殊禮焉。⁶⁸

These recorded successes from invoking the *sūtra* in the eighth century for the benefit of the emperor and empire could have given rise to belief in its efficacy and popular demand for reproductions. Their growing popularity and the inability of most people to copy the Indian script by hand might have provided the impetus for mass-production of the *dhāraṇī* sheets through printing.

The *Mahāpratisarā Dhāraṇī-sūtra* offers protection, aid, and all that one wishes for. The *sūtra* opens with the god Brahma, lord of the Saha or phenomenal world, bowing to the Buddha and asking to hear the divine *dhāraṇī* incantations for the benefit of all living beings. The Buddha describes to the assembly the benefits of writing the *dhāraṇī* and carrying them at all times for protection and for receiving all one's wishes.

Those who receive and hold the divine *dhāraṇī* will be successful or victorious wherever they are. If they can write and wear it on the neck or on the arm, these persons will be able to accomplish all good things with the highest [degree of] success and purity. They will be constantly protected by all heavenly divinities and dragon kings, and all Buddhas and bodhisattvas 若有受持此神咒者。所在得勝。若能書寫

⁶⁷ T 1154, v. 20. This text is identical in part to another scripture said to be translated by Bukong. *Pubian guangming qingjing chisheng ruyi baoyin xin wu-nengsheng da mingwang da sui qiu tuoluoni jing* 普遍光明清靜熾盛如意寶印心無能勝大明王大隨求陀羅尼經, in T 1153, v. 20. See, also, CHEN 2003: 354-55.

⁶⁸ T 2061, v. 50: 712a.

帶在頸者若在臂者.是人能成一切善事最勝清淨.常為諸天龍王之
所擁護.又為諸佛菩薩之所憶念.⁶⁹

The Buddha then recites eight Sanskrit *dhāraṇī*: 1) the fundamental or root *dhāraṇī* 根本咒, 2) the *dhāraṇī* of all Buddhas' minds 一切佛心咒, 3) the *dhāraṇī* of the *mudrās* of all the Buddhas' minds 一切佛心印咒, 4) the consecration *dhāraṇī* 灌頂咒, 5) the *dhāraṇī* of the consecration *mudrā* 灌頂印咒, 6) the *dhāraṇī* of binding the realm 結界咒, 7) the Buddha-mind *dhāraṇī* 佛心咒, and 8) the mind within mind *dhāraṇī* 心中心咒.⁷⁰

This is followed by stories of miracles worked by those who keep, recite, write, and wear the *dhāraṇī*. The scripture explains the powers of these incantations to protect people of all walks of life and levels of society from malignant spirits, hungry demons, mental and physical illness, warfare, poisons, fire, flood, and other disasters; to grant healthy children and safe pregnancies; and to safeguard merchants on their travels, warriors in battle, and kings at their courts. It instructs the various types of devotees how to prepare copies for specific purposes. It recommends the appropriate rituals and deities to assist a variety of people from various walks of life and assures all who receive the support of the *dhāraṇī* of the Buddha's protection both against bad *karma* from previous lives and the sufferings of hell in the next.⁷¹

Not only does the sūtra inform us of the benefits of the *dhāraṇī*, but it also instructs the proper way to write the text and draw associated pictorial elements.

The Buddha said to Brahma, 'From the stories above, you know the divine power of the *dhāraṇī*. They must be written and worn on the body'. He also told Brahma, 'if one wishes to wear the *dhāraṇī*, one must follow the proper method to write them'. Brahma then asked the Buddha, 'World-honoured One, if one desires to write the *dhāraṇī*, say how [should it be done]?' The Buddha told Brahma, 'First bind an altar (*jietan* 結壇). At each of the four corners place a bottle with scented water. Within the altar draw two lotus flowers, or three, or

⁶⁹ T 1154, 20: 637b-c. The translated passage corresponds almost exactly to the dedicatory inscription on the Dunhuang print dated 980 with the exception that the word head *tou* 頭 appears on the printed sheet instead of *jing* 頸, neck. See, also, MA, 2004: 552.

⁷⁰ T 1154, 638-640a

⁷¹ T 1154, 640 b-c.

four, or five. On four sides make a lotus border. Also draw a fully open lotus, with a silken ribbon tied on its stem. Draw another lotus with eight petals. On each petal depict a trident. Show a silk ribbon tied around the stem. In addition, make an eight-petal lotus with a *vajra* in the middle. On each petal also draw a *vajra* and a ribbon tied around the stem. Draw another eight-petal lotus flower with an axe on each of the petals. Draw another lotus flower, and show a knife in the middle. Also draw a ribbon tied on the stem. Also draw a sword and show a flower at the top. Draw a ribbon tied around the stem of the flower. Draw another lotus, and in the middle show a conch shell. Draw another lotus flower with a rope in the middle. Draw another lotus flower with a flaming jewel in the middle. Burn incense, scatter flowers, and present various kinds of offerings of food, drink, and fruits.⁷² 佛告大梵如上所說。是咒神力汝可知之。必須書寫持帶於身。復告大梵若欲帶此咒者。當如法書寫。爾時大梵白佛言世尊。若欲書寫此之神咒法則云何。佛告大梵先當結壇。於壇四角各安一瓶盛滿香水。壇內畫作二蓮花。或三或四或五。四面周匝作蓮花鬚。又作一大開敷蓮花。其莖盡懸繒帛。又作一八葉蓮花。一一葉上作一三叉戟。莖上盡懸繒帛。更作一八葉蓮花。於花心中作一金剛杵。一一葉上亦作一杵。其花莖上盡懸繒帛。又作一八葉蓮花。一一葉上各作一越斧。又作一蓮花。於花心中畫作一刀。其莖亦盡懸繒帛。又畫作一劍。於劍鋒上作花。其花莖上亦盡懸繒帛。又作一蓮花於花心中畫作一螺。又作一蓮花於花心中畫作一寶索。又作一蓮花於花心中畫作一火焰珠。燒香散花飲食果子種種供養。

‘If one wishes to write and wear these *dhāraṇī*, one should bind an altar according to this method. Do not mix the ways of the outside [and inside of] the altar. Have the person who will write the *dhāraṇī* first wash and purify him/her self, put on new clean clothing, and eat the three kinds of white food—what is called milk and curds cooked with rice. No matter whether paper, bamboo, silk or other materials, all of these may be used for writing these *dhāraṇī*. 若欲書寫帶此咒者。應當依法結如是壇。餘壇方法不得相雜。令寫咒人先澡浴清淨。著新淨衣食三種白食。所謂乳酪粳米飯。無問紙素竹帛種種諸物。皆悉許用書寫此咒。

‘If a woman is praying to bear a son, use ox bezoars to write it on silk cloth. First write this divine spell to face the four directions. Inside it depict a child adorned with precious necklaces. With both hands he should hold up a gold bowl filled with treasures. In each of the four corners draw a child clothed in armor. Also make various *mudrās*. 若

⁷² The prescriptions in this paragraph recall the lotus *maṇḍalas* discussed in KAPSTEIN’s chapter above.

轉婦人求產男者。用牛黃書之。於其帛上。先向四面書此神咒。內畫作一童子以寶瓔珞莊嚴。其頸手捧一金鉢盛滿珍寶。又於四角各畫一童子身披衣甲。又作種種印。

‘If a cakravartin ruler is the wearer, make [depict] in the middle the forms of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and the god Indra. Above them also make various Buddha *mudrās*, all the excellent divine *mudrās* fully illustrated. Also in the four corners make the four *Loka-pālas*, with all the precious adornments that belong to each quarter. 若轉輪王帶者於咒心中作觀世音菩薩及帝釋形。又於其上作種種佛印。諸善神印悉令具足。又於四角作四天王。眾寶莊嚴各依本方。

‘If a monk is to be the wearer, draw in the middle a *vajra*-bearer [or thunderbolt guardian] and his adornments. Below him show a monk kneeling in the barbarian style [on one knee], his palms together. The *vajra*-bearer places his hand on top of the monk’s head. 若僧帶者於咒心中。畫作一金剛神眾寶莊嚴。下作一僧胡跪合掌。金剛以手按此僧頂。

‘If a brāhman [member of the priestly caste] will wear it, make in the center of the *dhāraṇī* [an image of] Dazizai tian 大自在天。If a *kṣatriya* [warrior] is to wear it, make in the middle of the *dhāraṇī* a Maxi shouluo [Maheśvara]. If a *vaiśya* [merchant] wears it, make a Vaiśravaṇa. If a *śūdra* [outcaste] wears it, make in the middle a Zhuojieluo tian. If a boy is the wearer, make in the middle a Kumāra. If a girl is to wear it, make a Prajāpati in the middle of the *dhāraṇī*. According to these above wearers, depict in the middle all the various divinities. All must have forms that are youthful and demeanors that are joyful. Those who wish to wear these divine *dhāraṇī* also must abide by the basic rules. If a pregnant woman is the one who will wear the *dhāraṇī*, draw in the middle a Mahākāla with a black face. 若婆羅門帶者。於咒心中作大自在天。若刹利帶者於咒心中作摩醯首羅天。若毘舍帶者於咒心中作毘沙門天王。若首陀帶者於咒心中作斫羯羅天。若童男帶者於咒心中作俱摩羅天。若童女帶者。於咒心中作波闍波提天。從此已上所擬帶者。若婆羅門帶者。於咒心中作大自在天。若刹利帶者於咒心中作摩醯首羅天。若毘舍帶者於咒心中作毘沙門天王。若首陀帶者於咒心中作斫羯羅天。若童男帶者於咒心中作俱摩羅天。若童女帶者。於咒心中作波闍波提天。從此已上所擬帶者。於咒心中所畫作諸天神。皆須形狀少年面貌喜悅。若欲持帶此神咒者。並須各各自依本法。若懷胎婦人帶者。於咒心中作摩訶迦羅神其面黑色。

‘If one mounts the *dhāraṇī* at the top of a pole, one should set up the pole on a high place and place a flaming jewel at the top. Put this *dhāraṇī* inside the jewel. All evil, obstruction, and all illness will be

eliminated. In times of heat and dryness, make a nine-headed dragon in the middle of the *dhāraṇī*. In times of flooding, also make this dragon, and put it in all places where there are dragon waters. [In conditions of] dryness, rain will fall; [in event of] floods, there will be subsiding. 若於高幢上懸者.當於高處豎一高幢.於其幢頭置一火焰珠.於其珠內安此神咒.所有一切諸惡障礙.及諸疾疫悉得消滅.若亢旱時於咒心中作一九頭龍.若滯雨時亦作此龍.並當安著有龍水中.旱即下雨滯即得晴.

‘If a merchant is the wearer [of the *dhāraṇī*], make a head merchant figure in the middle. It will bring peace and happiness to the merchant community. For those who hold the *dhāraṇī* and naturally wish to wear it, make in the middle a female divinity. Also show in it the stars and planets and the sun and moon. For all [any unspecified] persons, it is fitting to write only the *dhāraṇī* and wear it’. 若商人帶者於咒心中作商主形. 所將商眾皆得安樂. 持此咒人自欲帶者. 於咒心中作一女人. 又於其內作星辰日月. 若凡人帶者. 唯當書寫此咒帶之.⁷³

The pictorial elements in the actual paintings and prints adhere to these scriptural guidelines, in some cases quite closely. The painted versions from Fenghaolu, Xi’an (Fig. 12) and in the Yale Art Museum (Fig. 13), as well as the print from Chang’an County, have bottles depicted in the corners and lotuses in the borders on the four sides on which the ceremonial objects are placed. The four *lokapālas* are depicted in the corners of the Ruiguang monastery print (Fig. 8) and also on the painted examples from Xinjiang as recommended for a *cakravartin*, or wheel-turning king. The *mudrās*, symbolic hand gestures, also recommended for *cakravartin* rulers, are shown on a few of the prints from Xi’an, including those in Figures 14 and 15. The devotees known from the modest burials reported by archeologists, however, were not rulers. Thus it is apparent from the existing *dhāraṇī* sheets that though the guidelines in the scripture are followed, there are also significant departures. The scripture recommends that specific deities be depicted in the middle of the altar for particular types of people seeking the support of the *dhāraṇī*. The existing examples show the recommended types of images, including a bodhisattva holding a lotus, presumably Avalokiteśvara on the Chang’an County print, and two types of figures holding *vajra* or thunderbolt-scepters, one a seated bodhisattva (on the Yale painted example, Fig. 13) and the other a standing guardian or *yakṣa* type of figure (found in

⁷³ T 1154, 20:641c- 642a.

Fengxi), and also a figure that appears to be a female divinity (Fig. 15). The kneeling devotees depicted with them, however, do not seem to correspond to the type of people for whom these deities are recommended in the text, particularly in the case of the two lay persons shown with deities holding thunderbolt-scepters. The list of divinities in the scripture also includes Hindu gods. In particular, Dazizai tian and Maxi shouluo are names that can both be associated with Maheśvara and the god Śiva. Relative to the depiction of the gods on the *dhāraṇī* sheets, it is possible that Da zizai tian was represented as Mahāpratisarā-deva or Suiqiu jide da zizai tian (as named in the title of the scripture), who is shown as the central eight-armed bodhisattva.

The instructions to ‘bind the altar’, *jietan*, can be interpreted as tying off or demarcating sacred space, which parallels the drawing of the squares on the silk or paper. The creation of the *dhāraṇī* sheet parallels the preparation of an altar or sacred space for conducting religious ritual. In the example from the Xi’an Chaiyou Jixiechang (Fig. 14) the outer border is shown as literally bound with a rope. The motifs depicted within it include the ceremonial objects, lotus flowers, and *mudrās*, that refer to performance. Those who would write the *dhāraṇī* and thus enter the sacred space are instructed to purify themselves by washing the body and eating pure foods.⁷⁴ The arrangement of the pictorial elements in the prints appears to be based on real spaces where rituals were performed for effectuation of the sacred spells.

In contrast to the detailed instructions for writing the *dhāraṇī*, guidelines for performing the implied accompanying rituals is very sparse. The references to ritual consecration and empowerment of the *dhāraṇī* are limited to recommendations for the person writing and drawing to undergo purification and mention burning incense, scattering flowers, and presenting offerings. In addition, the scripture specifically recommends using the *dhāraṇī* in ceremonies to invoke rainfall in times of drought; however, it does not describe the ceremonies. More specific guidelines for preparation for and the conduct of ritual can be found in other esoteric texts. In particular, the *Susiddhikara Sūtra* provides detailed instructions on the kinds of offerings that are suitable and how they should be made, the proced-

⁷⁴ Compare the specifications concerning ritual purity in relation to the painting of images in KAPSTEIN 1995.

ure for worship, the conferring of *mantras*, the most effective times of the year, etc.⁷⁵

As a group, the *dhāraṇī* sheets may be seen to have functioned and to have been understood on various levels. On one level they were regarded as talismans or charms having magical powers for protection and granting wishes. On another, they are representations of ritual performance and sacred spaces. The instruction to bind off indicates creation of a boundary between the inner sacred space and the profane world outside. The depicting of bottles of fragrant water flowers, weapons, and other objects refers to the design of the ceremonial space and placement of offerings and ritual implements. While, as sacred enclosures, their symbolic spatial configurations can be considered as *maṇḍalas*, as they have been identified by Ma Shichang, they are of a different type from the hierarchical groupings of deities that are common in later periods. The objects and hand gestures depicted on the *dhāraṇī* sheets are representations of ritual performance that are closely related to those in illustrated esoteric ritual manuals, *yigui* 儀軌, used in the Tang period and refer to practice rather than cosmology. With particular relevance to the *mudrās* is a remarkably well-preserved manual in the Kanchi-in 觀智院 sub-monastery of Tōji temple 東寺, Kyoto, that is inscribed with a Tang date corresponding to the year 864. Known as *Soshitsuji-giki-gein-zu* 蘇悉地儀軌契印圖 (*Suxidi yigui qiyin tu*, 'Illustrated manual of *mudrās* used in the rituals of excellent accomplishment'), it shows a total of ninety-one *mudrās*, each shown on a lotus flower base and with a flaming aureole, much as they are depicted on the *dhāraṇī* sheets.⁷⁶

On a third, more conceptual level, the design of the *dhāraṇī* sheets with their division into three zones, may also be seen as diagrammatic of basic aspects of Buddhist practice. They consist of 1) an outer zone of symbolic implements and hand gestures that represent

⁷⁵ The *Suxidi jieluo jing* 蘇悉地羯羅經 was translated into Chinese by Śubhākarasimha (637-735) in 726. *T* 893, v. 18, 0603ff. See, also, GEIBEL 2001: 113ff.

⁷⁶ The gestures for mystic effectuation are labeled and can be seen to be meant for use in conjunction ceremonies involving particular deities, and associated with specific functions. At the end of the manual is the inscription that can be translated: 'In the Great Tang, the fifth year of Xiantong (864), the first month of summer [seventh month] the eighteenth day, in Tianshui commandery, Zhao Zong copied it 大唐咸通五年歲次申甲孟夏中旬有八天水郡趙宗錄記'. MANABE 2000: 22-47.

bodily performance, 2) a middle zone with the text of the *dhāraṇī* that is the spoken incantation or prayer, and 3) and the inner zone with the image of a deity whose presence and essential powers the practitioner visualizes and invokes. These may be associated with three principle aspects of religious activity—i.e., body, speech, and mind—particularly relating to the practice of the new type of Buddhism that we refer to as ‘Esoteric’.

In conclusion, Buddhism can be seen to have played a major role in the emergence of printing in China, demonstrating both the use of traditional formats and adoption of new elements in the mass production of texts and images. The prints of the eighth to tenth centuries, in addition to serving to reproduce and disseminate texts that were widely known and studied, also refer to the authority and efficacy of Buddhist deities, the magical protection of *dhāraṇī* or ritual spells, symbolic hand gestures, and other religious practices not directly related to reading. Their finds are associated with Buddhist cave temples and monasteries, stūpas and reliquaries, sculptural images, and burials of the dead, and their production and placement served a wide audience in a variety of arenas—didactic, ceremonial, political, and funerary. In particular the representation and reproduction of sacred spells in Sanskrit and their talismanic function to protect and empower appear to have been significant factors that indicate a correspondence between the emergence of early prints in China and the introduction of concepts and imagery relating to esoteric forms of Buddhist practice.

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