Studies in the Kālacakra Tantra

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

Urban Hammar
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To Maribel, Daniél, Victor and Emil
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

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1. INTRODUCTION.

1.1. TANTRIC BUDDHISM.

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

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

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

1.1.1. The Kalacakra Tantra.

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

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

² Shambhala is the Tibetan version of the name of the land, which in the Sanskrit texts is written Sambhala.
to have preached the original root tantric texts, which then have been written down by the kings of Shambhala.

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

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

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

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

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

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

3 See Dalai Lama. 1985.
dhism is clearly shown by the great number of such initiations made by the present Dalai Lama. Another indication of its importance in the dGe-lugs-pa tradition is the three-dimensional Kālacakra māṇḍala which can still be found today in the Potala palace.

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

Furthermore, the Kālacakra Tantra had a certain importance for the Theosophy and H.P. Blavatsky and her successors. In accordance with the common western image of Tibet as a land of mystery and esoteric teachings, well painted and analysed in the recent works by Donald Lopez and Martin Brauen, the founder of Theosophy, H. P. Blavatsky, was interested in the Kālacakra and made some rather confused allusions to it in her works.

From this esoteric tradition also springs the tradition of Shamballa (with double -l- and unaspirated -b-) as a sort of “paradise” that has had great importance for the esotericism of Alice Bailey in the beginning and middle of the last century. Considering the importance of Bailey for the theories behind the New Age movements, the Kālacakra Tantra can even be said to have some influence on this important movement in Western culture of today.

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

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4 The initiations made by the Dalai Lama XIV are as follows: Norbu Lingka, Lhasa, Tibet in May 1954; Norbu Lingka, Lhasa, Tibet in April 1956; Dharamsala, India in March 1970; Bylakuppe, India in May 1971; Bodh Gaya, India in December 1974; Leh in Ladakh, India in September 1976; Madison, USA in June 1981; Dirang in Arunachal Pradesh, India in April 1983; Lahaul and Spiti, India in August 1983; Rikon, Switzerland in July 1985; Bodh Gaya, India in December 1985; Zanskar in Ladakh, India in July 1988; Los Angeles, USA in July 1989; Sarnath, India in December 1990; New York, USA in October 1991; Kalpa in Himachal Pradesh, India in August 1992; Gangtok in Sikkim, India in April 1993; Jispa in Himachal Pradesh, India in 1994; Barcelona, Spain in December 1994; Mundgod, India in January 1995; Ulan Bator, Mongolia in August 1995; Tabo in Himachal Pradesh, India in June 1996; Sydney, Australia in September 1996; Salugara in West Bengal, India in December 1996; Bloomington, USA in July 1999; Graz, Austria in July 2002; Bodh Gaya, India January 2003; Toronto, Canada in April 2004.
This information can be found, among other places, on the Internet site of the Tibetan Government in Exile. See also Dalai Lama. 1997:97 and Hammar. 1992:204.


6 See International Kalachakra Network: www.kalachakranet.org

7 See www.buddhaline.net


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

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

12 See Roerich, Nicholas. 1985 (1930); Roerich, N. 1928; Roerich,George. 1931.
Roerich, who also participated in the journey. Nicholas Roerich was inspired by theosophy in his search for Shambhala. There exists a museum of his art in New York where works inspired by this journey can be seen.

1.2. METHODS AND AIMS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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1833. Later, a series of scholars would become interested in these teachings. I will analyse Csoma de Körös’ article in a following chapter.

In the second half of the 19th century, interest grew quite strong among Western scholars in the chronological systems of Buddhist and Tibetan culture. When they studied Tibetan methods of calculating time, it was obvious that the Kālacakra Tantra was very important. Csoma de Körös published one chronological table and Schlagintweit later published another. S.C. Das published a chronological table in 1889, Schlagintweit translated one in 1897 and Pelliot then wrote a lengthy article in 1913 about the chronology of Tibet as did B. Laufer. Other research on chronology in Tibet was done by Staël-Holstein, C. Vogel and D. Schuh. These works on chronology were important in attempting to define general Buddhist chronology, but did not add much to the understanding of the actual teaching of the Kālacakra Tantra.

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

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

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

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

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

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14 Csoma de Körös. 1833 and 1834.
16 Das. 1889:37-84; Schlagintweit. 1897; Pelliot. 1913; Laufer. 1913.
19 See Eliot. 1921.
20 Lalou. 1957:48-49.
21 Bandyopahyaya. 1952.
the possible central Asian and Iranian/manichean influence on the teachings and reached the conclusion that such an influence existed. In the late 1950s, he held series of seminars on the Kalacakra texts.

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

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

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

Research on the Kālacakra maṇḍala has also been done, especially by Martin Brauen and by Y. Imaeda. Brauen has made a model of the maṇḍala with computer assistance and clarified the cosmology of the tantra.
1.4. THE KĀLACAKRA IN CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT. REASONS WHY KĀLACAKRA IS IMPORTANT TODAY.

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

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

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

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

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32 The official Internet site of the Kālacakra initiation in Graz in October 2002. www.kalachakra-graz.at
German with severe criticism of the teaching of Kalacakra both from an ethic and a Christian viewpoint.33

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

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

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

33 The Internet site www.trimondi.de and Trimondi 2003. Victor and Victoria Trimondi are pseudonyms for Hermann and Mariana Röttgen. Hermann Röttgen was politically active and a revolutionary on the left wing in the 1970s and then changed perspectives in the 1980s. See www.trimondi.de/biog.html.
34 See for example Kalachakra Initiation – Switzerland 1985.
35 Mullin. 1991:9-12. The present Dalai Lama has written a foreword to this book where he comments on his own initiations.
Historically, the first recorded mass initiation of *Kālacaktra* was the one given by the Panchen Lama in Peking in 1932. It was arranged because of the war with Japan in order to try to establish peace. This was actually the first time that the theme of peace was presented in connection with a mass initiation. The Swedish ethnographer Gösta Montell was present at the initiation and he wrote that it was arranged by a Buddhist association in Peking which wanted to do something for peace in China. The initiation was made with a predominantly Mongol participation, the Mongols being adherents of Tibetan Buddhism for many centuries. At this event, the thought of fighting for the perfect land of Shambhala was alive with the Mongols and was also an expression of Mongolian nationalism. This event is a good example of a *Kālacaktra* initiation for promoting peace.

It is interesting to see how the very esoteric teaching of *Kālacaktra* has been spread to great numbers of people. Formerly, the *Kālacaktra* initiation was not given to groups of more than twenty-five participants. In modern times there is however, a tradition of giving the initiation to great numbers. This modern tradition probably started with the 9th Panchen Lama. He gave nine *Kālacaktra* initiations in China between 1928 and 1936. Tens of thousands of Chinese and Mongol Buddhists participated on these occasions. The most important of these initiations was the one held in Peking on October 21-24 in 1932 for some 60,000 participants. It is interesting to note that the initiations of the Panchen Lama had a duration of three days, whereas the initiations by the present Dalai Lama last for eleven or twelve days. The difference must be that there were no preliminary Buddhist teachings and that the monks of the Panchen Lama did not create the *mandala* of coloured sand, something that takes several days. It seems, though, that there was a *mandala* made of coloured sand at the Peking initiation. A difference is also that the initiations now given in the West do not presuppose that the participants are very knowledgeable in Buddhism. In China and Mongolia the participants were Buddhists and did not need preliminary teachings in the same way. The Peking initiation was urged by a Buddhist association. It was expressly made for peace in the region. Japan had just started the wars in the area by occupying Manchuria. Present at the occasion was also the secretary of education of the Chinese republican government and the ICang-skya Khutuktu, the head of the Mongolian Buddhists. This shows the importance of the event. The Panchen Lama held a very appreciated *Kālacaktra* initiation as far south as in Hangzhou in 1934, where the audience was more purely Chinese. These activities of an appreciated Tibetan Buddhist lama in China evokes the memory of the Tibetan lamas going to China in order to teach Buddhism at the time of the Mongol dynasty in the 13th-14th century.

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

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39 See Mullin. 1991: 9-12. Dalai Lama has written a foreword to this book where he comments on his own initiations.
40 This information is mostly from Jagou. 2004:117-126, who has written a comprehensive biography of the ninth Panchen Lama. Information also comes from the Swedish ethnographer Gösta Montell who was present at this initiation, Montell. 1942:167, 171 and also in Lessing. 1942, which was the publication *Yung-Ho-Kung* in the series from the Ethnographical Museum on the collections of the Sven Hedin expeditions.
attempt to cover up their movements the leaders requested that that Dalai Lama would make a *Kālacakra* initiation in Lhasa in 1957. The initiation was conducted by the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan resistance had an occasion to meet. They also offered a longevity ceremony to the Dalai Lama which was meant to symbolise the enthronement of the Dalai Lama as ruler of the whole of Tibet, including Kham. This was a clear occasion when the *Kālacakra* initiation was used in a political way.\(^1\)

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

A plausible reason for these attacks is that these Buddhists want to limit the influence of the Tibetans and the Dalai Lama and that they seek to assert their own control over the Buddhist shrines around Bodh Gaya. A consequence of the threats was that the security measures were increased.\(^2\)

Subsequently, a pamphlet distributed by these Buddhists in Bodh Gaya said that the Tibetan government in exile has received large sums from the CIA in a questionable manner. The pamphlet questions the existence of the Tibetan government in India, as it should be against the Indian constitution to have another official government in the country.\(^3\)

The *Kālacakra* initiation was directly prepared by the Tibetan government-in-exile led by the Secretary of the Department of Religion and Culture who visited Bodh Gaya a month before the initiation.\(^4\)

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

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\(^1\) See www.chushigandruk.org/history/history02.html In other sources this second *Kālacakra* initiation is said to have taken place in 1956. There is a confusion in some way, because there was probably not a third initiation taking place in these years in Lhasa.

\(^2\) The WTN News on December 16 2002. A telegram from the AFP and an article by Imran Khan of the Indo-Asian News Service on December 16.

\(^3\) WTN News January 3, 2003. A telegram from the AFP.

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

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

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

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

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

\(^{48}\) WTN News January 12, and from the Ambedkar Times, ambedkar_times@yahoo.com. The later information was posted in a network for dalit Ambedkar Buddhists and kindly forwarded to me by Dr. Gunnel Cederlöf of Uppsala University.
\(^{49}\) Beltz. 2001:194-95.
\(^{50}\) Beltz. 2001:252-53.
\(^{51}\) WTN News January 12, 2003 and December 26, 2002.
peace and stability cannot return to Tibet without the Dalai Lama’s participation in governance. The standpoint of the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan government-in-exile is that they are not seeking the independance of Tibet, but an opportunity of the Tibetan people for genuine self-rule. These activities are actually done at most Kālacakra initiations, but were accentuated at this mega-event actually organized by the Tibetan government-in-exile.

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

As has been summarized by Yeshi Choedon, the Chinese leaders’ policy on religion after 1994 has become harder, with more suppression and restriction of religious activities, as religion posed a major challenge to state authority. As the Tibetans had no real access to power, religion has become more and more important for the national identity and much energy and emotion has been devoted to a religious revival and reconstruction. Buddhism is an alternative to the ideology of the Chinese state and the religious revival has become a challenge to Chinese rule. Almost every form of Tibetan religious and cultural activity is of political importance and therefore there has been a considerable effort to restrict the growth of religion in Tibet. There has consequently been a campaign against the Dalai Lama and the strategy has been to eliminate both his religious and political influences from the region.

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

52 WTN News January 11, 2003; Articles from Rediff.com and Indo-Asian News Service.
53 Choedon. 2002:381.
2. THE EARLY HISTORY OF KĀLACAKRA IN TIBET.

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

2.1. THE ORIGIN OF KĀLACAKRA IN SHAMBALA54 AND INDIA.

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

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

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

54 In the Sanskrit texts the well-known Tibetan subject of “Shambhala” is spelled “Sambhala”. Consequently the original spelling of the concept should be “Sambhala”. I will mainly use the word Shambhala as it is the best known concept in Tibetan Buddhism.
56 KCT I:150-170. In the Vimalaprabhā there are pieces of information in many places.
57 P. 5908, Toh.4464. The text has been translated and commented upon by Bernbaum (Bernbaum, 1985: 42-81). There exists other guidebooks to Shambhala by Tibetan authors. The most famous being the one by the sixth Panchen Lama entitled Shambhala’s lam-yig. This work was one of the first texts treating subjects in the Kālacakra Tantra that was translated into a western language (Grönwedel. 1915), although the translation leaves much to be desired.
The history of *Kālacakra* in India is more complicated and has been treated first by Helmut Hoffmann and Ariane Macdonald and then by John Newman and G. Orofino.59 The most recent contributions are the dissertations by Jensine Andresen60 and James Hartzell.61

2.2. THE INTRODUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF KĀLACAKRA IN TIBET.

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

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

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

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

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63 Ruegg. 1966:41.
64 Chandra. 1965:1-4.
65 *The History of the Monastery of Zhwa-lu*, p.81, line 6 and p.82, line 1.
The text *Dus-'khor chos-'byung* begins with salutations to *Kalacakra*, the Buddha, the *Kalacakra* texts and so forth, and the text is divided into four chapters. Then it continues to explain the development of the cosmos and enumerates the Buddhas that will appear in the different *kalpas*. The history is related of the life of *Śākyamuni* and of how the *Kalacakra Tantra* was preached by the Buddha at the *Dhānyakaṭaka stūpa* in present *Andhra Pradesh*. Then follows how the texts were guarded by the kings of *Shambhala* and the lineage of these kings.

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

A summary of this part of the text (p.56-61) follows:69

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

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

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73 The Muslim/Mleccha chronology, beginning with year of *Hijra* when Muhammed left from Mecka to Medina in the year 622 AD.
the *Vimalaprabhā* were completed between 1025 and 1040 A.D. which seems to be a realistic dating.\(^74\)

The most common dating of *Nāropa* is set by Wylie to 956-1040.\(^75\) This dating is not very certain. The foregoing means that the *Kālacakra* hardly could have been introduced to Tibet as early as the traditional date of 1027. Ariane Macdonald has argued for a later dating for the introduction of *Kālacakra* to Tibet. She places the date for the introduction to the last 25 years of the 11th century, after Atiśa, whom she considered played no role in this introduction.\(^76\) If we consider the early mention of the introduction of *Kālacakra* to Tibet by *Nyi-ma 'od-zer*, which I will treat in detail later, it seems more probable that the main tradition was introduced by *Gyi-jo* before 1040.

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

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

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

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

Tibetan text:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

80 Bu-ston. 1965d:74.
82 Roerich. 1949/53:244.
83 Karmay. 1980:150.
85 Tucci. 1933:24 and Naudou. 1968:159.
86 Roerich. 1949/53:86, 244.
Considering that Atiśa is said to have been invited by Byang chub-'od in the year 1042 it is probable that lHa bla-ma Ye-shes-'od is referred to. Most important in this context is that NyangRal-pa-can at other places in the same text reserves the title Lha bla-ma for Ye-shes-'od, while Byang-chub-'od is mentioned as lHa Byang-chub-'od.\(^7\)

Consequently, supposing that Bhadrabodhi and Gyi-jo translated the Kālacakrā in the later lifetime of lHa bla-ma Ye-shes-'od, the time would be before Atiśa came to Tibet in 1042\(^8\) on an invitation from Byang-chub-'od.\(^9\) The well-known story related in The Blue Annals is that Ye-shes-'od waged a war against the Garloq in order to obtain enough gold to invite Atiśa to Tibet. He was captured and made prisoner, and then his nephew, the monk Byang-chub-'od, raised enough gold to buy him free from the Garloq. Byang-chub-'od visited Ye-shes-'od and he said that the gold should be used for inviting Atiśa instead of liberating himself as he was an old man. In that case, Ye-shes-'od should have died in prison, some time after approximately 1040 and so sacrificed himself for the sake of inviting Atiśa to Tibet. It is not completely clear from these sources exactly when or where he died.\(^10\) This story is historically very uncertain. It could have been an amendment in later historical texts.

'Gos lo-tsa-ba clearly states that it was Ye-shes-'od who received Atiśa when he came to mNga'-ris and later to dBus.\(^1\) As Bhadrabodhi and Gyi-jo are said to have arrived in the later lifetime of lHa-bla-ma, that should mean that Ye-shes-'od was still active in the kingdom, although he had already abdicated the throne much earlier. It should be remembered that Rin-chen bzang-po, who was sent to India by Ye-shes-'od, came back to Tibet in 978, so the former king must have been very old around 1040. Rin-chen bzang-po was about 85 when Atiśa came to Tibet and Ye-shes-'od was the king that had sent him to India, which supposes that he must have been more than 100 years old.\(^2\) It is not very probable that Nyi-ma 'od-zer would have written that Gyi-jo and Bhadrabodhi came to Tibet and translated the Kālacakrā in the later life-time of lHa-bla-ma if Ye-shes-'od was imprisoned by the Garloq at that time. More probable is that they came when Ye-shes-'od was still responsible for the warfare, that is, at the latest in 1040 when Atiśa was already on his way to Tibet, invited by the money supposed to be assembled by Byang-chub-'od for the liberation of Ye-shes-'od. 'Gos lo-tsa-ba is here using the title Lha bla-ma for the king who invited Atiśa. Ye-shes-'od was at the time supposedly in prison and could not receive anyone. Still, in other places in his text, 'Gos lo-tsa-ba reserves the title Lha-bla-ma for Ye-shes-'od and gives Byang-chub-'od the name Lha-tsun-pa.\(^3\) Quite contrary to the inner logic of both Nyang-Ral's and 'Gos lo-tsa-ba's texts, it must be supposed that they were

\(^{7}\) Meisezahl. 1985: Tafel 332.2.6 and 337.3.3.

\(^{8}\) Atiśa is said to have been in Tibet between 1042 and 1056 (Snellgrove. 1987:477)

\(^{9}\) Other texts translated together with Bhadrabodhi are Toh.4528 (a Kālacakrā text) and Toh.4476 - Śrī-Kālacakrā-laghuantarāja-hṛdaya; interestingly enough revised by Samantaśrī and Chos-rab. In the colophon of Toh.4528 is mentioned that the translation was urged by the Yon-bdag Zhang-btsun dge-long, which could be a reference to the Zhang-chung btsun-gsar shes-rab mentioned above in the text by Nyang-ral-pa-can. See also Toh.1197 on Sampūta-tantra.


\(^{13}\) Roerich. 1949/53:244.
writing about Byang-chub-'od instead of Ye-shes-'od. Taken together, this seems to signify that Gyi-jo came to Tibet some years before 1040, not very far from the traditional date of 1027.

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

There exists new information concerning Ye-shes-'od from Laxman Thakur where he has reached the conclusion that Ye-shes-'od passed through Ta-pho in Spiti in the year 1004. John Newman has in his dissertation the presently most reliable analysis of the dates of Gyi-jo. He places Gyi-jo in the first half of the 11th century and regards him as almost certainly the first Tibetan to translate texts on the Kālacakra, which is confirmed by the texts cited here. What can be added from this dissertation is that Gyi-jo and Bhadrabodhi probably came to Tibet before 1040. Of interest in this connection is that Bhadrabodhi is cited as the teacher of Atiśa. If it is the same person, it means that the connection Atiśa and Kālacakra is not totally impossible because Bhadrabodhi was a renowned

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

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

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

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

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100 Toh.4748-4760. A series of small texts on Hevajra translated together with Dipamkāraśrījñāna (Atiśa).
102 Snellgrove. 1987:488 for the dating of ʻBrog-mi.
103 1 srang is 100 zho. The ancient currency in Tibet.
104 Lalou. 1933:143 and Cordier. 1908:84. He translated the following texts together with Gayādhara:
106 Tucci. 1933:24; Naudou. 1968:159 and 213.
107 For the words sPu and sPu-rang see Haarth. 1969:227-230.
sibly also governed Zhang-zhung, but the inner logic of the text makes that interpretation less probable.

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

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

Another complication with these dates comes from a reading of the colophon to the small Kanjur text Śrī Kalacakra-garbha-nāma-tantra Toh.364.\textsuperscript{112} This colophon mentions that the text was translated by Śrī Bhadrabodhi and Gyi-jo zla-ba’i ‘od-zer on the request of ‘Bro dGe-slong. Supposedly, this means that it was the same ‘Bro lo-tsa-ba as the one mentioned below and it also implies a direct connection between these three masters. Because ‘Bro requested the translation, it means that he already had some position within the community of masters working with the Kalacakra texts. This is contradictory in respect to the accepted fact that Bhadrabodhi and Gyi-jo were the first who translated Kalacakra texts. Probably they were the first, but ‘Bro lo-tsa-ba was already in the 1030s active in the transport of these texts to Tibet. The traditional date for the arrival of Somanātha to Tibet and the consequent cooperation of the two in translating the basic texts of Kalacakra is 1064 and it is difficult to understand how ‘Bro was already working with the other Kalacakra translators over thirty years prior to this date. Perhaps it is necessary to pre-date both.

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

\textsuperscript{110} Toh.1365, Śrī-Kalacakra-garbha-lāṅkāra-sādhana-nāma.
\textsuperscript{111} Toh. 4476, 4528.
ity as a translator for 'Bro.' An interesting detail in this connection is that 'Bro was involved in translating one of three texts comprising the so called Bodhisattva corpus. The connection between the three texts is again emphasized.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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114 Note 119 below.
115 Toh. 361.
117 See above p.19.
Kalacakra. The Indian pandit Cilu is first mentioned. His disciple was Pindo Acarya (or; Piendo acarya), who taught the whole Bodhisattva Corpus. After Pindo came Kalacakrapada, the Elder and then Kalacakrapada, the Younger, who is also called Naropa (or: Nalendra-pa). Somanatha, who founded the ‘Bro school of Kalacakra and brought it to Tibet, received the Kalacakra tradition from both the Elder and the Younger Kalacakrapada.

I will not here treat all of Newman’s arguments, but concerning the identification of these masters, he establishes with some conviction that Kalacakrapada, the Elder should be identified with Pindo. Using Atisa’s Bodhipathapradipa with commentary as a source, Newman also identifies Kalacakrapada, the Younger, with Nāropa (Nāropa), whose death has been calculated to 1040.

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

The latest contribution to the discussion is an article by Newman where he, after a very thorough investigation, reached the conclusion that the mleccha year of 403 mentioned in KCT 1:27 and VP 1.9.27 corresponds to the year 1024/25 or 1026/27 AD. This

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

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

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


123 Orofino. 1994a:15-16.

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

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

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

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

There is an obvious dating problem because Somanātha is generally considered to have lived later. If Nāropa died in 1040 and the identification of him with Kālacakra pāda, the Younger, by Newman is correct, then Somanātha was active as a disciple of Nāropa not later than 1040 in Vikramaśila. Then again, if the traditional dating of the arrival of Somanātha to Tibet in 1064 is correct, we have to calculate that Somanātha was at least

126 See note 119.
128 Roerich. 1949/53:372, 378, 869; Tāranātha. 1868/69:240-41; Naudou. 1968:139; Nāropa was also one of the gate-keepers.
The six gatekeepers at the period 955-983 were: 1. acārya Ratnakarasānti of the Eastern Gate; 2. Vaiśākharakīrti of the Western Gate; 3. Nāropa of the Northern Gate; 4. Prajñākaramati of the Southern Gate;
131 Bod-rgya tshig-mdzod chen-mo. 1985:3216.
in his seventies when arriving in Tibet, probably in his eighties. Again, this is not possible because it is difficult to understand that he would have had his doctrinal debate with Ratnavajra and gone to Tibet when he was more than eighty. If Ratnavajra was born around 940 and died after 986, as suggested\textsuperscript{132}, it is not possible that Somanatha arrived in Tibet in the year 1064 as in the texts it is supposed that he left India soon after his debate with Ratnavajra. The Kālacakra master Bodhibhadra, a disciple of Nāropa and a contemporary of Ratnavajra, was teaching around the year 1000 CE and lived after that for some time collaborating with Gyi-jo.\textsuperscript{133} This makes the debate between Somanātha and Ratnavajra virtually impossible if the former was active in the 1060s. The solution to this problem is either to change the dating of Nāropa and Somanātha or to accept that Nāropa was not identified with Kālacakraśāda, the Younger. Perhaps there is also another Ratnavajra than the one mentioned in the sources. In conclusion, it can be stated that the datings of the first masters of Kālacakra are uncertain.

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

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

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

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{132} Naudou. 1968:129,139. Ratnavajra was also the teacher of Rin-chens bzang-po (980-1055). Ratnavajra is said to have supervised the work of reconstructing the bsSam-yas monastery after it had been burnt in 986. He was doing the work of an architect (The Blue Annals. 1949/53:378).
\item \textsuperscript{133} Naudou. 1968:151-154. Naudou writes convincingly about the dating of these early masters and there is no reason to doubt his conclusions concerning Bodhibhadra.
\item \textsuperscript{134} See my notes below 165 and 173-74.
\item \textsuperscript{135} Srang was a monetary unit in ancient Tibet.
\item \textsuperscript{136} Roerich. 1949/53:760; Bu-ston. 1965d:62, line 4 and my translation below (p.38-39).
\end{itemize}
gifts and some gold. The next name in the lineage is sNor-bzang-gi sGro-gNam-la-brtsegs. He had some conflicts with Somanātha, who at first only gave him the Pratimokṣa precepts, so sGro first received the Kālacakra teachings from sGom-pa, but eventually he also received them from Somanātha.

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

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

When Yu-mo was fifty-five years old, his son Dharmesvara became his disciple; next in the guru lineage was Dharmesvara's disciple Nam-mkha'-od. His disciple was Dharmesvara's son Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan and the latter's successor was 'Jam-gsar, who in his turn gave the Kālacakra teachings to bLa-ma rGa-lo. Information about these last five representatives of the 'Bro lineage is very scarce and not much more is known than the names. All of them were masters and main lineage holders of the Jo-nang-pa school. It is interesting that the Jo-nang-pa school should have such a prominent place in the history of Kālacakra. It points out that these very complicated Kālacakra

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139 Snellgrove. 1987:488 and Stein. 1984:49. As far as I know there is no mentioning of Mila-ras-pa having contact with the Kālacakra Tantra.
140 Ruegg. 1963:73-91. See Stearns. 1999:199-200, note 10. In a text on the life of Yu-mo, Stearns has found that Yu-mo was born during the first cycle of 60 years of Tibetan chronology based on the introduction of Kālacakra to Tibet in 1027. Consequently, he was born before 1087 and after 1027; a dating which actually corresponds well with other sources.
141 Ruegg. 1963:77.
143 Ruegg. 1963:80; Roerich. 1949/53:766-67. It can also be noticed that the tantric cycle of Yamāntaka was continued by the same lineage of masters beginning with the one who first received the teachings from India, Rva-lo-tsa-ba rDo-rje grags (Roerich. 1949/53:379).
doctrines could be interpreted in very different ways. The doctrines are important for the development of their gzhan-stong doctrine.\footnote{Ruegg. 1963:75, 85; For more on the gzhan-stong teachings see Stearns. 1995 and 1999 and also the interesting article by Mathes (Mathes. 2000).}

Another interesting fact is that Bu-ston ends his history of the ‘Bro school with rGa-lo (1203-1282), who could not possibly have been his own teacher.\footnote{For information on rGa-lo see Macdonald. 1970:182; Ruegg. 1966:42-43, 88; Roerich. 1949/53:789-793 and the present text (p.46-54).} One possible reason, as shown later, is that rGa-lo was an important guru also in the Rva school of Kālacakra and that Bu-ston considered that the Rva and ‘Bro schools were united in the person of rGa-lo, and therefore only treats rGa-lo and his disciples in connection with the Rva school. He might have considered that the ‘Bro school ceased to exist separately with rGa-lo, and that after him there was no point in treating different schools of Kālacakra. In the biography (\textit{rnam-thar}) of Bu-ston, translated by Ruegg, it is directly stated that Bu-ston was making a synthesis of the two schools Rva and ‘Bro. He summed up the opinions of the two schools as well as others into the essential practice of the Kālacakra methods.\footnote{Ruegg. 1966:86-88.} In contrast, ‘Gos lo-tsa-ba considered that the ‘Bro school continued up to his own time, but rGa-lo is not included at all in his guru lineage of the ‘Bro school, only in the Rva.\footnote{Roerich. 1949/53:755-756, 765-788.} It is consequently worthwhile to continue researching the lists of tradition holders.

It can also be noted that The Blue Annals mentions Dol-po-pa (1292-1361) as an important lineage holder and Bu-ston (1290-1364) does not mention him at all.\footnote{Roerich. 1949/53:775-777; Ruegg. 1966: index ; Bu-ston. 1965d:73-74.} Perhaps that is not too strange as they were contemporaries, but it is also known that there existed a doctrinal conflict between the two. It concerned the gzhan-stong, “voidness of other”-theory of “substantialism” propagated by Dol-po-pa and the orthodox Mādhyamika theory of rang-stong / ”emptiness in itself” held by Bu-ston. This was the most important doctrinal debate of the 14th century. The gzhan-stong theory had its origin in the 12th century with Yu-mo, but was not put into writing until Dol-po-pa wrote his treatise \textit{Ris-chos nges-don}.\footnote{Ruegg. 1963:80-83.} This may now be studied with the publication of The Collected Works of Dol-po-pa.\footnote{The Collected Works of Dol-po-pa with an Introduction and Catalogue by Professor Matthew Kapstein.} Recently, a new basic work on the life of Dol-po-pa and his doctrines has been published, shedding new light on this important figure in the religious history of Tibet.\footnote{Roerich. 1949153:374-379, and Snellgrove. 1987:505-506 for biographical notes on Rva lo-tsa-ba rDo-}

The Rva school is treated on p.65-74 in the Indian edition (fol.33a-37b) of Bu-ston’s \textit{Dus-’khor chos-byung}. The lineage starts with the Indian Pandita Samantaśrī, who was invited to Tibet by Rva lo-tsa-ba Chos-rab. Rva Chos-rab’s uncle was Rva lo-tsa-ba rDo-rje-grags a famous master especially in the Yamantaka tantric teachings. He founded a school, as it is said in the text that Rva Chos-rab learned all the texts and precepts of the Rva-pas (the Rva school).\footnote{Ruegg. 1966:86-88.} Rva lo-tsa-ba Chos-rab then travelled to Nepal and there stud-
ied the Kālacakra with Samantaśrī. He then invited Samantaśrī to Tibet and received the explanations of the Vimalaprabhā and the Saḍānayoga. After some time, having received some gold and given many instructions on the Kālacakra, Samantaśrī returned to Nepal. The dating of Rva Chos-rab is not completely clear. He is supposed to have participated in a Buddhist council in mNgag-ris in the year 1076, but Ariane Macdonald gives his date of birth as 1070 which does not agree with other information. His uncle Rva rDo-rje-grags lived in the second half of the 11th century and consequently, Rva Chos-rab probably lived a little later, in the second half of the 11th century and the first half of the 12th. The uncle was one of the most famous and richest of the Tibetan scholars bringing back teachings from India and, as in this case, from Nepal. The dates of Samantaśrī are not definite either. He must have lived in the second half of the 11th century, but it is difficult to arrive at a more precise date.

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

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

159 Like the Rva family, the dPyal family was one of the old families/clans (rus) of the old Tibet in the 7th to the 9th century.
themes in the *Kālacakra* and dedicated five volumes of his collected works to them. *Bo-dong phyogs-las rnam-rgyal, Tsong-kha-pa, mKhas-grub-rje* and consequently the *dGe-lugs-pa* school tradition of *Kālacakra* in modern times with Dalai Lama XIV have their tradition of *Kālacakra* from *Bu-ston*.\(^{160}\) As he united the *Rva* and *'Bro* schools in his works, there is not much mention of these two schools after him.\(^{161}\) Consequently, there are good reasons for studying *Bu-ston*’s commentaries to the *Kālacakra* texts.

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

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

A translation from:

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

By *Bu-ston* 1329.

Short title: *Dus-‘khor chos-‘byung, “A History of the origin of Kālacakra.”*


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

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

\(^{162}\) Kalu Rinpoche. 1986:6. *rTsa-mi Sangs-rgyas grags-pa* also acted as a translator as shown with the text *Avadhūtayoga-nāma-ādibuddha-sādhana* by *Kālacakrāratti-pa*. He translated the text together with *Kālacakra*, the younger (*Dus-kyi ‘khor-lo zhabs chung-ngu*). See below p.60.
1. [The 'Bro school:]

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

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

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

165 Kha-rag gNyos Lo-tsa-ba was according to 'Gos Lo-tsa-ba's Blue Annals a translator of the Kālacakra Tantra. It is said that he translated the Kālacakra after Somanātha's arrival to Tibet with financial support from Kalyāṇamitra 1Ce-pa from bZang-yul and his son. They gave 60 golden srang to gNyos and he made the translation in one year. (Roerich. 1949/53:373, 837, 906.) Consequently, gNyos of Kha-rag is a person, not a place. gNyos is the name of a clan. The two stories of Bu-ston and 'Gos Lo-tsa-ba do not agree on how this translation was made. In Bu-ston's text Se Lo-tsa-ba is only mentioned by name at the end of the text as a translator and nothing is said about him financing Somanātha's translation. It is difficult to reconcile the two versions. A qualified supposition is that the version by Bu-ston is more correct as it is older and generally reliable. Kha-rag is a place-name, but I have not found it on the available maps. 'Gos Lo-tsa-ba writes about Kha-rag (Roerich. 1949/53:207, 522,675), which seems to be a place name, but also the name of a mountain. The location of the mountain is probably near Sa-skya in gTsang. There is a system of teaching called Kha-rag-pa after a bLa-ma Kha-rag sGom-chung who lived at a place called Kha-rag phug-pa nag-po. There was also a mountain called Kha-rag. From the context it could be deduced that it was not far from 'Phan-yul. Roerich. 1949/53:999-1005.

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

167 It could be that the figure should be 8 instead of 100, brgyad instead of brgya? The difference is small in Tibetan script and it would fit better with the 18 golden srang mentioned later in the text. (p.61:5). Srang is a coin used in Tibet. 1 srang = 10 zho. The value of 1 golden srang is difficult to know but it had a quite high value. Srang is also measure for weight, approximately 1 ounce. (Das. 1903:1287) (Bod rgya mtshig 'dzod chen mo. 1985:2969).
After having seized the rest of the translation to be made, he [i.e. Somanātha] travelled to Grab168 in ‘Phan-yul.169 [There] Zhang-pho chung-ba170 took [Somanātha] as his bla-ma, and ‘Bro171 after having been made the translator, translated [the rest] completely, with perfection.

As it was said by gNyos to Zhang-ston: “Because you robbed me of my bla-ma, I am going to stuff small grains of rape in between the threads of the cloth of a nomad-tent.”172 (p.61:4) Then, after having said: “Even after being threatened by hundreds of wrathful deities, I was not destroyed, and even after being shown the smile of hundreds of goddesses, I didn’t have desire”, he [Zhang-ston] was served [by them].173 [Then] gNyos-ston Ye-shes mchog gave [Somanātha] 18 golden srang.174 (p.61:5) [Then] Gra-pa mngon-shes175 donated provisions for three years of Chos-ston [to Somanātha], [and] when they met he continuously showed respect. Jo-btsun Tshul-khrims rin-chen gave [Somanātha] six golden srang. [And] gYo-ru ‘Gar-ston, Mang-yul ston-ma sri-dar and sMon-gro ‘jam-sgom and

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

175 His dates are 1012-1090 according to Roerich. 1949/53:95-97,262,755,852. Newman. 1987:103. The uncle of Gra-pa mngon-shes was a Zhang-ston chos-bar from whom he had learned the Kālacakra in his youth. Gyi-jo Zla’ba’i ’od-zer was a translator working with Zhang-ston. Consequently the Kālacakra was already known to Gra-pa mngon-shes when he met Somanātha. Gra-pa acted here as a donator and paid three years of retreat (chos-ston) for Somanātha. For the general role of the lay donator in relation to his spiritual, religious adviser/guru see the recent work by Ruegg (Ruegg. 1995).
others, 176 (p.61:6) even after having made great service [to Somanātha], [they] were not given other [teachings ] than the rules of conduct. 177

sGom-pa dKon-mchog-srung 178 who was born at Grab in 'Phan-yul, collected all his wealth, assembled [it in the form of] six golden srang [and ] gave [them to Somanātha], (p.61:7) [and he] tied a silk scarf 179 on [Somanātha’s] neck, and having offered the body, 180 [he] rendered service [to Somanātha]. Because he [sGom-pa] was accomplished in the way how to explain the great qualities of Abhidharma 181 and Sa-sde 182 and medicine and so forth, he [sGom-pa] received the basic text and the manuals without exception [from Somanātha]. 183

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

176 Four names are given in this context, relating that they did not receive the Kālacakra teachings although they had tried; another proof of the relative inaccessibility of these teachings. I have not found information on any of them, only that one of them obviously came from Mang-yul near the Nepalese border. Here the stress lies on how difficult it was to get the higher tantric initiations from Somanātha. No matter how much they served them, they still could not obtain more teaching than the rules of conduct (skt. pratimokṣa).

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

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

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

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

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

184 He is also called rTsang-ston (p.64:4). sGro is also mentioned by 'Gos lo-tsa-ba (Roerich. 1949/53:755,766-767) as sGro-ston. He reached at least the age of 72 (see this text below p.64:4). He was asked by Somanātha to carry his belongings to Mang-yul (Ladakh) when going back to India. In that way sGro would receive the teachings, but he refused and eventually he received the teachings of Kālacakra anyway and became one of the main lineage holders in the 'Bro school of Kālacakra. I have not found sNor-bzang on maps. There is also mention of an earlier sGro-ston of the rNying Ma-pa school who built a temple at sGro-phug (Roerich. 1949/53:113).

185 Phul = a unit of measure equal to one-fourth of a bre. Bre = volume measure for solids. 20 bre = 1 khal. Khal = a standard measure of volume equal to about 25-30 pounds. Although these are modern values they can give a hint at to how much it was at the time of the text. (Goldstein. 1983:710,773,129)
[Then] Lo-ro-ba said: “There is someone by the name mChims, a great tantric, he is like someone who carries a rdo-rje. I was like an ox. Now, because I met the three Leng, ‘Brog and ‘Gos, I am also like someone who carries a rdo-rje.” Because he [Lo-ro-ba] said: “But if someone appears [who has] knowledge of Kalacakra, I will be like an ox”, gNam-brtsegs aroused great faith in the bla-ma [Lo-ro-ba], and he [gNam-brtsegs] gave twelve golden srang and a black horse to the Pandita [Somanātha]. (p.62:3) Even by serving [Somanātha] for a long time, he [gNam-brtsegs] was not given anything besides the rules of conduct.

At the time of that [event], [gNam-brtsegs] after having given a thin bit of gold to bLa-ma dKon-mchog-srung, even [when] requesting he was not granted [the teachings]. (p.62:4) While the Pandita went away to India, in the meantime, he [gNam-brtsegs] was raised to a [higher] position for three years, and because he requested, [dKon-mchog-
srung] gave all basic texts and the manuals [of Kālacakra to gNam-brtsegs].\(^{192}\) As the Paññita later arrived in Tibet, all the disciples [said] that sGom-pa granted sGro the manuals completely because he [sGro] requested [them]. And as the Paññita said to sGro: “I [wanted to] give [you] the precepts.” [sGro answered:] (p.62.5) “[You] did not wish to give [them to me] at the time of my youth, but now since I am old I don’t want to ask [for them].” [And the Paññita said:] “You are satisfied with the precepts of dKon-mchog-srung?” [And] after that [Somanāṭha] had said: “If that [teaching] did not come from me, from whom did it originate?” , he [Somanāṭha] hit him [sGro] with the hand. [And sGro said:] “That is true. It has been made to exist by the kindness of the great bLa-ma [Somanāṭha].” (p.62.6) As he [Somanāṭha] said: “What did he [dKon-mchog-srung] give to you?” [sGro] said accusingly: “He gave me these [teachings].” [Then sGro], after having said: “He didn’t give me more than these [teachings], [now] because [you] have all the complete [teachings], do not give [them] to anyone. You should swear not to give [them].” He put a rosary around the neck [of sGro] and [sGro said:] (p.62.7) “Because [you] the bLa-ma did not give [the teachings], I of course asked bLa-ma dKon-mchog-srung.” Then [Somanāṭha], after having said: “This is a bad person,” threw sand at the head [of sGro]. [And] as [Somanāṭha] said: “Now, do not destroy [the teachings],” [sGro] said: “That, you should not say. Why should it be destroyed?” Thus he [sGro] listened to the Paññita and dKon-mchog-srung [give] the basic texts together with all the instruction manuals.\(^{193}\)

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

\(^{192}\) sGom-pa seems to have been the chief disciple of Somanāṭha as he was left with the responsibility of the monastery when Somanāṭha travelled to India.

\(^{193}\) The whole of this short story of how sGro eventually received the blessings of the reluctant Somanāṭha to practice the Kālacakra teachings shows the harshness of tantric relations between master and disciple. Somanāṭha hit him with his hand and threw sand at his head. The importance is the result that sGro eventually became a master himself.

\(^{194}\) Not identified.

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

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

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

\(^{197}\) Roerich. 1949/53:857. He was a disciple of the Indian scholar Vajrapāṇī in the Mahāmudra tradition. He
Yu-mo. He [Yu-mo] listened to the dbu-ma\(^{199}\) and the Tshad-ma\(^{200}\) at gNyag from rMa dge-mthong.\(^{201}\) At that time [one] considered that there was no greater 'Dul-ba-teacher\(^{202}\) than Sog.\(^{203}\) Therefore he [Yu-mo] went there and [Sog] explained by heart the mDo-rtsa.\(^{204}\) He [Yu-mo] even learned the doctrine of sPyod_phyogs,\(^{205}\) (p.63:3) Because he wanted the tantras, he learned the tantras like Hevajra\(^{206}\) and others.

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

came from Don-mo-ri which, at least in the 12\(^{\text{th}}\) century, was a famous monastery in the gTsang province. Vajrapāni lived in the second half of the 11\(^{\text{th}}\) century. When Se-ston was his disciple he was staying at Chhusgo in gTshang. (Roerich. 1949/53:82,1013,1039). The Se family belonged to the old aristocracy from the time of the dharma kings of Tibet (600-842), (Roerich. 1976:37).
\(^{199}\) Could this possibly be Mi-la ras-pa, whose personal name was Thos-pa-dga’.
\(^{199}\) Skt. Mādhyamika. Here is probably not meant a special text but the whole philosophical system.
\(^{200}\) Skt. pramāṇa, usually translated as Buddhist “logic”. There are many texts belonging to this system.
\(^{201}\) rMa was an old and well-known family. There was a rMa Rin-chen-mchog known already in the 8\(^{\text{th}}\) century (Ferrari. 1958:65,152). He was one of Padmasambhava’s 24 disciples and obviously one of the founders of the rNyung-ma-pa school. (Dowman. 1988:230,279). The rMa in this text could be the rMa born in 1055 who was a disciple of the Indian master Dam-pa Sangs-rgyas, a tradition holder of the Mahāmudrā and active in the Yar-klung valley where there is a place called gNyag, also the site of the old family of gNyag. rMa also met a gNyag lo-tsa-ba who presumably was the known abbot of the bkA’-gdams-pa establishment sTag-spyan bum-pa (11\(^{\text{th}}\) century) (Dowman. 1988:183-184; Roerich. 1949/53:170,872-875). In the 11\(^{\text{th}}\) century it was a good choice to go to a monastery of the school of Atiśa because there the knowledge of these subjects would be the best.
\(^{202}\) Skt. Vināya.
\(^{203}\) Sog, whose complete name was Sog Dulba ‘dzin-pa or Sog-po mDo-sde is mentioned as a great Vināya teacher who was active in the 11\(^{\text{th}}\) century. The Vināyadharma of rGya, who was born in 1047 studied with Sog, so he must have been somewhat older (Roerich. 1949/53:78). On the other hand, one can find that ‘Gos lo-tsa-ba later in the same text states that Sog only became 36 years old and still was the teacher of a person born in 1091 (Roerich. 1949/53:80). In that case Sog must have died some time around 1110 and been born around 1075. It is therefore difficult to understand how he could be the teacher of someone born in 1047. These consequences are that for many of the dates for these old masters there are very few sources. Later Tibetan historiographers often do nothing but repeat the dates given by earlier ones like Bu-ston and ‘Gos lo-tsa-ba gZhon-nu-dpal. The latter also mentions that Sog was the disciple of the father of the above mentioned rMa, but also of Dam-pa rMa, which clearly makes invalid the indication that Sog could be born as late as in the 1070s (Roerich. 1949/53:874). The conclusion must be that he was born well before 1050.

\(^{204}\) This is the Vināya-text ‘Dul-ba’i mdo, skt. Vināya-sūtra, in the bsTan-’gyur Tob.4117.
\(^{205}\) This could be a misspelling of the word spyod-jugs. In that case, the text is the Bodhisattvacāryāvatāra by Shantideva (Roerich. 1949/53:611). It is probably a misspelling because this is a basic text for all students of Buddhism in India and Tibet and it is translated into many modern languages. It is a Mahāyāna classic about the way to act in order to reach the state of a bodhisattva. It could also be that spyod-phyogs refers to advances tantric practice in general.
\(^{206}\) Tib. dGyes-rdor which is short for dGyes-pa rdo-rje. Here must be meant the whole tantric system as is customary when mentioning tantras. The main text is Hevajratantrakārā-nāma, Tob.417. Translated in Snellgrove. 1959. A later translation also exists.
\(^{207}\) Unidentified.
\(^{208}\) Skt. Vajragarbha. He was an Indian tantric who wrote a famous commentary on the Hevajratantra,
Therefore, because [that] aroused [his] former inclinations,209 he [Yu-mo] was very contented. And because he asked: “Can you acquire this book?”, he acquired it. Examining closely that book, he came to have great faith in it. And to the question [from Yu-mo]: “Who knows about it?”, [the friend] answered: “It is known by Somanātha.” After having thought: “That is the previous name,” he [Yu-mo] went to dBus210 where he settled down. While listening to the sPyod-phyogs211 from Khams-pa lTe 'u-ba,212 he heard that it was said: “Parṇīṭa Somanātha stays at dKar-chung.”213 (p.63:5) As he [Yu-mo] asked: ”Does he [Somanātha] know what rDo-rje snying-po knows?” [Khams-pa lTe 'u-ba] answered: “Yes, he knows that [doctrine], and further, he knows even The Great Commentary of Śrī Kālacakra.”214 When questioned [by Yu-mo]: “If asked, will he [Somanātha] give the doctrine?” (p.63:6) [Khams-pa lTe 'u-ba?] answered: “Generally [his teaching] is very secret. But because he does not have anyone to serve him [when he wants] to go to Nepal, if you are able to go [there to serve him], he will give [the teachings to you].” The Parṇīṭa and gNam-la brtsegs stayed doing a revision of the hundred-letter root-mantra of Hevajra.215 (p.63:7) Then Dus-gsum-pa rDo-rje gzhon-nu,216 after having acted as intermediary,217 made the request [and] after having shown much precious musk and a lot of gold, he [Yu-mo] was told [by Somanātha] through Dus-gsum-pa: “You shall carry these [things], and [if] at the time when you arrive to Nepal you still have everything [in good care], then he [Somanātha] will come from Tibet and give the dharma [to you].”218

Tab.1180, Hevajra-piṇḍartha-tikā, translated to Tibetan by Dānaśīla (Lessing & Wayman. 1968:256-257,263). This text is part of the so-called Bodhisattva Corpus and was transmitted at the same time as the two other texts on Kālacakra and Cakrasamvara that comprise the Corpus. (Newman. 1987:77,111). Later in the text it is stated that Somanātha also knew the Great Commentary of Kālacakra, so a connection has been shown. The connection with the Kālacakra texts is also made by ‘Gas lo-tsa-ba gZhon-nu-dpal (Roerich. 1949/53:830,83).210

Tib. sngon-gyi bag-chags, skt. vāsanā, "karmic imprints". The word is used to indicate the influence of actions in former lives on that person in this life, so Yu-mo presumably knew about the book in a former life.210

Traditional Tibet is comprised of five regions. mNga'-ris in the west, gTsang and dBus in the centre, Amdo in the north-east and Khams in the east.211

See note 205.

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

Ferrari. 1958:47,119. dKar-chung is a very small place to the east of bSam-yas near the river Tsang-po. This is further away from Lhasa than he was said to have stayed earlier in the text. Monks and lamas travelled around frequently at this time searching for teachings in different monasteries, or, as Somanātha, teaching himself.214

Tib. dpal dus-kyi 'khor-lo'i-grel-pa chen-mo. This is the Vimalaprabhā commentary commonly refered to as the Great Commentary.215

There exist very long mantras. This one is of the Hevajra tradition.216

Unidentified. In this case he represents the tradition that there was need for an intermediary to approach an important bla-ma such as Somanātha.217

Tib. Zhu-sna byed-pa, “to act as intermediary”. This is a special expression in Tibetan to say that somebody is advocating another persons interest on behalf of someone else.218

This is another example of the degree of sacrifice that was needed in order to get some special tantric teaching. Yu-mo had to carry his teachers’ things to Nepal from dKar-chung which was quite far away. He would then receive the teachings there instead of getting them at once.
(p.64:1) Then he [Yu-mo] arrived to obtain a book from sGom-pa Tshul-khrims grags and he [sGom-pa] said: "To where do you go?" He [sGom-pa] requested the former story and said: "You will not get the dharma from the Pandita. Many who came before did not get it." And [sGom-pa] said: "Therefore, my bla-ma lives in sNor-bzang and knows completely the dharma of the Pandita." Because of that, he [Yu-mo] changed his mind.

(p.64:2) sGom-pa dBang-gsod and sTon-pa rgyal-pa 'od and sGom-pa Tshul-grags acted as intermediaries [between Yu-mo and sGro gNam-la brtsegs]. Because he [Yu-mo] gave as an introduction gift some golden zho and one beautiful dung-chos and one Ka_pa_la to gNam-la brtsegs, he[gNam-la brtsegs] said: "You have quite a good relation to these [sGom-pa and sTon-pa].

(p.64:3) The bla-rna gNam-la brtsegs, at the age of seventy-two, was met [by Yu-mo] who stayed there continuously for four years. He [Yu-mo] listened to the explanations and instructions of the Kālacakra and mTshan-brjod and the sGron-gsal and others. After having imagined [that] a disturbance of the dharma [could come], and after having prayed to the mKha'- 'gro_ma: "Don't kill me until I have finished the dharma of this rTsang-ston, even if I am slightly ill," he [Yu-mo] was given all the doctrines of Kalacakra from gNam-brtsegs. (p.64:5) And [Yu-mo], after having stayed [there] between fifty and eighty years of age, because he talked [about the dharma], he increased the spread [of the doctrine of Kālacakra].

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

220 sGro gNam-la brtsegs.

221 Unidentified.

222 Unidentified.

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

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

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

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

227 Sog Vinayadhāra. See note 205.

228 Tib. Zhal-chos, "mouth-dharma".

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

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

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

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

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

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

235 Here one can see the importance of Yu-mo because he stayed for thirty years spreading the Kālacakra. Probably in sNor-bzang because it was there he stayed to meet sGro gNam-la-brtsegs.
When he [Yu-mo] was fifty-five years, his son Dharmesvara\textsuperscript{236} was made a disciple at a young age because of former inclinations.\textsuperscript{(p.64:6)}\textsuperscript{237} From the age of twelve he [Dharmesvara\textsuperscript{s}] taught the doctrine of Sikkodesa\textsuperscript{238} and from sixteen he taught the Great Commentary.\textsuperscript{239} and as for other texts, he was studying the sPyod-phyogs\textsuperscript{240} and the Lam-rim\textsuperscript{241} and many tantric sādhanas\textsuperscript{242} until the age of thirty (p.64:7). [And] he produced very great benefit even to others.

His [Dharmesvara's] disciple Nam-mkha\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{2}\textprime}-'od\textsuperscript{243} listened to the Rigs-tshogs\textsuperscript{244} and so forth of 'Gos dBang-pa-can.\textsuperscript{245} And he [Nam-mkha\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{2}}-'od] listened to bLa-ma Dharmesvara give many explanations of the root-text and the manuals of the Great Commentary of Kalacakra.\textsuperscript{246}

(p.65:1) The son [of Yu-mo], Dharmesvara's son, Siddha Nam-mkha\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{2}} rgyal-mtshan\textsuperscript{247} listened to all the texts together with the precepts of Hevajra and Kalacakra and so forth [from Nam-mkha\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{2}}-'od].

From him [Nam-mkha\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{2}} rgyal-mtshan] 'Jam-gsar\textsuperscript{248} obtained full control of Pharchad-mngon\textsuperscript{249} and so forth, and he asked for the empowerment at the monastery in the

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

\textsuperscript{237} Consequently, he must have been a reincarnation of a former Kalacakra master. That was why he could learn everything so fast.

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

\textsuperscript{239} The Vimalaprabhā.

\textsuperscript{240} See note 197.

\textsuperscript{241} This should, at that time, before Tsong-kha-pa, be the text Bodhipātapradīpa by Atiśa. Toh.3947. It could also be another lam-rim.

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

\textsuperscript{243} 'Gro-mgon Nam-mkha\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{2}}-'od-zer was, according to Dud-jams Rinpoche, the son of Dharmesvara. (Dargyay. 1977:100). Here he is a disciple.

\textsuperscript{244} Rig-tshogs (drug), skt. [sad]-yuktīśāstra, "the collection of the six treatises." Six treatises on the Mādhyamika by Nāgārjuna. (Ruegg. 1963) (Rigzin. 1986:398).

\textsuperscript{245} Unidentified, although 'Gos is a well-known family with famous translators like 'Gos lo-tsa-ba Khug-pa thas bsas (11\textsuperscript{th} century) and 'Gos lo-tsa-ba gZhon-nu-dpal (15\textsuperscript{th} century).

\textsuperscript{246} That is, the complete Kalacakra tradition.

\textsuperscript{247} Also called Siddha Se-mo che-ba (or Se-chen) Nam-mkha\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{2}} rgyal-mtshan (Ruegg. 1963:80; Roerich. 1949/53:755-56, 768-71). He is said to have practised the sādāṅga-yoga and "the six doctrines of Nāropa". He was called Se-mo che-ba after his place of residence Se-mo-che in the gTsang province near the river gTsang-po.

\textsuperscript{248} Or 'Jam-dbyangs gsar-ma Shes-rab 'od-zer. (Deb ther sngon po tha 2b,8b; cha 4b-5a; ta 2a; Roerich. 1949/53:756,769-71,335-36,727,1052.) According to Ruegg, it is said in the Grub mtha' shel gvi me long by Thu'u bkvan Blo bzang chos kyi nyy ma that until then the Kalacakra scripture was limited in its diffusion, but after 'Jam-gsar the teaching became generalized (Ruegg. 1963:80). 'Jam-gsar founded a school at sKyang-dur and had among others Kun-mkhyen Chos-sku 'od-zer as a disciple. The latter was also the successor of
small village gYas-ru sMon-mkhar and he ['Jam-gsar] learned all the tantra commentaries and [the corresponding] parts of the instructions. (p.65:2) From him ['Jam-gsar] bLama rGa-lo learned [the doctrine].

2. [The History of the Rva school].

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

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

Short for Phar-phyn, skt. Prajnāpāramitā, Tshad-ma skt. pramāṇa ("logic") and mNgon which is the Abhidharma system.

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

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

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

A short biography can be found in Roerich. 1949/53:374-380 and there exists a special rnam-thar (Rva-lo rNam-thar 1974 and 1965). His birth is given as 1016 from his rnam-thar (Bod rgya mtshig mdzod chen mo. 1985: 3214) and his death is given by Macdonald, also from his rnam-thar, as the year 1114/16. This means that he should have reached the age of 100 years, something that is not very probable. There are some problems with the dates of the rnam-thar and probably his birthdate is more reliable than the dating of his death. See also Ferrari 1958:42,98,105. He was famous as a translator and as the main introducer of the Yamantaka tantric cycle to Tibet. It is known that he attended the council (chos-'khor) organized by king rTse-lde in 1076 and directly after the council he and gNyan Lo-tsa-ba Dharma-grags went directly to Nepal and India in order to get teachings from there. (Roerich. 1949/53:70-71). There is no mention by 'Gos Lo-tsa-ba that
the Rva-pa\textsuperscript{255} the three divisions of Nag-'jigs\textsuperscript{256} of the Rva tradition, and the mNgon-byung rnam-gsum,\textsuperscript{257} (p.65.3) [and] the tantras of Abhidhana\textsuperscript{258} and Sampuṭa\textsuperscript{259} and so forth, and the six Chos-'byung\textsuperscript{260} and so forth, he [Rva Chos-rab] turned to the Kālacakra.\textsuperscript{261}

After having arrived to central Nepal,\textsuperscript{262} (p.65:4) and after having adhered to Pāṇḍita Samantaśrī\textsuperscript{263} for five years, ten months and five days, because he [Rva Chos-rab] re-
quested the explanation [and] the empowerment together with the instructions, he was given everything [by Samantaśrī]. After having invited the Pandita to Tibet, he [Rva Chos-rab] explained the tantra commentary together with the branches. He translated and systematized, [and] he was held in great veneration by everybody.

One day he [Rva Chos-rab] gave 300 golden srang to Samantaśrī and accompanied him on departing [for Nepal] even up to sKyi-rong. So the bLa-ma was very pleased and he donated the tiara of the Pandita 'Bum-phrag gsum-pa, sandals [and] a rdo-rje and a dril-bu according to the measures of Kālacakra.

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


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

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

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

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

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

268 rNgog lo-chan-po or rNgog bLo-lidan shes-rab (1059-1109) was a disciple of 'Bum-phrag (or brTan-skyong = Sthārapāla) which means that the later lived a little before that time (Roerich. 1949/53:325). Sthārapāla got his title 'Bum-phrag gsum-pa (=300,000) because he had memorized 300,000 ślokas (Roerich. 1949/53:789). Siddha Nyin-phug-pa (1094-1186) studied with 'Bum-phrag at Bo-dong when he was 14, that is, in the year of 1108 (Roerich. 1949/53:1009). The fore-going shows that Samantaśrī must have lived in a period quite late in the 11th century and the first half of the 12th, because it is quite evident that he was a disciple of 'Bum-phrag as he possessed the hat.

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

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

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

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

273 See previous footnote. gZhon-nu-dpal gives almost the same lineage as Bu-ston on the Rva school (Roerich. 1949/53:756,789-795). There is not much found on this master, only that it can be remarked that 'Bum in Tibetan stands for the Prajñāpāramitā, which could mean that he was connected with that teaching.
make invitations to *Hva-shangs*\(^{276}\) from China, and consequently he invited one from Mi-nyag,\(^{277}\) who had become a *Hva-shang*. [That one] was made chaplain of the king, [and] among the lineage of ancestors, which was made out of only *tantrics* who had practised the complete established texts and traditions of the Mahāyāna.\(^{278}\) There was one called Mi-nyag gzhon-nu snying-po from Yar-'brog-sgang\(^{279}\) and his son gZhon-nu seng-ge, and his son Rig-'dzin snying-po, (p.66:2) who settled in the country of rGya-ma of Rong.\(^{280}\) His son rDo-rje seng-ge took possession of Rong mKhar-phug\(^{281}\) The eldest of the four sons born to him, named Ye-shes rdo-rje,\(^{282}\) being learned, appeared to be one who had acquired perfection. He [Ye-shes rdo-rje] obtained perfection with [the help of] (p.66:3) the precepts of the Mahāmudrā renowned as dByug-Chos,\(^{283}\) [and] took possession of [the monastery] dBen-dmar\(^{284}\), the abbatial seat of someone called dBang-phyug rgyal-po.\(^{285}\)

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

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

\(^{276}\) Chinese Buddhist monk or scholar (Das. 1903:1326).

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

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

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

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

\(^{281}\) Unidentified. The monastery is also unknown, but should be situated in the Rong valley.

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

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

\(^{284}\) This monastery was situated somewhere near the Rong valley just between the provinces of dBus and gTsang. It was then kept in the family as noted later in the text (p.71:6, 72:4 and 73:1). See also Roerich. 1949/53: 790,791,792 and 793.
As for his [Ye-shes rdo-rje’s] son rJe-bsun rGa-lo, the father gave [him] a name like that after being supported by a sign [in a dream]. He thought that he [rGa-lo] was a reincarnation of the former Khams-pa rGa-lo-tsa-ba.\(^{286}\)

(p.66:4) At the time when Kha-che pan-chen\(^{287}\) came to Ngur-smrig,\(^{288}\) he [rGa-lo] was about three years old. [And] after being taken by Ma-gcig Jo-sras ma-skyi-mo,\(^{289}\) as she went to receive blessings and dharma-teachings [from Kha-che], (p.66:5) it was prophesized [by him] that he [rGa-lo] was going to be excellent in Sanskrit. He [Kha-che] took him by the hand, and as he [rGa-lo] was relieved, almost everybody assembled perceived that he was a holy man. And rJe-bsun [rGa-lo] even [used to] say to himself: “At the time of childhood I met bLa-ma Pal-gyur-mdzad (p.66:6) When he [rGa-lo] was young, according to prophecy, he learned to write and read, the 'Jig-rten bstan-pa\(^{291}\) and the Phung-po lnga'i rab-byed\(^{292}\) and the sPyod-jug\(^{293}\) and the mDo-sde las-mang\(^{294}\) and the smaller section of the Mādyamika and the Don-zhags\(^{295}\) (p.66:7) and the doctrine of [the method] for calming the bag-chags\(^{296}\) and so forth. [All] these different kinds [of teachings] he learned from his father. After that, he [rGa-lo] came into the presence of dPyal Chos-kyi bzang-po,\(^{297}\) and during three years he

\(^{285}\) Unidentified.

\(^{286}\) See note 274.

\(^{287}\) Śākyāśrībhadrā (1127-1225). He came to Tibet 1204 and stayed there until 1222, when he returned to Kāśmir where he died in 1225. He was interested in Kālacakrā and Mahājāttānasārangī (Naudou. 1968:196-97). He translated a Kālacakrā-text, Śrī-kālacakrā-sahāja-sādhana, by Kālacakrā-pāda. (Cordier Rgyud IV,9). ‘Gos lo-tsa-ba gives the same story as Bu-ston (Roerich. 1949/53:770,790,797).

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

\(^{289}\) The name is unidentified, but is probably the name of rGa-lo's mother.

\(^{290}\) This is Sa-skya Pandita Kun-dga’ rgyal-mtshan (1182-1251) who is generally known by that name. He was actually known as a Sanskrit scholar.

\(^{291}\) 'Jig-rten bstan-pa (Lokaprajñāpīti) is the same as the text 'Jig-rten bzhag-pa Toh.4086.

\(^{292}\) Phung-po lnga'i rab-byed, skt. Pañcasāndha-prakaraṇa is one of the texts Toh. 3866 or 4066, but most probably 4059.

\(^{293}\) The text Bodhisattvācāryāvātāra by Śāntideva. Toh. 3871.


\(^{295}\) Don-zhags can be one of several texts; Toh.683, 686, 687, 689, 903, 2721, 2861and 2864.

\(^{296}\) Skt. vāsanā, “karmic imprints”. The traces of the former inclinations in earlier lives. These imprints decides much of the present life but can be calmed by certain methods.

\(^{297}\) He is also mentioned in The Blue Annals (p.379) where it is stated that he also received the red Yamāntaka; on p.396 it is mentioned that the dPyal family traced its origins back to a minister of king Khri-srong lde-btsan, something that indicates that this family, like the Rva family, was part of the old Tibetan aristocracy. He had also received the teachings of Vajravārahī.
[rGa-lo], after having studied to write Indian and read Indian [language] and the different varieties of the language Sanskrit, 298 (p.67:1) and after having studied particularly Hevajra 299 and Vajravarahi 300 at the age of sixteen, explaining in a good way at Ngur-smrig, spread the teachings. As for other [texts] he learned the Great Commentary of Nā-ro 301 with the instructions, and the small Samvara-sāstra 302 with instructions.

(p.67:2) When he [rGa-lo] was receiving the empowerment of Samvara with the instructions, hearing wonderful sounds from the centre of the mandala, 303 having had blood dripping from the nose, after having dreamt of the dropping, he purified his disease and mental obscurations. [And his] pleasure-body 304 became like shining wisdom. (p.67:3) When he received the empowerment of gShed-dmar, 305 he was freed from the temptations of Miira. So then, now, earlier when he[rGa-lo] resided at Dol-chung 306 when he was a little bit sick, [somebody] made hindrances [to him]. (p.67:4) A visiting monk, after having come in front of him carrying an Indian book with a supplement, took out one volume, and waving it in front of his [rGa-lo's] eyes said:"As for the words, you will not grasp them, and as for the meaning of the holy [teachings], you will not understand it." [And they] disputed so. And [then], at night, he [the monk], after having undressed naked, and

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

298 It is actually written that he learned different ways of pronouncing the Sanskrit language.
299 Tib. gDyes-rdo-rje; Here it stands for the whole cycle of Hevajra.
300 The tantric text of Vajravarahi; tib. rDo-rje phag-mo. In Tibet, the only female incarnation with a position comparable to the higher incarnations of other schools. She belongs to the Karma-pa school and each incarnation is reborn as the abbess of the bSam-lding monastery on the shores of the Yar-brog lake in southern Tibet.
301 This could be the Sekoddeśa-tīkā (Toh.1351), which is the well-known commentary of Nā-ro-pa on the only surviving text from the root-tantra (mūlatantra), Sekoddeśa (Toh.361). The text has been edited (Carelli. 1941) and recently edited and translated into Italian by R. Gnoli and G. Orofino (Orofino. 1994a and Nāropā. 1994). It could also be Nāropā’s big Hevajra commentary, Toh.1181, attributed to sNyan-grags bzang-po [*Yasobhadra] in the bsTan-'gyur.
302 This must be a commentary on the main text on Samvara (Cakrasamvara) (Toh. 368). Tib. ‘Khor-lo bDe-mchog. The tantric cycle of Cakrasamvara has connections with the Kālacakra cycle. It may be Toh. 1402, Vajrapāṇī’s Samvara-tīkā, a commentary on the first chapter of Toh. 368.
303 Here is probably meant the Cakrasamvara mandala.
304 Tib. long-spyod-skyi-sku. Skt. sambhogakāya.
305 This is gShin-rje gshed-dmar-po, the red Yamāntaka. See also Roerich. 1949/53:379. The basic text of this tantric system is gShin-rje gShed-dmar-po ‘i rgyud, Toh. 474.
306 Dol-chung. I have not found the location of this place, but the only name that is similar is the region of Dol-po in the Tibetan area of northern Nepal to the west of Annapurna and Mustang. The Jo-nang-pa master Dol-po-pa came from that region. Dol-chung could be a “small” part of Dol-po.
after having placed on his head a small piece of clay from the temple, said: “I am the clay-made Garuḍa-headed.” And he threatened him [rGa-lo] and so forth.307

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

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

(p.68:4) Sometimes he [the ‘byung-po] came in the form of a scholar and explained: “As for the tradition of the gzhung (basic texts), [it is] like this. As for former times, [it was] like this.” [And] he [the ‘byung-po] explained all sorts of sayings, and said:” Even you can act in this way.”

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

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

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

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

310 gTsug-lag-khang means temple/monastery, vihāra, but in later times normally meant the assembly hall or main hall of worship. Here it seems to mean a monastery.
Seng-ge rgyal-mtshan 'Od-kyi nying-ma,311 he said: “Get up! Investigate closely! Do meditation! Explain the philosophical texts!”

[Then] as he [the 'byung-po] was acting as if to do work for the dharma, when he [rGa-lo] was trying to get the empowerment of gShed-dmar312 at Thar-pa313, he [the 'byung-po] said: “It would be better if you went home. (p.68:7) Your father and mother and others are sick. You should meet them and look after them. As for the empowerment, it is proper to get it later.” [Then] as he [rGa-lo] said: “It is difficult to get it later. Therefore [I want] to get it now.” (p.69:1) He [the 'byung-po] answered: “After having cared about you so much, if you act like that, it is very unwise. Now, go back [home].” And he [the 'byung-po] even helped him [rGa-lo] to lift up the food and the [other] burdens. And as he [rGa-lo] said: “Even [if it is] like that, I must take [the empowerment].”

He [the 'byung-po] threw the food and the burdens under the staircase and said: “I, being a friend of yours for a long time, have been cheated [by you]. (p.69:2) You can do whatever you like, as for me, I am leaving. You, accompany me a short distance.” He [rGa-lo] met him (p.69:4) and because he [Sa-skya Pandita] was praying: “You, being of young age and of good family, you are going to learn, because of your great wisdom, [to be] like someone [who is] omniscient.” After having been promised that, later at gZhu-dbu-rgyan,319 requesting the empowerment and the sādhanā of Nag-po-pa320 and the empowerment of rNam-'joms321 [and] A-ra-pa tsa-na,322 he [rGa-lo] was accomplished according to the promise.

311 I have not found any reference to these names. Probably they are only epithets given to rGa-lo in order to give him prestige. Here it is part of a strategy of how to cheat rGa-lo.
312 See note 305.
313 Thar-pa or Thar-pa-gling.
314 The name is unidentified, but should in the context have the meaning of a special part of the monastery.
315 Thar-pa-limg is situated on an old route from Sha-lu to Ngor in the gTsang province. To the south lies the site of Thar-pa-limg monastery. It was founded in the 14th century by Thar-pa lo-tsa-ba, a teacher of Bu-ston and a renowned translator (Dowman. 1988:272; Roerich. 1949/53:751,829).
316 gnas-brtan is skt. sthavira, a senior (elderly) monk. The name is unidentified.
317 The whole of this story about the 'byung-po demon (p.67:9 to p.69:3) is very interesting and seems very typical for this type of demon that always try to cheat the faithful Buddhists. rGa-lo succeeds in defeating this demon, actually said to be an envoy of Māra. The demon leaves, disappointed with rGa-lo’s attitude, because it could not defeat rGa-lo.
318 “the northern plain”, the name for the great northern part of Tibet.
319 See Roerich. 1949/53:792. There it is mentioned that the son of rGa-lo, Shes-rab seng-ge (1251-1315) preached at a monastery called gZhu Kun-dga'-ra-ba.
320 This is probably the Cakrasamvara tradition of Kṛṣṇa acārya, Toh.431, 1445-48.
321 Skt. Viśphotakah. See Mahāvyutpatti, Part 1, p.233, nr.3345. It is according to Edgerton 1972 (1953):504, the name of a nāga divinity.
322 This is a name used for the bodhisattva Maṇjuśrī.
(p.69:5) Furthermore, having adhered to bLa-ma 'Jam-gsar,\textsuperscript{323} he received well the instructions of many commentaries [Buddha]-words of the outer philosophy and gShed-dmar of the tradition of Dā-na śī-la\textsuperscript{324} and the empowerment and sādhana of Tārā,\textsuperscript{325} and particularly the empowerments and instructions of the 'Bro school of Kālacakra.

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

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

\textsuperscript{323} See note 248.

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

\textsuperscript{325} The female bodhisattva, tib. sGro-lma.

\textsuperscript{326} See notes 272-275.

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


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

\textsuperscript{330} Vībhūticandra lived at the end of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th century in Nepal and received different Yoga-teachings, for ex. the sādanga-yoga, from Śa-la-rī dBang-phug. Vībhūticandra then called on Ko-brag-pa from Tibet and gave him the secret teachings of the sādāṅga-yoga. Ko-brag-pa then invited Vībhūticandra to Ding-ri in Tibet and received all the precepts of the sādāṅga-yoga (Roerich. 1949/53:727, 796). It seems that Vībhūticandra was in contact with the famous pāṇḍita Śākyaśīrī-bhadra who visited Tibet in 1204-1225 (Roerich. 1949/53:799). rGa-lo invited Vībhūticandra to dBen-dmar and Śambhar obtained several Kālacakra teachings and initiations from Vībhūticandra (Stearns 1996:146).

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

\textsuperscript{332} This could be 'Gro-ba'i mgon-po 'Phags-pa who was also called Lha 'Gro-ba'i mgon-po (1186-1259). He was a famous master and an abbot of the monastery of Po-to (Roerich. 1949/53:278-279). This is not the historically known 'Phags-pa.
dharma-teachings of Dril-bu-pa, the dharma-teachings of Mahāmyā, the tantra of Hevajra and so forth, the instructions of the protectors as Mahākāla and so forth, and sūtras as Saddharmapuṇḍarīka and so forth, and āgamas as Bhāvanakṛma and so forth and Rigs-gter.

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

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

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


The text was written by Kamalśrī (8th century) who belonged to the Mahāyāna school of Yogācāra-Mādhyamika. On the text see Nakamura 1987:183-191.

The text is a classical Mahāyāna text (transl. by Kern in Saddharmapurūṣa 1974 (1884). Concerning the text see Nakamura 1987:283.

These are texts on logic (mṭshad-ma). (Bod rgya tshig mṭṣod chen mo. 1985:2688).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tib. sGrol-ma.

The monastery of sNar-phu, which is not identified.
only son of a married couple [who was] dumb and unable to walk. He [rGa-lo] made actions of connection between cause and effect, and because he [the dumb] changed clothes and was given a new name, he was made to know how to talk and walk. Furthermore, he [rGa-lo] proceeded in this way with many dumb and crippled.

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

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

349 There is one ācārya sTon-gzhon who lived in the 13th and who was teaching the śādaṅgayoga (Roerich. 1949/53:678-679).
350 See note 315.
351 In the text the following, six examples of this kind of contagious magic are given:
- Problem: two of rGa-lo's disciples are prisoners of the Hor.
- Affliction: a son was dumb and unable to walk.
- Cure: rGa-lo made him change his clothes and his name and he was cured.
- Affliction: a serious inflammation in the lungs and the heart.
- Cure: the sick was made to change name, and the new name was written above the door.
- Affliction: tooth-ache.
- Cure: rGa-lo filled in a crack in the fire-place.
- Affliction: head-ache.
- Cure: rGa-lo removed the nails in a door.
- Affliction: pain in a waist.
- Cure: rGa-lo drilled a hole in the wall of someone who could not have children.

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

352 The great siddha Man-lung gu-ru who lived 1239-1300 wrote a well-known guide-book to holy places in India that he visited on his many journeys (Roerich. 1949/53:790, 640; Macdonald. 1970).
353 The great siddha Man-lung gu-ru who lived 1239-1300 wrote a well-known guide-book to holy places in India that he visited on his many journeys (Roerich. 1949/53:790, 640; Macdonald. 1970).
354 It is mentioned in the Blue Annals that lHo-pa grub-seng was also a disciple in the lineage of dPal Phagmo-gru-pa (Roerich. 1949/53:335).
ness, like ‘Gro-mgon chos-rgyal’ and mkhan-chen Khro-phu-ba and others. (p.71:4) When he [rGa-lo] arrived to rGod-dkar-la from bSam-yas, as there came many robbers and thieves, he made many [tantric gestures] like looking harsh and making signs with the fingers, and because he was not afraid, they [the robbers] asked for his [rGa-lo’s] state of health, and as he burst out in laughter and so forth, they became intangible, with the signs of perfection.

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

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

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

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355 This could be the famous ‘Phags-pa of the Sa-skya-pa school. This coincides as ‘Phags-pa was born in 1234 (Shakabpa. 1967:71).
356 It is difficult to see how this could be the well-known Khro-phu lo-tsa-ba born in 1172, as mentioned in note 321. It must be another Khro-phu.
357 A mountain pass between Lhasa and bSam-yas (Ferrari. 1958, map, Roerich. 1949/53:258).
358 The first monastery in Tibet situated south of Lhasa at the river gTsang-po.
359 These are very special methods used by rGa-lo in order to help even robbers and thieves to reach perfection.
360 Unidentified.
361 See note 284.
362 Shes-rab seng-ge (1251-1315) was the son of rGa-lo and one of the main tradition-holders of the Rva school. He received the complete monk ordination in 1280 by Chos-rgyal Phags-pa (1234-1280) (Roerich. 1949/53:791-792 and Shakabpa. 1984:64-69), something that must have meant that he was one of the important masters of the time considering the position of Phags-pa as the effective ruler of Tibet at that time. See also Ruegg. 1966:87.
364 The dPyal clan (rus) has its origin in the time of the dharma-king Khri-srong-lde-btsan. The school of dPyal-pa is less well known (Roerich. 1949/53:395-396).
365 This was in the year of 1273 and as Shes-rab seng-ge stayed for five years with sTag-sde seng-rgyal; he stayed there until about 1278. A sTag-sde-ba seng-ge rgyal-mtshan (1212-1294) was a disciple of Bo-dong Rin-po-che Rin-chen rtse-mo and learned the Kālacakra from him (Roerich. 1949/53:783-784) and this must be the same person as mentioned in this text.
366 Short for Phar-pyin (Prajñāpāramitā) and Tshad-ma (logic).
in dBu and gTsang.\(^{367}\) In his thirtieth year, he entered monastic life in the presence of bLa-ma Chos-rgyal\(^{368}\) and mKhan-po mChims,\(^{369}\) and after having been completely ordained he learned many dharma [teachings].

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

\((p.72:4)\) At the age of forty-one, after having given the abbatial seat of dBen-dmar to bLa-ma dRo-rje rgyal-mtshan,\(^{381}\) he [Shes-rab seng-ge] settled at dMu.\(^{382}\) After having been acting as the translator, dPal Jigs-med grags-pa died in 1280. He was one of the old clans of Tibet from the royal time in the 8th century. He participated in a translation of the Kālacakra Tantra originally made by Lo-grags-pa (Roerich. 1949/53:792). He worked with his nephew, dPal Jigs-med grags-pa (1315-1391). Consequently he must have lived quite late in the first half of the 14th century. He also translated the whole Kālacakra-tantra-rāja and the Sekoddeśa-tikā (Roerich. 1949/53:837-838) and some other texts (Roerich. 1949/53:350,379). The bla-ma Kun-dga’ bzang-po (1258-1316) invited Grags-pa in 1298 and received from him the Hevajra, Sekoddeśa-tikā, Sampuṭa and the Kālāpa-sūtra. Consequently, he was a well-known Buddhist tantric teacher of his time. See also Ruegg. 1966:87, note 2. Ruegg underlines that this master, rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan, who was the teacher of Bu-ston, is not the same as the Kālacakra translator Šoh-ston rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan.\(^{371}\) This is a Guhyasamāja Vyākhya-tantra (communication from Newman June –04), probably Toh.445 with the commentary Toh.1795

\(^{367}\) He moved around in Central Tibet as was the custom among monks seeking teachings and initiations.

\(^{368}\) Mentioned in this context and at this time, this is probably bla-ma ’Phags-pa who died in 1280.

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

\(^{370}\) Also called Yar-klungs lo-tsa-ba Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (Roerich. 1949/53:792, 837). He lived in the latter part of the 13th century and the first half of the 14th century. He participated in a translation of the Kālacakra Tantra originally made by Lo-grags-pa (Roerich. 1949/53:780).

\(^{371}\) This is a Guhyasamāja Vyākhya-tantra (communication from Newman June –04), probably Toh.445 with the commentary Toh.1795.

\(^{372}\) Toh. 543, P.162.

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

\(^{374}\) Situated to the west of gZhis-ka-rtse (Ferrari. 1958:map).

\(^{375}\) As mentioned before, this first monastery of Tibet is situated to the south-east of Lhasa.

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

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

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

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

\(^{380}\) Unidentified.

\(^{381}\) rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan (1283-1325) was the son of Ā-kāra-siddhi and consequently the grandson of rGa-lo. He succeeded Shes-rab seng-ge (1251-1315) as abbot of dBen-dmar in 1292, according to the present text. This seems quite unreasonable as rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan was only nine years old at the time. Later in this text it is said though that he took possession of the two, Shangs-’bar [and dBen-dmar] at the death of Shes-rab seng-ge in 1315 (p.73:6). Earlier in this text (p.73:1) and in the Blue Annals it is said that rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan took over dBEn-dmar in 1299 (Roerich. 1949/53:792) but in 1315 as well (Roerich. 1949/53:793). It is also said that he departed for China in 1310 (Roerich. 1949/53: 793). However, Bu-ston says in this text that he departed for China in 1322 (p.73:7). This somewhat confused information is a reminder that the dating
founded Shangs-’bar-tsa, he constructed a study-place and collected of tantras and texts on Vināyā, and he benefitted many living beings. He gave many tantras to bLa-ma Ti-shri, the head [of the Sa-skya-pa] and other Sa-skya-pa lineages, (p.72:5) and as for others, he had many disciples who became great men and reached high positions, mainly the three lo-tsa-ba’s [translators] Yar, Thang and dPang who in their turn made to appear high positioned disciples who were heads of schools, good-hearted and noble. He especially had disciples [who became] scholars of Kālacakra. (p.72:6) Thus, after having collected merits for himself and others, he [Shes-rab seng-ge] died at Shangs-’bar in the tenth day of the ninth month of the hare year [1315].

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

His [A-ka-ra siddha’s] son bLa-ma rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan was born in [the year of] water-female-sheep [1283]. From the time of his youth, he exercised reading and writing. He became skilled in many variations of the Tibetan script. (p.72:1) After that, having trained in the Kālacakra, he explained the Kālacakra at the age of sixteen. After having requested bLa-ma ‘Jam-dbyangs Rin-rgyal and sLob-dpon Sher-rgyal to be mKhan-
po and sLob-dpon,\textsuperscript{394} he was made a novice.\textsuperscript{395} From the age of sixteen he took possession of the abbatial seat of dBen-dmar. (p.73:2) He attended the study-college of Kālacakra, [and] after having requested mKhan-chen bKa’-bzhi-pa\textsuperscript{396} and mKhan-po Zhal-snga-pa\textsuperscript{397} to be mKhan-po and sLob-dpon, he was fully ordained. After having arrived in the presence of bLa-ma mKhan-chen Thar-pa lo-tsa-ba,\textsuperscript{398} he [rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan] learned the sGra Tsandra-pa,\textsuperscript{399} [and] he came to know all the traditions of writing of Kašmir and India and Singa-gling.\textsuperscript{400}

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{395} Tib. dge-tshul

\textsuperscript{396} No other information found.

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

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

\textsuperscript{399} The grammar of Candragomin (tib. Tsandra-pa) Candra-vyākarana-sūtra, Toh.4269 (Roerich. 1949/53:792).

\textsuperscript{400} Old name for the present Śrī Laṅka.

\textsuperscript{401} This is probably the Vajrāvalī by Abhayagriṇīputra.

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

\textsuperscript{403} Unidentified.

\textsuperscript{404} Tib. Jo-bo.

\textsuperscript{405} The teaching of the path and the fruit taught by the Sa-skya-pa school.

\textsuperscript{406} Unidentified.

\textsuperscript{407} Toh. 2584.

\textsuperscript{408} Toh. 361, P.3

\textsuperscript{409} It is probably the commentary Toh. 1611 to the basic Catupīṭha-tantra texts Toh. 428 or 430.
number of ministers became believers. After being of great benefit for the living beings, on the first day of the tenth month of the ox year [1325] he [Do-rje rgyal-mtshan] died. 410

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

415 Unidentified.

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

417 This is probably a designation of Rong-gling lo-tsa-ba rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan.

418 There is a student of the Kālacakra system, a disciple of Abhaya named Rong-gling lo-tsa-ba rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan. His vihāra called Sags-kha stands undamaged even today even now. I have not seen his biography and therefore unable to go into details.” (Roerich. 1949/53:1060-61).

419 There is a short biography on him in the Blue Annals where it is also said that Chag dGrab-bom studied Kālacakra with him (Roerich. 1949/53:837,1052-54). He was active as a translator of many other texts (Naudou. 1968:192-94).
could not continue the tradition. *Se lo-tsa-ba*,\(^{422}\) after having learned the teachings [of *Kālacakra*], he gave it to *gNyos 'od-ma*.\(^{423}\) From that [person] the succession of the lineage of the teachings of the *rTsa-mî*\(^{424}\) school originated.

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

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

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

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

\(^{425}\) *'Gos lo-tsa-ba* has still more information on the translators of the *Kālacakra* (Roerich. 1949/53:837-38). It is rather unique that there were so many translations made of a text. It shows the great importance of the *Kālacakra Tantra* in Tibet.
Below I will present the lineages from the fore-going text, the Dus-‘khor chos-‘byung (The history of Kālacakra) and lineages from The Blue Annals. The lineages clarifies relations between important lineage holders and their place in the general history of Buddhism in Tibet.


\[\text{Somanātha (arrival to Tibet 1064)} \quad \text{Gra-pa mGon-shes (1012-1090)}\]

\[\text{’Bro lo-tsa-ba Shes-rab-grags (2nd half of 11th century)} \quad \text{dGom-pa dKon-mchog-srung (11th century)}\]

\[\text{sGro sNam-la-brtsegs (11th century)} \quad \text{Yu-mo (±1040 - ±1122)}\]

\[\text{Dharmesvara (b.±1085)} \quad \text{Nam-mkha’ -’od}\]

\[\text{Nam-mkha’ rgyal-mtshan} \quad \text{’Jam-gsar}\]

\[\text{rGa-lo rNam-rgyal rdo-rje (1203-1282)}\]
Guru lineage of the Rva school according to Bu-ston’s Dus-khor chos-‘byung, p.65:2 – 74:2.

Rva lo-tsa-ba rDo-rje-grags (1016-1100) ↓  
Pāṇḍita Samantaśrī (2nd half of the 11th century to first half of the 12th)  
↓  
Rva Chos-rab (b. 1060/70) ↓  
↓  
Rva Ye-shes seng-ge  
↓  
Rva Bum-seng  
↓  
Khro-phu lo-tsa-ba (1172-1236)  
↓  
Vibhuticandra (2nd half of the 12th c.)  
↓  
rGa-lo rNam-rgyal rDo-rje (1203-1282)  
↓  
Jam-gsar (the ‘Bro school)  
↓  
dPyal Chos-kyi-bzang-po  
↓  
Shes-rab seng-ge (1251-1315)  
↓  
Man-lung gu-ru (1239-1315)  
↓  
Ā-ka-ra siddha  
↓  
rDo-rje rGyal-mtshan (1283-1325) ↓  
↓  
Bu-ston (1290-1364)

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

In this lineage there are names mentioned not directly involved in the transmission of the Kalacakra teachings. The lineage is very similar to the one given by Bu-ston and there is even more proof of the connection between the ‘Bro school and the Jo-nang-pas. From Yu-mo up to Dol-po-pa the tradition holders were also heads of the Jo-nang-pa and Bo-dong Phyogs-las rNam-rgyal also had a strong connection with the Jo-nang-pa. rGa-lo is not part of this lineage given by ‘Gos lo-tsa-ba and in his place there is instead Kun-mkhyen-pa Chos-sku-‘od-ser (b.1214). This master has no place in Bu-ston’s Dus-khor chos-‘byung which means that here occurs the separation of the lineages within the ‘Bro school. For some reason, ‘Gos lo-tsa-ba does not want to mention Bu-ston in this lineage. ‘Gos lo-tsa-ba was an abbot of the Karma-rnying monastery and
Dus-zhabs chen-po (skt. Kālacakrapāda, the elder)
Dus-zhabs chung-ngu (skt. Kālacakrapāda, the younger)
Somanātha (tib. Zla-ba mgon-po)
Bro lo-tsa-ba
sGom-pa dKon-mchog-srungs
Gro-ston gNam-la-brtsegs
Yu-mo [founder of the Jo-nang-pa 1040-1110]
Dharmeśvara
Se-mo che-ba Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan
'Jam-gsar Shes-rab 'od-zer
Kun-mkhyen Chos-sku 'od-zer (b.1214)
Kun-spangs Thugs-rje brtson-’grus (b.1243)
Karma Pakṣi-pa
mKhasibtsun Yon-tan rgya-mtsho (1260-1326)
Dol-po-pa Kun-mkhyen Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan (1292-1361)
Dharmaswāmin Bo-dong Phyog-las rNam-rgyal (1303-1386)
Sangs-rgyas Rin-chen-pa (1336-1424)
'Gos lo-tsa-ba gZhon-nu-dpal (1392-1481)

Śrī Bhadrabodhi ± Gyi-jo

consequently of the bKa’-brgyud-pa tradition or perhaps a monastery of both the bKa’-brgyud-pa and rNy-ing-ma-pa. It appears that the Kālacakra tradition from Bu-ston continued with emphasis in the dGe-lugs-pa school and possibly was not accepted by the bKa’-brgyud-pa. He does mention rGa-lo and Bu-ston in the Rva lineage and perhaps it was only that he did not consider them to have a part in the 'Bro school.
Tsi-lu-pa
↓
bSod-snyoms-pa (Piṇḍo)
↓
Kālacakrapāda, the Senior (Dus-zhabs-pa che-ba)
↓
Kālacakrapāda, the Junior (Dus-zhabs-pa chung-ngu)
↓
Maṇjukīrti
↓
Samantaśrī of Ye-rang (Patan)
↓
Rva Chos-rab
↓
Rva Ye-shes seng-ge
↓
Rva 'Bum-seng
↓
Kha-che pañ-chen (Śākyāśrī)

rGa-lo-tsa-ba rNam-rgyal rdo-rje (1203-1282)
↓
Man-lung-pa, the Great (Man-lung-guru) (b.1239)

his sons:
↓
Ākaraśiddhi; Shes-rab seng-ge (1251-1315); rGya-grags-pa; Ācārya rNal-'byor
↓
rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan (1283-1325)
↓
Bu-ston (1290-1364)
↓
Chos-kyi dpal-ba
↓
Tsong-kha-pa (1357-1419)
Another guru lineage according to The Blue Annals also gives space also to Dol-po-pa to be included in the Rva lineage. p. 756.

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


After U-rgyan-pa the teachings were probably continued within the different branches of the bKa’ brgyud-pa school. There are other teachings mentioned which were continued within the Karma-pa hierarchs and their disciples and there is no reason to believe that the important Kālacakra teachings were not also continued. U-rgyan-pa also gave the Kālacakra initiation to the Mongol emperor Khubilai Khan in Peking (Roerich
1949/53:703). Consequently the *Kalacakra Tantra* was given to the Mongol emperors. It is said that the *mandala* was made with precious stones which were then thrown into the water (Roerich 1949/53:702)

2.3. CONCLUSIONS.

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

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

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

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427 Meisezahl (ed.). 1985: Tafel 332.2.6 and 337.3.3.
429 See above, p.18-24 for a discussion of the identity of this person.
In the end, it was probably *Bu-ston* who gave the *Kālacakra* teachings its high status and his tradition flourished with *Tsong-kha-pa, mKhas-grub-rje* and later with the *dGe-lugs-pa* school. During that time there were other *Kālacakra* teaching lineages in the other three schools of *rNying-ma-pa, Sa-skya-pa* and *bKa’-brgyud-pa*. It is interesting that in *Bu-ston*’s text a mention is made that there was a lineage of teaching from *Bhadrabodhi* and *Gyi-jo* that was not continued, although, in a way it was continued as *Se lo-tsa-ba gZhon-nu tshul-khrims* studied with *rTsa-mi* who was a disciple of *Bhadrabodhi*. The tradition from *rTsa-mi* has been kept alive in the *Karma bKa’-brgyud-pa* school up to the present day.⁴³⁰ In that way the teachings from *Bhadrabodhi*, the master of both *rTsa-mi* and *Gyi-jo*, was continued.

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

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

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

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

3.1. THE BASIC TEXTS TREATING THE KĀLACAKRA TANTRA.

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

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

432 The Sanskrit text has not been found, but a reconstruction of the Sanskrit text has been made by R. Gnoli in Orofino. 1994, which also contains an edition of the Tibetan text and a translation of the whole text into Italian. Peking 7, Toh. 365.
through scattered citations in other texts especially the Vimalaprabhā commentary. The text is supposed to be written by the king Sucandra of Shambhala who listened to the Buddha’s preaching of the text. Consequently, it was supposedly written during the lifetime of Buddha Śākyamuni, at the later part of his life. The text was then, according to its own tradition, brought to Shambhala and guarded there for over 1400 years until it was possibly brought to India, probably at the end of the 10th century A.D.

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

3. The Vimalaprabhā (VP); the tīkā in 12,000 lines. The Sanskrit editions from Varanasi: Vimalaprabhātīkā Vol.1. 1986, Vol.2. 1994, Vol.3. 1994. Tibetan translations: Toh.845 and 1347, P.2064. There is also said to have existed a Vimalaprabhā containing 60,000 lines. The extant VP was written by a later king of Shambhala called Puṇḍarīka. In India and Tibet, it has always been transferred together with the KCT.

The text Śrī Kālacakra (KCT) is supposed to be an abbreviated version, laghutantra, of a much longer mūlatantra that was preached by Śākyamuni Buddha at Dhānyakāṭaka stūpa in south India, in the presence of king Sucandra of Shambhala. The latter is the Tibetan way of spelling that has become the best known. It has been very difficult to locate, if it exists at all as a concrete geographical unit. Bernbaum and Newman have proposed the Kocho kingdom of the Uighurs in Turkestan. Orofino has expressed some scepticism at this proposition but gives no alternative interpretation. The latest investigation of the location of Shambhala was done by Andresen in her dissertation and she proposed a location for Shambhala in the Khotanese kingdom before its extinction by the muslims around the year 1000. Hartzell places the kingdom Shambhala in Kashmir. He argues well for

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433 The most comprehensive investigation of the relation between these texts has been done by John Newman (Newman. 1987:93-102).
434 I use here the spelling Shambhala as used in the Tibetan tradition. In the original Sanskrit texts it is written Sambhala.
439 Andresen. 1997:82-93.
his theory and it is possible that the texts were really written in India and not in a Shambhala kingdom situated in Central Asia.

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

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

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

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

Toh. 361, P.3 - Sekkodesa, 7 fols., transl. by Somanātha and Shes-rab grags.
This text is said to be an extract from the lost root-Kalacakra-tantra, Paramādibuddha (P), 7 fol.

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

Toh. 363, P.5 - Śrī-Kālacakra-tantottaratatana-hṛdaya-nāma, 14 fols., trans. by gNyenchung Dharma-grags.

Toh. 364, P.6 - Śrī-Kālacakra-garbha-nāma-tantra, 2 fols., trans. by Śrī-Bhadrabodhi and Zla-ba’i ‘od-zer

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

Additional commentarial material on the Kālacakra Tantra also exists.

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


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

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

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

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

446 Toh. 1353, Sekoddēṣa-ṭīkā.
447 Toh.1348, 1350.
448 Toh.1364, 1367, 1368, 1372, 1373, 1374, 1375, 1387, 1388 and 1390.
451 See Appendix 3.
453 Mi-pham. 1971.
Excepting the doctoral dissertation by Newman and the unpublished dissertation by B.Banerjee in German, none of these texts were translated when I initiated this project.

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

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

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

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

Hartzell has translated the whole of chapter five, the Jñānapāṭala, of the KCT and the commentary VP. His dissertation is very voluminous and treats the whole complex of the Anuttara-yoga-tantras or the Yogini-tantras. The Kālavaka is one of the tantras that he has investigated.

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

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

KCT and VP to chapter I, the Lokadhātupāṭala, have been partly translated by Newman. The KCT has been completely translated by Banerjee into German. KCT and VP to chapter II, the Adhyātma-pāṭala, have been completely translated into English by Wallace and into French by Stril-Rever.

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458 Hartzell. 1997. This dissertation reached me late and has not been used to a great extent.
KCT, chapter III, the Abhiśeka-pāṭala, has been translated by Andresen without the VP. KCT and VP of chapter IV have not been translated, but Wallace has translated and summarized some verses (2001). KCT and VP of chapter V have been translated partly by Hartzell and some verses by Wallace (2001).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


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

Sanskrit:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aīo ye paramādibuddhan na janānti te nāmasaṅgītin na janānti/}
\text{ye nāmasaṅgītin na janānti te vajradhara-jñānakāya na janānti/}
\text{ye vajradharajñānakāyan na janānti te mantrayānaṃ na janānti/}
\text{ye mantrayānaṃ na janānti te sāṃsārānāḥ sarve vajradhurahagavato}
\text{mārgaraḥitāḥ / evam paramādibuddham mokṣārthibhiḥ sacchiśyaiḥ}
\text{śrotavyam sadgurūnā desayitavyam iti.} 463
\end{align*}
\]

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

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


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

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

\(^{466}\) Padma-dkar-po, Chos-‘byung, fol.68; Csoma de Körös. 1833:57-59 repr. 1911:21-23.
age-holders of the Kalacakra, the Indian siddha Naropa (or Nādo, Nādapāda or Kalacakrapāda the Younger) wrote it over the door of Nālanda monastery in order to provoke a debate on the teachings that he had acquired and that obviously were new to the monk community of Nālanda. In these later chos-'byungs (religious histories) of Kalacakra it is told that Naropa won the debate and the community accepted the new set of teachings. Later, the same passage has been translated by Helmut Hoffmann, John Newman and David Reigle.467 There is an interesting alteration by Padma dkar-po in the first two lines of the quotation. He writes Kalacakra instead of Nāmasaṅgīti and therefore Csoma de Körös translates the passage as follows: “He, that does not know the chief first Buddha, (Ādibuddha), knows not the circle of time (Kalacakra). He that does not know the circle of time, does not know the exact enumeration of divine attributes (nāmasaṅgīti).” 468 The rest of the text seems to be identical with the Vimalaprabhā. Why did Padma dkar-po make this interpolation? A possible interpretation is that in the 16th century the concept of Kalacakra was more important than Ādibuddha, although it should have been obvious for a Tibetan commentator that the word Paramādibuddha in this context represents the mūlatantra text.

As a result, this text has been published several times but not sufficiently analysed, something that is presented below.469 First, the Paramādibuddha in the Vimalaprabhā context, is the name of the lost Mūlatantra. The quotation is found in the 6th udāesa of the Vimalaprabhā and is called “A summary of the mandalas, abhiṣekas and so forth,” and it comments on verse I: 2 of the Śrī Kalacakra where king Sucandra requests Buddha Śākyamuni to explain all the subjects found in the tantra. The citation in question is placed at the very end of this subchapter; just before it stands the following lines: “This process of purification that gives the mahāmudrā siddhi,470 that is manifest in the Paramādibuddha, was written down in a book. Knowing the superior aspirations of the minds of the fortunate sentient beings north of the Śūtā River, the Bhagavān taught it and Vajrapāni471 wrote it down in a book. The Bhagavān made the Nāmasaṅgīti authoritative, and since it frees all beings from doubt, he rightly taught Vajrapāni the definitive meaning of all the mantra systems of the Mantrayāna from the Nāmasaṅgīti.”472

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

468 Csoma de Körös. 1833:58; (1911:21-22).
469 Lately a new attempt to analyse the influence of the MNS on the Kalacakra Tantra has been made by Vesna A. Wallace (Wallace. 2001:18-21).
470 The siddhis (special powers) of mahāmudrā (the tantric technique of mahāmudra). For the meaning of this word see Newman. 1987a:231, 280-81,287,367,373,410,411.
471 From the context, it is clear that Bhagavān stands for Śākyamuni Buddha and Vajrapāni for the king Sucandra Vajrapāni is the bodhisattva belonging to the Aksobhya family among the five jinas.
473 Newman. 1987a:231,279,280,287,410. The fourth state is the state of bliss that goes beyond the normal bliss. It is a state of ecstasy sometimes described in erotic terms.
tion. It is consequently explicitly written that Sucandra wrote down the Paramādibuddha copying the words of Śākyamuni Buddha, who in his turn based the teachings of Kālacakra on the [Mañjuśrī]-nāma-saṅgīti. Actually the definitive meaning (skt. niśārtha) of all the teachings in the Mantrayāna is contained in the Nāma-saṅgīti. The importance of the Nāma-saṅgīti has consequently been very great. Especially in Tibet, it seems that it was learnt by heart by almost every fully ordained monk.\(^{475}\)

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

\[
anādinidhano buddha ādibuddho niranvayaḥ / jñānakācaksur amalo
jñānamūrtis tathgataḥ // 100/\]

Without beginning or end, he is Buddha, ādibuddha without causal connection.\(^{477}\)

Stainless with his unique eye of wisdom, he is embodied wisdom, the Tathāgata.

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

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

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


\(^{480}\) Bu-ston. 1966a:369. Bu-ston uses *rigs-med* in his commentary.
"He [the Bhagavān Śākyamuni Buddha] is the sole cakravartin of the three realms, the Paramādibuddha without causal connection (skt. niranvaya, tib. rigs-med). He is the Bhagavān Kālacakra.\textsuperscript{481}

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

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

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

\begin{quote}
catuṣkoṭivinirmuktam natvā kāyaṁ mahāsukham //
uddhṛtam mañjuvajreṇa ādibuddhān nirayayāt /
lakṣanāṃ buddhakāyānāṁ catuṇāṁ tad vitanyate //\textsuperscript{484}
\end{quote}

Tib. for line 2 above:

\begin{quote}
Dang-po'iangs-rgyasrigs-medlas / jam-pa'i
rdo-rjesrab-phyung-ba\textsuperscript{485}
\end{quote}

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

\textsuperscript{481} Vimalaprabhā Vol.I. 1986:12, line 5-8; Bu-ston. 1965a:317,line7; Newman. 1987a:245. See this work, p.106.
\textsuperscript{482} Davidson. 1981:18 and note 52. He makes a good summary of the relationship between Vajrapāni and Vajradhara.
\textsuperscript{484} Vimalaprabhā Vol.III. 1994:15-17.
\textsuperscript{485} Vimalaprabhā in Tibetan as edited and commented upon by Bu-ston. 1965c:1-294 entitled: “Ye-šes-kyi lehuḥi hgrel mchan: Annotations on the Jñānapāṭala.” This quotation is from p.80.
This is a very interesting verse in several ways and will be further treated below (p.154). It should be noted that Mañjuvajra is another name for Mañjuśrī-yasas, and in this context it is said that he is a sort of first emanation from the Adibuddha who makes evident the four bodies of the Buddha from the Ādibuddha (the mūla-tantra), who itself seems to be inactive and identified with the highest of the four bodies named, only in this context, Mahāsukhakāya. Later in this part of the Vimalaprabhā, which treats more specifically the four bodies in the Kālacakra, it is called Sahajakāya or Śuddhakāya.\textsuperscript{486}

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

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

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

\textbf{3.2.2. The concept of Time (kāla) in the Kālacakra-tantra.}

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

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


\textsuperscript{489} Davidson. 1981:18, note 52.

pañcāla), the division of time in small parts is treated. It is also written that the world emerges out of Time (Kāla).

KCT I:4 follows:

\[
\text{kālāc chūṇyesu vāyuvalanajaladharā dvīpaśailaḥ samudrāḥ}
\]
\[
\text{ṛksāṇindvarkātārāgraṇarṣayo devabhūtās ca nāgāḥ}
\]
\[
\text{tiryagyoniś catuirdhā vivedhamahitale mārakās ca nārakās ca}
\]
\[
\text{sambhūtāḥ sūnayamadhye lavanam iva jale tv anḍajīś ca nāḍamadhye //4//}
\]

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

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

• kālā cakras.

Time, the first god, hastens onwards. Time begot yonder heaven, Time also (begot) these worlds...Time created the earth...”

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

In Nāropa’s Sekoddeśatīkā, an analysis of the word Kālacakra and consequently the concept of kāla, which here means time, can be found. Also upāya, the means needed for the liberation and karunā, the universal compassion with the living creatures for the sake of which the absolute reveals itself is analysed. Cakra stands for the world and prajñā, the wisdom connected with śūnya, the void. Together the two concepts are Kālacakra, the union of prajñā and upāya which leads to the absolute, the Ādibuddha.\textsuperscript{500} In the tantra there is also a system of calculation of the calendar that was subsequently generally used in Tibet after the traditional date of its introduction, 1027.\textsuperscript{501}

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

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

\textsuperscript{498} See below p.181.
\textsuperscript{499} VP vol. III. 1994:88, line 27-28; below p.185.
\textsuperscript{500} Sekoddesatīkā. 1941:22-23.
\textsuperscript{501} This is best treated in Schuh. 1973. The verses in the first chapter of the KCT treating this subject have been translated and commented upon by Banerjee. 1959. See also the unpublished doctoral dissertation by Winfried Petri on Tibetan astronomy.
\textsuperscript{502} I use Shambhala as it is written in the Tibetan tradition of translating the Kālacakra texts.
\textsuperscript{503} Reigle. 1986.
verses. The country has been known as Shambhala as it is the Tibetan version of the legend of Shambhala which has been known. Until recently, the Sanskrit texts were not as well known.

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

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

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

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

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506 See for example Bailey. 1951, index.
511 Newman. 1987a
512 Hartzell. 1997:991-1002.
Kālapāvatara, gives quite a different version of many stories.\textsuperscript{513} It is probable though, that the Shambhala tradition has its origin outside the context of the Kālacakra texts. It could be borrowed from the Purāṇas according to Newman.

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

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

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

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

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

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

I have here condensed the content of the verses KCT 150-170:
Verses 150-152: First is a description of how Shambhala is placed in the Buddhist cosmological theory. In the middle of the continent, Jambudvīpa, the mountain Kailāśa is to be found. On the right side of the mountain is Shambhala, which has ten million villages. 100,000 villages form a district. Sambhala is spelled with a simple S- in the Sanskrit origi-\

\textsuperscript{513} Bernbaum. 1985:112-118.
nal texts. The conclusion is that the original name was Sambhala. Interestingly enough, in the Tibetan translation the spelling “Shambhala” is already to be found. This might depend on several factors. Perhaps later editions of the text have been changed to Sh- in the Tibetan text. Or perhaps it was written as Shambhala from the beginning, something that could be a sign of an independent Tibetan spelling of “Shambhala”. This is difficult to know. Newman has communicated that probably Tibetans followed Indian pronunciation. I will follow the Tibetan tradition and write Shambhala as this is the historically used designation of this “mythic” country.

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

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

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

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

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

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515 Hoffmann. 1969/72.
517 Bu-ston. 1965a
518 See Kalki-purāṇa, the text in Sanskrit has been edited, but there is at present no translation into English.
Verse 159: This verse contains information about the Raudra Kalkin as the 25th king. He shall give peace to the holy men, but he shall annihilate the race of the barbarians. He is called Cakrin and shall ride on a horse with a short sword in his hand and he shall wipe out all the enemies.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Bu-ston states in his commentary that Brahmap and Suresa are the sons of the Cakrin and can be placed on the same level as Manjuśrī and Lokeśvara. According to mKhas-grub-rje, Lokeśvara is going to be the lord south of the river Śitā in the ordinary world and Manjuśrī is going to be lord in the Kailāśa area.

Verse 166: Another battle that is to take place later is described. Then the lord of three existences shall cut short the whole of the barbarian teachings. Then, after 800 years and when he has established Brahmap, he is going to the place of happiness and after that the partition in castes is going to reappear. Consequently, humanity is going to continue to exist in good condition after the fight between Kalkin and his enemies, but after 850 years there will be a new fight with the barbarians and another good age is going to reappear on earth. This is a good example of the traditional Indian cyclic way of thinking.

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

Verse 167: The ruler of gods together with the twelve rulers shall again go out and fight and destroy the barbarians. When the barbarian dharma is destroyed, the Cakrin is going to the place of bliss (mahāsukha). Brahmap and Suresa are going to be behind and in front (in Shambhala). The tradition lineages from Brahmap are going to be divided into many lineages. The new fight, which is going to take place a long time after the first, is described. In these two verses it is actually expressed that there is going to be another fight between the barbarians and the Cakrin, so history will repeat itself, according to the prophecy.

In verses 168-169 the cosmic periods are described: The barbarian dharma is going to last for about 1800 years. In our way of calculating time, this would mean the years around the year 2430, which fits well with the appearance of the Raudra Kalkin and the fight with the barbarian mlecchas. The information in verse 167 is even less comprehensible, as it is foretold that the mlecchadharma is going to come back after 800 years. In contrast, the Buddhadharma in verse 169 is said to last for a total of 21,600 years.

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

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

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

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

520 Bu-ston. 1965a
521 mKhas-grub-rje. 1983:1104, line 2 – 1106, line 2.
KCT: The mleccha-ruler is the sin (pāpa). VP: The mleccha-king Duṣṭa in the outer is in the body the sinful mind.

KCT: Kṛṣṇmati is the producer of disaster.

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

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

In KCT II:49 follows:

KCT: Aśvatthaṁā is ignorance. VP: That which in the outer was Aśvatthaṁā becomes in the body the appearance of ignorance (avidya).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

KCT: The victorious possesses the way to liberation.

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

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

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

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

KCT: The earth is the agglomeration of objects.

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

- The elements exist also as a basis also for the body, not only for matter in the world.

KCT: In the outer was the two sons of the Cakrin, Brahmā and Sūreśa. They are in the rear as well as in the front.

VP: He who in the rear district (= Shambhala, on the back side of Kailāśa) was a teacher of dharma became in a front district (= the ordinary world, on the front side of Kailāśa) one who wishes the annihilation of the mlecchadharma (the barbarian dharma).

- This means that Brahmā and Sūreśa can move between the world of Shambhala and our ordinary world.

In KCT II:50 follows:

KCT: The ruler of the world is rajas (the female menstruation blood) and bodhicitta (the male semen).
VP: He is *Mañjuśrī*, the ruler of the world, the victor over the three worlds, he becomes in the own body *bodhicitta* and *rajas* and a producer of bliss; and he takes a vow to aspire on Buddhahood.

The *bodhisattva* *Mañjuśrī* has a very significant role in the *Kālacakra tantra*. Many of the main figures in the *tantra* are incarnations of *Mañjuśrī*. Here he unites the male and female in himself.

KCT: *Brahmā*, etc., and the clans are the many pure Buddhas.

VP: In the rear district, those who belonged to the *Brahmā* etc.-families becomes many pure Buddhas in the own body and the proper nature of the *skandhas*, *āyatanas* and *dhātus*.

There were in *Shambhala* a number of clans who ruled the country and they correspond to the *skandhas*, etc., in the body.

KCT: The fight with the *mleccha*-kings is actually taking place in the body of human beings. That which in the *Makha* district is an illusory battle with the barbarians is no battle.

VP: The fight takes place in the body because the battle with the *mleccha* king is tied to the body, in the middle of the body and because the outer is the form of illusion and the *mleccha*-battle in the *Makha*-kingdom is not the battle.

(End of the abbreviated version of the story of Shambhala)

A radical conclusion is given in this verse. The fight is really in the body and is a way of liberation in the Buddhist sense. In the texts, it is obvious that the inner fight has a higher value of truth than the outer. Reading what is actually written in the text, it is said that the fight in the outer world is not going to take place. The famous eschatological battle between the king of *Shambhala*, the *Kalkin*, will not take place and instead it is a method of meditation. The inner way with liberation and illumination is superior. But in the end, because *māyā* (the illusory world) is mentioned in this context, it is possible to imagine that what happens in the outer world indeed is an illusion, but it still has a certain value of reality. The explanation written in these verses is normally not given in the *Kālacakra* initiations where much stress is laid on the point that everybody who participates in the initiation is going to take part in the eschatological battle by the side of the twenty-fifth king of *Shambhala*, the *Raudra Kalkin* in the year 2325. Here it seems rather to be a method of meditation.

Perhaps one could say that in the Tibetan tradition the eschatological content of the text has been stressed more than the meditative content of these verses, or perhaps the eschatological content is used in the meditational practice.
There exists a concept in Buddhism which is not much investigated by western scholars. This is the concept of Ādibuddha. It is actually well known in Tibetan Buddhism, and is at the basis of the philosophy of the bKa'-brgyud-pa and the rNying-ma-pa, because of the Ādibuddha figures of Vajradhara and Samantabhadra. They are principles from where everything has its origin. In other Buddhist countries it can also be found, especially in Japan where Mahāvajradhara can be seen as an Ādibuddha figure. Also among the Newar Buddhists of Nepal the concept is known, but more in history than today. I will begin by making an overview of earlier research on the Ādibuddha concept.

4.1. EARLIER RESEARCH ON THE ĀDIBUDDHA CONCEPT.

In the year 1828, B.H. Hodgson published the first account of the Ādibuddha-concept by a western scholar. He presented the Ādibuddha as a sort of creator god that stood above the four tathāgatas, based on the Nepalese material, especially the Svayambhū purāṇa, which was written in the 10th century following the model of the Hindu purāṇas. This āśvarika system of Nepal had the idea of an Ādibuddha that was at the origin of the five jīnas and had its origin from the “void” (śūnyatā).

Hodgson’s articles have lately been much criticised lately and perhaps the teachings described by Hodgson were not at all as systematically theistic as he wanted them to be. D. Gellner has written an article where he tried to sort out the problems concerning Hodgson’s sources for the Nepalese schools of Buddhism and the Ādibuddha-concept. His conclusion was that there exists a concept of Ādibuddha in the Nepalese Buddhism, but that it is not as “theistic” as has been suggested. The concept is more pantheistic and can hardly be compared to the monotheistic concept of semitic religions. Consequently, the Ādibuddha concept is just a part of Newar Buddhism. Many times it is nothing more than a temporal meaning of the word as the “first Buddha”. The Svayambhū Purāṇa evidently had some connection with the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. The text Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti (MNS) was known and taught at the time of the writing of the Svayambhū purāṇa. As this text (MNS) was also very important for the Kālacakra system and one of the main Kālacakra lineages that reached Tibet had its origin in Nepal, namely the Rva tradition from the pandit Samantaśrī in the last quarter of the 11th century, one can at least put the question if the Svayambhū purāṇa did not have some influence on the Kālacakra tradition.

523 de La Vallée Poussin. 1908:94. Mitra. 1971:245-255. The latter is a good summary of the text.
525 Toh.360.
of Ādibuddha as it was practised in Tibet? The Nepalese centre for Mañjuśrī is at the Mañjuśrī-caitya near the great stupa of Svayambhū.\[527\]

As early as in 1833 Alexander Csoma de Körös wrote a short article on the Kālacakra Tantra where he mentioned the concept of Ādibuddha in the Kālacakra-tantra parting from the chos-'byung by the 16th century historian Padma-dkar-po.\[528\] He translated a part of the text which actually has its origin in the Vimalaprabhā commentary,\[529\] something that Csoma de Körös was not aware of. When in the text it is said that: 

"He that does not know the chief first Buddha (Ādibuddha), knows not the circle of time (Kālacakra),"\[530\] it is probably only a reference to the root-text called Paramādībuddha. The text does not say anything about the properties of the Ādibuddha.

This article and the articles by Hodgson opened the way for western researchers seeing another kind of “theistic” buddhism.\[531\] As Louis de la Vallée Poussin remarks, the Nepalese concept of Ādibuddha did not have the tantric female counterpart, as was the normal case in Tibet.\[532\] To conclude, in the 19th century the Ādibuddha concept was seen as more theistic than research has shown in more recent years.

The article that was to remain for a long time the main reference on the Ādibuddha concept was written, in 1908, by Louis de La Vallée Poussin for the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics (ERE).\[533\] In this article, he tries to analyse the four different systems of Ādibuddha, the aśvarikas of Nepal, Ādibuddha in the text Karandavyūha, Ādibuddha in the Kālacakra and the tantric Ādibuddha as Vajradhāra/Vajrasattva. He also gives a short treatment to the first mention of Ādibuddha in the Buddhist texts. This is in the Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgiti (Toh.360), where Mañjuśrī is called Ādibuddha (verse 55,100)\[534\]

The aśvarikas had, according to Hodgson, an idea about the Ādibuddha as unoriginated and existing by itself (skt. svayambhū). By the power of his dhyāna (“meditation”) he created the five jinas (or dhyānibuddhas) Vairocana, Aksobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi. This Ādibuddha can be seen as a creator god and thereby an expression of a theistic thought-system.

Concerning the mention of Ādibuddha in the Kārandavyūha\[535\] text, is a text mainly treating Avalokiteśvara, de la Vallée Poussin only remarks that there is a prose version in Tibetan translation from the 7th century that does not mention the Ādibuddha.

The later verse version contains a mention of Ādibuddha, but then it is not before the other Ādibuddha systems.\[536\] Moritz Winternitz took up the question some years later and reached the conclusion that there is no evidence that there existed a theistic Ādibuddha.

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\[527\] Brough. 1948:334.
\[528\] Csoma de Körös. 1833.
\[529\] Vimalaprabhā vol. I. 1986:52. Chapter I, subchapter 6.2. I treat this text in detail in chapter 3.2.1., p.72.
\[531\] Remusat. 1831:25,152; Burnouf. 1876:468,581.
\[532\] de La Vallée Poussin. 1908:94.
\[533\] de La Vallée Poussin. 1908:93-100.
\[534\] de La Vallée Poussin. 1908:95.
\[535\] Kārandavyūha 1873.
\[536\] Toh.360. Translated by Wayman. 1985:93 and Davidson. 1981:30,57. I have discussed this place in chapter three.
concept in India before the 10th century. The evidence in Karanḍavyuha is not valid as the poetical version is much later.\textsuperscript{537}

He then finds five antecedents to the Ādibuddha system. Among them, he notes the doctrine of the three bodies and the five "Dhyānibuddhas" (now called the five jinas) and he then tries to locate these systems doctrinally and historically. In my work with the Kālacakra texts,\textsuperscript{s I have found the system of the four bodies very useful for analysing the Ādibuddha concept. The fourth body can be seen as a link to Ādibuddha, or can even be considered equal to this concept. de La Vallée Poussin does not mention the fourth body but connects the dharmakāya with Ādibuddha. In the Kālacakra, it is definitely the fourth body that is connected with the Ādibuddha.

Louis de La Vallée Poussin then writes about the five jinas to whom sometimes a sixth, the former bodhisattva Vajrasattva is added. Amitābha is sometimes the foremost of the five, otherwise the central jina is Vairocana. In the third part of his article, de La Vallée Poussin discusses the Ādibuddha concept and makes the following statement: "Harmony was attained in various ways, either by raising to the presidency one of the five Buddhas, usually Vairocana, or by interposing a sixth person, whether Mañjuśrī, or Vajradhara, or merely the Ādibuddha not otherwise defined."\textsuperscript{538}

In the Kālacakra can also be found a system of six jinas, the four in each direction and two in the middle. The number six is very important in the Kālacakra context. The body also has six cakras in the Kālacakra system, in contrast to Hindu Tantrism where there are seven cakras. Ādibuddha is called jinapati (KCT V:243), which means that he in some way rules or is at the origin of the jinas. The word jinapati is found at least sixty times in the laghutantra (KCT). The word is used mainly for a concept transcending the five jinas. To conclude, de La Vallée Poussin writes that the Ādibuddha system consists of superimposing on the five or six Buddhas (Vajrasattva included) a Being who, however invisible and inactive he may be in principle, is nevertheless a god.

A scholar who had some influence on later research,\textsuperscript{539} especially in India, is Charles Eliot who in 1921 made some comments on the Ādibuddha and the Kālacakra Tantra. After making the remark that the Kālacakra marks the extreme point of degeneration in Buddhism, he proclaims the theory that the Kālacakra and Ādibuddha doctrines represents the last effort of Central Asian Buddhism to contend with the Muslims. Instead of denying the bases of Islam, it tried to show that monotheism could also be found in Buddhism. Furthermore, he claimed that the Ādibuddha doctrine in the Kālacakra was only a variant of the Hindu idea that the Supreme Being became male and female for the purpose of producing the universe.\textsuperscript{540} This evaluation of these doctrines was part of a line of western research on India and Tibet that at the time was making strong statements of condemnation towards all kind of tantric practice and philosophy. Concerning Tibetan Buddhism, L.A. Waddell made similar judgements on Tibetan religion.\textsuperscript{541} Eliot has been surpassed by modern research having access to the living Tibetan tradition in a way that was inconceivable before the exodus of Tibetan lamas from 1959 and onwards. Eliot seems to have misinterpreted

\textsuperscript{537} Winternitz. 1920:238-239.
\textsuperscript{538} de La Vallée Poussin. 1908:99.
\textsuperscript{539} See for example Hazra. 1986:4-5.
\textsuperscript{540} Eliot. 1921:173, 386-388.
\textsuperscript{541} Waddell. 1972 (1895):131.
the basis of the Ādibuddha doctrines in the Kālacakra. The philosophy of the male and female principles are quite orthodox mahāyāna/mādhyamika philosophy of upāya and prajñā, and there is logical deduction to be found in this philosophy.

An interesting article was written by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya in 1923. He analysed the concept of Vajradhara in two phases. He wrote that up to the beginning of the 10th century Vajradhara was an abstract idea. He then presented the etymology of the word Vajradhara, which means “holder of the vajra (thunderbolt)”. Vajra in this context can stand for Śūnya, so actually Vajradhara means “holder of the Void” and in that sense to be in Nirvāṇa. Consequently, in order to be a Vajradhara one must have reached the goal in Buddhist meditation, the Void (Śūnyatā) or Nirvāṇa. Vajradhara did not have a form. He had reached the formless realms beyond the Akaniśṭha heaven where the jinas are dwelling.

Bhattacharyya then stated that the concept of Vajradhara changed with the Kālacakra Tantra in the 10th century and also with the appearance of the Svayambhū Purāṇa at about the same time. Then he quotes the famous place in the Vimalaprabhā where it quotes what Tilopa wrote about Kālacakra over the door in the Nālanda monastery. Bhattacharyya also published an important book that successfully treated the iconography.

Carelli summarized the arguments of Nāropa on the Ādibuddha in his edition of the Sekoddesaṭṭikā. The Ādibuddha is the absolute itself, no more a manifestation of it. He is transcendent and still immanent and in his manifestation he divides himself into subject and object. Ādibuddha can be considered under two aspects, supreme compassion and unsubstantiality. Unsubstantiality since he is the denial of every existent thing and supreme compassion since he is moved to reveal himself by the infinite compassion that he feels for our beings which do not really exist.

The next important contribution to the study of the Ādibuddha concept was the article in the Encyclopaedia of Buddhism by G.P. Malalasekara, Shinten Sakai and Kanyū Kabese. Malalasekara mostly repeated what was written by de la Vallée Poussin and did not present much new material. About the Kālacakra he wrote that “there is thus nothing new or really important in the doctrines of the Ādi-Buddha, for to the Indian mind it is implied in the Trikāya doctrine of Buddhism, the Sambhogakāya being virtually a Hindu Deva and the Dharmakīya, the pantheos or Brahma.” He also stated that “The fundamental feature of this doctrine is that of a primordial Buddha from whom all other Buddhas are ultimately derived.” I will later discuss what is the basis of the Ādibuddha-theory in the Kālacakra Tantra. Suffice it to say that, considering his categoric statements, it seems that Malalasekara did not study the relevant texts.

S. Sakai wrote about the concept in more detail. Referring to the Nāmasaṅgīti and the Mahāvairocana-sūtra, he defined the Ādibuddha concept as follows: “the Ādi-Buddha is the highest spiritual doctrine, while it is also at the same time the highest material origin. It is the name for the essence-body which is not separate from either material or spiritual,
and is material and spiritual at the same time. It is eternal and imperishable. This is the origin of all things in the universe, because the universe is produced and developed by it. This is the one-great-life-body of the universe and is itself separate from both production and destruction. It is the origin of all things and exists in the inconceivable state. Everything is ruled by it. 

I have included this quotation because it gives a definition which is more elaborate and gives quite a good idea about what the Adibuddha doctrine could be, even in the Kālacakra context, although his reasoning about the material and the spiritual is somewhat difficult to understand. Sakai mentioned the Kālacakra Tantra and the importance of the doctrine there, but when quoting the inscription by Padma dKar-po already made known by Csoma de Körös, he seems not to have understood the text. 

Kanyu Kabese concluded the article on Ádibuddha, writing about Ādi-Buddha in Tibetan and Japanese Buddhism. He brought back the origin of the three and five “dhyāni-Buddhas” in the Mahāvairocana sutra and the Tatva-samgraha sutra respectively. From these doctrines evolved the concept of Adibuddha or Vajradhara, having its basis mainly in the Guhya-samāja tantra. The transcendental body, speech and mind represents by its nature an assembly of all the Buddhas and this was called the Great Vajradhara or the All-Buddha. Vajradhara is the essence (ātman) of the the Buddha-families, the Adibuddha, the body of wisdom (jñāna-kīya) and without beginning or end. This way of reasoning seems somewhat strange in the Tibetan context.

The reasoning of K. Kabese on the Japanese form of the Adibuddha concept is clearer. Ádibuddha is the Mahāvairocana Tathagata as the dharmakāya of the Six Great Ones (the “dhyani-Buddhas”). “All Buddhas, bodhisattvas and other incarnated beings are the reflected bodies, or reflexes, or the incarnate bodies of the Ādi-Buddha. The Ādi-Buddha is the “whole” Buddha and a dhyāni-Buddha is a “partial” Buddha, and they are respectively called “universal gate” and “one-gate”.” 

Kabese then refers to the difference between Tibetan and Japanese Adibuddha concepts. In the Tibetan tradition the Ádibuddha is Samantabhadra and Vajradhara and in the Japanese tradition, the Ádibuddha is the dharma-kāya, Vairocana. The reason for that according to Kabese is a difference in the interpretation of the Mahāvairocana sutra.

John Newman has a footnote in his dissertation where he compares a passage on Ádibuddha in the Vimalaprabhā to a commentary text to the Guhyasamāja Tantra called Vajramālā (the dating is difficult, but it should be long before the appearance of the Kālacakra texts) and in that way, the Adibuddha concept could be linked with the Kālacakra system long before it appeared openly. Newman suspects that this is a quotation from the Vimalaprabhā and in that way interpolated in the Vajramālā later, otherwise it would be a proof of that the Kālacakra Tantra is older, something that is not probable.

Several other scholars have written on the iconography of Ádibuddha. Alice Getty wrote quite extensively about the different manifestations of Adibuddha. Others were A.

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553 Newman. 1987a:354-355, note 48. For the content of the verse see also later in chapter 4 on VP I.4.
554 Getty. 1928.
Gordon, and, later, D.I. Lauf, Chögyam Trungpa, Lokesh Chandra and Wolfgang Schumann, who made an interesting systematic review of the different aspects of Ādibuddha. More recently, there have been works published on the iconography of Buddhism where Ādibuddha deities have a place.

The most recent and also the most important work on the Ādibuddha concept is the article by Günter Grönbold in 1992. He edited and translated two short works on the Ādibuddha in the Tibetan canon. As an introduction to the texts, he wrote, an overview of the Ādibuddha concept in the texts and in western research.

The earliest text where Grönbold found the word Ādibuddha is the *Mahāyāna-sūtra-laṅkārā* by Maitreyanātha (3rd or 4th century). He concluded that in this context Ādibuddha only signifies a pure chronological aspect. It was the first Buddha among many to come.

In the *Tattvasaṅgraha* text, Grönbold could not find any allusion to the Ādibuddha as said in the article in EB. In the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, the concept as purely temporal (the first Buddha) exists once more. Even in a Hindu text, Grönbold found one place where the Ādibuddha can be found, the *Gaudapāda-kārikā*. A temporal meaning of the word is obvious in that text. Next, the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* was examined. In this text the word Ādibuddha was not found, but the corresponding concept is there. The word *Bodhicittavajra* should be the *Vajradhara* and there seems to be a monotheistic and emanationist view expressed in the text. Grönbold found that it is not really an Ādibuddha concept. Next Grönbold treated the Ādibuddha concept in the *Mañjuśrī*-texts. Grönbold interpreted the famous place in MNS 100 as temporal, that is, that *Mañjuśrī* was enlightened from the beginning. The text does not state that he was a creator of the world. In a few other texts, Grönbold found that Ādibuddha simply could be interpreted as in Hinduism, that one god is exalted above the others and given very high epitheths.

Grönbold then made the first ever intent to clarify the Ādibuddha-concept in the *Kālacakra Tantra*. He quoted from both the *laghutantra* and the commentary *Vimalaprabhā*.

Studying these texts, I found approximately the same quotations and therefore I leave the detailed commentaries of Grönbolds interpretations to chapter four, below.

Grönbold arrived at the conclusion that Ādibuddha could mean different things in the Kālacakra context. It can be purely temporal, often it can stand only as the name of the Kālacakra texts, it can stand in an enumeration of Buddhas and bodhisattvas without any specified meaning and finally, it can stand as a personification of the highest principle which also implies that it can stand for the impersonal concepts of śūnya (the Void), Tathātā, Mahāsukha (the great Bliss), etc. I think that the concept can be more specific as

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shown later.\textsuperscript{562} Grönbold also studied some of the Tibetan works on the \textit{Kālacakra}, arriving at the conclusion that, concerning the \textit{Trikāya} system, \textit{Ādibuddha} has a position above the \textit{dharmakāya} concept. In some texts, it is obvious that \textit{Ādibuddha} actually represents the fourth body which is mostly called the \textit{svābhāvikakāya}. I later show that this can also be seen also in the basic texts. Finally, sometimes \textit{Ādibuddha} can stand for the historical \textit{Śākyamuni Buddha}, something that I have also found in the basic texts.\textsuperscript{563}

Grönbold then commented that the \textit{Ādibuddha} concept can also be found in other texts. Returning to Hodgson’s concept of \textit{Ādibuddha} in the Nepalese buddhism, Grönbold then made an analysis of his sources, the MNS, the \textit{Gunakaṇarāṇavyūha} and the \textit{Svayambhū-purāṇa}. As mentioned previously when discussing De La Vallée Poussin, the \textit{Karāṇḍavyūha} was a late version that mentioned the \textit{Ādibuddha}, that he was \textit{Svayambhū} and had created the world through meditation. The text is very late (11th century) and very syncretistic. Consequently, the \textit{Ādibuddha} concept was very influenced by Hinduism. This shows itself from the fact that it also had its origin in the \textit{Svayambhū-purāṇa}. The name itself is the type of name given to a Hindu text and the text itself is even later than the \textit{Karāṇḍavyūha}.\textsuperscript{564}

Finally, Grönbold noted that there existed a kind of Buddhist/Hindu syncretism in Java around year 1000. In that type of Buddhism, there is a mention of \textit{Ādibuddha} in one of the \textit{Vajrayāna}-texts. There, the concept was regarded as something “absolute” and having the principle of \textit{advaya} (non-dualistic). The concept was consequently more widely spread than expected.\textsuperscript{565}

It is not easy to find \textit{Ādibuddha} depicted in art before the Tibetan \textit{thang-kas} and sculpture depicting various forms of \textit{Ādibuddha} in later periods. Grönbold found some that are coronated and therefore, in many cases, is an \textit{Ādibuddha} figure. A better characteristic of \textit{Ādibuddha} is that his arms are crossed in order to symbolize the union of opposites (\textit{prajñā – upāya}; method and wisdom).\textsuperscript{566} No depiction of an early \textit{Ādibuddha} existed.

Grönbold also wrote another article on the concept of \textit{Ādibuddha}, “\textit{Weitere Adibuddha-Texte}”, where he has translated and commented upon three texts treating the \textit{Ādibuddha} concept.\textsuperscript{567} The texts were brought from Nepal by B.H. Hodgson in the 19th century. The texts are relatively late and treat the special form of Buddhism which exists in Nepal. The \textit{Ādibuddha} is there seen as an immanent form of the ultimate reality. Grönbold considered these teachings to be influenced by Hinduism and approaching a sort of monotheistic religion developing very late in Nepal. This form of \textit{Ādibuddha} is not the same as the concept which I have found in the \textit{Kālacakra Tantra}.

The latest contribution which treats the concept of \textit{Kālacakra} is Wallace in her recent work on the second chapter of the KCT.\textsuperscript{568} Wallace noted that the \textit{Ādibuddha} concept in the \textit{Kālacakra Tantra} is primarily related to the corresponding concept in the \textit{Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti}. \textit{Ādibuddha} is called the Primordial Buddha because he was the first to obtain

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\item Grönbold. 1992:124-128.
\item Grönbold. 1992:131-133.
\item Grönbold. 1992:133-134.
\item Grönbold. 1995.
\item Wallace. 2001.
\end{thebibliography}
Buddhahood by means of the unchanging bliss characterized by perfect awakening in a single moment. In the Vimalaprabhā the word ādi means “without beginning or end” and without origination and cessation. She stressed in her work that in the Kālacakra tradition, this refers to the “innate gnosis” (sahaja-jñāna) that pervades the minds of all sentient beings and stands as the basis for both samsāra and nirvāṇa. When the tantra speaks of the Adibuddha as the one who first attained perfect enlightenment by means of unchanging bliss, it is referring to the actual realization of one’s own sahaja-jñāna. Wallace’s conclusion was that Adibuddha refers to the ultimate nature of one’s own mind and to the one who has realized the innate nature of one’s own mind by means of purificatory practices.\(^{569}\) This interpretation of the Adibuddha concept is what can be found on for example, the International Kalachakra Network’s pages on the Internet and is the definition of the practitioner.\(^{570}\) I am not wholly convinced that this psychological interpretation is the only way of interpreting the concept. The texts themselves undoubtedly also contain the cosmological side of the Adibuddha concept. I will return to this discussion later.

Finally G. Toffin has done interesting work on the Newar Buddhists of the Kathmandu valley. For example, the city of Patan has a Vajrayāna Buddhist geography. The centre of the city was planned to host a stūpa for Vairocana, who is the central “Adibuddha” figure of the five jinas in the Néwar Buddhism. The five jinas are also worshipped with Vajrasattva as the Adibuddha, as is also the stūpa of Svayambhūnātha, which is at the origin of the Adibuddha idea.\(^{571}\)

4.2. THE ĀDIBUDDHA CONCEPT IN THE KĀLACAKRA TANTRA.

4.2.a. Introduction to the texts.

In this chapter, the following three texts will be treated: Paramādibuddha (P), Paramādibuddhoddhṛta Śrī Kālacakra-tantra-rāja (the laghutantra) (KCT), Vimalaprabhā (VP). For a description of these texts see chapter 3.1.

For this chapter I have also consulted the published translations especially the unpublished thesis by John Newman, The Outer Wheel of Time: Vajrayāna Buddhist Cosmology in the Kālacakra Tantra from 1987. He has translated the verses 1-27 and 128-170 of the first chapter of the KCT and the Vimalaprabhā. The translations in the chapter are by me with assistance from the late lecturer in Sanskrit Klas Hagren of the Department of Indology at Uppsala University. The Sanskrit of these two texts has been edited by B. Banerjee\(^{572}\) and J. Upadhyaya, S.Rinpoche, V.Dwivedi and S.S.Bahulkar\(^{573}\) in India and the Ti-

\(^{570}\) The International Kalachakra Network, www.kalachakranet.org
\(^{571}\) Toffin 2000:48-49, 68.
betan translation is found in the Tibetan Canon and in the complete works of Bu-ston.\textsuperscript{574} The complete chapter 1 of the KCT has also been translated to German by B. Banerjee.\textsuperscript{575} I have also used the translations of Wallace 1995 and Hartzell 1997.

4.2.b. Ādibuddha.

The word Ādibuddha itself is found in very few places in the text Śrī Kālacakra-tantra-rāja (KCT). The meaning of the concept Ādibuddha can be found in many more places in the text. The deity Kālacakra is actually, in some places, to be equalled with Ādibuddha. Quotations will be given later in the text.

The first mention of Ādibuddha is to be found in the very title of the tantra, Paramādibuddhodhṛta-Śrī- Kālacakra-tantra-rāja, which means that the text is drawn out of the original text which is called Paramādibuddha. This text is supposed to be the original lost mālatantra (root-tantra) and the title can be translated as “the supreme primordial Buddha.” but as the word ādi also can mean “the first” it can also mean ”the supreme first (original) Buddha”. This double sense of ādi is a regular theme in the Kālacakra texts. Most of the time the word Ādibuddha signifies the name of the text. At many other occasions it has a temporal meaning ”the Buddha who first reached enlightenment”.

In the Kālacakra system, the Ādibuddha-concept is central, although it is rarely mentioned under this name. Ādibuddha is expressed in the whole text as it is said in the Vimalaprabhā. The tantra text is expressive of the Kālacakra (god), and, as Kālacakra = Ādibuddha, the nature of Ādibuddha (god) is to be expressed (vācyā) and Ādibuddha expresses the tantra text.\textsuperscript{576} Consequently, essentially it would be necessary to resume the whole tantra text, but here a more practical approach was taken and I limited my research to the concept Ādibuddha as it is expressed in the text.

To begin, a repertory was made of all the places where I found the word Ādibuddha in the Śrī Kālacakra (KCT) and in the first chapter of the Great Commentary Vimalaprabhā (VP) and then I analysed the concepts. There is an introduction in the first chapter of the VP which is very interesting as it summarizes the ideology of the tantra. The concept of Ādibuddha has many different connotations in the texts, or rather, it is possible to deduce that there can be a kind of common concept behind the different terms which can be called “Ādibuddha” The different terms are as follows, according to Louis de La Vallée Poussin: Kālacakra, Vajrasattva, Vajradhara, Vajrakāya, Jinavarajanaka (the progenitor of the best of jinas), Jinajanaka (progenitor of jinas), Jinendra (jina-indra), jinapati (master of jinas), tribhuvanajanaka (progenitor of the three worlds), Śrī vajrī, Śrī janetṛ, tribhuvanajaninin, Vajravega (the fierce aspect), anāhata (indestructible), vajrayoga and viśvarūpa.\textsuperscript{577}

These terms are interpretations by de La Vallée Poussin and it could be questioned if they really express the Ādibuddha concept. The concept looses a great deal of its meaning.

\textsuperscript{574} KCT in Toh.362 and 1346. VP in Toh.845 and 1347. Bu-ston. 1965abcde.
\textsuperscript{575} Banerjee. 1959. An annotated translation without the VP commentary.
\textsuperscript{577} de La Vallée Poussin. 1908:95.
when it is so widely defined. In any case, it is clear from the context that there was something called Ādibuddha that existed at the time when the Kālacakra texts were written. The problem remains if there really exists a concept with this content and if there does exist a coherent concept of Ādibuddha in the texts or if there are many different concepts related to each other but not necessarily united?

The word Paramādibuddha is used in different ways in the Śrī-Kālacakra-tantra-rāja and the Vimalaprabhā. It can signify the Kālacakra maṇḍala, the Buddha Śākyamuni as Ādibuddha when he teaches the Kālacakra, the deity Kālacakra himself, and for the text Paramādibuddha, the mūlāntara itself.578 Paramādibuddha is another word for the mūlāntara and Ādibuddha can be a designation for the laghutantra or the mūlāntara. When mentioned in other contexts, the Kālacakra Tantra is often called the Ādibuddha Tantra.

4.2.1 Ādibuddha in the Śrī-Kālacakra-tantra-rāja (KCT) and the Vimalaprabhā (VP).

In this chapter, I treat the Ādibuddha-concept in the two texts KCT and VP. In spite of KCT being the basic text for the VP commentary, I will discuss them together. They were transferred together and the commentary is of great importance. I will treat them in the order of chapters, beginning with the first introductory chapters of the Vimalaprabhā commentary and then continuing with the verses of the KCT with the commentary.

4.2.1.a. Ādibuddha in the the Śrī Kālacakra-tantra-rāja (KCT) and the Vimalaprabhā (VP) commentary to chapter I - Lokadhātupāṭalāḥ - the chapter on the outer world.

The Vimalaprabhā commentary is, like the Śrī Kālacakra-tantra-rāja (KCT), divided into five chapters (paṭala) and a number of subchapters called “great brief accounts” (mahoddeśa). VP. I.1 is: Vimalaprabhā, chapter I (Lokadhātupāṭalā) and subchapter 1 (mahoddeśa).579 A considerable portion of the quotations are from the first chapter, it being a sort of introduction to the whole commentary containing many general ideas valid for the whole of the text. The first three mahoddeśa580 are introductory and there exists, for example, a table of contents for the whole VP text in the second subchapter (mahoddeśa).581

As a start some places in the Vimalaprabhā where the word Ādibuddha or Paramādibuddha clearly stands for the mūlāntara (the root-tantra) and nothing else will be mentioned.582

578 A good example of all these meanings can be found in the VP I.2 in VP vol.I. 1986:12; Newman. 1987a:245-246.

579 For details see the chapter “Survey of the contents of the ideas”.


582 Some technical information: The reference to the Kālacakra texts are as follows. The Śrī-Kālacakra-tantra-rāja (the laghutantra) has been edited in Sanskrit three times. First, the edition by Lokesh Chandra in 1966, then the edition by B.Banerjee in 1985 and lastly in the edition of the Vimala-

In the following, I present quotations from the KCT and the VP where the word Ādibuddha is a little more elaborated on and more information on the concept can be found. I begin with quoting the first lines of the first subchapter (mahoddeśa) of the first chapter Lokadhātupatāla of the Vimalaprabhā. It is the first of the three introductory subchapters of the VP. These verses are a type of homage to Kālacakra, Ādibuddha and others. This first subchapter is comprised of 102 verses giving homage to the content of the VP:

namah śrīkālacakrāya śūnyatākarunātmane /
tribhavotpattikṣayābhāvajñānajñeyaikamūrttaye //583

Homage to Kālacakra, who has as his content emptiness and compassion, without origination or annihilation of the three existences, who is regarding a consistent embodiment of knowledge and objects of knowledge as non-existent.584

This is probably a definition/homage to Kālacakra as the protective deity, the yidam. He is endless, without beginning, and śūnyatā and karunā, which are all also referring to the Ādibuddha concept. Another interpretation, which seems less probable from the context, is that the word Kālacakra here is referring to the text (KCT). The commentator then should be honoring the text. Referring to the first interpretation, the problem of the interpretation of the Ādibuddha concept has already been stated. Kālacakra is said to be eternal and consists of both emptiness and compassion. The same concept is later applied to the Ādibuddha. Is then the concept of Kālacakra equal to the concept of Ādibuddha? This question will be addressed later.

Another of the introductory verses of the first chapter of the VP is given below:

prabhā texts. The Vimalaprabhā texts have been edited in three Volumes. VP Volume I. 1986 contains chapter 1 and 2; VP vol.II (1994) contains chapter 3 and 4 and finally, VP Volume III contains chapter 5. I normally refer to the latest printed VP editions of both texts.

584 The following quotations from Vimalaprabhā, chapter I, subchapter 1 (VP I.1) have been translated by Newman. 1987a:221-227.
To the one embraced by the Bhagavati Prajña, the one who is aspectless although possessing aspect; to the one who has the bliss of the unchanging and who has abandoned the pleasures of laughter and so forth; to the progenitor of the Buddhas, without origination and annihilation, possessing the three bodies, rightly knowing the three times - the omniscient Bhagavân Paramâdibuddha, I worship that very non-duality.

Here various aspects of paramâdibuddha are being presented; non-duality, unchanging bliss, progenitor of the Buddhas, possessing the three bodies, knowing the three times, without origination and annihilation, with aspects though without aspects and omniscient. Here, for the first time, the main aspects of the Ādibuddha are clearly presented.

At the beginning of the verse his consort, Viśvamātā, is mentioned. When Kālacakra is embraced by his consort in the iconography, it is a representation of the two opposites prajña and upāya, male and female, etc. Is it here stated that Paramâdibuddha is Kālacakra? At the end of the verse it is said that Paramâdibuddha is the non-duality (advaya). How can that be consistent with the two statements in the same verse? I think that it is not a great problem as sometimes Kālacakra is identified with Ādibuddha/Paramâdibuddha and sometimes he is presented as one of the two polarity principles. The ambiguity of the concepts therefore is quite clear. The problem becomes even more complicated when one considers the concept of the fourth body Sahajakāya, and the concept of paramâkṣara, the supreme unchanging. I will return to this problem later.

The next concept is that of being aspectless although possessing aspect. This is the kind of contradictory statements very common in the mahāyāna philosophy. It is possibly a way of saying that there is something beyond the aspects.

The concept of “progenitor of the Buddhas” is also somewhat enigmatic. By the Buddhas in these texts and referring to the Kālacakra maṇḍala are probably meant the five jinas. They consequently have their origin in the Paramâdibuddha. In the centre of the Kālacakra maṇḍala, the deity Kālacakra is normally depicted as being embraced by his female consort. They represent the union of opposites and the final goal of mahāsukha or śūnyatā. Sometimes Akṣobhya and Vairocana are situated in the centre of the maṇḍala. The other four jinas, Amitābha, etc., have their place in the four directions. Consequently, when it is stated that Paramâdibuddha is the progenitor of the Buddhas, it is probably meant that he is at the origin of the five jinas, corresponding to the concept of Ādibuddha as being a transcendental original principle. It is not said that Paramâdibuddha creates the Buddhas, and in consequence the world, but they have originated from the Ādibuddha.

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585 Api from the Tibetan kyang.
586 Vimalaprabhā. I.1. in VP vol.1 1986:1, line 3.
587 From the context it seems that here is meant the female consort of Kālacakra called Viśvamātā (the all-mother). The two are mostly depicted in the yab-yum (father-mother) position in the iconography.
Paramādibuddha is not created and also without a final ending. The same characteristics, although not with the same words were given to Kālacakra in the preceding verse. Ādibuddha consequently, has as one of “his” main characteristics being eternal, beyond the changing world. This is, of course, not a new idea in Buddhism. It was Śākyamuni Buddhas main philosophical question from the beginning. Suffering (duḥkha) is that which changes. Nirvāṇa is to go beyond that which changes. Is there then something new with the Ādibuddha concept in this respect, or is it just another designation of nirvāṇa, or as it is designated in later Buddhism, emptiness (śūnyatā) or the great bliss (mahāsukha)? There seems to be some difference in the meaning as in early Buddhism it seems as though nirvāṇa does not have much to do with the beginning of the world, however Ādibuddha has the quality of being at the origin of the world. Consequently one cannot say that Ādibuddha can be equalled to nirvāṇa. The principle of Ādibuddha stands for a different sort of timelessness.

Paramādibuddha is also said to possess the three bodies which probably means the three trikāya system of Dharmakīya, Sambhogakīya and Nirmāṇakīya. This is not really in line with the teaching of four bodies of the Buddha which is taught in general in the Kālacakra texts. The solution to this is evidently to consider that Paramādibuddha himself is considered the fourth body, or, as is expressed in other mahāyana theories of the four bodies, the fourth body is a sort of essence of the other three and therefore not always mentioned.588

Knowing the three times, past, present and future, is another of the concepts associated with the Paramādibuddha. It is a state of being beyond time which in extrapolation could imply a theory of predestination. Paramādibuddha knows the future and consequently the future must in some way exist. It implies the concept of omniscience also mentioned here. To predict the future is nothing new in Buddhist philosophy. Buddha Śākyamuni made many prophecies. The very basic Kālacakra text (KCT) is a sort of prophecy because one can find in it many historical events and personalities like Christ and Mohammed whose existences were predicted by Buddha long before their historical existence. Consequently, knowledge of the three times was not a privilege of Paramādibuddha alone.

Omniscience (sarvajñā) is a quality given to Ādibuddha in several places in the texts. It could mean something in the way of thinking just described. By knowing everything at all times, one is all-knowing.

The non-duality concept (advaya) is something mentioned repeatedly as a qualification of ādibuddha or paramādibuddha. In mahāyāna philosophy, it is beyond prajñā and upāya (wisdom/method; male/female). This is a key concept of Ādibuddha because he must, by definition, be beyond the dualities in the world.

The next quotation is also from the first page of the VP.:

buddhāṃ simhāsanaṇaṁ trībhuvanamahitaṁ vajrayogam viśuddham
tatvam kāyaprabhedaṁ abhavabhavagataṁ śoḍaśākāram ekam /
jñānajñeyaikabhiṣataṁ jinaṇaraśamayaṁ dvādaśākāram angañ ā
tattvārthaṁ bodhicitāṁ jinaṇaśiṣapotadāṁ kālacakram praṇamyā // 589

The Buddha sitting on the lion throne, the pure vajrayoga worshipped in

the three existences, a single reality having sixteen aspects due to the
division in bodies (kāyaprabheda), who has gone beyond
existence and origination, the unity of knowledge and objects of knowledge,
an assembling of what is the best of the jinas, the true aim having twelve
aspects due to the parts, bodhicitta, the thunderbolt abode of the jina.
I worship this Kālacakra.

Here allusion is probably made to Buddha Śākyamuni as teaching the Kālacakra. When
teaching, Buddha is transformed into Kālacakra and sits on the lion throne. The subject of
the connection between the teachings of the four bodies (kāyas) of the Buddha and the Ādibuddha is also touched on as sixteen aspects of the bodies, which makes four aspects on
each body.

Next, still on the first page of the VP, is the very introductory verse of homage to the Ādibuddha which for the first time in the text gives the important characteristics of the word:

sarvajño jñānakāya jinapatisahajo dharmakāyas tathā
sambhogo nirmānakāyo 'pi dinakaravapuḥ padmapatrāyatākṣaḥ /
yogāḥ śuddho vimokṣaśaṁ gatahavabhavaṁ kāyaśākṣṭātāghaṁ
prajñopayādvayo yo nṛsuradanunatas taṁ praṇamyaādibuddham // 591

Just like [he is] omniscient, the jñānakāya, the master of jinas, the
sahaja [kāya], and the dharmaṇa, [he is] the sambhoga [kāya] and the
nirmānakāya. [He is] an embodiment of the day-maker [and has his]
eyes spread out like lotus petals, [he is] in the pure union gone beyond
origination and dissolution through the liberations of the body, speech, mind
and passion, [he is] non-dual wisdom and method [and] praised by gods,
men, and demons. I worship this Ādibuddha //

This is the most explicit reference to Ādibuddha in the Vimalaprabhā, The author relates
all the aspects as a homage at the beginning of the text. He gives several aspects of the
Ādibuddha as follows:
- Omniscient (sarvajñā) – someone who knows everything in the world. See above
  (p.104).
- The knowledge body (jñānakāya) – this qualification is given at several places in the
text to Ādibuddha and can sometimes be regarded as another designation of the fourth
of the four bodies of the Buddha, normally designated in the Kālacakra texts as Saha-
jakāya. It is also sometimes given as a personification of the wisdom of Buddha as it is
described in the fifth chapter of the Kālacakra-tantra-rāja, the Jñāna-patalaḥ (the

1987a:376-377. The aspect are the four joys (ananda) connected in different ways with jñāna (wisdom), citta
(mind), speech and body. All these aspects also have a connection with the theory of the four kāyas (bodies),
who here are called Sahajakāya, Dharmaṇa, Sambhogakāya and Nirmānakāya. The sixteen realities are
592 The sun.
chapter on knowledge). Jñāna in that chapter seems to be the knowledge needed in order the reach the state of the wisdom of the supreme unchanging bliss (paramākṣarasukhajñāna).

- The master of jinas, that is, the sahajakāya – the concept of sahaja is very complex in Buddhist tantric philosophy.\(^{593}\) Kvaerne translates it as “simultaneously-born”, the literal meaning of the word. In this context, it can suffice to say “innate”. The master of jinas related to the concept of sahajakāya probably signifies that Ādibuddha is at the origin of the five jinas (see above, p.102) and not himself produced by anyone else. Jinapati is a common word in the Kālacakra texts and at several places it is identified with the Ādibuddha concept.\(^{594}\) It can even be said to be one of the main words for denoting the concept of Ādibuddha in the Kālacakra texts as the word “Ādibuddha” is extremely rare.

- Then are mentioned the other three bodies of the Buddha: dharma-, sambhoga-, and nirmānakāya which, in this context, only means that as the world is manifesting itself in more non-subtler ways, it is still the Ādibuddha who is behind this development. This problem will be treated in the chapter on the four bodies.

- The day-maker (sun) (dinakaraṇavapūrṇa) – this designation is perhaps only there in order to connect Ādibuddha with the most powerful force in nature, the sun. It also represents the sambhogakāya.

- Eyes spread out like lotus petals (padmapatrāyatākṣa) – It could be an honorific designation of Ādibuddha as a Buddha who has as one of his characteristic signs that his eyes are wide and spread out. It also represents the nirmānakāya.

- Paramādibuddha is also pure union (yogā śuddho) gone beyond origination and dissolution and the limitations of the personality. Here is a designation which says that the Ādibuddha is in principle eternal and not created.

- The foregoing interpretation fits in quite well with the last statements in the verse that Ādibuddha is “non-dual wisdom and method” (prajñopāyādvyāy) where it is explicitly said that Ādibuddha is the non-dual (advaya) resulting from the union of prajñā and upāya.

This verse gives the basis of most of the qualities of the Ādibuddha concept. That is the reason why I have elaborated on the definitions of the concepts. I will refer back to this verse when finding the same type of definition in other places. I will continue with other verses from the same introduction to the Vimalaprabhā. This one from the second page of the introductory verses:

\[
\text{prajñopāyātmako yogāḥ samsthānakāyārddhigah /} \\
vajrasattvo mahāsattvo bodhisattvas tathāgataiḥ // \\
uktah samayasattvo yo bhāvabhāvakṣayo vibhuh / \\
anādinidhanaḥ sānto bodhicittam prañamyā tam //}^{595}
\]

The yoga consisting of wisdom and method, the miraculously

\(^{593}\) See Kvaerne. 1975 for a thorough treatment of the concept of sahaja in Buddhist Sanskrit literature.

\(^{594}\) See for example in KCT V:243.

\(^{595}\) Vimalaprabhā I.1 in VP vol.I. 1986:2, line 1.
accomplished body; by the tathāgatas called vajrasattva, mahāsattva and bodhisattva. Also called samayasattva, the lord who has destroyed the existent and non-existent. I worship that beginningless, endless, peaceful bodhicitta. //

Here homage is made to bodhicitta, which in VP I.1 p.1,line7 is equalled to Kālacakra. Bodhicitta is very important in the Kālacakra texts. The word normally denotes the condition of the mind when it strives to reach bodhi (awakening, illumination?), probably the meaning in this context. A very wide meaning is given to the word bodhicitta. This is another of the introductory verses in the VP:

jananīṃ sarvabuddhānāṃ utpādakṣayavarjitām /
caryāṃ samantabhadrasya viśvamātāṃ prāṇamya tām //

The progenitor of all the Buddhas, the one who has abandoned origination and destruction, the one who is connected to the conduct of Samantabhadra. I worship this Viśvamātā. //

Here the homage is to Viśvamāta who is the female counterpart of Kālacakra, always depicted in the yab-yum position, as to signify the union of prajñā (wisdom) and upāya (method) and the resulting Mahāsukha (great bliss). Interestingly enough she is also called “progenitor of all the Buddhas”, more or less the same wording used to describe the Ādibuddha (jinajanaka). She is related to Samantabhadra, who in other tantric traditions is regarded as the Ādibuddha, for ex., the Tibetan rNying-ma-pas. She is also beyond origination and destruction like the Ādibuddha. A conclusion from the descriptions of both Kālacakra and Viśvamāta is that the characteristics of Ādibuddha can be found for all three concepts. The level of the state of mind before and after the union between prajñā and upāya is described in the same way. Here follows another of the introductory verses of the VP:

ālikālisamāpatti hūṃ phaṭ kārādi varjitām /
akṣarodbhavakāyañ ca kālacakraṃ prāṇamya tam //

Even though he has abandoned the absorption of āli and kāli, and the letters hūṃ, phaṭ, and so forth, he is the body arisen from the unchanging. I worship this Kālacakra. //

Kālacakra is here presented as the body arisen from the unchanging. Consequently, as Ādibuddha, as shown later, sometimes is regarded as the unchanging, Kālacakra could eventually be said to have arisen from Ādibuddha. This could be a very decisive statement of the relationship between Ādibuddha and Kālacakra. On the other hand the “unchanging”

(aksiṇa) also has other meanings and there is a difference to the concept of “the supreme unchanging” (paramaaksiṇa).

Another of the introductory verses of the VP:

\[
\begin{align*}
sarvajñaṃ jñānakāyākhyāṃ mārttaṇḍavapuṣaṃ vibhum / 
padmapatṛāyatakṣaṃ taṃ tattvaṃ śoḍaśabhedaṁ // 
catuhkāyātmakaṃ buddhaṃ vajrasimhāsane sthitam / 
stutaṃ surāsuraṁ natvā sucaṇḍādhyaṣṭitaṁ purā //
\end{align*}
\]

Praised by the gods and demons is: the omniscient one, the one called wisdom body, the one who appears like the sun, the lord, the one with the eyes spread out like a lotus petal, the Buddha consisting of the four bodies due to the essential reality which is divided into sixteen parts, the one who sits on the vajra lion throne, who was previously called upon by Sucandra.

Here reference probably is made to Buddha Śākyamuni because he is sitting on a lion throne and listened to by Sucandra. He has some of the same characteristics as Ādibuddha. In this case, it is not strange because when teaching the Kālacakra Tantra to Sucandra, he was transformed into Kālacakra and received his characteristics, just as the current Dalai Lama is transformed into Kālacakra ritually as he gives the initiation. In this verse, the teaching of the four bodies of the Buddha is already established. The concept of tattva is important here and the four bodies is a way of dividing this “essential reality” into separate parts. Tattva is a concept essentially used in the Sāmkhya philosophy. In that system, there are 25 different kinds of tattvas and there are certain similarities with the usage in the Kālacakra Tantra.

Another of the introductory verses of the VP:

\[
\begin{align*}
śuddhajñānaikayogo jināvarasamayaś cittadharmaikayogah 
vāksambhogaikayogas tribhuvanam aḥitaḥ kāyānirmāṇayogah / 
jñānaḥjñeyādavyo 'sau gataḥhavivihavo vajraśatvās caturdhā 
praṇāpyātmakaṃ taṃ nṛsuradānusutaṃ vajrayogam praṇamya //
\end{align*}
\]

The union of the pure and knowledge; the best vow of the jina, the union of mind and dharma [body]; the union of speech and the enjoyment [body]; the union of body and the emanation [body] worshipped by the three existences; this non-dual knowledge and object of knowledge, past existence and non-existence, is four-fold Vajrasattva. Homage to that vajrayoga consisting of wisdom and method that is praised by gods, men, and demons. //

598 I will treat this problem later when commenting on the verse KCT V:127.
600 The same term was used for Ādibuddha in VP vol.I:1, line 11. See my commentaries on p.114.
Vajrasattva and vajrayoga are the main subjects in this verse and it is interesting to see their relation to Adibuddha. Vajrayoga is a difficult concept in the Kālacakra. In some way in this verse there is a connection between vajrayoga and the four bodies of the Buddha.⁶⁰³ There are variations of yoga (perhaps here more in the meaning “union”) connected with the siddhakāya, the dharmakāya, the sambhogakāya and the nirmānakāya. Each has its ekayoga or “union into one” with something else, the knowledge (jñāna), the mind (citta), the speech (vāk) and the body (kāya). Consequently, perhaps there is a connection with Vajrasattva who is related with the four bodies. Vajrasattva is at times, in the Kālacakra texts, associated with Kālacakra and Adibuddha. It can actually be another word denoting Adibuddha. Another of the introductory verses of the VP:

*yad vyākṛtam dasabalaṃ purāñpatram guhyādhipasya gatitāt paramādibuddhāt /
   tat kālacakralaghutantram idam kalāpe mañjuśrīyā nigaditaṃ sakalam muninām //⁶⁰⁴*

By means of his ten powers, the Buddha previously made a prophecy [containing] the short tantra out from the Paramādibuddha spoken to the master of the secret [Sucandra]. Thus, Mañjuśrī [= the king Yaśas] expressed this entire Kālacakra-laghutantra to the sages in Kalāpa. //

Here it is said that Buddha Śākyamuni prophesied that King Yaśas of Sambhala was going to write the laghutantra. Actually, it is said in the text that it was Buddha himself who authorized the short tantra (alpatantra or laghutantra?) based on the root-tantra Paramādibuddha. Mañjuśrī (Yaśas) redacted it for the sages in the capital of Shambhala, Kalāpa. It should then have been taught in Shambhala for many years and then finally brought out from Shambhala by Pūṇḍarika into India. It is here very obvious here that Paramādibuddha is just the name of the basic root-tantra. The master of secrets who should have preached the Paramādibuddha tantra was Vajrapāṇī Sucandra.

The following is the last among the 102 introductory verses of the first subchapter of the VP that I will quote:

*ṭīkā sucandralikhītā sarvayānārthasūcikā /
   śaśṭisāhasrikā yā’ ‘sit pūṇḍarikeṇa sā mayā //
   likhyate laghutanrasya mālatantrāṇusāriti /
   granthadvādāsāhasrī savajrapadabhedini //⁶⁰⁵*

The sixty thousand line commentary written by Sucandra revealed the meaning of all the vehicles. By me, Pūṇḍarika, a twelve thousand line text on the abridged tantra, following the basic tantra, with a division of the vajra word. //

Here it is stated that there existed an original commentary on the root-tantra Paramādibuddha. This “Mūla-Vimalaprabhā” contained 60,000 verses and was written by Sucandra. The Vimalaprabhā now extant in 12,000 verses is a shorter version of that one

and a commentary on the abridged laghutantra. It is also stated that the Vimalaprabhā follows both the laghutantra and the lost mūlatantra.

The foregoing is stated clearly in the great commentary Vimalaprabhā when the text gives a sort of table of contents of the whole tantra in the second subchapter of the first chapter of the VP:

\[ \text{anu praJñápāyātmako vajrayoga ādibuddho nīranvayaḥ kālacakro} \]
\[ bha ga vān abhidheyaḥ / sa cānayaḥ pañcapanālavanāhāvayaḥ ‘vasthitaḥ /}^{606} \]

Here, the vajrayoga (vajra-union) that consists of wisdom and method – the Ādibuddha who is without causal connection (nīranvayaḥ), Bhagavān Kālacakra – is the subject. Also, it [the vajrayoga] consists of these essential subjects of the five chapters.\(^{607}\)

Consequently, this means that in essence the whole tantra treats the concept of Ādibuddha. Here is the first place in the Kālacakra texts where Ādibuddha is qualified with the word nīranvaya “without causal connection”. This evokes the discussion of the qualification that I made in chapter 3 when this word was used to qualify Ādibuddha in the Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti.\(^{608}\) Here, the wording is a very undramatic qualification of Ādibuddha as “without causal connection”, which only seems to mean that the Ādibuddha is beyond duality and is the very non-duality. As in other places, there is the problem that Kālacakra is also placed on the same level as Ādibuddha. Likewise, the term vajrayoga can be described as being on the level of Ādibuddha, that is, the union of wisdom and method.

Still another quotation from the second introductory chapter of the VP:

\[ \text{mahāsukhvāvāse paramādibuddhavajradhātumahāmandāle vajra} \]
\[ simhāsanaśtena buddhabodhisattvakrodharāja devanāgadevatādevatagāna \]
\[ parivṛṭtena traidhātukavanditacaranāravinda traidhātukakacakraantaritīnā \]
\[ paramādibuddhena nīranvayaṇaḥ ōrijākacakrabhagavatā sucaṇādhyāṣṭiṣṭena \]
\[ dvādāsasahasrāṃ paramādibuddhaṃ nīranvayaṃ kālacakram tantrarājaṃ vajradha- \]
\[ rajnānākāyasākṣibhūtyām nāmasaṅgītāyaśāṃ sarvāntreṣu vajrapadasākṣibhūtam.}^{610} \]

[The subject here is about Buddha Śākyamuni teaching the Kālacakra to Śucandra]

He [Buddha Śākyamuni] sat in the abode of great bliss - in the great maṇḍala of the sphere of vajra of Paramādibuddha - on the vajra lion throne. He was encircled by a host of Buddhas, bodhisattvas, wrathful kings (krodhārāja), gods, nāgas, and male and female deities. The three realms


\(^{608}\) See the discussion above on MNS:100 on p.76 and notes 477-78. See also below on p.160-61, note 819 which is the beginning of the commentary to KCT V:89. Also Davidson. 1981:30.

\(^{609}\) From the context, I chose to read nīranvayaṇa instead of the variation nirandhayaṇa. See VP vol.I. 1986:12, notes 3 and 4.

\(^{610}\) Vimalaprabhā I.2 in VP vol.I. 1986:12, line 4-8.
saluted his lotus-feet. He is the sole cakravartin of the three realms, the Paramādibuddha without connection (niranvaya). He is the Bhagavān Śrī Kālacakra. Sucandra requested him for instruction and he taught the 12000 verse Paramādibuddha without parts (niranvaya) and the Kālacakra tantrāja. It is embraced by the Nāmasaṅgiti that clarifies the knowledge body (jñānakāya) of Vajradhara. The vajra words are made clear in all tantras [by the Paramādibuddha].

As when first mentioned above, the Paramādibuddha is equalled to the Kālacakra maṇḍala. Buddha Śākyamuni is seated in the maṇḍala when giving the teachings of Kālacakra to king Sucandra. Later in the text, it is mentioned that Buddha is also the Paramādibuddha without connection (niranvaya), the same qualification of Adibuddha that is discussed below (p.155-156). This is the only place where Buddha Śākyamuni is actually said to be Paramādibuddha. This seems to be a way of stressing the importance of the Buddha when he is teaching the Kālacakra and is transformed into Kālacakra. Here, Buddha is also equalled to Bhagavān Kālacakra. He is also the cakravartin, that is, the ruler of the world. The Buddha is possibly given all these characteristics in order to maintain an even stronger position when teaching the Kālacakra Tantra. In the later part of this text, Paramādibuddha signifies the text Paramādibuddha, as it is said that the 12,000 verse text was taught. In the next sentence, it is said that Buddha taught the Paramādibuddha and the Kālacakra-tantra-ājā. This possibly only means that the shorter text was already inherent in the longer original text. The texts of Paramādibuddha and Kālacakra are embraced by the Nāmasaṅgiti. This could mean that the main ideas in the Kālacakra were already expressed in the Nāmasaṅgiti. It is also said that the Jñānakāya (knowledge body) of Vajradhara is clearly exposed in the Nāmasaṅgiti. This probably means that allusion is made to the place in Nāmasaṅgiti where Adibuddha is mentioned (MNS Chapt. X, 24 or verse 100). The author is generally very conscious about the importance of the Nāmasaṅgiti and he cites it many times. As quoted below, in verse KCT V: 248, Adibuddha is also equalled to Vajrayoga. Here follows another quotation from the introductory part of the VP:

vācyo bhagavān kālacakraḥ pañcapaṭalasvabhāvatayā 'vasthitāḥ
vācakam kālacakram abhidhānam pañcapaṭalātmakam / atha ādibuddho bhagavān vācyah / vācakam ādibuddham abhidhānam iti vācyavācakalakṣaṇah / 612

That which is to be spoken is established as Bhagavān Kālacakra, the essential topic of the five chapters. The speaker [is established as] the Kālacakra speech that consists of five chapters. Also, the characteristics of that which is to be spoken and the speaker: “the Bhagavān Adibuddha is that which is to be spoken; the speaker is the Adibuddha speech” – these are the characteristics of that which is to be spoken and the speaker.613

Here the relationship between the two concepts deity/text is alluded to. The one who speaks is Bhagavān Kālacakra and, later in the text, Ādibuddha and the text is also called Kālacakra and correspondingly Ādibuddha. The names are the same for person and text. It is not easy to understand this relation between the spoken and the speech. It is more of a grammatical analysis.

From here up to the end of the 2nd uddeśa (subchapter), the text is a commentary to the sort of preface appearing at the beginning of the 2nd uddeśa of the Vimalaprabhā in the foregoing quotation (VP vol.I:15, line 3). It gives very interesting clarifications:

\[
\text{paramādibuddhavajradhātumahāmaṇḍale niranvaye jñānaṃjñeyaika\-lolibhūte acchedye 'bhedey sarvākāradhātulakṣaṇe ādārṣapratisenātulye} / 614
\]

In the great maṇḍala of the Paramādibuddha vajra-realm, it [the Paramādibuddha] is without connection (niranvaya), it is the unified mixture of knowledge and objects of knowledge, it is indivisible and undivided, it has the characteristics of the realm of all aspects and is similar to a mirror divination (pratisena). 615

Here, Paramādibuddha is a designation of the Kālacakra maṇḍala, the third meaning of the word in this context. Paramādibuddha is again qualified with the word niranvaya ("without parts, unconnected") and the word Paramādibuddha again has a very uncertain meaning. Here it seems to be the maṇḍala, but how can the maṇḍala be without parts? It seems that there is a shifting of the meaning and the conceptualized Paramādibuddha is again showing itself. The maṇḍala cannot be indivisible, etc., because it is a very complex construction. The concept of Paramādibuddha as the "superior original Buddha" is definitely more applicable at this place in the text.

Here follows a very interesting quotation, also from the introductory part of the VP I.2:

\[
\text{paramādibuddhadheneti / paramādibuddhah ekākṣanapāñcākārāvīṃśaty ākāramāyājālābhisambodhilakṣaṇo 'ksarasukhāḥ paramaḥ tenādibuddhāḥ pa- ramādibuddhāḥ tena paramādibuddhetenī / niranvayeneti / anvayaḥ prajñāpāyātmako grāhāyārakalakṣaṇo dharmāḥ so 'nayo nirasto yenā 'sau niranvayah tena niranvayeneti / kālacakrabhagavateti / kālah paramākṣaro mahāsukhalakṣaṇah tenotpāditaṃ nirvāranaṃ skandhadhātviḍikānaṃ cakrāṃ yasya śārīram asau kālacakraḥ} / 616
\]

As for "the Paramādibuddha": The Paramādibuddha is the unchanging bliss [which is] supreme and is characterized by attaining enlightenment in a single instant, in five aspects, in twenty aspects, and by the net of illusion. By that [unchanging bliss] [originates] the Ādibuddha and the Paramādibuddha and by that the Paramādibuddha [text]. As for "without parts", "parts" (anvaya) is the dharma that consists of wisdom and method, that is characterized by object and subject. Someone who has abandoned that "part" is "without parts."

615 Newman. 1987a:268. Here Newman makes remarks concerning two Sanskrit words, pratisena and eka-lolibhūta that cannot be found in lexicons, but can interpreted with the help of the Tibetan translation.
By that [there is the concept of] “without parts” (niranvaya).
As for the Bhagavan Kālacakra; kāla (time) has the characteristics of great bliss and the supreme unchanging (paramākṣara).617 One whose body is generated as a wheel (cakra) of unobscured aggregates, elements and so forth by means of that [bliss], this is Kālacakra.618

This is a very interesting definition of Paramādibuddha:
Unchanging bliss (akṣarasukhaḥ) - perfect enlightenment in a single instant - supreme (paramah). The temporal aspect of Paramādibuddha is here clearly expressed. Actually, from this verse it seems as though the “unchanging bliss” existed before the Ādibuddha. He is also the one who actually taught the tantra in the form of Kālacakra at Dhānyakataka stūpa. There is also a definition of Kālacakra in the second part of the quotation. Consequently “Time” (Kāla) has the same main characteristics as Ādibuddha, namely “supreme unchanging” and “great bliss”. This shows the importance of the concept “time”.

There is also a definition of the problematic word niranvaya. The VP text has analysed the word in two parts. Anvaya means the dharma that consists of prajñā (wisdom) and upāya (method) and which is characterized by object and subject. Consequently, there are two parts to this concept, a dualistic concept. Nir- in Sanskrit is a negative prefix and consequently niranvaya is something that is not having the two parts wisdom and method. Therefore, it is a good designation for the Ādibuddha concept. The fact that Kālacakra is designated as a “non-dual” tantra here is given a clear motivation.

In the following quotation from the introductory part of the VP the problem of the root-tantra is treated:

dvādaśasāhasrikam iti / eutaraśītisasāhasriḍhikaḍrakṣasakṣarasamūhaṁ
dvāṁśad akṣarasukhaḥdvāsaśāhasrikam iti / sucanāra-
rājaḥdaśeṣeṣena620 / paramādibuddham iti / paramādibuddhābhādhyāya vācakatvāt asyābhādhyeyasyābhādhyānāsvarūpāvatāyā 'vasthitatvād iti / paramādibuddhāṃ kālacakram kālacakrābhādhyāya vācakatvāt kālacakrābhādhyānām iti / niranvayam iti niranvayābhādhyāya vācakatvāt / ihaṁvāyā prajñāpākṣa upāyapākṣaḥ ca / sa 'nvayo bhinnapakṣo nīrasto yasmāt tat tantrām niranvayam / prajñopāyātmakam yogatantram ity advayam ucyate / jineneti /621

Regarding “12,000 verses”, it is an assemblage of 384,000 syllables. It consists of 12,000 verses in anusṭubh, which consists of thirty-two syllables.

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617 As I will state at length in chapter six of this dissertation, paramākṣara (the supreme unchanging) is a very important concept in the Kālacakra Tantra. The verse (KCT V:127) which contains the concept has a commentary in the Vimalaprabhā consisting of 100 pages. The concept can in some way be related to the Ādibuddha concept.
619 I chose here to use the alternative reading given by Upadhyaya in VP vol.I. It better corresponds to the context.
620 In this context, I chose to include a variation from the sDe-dge edition of the bsTan-'gyur as given by Upadhyaya (p.19).
621 Vimalaprabhā I. 2. in VP vol.I. 1986:18, line 1-7; Bu-ston’s commentary on the VP in Bu-ston. 1965a:335 (Tibetan).
Thus, [the Paramādibuddha has] 12,000 verses. It was solicited by king Sucandra. [Why the name] 'Paramādibuddha'; it is because it expresses the subject, the Paramādibuddha, since it is established as the topic of the description of this subject. [Regarding] the Paramādibuddha and the Kālacakra; since it gives expression to the subject Kālacakra, it is the designation of Kālacakra. It is "without parts" because it expresses the subject that is 'without parts'. Here, "parts" (anvaya) is the side of wisdom and the side of method. By the Jīna it is said that the tantra that is without these parts because it has abandoned side, is non-dual. 'It is the yogatantra that is without parts, that consists of wisdom and method.'  

First the definition of Paramādibuddha as the name of the text is treated. The VP text itself says that Paramādibuddha is so called because it expresses the subject, which is Paramādibuddha. The topic of the whole text is in some way Paramādibuddha. This quotation is very important for the sake of defining the concept Paramādibuddha, because here it is clearly stated the root-tantra text in 12,000 verses is called Paramādibuddha, but that the reason for this is that this concept is the most important of the text. Consequently, there exists a concept called Paramādibuddha and it must be possible to find a content for this concept in the text, the laghutantra, which is said to be an abbreviation of the Paramādibuddha text. I have not found any systematic attempt in the texts to clarify what the concept means. The only way to determine more is to investigate different parts of the text where the concept is used.

Later, on the same page, the problem that the Paramādibuddha is "without parts" is treated. It is "without parts" because it expresses the subject that is without parts (niranjaya; rigs med). Here "parts" (skt. anvaya; tib. rigs) is the side of wisdom and the side of method. The Jīna (?) says that the tantra which is without that part because it has abandoned side, is non-dual. Paramādibuddha is, consequently, a concept beyond upāya and prajñā representing non-duality. As remarked above (p.76), niranjaya can also be translated as "without causal connection", which is a translation that fits in better with the Paramādibuddha concept.

This passage has, as Newman remarks, given rise to a debate whether Kālacakra constitutes a third non-dual class of tantra within the anuttarayoga tantra. 623 It is stated in many places in the Vimalaprabhadhat that Paramādibuddha is "without parts" (niranjaya). Perhaps it is a way of saying that the Paramādibuddha never has had division of wisdom and method. Ādibuddha is the bliss united from the beginning!

The following is the last quotation from the introductory part of the VP. After this, the verses of the KeT with the corresponding commentaries from the VP commentaries start:

tasmāt prajñāpāyātmakaṁ tantrāṁ yogatantraṁ niranjayāṁ kālacakram pa-
ramārthasatyaṁ ātitaṁ vajradhānākāryaṁ śibīrāyāṁ nāmasaṁyāty
ātīlīṅgam iti / ādibuddhābhidhāntavāt / iha yathā nāmasaṁyāty
ātīlāṅgatapratyutpannaṁ tathāgatair bhāṣitā bhāṣīṣyate bhāṣyate

Therefore, from the point of view of absolute truth, Kalacakra is the tantra and the yogatantra that consists of wisdom and method, without parts (niranvaya). It is embraced by the Namasangiti that has made visible the wisdom body (jñānakāya) of Vajradhara because it is the designation of the Adibuddha. Here, just as past, present and future Tathāgatas spoke, are speaking and will speak the Namasangiti, just so is that Adibuddha. The word ādi means without beginning or termination. Since beginningless time beginningless Buddhas have taught it, are teaching it, and will teach it: it is not taught merely by Tathāgata Dipamkara and Sakyamuni.

Here is stated that Kalacakra is a kind of yogatantra and is again “without parts” (niranvaya). Again the connection with Namasangiti is made in the way that Kalacakra is embraced by it. The Namasangiti was very important for the Kalacakra texts and some of the main ideas were possibly taken from that teaching. Present and future Tathāgatas will continue to teach the Namasangiti and Adibuddha texts. Not only the Dipamkara and Sakyamuni Buddhas but many other Buddhas will teach it. The universality of the Kalacakra teachings is established.

This passage defines Adibuddha as without beginning in time. The word ādi is concretely defined here as without beginning or termination. This then could be an indication for the interpretation of this term. Adibuddha does not mean the one who first obtained Buddhahood, but is the Buddha without beginning or termination, “eternal.” The Namasangiti and the Adibuddha have been taught from beginningless time (anādikāle). It is worth noting here that time is designated without beginning.

All this is important in connection with the foregoing passage where it is evident that Adibuddha never has realized the union between wisdom and method, but has always been resting in the unchanging bliss. This and the foregoing quotation can be associated with the idea in Kalacakra of mi-pho-ba, “non-transference of consciousness” because there is no real transference of consciousness. There is always a permanent consciousness in the heart cakra. This could be compared to the more general Tibetan doctrine of the “forever indestructible drop” (brtan-du mi-shig-pa'i thig-le). This comes very close to a Buddhist idea of an ātman which is a kind of permanent “soul.” The problem has been treated by Ruegg in connection with the notion of tathāgatagarbha which comes very close to the concept of ātman. Quoting Buddhist mahāyāna sources, Ruegg comes to the conclusion that they do not claim a brahmanical concept of ātman, but have a similar concept of their own which is approaching the brahmanical concept.

Already in the first two lines of the first verse of the first chapter of the Śrī

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626 See Dhargyey. 1985:91.
Kalacakra-tantra-rāja text itself we find the epithets which are given as of Ādibuddha in the Vimalaprabhā, that is, a quotation from KCT I:1:

\[
\text{sarvajñām jñānakāyaṁ dinakaravapusam padmapatrāyataśkaṁ buddham}
\]
\[
\text{simhāsanasthaṁ suravaranamitaṁ mastakena pranāmya /}
\]
\[
\text{prccched rāja sucandrah karakamalapuṭam śhāpayitvottamānge}
\]
\[
\text{yogam śrīkālacakra kalīyugasamaye muktihetor nāṭāṃ} // 1 // 628
\]

The omniscient one, the wisdom body (jñānakāya), the embodiment of the day-maker [sun], the eye spread out like a lotus petal, the Buddha sitting on the lion throne, was worshipped by the best of gods. King Sucandra bowed his head, and placing the cupped palms of his hands on top of his head, he asked for the yoga in the Śrī Kālacakra, for the cause of the liberation of human beings in the time-period of kāliyuga.629

This quotation gives a vivid picture of how the Kālacakra was preached by Buddha to king Sucandra. It shows that, already from the beginning, Kālacakra was thought of as a remedy against the evil age of kāliyuga when times are getting worse until a change will come and make times better. It is interesting that the age-old Indian concept of kāliyuga is used in a Buddhist text. The eschatological content in the Kālacakra is evident considering the kings of Sambhala and the ultimate war against the evil mlecchas.

These lines are actually an enumeration of the first few topics treated in the tantra, but also an enumeration of qualities of the Ādibuddha as commented on in the Vimalaprabhā I.1 (VP vol.I 1986: I, line 7). At the same time, from the context it is evident that they are also designations of the Buddha Śākyamuni as it was he who preached the tantra to Sucandra at Dhanyakatākā stūpa. This indicates the difficulty in trying to find information on the concept of Ādibuddha in the text. In any case it seems that the terms sarvajñā (omniscient) and jñānakāya are used in several places in the tantra for Ādibuddha.630

The following are some quotations from the mūlatantra Paramādibuddha in the VP commentary on KCT I:1:

\[
\text{sarvajñā jñānakāya yo mārttaṇḍavapusrayayāḥ} /
\]
\[
\text{padmapatrāyataśkaṁ śrībuddhaḥ} // \text{simhāsane sthitah //}
\]
\[
\text{kāyavākūttārdgātmā vajrasattva 'dhidevata /}
\]
\[
\text{kāyavākūttārāgena kāyavākūttamandaļā //}
\]
\[
\text{abhedyo vajrayogo 'sau kālacakra 'kṣaraḥ sukhah /}
\]
\[
\text{anādinidhano buddha} 632 \text{ādibuddho niranvayah //} 633
\]

The omniscient one, the wisdom body, the imperishable body of

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631 In the text the spelling is śrībud - dhaḥ, a way of spelling the name of Buddha that I have never seen anywhere else. This could be a hint at the independence of the root-tantra text called Paramādibuddha.
632 See foregoing note. In fact, all mention of the words Buddha, Ādibuddha and Paramādibuddha in this quotation are spelled in the same way.
the sun, with the eyes like spreading lotus petals, the Buddha sitting on the lotus throne; // The essence of body, speech, mind and passion is Vajrasattva, the superior deity in the mandala of body, speech and mind by means of body, speech, mind and passion. // This indivisible vajrayoga is Kālacakra, unchanging and bliss, Buddha without beginning or end, the Adibuddha without parts [without causal connection] (niranvaya). //

Here the last line is identical with Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti verse 100a. This once more shows the influence from the MNS. In several places in the laghutantra citations are found citations that are said to be from the mūlatantra Paramādibuddha. This particular one is of special interest. The mūlatantra must have been known by the author of the Vimalaprabhā. The verse on Adibuddha from the MNS must also have been known. Actually, there are good reasons to believe that the concept of Adibuddha in the Kālacakra Tantra is consciously influenced by the MNS. Once again the concept of vajrayoga is not quite clear. Possibly the meaning should be more literal: “This indivisible vajra-union is Kālacakra...”, which then means that the following concepts are designations of this vajra-union. Reading the designations in another way, the qualifications of Adibuddha are: Kālacakra, unchanging bliss, without beginning or end, he is Buddha and without parts (niranvaya), or as translated by Davidson “without causal connection”.

The following is a quotation from the VP commentary on KCT I: 1:

Like that, among other designations the E-letter, the secret doctrine, the lotus, the origin of dharmas, space element, abode of great bliss, lion throne, vulva and secret. E-letter alone is not the main designation because all of these demonstrate the voidness of all aspects. In a similar way, among the terms VAM-letter, great bliss, great passion, simultaneously-arisen, supreme unchanging, drop (bindu), essential reality, wisdom (jñāna) and pure mind. VAM-letter alone is not the main designation because all of these demonstrate mahāmudrā, simultaneously-arisen joy (sañjānanda) and unchanging bliss (aksarasukha). Likewise, the two letters E and VAM shows the existence
that is bodhicitta, that is, indivisibility (abhinna), emptiness, possessing the best of all aspects and compassion that does not objectify any dharmas. For this reason, a yogi who is to be well judged, should first reach a manifold understanding of the non-dual yoga that consists of wisdom and method without parts [without causal connection] (niranvaya), the letter EVAM, Vajrasattva, bodhicitta, Kālacakra, Ādibuddha, the one consisting of wisdom and objects of wisdom, the non-duality, without beginning and end, peaceful, Samāja and Samvara.638

This quotation is of interest from many aspects. First, it enumerates terms applicable to emptiness (śūnyatā) in all it’s meanings and for the terms designating unchanging bliss (aṣṭarasukha). Then Ādibuddha is enumerated among terms applied to indivisible emptiness and wisdom and method without parts. All of these terms are used to explain different aspects of these concepts.

The mantras E and VAM are at other places used in the duality correspondences that can be found in chapter five of KCT and VP. These dualities are treated in chapter 6 of this work (p.167, 199). They are also on different sides when E is on the side of voidness (śūnyatā) and VAM is on the side of great bliss (mahāsukha) and unchanging bliss (aṣṭarasukha). The yogi then should understand the non-duality which arises when E and VAM are united. On that level of non-duality are also found the Ādibuddha, Kālacakra, etc. It can be noted here that Samāja and Samvara are also mentioned in connection with the non-duality, which means that they also have a similar teaching of the non-duality.

Here again is a quotation from the mūlatantra in the VP commentary to KCT I:1:

ihā mūlatantrē bhagavān āha
E-rahasye khaḍhātou vā bhage dharmodaye 'mbute /
sinhāśane shito vajrī uktaśtāntrātare mayā //
VAM-vajrī vajrasattvāsa ca vajrabhairava īśvaraḥ /
herukāḥ kālacakraś ca ādibuddhādināmābhiḥ //
nānāvaśyasyaśīṁnābhiḥ sthānamādhāralaśanam /
ādheyaś ca mayā prokto nānāstvāśasyena ca //639

Here, the Bhagavān said in the basic tantra [mūlatantra: Paramādibuddha]: In various tantras I speak of Vajrī sitting in the E, in the secret doctrine, in the space element, in the vulva, in the source of phenomena (dharms), in the lotus or on the lion throne. // I use the names Vaṃ, Vajrī, Vajrasattva, Vajrabhairava, Īśvara, Heruka, Kālacakra, Ādibuddha and so forth. // Using the designations of various lands, in accordance with the dispositions of various sentient beings, I speak of the characteristic of the base (ādhāra), the place, and also of the based. //640

This is a citation from the root tantra where Buddha speaks of his using different names for the base (ādāra) in different systems of teachings, but that essentially they are the same. Ādibuddha is here only used as one of many designations for that concept and in that way does not seem to be very unique or special. There is perhaps a possibility of a doctrinal evolution from the root-tantra to the Vimalaprabhā. The VP is much more definite in defining Ādibuddha as a cosmological concept. There has been no real investigation into trying to separate elements in the root-tantra from the KCT and the VP has been done.

Newman made an interesting note where he cited two verses from the Vajramālā, a vyākhyātantra to the Guhyasamāja. They are virtually identical with the two first verses from the Paramādibuddha quoted above. If they are original to the Vajramālā, it means that the Ādibuddha concept could be linked with the Kālacakra long before the system appeared openly, as this text is much older than the Kālacakra. It would be an interesting challenge to the dating of the system. Newman chose to believe that these two verses are later interpolations in the Vajramālā. This is still an open question.641

Concerning the enumeration of names which possibly are linked to the Ādibuddha concept, the names Vaiśṇava, Vajrīś, Vajrasattva and Kālacakra are well known from other places in the texts. Vajrabhairava and Heruka are Buddhist deities and can, in their own context, be considered to be of the Ādibuddha type of deity. Īśvara is, as a more general designation of “god”, more of a Hindu concept. The syncretistic character of the Kālacakra texts is apparent in many places. The following is a quotation from the VP commentary on KCT I:1:

\[
yah \text{ paramārthasatyena deśitāḥ sa lokottara-sarvakāravaroopeta-}
\text{mahāmudrāsiddhisādhanāya svacitaparikalpanādharmarahitaḥ}
\text{pratvākṣaḥ svacitapratibhiḥayo yogīnām gagane pratibhāṣate}
\text{kumārikāyā ātārisādau pratisena vād iti /}
\text{istārthaphaladāḥ phalam aksarasukham jhānacitam ādayo cītayor ekatvām prajnopāyāmako}
\text{vajrayogō mahārtathāḥ paramāksara ādibuddhō niranvayāḥ kālacakra}
\text{bhagavān vajrasattvāḥ sarvatantrāntare prasiddha iti sa eva bhagavān}
\text{pāramitānayo hetulakṣaṇe prajnopāramitāyāḥ svābhāvikāyā ity utkaṭa} /642
\]

That which is taught in accordance with ultimate truth is devoid of dharmas imagined by one’s own mind in order to achieve the transcendental mahāmudrā siddhi that possesses the best of all aspects. Like a maiden’s prognostic image in a mirror and so forth, the clear light of the yogi’s own mind appears manifest in the sky. It gives the result of the desired aim and the result is the knowledge mind (jñānicitta) of unchanging bliss. The oneness of these two minds [the yogins own mind and the knowledge mind of unchanging bliss] - consisting of wisdom and method, the vajrayoga, the great aim, the supreme unchanging, the Ādibuddha without parts (niranvaya), Bhagavān Kālacakra - is renowned in all the various tantras as Vajrasattva. This very Bhagavān is called “the essence body” (svābhāvikākāya) in the Prajñāpāramitā - in the pāramitā system that is characterized as the cause.643

Here it is stated more or less clearly that Ādibuddha is Kālacakra who is vajrayoga, which is wisdom and method, which is the supreme unchanging (paramākṣara). All of the foregoing is equalled to Vajrasattva. All these concepts are actually different ways of naming "the Absolute."

There is also a mention of the doctrine of the four kāyas instead of three, and where "the essence body" (svābhāvikakāya) is the fourth. Following this, the verse from the Abhisamayālaṃkāra that treats the four bodies is quoted. Consequently, this text was well known by the authors of the Kālacakra Tantra and must have affected them. In the Kālacakra instructions on the four bodies are clearly taught and this teaching possibly has some of its origin in the Abhisamayālaṃkāra.

Here follows another quotation from the VP commentary to verse KCT I: 1:

\[
\text{asminn asamayer kali yunakti iti kaliyugasamayaḥ tasmin kaliyugasamaye kālacakraṁbhidhāne ādikādiprajñopāyātmake yogatantu ādibuddhe nirantarvāy kālacram abhidheyaṁ vajrayogaṁ tantrasvabhāvata yāvasthitam ādibuddham prechet sucandra iti dharmadeśānā samgrahaḥ /}
\]

Since the KA is united with this A collection, the KA is in union with this KA collection. Sucandra asked for the subject that is Kālacakra, the Vajrayoga and the Ādibuddha that is the actual topic of the tantra, in that A collection that possesses the KA line: the Kālacakra discourse, the A, etc., and the KA, etc., consisting of wisdom and method, the yogatantra, the Ādibuddha without parts (niranvaya). The preceding is a summary of the dharma teaching.

Here the consonants (KA) and the vowels (A) are first treated. Consonants and vowels are in union with each other and symbolize other types of union. In this passage, it is again stated that Kālacakra, Ādibuddha and Vajrayoga are placed on the same level. It is also again stated that Ādibuddha is without parts (or without causal connection) (niranvaya). In other places in the text it is found that Ādibuddha is characterized as niranvaya. This word indicates a sort of "transcendence" in the concept of Ādibuddha. Niranvaya, is one of the key concepts concerning the Ādibuddha concept and I will return to it later.

Here follows still another quotation from the VP commentary to KCT I: 1:

\[
\text{etat paramādibuddhayogam attabuddhār devītān varatānānair deśaye 'nāgatair deśayāsate / attavartānānāgatākālāir attavartānānāgataśaṁyāḥ parsādhir ity anantānanta- buddhakṣetresv anantānantasattvānāṁ anantānantaḥpadātair buddhatvāya sandeśito deśaye deśayāsīyatīti /}
\]

645 Haribhadra. 1932-35:914.
Past Buddhas taught this Paramādibuddhayoga. Present [Buddhas] are teaching it. Future [Buddhas] will teach it. It has been, is being, and will be taught to the entourages of past, present and future times, on past, present and future occasions. Limitless Tathāgatas rightly taught it, are teaching it, and will teach it to limitless sentient beings in limitless Buddha fields so that [they may obtain] Buddhahood. 649

Here it is stated that past, present and future Buddhas will teach the Paramādibuddha yoga. By “Paramādibuddha yoga” is probably meant the saṅgāyoga, which is the yoga system used in the Kālacakratantra texts. Consequently, Paramādibuddha in this context means the textual system of Kālacakra as presented in the root-tantra text.

A last quotation from the VP commentary to KCT I:1:

\[ \text{idam viśuddhakramaṁ mahāmudrāśiddhāyakaṁ paramādibuddhe prakāṣaṁ pustake likhitam} \]

This process of purification that gives the mahāmudrā perfection, that is evident in the Paramādibuddha, was written down in a book.

Here is stressed that the process of purification that is associated with the mahāmudrā is a system of teaching that was written down in the book of Paramādibuddha, and therefore existed before and independent from the book.

This point in the text is just before the so-called Kālacakra manifesto that Nāropa wrote over the entrance door of the Nālanda monastery. This text, which mentions Paramādibuddha twice, was treated in chapter 3.2.1. (p. 74) in the context of making an analysis of the relationship between the Nāmasaṅgiti and the Kālacakra texts.

Following the order of the texts from the Vimalaprabhā, the verses of the KCT (the laghutantra) and their commentary will be treated. The previous points were only found in the introductory part of the VP. Consequently, in the following, I will treat part of the text from both the KCT and the VP. The first place in the abbreviated text (laghutantra) KCT where the word Ādibuddha is to be found is in KCT I:149:

\[ \text{duṣṭānāṁ sādhanārtham pravarabhuvi tale dhārmikānāṁ jayārtham pārvoktaṁ cādibuddhe tribhuvanagurūnā yat sucandraśya sarvam / tannadhye kiñcidatra sphuṭam iha viṣaye deśitam te mayādyā svasthāne rakṣanārtham kuru sakalam idaṁ dveśalobhair na sūryah //149//} \]

The guru of the three existences previously told all this in the Ādibuddha to Sucandra, for the subjugation of the corrupted (duṣṭānāṁ), and so that the righteous (dhārmika) will be victorious, on the surface of the

651 KCT I:149 in Banerjee. 1985:37; Vimalaprabhā I.10 in VP vol. I. 1986:152, line 10; Banerjee. 1959:205. This verse stands as nr. 148 in the commentary by Bu-ston (Bu-ston. 1965a:38). In the translation by Banerjee the verse is also given as I:148 (Banerjee. 1959:205). The whole of chapter I has one verse less in both editions, 169 verses in place of 170.
splendid earth. From among that, I have clearly shown a little bit to you here today in this land. Do all these things in order to protect your own places, oh Sūrya, not out of hatred or greed.652

The subject in the verses preceding this one in the KCT was war machines and different weapons needed to defend Shambhala and other disciples who fully understand the Kālacakra. The attitude to adopt concerning these weapons was that they were to be for the defense of Shambhala, not for attack. There is only a short commentary in the VP which says that the term Ādibuddha is a reference to the mūlatantra Paramādibuddha. The “guru of the three existences” is the Buddha Śākyamuni, as from other places in the text it is evident that it was he who put forward the mūlatantra at Dhānyakāṭaka stūpa. Consequently, this mention here does not give any new information regarding the content of the Ādibuddha concept.

4.2.1.b. Ādibuddha in the KCT and the Vimalaprabhā commentary to chapter II - Adhyātmapatālaḥ - the chapter on the inner world.

The word Ādibuddha is found in some places in the second chapter of the KCT and the corresponding commentary in the VP. This chapter treats the outer and inner functioning of the body, the cakras, channels, winds, etc., and the world as a microcosmos. The first occurrence of the term in the second chapter is in KCT II:56:

\[
eavam tatrådibuddhe \text{653} \text{kha}karanrpatayōh \text{devatādevatinām} \text{654} / \text{prajñopāyo niśāho bhavati hi samavibhāgo ‘rddhārātre dinārdhāe} // \text{yena jñātaṁ svadehe dinaniśisamayair māsasaṃkrāntibhadhāi} / \text{sa śrīmān mañjuvajro bhavabhayamathano janmanīhaiva buddhāḥ} // \text{56} / \text{655}
\]

Consequently, in the ādibuddha there are 1620 gods and goddesses; prajñā and upāya are night and day and they are evenly distributed in the night-half and the day-half. By him this is recognized in his own body, with a division of counting in months and in night-time and day-time. He, the blessed Mañjuvajra who destroys the fear for existence, here in this birth he is Buddha.

The Vimalaprabhā commentary to KCT II:56.656

\[
eavam sūryacandradevatāgaṇair ekībhuṭaiś cādibuddham bhavati / tasminn
\]

653 An alternative is tantrādibuddhe. The text actually allows both readings (Banerjee. 1985:57).
654 Upadhyaya gives svakaranrpatayōh, but it seems preferable to have Banerjee’s version as it is a way of writing 1620 (Vimalaprabhāṭākē VoL. 1986:188).
656 I follow the technical device from Upadhyaya in his edition to put quotations from the verse in bold letters and the commentaries in normal text.
ä dibuddhe khakaran r patayor 657 viṃś atayadhi kṣodhaśa satasamkhyaḥ iti, teśām devatādevaśānāṃ prajñopāyaṁ nīśāḥ iti / yathā saṃkhyām prajñā rātrībhāgah, upāya divābhāgaḥ samavibhāgo madhyānā dadhārātre ardha hātre madhyāhāne śārddhāt rayodaśa naśatraṁ āś।śaśat daṇḍair vā ghațikābhīr vā niśāvibhāgah; evaṃ divāvibhāgah / śrīmān nakṣatramāndale adibuddhe devatāgaṇo nakṣatranādisaṃkhyātmaṇbhagavatokta iti / yathā bāhye nakṣatra ghatikābhōgaḥ sārvagrāhānām tathādhyāyamāni kāyavākchītaśānāṃ saḍānīya adharmānām iti / yena jñātaṃ svadehe / evaṃ uktakramāina prajñopāyaıtmaṇyaṃ yenādi bhuddāṃ svadehe jñātam / jina niśitaśaṇayaiḥ sandhyāpraharaṇādibhedaiḥ māsasamkrāntibhedair avadiśabhiḥ sa yogy śrīmān ma ḍījvajro bhavabhāyamathana janmanihaiva buddha iti laghutantra mūlutantra deva totpādaniyamaṅ 658

So, through the moon, the sun and the assembly of gods assembled into one, the adibuddha emerges. In this adibuddha there is khakaran rpati, which is to be calculated as 1620. Among these gods and goddesses prajñā and upāya are night and day. In this calculation prajñā is the night-part, upāya is the day-part. There is an even distribution from the middle of the day to the middle of the night and from the middle of the night to the middle of the day. One classifies the night with the help of 13,5 nakṣatras or 810 dāndas or ghaṭikās and the day is classified in the same way. It has been told by the Bhagavān about the assembly of gods in the adibuddha; they are in their essence the blessed nakṣatra-māndala. As in the outer world there is a use of the nakṣatra-counting of hours for all the planets, so in the inner which is made up of body, speech, mind and wisdom, [there is a nakṣatra-counting of the hours] for the properties belonging to the six senses. By the one who has comprehended this in his own body; in the order which has been told by the one who has understood that, that which to its inner essence is prajñā and upāya, is adibuddha, with a classification of time in the time of days and nights, and the transfer of the classification into twelve months. This yogi becomes the blessed Maḥījvajra, he who drives out all the fear for existence, in this birth he is Buddha. This is the description of the emergence of divinities in the laghutantra and the mūlutantra. 662

In this case, I present a translation of the VP as well, as it adds valuable new information. Adibuddha could here stand for something to do with time. The verse is placed in the 2nd chapter in the 3rd subchapter (mahoddeśa) entitled “The emergence of the nādīs, of the fight between the cackravartin 663 and the mlecchas 664 and the tantra of the family of

657 Here Banerjee. 1985:57 has svakaran rpatayor.
659 Constellations, stars.
660 Dānda means basically a "stick" but here it is used in the context of Indian astronomy as a measure of time (Monier-Williams).
661 Mandala of the star constellation.
663 The mythical king that will come to rescue the world in the ultimate war between the king of Sambhala and his enemies.
The verses 48-50 treat the above mentioned fight and verses 51-60 the arrangements of the deities in relation to the constellations and the channels (nādi) in the body. From the context it is quite clear that in these verses (vv.56-57) the number of deities and its relation to the subtle body should be discussed. The number 1620 deities is explained in the following verses and depends on the number of channels corresponding to the same number of deities in the Paramādibuddha mandala. The Kālacakra mandala normally contains 722 gods, otherwise the best translation would be to identify Ādibuddha with the manḍala. There are also variations in the manḍalas in the way of counting the gods. In this case, there is the nakṣatra-manḍala, which is a variation with 1620 gods. As it is said in the VP, one can say that there are 810 dāṇḍas in the day and 810 in the night. For the whole 24 hours, that makes 1620 dāṇḍas and correspondingly there are 1620 gods and goddesses in the nakṣatra-manḍala. The correspondence between the number of gods in the manḍala and the way of measuring time and astronomy is here complete. This manḍala with 1620 gods is from the lost root-tantra. In the abbreviated tantra, the manḍala contains 722 gods. There are also distinct Kālacakra-manḍalas published in the Ngor collection. It is actually written in this text that the assembly of gods in the Ādibuddha is the nakṣatra-manḍala. It is also written in the VP that the 722 divinities in the laghutantra and the mūlatantra are described, and the 1620 divinities are probably described in the mūlatantra. To conclude, this verse is states that the Ādibuddha is the assembly of gods and goddesses in the mūlatantra. Ādibuddha here is a designation for the number of gods in the manḍala in the root-tantra.

A quotation from KCT II:57:

\[
\begin{align*}
trīṃśadbhāgena tasmāt trigunitaniyatā devataḥ Kālacakre
mudrāṣaṅkam ca bāhyam punaḥ api nITYatā cakranādyas tathaiva /
\text{uṣniṣe dvīth}^{669} hrdo 'ṣṭau śirasi nṛpatayo dantaśaṅkhyā ca kaṇṭhe
nābhau cāśāṣtagunya dvīguṇanṛpatayo guhyamadhye prasiddḍhāḥ //57//
\end{align*}
\]

Vimalaprabhā to KCT II:57:

\[
\begin{align*}
idānīm atah paramādibuddhāḥ laghutantropāḍā ucyaite trīṃśad ity ādīnā --
iha paramādibuddhāṃ viṃśaty adhiṅkaśodasastātī trīṃśad bhāgena labdhāḥ
catupaṃśad devatā bhavantī / punaḥ kāyavākcittaganītās triguṇā
dvāṣṭyaḥdhiṣaṭanā bhavati / eṣu māndaleyāḥ caatuḥ paṇiścād
adhiṅkaśatasiṃkhyā manḍalasam praśnopāyayugmam bāhye mudrāṣaṅkam
iti / kālacakram paramādibuddhāṃ nirgataṃ daśabhāgenedaśaniṃkhanyanta
\end{align*}
\]

---

664 Mleccha comes from the Sanskrit root mlech which means "to speak indistinctly (like a foreigner or barbarian who does not speak Sanskrit)." As a noun mleccha, it means "foreigner, barbarian, non-Aryan, man of an outcast race, any person who does not speak Sanskrit and does not conform to the usual Hindu institutions." (Monier-Williams, 837).

665 In the Kālacakra Tantra (KCT I:150-170 and KCT II:48-50), mleccha stands for the barbarian Muslims from Makha (Mecca).


667 See for example the Nispannayogāvalī and its description of the deities in the Kālacakra manḍala.


669 Banerjee. 1985 has abdhi which stands for "four" and is more relevant.
nāḍibhedeneti bāhye neyārtham iti laghukālacakra niyamah / 670

Translation of KCT II:57: 671

Because of the division into thirty [divinities] from that [Ādibuddha], in the Kālacakra [tantra] there are a determined [number] of divinities multiplied by three. Moreover [there are] the six outer mūdras and the determined [number] of the channels of the cakras. There are four [channels] in the crown [-cakra], the heart [-cakra] has eight, the fore-head [-cakra] has sixteen, the throat [-cakra] has thirty-two, the navel [-cakra] sixty-four, and in the secret [-cakra] thirty-two [channels] are known. // 57 //

Vimalaprabhā to KCT II:57:

Now, here the origination of the laghutantra from the Paramādibuddha [mūlatantra] is presented, beginning with “thirty” and so forth. Here, from the Paramādibuddha, 54 deities are obtained due to the division of 1620 by 30. They are “multiplied by 3”, that is, multiplied by body, speech and mind, and become 162 [deities]. Among them, those related to mādala are 154. The mādala is the pair consisting of wisdom and method and the six mūdras in the outer [world]. The Kālacakra 672 has come forth from the Paramādibuddha 673 due to the classification of ten, 674 that is, due to the classification of channels beginning with iḍa and ending with saṃkhini. This is a relative meaning (neyartha) with respect to the outer [world]. This is a description of the laghu Kālacakra [tantra].

This part of the second chapter contains many figures and calculations of numbers which have their origin from the system of channels in “the subtle body”. From the number of channels in the body are also calculated the deities in the mādala. This verse KCT II:57, with commentary VP vol.I:188, has more information on the Paramādibuddha. The origin of the abridged tantra from the root-tantra is explained. It is a continuation of the reasoning around the number of deities in the māndalas. In the Paramādibuddha there were 1620 deities but by a system of division it is reduced and then again restored until the conclusion that the Kālacakra has come forth from the Paramādibuddha and they both contain 1620 deities. 675 Again it is clear that Paramādibuddha is a designation of both the root-tantra text and the assembly of divinities in the māndala of Paramādibuddha. The following part of the VP commentary to KCT II:59 treats the Ādibuddha and the māndala:

\[
\text{evam satparaśad adhikasatakālacakranādyo devatādevatisvabhāvenāvasthitā}
\]


671 This text has been translated by Wallace in her dissertation which translates the whole of the second chapter, both KCT and VP. (Wallace. 1995:236-37).

672 Bu-ston. 1965b:367. Bu-ston gives the explanation “1620” [deities].

673 Ibid. Bu-ston gives the same explanation “1620” [deities].

674 Ibid. Bu-ston gives “[of ten] channels (nādi) of the heart.”

Thus, one hundred and fifty-six channels of Kalacakra, which exist with the nature of male and female deities, are the givers of death to foolish people and the bestowers of bliss to the yogis. They are conceived as good along with the channels of the six families. Kalacakra consists of one hundred and sixty-two channels of the six cakras. Among those one hundred and sixty-two [channels], every single channel is often kinds due to the circulation of the ten winds and due to the ten natures of the aggregates (skandha) and elements (dhātu). Thus, all multiplied by ten become one thousand six hundred and twenty [channels] conveying the ghaṭikas of the twenty-seven constellations. Thus, due to wisdom and method, there are that many female deities in the glorious Paramādibuddha with its madala of constellations. Hence; conventionally, the deities convey the elements of humours from the extensive madala of the Paramādibuddha. The Tibetan translation given in Bu-ston, 1965b:679

De ltar las ni yod par smra ba por 'gyur bcom ldan ston pa gcig pu de ni byed po min / kun mkhyen dang po'i sangs rgyas srid gsum gyis btud dus kyi
Thus, even though he becomes the one who advocates the existence of karma (karmastivadin), so he, Bhagavān the unique teacher, is not one who is a creator. He is omniscient Adibuddha, revered by the three worlds, Kālacakrī [who is] the jina-producer, [who is] without qualities, [who is] without mental constructions (nirvikalpa), him I pay homage to. // 92 //

The Vimalaprabhā commentary:

\[ \text{evam uktena kramena karmastivādā kartā iti nāstivādā nairatmyavādī bhavati,} \]
\[ \text{sa bhagavān viśuddhacittamātā / "na sannāsanna sadasanna cāpy} \]
\[ \text{anubhāyātmakām / [mā 0 kā 0 5,2] "ekāstā traidhātuke na kartā / sarvajñāś} \]
\[ \text{cādibuddhāḥ sarvajñātā-sarvākārajñātā-mārgajñātā-mārgākārajñātā-} \]
\[ \text{prāpratibhuvanamītāḥ kālacakrī} \]
\[ \text{anāsravasukhasvarvākāradharmi / na caḥ viṣṇuḥ / kutaḥ ? yato brahma-} \]
\[ \text{viṣṇuḥ ca rudrāḥ śārānam adhīgato yasya pādābhjāmule, taṃ vande kālacakram} \]
\[ \text{iti so 'haṃ mahājñūṣrī jinavratanjanaṇaṃ niṛguṇaṃ nirvikalpaṃ pūrvokalaksanam} \]
\[ \text{iti śūnyatāvādiniyamah} / 681 \]

A translation of the whole commentary:

[Now is told about the Karmavāda (the doctrine of karma)] Thus, as it was discussed sequentially, one who is advocating the existence of karma, is not a propounder of the existence of a creator, he is one who is advocating the non-existence of self (nairatmya); that Bhagavan’s inner nature is composed of purified mind. "Na sannāsanna sadasanna cāpy anubhāyātmakām" (mā 0 kā 0 5,2), [Transl. of the quotation: "not existing, not non-existing, not existing non-existence, there is even not non-existence of the two together."] He is the unique teacher, he is not a creator in the three worlds. The omniscient Adibuddha has attained omniscience, knowledge of all the aspects, knowledge of all the aspects of the path, and he is revered by the three worlds. Kālacakrī (the one with the wheel), the one who possesses the

\[ \text{680 From here on I place the original Sanskrit word that I have translated between simple parentheses.} \]
\[ \text{I use brackets for amendments in the translation made in order to make the text comprehensible in English.} \]
\[ \text{681 The commentary in Vimalaprabhā II.5 in VP Vol.I. 1986:219, line 22-28.} \]
\[ \text{682 This is a quotation from the Mūlamadhyamakakārikā by Nāgārjuna, cited in order to prove the doctrine of nairatmya (the non-existence of self).} \]
\[ \text{683 = "svabhāvikāya", according to the commentary by Bu-ston. 1965b:137.} \]
\[ \text{684 = "nirmanākāya", Bu-ston. 1965b:137.} \]
\[ \text{685 = "sambhogākāya", Bu-ston. 1965b:137.} \]
\[ \text{686 = "dharmākāya", Bu-ston. 1965b:137.} \]
happiness without impurities, is not Cakrī, that is, Viṣṇu. [Why?] At the root of whose foot-lotus Rudra, Brahma and Viṣṇu have found refuge, him I salute as Kālacakra. Thus I, Mahāsjātri, 687 salute this one, the progenitor of jinas, 688 who is Kālacakra, without characteristics, without mental constructions, and who has been characterized of what has been said earlier. This is the precept of a śūnyatā-vādin (someone following the doctrine of the Void).

In the Vimalaprabhā, this is part of the 5th subchapter “The definition of the characteristics of the momentary in the Kālacakra.” Early in this subchapter (v.89) is discussed that “there is no creator who gives or takes away the happiness and sufferings of living beings. In samsāra, a performed earlier deed which is of three kinds brings about its result.” 690 It is important to stress that there is no “creator” of the individual. Generally, it is argued here for the doctrine of karma and its general validity.

The general topic is the birth in the six destinies due to the ripening of karma. Here Ādibuddha stands for the “principle” of Ādibuddha. In this verse one can read that he is omniscient, 691 he is revered by the three worlds, and he is equal to Kālacakra who produces the jinas. Also, one who advocates Kālacakra is not a worshipper of Viṣṇu. 692 This is a very interesting verse where for the first time in the KCT the word Ādibuddha is given some qualifications and is not just a name for the texts in the Kālacakra Tantra. In the commentary it is made clear that Cakrī is Viṣṇu, which means that that the followers of Kālacakra did not want their teaching to be mixed up with vaishnavism. The whole verse makes it evident that Kālacakra is considered superior to the greatest Hindu gods. Actually, these gods (Brahma, Viṣṇu and Rudra) have taken refuge in Kālacakra. To conclude, in this verse one can say about the Ādibuddha that “he” 693 is omniscient, has attained knowledge of all aspects, has knowledge of the path and all aspects of knowledge of the path, and is revered by the three worlds. He is also to be equalled to Kālacakra, who is a jinajanaka (he makes the jinas emerge).

I use here the pronoun “he”, but of course Ādibuddha has no gender and is neither “he” nor “she”. It is also impossible to say “it” and I use “he” as a convention in this work. It is clear that Ādibuddha is beyond male and female. When in the final line of the commentary it is said that this is a fixation of the śūnyatā-vāda (the doctrine of the Void), the reader could start wondering what these deities really are in connection with the doctrine of the Void. Perhaps this verse is another way of describing the śūnyatā-doctrine of the Void?

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687 He is Yasas, king of Sambhala and father of the author of the Vimalaprabhā, who is considered to be an incarnation of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī.
691 Newman. 1987a:349-351 for a discussion of the concept “omniscient”.
693 It is of course impossible to give the concept of Ādibuddha a gender. I have written “he” in the text only following the tradition that masculinity has a sort preference. One of the definitive qualifications of the Ādibuddha is that “he” is beyond the dualistic concept of gender.
In the commentary there is inserted a verse from Nāgārjuna in order to strengthen the fact that the description of the deities has its basis in Mādhyamika philosophy. Next, I will present a part of the VP commentary to the verse KCT II:176 which contains a mentioning of Ādibuddha:

\[\text{vistaro 'neko 'nekapramāśāstreṇa madhyamakena nirākaraṇīyas tīrthikānāṃ Siddhāntaḥ} / \text{yah samvṛtyā vivṛtyā vā sambuddhavacanasamah sa na dāṣanīya iti kālacakra adibuddhabhagavato niyamah / tadyathā} \]

The extensive and diverse system (siddhanta) of heterodox sectarians (tirthikas) is to be repudiated by means of the Mādhyamika, which has many authoritative treatises. That which is either conventionally or non-conventionally identical to the words of the Buddha, is not to be refuted. This is the definition of the Bhagavan Kālacakra, the Ādibuddha. For example...

Here is clearly stated that Kālacakra is Ādibuddha. After the fore-going verse the concluding verses 177-180 of the second chapter on the inner Kālacakra (AdhyātmaPaññā) follows. Kālacakra is here consequently called Ādibuddha and these last verses seem to a listing of characteristics of Kālacakra/Ādibuddha. These verses do not have any commentary in the VP, but concerning the two last verses of the second chapter. Here follows KCT II:179:

\[\text{indro aham svarga lokākāri tīrthikānāṃ phāsa gurū cakravartī pātāle nāgarājāḥ phanikula nāma sarvāṅga vattī} \]

\[\text{I am Indra, the guru of thirteen in heaven, a cakravartin in earth, the king of nāgas in the underworld, revered by the family of serpents. I am the omnipresent and excellent knowledge (jñāna), a Buddha, Indra} \]

\[\text{[the master] of the wise men, an unchanging and supreme sovereign (aśāra paramāsīvibhu), the yogis' vajrayoga, the Veda, the om-syllable, a protagonist} \]

\[\text{[chosen by each side to decide a battle] and a means of purification. Oh King, take refuge in me with all your being.} \]

Who speaks here? It is not completely clear, but from the context it can be concluded that it is Buddha Śākyamuni in the form of Kālacakra, and consequently, Ādibuddha. A number of characteristics are then enumerated which are the same as those that can be found in other places in the KCT and the VP. He is “unchanging” and “supreme sovereign”, concepts that are known from chapter five (KCT V:127). It can be remarked that Buddha here calls himself “Indra”. The “King” mentioned must from the context be identified with King Sucandra of Sambhala who was listening to Śākyamuni Buddha preaching the root Paramādibuddha Kālacakra Tantra and later was to write it down.

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Finally, the last verse in the second chapter KCT II:180 will be quoted:

tvam mātā tvam pītā tvam jagatī guru api tvam ca bandhuḥ sumitrāṁ
 tvam nāḥastvāṁ vidhātā hita maghaharanā tvam padaṁ sampadāṁ ca /
tvam kailāyaṁ padaṁ tvam varagunanilayo dhvastadosas tvam eva
tvam dinānātha cintāmaṇiḥ api śaranaṁ tvam gato 'ham jinendra //180//

You are the mother, you are the father. In the world, you are the guru,
you are a relative and a good friend. You are a protector, you are a giver,
you are the gift of goods and wealth and the state of perfection. You are
the final beatitude, you are the abode of the best qualities, and you are
free from faults. Oh protector of the wretched, you are the cintāmaṇi.697
I take refuge in you, oh Jinendra (lord of jinas).

This verse is a homage to Kālacakra/Ādibuddha and tells of the qualities of this deity in
very concrete language. He is a very perfect, almost human, figure, being the father,
mother, guru, protector and free from faults. Cintāmaṇi is a very precious jewel or stone
kept in Kalāpa, the capital of Shambhala. The only more general qualification is as “Jinendra” (jina+indra), which in this context can be interpreted as “master of jinas” or “Lord of jinas”.

4.2.1.c Ādibuddha in the KCT and the Vimalaprabhā commentary chapter III -
Abhiṣekapāṭalāḥ - the chapter on the initiation.

In a few places in the third chapter of the Vimalaprabhā, the word Ādibuddha or Pa-
ramādibuddha can be found. Mostly, it is no more than the designation of the root-tantra
text called with these names. When quoted, the root-tantra is almost always called the
“mūlatantra”, that is, “root-tantra” and only in a few places is it designated as Ādibuddha.
In the VP commentary on KCT III:1:

tathāha bhagavan ādibuddhe.698

So it was said by the Lord (Bhagavān) in the Ādibuddha.

Then follows a quotation from the root-tantra. It is clear that this mentions the text Pa-
ramādibuddha, also called only Ādibuddha. Bhagavān here, as in most places in the
Kālacakra texts, is a title for Buddha Sākyamuni.
In the VP commentary to KCT III:19.

tatrādibuddhe cittamaṇḍalaṁ dvādaśahastam prakuryād iti niyamāc

697 A “wishfulfilling jewel” that was thought to exist in Kalāpa, the capital of Shambhala. It was said to be
able fulfill all wishes.
**catur viśati hastam sutram /**

In that Ādibuddha the mind-**mandala** and the twelve hands are produced, and from the four rules is established the **sūtra** of the hand.

Here Ādibuddha is probably the **manḍala** which is another meaning of the word. There is nothing new about the concept. In the VP in the introduction to subchapter 3 and KCT III:36 on the drawing of the **manḍala**:

\[
\text{īha paramādibuddhād uddhṛtaṁ maṇḍalalaksanaṁ pāñcakṛṣṇaṁ tam ādīvṛttaiḥ saṅgitiṁ mañjuśriyā yat tad idāṁ viṁśīyatmā mūlātantrānusāreṇa}
\]

Here, drawn out from the **paramādibuddha** are the characteristics of the **manḍala**, the 35 that exist from the beginning, the chant of Mañjuśrī was laid out following the root-**tantra**.

Here the word **Paramādibuddha** must be a designation of the text, the root-**tantra**. Here is the same wording **paramādibuddhāuddhṛtaṁ** as found in the commentary to KCT V:89 that will be treated in chapter V.

In the VP commentary to KCT III:55:

\[
evam dvādaśadvairātmakaṁ kāyavākcittamanḍalam paramādibuddham sodasacakrakalā vibhāgikām
\]

So, composed of the twelve openings, the body, speech and mind-**manḍala**, the **paramādibuddha** and the differentiation of the moon into sixteen moon digits [small parts of the day]

This is a part of the subchapter with the description of **maṇḍalas** in the **Kālacakra**, so **paramādibuddha** is again the **maṇḍala**.

In the VP commentary to KCT III:97:

\[
\text{Paramādibuddhe anye vā maṇḍale saptābhīṣekair vyākṛto anuññāto mahāy...}
\]

In the other **Paramādibuddha** or **maṇḍala**, having made the seven initiations known by me...

Here once more **Paramādibuddha** signifies the **maṇḍala** in the root-**tantra**. In the introduction to the VP subchapter 5 to KCT III:104:

\[
\text{iḥa śrīparamādibuddhāt pratiṣṭāvidhir mañjuśriyā caturdhikaśatādvīrttaṁ}
\]

---

uddhṛta tiśayasī vityayate 703

Here, Mañjuśrī drew out the consecration rite from the Śrīparamādibuddha using the 104th verse [of KCT V]. I shall explain it with the commentary.

It is obvious that Paramādibuddha is mentioned as the text with that name. The commentary was written with this root-tantra as a base.

In the VP commentary to KCT III:165:

yenātra paramādibudhe sarvapṛthivyāpakatvād bhoṭṭādīcināvidviṣayeṣv api piṭhādini santi,... 704

Therefore, in the Paramādibuddha from the whole earth....; even in the countries of Bhoṭa etc (Tibet) and Cina etc, there are provinces etc....

Here Paramādibuddha is probably a designation for the text Paramādibuddha. It appears that the spread of Paramādibuddha to countries like Tibet is mentioned.

4.2.1.d. Ādibuddha in the KCT and the Vimalaprabhā commentary to KCT IV - Sādhanapātalaḥ - the methods of practice chapter.

The first quotation is from the introduction to KCT IV:1:

Paramādibuddhāt sādhana-pātale sucanādrādheṣaṇaṁ...

In the chapter on method (sādhaṇa) from the Paramādibuddha teachings of Sucandra....

As in most places, Paramādibuddha is the name of the text.

The following quotation is from the VP commentary to KCT IV:19 and belongs to the sub-chapter on the stage of generation and Ādibuddha stands for the text.

idāniṁ nāmarūpādyutpādāya mahārāgavaiśeṣasaptalokam ādibuddhadeśānāyāṁ bhājanam abhisaṅviśya suratadvainīṁ svakāye 'ksobhyādiśīlasamāhaṁ praveṣyaśādādhaṁsaṁhaṁ puruṣavidyā caksur ādīrūpādviṣaya svabhāvena devata svarūpāvirbhūtaṁ punar api tāṁ svakāyaṁ niścārya viśvamātāṁ yathā vaddāntaḥ bhāvayet / 706

Here by the first emergence of name and form, [someone] has come to

be known as the one who takes part of the instruction of Adibuddha on
the seven worlds and the modesty of the great passion. In the own body,
because of the great pleasure, Akṣobhya and the other jinas are assembled,
as well as the realms, space, etc...the knowledge of man, the eye, the abode
of the own form etc. Again, having manifested [this] by his own body,
he is to be one who has declared this to Viśvamātā.

The following is the VP commentary to KCT IV:133:

śādhitah Kālacakraḥ samsukham dadāti niyama iti śrīmad
ādibuddhasādhavanam utpannakrameṇoktam asya vistaro
jñānapatāle vaktavya iti // 13

The meditation deity Kālacakra has given the same bliss. It is fixed.
The holy Adibuddha sādhana, through the stage of completion
(utpannakrama) it is to be treated in detail in the chapter on knowledge
(jñānapataḥ).

The above is about the śādhana of Adibuddha. There are many ways of practising and
making a śādhana in the Kālacakra Tantra. Here, one is mentioned concerning the com­
pletion stage of the initiation and practice following the six folded yoga (ṣādaṅgayoga).
Below follows a commentary to KCT IV:168:

ādibuddhe mahātante sugateneṣtasiddhayē //
evam ṣaḍlaksajāpena pūrvasvā nigadyate /

In the great tantra Ādibuddha, the Buddha (sugatena) said
that the desired accomplishment [is reached]
by the murmuring of the 600.000 [mantras],
the preliminary service [tib. sngon-'gro]

This is a quotation from the root-tantra, which is normally called Ādibuddha or
Paramādibuddha. Here it appears that Ādibuddha represents the text, but it seems strange
that in the very text that is called Ādibuddha it is mentioned that something can be found in
the text Ādibuddha.

4.2.1.e. Ādibuddha in the KCT and the Vimalaprabhā commentary to chapter V
- Jñānapatālaḥ - the chapter on knowledge.

The places in the fifth chapter of the KCT and the Vimalaprabhā where the word Ādibuddha or Paramādibuddha can be found will now be treated.

In the commentary to KCT V:9:

From these statements it is not an upāyatantra / like that, [in the] Ādibuddha [it is said]:

After this quotation follows a citation from the root-tantra. Consequently, by Ādibuddha is only meant the root-tantra text Paramādibuddha. It is sometimes called Ādibuddha but mostly Paramādibuddha.

The VP introductory commentary to the second subchapter on the four bodies of the Buddha and to KCT V:89:

Na san nāsan na sadasan na cāpy anubhayātmakam /
caṭuskoṭivinirmuktam natvā kāyaṃ mahāsukham //
uddhṛtam mañjuvajrena ādibuddhān niranyāt /
lakṣaṇam buddhakāyānāṃ catunāṃ tadvitanyate //

The body of the great bliss is completely liberated from the four alternatives; it is not exist­ent, not non-existent, not existent and non-existent and not consisting of neither. I will explain the characteristics of the four Buddha bodies as Mañjuvajra extracted them from the Ādibuddha without causal connection.

This is a very interesting quotation that will be returned to when treating the theories of the four bodies of the Buddha. The quotation is placed as a sort of introduction to the sub­chapter on the four bodies and contains at the beginning a quotation from the Mūlamādhyāmakārikā by Nāgārjuna on the existence and non-existence of phenomena. It then continues that Mañjuvajra has drawn out the characteristics of the four bodies from the Ādibuddha. Here the word Ādibuddha can be interpreted in distinct ways. The first is that it quite simply is the name of the mūlatantra Paramādibuddha and Mañjuvajra is another way of qualifying the author of the laṅgutantra (KCT) who was the king of Samb­hala called Mañjuśrī Yasas. The interpretation would then be that the author, Mañjuśrī Yaśas, drew out the essential content on the four bodies as written by king Sucandra in the lost root-tantra Paramādibuddha. The other possible interpretation is that here is meant the concept of Ādibuddha as a sort of cosmic idea of the origin of the world, and that the four bodies are levels of existence of the “cosmic” Buddha as well as different kinds of states to be reached in Buddhist methods of realization of the ultimate stage of mahāsukha or nirvāṇa. This interpretation is based on the word niranvaya or “without partiality”, “without retinue”, “without family”, “without descendence”, “without continuity”, “without relation” or “without causal connection”. All these possible interpretations of the word hints that Ādibuddha should be interpreted as the “cosmic” Ādibuddha and not as the root­tantra text.

711 A quotation from the Mūlamādhyāmakārikā by Nāgārjuna. The same quotation exists in the VP commentary to the KCT II:92 as I have translated it above, p.123.
712 See the translation of the whole of the commentary to verse KCT V:89 in my chapter on the four bodies.
The VP commentary on KCT V:127 in the third subchapter on the supreme unchanging gnosis:

\[\text{kalkā punah sambhalaviśaye yaśoblāhmaṇasya putro bhūtvā vāsudevāḥ satlāśvam āruhya darbhamayaḥ satlaiḥ sarvamelecchān mārayitvā bahuṣuvvarnamahāyāgam kṛtvā punar brahmāṇayām prthvīṁ kariṣyati / evam anekavākyāṇy aghaṭitāni duṣṭaviprair buddhotpādadākele raacitāni prāgvedapāṭhe na santi / ihādibuddhadeśanākāle tathāgatenoktam lokadhātaṇṭale (1.26) jyotiṣapratāve mlecchadharme jāte sati siddhānāṁ vināśo bhaviṣyati prthvīṁ laghu-karaṇāni bhaviṣyanti mañjughoṣo 'pi mayi nirvṛte śadvarṣaśataiḥ sambhalaviśaye śākyakule sureśānasya putro vijayādevigarbhe yaśoṇāmakalkī bhaviṣyati / tad yathā.}\textsuperscript{713}

Moreover, the *kalkin*, after having been born as the son of the *brahmāṇa* *Yaśas* in the realm of *Sambhala*, [being in fact] *Vāsudeva*, after having mounted on a horse with precious stones, after having killed all the *mlecchas* with a spear of long sacrificial grass. After having made an offering of the richly golden sacrificial broth, he will once again make the earth the *brahmāṇa*’s place. In this way, by many nonsensical statements were preached by evil *brahmans* at the time of the emergence of the Buddha, they [the statements] did not exist in the earlier Vedic texts. In this regard, at the time of the instruction of the *Adibuddha*, it was stated by the *Tathāgata* in the chapter on the outer world that when, at the proper astrological time, the barbarian *dharma* is produced, the destruction of the *siddhas* is going to come; the *laghu-karaṇāni* [unreliable astronomical calculation manuals] will come into existence on earth, and even *Mañjughoṣa*, six-hundred years after I have entered *Nirvāṇa* will be [born] in the realm of *Sambhala*, in the *Śākya* clan, as the son of *Śureśāṇa*, in the womb of queen *Vijayā*, is going to become the *Kalkin* by name of *Yaśas* as follows:

Here is written about *Adibuddha* as the text and it is also told about the author of the text. The use of the concept “instruction of the *Adibuddha*” signifies that the teaching of *Kālacakra* was practised.

The VP commentary on the KCT V:130:

\[\text{Paramādibuddhe śaṣṭisāhasrikāyāṁ īkāyāṁ jñātavya iti / }\textsuperscript{714}\]

It is going to be known in the *Paramādibuddha* and the 60,000 verse commentary.

This is a reference to the root-*tantra* written by *Sucandra* and the 60,000 verse root-*Vimalaprabhā* commentary. What is interesting here is that both texts are mentioned as existing. The VP commentary on the KCT V:222:

\[\text{athādibuddhokto golakabandha ucyeate}\textsuperscript{715}\]


So, it was said by the Ādibuddha and it was expressed in connection with the celestial sphere.

Here the word Ādibuddha seems to be a designation of the text, or it could be the principle. The VP commentary on the KCT V:223:

\[
\text{ādibuddhabhagavatoktam aparāṃ vistaram na likhitam} //223// 716
\]

It was said by the Bhagavān Ādibuddha, otherwise the exposition was not written.

Here Ādibuddha can be interpreted as the Buddha Śākyamuni who as Kālacakra taught the Ādibuddha text to the king Sucandra of Sambhala. If it was not preached by the Buddha, it would not be written as a canonical text. As Ādibuddha is qualified as Bhagavan, it must be a personal concept. The next mention of Ādibuddha is in KCT V:243:

\[
sarvasmiṃstantrarāje khali kuliśapadāṃ gopitām vajrīṇā vai, 
pratyakṣaṃ ēśādibuddhe nigaditām akhilām prāṇinām mokṣahetoh /
tasmāt tantrottaraṃ vai sakalam avikalaṃ lokalokottarābhyaṃ, 
śrīmat tantrādibuddham paramajinapates cābhidhānam sucandra //243//717
\]

In all [other] tantrarājas,718 the vajra-state is hidden by vajrīṇā. For the sake of the liberation of the beings, all is announced clearly in the Ādibuddha

Therefore, the excellent tantra [exists], the entire, unspoiled, with the worldly and the outer-worldly. So, śrīmat tantrādibuddham is the exposition of the supreme jinapati (master of jinas), Oh, Sucandra. // 243 //

Bu-ston does not comment on this verse. Buddha Śākyamuni is speaking to Sucandra about the very text, the mūlatantra Paramādibuddha, which is here called tantrarāja. Here Ādibuddha is mentioned twice in the same verse. The first time it seems to be the text Ādibuddha, that is, the KCT or the lost root-tantra. Everything is said clearly in the Ādibuddha texts. The second mention of Ādibuddha in the 4th line is very interesting because here there is a confirmation that the much used term jinapati is a designation for Ādibuddha. It also indicates the sense of the word as the master or father of the five jinas, which is the very definition of the Ādibuddha. In an incomplete inventory of the term jinapati in chapters 3-5 in the laghutantra, I have found it mentioned in 42 places. Whereas the term Ādibuddha is mentioned only 7 times in a complete inventory of the whole laghutantra. This is just one example that there is much more material on the concept of Ādibuddha in the tantra than the word itself indicates.

718 See Bu-ston’s commentary to KCT V:252 in Bu-ston. 1965a:290.
Just so, [it was] clearly [stated] in the Adibuddha, for the sake of the liberation of the ones being born with minds having no pride and for all the living beings in the realm of Sambhala: Actually, the extraordinary tantra, the tantrarāja entire and divided in portions, from the lokatantra and the kriyatantra and from the extraordinary yogatantra of all those it is the supremely extraordinary. Śrīmat-tantrādibuddha [KCT] pronounces the full expression of sahaja and the wisdom body (jñānakāya) of the supreme master of jinas (paramajinapati.) // 243 //

The commentary is quite enigmatic. In the country of Shambhala someone, who is probably the author of the Vimalaprabhā, Pundarika the king of Shambhala, is making a statement with the meaning that the text Adibuddha explains the sahajakāya and the jñānakāya of the Paramajinapati. The word Paramajinapati carries the meaning that it is someone who is the supreme master (or father) of jinas. On the other hand there can hardly exist more than one jinapati, so consequently the name probably is there to underlie the importance of the deity that is the ruler over the jinas. The jinapati then must be a designation for the chief among the jinas who is given several names according to tradition. In the Kalacakra context, it seems to be the Adibuddha, Kalacakra, Vajrasattva, Mañjuśrī and sometimes Samantabhadra. If there is an Adibuddha concept in the Kalacakra, one of his abilities must be to be the father of the five jinas. Consequently, here Adibuddha should be qualified as the superior father/master of jinas. No one else could have this function.

For the first time, it is also possible to connect the idea of Adibuddha with the four body theory clearly found in the Kalacakra Tantra. Here it is stated that in some way the paramajinapati "has" a jñānakāya and/or a sahajakāya. Jñānakāya is a concept that is normally linked to Mañjuśrī as Adibuddha, but in the Kalacakra texts, many times Mañjuśrī comes very close to be designated as Adibuddha. As will be shown later in this work, Sahajakāya is definitely very close to the Adibuddha concept in the Kalacakra Tantra. Consequently, it can be deduced that by the term Paramajinapati at this point could be meant a concept of Adibuddha.

The next text consulted is KCT V:252 with the Tibetan commentary by Bu-ston. There is no VP commentary on this verse:

śrīmān śrīdharmaśakre suravaranamite viṣṭare viśavaranे

Translation with the commentaries of Bu-ston interpolated: 721

Śrīmān, [Bu: This is the place where the Kālacakra was preached, Dhānyaakaṭaka stūpa], in the blessed dharmacakra [Bu: here is question of the gods in the mandala] which [Bu: the lion-throne] is adorned by the best of the gods; all the colours have been widespread. [Bu: The colours are of various sorts] Buddha [Bu: Buddha Śākyamuni] has, mounted on the wheel, explained to the master of men the [Bu: the mūla-] tantrarājādibuddham [Bu: the 12,000 verse one, the king among all tantras, the Ādibuddha]. For the sake of the living beings and the guru of gods and men, having knowledge of the moon. By me [Bu: Maṇjuśrī] this is now pronounced [Bu: the meaning of the root-tantra] in the small (alpatantra) in Kalāpa, [Bu: upāya and prajñā are inseparable from the small Kālacakra-tantra (the laghutantra)] oh, Śūrya[ratha].

In this verse, the word Ādibuddha once more signifies the text, the mūlatantra Paramādibuddha. Probably just to make the point that the author, Yaśas, composed this text and that the other mūlatantra was exposed by Buddha himself for the master of men, which probably makes allusion to the king of Śambhala, Sucsandra. Here the laghutantra is called the alpatantra (the small tantra) which is a new terminology. Bu-ston’s translation of the Vimalaprabhā ends with verse 247 as there are no commentaries written in the VP on the rest of the verses in the fifth chapter.

The last place where the word Ādibuddha is found is in KCT.V:256:

vrddho 'pi tvam kumārah sakalajinasuto 'py ādibuddhas tvam ādau, strīsanī brahmacārī paramakaruṇayā lokabandhur yamāriḥ / saumyo 'pi tvam suvāri maraṇabhayaharas tvam sadā māramāro, mukto 'pi tvam bhave 'smin praviśasti jagatah pācanaṁtham yašas tvam // 256/ // 722

As there is no commentary to this verse in the VP, I have translated Bu-ston’s interesting commentaries to the KCT, here presented within brackets:

Even though you [Maṇjuśrī ] are old, you are a youngster; even though you are born by all the jinas [you are the son of the jinas because you have entered upon the way of the bodhisattva], so were you in the beginning [that because you have been transformed into the jñānakāya of all the Tathāgata’s you are the ādibuddha] ādibuddha.723

Even though you are attached to women, you live in chastity [You are

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721 Bu-ston. 1965a:294, line 3-5.
723 These two lines have been presented and translated already by de La Vallée Poussin. 1908:95.
a brahmaçari that doesn’t let his bodhicitta flow out], with the extreme compassion, the kinsman of the world; the enemy [and killer] of Yāma.

Even though you are radiant as the moon [As for you, even though dispassionate(calm)], so [you are] a brilliant vajra, [you] take away the fear for death, always, [you] killer of Māra; [Bu-ston here translates: “As for you, [you are] at each time the killer of Māra”; and (Bu-ston’s commentary: Because you have subdued the Māras who hindered the highest bodhi)].

Even though you are liberated in this world [Bu-ston’s translation: “As for you, even though you are liberated (from the ties of life),] as for in this life, (you have come) for the sake of ripening the living beings”], you enter into the worlds to cure the world, you Yasas [As for you (Mañjuśrī) Yasas, you were made to enter into perfection].

Mañjuśrī Yasas is here presented as a very complicated personality. He is old and young; he was born by the jinas, but was in the beginning Adibuddha. He is the killer of Māra and Yāma; he is not of this world, but enters the world to help it. All this is possibly a way of saying that Mañjuśrī Yasas is omniscient, and, as is known from the text Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti, he is regarded at times as Adibuddha himself. It is possible that the Yasas which is mentioned is the king Yasas, the author of the text KCT, who in his turn is regarded as an incarnation of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. There are some problems with this identification though, because if we regard the king Yasas of Sambhala as the author of the text KCT, it seems more than strange that in the very text the author himself is put on equal footing as the Adibuddha. The speaker in this verse is Sūryaratha, and some verses in the KCT are dialogue of Yasas and Sūryaratha, and consequently these verses are not drawn from Paramādibuddha. This is Sūryaratha’s praise of Yasas.

According to Bu-ston the interpretation could be that all the former part of the verse makes allusion to the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (as Adibuddha), and that only the final salutation alludes to the king Yasas. Bu-ston comments that Mañjuśrī is the jñānakāya of all the Tathāgatas and this jñānakāya can be said to be the Adibuddha.

Furthermore, two more places where the word Adibuddha is not mentioned, but where the concept is alluded to in other words are presented:

First KCT V:49:

rgvedam paścimāsyaśād api gadati yajur vāmavakrāj jinendraḥ savyāṣyāt sāmavedam paramaharikule ‘tharvanam pūrvavakrāt / pūrvāṣyāt kaulatantram punar aparamekhad gaurdhaṁ bhūtatantraṁ siddhāntam vāmavakrād udayar avinibhadviṣṇudharmāṁ ca savyāt // 49 //

The Rgveda is expressed from the western [face] and Yajur [veda] [is expressed] from the left mouth by Jinendra; From the right face [he elaborates] the Sāmaveda, in the clan of the supreme Hari (Vishnu), from the eastern mouth [is spoken] the Atharva-veda.

724See also for this verse Wayman. 1985:7-8 and Grönbold. 1992:12.

From the eastern face [he expresses] the kaulatantras, moreover from the western face [he expresses] the Gāruda- and Bhūta-tantras. From the left face [he declares] the [Śaiva] Siddhanta, [and] the Viṣṇudharma [that is] like unto the rising sun [he declares] from the left [face].

Here it is written that the four Vedas come out of the mouth of jinendra (the king among jinas) jina - indra and there is a possibility that this concept corresponds to the concept of Ādibuddha. In that case, this would be another sign of the omniscience of Ādibuddha. Perhaps also a sign of the inclusiveness of the Kālacakra, as it also includes the basic literature on Indian religion in the doctrine of the Ādibuddha. It also means that Ādibuddha even taught the Vedas. The syncretism of these texts becomes very obvious in this verse. Viṣṇu and Gāruda are mentioned and especially Viṣṇu is honoured. Unfortunately, there is no commentary in the Vimalaprabhā to this verse. There are only a few remarks by Bu-ston that do not give much assistance.

Finally, the first chapter of the laghutantra. KCT. I:21, 3-4th lines:

digrakṣapālās tanmadhye kālacakra jinavarajanako 'nāhato vajrakāyah // 21 //

In the midst of the guardians of the five directions is Kālacakra, he who produces the foremost of jinas, is indestructible (anāhato) and vajrakāya.

Jinajanaka, the producer of the jinas, is also used for Ādibuddha according to the commentary, as is also “indestructible” (anāhata), which is also used for Vajrasattva, and lastly, vajrakāya is also used for Ādibuddha in the commentary. So, here Kālacakra is equalled to Ādibuddha.

4.3. ĀDIBUDDHA IN THE BASIC KĀLACAKRA TEXTS – A CONCLUDING SURVEY.

As a summary of the above chapter, the characteristics of the Ādibuddha, Kālacakra and Viśvamāta as they are found in the KCT and the Vimalaprabhā are presented.

4.3.a. Ādibuddha in the Śri-Kālacakra-nāma-tantra-rāja (KCT).

Interpreted as:
- the text (Paramādibuddha, mūlatantra, tantrarāja, tantrarājugādibuddha), KCT I:149, II: 56., V:252.
- bhagavān = Ādibuddha, II:92.
- unique teacher; II:92.

- not one who acts; II:92.
- omniscient; II:92.
- ruler over the three worlds; II:92.
- Kālacakri; II:92.
- he is not Cakrī (Viṣṇu); II:92.
- Brahma, Viṣṇu and Rudra have found refuge at his footlotus; II:92.
- progenitor of the best of jinas (jinavarajanam); II:92.
- without qualities (nirguṇa); II:92.
- without (mental) constructions (nirvikalpa); II:92.
- master of jinas (jinapati); V:243.
- everything is said in front of the eyes of Ādibuddha; V:243.
- Śrimāt tantrādibuddham; V:243.
- old but young; V:256. [Mañjuśrī].
- [Mañjuśrī is] born by all the jinas although in the beginning Ādibuddha; V:256.
- attached to women but living in chastity; V:256. [All the following concerns Mañjuśrī as Ādibuddha].
- compassionate; V:256.
- kinsman of the world; V:256.
- enemy of Yāma; V:256.
- radiant as the moon; V:256.
- brilliant vajra; V:256.
- killer of Mārā; V:256.
- liberated in this world but enters the world to cure it; V:256.

4.3.b. Ādibuddha in the Vimalaprabhā (VP).

Interpreted as:
- aspectless although possessing aspects; Vimalaprabhā I.1 in VP vol.I:1; (nr.2-6 are in the same place).
- unchanging bliss (akṣarasukha).
- progenitor of the Buddhas.
- possessing the three bodies.
- knowing the three times.
- omniscient.
- non-dual.
- innate master of jinas (sahajajinapatī); Vimalaprabha I.1 in VP vol.I:1; (nr.9-15, the same place).
- jñānakāya, dharmakāya, sambhogakāya and nirmānakāya.
- body of the day-maker sun (dinakaravapus).
- the eye of spreading the lotus-petals (padmapatrāyatākṣah).
- liberations.
- body, speech, mind, passion (kāya-vāk-citta-rāgais).
- beyond origination and dissolution.
- non-dual wisdom and method.
- pure yoga (śuddhoyoga); Vimalaprabha I.2 in VP vol.I 1986:12;(nr.17-18 in the same place.)
- vajrayoga that consists of wisdom and method.
- without partiality (nirvanavaya).
- perfect enlightenment in a single instant; Vimalaprabha I.2 in VP vol.I:17;(nr.21-23 in the same place).
- supreme (parama).
- the one who first (ādi) obtained buddhahood.
- without beginning in time; Vimalaprabhā I.2 in VP vol.I:18.
- without termination; Vimalaprabhā I.2 in VP vol.I:18.
- indivisible vajrayoga; Vimalaprabhā I.4 in VP vol.I:32.
- endless Buddha; (the same place).
- the absolute; Vimalaprabhā I.5 in VP vol.I:42-43.
- supreme unchanging (paramāksara) (the same place).

Divinities who are equalled to Ādibuddha are: Kālacakra, Vajrasattva, Vajradhara and Akṣobhya. Also the own-nature body (svābhāvikākāya).

4.3.c. Kālacakra in the Vimalaprabhā.

Interpreted as:
- emptiness (śūnya) and compassion (karunā); Vimalaprabhā I.1 in VP vol.I:1.
- without origination and annihilation in the three existences.; (the same).
- the single image of knowledge and objects of knowledge; (the same).
- the Buddha sitting on the lion throne; Vimalaprabhā I.1 in VP vol.I:1; (the same for nr. 5-12).
- the pure vajrayoga.
- a single reality having 16 aspects, due to the division of the Bodies.
- beyond non-existence and existence.
- the unity of knowledge and objects of knowledge.
- meeting of the best of jinas (jinavarasamayam).
- the true aim having 12 aspects due to the factors.
- bodhicitta.
- the thunderbolt abode of the jinas (jinakulisapadān).
- he has abandoned the absorption of āli and kāli, and the letters ḫum, ṭhaṭ and so forth; Vimalaprabhā I.1 in VP vol.I:2.
- the body born from the unchanging (from ādibuddha!); (the same).
- Definition : “Time (kāla, dus) has the characteristic of supreme unchanging bliss. One whose body is generated as a wheel (cakra; ’khor-lo) of unobscured aggregates, elements, and so forth by means of that [bliss] is Kālacakra”; Vimalaprabhā I.2 in VP vol.I:17.
4.3.d. Viśvamāta in the Vimalaprabhā.

Interpreted as:
- the progenitor of all the Buddhas \(\textit{janani saravabuddhānāṃ}\); Vimalaprabhā I.1 in VP vol.I:2.
- abandoned origination and destruction; (the same).
- one who possesses the conduct of Samantabhadra.; (the same).

4.4. CONCLUSIONS.

Consequently, what can we find out about Ādibuddha from looking at parts of these two texts? In the Śrī Kālacakra (KCT) the most important characteristics should be:
- he is not one who acts; - omniscient (sarvajñā).
- progenitor of the best of jinas (jinavarajananam); - without qualities (nirguna); - without mental constructions (nirvikalpa); - master of jinas (jinapati); - ruler over the three worlds.

In the Vimalaprabhā the characteristics mentioned above and the following:
- unchanging bliss (ākṣarasukha); - progenitor of the Buddhās (jinajanaka); - non-dual (advaya); - beginningless; - endless; - non-dual wisdom and method; - the one who first obtained buddhahood; - without partiality (retinue) (niranyaya).

It is possible to find a number of qualifications of the Ādibuddha in these texts. It fits in quite well with the general Ādibuddha-theories. Especially that he is bringing forth the jinas and that he is eternal. Consequently, one can perhaps say that Ādibuddha is described under this name in the two texts. Still it is not possible to find any one Ādibuddha described concretely and depicted iconographically as in Nepal. What is described more concretely is aspect or emanations such as Kālacakra, Akṣobhya, Viśvamāta, Vajrasattva and Vajradhara. In the Indo-tibetan iconography one can recognize an aspect of Ādibuddha in that they all have their arms crossed over the chest with vajra and bell in their hands.

Another possible conclusion is that the whole description is a way to describe the śūnyata (the Void). Ādibuddha can also be described as the Void, according to classical mādhyamika Buddhism.

Another way of describing the concept of Ādibuddha is that it is a designation of the concept of tathāgatagarbha, the notion that there exists a permanent Buddha-seed in all beings and the important thing for man is to discover his own Buddha-seed (garbha). Ruegg has treated the subject and he states about the tathāgatagarbha that it is “characterized as permanent (nitya), immutable (āhurava), blissful (sukha), and eternal (śaṅvata), and sometimes we are even told that it is ātman.” These epithets correspond well with the ones given to the concept of the Ādibuddha in the KCT and the VP. In the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra the concept of tathāgata contains the idea of being permanent.

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blissful, empty, without marks and “very pure” (viśuddha). These concepts are found as designations of the Ādibuddha in the KCT/VP. In his analysis of the tathāgatagarbha, Ruegg concludes that the concept is not identical with the brahmanical ātman, but that it is founded on a distinct theory which may neutralize and cancel both the ātmavāda and the anātmavāda. Perhaps there is a common stock of experiences which are used by both Buddhists and Hindus.

This idea about the tathāgatagarbha has recently been presented by Stearns in his work on Dol-po-pa. Dol-po-pa states that the Ādibuddha is to be compared to “indestructible self-arisen gnosis”, probably corresponding to acintya-sahaja-jñāna in Sanskrit. Despite these reservations, it is probable that there really is some idea of an Ādibuddha in the KCT and VP texts. The problem is that it is almost impossible to find a systematic description of the idea. As shown later in this text, more possibilities for interpretation open up when looking at the theory of the four bodies (the fourth body saha-jākāya or sūdhakāya) and the whole complex of ideas around the concept of the “supreme unchanging”, “the supreme unchanging gnosis” or “supreme unchanging bliss” (paramākṣara).

The concept of something unmanifested which manifests itself in some way in order to shape the world as we see it, is of course known in other branches of Indian philosophy. In the sāṁkhyā philosophy there are some similarities. It is the discussion on the root-base (mūla-prakṛti, pradhāna) which is interesting; how the unmanifested (avyakta) is becoming manifested (vyakta).

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734 Stearns. 1999:118.
5. THE FOUR BODIES OF THE BUDDHA IN THE KĀLACAKRA TANTRA AND THEIR RELATION TO THE ĀDIBUDDHA CONCEPT.

5.1. INTRODUCTION. EARLIER RESEARCH ON THE FOUR BODIES OF THE BUDDHA.

The concept of "bodies" "kāya" came to be known in Mahāyāna Buddhism. It is a much discussed concept and there are many different interpretations. In the following, I will discuss research being done in this field.

In his Introduction to the Sekoddeśaṭṭhā, Mario Carelli treats the svābhāvikakāya as equal to Sahajakāya. He also notes that the text says that the four bodies can be possessed simultaneously by the practitioner.736

G. Tucci writes about the four bodies in his Tibetan Painted Scrolls.737 He says that the svābhāvikakāya738 has been added to the three others to stress the fact that these three bodies should not be understood as of three different natures, but are one identical nature, partaking of one single essence. Tucci adds that there is a theory of three or four bodies, postulating a dharma-kāya or sahajakāya beyond all possible determination. This has a connection with the development of the Ādibuddha concept. Tucci names the fourth body sahajakāya and the four bodies have a correspondence to the four joys (ānanda), of which the highest is sahaṇānanda (=mahāsukha). In the human body the sahajakāya is placed in the usṣūṇa at the top of the head.

Tucci also writes in his work, The Religions of Tibet, that, in the context of treating the consecrations in the Anuttarayoga-tantras, the fourth "investiture" consecration (dbang) is there to eliminate personal defilements, which are at the base of the other three defilements, corresponding to the three lower bodies. In the same way, the three lower bodies dissolve in the corresponding svābhāvikakāya. This concept, that is, to purify from the defilements, is another indication of why the fourth body is called svabhāvikakāya in the KCT.739

Herbert Guenther notes in his book, The Royal Song of Saraha, that there are four bodies, with the fourth as svābhāvikakāya, but he adds that there is also a fifth body, called Mahāsukhakāya. These two together are a sort of causal result of the lower three, the final

736 Sekoddeśaṭṭhā. 1941:15-19.
738 svābhāvikakāya from svabhāva + kāya, which translates asa "self-existent body". The spelling svā... with a long ā is taken from the Vimalaprabha and the Abhisamayālamkāra, although Tucci and Snellgrove have sva with a short a. Tibetan ngo-bo nyid-kyi-sku.
state of real being.\textsuperscript{740} Guenther’s Tibetan source also says that the svabhāvikakāya is merely a name, and it is not an entity that can be pointed at.\textsuperscript{741}

D.L.Neillgrove writes in his \textit{Indo-Tibetan Buddhism}\textsuperscript{742} that in the earlier Mahāyāna phase there was a question about two bodies who are form-bodies or rūpakāya (sambhogakāya and nirmanakāya) and dharma. Asaṅga occasionally wrote about the three bodies as dharma or svabhāvikakāya (self-existent body) and the other two. At a later stage, the svabhāvikakāya is distinguished from the dharma and regarded as absolutely transcendent. But in Mahāyāna, it is clear that the theory remains with three bodies and the dharma is also referred to as svabhāvikakāya. In the tantras the svabhāvikakāya is placed above the dharma and is also referred to as the innate body (sahajakāya) and body of great bliss (mahāsukhakāya).

Günther Grönbold relates in his article, \textit{Zwei Adibuddha-Texte}, on how the Tibetan commentators on the Kalacakra interpret the position of Adibuddha in the system of the three or four Buddha-bodies. First, he cites Tāranātha (16th cent.) who places “Adibuddha” over the three kāyas. Then he continues with Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims rin-chen (18th cent.), who relates Adibuddha to the Dharma as svabhāvikakāya. Finally, he quotes Bu-ston (1290-1360) who praises the Adibuddha as svabhāvikakāya.\textsuperscript{743} However, Grönbold does not in his article refer to the treatment of the four bodies and Adibuddha in the two basic Kalacakra texts (KCT and VP), so that is where the analysis will begin.

John Makransky wrote a dissertation on the four bodies in Buddhism and later published a book with the results of his dissertation.\textsuperscript{744} As the work by Makransky is the latest and the most comprehensive, his arguments will be treated at some length. Makransky’s analysis of how the word kāya (body) was etymologized by the Indian commentaries to the Abhisamayālaṃkāra (AA) and Indian Yogacāra commentaries are first quoted:

1. kāya = “body” in the sense of samcaya, a collection of components or an accumulation of parts; dharma = the collection (kāya) of Buddha’s excellent qualities (anāsravadharma); in some pre-Mahāyāna texts and a few early Mahāyāna passages, it has also meant “collection (kāya) of the Buddha’s teachings (dharma).”

2. kāya = “body” in the sense of āsraya, substratum or basis; dharma = the substratum (kāya) of excellent qualities (anāsravadharma) or the basis (kāya) of sovereignty over all phenomena (sarvadharma).

3. kāya = “body” in the sense of embodiment; e.g., dharma = that which embodies the real nature of things, the embodiment (kāya) of the real nature of things (dharmatā) in knowledge.

While rūpakāya has been a term of reverence for the physical form in which a Buddha appears to others, dharma has often been a reverential term for a Buddha’s own enlightened awareness. The rūpakāyas are the forms through which Buddhahood communicates with beings, categorized as sambhogakāya (the glorious form through which a


\textsuperscript{741} Guenther. 1968:44-45,78. He cites Karma phrin-las-pa, Do-ha skor-gsum, fol.81a-b and fol.52b.

\textsuperscript{742}Neillgrove Vol.1. 1987:36-37,115-116,250-251.

\textsuperscript{743} Grönbold. 1992a.

\textsuperscript{744}Makransky. 1990 and Makransky. 1997.
Buddha shares the *dharma* with great *bodhisattvas* and *nairmāṇikakāya* (the limitless variety of forms through which a Buddha communicates *dharma* to the limitless varieties of other beings). Makransky then defines the *svābhāvikakāya* as “the embodiment [of Buddhahood] in its essence, in its real nature.”

Makransky treats the controversy over *dharmakāya* starting with chapter 8 of *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (AA) where there is a place, also quoted in the *Vimalaprabhā*, that can be interpreted as treating the four bodies of the Buddha. The place quoted in the VP is actually from *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, chapter I.17 (although quoted by Newman 1987a:368 as AA I.18):

\[
\text{svābhāvikakāya sasāmbhogo nairmāṇiko 'paras tathā dharmakāyaḥ sakāritraś caturdhaḥ samudiritah}
\]

In its essence (*svābhāvika*), with its enjoyment (*sambhoga*), and in its manifestation(s) (*nairmaniko*) as well, embodiment of *dharma* (*dharmakāya*), with its activity, is proclaimed as fourfold.

Makransky makes a convincing interpretation of this verse, and others, to the end that here is meant the doctrine of three bodies, where *dharmakāya* is referring to Buddhahood in its totality, having three functional modes, *svābhāvika*, *sambhogika* and *nairmāṇika*. There are then actually no more than three Buddha-bodies, if the texts are correctly understood. Makransky also quotes *Mahāyānasutrālankāra* as proof that the doctrinal position of both *Mādhyamika* and *Yogācāra* Buddhism are that there are three bodies of the Buddha, not four. The interpretation that there are four separated bodies came from Haribhadra, who wrote a commentary to the AA in the late eighth century. Haribhadra interpreted the above cited verse as follows:

The essence (*svābhāvika*) [body], with the enjoyment [body], the manifestation [body], and the body of *dharmas* (*dharmakāya*) with its activity as well: as fourfold are [they] proclaimed.

According to this interpretation there are four bodies, with the *svābhāvikakāya* as the fourth. This is clearly the tradition that was in vigour in the setting of the *Kālacakra Tantra*, because in this *tantra* the bodies of the Buddha are clearly interpreted as four, although Bu-ston in his commentaries to the KCT and the VP tries to interpret these places as representing the three-body theory following the *Sa-skya-pa* tradition in Tibet.

I will also quote the AA 8.1, which together with the following, has been a source of interpretative controversy among Indian and Tibetan commentators:

\[
\text{sarvākārāṃ viśuddhiḥ ye dharmāḥ prāptā nirāsravāḥ}
\]

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746 As quoted in Makransky. 1997:164.
749 Haribhadra. 1932-35:914.
The embodiment of the Sage (muni) in his essence (svabhāvikakāya): Its identity is the primordial nature (prakṛti) of the undefiled dharmas which are obtained in utter purity.

Makransky continues his analysis of the concept of svabhāvikakāya which is here defined as the primordial nature of the undefiled Buddha dharmas. The list of the dharmas is then presented in verses 8.2 – 8.6. and at the end comes the constatation that iti dharmakāya abhidhiyate, “thus the dharmakāya is denominated.” This would then define the svabhāvikakāya as another way of naming the dharmakāya.

Historically, there were two traditions for interpretation of the AA in this context. The first is to interpret the texts (AA I.17 and 8.1-6) as that there really exists no more than three bodies of the Buddha. The interpretation of these bodies can differ in various traditions, but if a fourth body (svabhāvikakāya) is mentioned it is only another name for dharmakāya, or is a sort of collective denomination of the three together.

The other line of interpretation is that there exists four bodies of the Buddha and the fourth is the svabhāvikakāya (essence body). In Yogācāra texts the svabhāvikakāya was described as unconditioned and had connections with the Tathāgatagarbha. I have found no mentioning of the fourth body as suddhakāya or sahaṣjakāya, as in the Kālacakra, in the material of Makransky on the AA texts. Consequently, the treatment of the concept of the four bodies is quite different in a late tantric text like the Kālacakra Tantra compared to earlier Mahāyāna texts.

The conclusion from the work of Makransky is that the main tradition of the Indo-Tibetan Buddhism has a tradition of three bodies of the Buddha, but that there exists another tradition which counts on four bodies. This tradition of four bodies is present in the Vimalaprabhā, including quotations from the Abhisamayālaṃkāra. Paul Harrison has written an interesting article on the Dharmakāya.

Vesna A. Wallace has written the most recent contribution to the discussion on the four bodies in the Kālacakra Tantra. In a chapter of her dissertation from 1995, she claims that Buddha’s four bodies are indestructible and supreme manifestations of the Paramādibuddha. She also remarks that the Paramādibuddha was the one who first attained enlightenment by means of the unchanging bliss (aḍyārasukha), as is stated in the introductory part of the VP (see p.104 of this work). She also writes that the four bodies of the Buddha can be interpreted as the four different manifestations of vajrayoga. The sahaṣjakāya is identified as the viśuddhayoga (purified yoga) consisting of wisdom and method and which is a single union of viśuddha and jñāna. She notes that sometimes the fourth body is named svabhāvikakāya (nature body) and that this refers to the body of the prajñāpāramitā and, in consequence, with the indestructible Ādibuddha, identified with the Bhagavān Kālacakra. She holds that, in order to attain the unchanging bliss and the

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751 Haribhadra. 1932-35:914.
body of the Buddha and the *jñāna*, it is necessary to hold the view of the *Mādhyamikas* and have the right insight into the nature of emptiness (*śūnyatā*). I would not be so categoric in the necessity of holding this view, as it seems possible to be adhere to the *Kālacakra* being, for example, an adherent to the “substantialistic” *gzhan-stong* theory as does Dol-po-pa.

The second work of Wallace has reached me at a late stage in my work, but I will comment on some of her theories. She attempts to demonstrate that the *Kālacakra* tradition in India is an authentic gnostic tradition of Indian Buddhism and that gnosticism manifested itself in a great variety of forms. Following John Newman, she translated *jñāna* as “gnosis”. She also used the definition of gnosticism formulated by Hans Jonas that the emphasis is on gnosis as the means for attaining liberation, or as the form of liberation itself and the claim to the possession of gnosis.\(^757\) She applied this definition to the *Kālacakra Tantra* and also to other *anuttara-yoga-tantras*. I think that her arguments for comparing the *Kālacakra Tantra* to gnosticism are good. There is a stress on knowledge (*jñāna*) which is very important in the texts. The concept of the supreme unchanging knowledge (*paramāksara-jñāna*) is of great importance, as will be shown in the following chapter. Concerning the theory of the four bodies of the Buddha, Wallace describes the sixteen aspects of the four bodies and names the fourth body *sahajakāya*. She also describes the location of the four bodies of the Buddha in the human body in a similar way as to how they are described below.\(^758\)

5.2. THE FOURTH BODY OF THE BUDDHA IN THE KĀLACAKRA TEXTS.

5.2.1. The four bodies in the introductory parts of the *Vimalaprabhā*.

As early as in the introductory part of the text *Vimalaprabhā*, the four bodies are mentioned. The four bodies, with *sahajakāya* as the highest, are treated in the text below. On the same page it is given as a fact that:

\[\text{sarvajñānāya kāyākhyam maraṇayavapuṣam vibhum /} \]
\[\text{padmapatryatāksam tam tattvam śoḍaśābhedataḥ //} \]
\[\text{catuhkāyātmaṃ buddhāṃ vajrasimhāsane sthitam} /\]

Homage to the omniscient one, the one called *jñānakāya*, the body like the sun, lord, the eye of the spreading lotus petals. He [the omniscient one, *Ādibuddha*] is the Buddha consisting of the four bodies due to the division of the sixteen realities. He sits on the *vajra* lion throne.\(^760\)

\(^{758}\) Wallace. 2001:156-159.
\(^{760}\) Translated in Newman. 1987a:225. The sixteen aspects of reality are explained in *Vimalaprabhā* Vol.I. 1986:45 (transl. in Newman. 1987a:376-377). They are the four joys (*ānanda*) connected in different ways with the *jñāna*, mind, speech and body. All these aspects are called *Sahajakāya*, which is the highest among the four bodies. It is also explained in *Vimalaprabhā* Vol.I (Newman. 1987a:236) where they are quite different from the explanation above.
In the following text of the *Vimalaprabhā* is found, a commentary on KCT I:1, the actual expression *svābhāvikakāya* for the first time in the context of when the Ādibuddha is 'equalled to *svābhāvikakāya*.' A very interesting connection with the *Mahāyāna*-text *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* I:18 is then made at the same page of the *Vimalaprabhā*.

\[
\text{svābhāvikah sasambhogo nairmāṇiko 'paras tathā / dharmakāyaḥ sakāritraḥ caturdhā samudīritāḥ} \] \(762\)

The *svābhāvika[kāya]* together with the *sambhoga[kāya]* likewise the *nirmāṇa[kāya] [are] the *dharmakāya*. Together with activity (*kārita*) it is rightly said to be fourfold. \(763\)

Then follows:

\[
\text{sa eva bhagavān mantranaye phalalakṣaṇe sahajāṇandaḥ sahajakāya ity ukto} \] \(764\)

This very *Bhagavān* is called *sahajāṇanda* and *sahajakāya* in the mantra system that is characterized as the effect.

*Haribhadra* \(765\) writes that “these informations about the *dharmakāya* are fourfold, *svābhāvikakāya*, etc.” This first (and highest) body is characterized by “purity”. Perhaps one of the reasons why it is later in the KCT called “the pure body” (*suddhakāya*). The body has the nature of *svabhāva* before it has arisen. This *svabhāva* is not created (absolute), consequently the *svābhāvikakāya* is a way of saying non-created, absolute and pure. \(766\) All things (*dharmas*) in their pure (*visuddha*) form are *svābhāvikakāya*. Buddha has such a body that can be realized by others. Then *Haribhadra* comments directly on the verse that is cited in the *Vimalaprabhā* and says that it actually means that there are only three bodies, but that it is contradicted in other places. For example, in *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* 8:1 the fourth body is clearly distinguished and the marks of its essential nature are actually the other three bodies *dharma*, *sambhoga* and *nirmāṇa*. \(767\)

As a conclusion, it can be said that *Haribhadra* already gives some of the most essential characteristics of *svābhāvikakāya* and the Ādibuddha as these concepts are used in the *Kālacakra* literature. Coming back to the *Vimalaprabhā*, on the following page the

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\(762\) Sanskrit text of AA. I:18 in *Vimalaprabhā* I.5 in VP Vol.I. 1986:43, line 5-6, where it is written *susambhogo* and not *sasambhogo* which is more correct.


\(766\) *Haribhadra*. 1932-35:914.

Bhagavān (Ādiruddha) is equalled to sahajakāya, it has abandoned object and subject and it is not localized in existence or nirvāna. Consequently, in these pages there is another connection between Ādiruddha, svābhāvikakāya and sahajakāya.

Later on in the text there is again a mention of sahajakāya as the supreme body. In the long introductory commentary on KCT I:1:

(p.45:13) saṣṭasākāraṃ tatvam iti sa eva sahajakāyaḥ śūnyatāvimokṣaviśuddho jñānavajraḥ sarvajñāḥ prajñopāyātmaṃ viśuddhayoga / sa eva dhammakayo 'nimittavimokṣaviśuddhaḥ cittavajram jñānakāyaḥ prajñopāyātmaṃ dhammayoga ity uktaḥ / sa eva sambhogakāyaḥ apranihitavimokṣaviśuddhaḥ vāgvaṃ vajram dinakaravapāḥ prajñopāyātmaṃ mantrayoga ity uktaḥ / sa eva nirmānakāyaḥ 'nabhīsamśkārayimokṣaviśuddham kāyavajram padmapatrāyatākṣaḥ prajñopāyātmaṃ samsthānayoga ity uktaḥ / evam etam vajrayogam caturvīdham buddhāṃ preaching vajrapāṇī iti / śūnyatāvimokṣaviśuddho jñānavajraḥ prajñopāyātmaṃ kāyavajram padmapatrāyatākṣaḥ prajñopāyātmaṃ samsthānayoga ity uktaḥ / evam etam vajrayogam caturvīdham buddhāṃ preaching vajrapāṇī iti / śūnyatāvimokṣaviśuddhaḥ jñānabuddhaḥ sarvajñānaḥ sarvadarśitaṃ / (p.45:20) animittavimokṣaviśuddhaḥ cittavajraḥ prajñopāyātmaṃ dhammakāyaḥ mārgākāraṇāvatātāpūtaḥ jñānakāyaḥ paramākṣarasukhenāvasthitavatvā / (p.45:21) /

(p.45:13) As for the essence of the sixteen aspects, [it is] the sahajakāya purified by the emptiness liberation, jñānabuddha, the omniscient one, the one that consists of wisdom and method, the pure yoga. Just that Dharmaññāya is called, purified by the signless liberation, the mind-vajra, the jñānakāya, the one that consists of wisdom and method and the dharmaññāya. That very Sambhogaññāya (enjoyment body) is called, purified by the wishless liberation, the vāgvaṃ vajra (speech vajra), the body of the day-maker sun, the one that consists of wisdom and method and the mantra yoga. That very Nirmānakāya (transformation body) is called, purified by the non-constructed liberation, the kāyavajra, the eye like spreading lotus petals, the one that consists of wisdom and method and the samsthānayoga (the shape yoga). Vajrapāṇī asked the Buddha for such a four-fold yoga.(p.45:20) As for the one purified by the emptiness liberation, the jñānakāya, the Sahajakāya that consists of wisdom and method and the one that has obtained omniscience; because it sees everything it is the omniscient one. As for the one purified by the signless liberation, the cittavajra (mind-vajra), the Dharmaññāya that consists of wisdom and method, the one that has obtained knowledge of the aspects of the path. It is the jñānakāya because it abides by means of the bliss of the supreme unchanging (paramākṣarasukha) (p.45:21).

771 The four liberations are mentioned, 1 śūnyatā vimokṣa (emptiness liberation), 2 animitta vimokṣa (signless liberation), 3 Apranihita vimokṣa (wishless liberation), 4 An-abhipi-samskāra-vimokṣa (non-constructional liberation). In the Pāli canon only three vimokṣas are mentioned. The fourth here corresponds to the fourth body concept introduced later. In this context there are also mentioned the four yogas: 1 viśuddha-yoga (purity), 2 dharma-yoga, 3 mantra-yoga, 4 samsthāna-yoga (configuration yoga). They also correspond to the four bodies beginning with sahajakāya.
This is part of a brief explanation of the vajrayoga which actually is an explanation of that which has gone beyond existence and non-existence and is non-dual.\textsuperscript{772}

One can again see the similarities with the characteristics given to Ādibuddha in the Kālacakra texts. In connection with this, the svābhāvikakāya is defined as “the omniscient one,” dharmakāya as “jñānakāya,” sambhogakāya as “the body of the day-maker sun,” nirmānakāya as “having eyes like spreading lotus petals.” Here we have once more the identification of “the omniscient one” with svābhāvikakāya and the above also shows that sahajakāya is equalled to sarvajñā, which means that it is equalled to svābhāvikakāya and in consequence with Ādibuddha.\textsuperscript{773}

5.2.2. The fourth body as śuddhakāya (the pure body) and svābhāvikakāya (the self-existent body) in the Kālacakra texts.

In various places in the texts of the Kālacakra Tantra\textsuperscript{774} it is expressed that in this context one can see the concept of Ādibuddha as equal to the concept of a fourth body of the Buddha, the svābhāvikakāya (tib. ngo-bo nyid-kyi-skū), also called sahajakāya (tib. lhan-cig skyes-pa’i sku), śuddhakāya (tib. dag-pa’i sku) and samsūdhadhakāya in the laghutantra and the Vimalaprabhā. I am now going to show how this is done in these two texts.

In the Śrī Kālacakra-tantra-rāja (KCT) we can find the concept of the fourth body mentioned as śuddhakāya or sahajakāya, while I have not found a mention of it as svābhāvikakāya. The second chapter of KCT, the Adhyātmāpatāla, treats the human body as a microcosmos of the description of the outer world (the macrocosmos). In the first chapter, Lokadhātupatāla, there is found an interesting description of the four bodies. Here follows a quotation from KCT II:14:

\textit{garbhe samśuddhakāyah prasavanasya dantah dharmah
danānām vai prapatāh prabhavati nṛpā sambhogakāya jinasya /
tasmā nirmānakāyah prakaśitaniyato mṛtyusīmno narānām
garbhe bāhye caturdhā bhavati punar jñānavijñānabhedat //14//\textsuperscript{775}}

Oh King, in the womb the śuddhakāya [the pure body], until the birth, when the dharma [kāya] emerges [and stays there] until the time when the teeth emerges [at about six months]. The sambhogakāya of the jina emerges [and stays there] until the time of the falling of the teeth [at the age of 6-7]. After that, the nirmānakāya is fixed and made evident until the time of death. In the matrix, and outside, emerges the fourfold [the four kāyas], departing from the division into jñāna and viññāna.


\textsuperscript{774} See the chapter below on “Ādibuddha in the Kālacakra” for information on the Kālacakra texts.

Here the word *suddhakāya* is used for the kind of consciousness which emerges at the moment when an embryo has been brought into existence. Then it stays in the womb until the child is born. From the time of birth until about six months, *dharmakāya* is prevalent in the child. From six months up to 6/7 years of age, *sambhogakāya* reigns and for the rest of the life it is *nirmānakāya*. All this must be a way of comparing the microcosmos of the human body to the concepts of the four bodies of the Buddhas. The first one, the *suddhakāya*, is hidden and the other three are more or less visible. Consequently, *suddhakāya* can signify the unmanifested, *Ādibuddha*. In the following two verses KCT 15-16, *suddhakāya* refers to the fourth body:

\[
\text{vijñānam candrasūryāv api kamalagatāh suddhakāyāh sa garbhe dhātuskandhodbhavo yo bhavati daśavidho dharmakāyo jinasya /}
\text{tasmat sambhogakāyō bhavati gunavaśāc chotraśabdādījāte}
\text{tasmat keśādījāte prasvanasamayāś cātra nirmānakāyāh} \//15/\]

[When the three] *vijñāna* (VP: *ālayavijñāna*), moon (VP: the male seed) and the sun (VP: the female menstruation blood) have come together, in the womb [there is] *suddhakāya*. Then when the elements and the *skandhas* have emerged, the 10-fold *dharmakāya* of the *jinas* emerges. Then the *sambhogakāya* emerges when the ears and the sound have been born under the influence of the *gunas*. After that, when the hair has emerged, [at] the time of birth [emerges] *nirmānakāya*.

The commentaries are from the *Vimalaprabhā*. It can also be said that the moon is the left channel, *lalana*, the male and *upāya* (method); *ālayavijñāna* stands for the middle channel, *avadhūti*, the sun stands for the right channel, *rasana*, the female and *prajñā* (wisdom). When these three channels meet, *mahāsukha* (the great bliss) occurs.

The subject of when the four bodies emerge from conception up to birth is treated. The highest body, *suddhakāya*, emerges in the matrix, and then, in sequence, the other three. The last one, *nirmānakāya*, emerges at the very moment of birth. Consequently, this verse draws the microcosmic resemblance one step further. The fact of how the four bodies can be said to exist within the womb is treated. The *suddhakāya* is said to come into existence at the moment of conception. It is the first level of existence. Comparison to what can be found on the four bodies in the fifth chapter is evident. There the fourth body is the first level of existence and not completely identified with the *Ādibuddha*. The following level of existence is the 10-fold *dharmakāya* of the five *jinas*. Probably here are counted the female consorts of the five *jinas*: *Vairocana/Vajrasattva*, *Aksobhya*, *Amitābha*, *Ratnasambhāva* and *Amoghasiddhi*. It may also be the ten *saktis* or *nimitta*.

Here follows the KCT II:16:

\[
\text{jāte svāsodbhavo yah prabhavati nirgunah suddhakāyah sa eva}
\text{tasmat dantodbhavo yo 'sphuṭam api vacanam dharmakāyas tathaiva /}
\]


777 Comparing this concept to the concept of *ālayavijñāna* in the *Yogacāra* school, it is an entirely different concept.

778 This is stated in other places in the text. Also, generally in the higher *tantras*. See Dasgupta. 1974 (1950).
[When in the outer the four bodies] are born, (first) when one begins to breathe, śuddhakāya which is without characteristics, (emerges in the middle channel [avadhūti]). Thereafter dharmakāya [exists until] the emergence of the teeth, that is, that which is unclear speech. After that comes the fall of the teeth, oh King, and that is the sambhogakāya of the jīna. After [the loss of] teeth until death, the nirmāṇakāya of the jinapati (the master of jīnas) emerges in the outer.

The wording “Oh King” shows the context, that here Buddha Śākyamuni is explaining the Kālacakra to king Susandra. This verse is a continuation of the fore-going one, it is explained in the outer how the four bodies are related. Here the four bodies in relation to the inner body of the human being already born are treated.

The śuddhakāya emerges at the time when the breathing emerges, and it is without characteristics. According to the Vimalaprabhā, the śuddhakāya is placed in the middle channel (avadhūti) and is without characteristics, which corresponds well with the the characteristics of the Ādibuddha.

This sort of inner dharmakāya emerges when the teeth are emerging in the child.

The sambhogakāya emerges when the milk-teeth are falling, and the nirmāṇakāya is then there for the rest of the life.

Jinapati here possibly corresponds to Ādibuddha, and in that case, the nirmāṇakāya is the outer manifestation of the Ādibuddha. In many other places in the KCT, jinapati stands for Ādibuddha. These three verses give different interpretations of how to find correspondence to the four bodies and the human body. The four bodies can be characterized as follows from these verses:

Śuddhakāya - the transcendent level, without characteristics, the unmanifested level
Dharmakāya - in some ways the first manifested level of existence
Sambhogakāya - associated with sound and hearing, the sound and speech level
Nirmāṇakāya - more the physical existence, the normal body.

I will return later to comparing these concepts with others related to the Ādibuddha concept. The following verse KCT II:17 also has connotations with śuddhakāya:

garbhe śrīkāyavajraṁ prathamam iha bhaved vāksvarūpam prasūte
cittam dantodbhave vai punar api patanād udhave jñānavajram /
jñānam vijñānamśīram raviśāsahītam jñānavajrādi sarvam
garbhe rūḍham kramena prabhavati balavat kāyavajrādinā ca //17//

First, in the matrix, the śrī kāyavajra emerges, then the vāksvarūpa is born (is, according to VP: vāgavajra, that is, the emergence of prāṇa). Then, when the first teeth have fallen, the citta [-vajra] emerges. The jñānavajra

emerges when the new teeth have grown out. Then the jhāna is mixed with vijñāna (VP: dālayavijhāna), and gets provided with the moon and the sun. The jhānavajra, etc, everything, grown up in the womb, it [the jhānavajra] emerges successively. It becomes like a child because of the kāyavajra, etc.

Jhāna and vijñāna are in the Vimalaprabhā compared to sahajānanda781 which is the highest of the four joys. Vāgvajra (word-vajra) equals dharmakāya, cittavajra (mind-vajra) is the same as sambhogakāya. In this verse, the series of concepts kāya (body) — vāk (speech) — citta (mind) — jnāna (wisdom) is treated. Śrīkāyavajra (“body”-vajra) is here clearly to be associated with the concept of suddhakāya, as they both come first in the line of concepts including also jhānavajra. The other correspondences and jhānavajra (knowledge-vajra) are the same as nirmānakāya. This is not very clear, as one would expect the knowledge-vajra to correspond to suddhakāya and not to the “body”-vajra.782

These four verses with their commentaries are different ways of indicating the correspondences between the microcosmos, the human body in the womb and after the birth, and the macrocosmos with the emergence of the whole universe as it is treated in chapter five. From these quotations, one can see that suddhakāya corresponds to the fourth and highest body, which has characteristics similar to the Ādibuddha concept. It is the first to emerge in the matrix and also, as in verse II:16, it is the first functionally (the breathing). As we shall see later it is also found in the Vimalaprabhā.

The verses following after these treat the emergence of the elements and the five skandhas in the human body at the microcosmic level. The same subject is treated on a macrocosmic level in chapter V:89 and following verses, with the emergence of the universe. I will return later to this subject. The following verse treats the siddhakāya in the fourth chapter of the KCT and VP, KCT IV:95:

\[ idānīm catukāyapariśuddhir ucyate: \]
\[ divyā buddhāś ca vidyāḥ satarakalāśā siddhakāya jinasya krodhendrā bodhisattvāḥ khalu rasākuliśā dharmakāyaḥ sa eva /95// \]

Here is described the complete purification of the four bodies:
The siddhakāya of the jina that consists of parts [is] divine knowledgeable Buddhas. Even the dharmakāya is really the master of krodhas, the bodhisattvas and the six “diamonds” (rasakulīśa).

Rasa means “six” and there are six of something which could be six vatras or possibly the six jinas or the lord of the six clans. Six is an important number in the Kālacakra and there are also six cakras. Next, from the Vimalaprabhā commentary to this verse:

\[ siddhakāya jinasya maṇḍalādhipateḥ / tato bhāyapute cittamaṇḍaladvāreṣu krodhendrā vighnāntakah praṣīṁantaḥ padmāntakah yamāntakah uṣṇiṣah /784 \]

781 For a thorough evaluation of the sahaja concept, see Kvaerne. 1975:109-110.
782 According to a communication from Newman (June -04) the usual correspondences are jhāna - siddhakāya; citta-dharmakāya; vāk-sambhogakāya; kāya-nirmānakāya
The śuddhakāya of the jina is the master of the maṇḍala. Therefore, in the outer section, in the mind-maṇḍala [is] Krodhendra (the master of kroḍha), Yamāntaka, uṣṇīṣa (the crown cakra), Vighnāntaka, Prajñāntaka, Padmāntaka, [antaka means: the end, limit, one who prepares the end or death].

This verse is in the subchapter that treats the purification of the four bodies of the Buddha. It can be remarked here that the Śuddhakāya of the Jina is the master/Lord/ruler of the maṇḍala, that is, Kālacakra/Ādi-buddha. I will now quote another verse in the same sub-subchapter, KCT IV:97:

śāstanta divyādikumbhāḥ sahaśajinatanur manḍale garbhānadvhye
dharmākāyaḥ khalu rasakuliṣādyāś ca sambhogākāyaḥ /
kroḍha786 nirmānakāyaḥ bhavati kulavāsān maṇḍale garbhasamkhyāḥ
cāmundādyaśātdevyāḥ parijanasahītāḥ śuddhākāyaḥ hi bāhye //97/787

Beginning from the divine ruler and the vases, in the middle of the core (garbha) of the maṇḍala, [there is] the body of the innate jina (sahajājina); beginning from the Buddha [there is] indeed the dharmaṅkāya; and beginning with the rasakulīśa (thunderbolt) [there is] the sambhogākāya. The kroḍha is the nirmānakāya. In the maṇḍala is the order according to the family calculated after the core (garbha) [of the maṇḍala]. Because beginning from Cāmundā the eight deities accompanied by their retinue are the śuddhākāya in the outer.

This is a way of arranging the deities in the maṇḍala. The context is the same as in the foregoing passage and it can be interpreted that the sahaśakāya is the centre and the beginning of the maṇḍala. Śuddhakāya is mentioned as being connected with Cāmundā, the spouse of Śiva.

The concept of śuddhakāya is also found in KCT V:124 where it is again mentioned as the highest among the four bodies. I begin by translating the previous verse, KCT V:123, in order to understand the context:788

idāniṃ catuśkāyaṇāṃ saṃśāraprabhedā ucyante _____
kāmā nirmanākāyāh prabhavati niyatas tasya vāgeva pūrṇā
ejalā nirmanacittam paramasukhakaraṃ jñānam evāṣya codrā789 /
ānando bhogakāyāḥ sa paramaviramānandam asya kramena
tvācittam jñānavajraṃ bhavati hi sahaśajānam evāṣya sambhoḥ //123//789

786 In accordance with the structure of the text, I here follow Banerjee's edition who has kroḍha instead of krodhā.
788 Concerning this and all the translations from chapter 5 of the Vimalaprabhā, I initially worked with the Tibetan translation and later made a correction of the translation from the Sanskrit. When I started working with these texts the Sanskrit edition did not yet exist.
789 ca - udra. This could be the name of the region of Orissa?
Here the division into sixteen parts of the four bodies is stated:

Passion (kāma) is the nirmānakāya, restrained it is its very speech. Fire is the mind of transformation (nirmānacittā) creating supreme bliss, the knowledge of these is the udra [the Orissans]. Joy (ānanda) is the [sam]bhogakāya, it [becomes] gradually the supreme joy (paramānanda) and the joy of cessation (viramānanda). Speech and mind (citta) become the knowledge (jñāna)-vajra, because [it is] the very simultaneously-arisen joy (sahajānanda) of this Śambhu (lord). 791

Kāmā, pūrna, āvala and udra are technical term for states of sexual excitement. There are sixteen terms altogether. Here the nirmānakāya is treated and the subject of the four joys ānanda, paramānanda, viramānanda and sahajānanda is commented upon. They are connected with the four bodies. Kverne translates these terms as joy, perfect joy, joy of cessation and simultaneously-arisen joy.792 What is then the meaning of the term Śambhu? It is not evident from the context, but it could be a way of designating the superior entity in this tantra, the concept of Ādibuddha. Next follows the verse KCT V:124:

kampā vai dharmakāyas tribhuvananimitas tasya vāguddhavah syād
ghūrma vai dharmacitattam bhavabhayamathanam jñānam asyaiva nidrā /
varṇo vai sūdhakāyāḥ svarararhītakāla bindunādah kramena
vākcitattam jñānavajrām trividhabhavagatam sūdhakāyasya śambhoḥ //124//793

The tremblings are the dharmakāya, honored by the three worlds; by it there occurs the origination of speech. The ghūrmās indeed, are the dharmamind (citta), the knowledge which destroys the fear of existence, from this indeed, is sleep. The syllable, indeed, is the sūdhakāya, the bindu-sounds of the parts that are gradually [becoming] without sound. Speech and mind (citta) [become] the knowledge (jñāna)-vajra, located in the three-fold world, from the sūdhakāya of the Śambhu.

These two verses are part of the subchapter where the four bodies of the Buddha are treated (KCT V:89-126). The four kāyas each have body, speech, mind and jñāna and therefore there are sixteen. Here, Śambhu might represent more explicitly the Ādibuddha as it stands for “the Lord” and is used as a name for Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva in other contexts. It means “beneficent, causing happiness.” 794 In the fore-going verse it is also stated that Śambhu possesses the quality of the simultaneously-arisen joy, sahajānanda, also a qualification which can be assigned to the Ādibuddha concept. Śambhu also has a purified body, which, in other contexts, is used as corresponding to the sahajakāya. Consequently, a possibility is that here there is sūdhakāya (the purified body) as the body of Ādibuddha. Finally, there is one more quotation in this context. KCT V:193-194 with the VP

791 beneficent, kind etc.” Also a name for several gods like Śiva, Brahma and Viṣṇu. (Monier-Williams)
Here is described the transformation [body] (nirmāṇa) of the Buddha. For the sake of liberation of these [living beings], the master of jinas with sons; after having entered into the karma-world; after having descended into the womb; after having produced the bodhi (awakening) by the highest compassion; after having defeated the defilements of Māra; after having started to turn the wheel of dharma on the surface of the earth and after having made the illusion of supernatural creation, again, this Bhagavān is just this Suddhakīya.

Here is stated that the Bhagavān (who Bu-ston later identifies with Buddha Śākyamuni) is identified with the Suddhakīya. It is also said that the jinapati with sons, which ought to be interpreted as the Ādibuddha with the jinas, is more or less descending on earth in order to liberate the beings. This is not in harmony with how the Ādibuddha is described in other parts of this text. Could it be interpreted that the Śākyamuni Buddha is equalled to the Ādibuddha? In the VP very little is written on this verse, only that the Bhagavān possessing a Suddhakīya is a Tathāgata. The Pure body (suddhakīya) consequently is a measure of the state of purity of a Buddha who then is considered a Tathāgata. One can suppose that the Buddha had attained a purified body after having awakened to liberation from the limitations. Bu-ston has nothing to add in his commentary. KCT V:194 follows:

\[
\text{tasmai jāto na naṣṭaḥ tribhavam api gataḥ svvadhakāya jinasya sattvārtham sarvadā na tyajati jinapatiḥ karmanā bādhyate na / evam lokesvaro 'ham tribhuvananiśaye karmabhūmyāṁ sthito 'rka sattvānam mārgadātā narakabhayaḥaro nānyadevaḥ kadācit} /194//
\]

Translation, with some important commentaries of Bu-ston. There is no commentary in the VP.

Therefore, born, not lost, even being in the three existences, there is the Suddhakīya of the jina. He does not abandon at any time the well-being of the living beings. The master of jinas is not hindered by karma. So, I the lord of the world (lokesvara) [Bu-ston: who is one who possesses

---

the Śuddhakāya, am standing in the abode of the three worlds, in the karma-world, Oh Śūrya, giver of the way [Bu-ston: of liberation] of the beings, who takes away the fear of hell, there is never another god.

KCT V:194 is even more interesting than verse 193. Here it is stated that the śuddhakāya of the jinas is not being born from the beginning (adyanutpanna, niḥsvabhāva), it is uncorrupted, and it does not have any desire, and finally, it does not have any form. Also, the śuddhakāya is not bound by any karma bonds. All these characteristics are quite similar to the ones given to the Ādibuddha in other parts of the Śrī Kālacakra and the Vimalaprabhā. However one can also see that the concept of śuddhakāya is more complicated. It appears that Buddha Śākyamuni could be qualified with this word. Arka is Śūryaratha and here this must be Yaśas speaking to Śūryaratha.

5.2.3. Sahajakāya as the supreme body.

In the following, the concept of sahajakāya will be treated as it is found in Kālacakra texts. The first example is from KCT II:27:

{idānīṁ ādhārādheya samudāya ucyate guhyetādinā _
guhyoṣṇiṣe ca nābhau sahajajinatanur niḥsvabhāvasvabhāvā
hṛcakre dharmakāyo bhavati hi nṛpa sambhogacakra jinasya 800 /
bindau nirmiṇākāya bhavati guṇavātāc cādhlidavakramena
hṛcakre kaṇṭhacakraṣṭirasi ca kamalāṃ dharmasambhogasuddham //27// 801

Here is described the origination of the support (ādhāra) and the supported (ādhēya) (Bu: ādhāra = the six cakras; ādhēya = the four bodies), beginning with “in the secret” and so forth. The Sahajajinatanu, which is without nature and with nature, [arises] in the secret, crown and navel [cakras]. Due to the efficacy of the properties [of the cakras], the Dharmakāya arises in the heart cakra, Oh king, in the sambhogacakra of the jina. The Nirmāṇakāya arises in the bindu (drop). According to the succession of presiding deities the heart-cakra, the throat-cakra and the lotus on the head [are] the Dharma [kāya], the Sambhoga[kāya] and the Śuddha[kāya].

VP II.2. The Vimalaprabhā commentary:

iha śarīre saṭ cakrāṇy ādhārabhūtāni catvāraḥ kāyā ādheyāḥ teṣu sahajakāyasy
trikamalesu svabhāvasvabhāvabhādena / ato guhyakamale uṣṇiṣakamale
nābhikamale viśuddhakāyo ‘dhidevatā niḥsvabhāva akalpanāsvabhāva
pratisenopamā / kṛdaye dharmakāyaḥ kaṇṭhābhje sambhogakāyo
‘dhidevatā kāyabhādena / bindāv iti śiraso ‘bje sūdhacakra nirmāṇakāyo

800 Banerjee has: ca kaṇṭhacakra api sambhogākāyah.
Here in the body the six cakras are the support and the four bodies are the supported. The simultaneously-arisen body (sahajakāya) is in those three lotuses [cakras] due to the classification of own nature (svabhāva) and the lack of own nature (asvabhāva). Hence, in the secret-lotus (guhya), in the crown-lotus (uṣṇīṣa) and in the navel-lotus (nabhi) the pure body (viśuddhakāya) is the presiding deity (adhidevatā), who is without own nature (nirsvabhāva), whose nature is non-conceptualization (akalpana) and who is like divination (pratisena). The dharma-body (dharmakāya) is in the heart. The enjoyment body (sambhogakāya) is the presiding deity in the lotus of the throat due to the classification of the bodies. In the drop (bindu), that is, in the lotus of the head, in the pure cakra, the emanation body (nirmāṇakāya) is the presiding deity. Due to the classification of the bodies, the emanation body is the presiding deity in the navel, that is, in the emanation-cakra. This is an exact description with regard to the classification of the [four] bodies. “Due to the efficacy of the properties” [implies] the qualities (guna) of the cakras. The quality (guna) of primordial wisdom (jñāna), space (akāsa) and earth (bhūmi) belongs to the supports of the simultaneously-arisen-body (sahajakāya). The quality of the wind (vāyu) belongs to the support of the dharma-body. The quality of fire (tejas) belongs to the support of the enjoyment-body. The quality of water (udaka) belongs to the support of the emanation-body. This is the condition of the support and the supported. According to the described order, the heart-cakra, the throat-cakra and the lotus (cakra) in the head are the dharma [-body], the enjoyment [-body] and the pure [body] (Śuddhakāya).

Here there is a very systematic and interesting analysis of the correspondences between the four bodies and the six cakras, as they are defined in the Kalacakra cakra system. First the four bodies are defined with reference to the concept of svabhāva, that is, “own nature /intrinsic nature / the essential nature of the concept”.

Sahajakāya / Śuddhakāya - in the crown, navel, and secret cakra
Dharmakāya - in the heart-cakra
Sambhogakāya - in the throat-cakra
Nirmāṇakāya - in the head-cakra (pure cakra); also in the navel-cakra according to the classification of the body

Sahaja-jina-tanu (another way of saying sahajakāya) is here defined as the one that as its own nature is without own nature (svabhāva). The fact that it is defined in this way with

803 Pratisena appears to be a Sankritized form of prasena which according to Böthingk. 176:2 means “eine Art Gauklerai” (a kind of conjuring). See Newman. 1988:133.
reference to the word svabhāva, also shows that it might be identified with the svabhāvikākāya. In chapter two of the KCT it is said that the mind has two natures. It is sasvabhāva “with nature” which means that it has the characteristics of waking state and sleep. It is also niḥsvabhāva “without nature” which means that it has the characteristics of deep sleep and is without sense-faculties. The context is also very clear. Here the correspondences between the cakras in the human body and the four kāyas are described. Consequently, the sahajakāya is placed in the uṣṇīsa (at the top of the head) and the navel-cakra and the guhya-cakra (the genital region), the dharmakāya in the heart-cakra, the sambhogakāya in the throat-cakra and the nirmāṇakāya in the bindu-point in the fore-head (the third eye). As this is the microcosmos, one would expect to find the same correspondence in the first chapter Lokadhātuṇātala, but there is no such evident correspondence. There is another classification of the four bodies according to the gunas, which in this context appears to mean the six elements of the cakras.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guna (Quality, Property)</th>
<th>Cakra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sahajakāya - Jñāna (Primordial Wisdom)</td>
<td>in the crown-cakra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharmakāya - Vāyu (Wind)</td>
<td>in the heart-cakra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sambhogakāya - Tejas (Fire)</td>
<td>in the throat-cakra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nirmāṇakāya - Udaka (Water)</td>
<td>in the fore-head-cakra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These correspondences describes aspects of the four bodies. In the final line of the verse the following concluding correspondences are to be found:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guna (Quality, Property)</th>
<th>Cakra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Śuddhakāya</td>
<td>in the head (fore-head) cakra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharmakāya</td>
<td>in the heart cakra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sambhogakāya</td>
<td>in the throat cakra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is not easy to find a clear meaning from these correspondences, but I think that concerning the fourth body, the Sahajakāya or Śuddhakāya, it is in the human body principally placed in the head, both in the uṣṇīsa cakra and the cakra in the fore-head (the third eye-cakra). The question also arises why this body is sometimes called Sahajakāya and sometimes Śuddhakāya (or Viśuddhakāya). In this verse, they seem to be used as similar concepts as in verse II:27; Sahajakāya is placed in the crown, navel and secret cakras. In the Vimalaprabhā commentary, Viśuddhakāya is placed in the same three cakras. Consequently, there is no difference. Here follows a quotation from KCT I:21:

```
idānīṁ dīkpālasthānam ucyate_
pūrve śakro 'gnir aṅgau yaṁadunuvarunā yāmyadāityāparesu
vāyuḥ yakṣo harṣaḥ cānīlādhanadhāreśūrdhvbhāge tv adḥaś ca /
brāhmaṇa viṣṇuḥ samastāḥ pariṇasaḥaḥ svasvadigraksapālaś
tanmādy yā kālacakro jīnavarajanako 'nāhato vajrakāyaḥ //21// 805
```
Now are stated the sites of the direction protectors:

Śakra is in the east, Agni is in the southeast, Yama, Danu, and Varuṇa are in the south, south-west and west. Vāyu, Yakṣa and Hara are in the northwest, north and northeast. Also, Brahmā and Viśnu are in the upper portion and below. Armed, together with their retinues, they guard and protect their respective directions. In the middle of them is Kālacakra, the progenitor of the best of the jinas, indestructible (anāhata), the Vajrakāya.806

In this verse there can be found a definition of Kālacakra as “the one who produces the foremost among the jinas, he is indestructible and he is the vajrakāya,” and, as mentioned in the Vimalaprabhā commentary to KCT I:21.

teṣāṃ madhye kālacakro jinānāṁ janako 'nāhato vajrakāyo dīkṣālaṇāṁ prabhur ity arthaḥ 807

In the middle of them is Kālacakra, the progenitor of the jinas, the indestructible vajrakāya, he is the overlord of the direction protectors.

Bu-ston has an interesting commentary to this text as follows:

de dag rnams kyidbus - nang dang snying ga'i rtse bcu'i dus dang ga las g'yon gyi rlung bcu'i lte pa lan chad 'khor lo lnga'i dbus su thig le gnyis 'gro 'ong byed pa'i dbus - su dus kyi 'khor lo - rdo rje sms pa' rtse dbus ma rlung 'gag pa thig le 'dzag pa med pa lhan skyes kyi ye shes phung po rnams bsgrīb bral du sb'yed par sb'yed pa - rgyal ba rnams kyi skyed mdzad gzhom du med pa rdo rje'i sku ste / phyogs skyong rnams kyi gtso bo shes bya ba'i don to // 21

Kālacakra is in the middle of them in the outer. He is in the middle of the inner and the ten channels of the heart. He is in the middle of that which causes the going and coming of the two drops in the middle of the five cakras – the navel (cakra) upwards – of the ten right and left winds. Since “Kālacakra” Vajrasattva, the cessation of the winds in the middle channel, the non-emission of the drop (bindu), the sahajajñāna (innate wisdom) - generates the separation of the aggregates (skandha) from obscuration (āvarana), he is the “progenitor of the jinas.”808

Important here is that Kālacakra is defined in this way, which corresponds to the much more detailed descriptions in other places in the great commentary, the Vimalaprabhā. The Vajrakāya is here the same as the svābhāvikakāya, the sahajakāya and the śuddhakāya and also consequently the Ādibuddha.809 Very interesting is that Bu-ston here regards the jinas as a result of the separation of the skandhas from the obscurations (kleśa). Kālacakra/Vajrasattva (and even Ādibuddha!) then generates the jinas in that way. The generation being the process of taking away the kleśas from the skandhas. This is clearly a

808 Bu-ston. 1965a:470, line 2.
809 See my chapter on the Ādibuddha concept above.
process going on in the inner as a microcosmos which has its correspondence in the outer as the deities Kālacakra/Vajrasattva/Ādibuddha. Consequently, this verse and its commentaries treats the concept of "Ādibuddha", although the word is not mentioned.

B. Banerjee in his dissertation\textsuperscript{810} takes this verse as an indication to strengthen the theory presented by B. Bhattacharya\textsuperscript{811} that the Kālacakra tantra was presented as teaching aimed at uniting the Hindus and Buddhists against the invading Muslims. This verse treats the guardians of the ten directions, who are Indian deities. They are all placed under the dominion of Kālacakra, so according to these Indian scholars, the syncretistic Kālacakra teaching was composed in order to unite the Indians against the Muslims.

5.2.3.a. The subchapter on the four bodies, KCT V:89-90, the corresponding Vimalaprabhā and Tibetan commentaries.

A very interesting part of the fifth chapter treats the four bodies in an uddēśa in KCT.V:89-126, which also contains an extensive commentary in the Vimalaprabhā and is further commented on by the Tibetan commentators. This part of the text gives all the basics for the understanding of the system of the four bodies. I will start here by giving a translation of verse 89 with the Vimalaprabha and the commentaries by Bu-ston and Zhang-zhung Chos-dbang grags-pa, the disciple of mKhas-grub-rje. I have given a translation of KCT.V:123-124 above in the context of writing about the quotations on the concept of Śuddhakīya (p.153). Here follows KCT V:89:

\begin{quote}
na prajñā nāpy upāyaḥ sahaśatānur iyam dharmakīya babhūva
prajñopāyasvarūpāḥ khalu vigatatamo jñānāvijñānabhedat /
so 'yam sambhogakīyaḥ pratiravaka ivānekasattvārthakartā
sattvānāṁ pākhetor bhavati punar asau buddhanirmāṇakāyāḥ //89//\textsuperscript{812}
\end{quote}

That which is neither prajñā nor upāya, the sahaśatana\textsuperscript{813} became the dharmakīya. Prajñā (wisdom) and upāya (means) are its own nature, indeed lacking darkness (tamas), because of the division into jñāna and vijñāna. So, [becoming] this sambhogakīya, resounding like an echo, and being the agent for the sake of many intelligent beings, for the sake of maturing the living beings, it [becomes] the Buddha-nirmāṇakāya.

The context of this verse is that chapter V:89-126 of the KCT treats the subject of the four bodies of Buddha. It gives the principle of the Sahajakīya, which is beyond the duality of wisdom and method (prajñā and upāya). Dharmakīya is divided into wisdom and method and the partition into jñāna and vijñāna is the origin of Sambhogakīya, which also has sound. In chapter II:27 it was actually said that Sambhogakīya is situated in the throat-

\textsuperscript{810} Banerjee. 1959:50-51.
\textsuperscript{811} Bhattacharya. 1958:109.
\textsuperscript{813} Tib. lhan-cig skyes-pa'i sku; which is the usual translation of the Sanskrit sahaśakīya, consequently, -tanu is another word for kīya.
cakra as far as the human body is concerned. In order to help human beings, the Nirmāṇakāya of the Buddha is necessary.

Sahajakāya - beyond prajñā and upāya
Dharmakāya - the division into jñāna and viññāna
Sambhogakāya - sound; acts for the human beings
Nirmāṇakāya - makes the human beings mature

This system will later be compared to other material on the four bodies.

In the following, I have translated selected parts of the verses and commentaries concerning the four bodies. I have used the original Sanskrit text as published in India in 1994, but I have first translated them from the Tibetan, as the original Sanskrit text was not available to me when I initiated this work. I have also used Bu-ston's commentaries when they have added something of interest to the text. Bu-ston's commentaries are placed within parentheses. I start with the commentaries to verse KCT V:89, which is very important for understanding the theory of the four bodies in the Kalacakra.

Translation of the Vimalaprabhā commentary to KCT V:89 with the commentaries of Bu-ston:

(p.45:14) na san nāsan na sadasan na cāpy anubhavyātmakam/
catuṣkoṭivinirmuktaṁ nāvā kāyaṁ mahāsukham //
uddhātāṁ mañjuśrīrēṇa ādibuddhān nirvāṇayāt/
lakṣaṇaṁ buddhakāyānāṁ catuṛṇāṁ tad vitanyate //

[Here is inserted the text of the verse KCT V:89, translated on the fore-going page]

(p.45:22) na praṇīty ādi / iha praṇītā pañcadaśakalātmakah śuklapaśaḥ
kṛṣnapaśaḥ candrakalāḥāṁir upāyaḥ / evam śuklo rātrīḥ kṛṣno divā /
ataḥ sahajakāyo na praṇītā nāpy upāyaḥ sahajatanur iyam buddhānām /
evam na sac chuklapaśaḥ nāsa kalābhāvāḥ kṛṣṇaḥ na sadasad anayoḥ
parasparavirodhato melāpako nāsti / na cāpy anubhavyātmakam iti na
cābhyaṁ śuklaśṛṅapaśaḥāhyāṁ vinā tat sahajasukham / evam
catuṣkoṭiparāśuddhāḥ sodāṣat kalā śñītātadharmāṁ sahajatanur ucyate
niḥsyaandalakaśanat turyāśayatayogaṁ / (p.46:1) evam napuṁsakam
iti siddham / iha sahajatanah svārthasampat parārthasampade
dharmakāyo babhūva suṣuptaśayataḥ / sa ca praṇītpāyasvarūpaḥ khalu
vigatatamo jñānaviññānahetūd iti / iha jñānaṁ grāhakacittanm yogināṁ viññānaṁ
paracittānāṁ grāhyāṁ jñayalakṣaṇanm / evam grāhakacittanm praṇītā
kalpanārahitatvād yoginām upāyo grāhyacittanm parikalpitam karunālaṃkṣaṇanm /
(p.46:5) tena grāhakagrahyahbhedaḥ praṇītāpāyasvarūpaḥ parārthakarṭā
dharmakāyaḥ / sa ca sahajād babhūveti / evam niśyanondo nābhau sahajah
dharmacakre hṛdaye vipaśkaḥ so 'yam dharmakāyaḥ sambhogakāyaḥ
parārthasampade pratiravaka ivānekasattvārthakarṭā / iha divyacakṣuṣā

814 This is a quotation from Mālamadhyamakārikā of Nāgārjuna, Chapter 1, verse 7. See Kalupahana. 1991:110.
815 The Vimalaprabhā text has -kṛṣṇapakṣa but from the context it must be -kṛṣṇapaśa.
There is no existence or existence and no existence or non-existence and there is even no [existence] of the essence of the two together. After having paid respect to the body with the great bliss and which is beyond inherent existence and [the statement] that something is, is not, both is and is not, neither is or is not.\footnote{816} Drawn out from the \textit{Adibuddha} without connection (unconnected)\footnote{819} by \textit{Mañjuvajra}, the characteristic of the four bodies of the Buddha is to be explained.

\footnote{816}{Wayman. 1985:93, Davidson. 1981:30,57.} \footnote{817}{KCT.V:89. Banerjee. 1985:222; Vimalaprabhā V.2 in VP Vol.III. 1994:45, line 18-21. From Bu-ston's edition of this text in Tibetan. Bu-ston. 1965c Part 3, p.80, line 1 – p.82, line 3. Skt. Vimalaprabhā V.2 in VP Vol.III. 1994:45, line 22 - p.46, line 17.} \footnote{818}{See Edgerton 1972 (1953):223. \textit{Catuṣkoṭi} is a short way of saying what is said in the former sentence, namely “that something is, is not, both is and is not, neither is nor is not.” This paradoxical statement is typical of Nāgārjuna’s text. He expresses contradictions and it is often not very clear what he means.} \footnote{819}{The translation of the word \textit{niranvaya} is problematic. It can be translated as “without family, unconnected, without causal connection, without partiality, without parts, etc.” The translation is important for the interpretation of the word \textit{Adibuddha}. All the translations have the same meaning of giving the meaning of something beyond. But if it is translated beyond causal connection, etc., it signifies an interpretation of the word \textit{Adibuddha} as a cosmic concept, as an entity beyond everything in the world and it has no causal connection with this world, but it is anyway in some way at the origin of this world. The expression \textit{Adibuddho niranvayaḥ} was already used in the MNS (as treated in this work on p.74 and notes 473 and 474) and the expression is crucial for the interpretation of the \textit{Adibuddha} concept in the whole of the KCT and the VP. This is one of the best indications found for the cosmic interpretation of the concept. There exists another possible interpretation. \textit{Adibuddha} simply could be taken as the root-tantra and the author of the KCT \textit{Mañjuśrīyasas} has drawn out the characteristics of the four bodies of the Buddha from that text and in that case there is no room for a cosmic interpretation. My conclusion is that it probably is the cosmic concept which is aimed at in this text, because in the MNS 100 it definitely is the cosmic concept that is described. The word \textit{niranvaya} as describing the \textit{Adibuddha} is used in both the MNS and the VP and it is most probable that the author of the VP has quoted from the MNS, as this text is of fundamental importance for the \textit{Kālacakra} texts.}
of the fifteen parts (kalās)\(^{820}\) of the month which is the bright part of the month. Upāya is the dark half of the month and it is the decreasing [of the fifteen] lunar parts (kalās). Accordingly, the bright part is the night and the dark part is the day. Subsequently, the sahajakāya is not prajñā and is not even upāya, it is the sahajatanu of the Buddhas.\(^{821}\) Accordingly the bright part of the month [the first half of the month] is non-existent, there is also not a dark [half of the month] as it is consisting of unreal parts (kalās); neither is real or unreal. As there is no existence and non-existence, they are not brought together, because there are contradictions of the two opposing ones (Bu: the two of them are imputed phenomena). (tib. p.80:5) As for “there is not even the non-existence of the two together”, that is, the bright and dark halves of the month are not deprived of the sahajasukha (the simultaneously-arisen bliss). (p.45:26) Thus, the sahajatanu is said to be the complete purification that something is, is not, both is and is not, neither is nor is not,\(^{822}\) and the sixteen parts of the month (kalās) and possesses the characteristics of the voidness; and because it is characterized by flowing, and because of the imperishable fourth [state] of the yogins.

(p.46:1) In that way, it is proven that it is neither male nor female.

Thus, from the sahajatanu being accomplished for the sake of itself, and being accomplished for the sake of others, became the dharmakāya, the sleep having ended. And, that one [the dharmakāya] has as its very nature prajñā and upāya, indeed, being without darkness (tamas), due to the classification into jhāna and vijñāna. Here, jhāna is the mind which has been grasped by the yogin and vijñāna is known as the jhāna of another’s thought and [it has] the characteristics of that which is to be known and that which is to be grasped. In this way, the mind which grasps is prajñā, because it is lacking in mental constructions; the yogin’s upāya is perceptible thought, determined, characterized by compassion. (tib. p.81:3; p.46:5) By the classification into that which has been grasped and that which is going to be grasped, the dharmakāya, with the own nature of prajñā and upāya, is the maker of benefit for others. And that one [the dharmakāya] has originated from Sahaja [-kāya].

Thus, sahaja, because it is flowing in the navel, now it has been ripened in the dharmacakra [and] in the heart it is this dharmakāya, as it is excellent in doing benefit for others, it becomes the sambhogakāya, who, like an echo acts for the good of many living beings.

(p.46:8) Here, with the divine eye, the form without past or future is seen as a reflected form, perfectly transparent; in that [perfectly transparent form] the sound that is the echo, the sambhogakāya, and the very own nature of prajñā and upāya. (p.46:9) With the divine ear, the divine consciousness (vijñāna) is the subject and the

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\(^{820}\) According to Hartzell, this is 15/60\(^{th}\) of a degree (Hartzell. 1997:1206). This refers to 15 parts of each lunar fortnight, 15 segments of waxing/waning moon.

\(^{821}\) Accordingly the Buddhas (plural!) have a sahajatanu (a simultaneously-arisen or innate body), that is, something beyond the duality of the existence.

\(^{822}\) The earlier mentioned catuṣkoṭi (note 818).
echo is the object. Therefore, the calculation of time in the past and in the future is known, in such a kalpa, in such a yuga, in such a year, in such a month, in such a fortnight, in such a day and so on. Such and such occurred, such and such will be (p.46:12). Therefore, the living beings are to be taught; through the dissolution of the imperishable sleep (the dream state), in the throat, human effort is the sambhogakāya, because of [keeping] the semen above. (tib. p.81:7) For the sake of maturing the living beings, this one again becomes the sambhogakāya, it becomes the nīrmanakāya, the essence of prajñā and upāya. Though one of the living beings, because of seeing its various emanations, [it appears to be] many. Thus, the union of one and many is evidently prajñā and upāya. (p.46:14)

As for the relative truth (saṃyrtya), it is contradictory one and many. It is also, through the dissolution of the waking state, in the fore-head [cakra] nīrmanakāya deprived of impurities, (Bu: The own nature (svabhāva) of mahāsukha is in accordance with the thought of being disciplined [by dharma]), “the completely visible form, the Ratnaketu, the great gem, (Bu: Because it is placed in the great gem)”.

(tib. p.82:3) Thus, Sahaja [-kāya] is one, and there are four separate kinds: this very one (Bu: sahajakāya), the dharma[-kāya], the sambhoga[-kāya] and the nīrman[-kāya]. (p.46:17)

(Here is the end of the translation of the commentaries to verse 89).

Strangely enough, in this text it is given that the four bodies are placed in the human body in the following way: Sahajakāya is placed in the navel-cakra, Dharmakāya is placed in the heart-cakra, Sambhogakāya is placed in the throat-cakra and finally, the Nīrmanakāya is placed in the cakra in the fore-head. This is reversed from the order which is found in the second chapter, but is in accordance with the division found in KCT II:27 with commentary.

In the following some characteristics of the bodies found in this text, especially the Sahajakāya and the Dharmakāya. There is a correspondence between the concepts of prajñā and upāya and the month divided into two parts. The first fifteen days, the bright part of the month, corresponds to prajñā (wisdom) and the last fifteen days, the dark half of the month, to upāya (method, skillful means). Sahajakāya is neither part of the month and belongs to the Buddhas. There also exists a concept called the sixteenth part of the month which is completely pure (suddha) and has a connection with the Sahajakāya concept. The sixteenth part of the month must mean something beyond normal existence, as it does not really exist, as there are only 2 times 15 days in the month.

Later on in the text (p.80:7; p.46:1), there is something very interesting. It is said that the Sahajatanu (-kāya) was made into perfection for the benefit of itself. Another confirmation of the transcendence of the concept. Sahajakāya does not need anything or anyone else. It is beyond these concepts. It is said to be in a sort of sleeping state and waking up

823 This is a quotation from the Nāmasānti 9.24. See translations by Davidson. 1981:30, 57 and Wayman. 1985:93.
from sleep it becomes the Dharmakāya. Having become Dharmakāya, this body can be made into perfection for the benefit of others. It is a change of state of a Buddha. The classification into that which grasps (grāhaka) (subject) and that which is going to be grasped (grāhya) (the object) is the Sahajakāya and the own nature (svabhāva) of prajñā and upāya is the Dharmakāya. It is clearly said in the commentary that the Dharmakāya has its origin in the Sahaja [-kāya]. Sahaja was caused by a former life in the navel-cakra and in the following it ripens in the heart-cakra. This could be an indication of the concept of something indestructible, continuing from life to life.

When the dharmakāya actually is doing benefit for others it becomes sambhogakāya, who acts like an echo, that is, sound is involved. This information can be connected with the information cited above from chapter II, which places the sambhogakāya in the throat cakra.

Before continuing with an analysis of this text, I will treat another commentary which is of interest for clarifying certain themes. It is the commentary by Zhang-zhung Chos-dbang grags-pa who became abbot of a monastery in Chamdo in 1458 and died in 1469. He was a disciple of mKhas-grub-rje (1358-1438) who was a disciple of the great reformer of Tibetan Buddhism Tsong-kha-pa (1357-1419). His commentary forms part of the collected works of mKhas-grub-rje and is probably the interpretation of the Kālacakra as put forward by Tsong-kha-pa, who had the Kālacakra tradition from Bu-ston. Tsong-kha-pa himself wrote very little on the Kālacakra and left it to his disciples, principally to mKhas-grub-rje to comment on this tantra. This commentary to the fifth chapter of the Vimalaprabhā, is very voluminous, containing 463 pages, compared to Bu-ston’s 293 pages. The commentary to the 2nd maha-uḍdeśa, which treats the four bodies, etc., is 72 pages, compared to Bu-ston’s 21 pages. A very interesting feature of this commentary is that it claims in several places that it reveals things about the subject that have not been written before. Some important information from the text follows:

Translation and summary of the commentary on KCT V:89 by Zhang-zhung Chos-dbang grags-pa.

Tibetan text:

(p.290:7) gnyis pa sku bzhi la sogs pa’i rnam par (p.291:1) dag pa nges pa’i mdor bs dus la gsun / mchod par brjod cing brtsam par dam bca’ ba / mdor bs dus kyi gzhung bshad pa / mdor bs dus kyi mtshan bstan pa’o / dang po ni rang bz hin yis yod pa ma yin pa med par rang bz hin gis (p.291:2) grub pa ma yin / yod med gnyis ka rang bz hin gis grub pa min cing yod med gnyis ka’i bdag nyid min pa’ang rang bz hin gis grub pa min par mha’ bzhis las ni rnam par grol ba’i bden stong dang bde ba chen po grub bde db yer med ‘bral mi rung du (p.291:3) tshogs pa ngo bo nyid kyi sku la phyag ’tshal nas zhes pa ni ngo bo nyid kyi sku la bde stong gnyis yod pa’i bden pa’i mha’ bzhis las grol ba’i tshul yin la / bde chen mha’ bzhi dang bral ba ni ‘og ’gel pas ‘chad pa’i skabs su ’byung ngo / / dang po’i (p.291:4) sangs rgyas ris med las / zhes pa nas / mtshan nyid de ni dgrol bar bya / zhes pa’i bar go sla’o /
In the second uddeśā on the instruction (niyama), the purity and the perfection of the four bodies etc., there are three parts: [1] the homage and promise to compose the texts [2] the explanation text of the uddeśā, [3] the explanation of the name uddeśa.

[1] As for the 1st, there is no existence in its own nature and there is no existence in its own nature, and there is no state of perfection (p.291:2). The two, existence and non-existence, not having perfection in their own nature, even when not being the essence of two, existence and non-existence, there is no perfection (siddhi) of its own nature. The truth, which is entirely beyond the belief in the inherent is that the void (śūnya) and the Great Bliss (Mahāsukha) are inseparable as the bliss that arises from the union with śūnyatā. After having paid homage to the svabhāvikakāya in which they have come together, it is unsuitable for them to be separated; here is the way of being freed from the belief in the inherent, which is the truth that has the two, mahāsukha and śūnyatā, in the svabhāvikakāya and as for the mahāsukha being deprived of the belief in the inherent, because it is going to be commented upon below, it will be put forward in the chapter of explanation (p.291:3). From the unconnected Ādibuddha (tib. ris-med; skt. niranvaya), from what is said like this, it is going to be liberated from the characteristics. This is easy to understand.26

(End of direct translation. The following is a short condensation of the rest of this subchapter which treats how the fourth body is related to the other ones. There are no direct quotations.)

On p.291:7 the text continues treating the sahajakāya. Inner, outer and other Kālacakra have prajñā and upāya. Then on (p.293:2) the text continues to explaining the essence of sahajakāya. From the body-side of the Sahajakāya there is the body provided with the dharma of the emptiness image (tib. stong-gzugs; skt. śūnyatā-bimbam) and from the mind-side of the Sahajakāya there is the great bliss (Mahāsukha) which is unchanging and sahaja (=innate, simultaneously-arisen). These two are inseparable as the water is from the wet and this kind of body is called Sahajakāya. Consequently, from the side of the body it is called Śūnyatā-bimba-kāya (tib. stong-gzugs-kyi-sku), void-form-body and from the side of the mind (tib. thugs, skt. citta) it is called Mahāsukhakāya (bde-ba chen-po'i sku), the body of the great bliss, and Sahajakāya (tib. ihan-cig skyes-pa'i sku), the simultaneously-arisen body. The object of experience of the mind has two purities, from that side it is called the Svabhāvikakāya (tib. ngo-bo nyid-kyi sku), the self-existent body. If this Sahajakāya has the form of svabhāvikakāya, it needs to have the two purities (tib. dag-pa, skt. śuddha).

Therefore svabhāvikakāya is like composite existence (p.293:5).

26 Zhang-zhung Chos-dbang grags-pa, p.290:7 – 293:1 in mKhas-grub-rje, dGe-legs-dpal-bzang-po. The Collected Works of mKhas-grub-rje, Vol.5, 1983:161-623 (This is the commentary on KCT V:89 and the commentary on that verse VP V.2.).
Now, the next subject is that on top of the bindu of the Fourth state there is something like an atomic level. The one composite existence which has the potential that is born out from the Mahāsukha (the great bliss). This has been said before in the commentary of the text (rdzogs-rim) rnal-'byor chen-po'i bshad-pa by rJe-btsun bla-ma (Tsong-kha-pa).

Zhang-zhung considered that earlier scholars had not explained this clearly, and that he explained it to satisfaction. When someone reaches the samādhi, ultimate stage of the six-limbed yoga, he has piles of bindu stacked on each other in the central (avadhūti) channel and they do not have the substance of own nature. The great bliss comes out of this. It is the Fourth State (of sexual bliss). This bliss is created from the sexual experience. It is like real bliss or like the bija-bliss on an ordinary level. Here again, the author states that noone has previously stated this about the svābhāvikakāya.

When one reaches that state one obtains the bindu, and by practising this unchanging great bliss one reaches the fourth stage (p.294:1). One can then see the differences between the sambhogakāya and the svābhāvikakāya. The first mentioned has more of the body-side and the second one has more of the great bliss. They are not male or female. Sahajakāya is more for the benefit of oneself and it has two parts, body/the void (śūnya/ body and mind/mahāsukha ), and here it has been told about the mind-side.

(The explanation of the characteristics of the other three bodies follows):

Void-form-body is upāya and the body-side and the Great Bliss is the mind-side and prajñā. There are different opinions about the relationship between prajñā and upāya. Someone (Dol-po-pa) says that on the absolute level there is no rejection between upāya and prajñā, they are equal. Then another person, Ka-ye shes-pa-can explains that they are not equal at all.

(p.296:2) Explanation of Dharmakāya: when one stays in a state of sleep, one is the Dharmakāya, which is not dharma and not form. From dharmakāya one can be divided into ye-shes and rnam-shes (jñāna and vijñāna). With jñāna one can go into Buddhahood and the great bliss. Vijñāna is the sTong-gzugs (empty form) side which is aimed more for helping others.

(p.297:1) The mind and bliss side in union is sahajakāya. When prajñā and upāya comes into action for other beings, it is dharmakāya. Sahaja is connected with the navel in the body. Sahajakāya is staying by itself and when it tries to turn for the benefit of others, then turns it into dharmakāya. When in some way sound (tib. gsung; word, sound, voice) comes into the context, dharmakāya turns into sambhogakāya.

On p.300 there is a short passage which tells about how the three other bodies come out from the sahajakāya. By the main male (Kālacakra), the five Buddhas are manifested which are the purified skandhas. By the main female (Viśvamātā), the five “mothers” (female aspects of the jinas) are manifested which are the purified dhātus. The main male and female makes manifest the object and subject.827

The text by Zhang-zhung Chos-dbang grags-pa states some interesting points. There exists some original unity called svabhāvikakāya, sahajakāya or ādibuddha and it contains the two sides mahāsukha and śūnyatā or prajñā and upāya. Sahajakāya contains two sides, the body-side and the mind-side.

sahajakāya – is existing by itself and the great bliss (mahāsukha)-side and the void(śūnya)-side are united in the sahajakāya as the water is from the wet. It can be seen as another way of denominating the content of the concept of Ādibuddha

sahajakāya

-mind-side: mahāsukha (aṇḍara and, sahaja) called mahāsukhakāya and sahajakāya

Two purities; the svabhāvikakāya which is like composite existence - prajñā

- bindu – the ultimate samādhi stage of the sadanga-yoga

- body-side: void-form-body (śūnya-rūpa-kāya); śūnyatā (the void)

dharmakāya – comes into existence when the sahajakāya is turning into benefit for others. It comes into existence when one stays in a state of sleep. It divides into:

dharmakāya

jñāna (knowledge) with jñāna one can reach the great bliss and Buddha-hood

vijñāna (discriminating knowledge) this is again the empty-form side which is aimed at helping others

sambhogakāya – is when the sound comes into existence. The level when the sound begins to be transferred to the living beings.

nirmāṇakāya – is the definite level where the teachings for maturing the living beings can be done.

This analysis of the text of Zhang-zhung Chos-dbang-grags-pa corresponds well with the above presented text of KCT V:89 with the VP commentary. The main principle is that the four “bodies” (kāya) of the Buddha are presented in a cosmological context where these
“bodies” have special characteristics. The original level of sahajakāya can be compared to the concept of an original principle as the concept of Adibuddha. This concludes the commentaries to verse KCT V:89. The following verse is also very interesting for the four bodies, so here verse KCT V:90 is quoted:

eko 'sau vajrasattvah pralayaghanaanibho heruko vai babhāva
raudrānāṁ pācanārthaṁ sa ca samayajino mohitanāṁ sukhārthaṁ /
ratneśo duhkhitānāṁ sa ca kamaladharo rāgīnāṁ rāgahetor
vighnānāṁ dhvamsanārthaṁ tv asikarakamalo 'moghasiddhir babhāva //90// 828

One is this Vajrasattva, who is like the cloud of universal destruction, [he] is indeed Heruka; He is also the samayajina, for the sake of maturing the raudras and for the happiness of the confused. [He is] the jewel-master [Ratnasambhava] of the tormented, and the lotus holder for the sake of the passion of the passionate. For the sake of the destruction of the hindrances, he is also Amoghasiddhi, with sword and lotus in hand.

In the commentary of Zhang-Zhung chos-dbang grags-pa it is said that Vajrasattva and Kālacakra are essentially one. The black Heruka originates like a cosmic cloud in the mandala of Cakrasamvara and others. 829 Heruka is, according to Tucci, an independent deity with his own mandala and also a generic head of the Buddha-families of the anuttara-yoga-tantras and can be referred to in the context of Cakrasamvara, Hevajra and Kālacakra.830 In this context, he is used as a denomination of Vajrasattva. Thus, by Vajrasattva, Cakrasamvara-Vajrasattva has been manifested and by the main male Kālacakra-Vajrasattva the other four families have been manifested. This is the pure essence of the five Buddhas. In Davidson’s article it is noted that Heruka is an emanation of Vajrādhara on the same level as the deity Maheśvara. Essentially, all these deities are the Mahāvajrādhara.831 In the Cakrasamvara Tantra, Śrī Heruka signifies non-dual experience, the void, uncompounded and not abiding anywhere. These are qualifications which also can be applied to Kālacakra/Adibuddha.832

rJe blo-gros chos-skyong833 explains in his commentary to this verse how the Buddhas emerge from the four bodies. First, the five jinas emerge, then their female counterparts, then the bodhisattvas, then the kroḍhas. He also states that all these together are the Dharmakāya.

From the Sahajakāya, Vajrasattva emerges in the form of the black Heruka, who has come from the black cloud. From Sahajakāya - Vajrasattva emerges Heruka - Vajrasattva and after that the five jinas.834

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830 Tucci. 1988:XV-XVI.
832 Srīchakrasambhāra Tantra. 1919:3.
833 rJe blo-gros chos-skyong has like Zhang-zhung Chos-dbang-grags-pa written a commentary on this chapter which is included in the collected works of mkhas-grub-rje. He was a disciple of mkhas-grub-rje.
mKhas-grub-rje writes in his “Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras” that the svābhāvikakāya of a Buddha means the same as the Tathāgatagarbha (the embryo of the Tathāgata). He cites Bu-ston as a defender of this theory. In his final analysis, mKhas-grub says, though, that the svābhāvikakāya is not the Tathāgatagarbha. In another context mKhas-grub states that Ānanda-garbha says in the Śrī Paramādiṭīkā that the four bodies correspond to the four jinas, svābhāvikakāya is Vairocana. Here some similarities can be noted to the Ādibuddha/Mahāvairocana-concept in the Japanese Shingon-buddhism.

5.3. CONCLUSIONS.

I have tried above to analyse the theories of the fourth body and its connection with the Ādibuddha concept and will this analysis not be repeated here. It is possible to see some lines of development of the Ādibuddha concept in connection with the svābhāvikakāya-system of the four Buddha-bodies. Already in the Abhisamayālaṃkāra, and especially in the commentary to this text by Haribhadra, one can find information on the svābhāvikakāya that point forward especially to the concept svadhisthakāya (the pure body) which is found in the main Kālacakra text. As yet, I have not seen in any literature that the fourth body should be named svadhisthakāya, as in the Kālacakra texts. Haribhadra writes about the fourth body that it is viśuddha (pure). There is a line leading back to these texts, over the developed concept of svābhāvikakāya (self-existant body) to the Ādibuddha-concept. The sahajakāya is here also said to be beyond the duality of prajñā and upāya and can consequently be seen as being on the level of the Ādibuddha principle.

Compared to the Japanese Shingon-Buddhism where Mahāvairocana is regarded as the dharmakāya in the three-kāya-system, in the Kālacakra texts Ādibuddha is probably to be identified with the svābhāvikakāya in the four-kāya system. The Kālacakra-texts have not been translated into Chinese, and therefore have not been able to have any influence on the Japanese Shingon-Buddhism.

835 Lessing & Wayman. 1968
836 Toh.2512.
6. PARAMĀKŚARA – THE SUPREME UNCHANGING. ITS RELATION TO THE ĀDIBUDDHA CONCEPT AND THE SAHAJAKĀYA.

6.1. THE SUPREME UNCHANGING AS PRESENTED IN KCT V:127 AND THE VIMLAPRABHĀ COMMENTARY.

In the Jñāna-paṭala (the chapter of knowledge), chapter V of the laghutantra Śrī-Kālacakra-tantra-rāja (KCT), and the commentary Vimalaprabhā (VP):
The mahoddeśa (subchapter), Paramākśara-jñāna-siddhi (The supreme unchanging perfection of knowledge). KCT V:127, with the VP commentary.838

Tibetan: Vimalaprabhā in Bu-ston’s edition.839

Without comparison, this is the verse which has the most extensive commentary in the whole text of the KCT. It has a commentary of 60 pages in the Sanskrit original of the VP and 114 pages in Bu-ston’s Tibetan edition. I have worked with this text using at first the Tibetan translation as I first had access to the Tibetan and only later to the edited Sanskrit text. The following is a presentation and translation of verse KCT V:127 and a partial translation of the commentary Vimalaprabhā. The commentary is the third subchapter within the fifth main chapter.

This verse treats the concept of paramākśara, the supreme unchanging; paramākśara-jñāna, the knowledge of the supreme unchanging; paramākśara-jñāna-siddhi, the perfected knowledge of the supreme unchanging; paramākśara-sukha, the bliss of the supreme unchanging; paramākśara-sukha-jñāna, the knowledge of the bliss of the supreme unchanging. This concept of the supreme unchanging approaches the concept of Ādibuddha which has been characterised in other contexts in these texts as unchanging, beyond duality, etc.840 The Sanskrit word can be analysed as parama - a-ksara, “the supreme” and “the imperishable or unchanging” or, in French, “inalterable, qui ne passe pas.”841 The word aksara can be analysed as a-ksara, a negation of kṣara which means “melting away, perishable.”842 Consequently the word paramākśara can mean “the indestructible” or, as I have interpreted the word, as “the unchanging.” The meaning is practically the same. In the word “unchanging” is also implicit the meaning that it is something that cannot be destroyed.

Before treating verse KCT V:127 and the accompanying VP text, some parts of the introductory part of the Vimalaprabhā will first be presented. In the introductory verses of homage in the Vimalaprabhā, Paramādibuddha is described as:

839 Bu-ston. 1965c:101, line 3-216.
840 See the previous chapter on “Ādibuddha in the Kālacakra Tantra”.
841 See Stchoupak, Nitti, Renou, Dictionnaire Sanskrit-Français.
842 See Monier-Williams 1976 (1899).
the unchanging bliss and the abandonment of origination and annihilation...

Later in the introductory part:

paramādibuddhenetiparamādibuddhah
ekākṣanapañcākāraṇāvaiśādāramāyājālābhismambhilokṣaṇo-
'kṣarasukhah paramah tenādibuddha paramādibuddhah tena
paramādibuddheneti / nīrānvayaneti /

The Paramādibuddha is the unchanging bliss that is characterized by perfect enlightenment in a single instant, in five aspects, in twenty aspects, and by the net of illusion; it is supreme (paramah; mchog). The one who first obtained Buddhahood (ādibuddha) by that [bliss] is the Paramādibuddha. The Paramādibuddha [taught the tantra].

From these two quotations it can be seen that the Paramādibuddha in this text not only is the root-tantra or the manḍala, but also is actually the one who first obtained Buddhahood and the unchanging bliss. It is even indicated that it was Paramādibuddha who taught the tantra. This should not be interpreted that Paramādibuddha is Śākyamuni Buddha. Rather, it is that Buddha when he was teaching the Kālacakra at the Dhānyakaṭaka stūpa appeared in the shape of Kālacakra/Ādibuddha. Paramādibuddha here really emerges as a kind of personified principle that first obtained Buddhahood. These are quite strange ideas for mainstream Mahāyāna Buddhism. It presents serious problems as to who really obtained Buddhahood, as the Ādibuddha is supposed to be timeless. Is there a beginning in time? Further on in the same chapter is written:

kālo 'kṣarasukhajñānam upāyāḥ karaṇātmakaḥ /
jhēyākāraṃ jagāc cakraṃ śrī prajñā śūnyatātmikā //

Time (kāla) is the wisdom (jñāna) of unchanging bliss - the method consisting of compassion. The wheel (cakra) is the world in the aspects of objects of knowledge - the splendid wisdom (prajñā) consisting of emptiness.

Later, there is an explanation of the word Kālacakra:

kālaḥ paramākṣaro mahāsukhalakṣaṇaḥ tenotpādiṁ nirvārasm
skandhadhātvādiṇaṁ cakraṁ yasya śarīram asau kālacakraḥ /

Time (kāla; dus) has the characteristics of the great bliss of the supreme unchanging. One whose body is generated as a wheel (cakra; 'khor-lo) of unobscured skandhas (aggregates), elements, and so forth by means of that [bliss] is Kālacakra.

From these two quotations one can see that Time is a key concept in the text. It is the supreme unchanging bliss which places the concept on the same level as the Paramādibuddha, beyond the transforming world. This is in harmony with the statement at the beginning of the first chapter of the laghutantra, where time is at the origin of the emanation of the world.

There is an interesting section in the fifth subchapter of the first chapter of the Vimalaprabhā which treats the Vajrayoga and the problem of the ultimate truth. I have translated part of this subchapter in the chapter on the adibuddha in this work (p.84-85). The supreme unchanging (paramākṣara) is equalled to the union of wisdom and method, the vajrayoga, Adibuddha and Kālacakra.

Next a quotation from the VP commentary on KCT I:1:

\[
\text{asau viśuddho vajrayoga ekākṣanābhisambuddhaḥ san mahārthaḥ paramākṣaraḥ sahajānandaḥ na kāmabhavet sthītāḥ na rūpabhavet sthītāḥ nārūpabhave sthītāḥ} \]

This pure vajrayoga, the highest, perfect Buddhahood in one moment, the noble great aim, the supreme unchanging, the sahajānanda does not abide in the desire existence. It does not abide in the [sixteen] form existences. It does not abide in the [four] formless existences.

This vajrayoga seems to be a concept that signifies the transcendent. All the enumerated concepts are descriptions of the vajrayoga which is the practice. The supreme unchanging is consequently not a part of any form of existence.

Another place where the concept of paramākṣara is treated is the following commentary on KCT I from the VP I.5:

\[
\text{thaikakṣanābhisambodhir nāma paramākṣarasukkhaḥ samādhiḥ iti / asau ekākṣanāsambuddhaḥ sarvavākyam bhavati śvāsāmikhyāntam yāvat / tataḥ pūrṇas tasmin kṣaṇe 'bhisambuddhaḥ samyaksambuddha iti / iha yasmin pūrṇakṣaṇe sarvatathāgataḥ abhisambuddhāḥ tasmāt kṣaṇāt sarvadharmanām notpado na sthūtir na bhaṅgāḥ nirnayatvāt} \]

Here, the so-called highest, perfect enlightenment in one moment is a moment of supreme unchanging bliss. This highest, perfect Buddhahood in one moment

847 KCT I:4. In VP Vol.I. 1986:53, line 26. “Because of time (kāla), from the voids, wind,fire,water...originate in the middle of the void…” See the fore-going chapter 3.1, p.79.
is the person developing all the moments through to the end of the count of the breaths. Then, the highest, perfect Buddhahood in that moment of completion is the true, perfect Buddha. Here, after that moment of completion (Bu: of the 21,600 supreme unchanging moments) in which all Tathāgatas obtain highest, perfect Buddhahood, all phenomena do not originate, do not abide and do not disintegrate, for they are unconnected (nirānvaya).

Another quotation from VP I.5, a commentary on KCT I:1:

> evam paramārthasattabhāvād ekakṣano nāsti ekānekavirodhād iti / 
> iha yad ekakṣanābhīsamuddhāḥ sarvākṣanāvibhāvākaḥ 851 iti tat 
> prathamam paramāksarasukhkānābhisambuddhāḥ san 
> ekāvīṃśātisahasraśataparamāksarasukhkānābhāvakaḥ 852

Thus, "since absolute being does not exist, there is no single moment because one and many are contradictory." Here, regarding that “highest, perfect Buddhahood in one moment the person developing all the moments”: is the first, highest, perfect Buddhahood by means of a moment of supreme unchanging bliss for the person developing the 21,600 moments of supreme unchanging bliss.

Here allusion is made to 21,600 moments of the supreme unchanging bliss. This can seem strange but it is a way of describing the passing of these moments through the central channel (avadhūti) in the body. There is also a stress on the fact that the supreme unchanging bliss exists at one moment, but at many consecutive moments. This kind of reasoning perhaps approaches the concept of instantaneous illumination which exists in the Chinese Cha’n Buddhism. The highest, perfect Buddhahood is reached in one moment.

There is an interesting annotation by Bu-ston to a quotation from the Mahājñāna-nāmasangīti. 853 There he states that the supreme unchanging is the same as that all matured beings have a single taste.

The Vimalaprabhā commentary to KCT V:127 gives a word by word commentary on the first ten pages and then continues with a long discussion of this and other related subjects. The 114 pages do not only treat the unchanging but also other subjects. I have drawn from the text all the passages where the word paramāksara (the supreme unchanging) is to be found. I have translated the surrounding text and finally an analysed the content.

In order to understand the following chapter on the supreme unchanging and verse KCT V:127, it is necessary to study KCT V:126 which treats the very important concept of bindu. The verse KCT V:126 is the last verse of the second subchapter in the the fifth chapter of the KCT and the VP. That chapter is the one that treats the four bodies of the Buddha that I have previously treated in chapter five. Verse 126 is a bridge to subchapter three. Here follows KCT V:126:

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851 This is a quotation from the MNS 141cb (Davidson 1981:35) and MNS VIII:23bc in Wayman. 1985:106 and Davidson. 1981:21.
In this way, as for the fourfold mind (citta), residing in the three existences, and residing in the middle of the bindu of the sentient beings; by the skilled yogins the bindu (semen) is to be protected and provide the fruit of equal bliss, the all-pervasive, for the purpose of liberation. In the bindu’s liberation [emission], where is the liberation. It is in the birth-seed (bijā) of the yogis who have lost the supreme bliss; Therefore, for this reason, the moment of bliss in saṃsāra is always to be shunned by the ascetics.

In this verse bindu is introduced in the current context. It seems to mean the male semen, although it also seems that the bindu is contended in the bija (seed) of the yogin. Consequently, bindu is the drop in the semen. In the bindu is the citta. All this is also a “hidden language” which has other connotations, as will be seen in the commentaries.

6.1.1. The third subchapter of chapter V: Paramākṣara-jñāna-siddhi - The perfection of knowledge of the supreme unchanging.

Tibetan: mChog-tu mi-'gyur-ba’i ye-shes grub-pa shes-by-a-ba’i mdor-bsdus chen-po.

This subchapter treats verse KCT V:127 and the Vimalaprabhā commentary. The Sanskrit text is found on p.60-103 in the Indian edition from 1994. These pages have been searched in order to find a clue to understand the concept of paramākṣara, the supreme unchanging and all the passages containing the word paramākṣara have been translated.

KCT V:127:
Sanskrit text of the verse:

855 Banerjee has bhogindrai but this reading from VP seems more correct.
856 The key concept of this chapter evidently is paramākṣara(sukha) which I translate as the “supreme unchanging or the “supreme unchanging bliss”, depending on the context. Hartzell (Hartzell. 1997:1254) translates it as “the supremely indestructible” or “the supremely indestructible bliss”. I still opt for the translation “the supreme unchanging” because of the context and connection with the Ādibuddha concept. “Unchanging” better translates the connection with time. Another translation for aksara is “imperishable”.
Therefore, because of the unity between vowels and consonants, that is, the unity of the moon and the sun, there is no seat (āsana) of the vajrin. The sign is completely transformed by the syllable Hillr1, the other [sign] is not desired as a form of the syllable. [The sign of] that which is produced by the unchanging, [of that] which is in the perishable receptacle, [of that] which is the divine sense, and [of that] which is the bindu which has created all aspects, [of he who is] the supreme master of jinas and [who is] the carrier of all illusions.

This verse is difficult. What is meant by the word vajrin? From other places in the text, the following can be derived: In KCT II:161, vajrin means the Buddha Śākyamuni860. In II:48 and following, it is the Raudracakrin who is going to fight the mlecchas in the final war as king of Shambhala.861 In II:53, it is the jinapati “master of the jinas”862 and in II:92, vajrin is khavajrin (sky-vajrin), which is pure consciousness and in the end śūnyatā (the Void).863 In KCT IV:1, vajrin is equated to Kālacakra according to the adjoining commentary.864 In this context, one could probably think of vajrin as that which is beyond the sahajākāya, that is, “Ādibuddha”.

The Vimalaprabhā commentary to KCT V:127:

(Here the earlier translated verse KCT V:127 is quoted).

Translation with Bu-ston's commentaries within brackets. I will here use Bu-ston's commentaries in order to clarify some points:

(skt. VP p.60:1; tib.Bu: p.101:3)
Homage to Śrī Vajra [Bu: by examining the wisdom of the fruit, the grasped and that which grasps and the non-dual, because they are inseparable] satva [Bu: because the three existences became into one essence]
[Bu:These two became inseparable]. Homage to Mahāmudrā,
[Bu: The way and prajñā , the parts were like the brilliance of a mirror gone beyond the dharma-essence of the indivisible particles, they became the complete void (viśva-sānyatā) the supreme unchanging bliss
[Bu:which is] the great bliss which has stopped the defilements which flow out of a man from the upāya void-body (sānyatā-bimba).
Homage to the gurus, the Buddhas and the bodhisattvas [Bu: who teaches that]. Homage to the Krodharajas, the Vajradākas and the Vajradākinīs. (VP p.60:4) Now, therefore, Therefore, from the sahajakāya produced from that which is unchanging, there is a perceiving of the dharmas that assume the form of syllables situated on the arms, etc. and [forms] coming from the transforming sign of the hāmkāra on the vowels and consonants of the moon and sun places of residence; Because this is the case, the Bhagavan’s perfection of (paramākṣara-jñāna-siddhi) knowledge of the supreme unchanging is described.

(Here, the verse V:127 translated on the fore-going page is quoted in the commentary).

(VP p.60:11) As for the “unity”, etc., because there is the unity of the vowels and consonants. As for A-etc., (Bu: the vowels) they are the set of vowels with the letter A, etc. The HA-letter is the moon and individually it is a vowel. The KA-letter etc [the consonants] is the assembly of consonants; and the KṢA-letter is the sun and individually it is also a consonant.
These vowels and consonants, the moon and the sun are the HA-letter and the KṢA-letter. There is unity of the A-letter and the PA-letter, the unifying seat (āsana) is the basis. The manifested essence of the consonant PA is the lotus. The lunar maṇḍala has the essence of the A-letter or the HA-letter. The solar maṇḍala has the essence of the RA or the essence of the KṢA-letter. Of the one designated, of the vajrin, the vajra of the indivisible one is the non-transmigrated [or: imperishable?] (tib. mi-'pho-ba; skt. acyuta) knowledge of the supreme unchanging bliss. That is in him, therefore he is a vajrin and is referred to as vajrīṇa (skt. VP: p.60:16; tib. Bu: p.102:4).
Here, the supreme unchanging has various connotations. First, the author pays reverence to the supreme unchanging bliss (paramākṣarasukha) in the same way that he pays reverence to Buddhas, gurus, krodharājas, etc., and compares the concept with the concept of Mahāmudrā. Then it is mentioned that sahajakāya has its origin in the unchanging (aṅkṣara). This is another indication of the theory that the sahajakāya is a level of existence which is secondary to the level of unchanging, or supreme unchanging.

The wisdom of the supreme unchanging is then referred to as being at the origin of the alphabet. This has some logic, because jñāna — wisdom/knowledge is more the intellectual side of wisdom. Also, of course, because paramākṣara can be translated as "the supreme syllable".

The last mention of the supreme unchanging in this part of the text is when it is referred to as the wisdom of the supreme unchanging bliss which is imperishable (acyuta). Here again, the word acyuta is an important word for the understanding of the text. It refers to the word acyuta (tib. mi-'pho-ba), which can be interpreted in different ways. The actual meaning of the word is "not fallen", but another meaning is "imperishable, permanent, firm".867 The normal translation of the word ‘pho-ba from Tibetan into Sanskrit seems to be sāṃkrānti or sāncāra868 and the meaning of ‘pho-ba is "to change place, migrate". The translation of mi-’pho-ba as acyuta is not found in the dictionaries, except in one place in the Mahāvīyutpatti where it is used in the very interesting expression: "acyutānupannāḥ sarvadharmāḥ", in Tibetan "chos thams-cad-ni chi ‘pho-ba-med cing ma skyes-pa", which could be translated as "all the dharmas are not produced and do not die (are not transmigrated)". This quotation is found in the chapter on the thirty-two great Compassions of the Tathāgata and is one of the thirty-two 869. If, in this context dharmas signifies the small dharma-particles, it means that the dharmas are the same through different lives. This is approaching the concept of mi-’pho-ba/acyuta in these texts.

The usual meaning of acyuta, though, is "imperishable, permanent".

In the Das dictionary a quotation of interest in this context is found: Kālacakra is "'pho-med thog-ma tha-ma-med", translated as "there is no migration and there is no beginning and no end".870 This line of thought is similar to the expression in the modern Tibetan commentary on the Kālacakra by Geshe Ngawang Dhargyey that there is something indestructible that lives on from life to life.871 Consequently, there is no real rebirth. Here, the meaning is perhaps that the supreme unchanging is that which is born again in another body. This line of thinking comes close to the traditional Indian concept of ātman, but it is difficult to draw any definitive conclusions. Perhaps there is a Tibetan tradition of interpretation of the word acyuta as mi-’pho-ba, thereby connected to the well-known Tibetan

868 Das. 1976 (1903), p.849. The meaning of sāṃkrānti is "going from one place to another, transference to" (Monier-Williams. 1976(1899):1127).
870 This quotation is found in Das. p.849. It is, according to Das, taken from the text mNgon-brjod mkhas-pa'i rna-rgyan, a Lhasa blockprint in 80 leaves by Ngag-dbang ‘jug-rten dbang phyug gras-pa'i rdo-rje from Sa-skya Pan-ch'en's text Tshig-gter, which is a Tibetan translation of Amarkoṣa and other lexicons. I have searched for this text to the present, without result. In the Tshig-gter and the Amarkoṣa, I have found nothing of interest.
practice of ‘pho-ba, “consciousness transference”, which is one of the six yogas of Nā-rupa. In the following passages the word acyuta/mi-‘pho-ba is used several times and will be commented upon.

The commentary on KCT V:127 continues (p.63; p.110) with commentaries to the text word by word. In continuation, translation and comment will only concern the parts of the commentary that treat the concept of paramākṣara, that is, the supreme unchanging. A continuation of the commentary to KCT V:127 follows:

paramārthatah svaravyañjanasamāhō ‘ksastra bhavati / aksārasaṃbena872 pa-
ramākṣarasukhaṃ jñānam vajrasattva iti / tathā manastrāṇabhūtavān
mantra ‘pi paramākṣarasajñānam ucyate / 873

(VP 60:22; Bu 103:2) Neither the vowel nor the consonant group is unchanging from [the side of] ultimate reality (paramārtha). By the word unchanging [is meant] the knowledge that is the supreme unchanging bliss (paramākṣarasukhaṃ jñānam), the Vajrasattva. Accordingly, since it has the purpose of protecting, the mind (manas), [and] the mantra are called the supreme unchanging wisdom (paramākṣarasajñānam).

(line 25) saha(ja)tanu ity ucyate jinaḥ / (VP 60:27; Bu 103:4) paramākṣarasukhasvabhāvau paramānu-
dharmatātātu ādārṣapraśnāsāvnapatīyau paramākṣarasvarāpāv
iti / atra kṣastraṇīti rūpavedānāsajñānasaṃkāravijñānī nirāvaraṇāni
pañcākṣaraṇi mahāśānyāny uktāni / tathā prthvyaptejovvākāśadhātavo
nirāvaraṇāḥ (VP p.61:1) pañcākṣarāni uktānāti / sādakṣaraṇī ca kṣuṇāḥ śro-
tvāghnājñāhāvāyamanāṁsi nirāvaraṇāni pratyaekavasvāsaya-
grahaṇavajrājītāni / tathā rūpāsabdagandharasparśadharmadhātavo
nirāvaraṇāḥ ca (VP p.61:3) sādakṣarāny uktānti / etāni skandha-
dhātvāyaṇatanāny ekasamārasibhūtāni binduṣāṇyo bhavati / sa ca bindur
acyutaḥ san paramākṣara ucyate / paramākṣaro ‘py akāro ‘kāraṃbhaṃ bhaḥ samyak-
sambuddhāḥ prajñopāyātmaḥ vajrasattvo napūṃsakapadān
sahajākṣa ucyate jīṇāna jñāneyāmkaḥ etc. etc. / sa ca kālaacakro bhagavān
paramākṣarasukhapadām ity uktāṃ bhagavatā
nāmasaṅgitiyāṃ vajrādhiṭumahāmundalastavade prathamāslokena –
(VP p.61:7) sadyathā bhagavān buddhāḥ sambuddhaḥ ‘kāraṃbhaṃ bhaḥ /
akāro sarvavarnādgyo mahārthaḥ paramākṣaraḥ 874 // 875

(VP p.60:25; Bu p.103:4)
As for saha(ja)tanu, it is described by the jinas...
(VP p.60:27) ..the two [Vajrasattva and Buddhāmātr] who both have the

872 The translation of this word poses some difficulty. Aksara could mean “imperishable, unalterable or un-changing”, but also “letter, syllable” (Monier-Williams 1976(1899):3). Here, it would seem logical to translate it as “syllable”, but the meaning of the word in this context could also be “imperishable, unchangeable”. The underlying meaning of the concept is very similar in both cases.


874 The last two lines are quotations from the from the text Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti (MNS) Chapter 5, verse 1; Verse 28 in Davidson’s edition. See text and translation in Wayman. 1985:68 and Davidson. 1981:22 and 51.

supreme unchanging bliss as their own nature, both have transcended the nature of indivisible particles (paramāṇa), both are like a dream and a divination (pratisena), both have the proper form of the supreme unchanging.

Here are the unchangings (aksara), they are the five unchangings: form (rupa), sensation (vedanā), perception (sānjñā), imagination (sanskāra) and consciousness (vijñāna): the five unchangings that do not have obscurities, known as the great voids (mahāśūnya).

(App. p.61:1; Bu p.103:6) Accordingly, the earth, water, fire, wind and space, the elements (dhātu) without obscurities\(^{876}\), are called the five unchangings. As for the six unchangings, they are eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body and mind, and are without obscurities, each of them having abandoned grasping their individual sense domains. (Bu p.104:1) Accordingly, form, sound, smell, taste, feeling and dharma without obscurities are called the six unchangings. (VP p.61:3) As for skandhas, dhātus and āyatanas having become into one taste, they become the drop-void (binduśūnya). And that imperishable (non-transmigrated) bindu (tib. mi-'pho-ba; skt. acyuta),\(^{877}\) is called the supreme unchanging (paramāksara). (Bu p.104:2) The supreme unchanging is also presented as the letter A. Complete enlightenment has emerged from the letter A, consisting of prajñā and upāya, Vajrasattva, in the androgynous state called Sahajakāya, consisting of knowledge (jñāna) and the knowable (jñeya), because of the inseparability of the cause and the fruit. It is also the Bhagavān Kālacakra which is called the place of the supreme unchanging bliss (paramāksarasukha) by the Bhagavan in the Nāmasaṅgiti, and in praise of the great mandala of Vajradhātu with the first verse (śloka) [it was said]: (VP p.61:8) “Accordingly, the Bhagavān, the Buddha, the awakened, is arisen from the letter A. A is the first of the letters, of the great purpose, the supreme unchanging (paramāksara).”\(^{878}\)

\(^{876}\) Skt. nirāvaraṇa, tib. sgrab-pa med-pa. This word poses some problems. I have translated it as “without obscurities” referring to a special state of these concepts when they are completely pure. This interpretation is also based on the Tibetan translation which makes a point in translating the word āvaraṇa with the word sgrab-pa which is translated as obscuration or something similar. Hartzell translates these passages as “unveiled” which is perhaps the easiest translation, looking at the word purely linguistically (Hartzell. 1997:1257) but the Tibetan translation does not have this meaning. See also Edgerton 1972(1953):107 in the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary where he states that āvaraṇa is (darkness, obscuration) standardly rendered with sgrab-pa in Tibetan.

\(^{877}\) See the discussion on mi-'pho-ba and acyuta above (p.177). Here an interpretation of acyuta both as imperishable and non-transmigration is possible from the context. The less controversial translation is “imperishable”.

\(^{878}\) I have used the translations of Wayman. 1985:68 and Davidson. 1981:22 and consequently from the context translated the word paramāksara with “the supreme syllable”. It is interesting to note this other meaning of the word and that it does not necessarily mean “the supreme unchanging”. In the context of this quotation from the 5th chapter of the Vimalaprabhā, it is obviously there in order to legitimize the reasoning with the letters of the alphabet. Aksara means both “imperishable, unchanging” and “syllable”. The author of the text wants to point to the fact that the word was used in the, for the tradition very valuable, text MNS and in the figurative sense, even in the MNS, the word is used for something original, the letter A. The Buddha also has his origin in that letter, or in another meaning, from the “supreme unchanging” (Wayman. 1985:68). Wayman comments in the following way: “in Chapter IV, A is the first of the twelve stages. “Accordingly”, all of those in higher stages and in the Buddha stage can be said to have “arisen from A”.

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Here an analysis of the relationship between the translation of *paramāksara* as “the supreme syllable” and the translation as “the supreme unchanging” is presented. The imperishable *bindu* is called supreme unchanging. This *bindu* could possibly be seen as part of the *Ādibuddha* concept. There is also a discussion of the different types of unchangings (or indestructibles). They are the five *skandhas*, the senses, etc., without obscurities. They are the normal phenomena, but purified in some way.

The supreme unchanging is the a-letter/sound which consists of *prajñā* and *upāya* and also *Vajrasattva* and *Sahajakāya* and other correspondances. The sound of the vowel A is in the beginning which makes it the principle of origin.

The commentary continues with mention of the “unchanging” and the “supreme unchanging”:

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tathā mūlāntre ‘py uktam tad yathā -
ādiśādīsamāyogo vajrasattvasya viśṭaraḥ /
akṣarodbhavakāvyaṃ humkārīdyatam na cesyate //
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(VP p.61:15; Bu p.104:7) Accordingly, in the root-tantra it is stated as: “the union of the vowels and the consonants is the sacrificial seat (viṣṭara) of Vajrasattva, and the letter HUM, etc., is not accepted as the body arisen from the unchanging (akṣara).”

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sa paramāksaro ‘cyutaksanaḥ kāla ity abhidhīyate / tad eva vajrajñānam iti /
tasya kālasya nirāvaraṇam skandhadhātvāyatanam cakram tribhavasyaikatvam
nirāvaraṇam jñeyam iti / tad eva vajradhātumahāmundalam ity ucyate
sarvākāraṃ sarvendriyaiḥ bindurūpam viśvamādyādkaram.
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(VP p.61:19; Bu p.105:2) The supreme unchanging is the imperishable (not transmigrated) (tib. *mi-pho-ba*; skt. *acyuta*) moment; it is designated as time (skt. *kāla*; tib. *dus*). The essence of this is *vajra*-knowledge (*jñāna*). The unveiling of that time (Bu: the supreme unchanging), is the *cakra*, [that is], *skandhas*, *dhātus* and *āyatana* (p.105:3); and the unity of the unobscured three worlds is knowable.

As for the essence of that, it is called the great *maṇḍala* of Vajradhātu.

It is of universal form, of all the sense-organs, of the *bindu*-form, sustaining the universal illusion.

Here, the concept of *paramāksara* is designated both as the moment of being imperishable and as time (*kāla*). Here is also explained how the concept of “supreme unchanging” is actually “time”. A philosophy of time is inherent in the *Kālacakra Tantra* and here it is actually expressed. “Time” can be seen as being unchanging.

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881 Here again is the word *acyuta* which, in this context, actually could be interpreted as the “non-transmigrated”.
882 The Sanskrit original text here gives a simple *kāla* (time), while the Tibetan has *dus-shes*, which in this case is only the translation of skt. *iti*.
The "supreme unchanging knowledge" has consumed all obscurations and, as can be seen from other places in this text, these unobscured skandhas, etc., are unchanging. The supreme unchanging is also designated as imperishable (or not transmigrated) moment. That moment is consequently beyond everything transcended. It is also designated as "time", which means that time is in some way at the origin of all things in the worlds. This was already stated clearly in the fourth verse of the KCT (see above, p.79).

The VP commentary on KCT V:127 continues:

\[
\text{punah sa eva kālacakra bhagavān praśnopāyātmako jñeyajñānasambandhañcatah} \\
\text{/atra paramāksarajanānaṃ sarvārantarākṣayahetubhūtaṃ kāla ity ukta} \\
\text{upāyāḥ / jñeyam traidhātukam anantabhāvalkṣanāṃ cakram tad eva praśna /} \\
\text{jñānajñeyayor ekatvam kālacakram iti /}^{883}
\]

VP p.62:7; Bu p.106:3) Once again, he alone is Bhagavān Kālacakra who consists of the very essence of prajñā (wisdom) and upāya (method) described by the relationship of what is to be known (jñeya) and knowledge (jñāna). (p.106:4)

Here the supreme unchanging knowledge (jñāna) becomes the cause which consumes all obscurations. The method (upāya) is described as time (kāla). That which is to be known (jñeya) consists of the three realms, characterized by unlimited existence, the cakra (wheel). That indeed is wisdom (prajñā).

The unity of knowledge (jñāna) and that which is to be known (jñeya) is called Kālacakra.

Here it is stressed that Kālacakra is the union/essence of prajñā and upāya, which is classical madhyāmika philosophy. Kālacakra is also the union of jñāna (knowledge, gnosis) and jñeya (the knowable). Upāya is also described as "time" and prajñā is described as cakra.

\[
kālasya jñānarūpasya jñeyalakṣanāṃ cakram anayor jñānajñeyayor ekatvam \\
kālacakram iti / anenoktakramena sa eva kālacakra bhagavān evamkāro \\
vajrasattvah sarvatah sambandhra samgīto jñainiḥ / uktam bhagavatā mūlantre \\
apācane paṭale— \\
abhedam sarvato jñānam vajram ity abhidhyyate \\
tribhavasyatikātā satto vajrasattva iti smṛtaḥ // \\
tasmād asyāksaratpamannaḥ sarvākārasya bindoḥ sahajakāryasya \\
sakalajinapatrī viśvamāyādhārasyādhārādhēyasambandho nasyate \\
maḥāmudrāsiddhyartham / yathā laukikasiddhisādhanārtham ādhārādhēya- \\
sambandha īṣyate tathā paramāksarasukhasādhanābhīratena yoginā.^{884}
\]

(VP p.62:16; Bu p.107:1) The cakra of time (kāla), that has this form of knowledge (jñāna) (Bu: the knowledge of the supreme unchanging bliss), [it has] the characteristics of that which is to be known (jñeya). The unity of these two, jñāna and jñeya, is Kālacakra. (p.107:2) By this sequence of statements, the very essence of Bhagavān Kālacakra and the letters: E (Bu: jñeya) VAM (Bu: jñāna) is Vajrasattva, and by the jinas it is praised in all the tantras.

By the Bhagavān, it was stated from the fifth chapter of the root-tantra:

"- The knowledge (jñāna)\(^{885}\) that is in every way indivisible is designated as vajra.(p.107:3)
- The living being that is the unity of the three worlds is known as Vajrasattva."

Therefore, from the bindu of universal form that arises from the unchanging, from the sahajakāya of the master of jīnas (jinapatti), who is the support (ādhāra) of universal illusion (māyā), the relationship of the support and the supported is not considered as for the sake of the perfection of the mahāmudrā. Since for the sake of the practice of the worldly siddhis, a relationship of the support and the supported is accepted (VP p.62:23; Bu p.107:5), therefore, for the yogin who rejoices greatly in the practice of the supreme unchanging bliss, [such a relationship] is not accepted.

Here is a quotation from the unknown root-tantra where it is stated that the sahajakāya is arisen from the bindu and, in consequence, from the unchanging. This state of the "unchanging" corresponds actually to the Ādībuddha concept. It can be noticed that the supreme unchanging bliss also is a state that can be achieved by someone who practises the ṣadānayoga.

An important analysis of the word Kālacakra is also given (see above, p.80 for a commentary on that word). Kālacakra is analysed as knowledge and the knowable, and knowledge (jñāna) is by Bu-ston described as "the knowledge of the supreme unchanging bliss". Consequently, jñāna in this context has a special meaning as being connected with the concept of the "supreme unchanging" and the bliss resulting from this.

\[
\text{VP p.63:3; Bu p.108:4} \ldots \text{by [the one who, i.e. the yogi,] consists of the essence of prajñā and upāya, for whom one moment establishes the bodhicitta, who has obtained the instruction of the way of prajñājñāna (wisdom and knowledge) [that leads to] the supreme unchanging great bliss; the dharma property of the deity of the mandala who is established in the shape, colour and arm by means of the syllables as the characteristics of the support and the supported.}
\]

Here, once more it is mentioned that the way/union of prajñā and upāya leads to the supreme unchanging great bliss. This state is possible to be reached by a trained yogin.

\[
\text{VP p.63:3; Bu p.108:4} \ldots \text{by [the one who, i.e. the yogi,] consists of the essence of prajñā and upāya, for whom one moment establishes the bodhicitta, who has obtained the instruction of the way of prajñājñāna (wisdom and knowledge) [that leads to] the supreme unchanging great bliss; the dharma property of the deity of the mandala who is established in the shape, colour and arm by means of the syllables as the characteristics of the support and the supported.}
\]

Here, once more it is mentioned that the way/union of prajñā and upāya leads to the supreme unchanging great bliss. This state is possible to be reached by a trained yogin.

\[
iha \text{ rāga utpādakālāh cyutir nirodhakālāh tayoh samāpattir aksarakālāh}^{888}
\]

\(^{885}\) jñāna (skt.) = ye-shes (tib.). Bu-ston states that ye is the bliss of the supreme unchanging.

\(^{886}\) Although in the VP it is written nesyate, because of sandhi-rules, I here interpret it as nesyate.


Here passion and the perishable/ejaculation meet and create unchanging time. Ejaculation as death could be an allusion to the sexual yoga in the Kalacakra, which implies that it is absolutely forbidden to ejaculate in the yoga in order to reach the goal of liberation.

\[\text{evam ubhayoh pratyekajñāne satyaadvayajñānābhāvaḥ advayajñānābhāvād buddhavasayāpy abhāvo bhavati viśuddhavaramākṣarajñānarahtatvād iti / aha prajñāyā jñānam prajñājñānam yadi tadā upāvasya jñānam upāvajñānam iti evam pūrvavad dosa iti / uktām bhagavatā nāmasaṅgītāṁ pratyavekṣanāṁ jñānāstave satrīṃśatimādiślokadvayena viśuddhaṁ paramākṣarajñānam / tadyathā} -

[34] saṃbudhavajraparyāṅko buddhaṅgaṁtiḥdhammadhṛk / buddhapatmodbhavah śrīmān sarvaśaṅjñānākōṣadāhṛk //

[35] vīśvamāṇadvadhi rojā buddhavidiśadharo mahān / vajrātikṣṇo mahākhaṭḍaḥ viśuddhaḥ paramākṣaraḥ 889 //890

(VP p.79:30; Bu p.157:7)

So, since there is a missing of the true pairs of knowledge in the individual knowledges, and because there is a missing of non-dual knowledge, even the Buddha-essence is non-existent. Therefore it [each individual knowledge] does not have the completely pure (viśuddha) knowledge of the supreme unchanging. (VP p.79:31) Moreover, if the knowledge of prajñā (wisdom) is the prajñājñāna (wisdom-knowledge) the knowledge of the upāya (means) is the upāvajñāna (means-knowledge). So, there is the prior fault. The completely pure knowledge of the supreme unchanging was described by the Bhagavān; it was stated in the Nāmasaṅgītā and with the reflection-knowledge891 by the two verses before verse thirty-six (VP p.80:2); It is like this:

[Here follows the translation of the MNS VIII:34-35 (110-111)]:

[34] Having the vajra leg posture of a complete Buddha, maintaining the versified dharma of the Buddhas, glorious arising of the lotus-like Buddha, maintaining the treasury of omniscient knowledge (jñāna).

[35] The King provided with all the illusions, the great one provided with the Buddha’s magic charm (vidyā); has a great sword sharp as a vajra, the completely pure syllable/unchanging (paramākṣara).892

Here the possibility of interpreting the concept of paramākṣara as the supreme syllable is treated (compare with VP vol.III, p.61:8, this text p.179). Probably, the word can be inter-

889 These two verses, 34-35, (Davidson 110-111) are from the Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgītī. For the text and the translation, see Wayman. 1985:96 and Davidson. 1981:57 and 32.
891 pratyavekṣanā is one of the five kinds of jñāna, “reflection”, see Edgerton 1972 (1953):376.
interpreted in the same way in more places. The essential meaning of the two meanings of the word is similar. A is the first, and in that way also the supreme syllable. The other meaning as “the supreme unchanging” or “the unchanging of the supreme” can be compared to the concept of Ādibuddha, which also means “the first (original) Buddha”. This can be compared to the first syllable A. It should be noted that the Tibetan almost exclusively use the expression mchog-tu mi-'gyur-ba for the word paramākṣara, even when it, in Sanskrit, can be interpreted as “the supreme syllable”. At some places the Tibetan uses yi-ge-mchog. It is also mentioned that the paramākṣara-jñāna has already been described in the Nāma-saṅgīti. The individual knowledge is not the completely pure knowledge of the supreme unchanging, but this knowledge is found in the Nāma-saṅgīti. This could have some relation with that the fourth body of the Buddha sometimes being called the Śuddhakāya (the pure body). Below follows a quotation from the root-tantra on paramākṣara:

mūlatantre 'pyuktam –
karmamudrāṃ parityajya jñānamudrāṃ vikalpitām /
paramākṣarayogena mahāmudrāṃ vibhāvayet //
ato bhagavato niyamāt karmamudrāsukham samantabhadraramamākśara-
asukham na bhavati tatā maṇḍalacakraśravānuvikalpitaprājñāsukham
samantabhadrāṃ paramākṣarasukham na bhavati ⁹⁹³

(VP p.80:19; Bu p.159:1) In the root-tantra it is also said:
“Having abandoned the karmamudrā and the mentally constructed jñānamudrā, by union with the supreme unchanging, one should produce the mahāmudrā.”

Therefore, from what has been established by the Bhagavān, the bliss of the karmamudrā is not the bliss of the completely good (samantabhadra)⁹⁹⁴ supreme unchanging (p.159:2). Accordingly, as for the bliss of prajñā, which has been mentally created by meditation on the maṇḍala-cakra, it is not the completely good (samantabhadra) supreme unchanging great bliss.

Here, the fact that the union with the supreme unchanging produces the mahāmudrā is mentioned. This could be a designation for the ultimate state that can be reached by the yoga in the Kālacakra Tantra, the yoga of six limbs. I have previously treated the problem with the 21,600 moments of supreme unchanging. It is connected with the teaching that in the central channel in the body, the avadhūtī, there are piles of bindus which are moments of supreme unchanging bliss.

Samantabhadra is one of the most important bodhisattvas. He could also be an Ādibuddha as in the Tibetan school of rNying-ma-pa,⁹⁹⁵ however Samantabhadra could also simply mean something very good.

nanu yadi samantabhadrāṃ paramākśarasukham tad eva caturthaṃ
mahāmudrājñānāmaḥ mahāmudrārahitāṃ na bhavati / ⁹⁹⁶

⁹⁹⁴ The word samantabhadra is used here. It is possible that it could also mean the Samantabhadra as the Ādibuddha-figure in the rNying-ma-pa school. Such an interpretation is interesting but perhaps not credible. Hartzell translates this as “the completely good” (Hartzell. 1997:1323).
(VP p.80:28; Bu p.159:5) In case of [that there is] just the completely good
(samantabhādra) supreme unchanging bliss, that very fourth, the knowledge
of mahāmudrā, does not exist without the mahāmudrā.


iha sattvā yena rāgeṇa cyutena pralayam marañam upagataḥ tenaivacyutena pa-
ramākṣarabhūtena tāyino buddhā muktā bhavanti /897

VP p.81:8; Bu p.160:3) In this sense, living beings who [otherwise] have gone to
dissolution at death, that is, reached the final destruction, by means of that fallen
(ejaculated) passion; they can become liberated Buddhas, saviours, by means of
the non-fallen [non-ejaculated passion] that becomes the supreme unchanging.

Here again, allusion is made to the sexual yoga and it is stressed that in practising the non-
ejaculated passion one can become the supreme unchanging, and, in consequence, a liber-
ated Buddha.

evāṃ yogino 'pi paramākṣarasukhābhīṣaṇāvāśād bāhyacyutisukhaparīṣṭā
gāt kumārikāvasthāntaragatā ato tānāgatavartāmānām paśyanti 898

(VP p.88:27; Bu p.180:2) Accordingly, the yogins, through the influence
of practising the bliss of the supreme unchanging, and through
the abandonment of the bliss of falling in the outer (external ejaculation),
enter a virginal state900 and see the past, future and present.

Once more it is mentioned that the yogin can do a practice called "the supreme unchanging
bliss." The sexual yoga is here quite explicitly explained. The abandonment of ejaculation
leads to the supreme unchanging bliss.900 The practitioner of the sexual yoga of Kālacakra
consequently can see into the past and into the future, in that way transcending time (kāla).
This is one of the characteristics of the time philosophy contained in the Kālacakra Tantra.

nanu paramākṣarasukhābhīṣaṇaṃ vinā 'brahmacārin'o 'py aneke kaivalyaṃ
dēṣayanti tasmād brahmācāryaṃ vinā mantradēṣayati dhīṣṭhānaṃ bhavati /901

(VP p.88:30; Bu p.180:3) Objection [of opponent], without exercising the bliss
of the supreme unchanging, there are also many non-brahmacārin who teach about
absolute unity (kaivalya; isolation); therefore, without [being] a brahmacārin
there may still be the empowerment of the mantra deity.

Again the bliss of the supreme unchanging is something that is practised and leads the way
to absolute unity (isolation, kaivalya). This expression is rare in the Kālacakra texts. It

899 This refers to a divinaton simile.
900 The sexual yoga in the Kālacakra Tantra has been extensively treated in Hartzell. 1997:910-932.
seems like it is more a way of expressing the classical manner of absolute or final liberation? This word, isolation, is used in the classical yoga-sūtras of Patanjali. By this practice it is probably meant the practice of sexual yoga.

\[ eva\text{ṃ} sarve kṣudramantratraya satyam dhīṣṭhānākramā mārāṇāṁ paramākṣara-
\text{jñānābhirataī yogibhir vicāraṇīyāḥ/ ebhiḥ kṣudramantrādhiṣṭhānair}
\text{vajrāveśo na bhavati/}^{902} \]

(VP p.89:32; Bu p.183:2) In this way, all of them, having kṣudramantra-deities following the authority of the Māras, are going to be discerned by these yogins who take pleasure in the knowledge of the supreme unchanging. By these ones established by the kṣudramantras, there is no taking possession of the vajra.

Here is mentioned that the yogins take pleasure in the knowledge of the supreme unchanging.

\[ atah sattvopakārah punyāsambhārārthām kartavyā jñānāsambhārārthām pa-
\text{ramākṣarajñānābhāvanā kartavyā/ sattvārthām vinā punyāsambhāro}
\text{na bhavati paramākṣarajñānābhāvanayā vinā jñānāsambhārasa ceti}
\text{tathāgatalhādayam/}^{904} \]

(VP p.90:24; Bu p.184:7) Therefore, for the sake of assistance of the living beings the gathering of merit is to be made and for the sake of gathering knowledge (jñāna) meditation on knowledge of the supreme unchanging is to be performed. Except for the sake of [helping] living beings, no gathering of merit occurs. Except for meditation on the knowledge of the supreme unchanging, [no] gathering of knowledge (jñāna) [occurs]; such is the heart of the Tathāgata.

Here, the importance of knowledge of the supreme unchanging for the gathering of knowledge is stressed. The knowledge (jñāna) is not possible without combination with the supreme unchanging. Knowledge of the supreme unchanging precedes other knowledge. The supreme unchanging is consequently at the origin of knowledge, which is something that comes close to the concept of the unchanging Ādibuddha at the origin of everything.

\[ ato bhagavato vacanād yoginā paramākṣaramahāmudrāyogena
\text{svacittasadhanam kartavyām mokṣārthām anyathā gurvājñāyā}
\text{mokṣo na bhavāt/}^{905} \]

(VP p.91:4; Bu p.185:4) Therefore, according to the Bhagavān's word, by the yogin, by the union with the mahāmudrā and the supreme unchanging, the sādhana of his own mind is to be performed for the sake of liberation; otherwise, by the authority (ajñā) of the guru, the liberation does not occur.

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903 kṣudra means very small, little. Consequently, Kṣudramantra means the small mantra.

186
In order to reach the liberation (mokṣa), it is necessary for the yogin to be in union with the female counterpart and “the supreme unchanging”. This is a place where the concept of “the supreme unchanging” stands alone without the bliss or knowledge. This concept then must be another word for the totally transcended state reached in connection with the state of being in union with the ĀdiBuddha.

The following is a verse that is quoted from the mūl atantra:

śivatattve kāmatattve viṣatattve tridhā bhavet /  
vedho gurvājñayā pumsāṁ paramākṣarasukham na ca // 906

(VP p.91:29) As for the real nature (tattva) of Śiva, the real nature of desire (kāma), the real nature of poison (viṣa), it [the tattva] may be threefold; yet, by the command of the guru, the supreme unchanging bliss for the human beings, is not [produced].

The supreme unchanging bliss cannot be reached by human beings on the guru’s command. This state must be reached by the yogin himself. Also, a guru is normally not really qualified to lead the disciple to liberation. A real bodhisattva is needed. 907

The following text is placed just after the quotation from the mūl atantra and is a sort of conclusion of the quotation.

ato bhagavato vacanāt paramākṣarahānāmahāmudrābhāvanā kartavyā mokṣarthaneti / 908

(VP p.92:11; Bu p.188:1) Therefore, according to the words of the Bhagavān, the meditation with the mahāmudrā for the sake of the knowledge of the supreme unchanging, is to be performed by the one who desires liberation.

The mahāmudrā could be a type of wisdom/knowledge. It is very important in order to reach the liberation to actually desire that liberation honestly. Here it should be noted that these meditations are to be practised for the sake of the knowledge of the supreme unchanging, without adding the bliss. In this verse paramāksara stands for itself, something that underlines that this is a concept of its own and not a qualification of other concepts.

tad eva saṁsāracakram tan na kasmāt bhagavataḥ paramākṣara-vidyādharatvāt /  
/ iha hi bhagavān vajrasattvāḥ paramākṣaramahā-vidyādharāḥ saṁsāraśanātikṛāntāh tad vaidharmyena saṁsārīnāḥ  
kṣaravidyādharāḥ saṁsāraśanānāgrastāḥ / tasmāt paramāksaro  
mahārāgo vidyāv avidyā iñānādirāgavāsanā sattvānām tayā rāgapravṛttih  
rāgo ‘pi kṣaraḥ kṣarād virāgāḥ / 909

(VP p.97:23; Bu p.202:5) Just that wheel of saṁsāra is not [the pratitya-
samutpāda]; Why? Because the Bhagavān holds the science of the supreme unchanging. Because the Bhagavān, in this regard, [is] the Vajrasattva who is the great science-holder of the supreme unchanging, who has transcended the karmic imprints of samsāra. Because their dharma differs from him, the people living in samsāra are holders of the knowledge of destruction and are seized by the karmic imprints (vāsanā) of samsāra. Therefore, the supreme unchanging, the great passion, is science, and there is non-science, in this sense, by the living beings with beginningless karmic imprints of passion, and from that [state] there is the source of passion, and from passion, destruction, and from destruction, aversion.

This part of the commentary on KCT V:127 treats the decisive battle engaged by the Kalkin, the king of Shambhala described in the KCT I:150-170 and in KCT II:48-50. Verse KCT I:48 is again quoted just before this quotation. These texts were discussed at length in the chapter on Shambhala above (p.79-85).

It is clear that Vajrasattva and the Bhagavān (Śākyamuni Buddha?) know about the supreme unchanging and they are beyond the reach of karma and the wheel of life. Vajrasattva has a connection with the Ādibuddha/Kālacakra as he has knowledge of the supreme unchanging. This is another indication of the transcendence of the concept of supreme unchanging. The karmic imprints (vāsanā) are the impressions giving karma in former lives and affecting the present life. In several places in the KCT and the VP, this concept is mentioned. It is very important for being able to perform the liberating meditations and yogas in the Kālacakra Tantra. It is also important that the concept of paramākṣara is treated as independent from bliss or knowledge.

\begin{verbatim}
atol bhagavato vacanāt samsāracakrāṃ ksaraṅgo 'vidyeti / iha yadā ksaraṅgo naṣṭas tadā paramākṣaro bhavati / paramākṣaro mahāraṅgaḥ / mahāraṅgaḥ virāgo naṣṭaḥ / virāgo nāma dveśaḥ / dveśaṅkṣasyān mahādveśo bhavati / \end{verbatim}

(VP p.98:22; Bu p.205: 4) Therefore, according to the words of the Bhagavān, the cycle of samsāra is the passion for the perishable, the non-science. In this sense, the passion for the perishable is destroyed, then the supreme unchanging comes to exist. The supreme unchanging is the great passion. From great passion aversion is destroyed. That which is called deprivation of passion is hatred. From the destruction of hatred, comes the great hatred (doṣa). The hatred having been consumed, it becomes the great hatred.

This passage is quite enigmatic. The supreme unchanging seems to be a state when the passion has changed quality and reached the state of unchanging. Consequently, the supreme unchanging is the passion transcended. This idea has been expressed earlier in the text when, for example, the five skandhas could change their state of being in that way, being

equalled to the unchanging when they are without defilements. Here also the concept of paramāksara is treated as independent.

The perishable moment that is the progenitor of these ones called the maras of the ignorance of body, speech and mind is described as Kamadeva. By the Tathāgata, by a moment of the supreme unchanging, he was destroyed; his destruction was the destruction of the power of Mara, the destruction of the ignorance forms of passion, hatred, mental darkness and anger. Here, through the cessation of the karmic inclination for the perishable, there is cessation of passion, hatred, mental darkness and krodha (anger); through the cessation of these, there is the cessation of ignorance. In this way, gradually, the twelve limbs are suppressed and from the cessation of the twelve limbs the wheel of existence is suppressed and through the cessation of the wheel of existence Buddha-hood without obscurities comes into existence. Among these śrāvakas [Theravāda], pāramiṭās [Mahāyāna] and [followers of] the mantra-system [Vajrayāna], the supreme unchanging heart of the Bhagavan Vajradhara was explained in the Nāmasaṅgiti by the Tathāgata. Due to no knowledge of the meaning of this and false gurus are ruined, and have deviated from the knowledge of the supreme unchanging will occur in the future. The living beings are going to be destroyed by those destroyed [gurus]. Therefore, in this root-tantra, in the praise of the knowledge of the five forms and by the five slokas, the meditation on the five forms was described by the Bhagavan like this:

913 Should be corrected to rāga, according to the context in the following sentence.
"In the void (Bu: which has gone beyond the indivisible particles), the entirety of existence has abandoned imagined form. This (Bu: emptiness image which has all the parts) can be seen (Bu: for example) like a prognostic image in the mirror by a young maiden. Thus in the truth beyond the material world (the lokottara truth), there is the mirror-knowledge of the form aggregate (skandha). The entire existence having become the same, the single existence is established as (Bu: supreme) unchanging. The knowledge and the unchanging being united, there is no cutting off (Bu: following the existence of the void), nor is it [the existence] eternal (Bu: gone beyond the indivisible particles). Thus, the skandha of sensation, the equality knowledge (jñāna)."

(VP p.101:6; Bu p.211:2).

Here a moment of the supreme unchanging is mentioned, which consequently, is just unchangeable and contains an eternal moment. It is also written that the supreme unchanging heart of Vajradhara was explained in the Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti (MNS). This could mean that the indestructible drop in the heart of Vajradhara is explained. Māra and Kāmadeva are destroyed by using the moment of the supreme unchanging and all the constituents of the world are suppressed. Ignorance is also suppressed and likewise, the chain of the twelve limbs is suppressed. If the yogin abandons the knowledge of the supreme unchanging, he is going to deteriorate.

tathā nāmasaṅgityāṁ vajradharabhagavatāṁ paramākṣaratājñānaṁ buddhabodhisattvānāṁ hṛdayabhūtāṁ tathāgatena prakāśitāṁ dvāṣāṣṭyadhikaśataiḥ ślokāḥ sādhyaśeṣaṇaiḥ.  

(VP p.102:1; Bu p.212:4) Accordingly, in the Nāmasaṅgiti the supreme unchanging knowledge of the Bhagavān Vajradhara that is the heart of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, was perfectly taught by the Tathāgata with the 162 ślokas together with the solicitations for instruction (Bu: on the position of the six cakras which are provided with the six root-families).

It is stated here that the supreme unchanging knowledge is at the heart of Vajradhara and the Buddhas and the bodhisattvas. It is similar to the indestructible bindu in the heart. The text MNS consists of 162 ślokas.

In the following page, there are many verses where information about different deities is to be found. At the end of this passage is the following:

ebhīr dvāṣaṣṭyadhikaśataślokaiḥ sarvayānesūddhṛtya saṅgṛhitāṁ vajradharabhagavato hṛdayaṁ samantabhūtradṝṣ paramākṣara-marāhāśuḥkam ākāśadātuparyantam samantād avabhāsamānaṁ viśuddhaḥjñānasambhārasambhūtaṁ.  

915 samatājñāna is one of the five jñānas.
Having been drawn out from all the yānas by these 162 verses and gathered together, the Bhagavān Vajradhara’s heart is described as, being extended in all directions in the space realm, completely good (samantabhadra), as the great bliss of the supreme unchanging (paramākṣaramahāsukha), and as provided with materials for the completely pure knowledge (viśuddhatīkā) and shining forth in every direction.

In this passage there is a continued worship of the formerly mentioned text, Nāmasyaṅgiti. The supreme unchanging is there, but it can also, as in another place in the MNS text, mean the supreme syllable. Here the heart of Vajradhara is considered to be the supreme unchanging great bliss and has also other qualifications.

etad eva tribhuvanamahānīyam yogiṇīnaṃ svasaṃvedyaṃ paramākṣaramakahāṃ yoginā na tyaktavyam iti tathāgataniyamah
/asya bhāvanā mūlataṃtrarājā jīhānapaṭale tathā tathāgatenokta /
tathāyath -
dhūmādān bhāvayitvā tu cintām krtvā tu niścalam /
madhyamāyām sūdhāvyē bhāvayet paramākṣaram //
padme vajrāṃ pratiṣṭhāpya prāṇaṃ bindau nīveṣayet /
bindūṃś cakreṣu bindūmāṃ spandāṃ vajre nirodhayet //
stabdhalingah sadā yogi īrādhvaretāḥ sadā bhavet /
mahāmudrāprasāṅgena vajrāveṣat adhiṣṭhitāḥ //
eka vinśatsahasraśriś ca śatātāḥ paramākṣaraśriś /
ksanaiḥ pūrṇair mahārāja vajrasattvāḥ svayaṃ bhavet //

This itself is receiving offerings in the three worlds, the self-knowable perception of yoga, the supreme unchanging bliss, not to be abandoned by the yogī, [Thus it is] established by the Tathāgata.

The meditation on this, in the jhāna (knowledge)-chapter of the mūla-tantra-rāja (root-tantra), has been described like this by the Tathāgata:

"- After having meditated on smoke, etc., (Bu: by Pratyāhara, “individual convergence” [1st limb]),
- and having made the mind (citta) immovable (Bu: by dhyāna, “individual stability” [2nd limb of sādāṅgayoga]),
- After having purified [the citta] in the middle [channel] (by the prāṇāyama, “life-effort” (the 3rd limb) and the vajra-recitation), one should cause the supreme unchanging to be made into existence.

And having placed the vajra (Bu: wind-mind;) in the lotus (Bu: of the six root-cakras), one should make the prāṇa (life-) (Bu: -wind), enter into the bindu (drop) (Bu: abiding in the forehead [that was the 4th limb, dhāranā),

919 The 1st limb of the sādāṅga-yoga; the six- limbed yoga of the completion stage of the Kālacakra Tantra.
920 "Vajra-recitation" is meditation of the completion stage with the goal of drawing the 10 energies into the central channel (avadhūti), and then into the indestructible drop (the nāda in the bindu) at the heart. (Dhargyey. 1985:137).
"retention").

- (Bu: By the uttering of HA and by the gtum-mo (inner heat))
in the anusmṛti, "recollection" (the 5th limb), and [make] the bindus [enter into] the cakras; the motion of the bindus (drops) in the vajra, in the cakras of the bindus (Bu: of the root of the six cakras) should be halted.

- (p.215:S) (Bu: Through the samādhi, "concentration," [the 6th limb of the śaḍāṅga-yoga]) the linga of the yogin is always immovable, and [Bu: by the śaḍāṅgayoga][his semen should always be held back.

By being engaged in embrace with the mahāmudrā and with the penetrations of his vajra, he himself should become, Oh great King, the Vajrasattva (Bu: who has obtained the twelfth earth (bhūmi))."

These verses from the root-tantra seem to be very important in defining the supreme unchanging. This place is also at the very end of the commentary to KCT V:127. It describes the practise of the six-folded yoga which is the ultimate practise of the whole Kālacakra Tantra. The sexual yoga is clearly described in connection with stage 4-6 of the six-folded yoga. The semen should be held back and that will lead to the moment of the supreme unchanging and to the Vajrasattva who, according to Bu-ston, has obtained the twelfth bhūmi of the bodhisattva path. Here 1,620 supreme unchangings are mentioned. This is important because it establishes the paramākṣara as an independent concept, not necessarily attached to sukhā or jhāna. The supreme unchanging in this context seems to be the experience of the immovable bliss attained by this yoga. There are 1,620 of these moments experienced in this exercise of the 6th limb of the śaḍāṅgayoga. This number can be recognized as the number of divinities in the Kālacakra maṇḍala treated earlier in this work. There are 1,620 deities in the maṇḍala. I have not seen this correspondence mentioned before. It seems to have a connection with the many “unchangings” that are placed in the central (avadhūti) channel and where the experience of these unchangings take place.

The meditation is the śaḍāṅgayoga described as a way of establishing the paramākṣara in the yogi’s body. First, it is established in the prāṇāyama of the first limb. Then mention is made of the paramākṣaras, corresponding to the 21,600 moments of bliss occurring in the body when the prāṇa is mounting in the central channel (avadhūti) of the body. Vajrasattva has reached the last and highest stage of the twelve stages on the way of becoming a bodhisattva.

The conclusion of this is that the supreme unchanging (moments!) can be many, but probably it is only meant that the supreme unchanging can unfold in many ways in the practise of the six-folded yoga.

The very last place where the word paramākṣara is mentioned in the Vimalaprabhā commentary to KCT V:127 is the following:

sattvam padmaṁ prajñā evam vajrasattvah / uktam
bhagavatā tantrārāje jhānapatale - prajñopāyāmbujaṁ

921 This is the “inner heat”, skt. cāndali, which has been made known as one of the six yogas of Nāropa (Evans-Wentz. 1968:155-250).

922 See this work, p.118-19.

923 Compare with Dhargyey. 1985:91. I have treated this text earlier in this work (p.173).
Wisdom is the living being and the lotus, thus Vajrasattva.

This was stated by the Bhagavân in the Tantrarāja, in the chapter of knowledge (jñānapatāla):

"The water-born (lotus) (Bu: is the void which has all parts, and is a being) of wisdom (prajñā) and method possessing the vajra is called the support and the supported [that which has gone beyond the support and has not come]. Those two (Bu: upāya-prajñā and support-supported) is the meeting (samāpatti), (Bu: into the same taste), the vajrayoga, the non-dual [and] the unchanging.

I pay respect to that fourfold vajrayoga, the Kālacakra. In Kallipa the king Punḍarīka has emerged, possessing the water-born (lotus) himself."

This last passage of the third subchapter mahoddeśa of the fifth chapter (jñāna-patāla) of the commentary to the KCT, Vimalaprabhā, contains a short résumé of the essence of the chapter in stressing the non-dual and the unchanging character of the Kālacakra and the vajrayoga which seems to be a term resuming all the tendencies of unity of opposites which occur in this tantra. The unchanging is the non-dual and that which has come together. Consequently, when the upāya and prajñā have merged, the unchanging emerges. There is in these texts a movement in two directions. Both a principal of origin when the world emerges from the unmanifested “Ādibuddha”, and the other way around in the mind of the yogin when he reaches a merging with the unmanifested principle seen as an “Ādibuddha”.

6.1.2. Commentary. What is the concept of the paramākṣara, the supreme unchanging?

An analysis will now be made of the concept of paramākṣara, the supreme unchanging, on the basis of the texts translated here and other material.

The concept of aksara is also important in Indian philosophy in general. P.M. Modi has written on this concept in the Bhagavadgītā and other Hindu texts and he gives a number of possible translations of the word, especially “the imperishable”, “the immutable”, “brahman”, “the supreme ātman” and “the liberated soul”.925

The main concept in verse KCT V:127 seems to be the concept of bindu; (tib. thig-le; drop, small point, “essence”). Bindu has in other tantras basically the meaning of the point at the centre of the maṇḍala where all thought-creation (bhāvanā) is absorbed. Hence, it

represents the void (śūnyatā) or the moon, which is the bodhicitta in its absolute aspect. It can also mean bodhicitta in its relative aspect as white bindu (the semen) and red bindu (the woman’s menstrual blood).\(^{926}\) It is not evident that this description is valid for the Kālacakra Tantra because its content has been quite unknown among western scholars until recently. Bindu is introduced in this part of the tantra in verse KCT V:126 and there it is said that the fourfold citta is placed in the middle of bindu of all the sentient beings. The bindu is then said to be liberated and gone to the superior bliss (paramasukha) in the bija (seed, semen) produced by the yogin. Then the bindu is thrown out in all directions.

The concept of bindu is explained in different places in the Kālacakra. In the Vimalaprabhā, bindu is explained in connection with the letters. Bindu is the small point above the half moon in for example the seed syllable HŪM when written in Tibetan.\(^ {927}\) Above it is the nāda which is formed like flame (or crest).\(^ {928}\) These concepts are used in the sadhāṅgayoga of the completion stage (utpannakrama). To end a meditation, the half-moon of visarga merges in the bindu, then the bindu merges into nāda, and subsequently, this dissolves into the Void.\(^ {929}\)

Bindu also indicates bodhicitta.

In the present, verse KCT V:127, this concept of bindu is said to have its origin in the unchanging (skt. akṣara, tib. 'gyur-med). Bindu has also gone to the end of change, something that expresses the same idea as the foregoing. Bindu is the master of all the jinas which is a quite strange expression. Normally in this text the master of jinas is the “Ādibuddha”-type of deities like Kālacakra, Vajrasattva, Vajradhara. Bindu has taken a very wide meaning here. It can be considered equal to the Kālacakra. To conclude, it is implied in the text that bindu is behind the illusion of this material world, which can mean that the material world has its origin in bindu. Perhaps it could be that bindu in the heart cakra produces the illusion in the microcosmos perspective.

But bindu is not the “absolute”, because, as is explained in the great commentary (VP) in another place in this text: “Therefore, Sahajakāya has originated from the unchanging.”\(^ {930}\)

This leads to the conclusion that bindu and sahajakāya can be put on equal basis.

One can see from comparing with parts of the subchapter on the four bodies that sahajakāya also has its origin from something else that is called “Ādibuddha”\(^ {931}\)

In order to understand this, it is necessary to compare with the description in the completion stage of the six-limbs-yoga where it is told that consciousness comes into existence from the indestructible drop.\(^ {932}\)

This concerns the human body and it can be noticed that there is a “forever indestructible drop” which refers to the “extremely subtle consciousness and energy (or wind)” inside “the drop” (bindu) which is indestructible for the duration of life and is located in the


\(^{929}\) Dhargyey. 1985:94-95.


\(^{931}\) Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:45, line 14; Bu-ston. 1965c:80, line 1. See above, p.159-60.

\(^{932}\) Dhargyey. 1985:91.
heart-cakra. This bindu is actually totally indestructible throughout all the existences (life, death and intermediate stage).\footnote{This might give a key to the statement in the VP of the KCT V:89 that the Sahaja was caused in a former life in the navel, so now it has ripened in the dharma-cakra of the heart as the Dharma-kāya. As the indestructible drop is situated in the heart, it manifests as the active principle of Dharma-kāya in the heart.\footnote{933} This kind of philosophical basis is perhaps difficult to accept from a Madhyamika point of view of there 'being nothing permanent and indestructible. Here perhaps this tantra introduces something new in Buddhist doctrine. In analogy with the macrocosmos-microcosmos perspective of the whole tantra, this is also valid for the outer world. Perhaps here can be seen the idea of something which is beyond everything, indestructible and eternal and sometimes called Ādibuddha, although these texts mostly treat the first manifestation level of the world expressed in this tantra as Sahajakāya/Suddhakāya, Kālacakra/Viśva-mātā, prajñā/upāya and the supreme unchanging bliss of wisdom (jhāna) which results from contact with this indestructible that exists eternally. Perhaps a reason that this concept of something indestructible is not discussed very much in this tantra, is that it is beyond description. It could also be suspected that it was not emphasized because it is not really an orthodox doctrine of the dominating buddhist philosophical school of Madhyamika thought. Here the origin of the Jo-nang-pa school of Buddhism being what has been called substantialistic might be found. The Void is free from an absolute substance and this teaching is called the "gzhan-stong"-doctrine. It could be that it was Dol-po-pa (14th century) and his predecessor Yu-mo (beginning of 13th century) who understood the true essence of Kālacakra. It seems from the basic texts that there is something "absolute" in this philosophy.

Probably, though, the concept of Ādibuddha is many times purely temporal and stands for the one who obtained buddhahood first. The crucial point is that there is something before and behind the sahajakāya.

Returning to the VP of the KCT V:127, there is the concept of non-transmigration or permanence (skt. acyuta, tib. mi-pho-ba) which is mentioned above\footnote{It is mentioned in the beginning of the present chapter (p.176-77). Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:60, line 16; Bu-ston. 1965c:102, line 4. Das. 1976(1903):849.} and there is a possibility of interpreting this word as describing a continued existence over life, intermediate stage and death. There exists also the possibility that the idea of transmigration is produced in the Tibetan translation, that there is a difference of interpretation. In the Kālacakra texts there can be found indications that there really exists something, a continuum of the extremely subtle consciousness and energy that exists as the basis of an indestructible drop (bindu-nāda), which continues to exist from life to life. Considering the existence of such a phenomena, it is possible to affirm that there is not really transmigration in the Kālacakra, because something always continues to exist. So, it does not mean that there is not reincarnation, but that there is an infinitely small bindu which continue from one life to another.

Earlier in the text\footnote{Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:60, line 16; Bu-ston. 1965c:102, line 4. See above, p.176.} it is said that the knowledge (jhāna) of the supreme unchanging bliss is not transmigrated. What is meant by that? If this wisdom is not transmigrated it must be continued, eternal? Later in the text it is said that bindu (drop), when it is in the
supreme unchanging, does not become transmigrated. Here bindu in this meaning is also having a continued existence. It is a special kind of bindu which also is said to have become the Void. If this is correct, then the Void (śūnya) is the supreme unchanging. Later on in the text it is stated that the supreme unchanging is the moment of not being transmigrated. The momentaneous supreme unchanging is consequently outside of the wheel of existence.

Still further on, it is again stated that if a yogin is skilled in the supreme unchanging bliss, he has abandoned the bliss of transmigration. In consequence, it is plausible to say that it is possible to abandon transmigration with a technique using the bindu of the unchanging bliss.

There exists 3,600 drops (bindu) of white bodhicitta in each of the six cakras. These drops are drawn up through the subtle body and in the end are drawn into the crown cakra where the special Kālacakra eleventh and twelfth Bodhisattva grounds are attained. In all, there are 21,600 drops of the white bodhicitta and consequently also 21,600 unchanging blisses which act as antidotes for the material components in the body. All these components and active energies have to be exhausted. For that purpose, one experiences a supreme unchanging bliss which exhausts all the material components and also the red and white bodhicitta. Here, there is a mixture of the bindu (drop), the aksara-sukha (the unchanging bliss) and the paramaksara-sukha (the supreme unchanging bliss). The conclusion that can be drawn from this, is that there is a difference between “unchanging bliss” and “supreme unchanging bliss”, the former being manifold and related to the channels and drops in the so called “subtle body”. The second concept is only one, there is really only one supreme unchanging bliss.

Returning to the VP on KCT V:127, it is mentioned that through the sound of the unchanging (or: the syllable), the knowledge (jñāna) of the supreme unchanging bliss is Vajrasattva. This can be systematised as follows:

\[
\text{paramaaksara} \cdot \text{the supreme unchanging} \\
+ \text{the sound of the unchanging} \\
\text{Vajrasattva}
\]

There are also several unchangings, two groups of five and six corresponding to the elements and senses deprived of obscurities (tib. sgrīb-pa). Consequently, the unchanging is the purified elements, etc. The elements in themselves are beyond change. Later in the text

941 Dhargyey. 1985:144-145. For this discussion see also Geshe Lhundrup Sopa. 1985:148-150. Also published as “An Excursus on the Subtle Body in Tantric Buddhism.”, Sopa. 1982:
it is stated that the skandhas, dhātus and āyatanas become one in the bindu in the body (see above, p.161). This bindu becomes the void (śūnya). This bindu, as it is not transmigrated, is revealed in the supreme unchanging. Sahajakāya is described as without sexual distinction and on that level Vajrasattva is also to be found. Kālacakra is on the level of supreme unchanging bliss. As this is the level of bliss, it is already not the supreme unchanging, but the level where sexual distinction occurs (Kālacakra/Vīśvamātā).

In another way it can also be said that the knowledge (jñāna) of the supreme unchanging bliss is that which is achieved by purifying the drop (bindu) situated in the navel cakra, which is related to the bliss resulting from sexual union. When this has been purified one achieves the vajra knowledge (jñāna).

A good overview of the problem if there exists an immobile, permanent self or not in the Indian religions has recently been published by Johannes Bronkhorst where he states that permanence has been a theme in Indian religions since ancient times. There is a strong tradition of the immobile self (ātman) and the immobile absolute principle (brahman) in different traditions of Hinduism but in Buddhism, the different theories of the small dharma entities are dominant. This normally leaves no place for any absolute self or absolute eternal principle, but in the Kālacakra Tantra there seems to be some sort of idea of an absolute self and an absolute principle like the Ādibuddha.

6.2. CONCLUSIONS – THE RELATION OF PARAMĀKṢARA (THE SUPREME UNCHANGING) TO SHAJAKĀYA AND THE ĀDIBUDDHA.

The above quoted material can be summarised as follows from the Vimalaprabhā p.60 up to p.80:28:

Transcendent level:

The Supreme unchanging - Paramākṣara (contains the bindu transmigrated)/ A /The moment of no transmigration.
- It has passed beyond the dharma’s of indivisible particles. -It is the cause which has consumed all the obscurities.

The first manifestation level:

Sahajakāya - Vajrasattva (= the essence of prajñā and upāya)
- The most perfect Buddha
- The bindu of all beings
- Jinapati (= master of Jinas)

- Samantabhadra - has the supreme unchanging bliss which is the wisdom of the mahāmudrā and the essence of the fourth bliss.
- The Buddha-essence is non-existence and attached to the knowledge of the completely pure supreme unchanging bliss.

The next level of manifestation:

*Kālacakra / [Viśvamāta] - The supreme unchanging bliss*

[Bu-ston:] The knowledge of the supreme unchanging bliss (= the own nature of knowledge characterised by Time)\(^{946}\)

\[
\begin{array}{cc}
E & VAM \\
jñāna & jñeya \\
\end{array}
\]

Vajrasattva is the union of E and VAM and also of jñāna and jñeya.

From a later passage there follows some quotations that treat how a yogin can practice in order to achieve the supreme unchanging bliss. For the sake of liberation, a yogin should meditate on the supreme unchanging wisdom and the mahāmudrā. The supreme unchanging knowledge (jñāna) is something that can be achieved by a yogin.\(^{947}\)

6.2.1. Some remarks on the last part of the commentary on KCT V:127.\(^{948}\)

In the last two quotations, the three causes for the world of cyclic existence to go around, i.e. rāga (desire-attachment), dveṣa (anger-hatred) and moha (mental darkness) are treated. It is considered that there exists one great rāga, dveṣa and moha. A very remarkable thing is that the concept of the supreme unchanging is equated to the concept of Great Desire-attachment. Something similar can be considered here, as in former passages where the unchanging is compared to elements, etc., without obscurities. When the desire-attachment is destroyed, it becomes the supreme unchanging. Then it is the Great desire-attachment. This is perhaps just a way of saying that when the desire-attachment, etc., are without obscurities, they are like the supreme unchanging. Later on, there is an interesting passage where it is said that the desire (tib. 'dod-pa) is subdued by the moment (tib. skad-cig; skt. kṣaṇa) of the supreme unchanging. This means that the karmic imprints (tib. bag-chags; skt. vāsanā) of change have been stopped. Time as the moment here plays a crucial role in the meaning that the stopping of Time leads to the supreme unchanging.\(^{949}\)

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\(^{949}\) Vimalaprabhā V.3 in VP Vol.III. 1994:100, line 2; Bu-ston. 1965c:210, line 1.
In this context, is also mentioned that it is the Bhagavân Vajradhara (tib. rDo-rje 'dzin-pa) in whose mind these methods have been conceived. Vajradhara in his turn taught it to the Tathāgatas (the five Jinas). Who is then Vajradhara in this context? It could be another name for the “Ādibuddha”-concept, although Vajradhara is a seldom used word in the Kālacakra texts. Later, especially in the Tibetan Buddhist school of bKa'-brgyud-pa, Vajradhara takes on the role of “Ādibuddha”, but in these texts the concept is not so clear.

Below is also mentioned that “the supreme unchanging knowledge of the Bhagavân Mahāvajradhara is transformed into the mind of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas”. This could mean that Vajradhara (or Mahāvajradhara) is identified with the supreme unchanging and could be seen as a personified Ādibuddha. There are problems with this identification because the Tibetan word rDo-rje 'dzin-pa in the text can be used for Vajradhara, but can also mean “the one who grasps the vajra”. The later conventional translation of Vajradhara to Tibetan is rDo-rje 'chang, and this translation is not used in these texts. This is all the more striking as in the Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti (MNS), which is basic for the Kālacakra Tantra, Vajradhara/rDo-rje-'chang is mentioned in several places. In the MNS, Vajradhara is equalled to Vajrapāni and it was only later that the two divinities became separated and Vajradhara became the “Ādibuddha” of the Guhyasamāja Tantra and other tantras.

Later it is mentioned that the mind of Vajradhara is the great bliss of Samantabhadra paramākṣara (the supreme unchanging). Here perhaps an identification of the supreme unchanging is made with Samantabhadra who later was identified with the “Ādibuddha”-concept in the rNying-ma-pa school of Tibetan Buddhism, but in other parts of the KCT and the VP I have not found this name. Samantabhadra can also mean “the completely good”.

I have written more on the relationship between the Kālacakra texts and the MNS above in the third chapter above. Here can only be mentioned that in MNS verse 111, “viśuddhaḥ paramākṣara” is translated as “he is pure with the supreme syllable”. The Tibetan “yi ge mchog ste rnam par dag” is different from the translation as “the supreme unchanging.” But it is interesting that the same Sanskrit expression is used.

Finally, a comment deserves to be made on another earlier translated text. There seems to exist a way of saying that the supreme unchanging is beyond everything, even the eternal does not exist. There is no descendence from the Void. But there exists something beyond the indivisible particles (tib. rdul-phra; skt. paramānu). The relationship of the supreme unchanging to the Void is not clear in this context. There is a contradictory statement here that even the eternal (tib. tag-pa) does not exist. A solution to this could be that this is another way of saying that it is really impossible to say anything positive about “the absolute”.

The last part of the VP commentary on KCT V:127 tells about the relationship between the six-limbed yoga (ṣaḍāṅga-yoga), which is the essence of the practice of Kālacakra, and the concept of the supreme unchanging. The experience of the supreme

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unchanging bliss in the sixth limb of that yoga has a relationship with the retention of the semen. This has to do with the ultimate goal of this yoga which is to stop every motion and to stop time (kāla). When one has reached that goal, one will experience the great bliss, which in this context is the same as the supreme unchanging bliss.

7. FINAL CONCLUSIONS.

I have made conclusions after each chapter and I will not repeat everything here. The historical part of this work establishes the dates of the introduction of Kālacakra to Tibet as some time between 1030 and 1040 by the Indian Bhadrabodhi and his Tibetan translator Gyi-jo Zla-ba ‘od-zer. Then the two schools of Kālacakra, the ‘Bro and Rva took shape. During the first three centuries of the existence of this teaching in Tibet it was partly dominated by members of the Jo-nang-pa school of Buddhism. This means that the Kālacakra Tantra played a crucial role in the formation of the gzhan-stong theory of emptiness from something. Bu-ston himself seems to have disregarded this influence as he was an adherent of the rang-stong theory emptiness from itself. The dGelug-pa school, and today, the present Dalai Lama has their tradition from Bu-ston, not the Jo-nang-pa.

It is not an easy task to find a solution of how to define the doctrine of Ādibuddha in the Kālacakra texts. A comparatively simple solution is to hold that Ādibuddha is just another way of describing the tathāgatagarbha concept, which means that there is a Buddha-seed in human beings which is always there. In that case, it is a way of saying that one must strive to obtain the state of Buddha-hood. It can also be a way of describing the Void (śūnyatā) which is also present everywhere.

Despite the above mentioned arguments, it is still possible to state that there is a concept of an original idea of a “Buddha” out of which everything originated. In that way the connection with the concept of the fourth body which is drawn out from the Ādibuddha is evident. The fourth body, Sahajakāya or Šuddhakāya, is a sort of primordial manifestation in the world. Of course, then the fourth body has many other connotations more on the personal level, but the cosmological level is also there, connected with the origin of the five jinas.

The concept of the supreme unchanging bliss, paramāksara-sukha, can possibly be regarded as a qualification of the Fourth body. The supreme unchanging then should still be on the level of the teachings of non-transmigration and represent the bindu that is eternal from life to life in a human being.

The Ādibuddha concept is qualified with various epithets as shown above. The most important being:

omniscient, without qualities, master of jinas, without mental constructions, unchanging, or indestructible, bliss (akṣarasukha), non-dual, progenitor of the Buddhas, simultaneously-arisen master of jinas, beyond origination and dissolution, non-dual wisdom and method, pure yoga (suddhayoga), without causal connection (niranvaya), supreme (parama), the

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one who first (ādi) obtained Buddha-hood, without beginning in time, without termination, indivisible vajrayoga, endless Buddha, the supreme unchanging (paramākṣara) (see above, p.139-140).

All these qualifications are strong evidence of there existing a concept of something transcendent beyond the existing world and this transcendent concept could be called the “Ādibuddha”. Actually, these qualifications can also be applied to other deities or principles, though the importance is that there exists such a concept.

As found in KCT V:127, there also exists a concept of bindu which can be compared to the Ādibuddha concept on the individual level of the human body. The bindu stands for the indestructible or unchangeable in the heart cakra of the human body. This indestructible drop is described in a similar way as the Ādibuddha. Consequently, it is shown how the concept of Ādibuddha has a macroscopic and microcosmic interpretation.

The fourth body of the Buddha, the sahajakāya, śuddhakāya and svabhāvikakāya can also be associated with pure, unchanging mind which is beyond everything. Sahajakāya being beyond prajñā and upāya, wisdom and method.

Finally, the concept of the knowledge (jñāna) of the supreme unchanging (bliss), paramākṣarasukha jñāna, can be compared to the transcendent concept of something unchanging or indestructible. This last concept is more of a personal concept describing the final state of bliss which can be reached.

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APPENDIX 1.
The Tibetan text of Zhang zhung chos dbang grags pa’s commentary on KCT V:89 on the four bodies.


(p.291:4) gnyis pa m dor bs dus kyi gzhung bshad pa la gsum / 'bras bu'i sku dang gnas dang 'phrin las bshad pa / rgya dbang dang lam gyi rnam gzhag bshad pa / sku bcu drug gi rab dbye bshad pa'o //

dang po la gsum / lhan cig skyes pa'i sku'i mtshan nyid rgyas par bstan pa / sku de dag gang du bzhugs pa'i gnas bstan pa / (p.291:5) 'phrin las kyi de nyid rgyas par bshad pa'o //

dang po la gnyis / sku bzhi'i mtshan nyid bshad par dngos / sku gcig las sku du ma spro ba'i tshul lo // (p.291:6) dang po la gsum / lhan cig skyes pa'i sku'i mtshan nyid bshad pa / sku lhag ma gsum gyi mtshan nyid bshad pa / rigs drug dag pa dang sbyar te bshad pa'o //

dang po ni tshigs su bcad pa gya dgu pa nas brgya bcu gcig pa'i rkar gang pa gsum pa yan chad ni ye shes kyi dkyil 'khor spro ba'i ngo bo nyid kyi gnas pa bdun pa yin la / (p.291:7) kha cig (dol phyogs\(^{955}\) shes pa dang shes bya rnam pa kun gyi bdag nyid kyi gnas pa dgu pa la 'chad

(p.292:1) de dgag pa sogs ni le 'u 'grel bshad du gsungs zin to // shes rab ma yin zhes pa la sogs pa ste 'dir phyi nang gzhan gsum la thabs shes zung re bzhag ste / de yang nang bskyed rim dang rdzogs rim gyi skabs 'gar 'dzag pa'am g.yo ba'i dga' ba bzhi la bcu drug tu phyi ba'i tshe / (p.292:2) shes rab ni cha dang po bco Inga'i bdag nyid de dkar po'i phyogs so // thabs ni nag po'i phyogs te zla ba khu ba'i cha bcu drug nyams pa'ti phyir ro // de la dkar phyogs shes rab dang nag phyogs thabs su hyas pa ni bsam pa'ti sgo nas bzhag pa ste / (p.292:3) de'i rgyu mtshan yang khu ba'i cha nyams ma nyams kyi dbang gis yin par 'grel pa la gsungs pa 'di nyid do // nang dang gzhan gnyis ka la yang dgos pa'i dbang gis cha bcu drug pa'ti tha snad yod la / gzi dus kyi cha bcu drug pa (p.292:4) nyams pa ni gsgang chen gyi phyi rol tu khu rdul 'dzag pas nyams pa yin kyang lam gyi 'dzag bde'i cha bcu drug pa ni thig le gsang gnas kyi phyi rol tu 'dzags pas nyams pa min gyi thig le gnas gzhan du g.yo ba'i phyir mi 'gyur ba'i bde chen la bitos te (p.292:5) nyams par bzhag pa tsam mo // de bzhin du dkar po'i phyogs ni mtshan mo ste zla ba'i cha bco Inga yod pa'o // nag po'i phyogs ni nyin mo ste nyi mas zla ba'i 'od zer gis mnan pas zla ba'i 'od zer med pa'o // de'i phyir lhan cig skyes pa'i sku ni shes rab cha bco (p.292:6) Inga'i rang bzhin ma yin la / thabs cha bcu drug nyams pa nyid kyang ma yin pa 'di ni sangs rgyas rnam kyi lhan cig skyes pa'i sku ste de ltar 'bras dus kyi mi 'gyur ba'i bde chen ni yod pa dkar po'i phyogs cha bco Inga'i 'dzag bde'i mthar ltung ba min no //

med pa ste cha (p.292:7) bcu drug pa'i dngos po med pa nag po'i phyogs kyi mthar ltung ba man no / dkar phyogs nag phyogs yod med de gnyis ka yin pa'i mthar ltung ba min te / dkar phyogs nag phyogs 'di dag phan tshun 'gal ba'i phyir / de gnyis gzi mthun du

\(^{955}\) Dol phyogs is short for Dol-po-pa and Jo-nang Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal. It is not Bo-dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal. See Stearns. 1999:192, note 193.
tshogs pa med do / / (p.293:1) yod med gnyis ka'i bdag nyid min pa'ang min zhes pa ni / dkar po dang nag po 'i phyogs 'di dag ma gtsogs pa cha bcu drug pa' i 'dzag bde yang lhan cig skyes pa' i mi 'gyur ba' i bde ba de min no / / de ltar mtha' 'bzhis yongs su (p.293:2) dag pas cha bcu drug pa ste / de'i cha bcu drug ji ltar byed pa ni tshigs su bcad pa don drug pa' i skabs su bshad zin la / stong pa nyid kyi bzugs kyi chos can gyi skyu dang ni thugs lhan cig skyes pa mi 'gyur ba' i bde che chu dang gshier ba bzhin du grub bde bdyer (p.293:3) med 'brel mi rung du tshogs pa' i sku na lhan cig skyes pa' i sku ru gsungs te / de yang sku' i cha nas stong gzugs kyi sku zhes brjod la / thugs kyi ngos nas bde pa chen po' i sku dang lhan cig skyes pa' i sku zhes brjod cing / thugs de' i yul dag pa gnyis (p.293:4) ldan gya cha nas ngo bo nyid kyi sku zhes bya ste / de la ska ma gnyis kyi khyar par bzhag tu mi rung ba ni dag pa gnyis ldan du der 'jog pa' i dbang gis so / / de'i phyir ngo bo nyid skur gyur pa' i 'dus byas dang / de' i rigs 'dra bzhis pa' i (p.293:5) thig le' i steng na rdu' du ma grub pa' i cha gcig dang / bde che'n sgyur rung gi nus pa' i cha 'dus byas gcig 'jog dgos te rje btson bla ma rdzogs rim rnal 'byor che'n po' i bshad par gsungs shing / 'di nyid kyi gong 'og nrams su yang bshad (p.293:6) do / / snga ma dag gis sku 'di'i rnam gzhag cham yang dpisyin phrin ma bshad do / / rnal 'byor pa ting nge 'dzin gyi yan lag thob pa yan chad nrams kyi rten thig le' i brtsags pa dang / brten pa bde che ni bzhis pa' i gnas skabs (p.293:7) sbyod byed yin la / de gnyis rdu' dang dre ma ma las par zad pa las rgyu mthun pa' i mthstan nyid do / / de ni lam gyi mi 'gyur ba' i bde che gnyis kyang gong gi mtha' bzhis dang bral bar rigs 'dra ba ste / der ma zad bde pa' i rigs 'dra ni dngos dang sa (p.294:1) bon ci rigs kyi sgo nas gshis dus su yang yod de / des longs skung kyi dang 'di gnyis kyi khyad par yang shes par nus te / de' i stong gzugs kyi cha yod kyang bde che yul yul can shas mi che bas so / / de lta na sku 'di ni ma ning ngo / zhugs grub bo / / 'dir lhan cig skyes pa' i (p.294:2) sku ni bsam pa' i cha nas rang gi don phun sum tshogs pa' o / / snga ma mtha' dag gis gnyis ka min pa' i tang min pa ngos 'dzin pa ni tshig dngos su 'gal ba smra zhing don gang yin ma shes la / 'dzag pa' i cha bco lnga pa min pa dang / bcu drug pa nyams pa min pa ni (p.294:3) 'dzag bde' i cha bcu drug pa ste / de yang min pa zhes pa' i don du bya (Bu-ston: rang dol sogs) dgos par mnгон te da dang dpyad pa byar o / / gnyis pa la gnyis / mtha' cung zad dpyad pa dang / tshig gi don no / / dang po ni / gal te 'dir chos sku gzhans don phun tshogs dang / de ra (p.294:4) shes pa dang shes bya gnyis su phyre ba'i shes bya stong gzugs chos skur bzhag cing stong gzugs de nyid kyang thabs su byas pa dang / 'dzin pa ye shes shes rab tu gsungs pa' i 'dir dag ni shin tu mi rigs te / rgyud dang 'grel pa' i gong 'og nrams su chos sku rang (p.294:5) don phun tshogs dang stong gzugs gzugs sku dang shes rab kyi phyogs dang / 'dzin pa bde ba che po' i ye shes thabs su lan cig ma yan par gsungs pa nrams dang dngos su 'gal ba' i phyir ro dang de ltar gsungs pa de dag gi don rigs pas 'grub pas 'dir (p.294:6) zhosh pa' i 'dir dag la rigs pa yang dag gis gnod pa' i phyir dang / phyogs de gnyis ka khas blangs pa na 'bras ba' i rnam gzhag 'chol bar 'gyur ba' i phyir ro zhe na / bden mod kyi de la snga ma kha cig (dol 'brang) / don dam 'gal 'du skyon med la thabs gang yin pa de nyid zhos (p.294:7) rab la sogs pa yin pa' i phyir pan tshun idog ste gnas pas sngar bstan pa nrams dang brjod tshul mi mthun yang skyon med do zhes zer ro / / ka ye shes pa can dag khyod dag 'bras dus su rang rigs kyi thabs shes mi rung bar 'dod pa mi rigs te / don ngan (p.295:1) 'gal 'du skyon med yin pa' i phyir thabs kyis thabs la 'khyud pa dang de las idog pa yang ci' i phyir mi smra

Zhang-zhung Chos-dbang grags-pa, p.290:7 – 297:2 in mKhas-grub-rje, dGe-legs-dpal-bzang-po. *The Collected Works of mKhas-grub-rje*, vol.5, 1983:161-623 (This is the commentary on KCT V:89 and the commentary on that verse VP V.2.).
APPENDIX 2.
Table of Contents of the KCT and the Vimalaprabhā.

In order to obtain a more systematic knowledge of the content of the two basic texts of Kālacakra, I present a translated Table of Contents of the KCT and the Vimalaprabhā.

I. The Śrī Kālacakra-tantra-rāja (KCT).

The KCT consists of five chapters in the following order:
1. Lokadhiṭupātāla, “The outer world chapter.”
2. Adhyatmapātāla, “The inner world chapter.”
3. Abhiśekapātāla, “The initiation chapter.”
5. Jñānapātāla, “The knowledge chapter.”

II. The Vimalaprabhā.

This text is also divided into five chapters in the same way as the KCT, although it also includes a division, mahā-uddeśa (“great brief accounts”). To organize and translate this information is a necessary step, not done previously, in order to obtain an overview of the contents of the texts and teachings of Kālacakra.

The Vimalaprabhā commentary also reproduces the text of the KCT.

1. Lokadhiṭupātāla.


1st mahoddeśa: sakalamāravighnāvinaśataḥ paramesṭhadevatāḥ sanmārga niyamoddeśah prathamah. “The brief account that destroys all devils and obstructors: The precept on the supreme chosen deity and the noble path.”
Skt. VP I 1986:1-11; Transl. Newman 1987a:221-244

2nd mahoddeśa: abhidheyaḥbhidhānasambandha prayojanaprayojana samvikṣyabhagavatas tantradesanoddeśah dvitiyāḥ. “The Bhagavān’s teaching of the tantra, having observed the subject, the discourse, their relation, the purpose, and the ultimate purpose.” VP I 1986:12-22; Newman 1987a:245-291.


4th mahoddeśa: sarvajñetāyādīnā tantrarājadeśaka adhyēṣakasādhanoddeśah ca-turthaḥ. “Establishing the teacher and the requestor of the Tantra-rāja (King of Tantra) by means of “The Omniscient One, and so forth.” VP I 1986:30-42; Newman

956 I normally use Bu-ston’s text as it is almost always identical with the canonical text, and it is useful to have the commentary and the text in one place.
The former three *uddēsas* have been a sort of introduction to the whole tantra.


958 *Svarodaya* “describes various arrangements (cakras) of letters associated with time division and astrological entities, magical pictures of animals and objects (also called cakras), and arrangements
1987a:543-577 (Newman here translates only the commentaries to the verses in KCT. I:128-149.) A commentary on the KCT. I:95-149. 959


Verses 150-170 from the KCT. There is no commentary in the Vimalaprabhā on these verses. The Vimalaprabhā states only: “Now, the great cakravartin’s eradication of the barbarian dharma, his establishment of the Buddhadharma, and so forth, is easily understandable; therefore, it will not be mentioned in the commentary.” 960 (The verses treat the eschatology of the Kālacakra, the coming war between the kings of Sambhala and the Mlecchas, that is the Muslims.) VP I 1986:152-156; Newman 1987a:578-654.

2. The Adhyātmaṇaṇḍa.


1st mahoddeśa: (IASWR ed.p.94A:) kāyavākcittotpattiduljha mārga samadayanirodha satyanirnaya mahoddeśāḥ prathamah. (Upadhya:) kāyavākcittotpatti-caturāryanirnaya-mahoddeśah. “The emergence of body, speech and mind, and the investigation of the four noble truths.”


2nd mahoddeśa: samudayasatyādimahoddeśāḥ dvitīyāḥ. “The truth of the emergence of all [the factors of existence of the human beings].”


3rd mahoddeśa: adhyātmanī cakravarttimlecchayuddha kālacakrakulatantra nādiḥkutotpatti mahoddeśāḥ triyāyāḥ. “The emergence of the nādiś, of the fight between the cakravartin and the mleccha and the tantra of the family of Kālacakra.”


of nakṣatras , months and numbers relative to the directions (bhūmis). All of which promote military victory to their user.” (Pingree. 1981:77).

959 The verse KCT I:149 is verse 148 in the Tibetan translation by Bu-ston and in the translation by Banerjee in his dissertation (Bu-ston. 1965a:38; Banerjee. 1959:205). The whole of chapter I has one verse less in both editions.

960 Vimalaprabhā vol.I. 1986:152; Newman. 1987a:578. This is an understatement, as these verses are not at all easy to understand. They have been commented upon by Bu-ston in his commentary to the KCT and by later Tibetan commentators and translated by Newman and Banerjee.


6th mahoddeśa: rasāyanaṇādibālatalatra mahoddeśaḥ śaṣṭiḥah. "Alchemy etc. and the pediatrics-tantra."

A commentary on KCT.II:107-160; VP I 1986:228-255; Bu-ston 1965b:155:6-197:6; Wallace 1995:359-475. Of note here is that in Bu-ston’s text and the canonical edition of sDe-dge (Dharma ed.), the commentary applies to verses KCT.II:107-154, but verse 154 corresponds to verse 160 in the Sanskrit text. Consequently, as in the fore-going mahoddeśa, counting the verses corresponding between the Tibetan and Sanskrit texts, it must be that somewhere between verses 107-154 in the Tibetan text, 6 verses have been excluded by the Tibetan translators or by later editors of the canonical texts. 961 The verses excluded in the Tibetan edition are verses 116-121 as noted by Fenner in his dissertation on alchemy in the Kālacakra Tantra. 962

7th mahoddeśa: svapararādhanarāṇayāyasārīcāra mahoddeśaḥ saptamaḥ. “Arguments for own and other kinds of philosophies.”


3. The Abhiṣekapatālaḥ.


1st mahoddeśa: Skt: vajrācāryādī sarvakamaprasara sādhanālakṣaṇa mahoddeśo abhiṣekapatāle prathāmaḥ.

Tib: sLob-dpon la-sogs- pa dang las rab-’byam thams-cad-kyi sgrub-thabs kyi mtshan-nyid kyi mdor-bsdu chen-po. Transl.,

“The characteristics of the sādhanas of the complete diffusion [of the teachings] from the vajrācāryas and others.”


961 See also the edition of the KCT by Bu-ston. (Bu-ston. 1965a: Part I, 83 and 88; The Nying-ma edition Toh.362 and Toh.1346, where it is also clear that there are only 174 verses in the Tibetan translation. 962 See Newman. 1987a:191-192 reviewing Fenner. 1979:116-117. It is also noted by Banerjee. 1985:72, where he states that these verses are also missing in the Sanskrit Patna manuscript. 963 I refer in what follows to the Peking edition of the bsTan- 'gyur for the 3th and 4th chapters. For some reason, in the Derge edition the order of these two chapters has been reversed so that chap. 3 in the Nyingma edition is the sādhanapada and the fourth is the Abhiṣekapatāla. That makes referencing difficult. The Peking print from the Otani university is generally of better quality than the Nyingma edition.
2nd mahoddesa: Skt: *rakṣācakra-pūrvāṇa ma bhūmyādisamgrahā mahoddeṣā
do.abhiṣekapatāle dvitiyāh.


3rd mahoddesa: Skt: *manḍalāvā(r)tānā nāma mahoddeṣās tṛtyāh.

Transl: “The drawing of the maṇḍala.”


4th mahoddesa: Skt: *yāṃ maṇḍalābhīṣeka mahoddeṣās caturthāḥ.

Transl: “Initiation into the maṇḍala.”

A commentary on KCT.III:71-103. Skt.IASWR ed. fol.203b1-221b1; VP II 1994:70-98; Tib. Peking ed. p.236-3-4 to 245-4-5 (fol.50b4-73b5); Bu-ston 1965b:353-4055.

5th mahoddesa: Skt: *pratīṣṭha-gačacakravidhacaryā mahoddeṣāḥ pañcaamah.

Transl: “Consecration, ritual feast and yogic conduct.” A commentary on KCT.III:104-161.


6th mahoddesa: Skt: *mudrārṣṭimāṇḍala visarjanavāhābhājivadhumahoddeṣāḥ
saṣṭhāḥ.

Transl: “Mudrā and lta-stangs dang dkyil-‘khor gshegs-su gsol-ba dang dPa’-bo i ston-mo i mdor bs dus chen-po. “Mudrā and lta-stangs and a request for going to the maṇḍala and a vidhi(ceremony) of reverence for the heroes.”


4. The Śādhana-pañcakha.

Skt. IASWR ed. fol.251a1-312a6; VP II 1994:149-241;


1st mahoddesa: Skt: *sthaṇnarakṣā pāpadiśanādī.


964 In Tibetan this means a powerful look employed in order to subdue demons, a method used in tantric practice.
2nd mahoddeśa: Skt. utpatitkramena kāyaniśpatti. Tib. skyed-pa’i rim-pas sku rdzogs-pa. Transl.“The perfection of the body by the generation stage.”

A commentary on KCT.IV:8-49 and half of 50.


(Note, the verses 191-230 are not commented on at all).

V. The Jñāna-pāṭalāḥ.


2nd mahoddeśa: Skt. catukāyādiśuddhiṣāndayamahoddeśāḥ; Tib. sku-bshi la-sogs-pa'i rnam-par dag-pa nges-pa'i. Transl.”The real and very pure four bodies and others.” A commentary on KCT.V:89-126.


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⁹⁶⁵ I did not have access to the Sanskrit text until late in my work. Before the publication of Vimalaprabhā vol. 3., 1994, the only text that existed was the manuscript that Vimalaprabhā vol.3 is based on. It is the only complete manuscript that exists of chapter 5 of the VP, but it is written in an old Bengali script difficult to read. My solution was to read the text in Tibetan using the texts in Bu-ston. 1965c and then compare with the Sanskrit.
A commentary on KCT.V:127.


APPENDIX 3.
The commentarial texts on the Kālacakr Tantra in the bsTan-'gyur.

Below are given the titles of the commentaries to the Kālacakr Tantra texts from the bsTan-'gyur. I have included the Tohoku numbers from the sDe-dge edition of the Tibetan canon (Toh.), and also the numbers from the Peking edition (P.)

Toh. 1348, P.2065 Śrī-paramārthaseva by Padma dkar-po (Pundarika), 20 fols., transl. by Somanātha.
Toh. 1349, P.2066. Śrīmad-vimalaprabhā-tantrāvatāraṇīvādācalahṛdayāloka, 52 fols., transl. by bLo-gros brtan-pa.
Toh. 1352, P.2069. Sekoddeśatīppani by Sādhuputra Śrīdharanandana, 14 fols., transl. by Vanaratna and gZhon-nu dpal.
Toh.1355, P.2072. Śrī-Kālacakratantrarājajayakapraṇikā-vṛtti by Dārika, 31 fols., transl. by Shes-rab grags.
Toh.1356, P.2073. Śrī-Kālacakrataṃvsaṅgasādhana-nāma by Dus-shabs-pa, 10 fols., translators Viṣvaśrī, and Gyi-jo Zla-ba’i ‘od-zer.
Toh.1360, P.2077. Śrī-Kālacakra-maṇḍala-vidhi by Kālapāda, 10 fols., transl. by Vaniśrī and Chings Yon-tan ‘bar.
Toh.1361, P.2078. Śrī-Kālacakra-sahaja-sādhana by Kālapāda, 2 fols., transl. by Buddhāśriyānā and Byams-pa'i dpal.


Toh. 1363. Śrī-Kālacakra-sādhana-yogapradīpa-nāma by Maitrī, 15 fols., transl. by Dharmapalabhadra and Sha-lu lo-tsa-ba.

Toh. 1364, P.2080. Śādāngayoga-nāma by Vajrapāṇi, 4 fols., transl. by Subhūtisānti and Ting-nge-'dzin bzang-po.

Toh. 1365, P.2081. Śrī-kālacakra-garbhiṅgārika-sādhana-nāma by Bram-ze bSod-snoms-pa (PinDo), 10 fols., transl. by Bhdrabodhi and Gyi-jo Zla-ba'i 'od-zer.

Toh. 1366, P.2082. Kālacakropadeśa by Kālacakramahāpāda, 2 fols., transl. by Buddhākarabhadra and Gyi-jo Zla-ba'i 'od-zer.

Toh. 1367, P.2083. Śādāngayoga-nāma by Anupamarāṇita, 10 fols., transl. by Vībhūticandrapa and Mi-mnyam bzang-po.

Toh. 1368, P.2084. Śādāngayoga-ṭīkā by Nyi-ma'i dpal ye-shes (Raviśrīyānā), 9 fols., transl. by Vībhūticandrapa.


Toh. 1374, P.2090. Śādāngayogopadeśa by Cīḷupa, 1 fol., transl. by Samantāśrī and Rva Chos-rab.


Toh. 1379, P.2094. Kālacakra-vajrayāna-mūlāpatti by Bodhisattva, 2 fols.

Toh. 1380, P.2095. Śrī-kālacakrodāna by Abhayākara, 2 fols., transl. by Jo-bo Ri-pa (Parvata) and Khe'u-gad Khor-lo grags.


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Abbreviations.

AA - Abhisamayālaṃkāra.
CAJ - Central Asiatic Journal.
KCT - Paramāddhodhṛśrī-Kālacakra-nāma-tantra-rāja (the laghutantra)
VP - Vimalaprabhā-tīkā Toh. 1347
MNS - Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti Toh. 361
Nyingma ed. – Nyingma 1982
P. = Otani – The Tibetan Tripitaka 1962
Toh. – The Tohoku Catalogue 1934
* A sign for a word in Sanskrit which is reconstructed from the Tibetan.

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