ON THE ORIGIN OF THE KĀLACAKRA TANTRA AND THE *PARAMĀDIBUDDHA*[1]

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ABSTRACT

The foundational texts of the Kālacakra tantra provide an origin story in which this system of mysticism was taught by the Buddha Śākyamuni at Śrī Dhānyakaṭaka. The original text of the tantra, the *Paramādibuddha* (the Kālacakra *mūlatantra*) is said to have been redacted by Dharmarāja Sucandra – emperor of Sambhala and an emanation of the tenth stage bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi – who wrote the tantra down in a book and carried it to Sambhala. Hundreds of years later, the tradition maintains, the Kālacakra tantra was brought from Sambhala and introduced in India. This essay argues that it is unlikely that the *Paramādibuddha* existed as a complete written text. Instead, the extant Indic excerpts and quotations of the *Paramādibuddha* are probably *ad hoc* creations produced within the context of the original Indian Kālacakra cult's extraordinary literary activities. In support of this theory we study a purported extract from the *Paramādibuddha* quoted in *Kālacakrapāda's **Sekoddeśaṭīkā*. This "quotation" is in fact a modification of the second half of the sixteenth chapter of the *Samādhirājasūtra*. We also present evidence in support of the hypothesis that the founders of the Kālacakra tradition include the early 11th century CE Kālacakra masters Piṇḍo of Java and Nāropāda.

Tradition

The Kālacakra is timeless. Limitless buddhas of the past, present, and future have taught, are teaching, and will teach the Paramādibuddha-yoga to limitless sentient beings in limitless buddha fields (*Vimalaprabhā* 1.5.1; Newman 1987b: 383, also 276–277).

[1] An *homage* to Sándor Kőrösi Csoma, *ādiśiṣya* of etic Kālacakra studies: Alexander Csoma de Kőrös, "Note on the Origin of the Kála-Chakra and Ādi-Buddha Systems," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 14 (February 1833): 57–59, 1 plate. I am grateful to David Reigle, Beth Newman, Roger Jackson, Iain Sinclair, Orna Almogi, and Francesco Sferra for comments on drafts of this paper. In particular, Prof. Sferra offered numerous valuable references and suggestions.

As far as our corner of the universe and the recent past is concerned, the Kālacakra tradition presents the following origin story: Śākyamuni Buddha appeared in the form of Paramādibuddha Śrī Kālacakra within the Dhānyakaṭaka *stūpa*,[2] and he taught the Paramādibuddha Śrī Kālacakra system of mysticism (tantra) at the request of Sucandra – an emanation of the great bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi – who was Dharmarāja of Sambhala. Dharmarāja Sucandra wrote this teaching down in a book (*pustaka*) titled *Paramādibuddha Śrī Kālacakra*, which was composed of 12,000 verses in the *anuṣṭubh* meter. Dharmarāja Sucandra carried the book back to Sambhala, and composed a 60,000 line commentary (*ṭīkā*) on it.[3]

The Kālacakra system of mysticism was transmitted via Sucandra's successor *dharmarāja*s in the imperial dynasty of Sambhala. The seventh successor was named Yaśas – he was an emanation of the great bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. By unifying the diverse castes of Sambhala into a single vajra family, Yaśas obtained the title Kalkin. Kalkin Yaśas condensed the original 12,000 verse *Paramādibuddhatantra* into a text titled *Śrī Kālacakra*; this text consists of about 1,030 verses in the *sragdharā* meter. Although the text titles *Paramādibuddha*/*Ādibuddha* and *Śrī Kālacakra* are often used interchangeably, the tradition tends to reserve *Paramādibuddha* for the title of Sucandra's composition – the Kālacakra *mūlatantra* – and most often refers to Kalkin Yaśas' abridgement (*laghutantra*) as

[2] On Dhānyakaṭaka as the site of the first teaching of the Kālacakra, see Newman 1987b: 70–74, with references to earlier studies.

[3] Note that Paramādibuddha Śrī Kālacakra denotes two things: (1) reality and the buddha-deity that represents and teaches reality, and (2) the system of mysticism (tantra) that teaches the method by which one can become that reality/buddha-deity. Tantra is in turn subdivided into (1) the system of mysticism itself, and (2) the revealed texts that teach this. As *Kālacakrapāda says: "The term *tantra* is also employed within everyday convention to indicate cord, the stream of a river, and so forth; however, [here] it needs to be understood as (1) the content that is to be expressed (**abhidheyārtha*) and (2) the statements that express that (**abhidhānapada*)." SUṬ K [T] P 6b1–2: *de la rgyud ces bya ba ni / 'jig rten pa'i tha snyad kyis thag pa dang chu bo'i rgyun la sogs pa la yang 'jug mod kyi / 'on kyang brjod par bya ba'i don dang / brjod par byed pa'i tshig gnyis su khong du chud par bya'o /*. See also Kalkin Puṇḍarīka, *Vimalaprabhā* 1.2 (Newman 1987b: 245–46, 260–61).

The length of texts composed wholly in verse is indicated by the number of "verses" (*vṛtta*). The length of texts composed in prose or mixed verse and prose is indicated by the number of "lines" (*grantha*), a unit of thirty-two syllables.

Śrī Kālacakra; we follow this convention. Kalkin Yaśas' successor was Kalkin Puṇḍarīka, an emanation of the great bodhisattva Lokeśvara (=Avalokiteśvara). Kalkin Puṇḍarīka composed a 12,000 line commentary on the *Śrī Kālacakra*, titled *Vimalaprabhā*. This summary of the traditional account of the origin of the Kālacakra textual tradition is drawn from *Vimalaprabhā* 1.2–1.5.1.[4]

History

Sources for historical analysis of the origins of the Kālacakra tradition begin with the texts mentioned above. The 12,000 verse *Paramādibuddha* has not come down to us in its entirety, and – as we will see – there are reasons to question whether it ever actually existed as a unitary text.[5] Nevertheless, several fairly extensive purported excerpts and numerous purported quotations from the *Paramādibuddha* are extant, some in the original Sanskrit and in Tibetan translation, others only in Tibetan translation. There is no evidence for the existence of Sucandra's commentary on the *Paramādibuddha* apart from references to it in the *Vimalaprabhā* and other similar references most likely derived from the *Vimalaprabhā*.[6] Kalkin Yaśas' *Śrī Kālacakra* and Kalkin Puṇḍarīka's *Vimalaprabhā* are both available in Sanskrit and Tibetan. Some of the other texts in the earliest stratum of the Kālacakra literature will be referenced as necessary below.

Unlike most of the oceanic corpus of Indian Buddhist tantric literature, the *Śrī Kālacakra* and the *Vimalaprabhā* can both be dated with a remarkable degree of precision: they reached completion between 1025 and 1040 CE (Newman 1998). This timeframe – the first few decades of the 11th century CE – also marks the beginning of the Indian Kālacakra guru lineage.

[4] Newman 1987b: 245–365; 1985: 52–65. See also *Śrī Kālacakra* 5.252–261 (Kalkin Yaśas' redactor's colophon) [U 3.153–154]; *Vimalaprabhā* 5.4.261 (Kalkin Puṇḍarīka's author's colophon) [U 3.154–155].

[5] For my initial exploration of the problem of the *Paramādibuddha* as the Kālacakra *mūlatantra*, see Newman 1987a. To state the obvious, some of the ideas expressed there are superseded by the present study.

[6] However, *Kālacakrapāda says that in composing his **Sekoddeśaṭīkā* he follows Sucandra's *ṭīkā* (SUṬ K [T] D 2a3). More on this master below.

The mass of Indian legends recorded by the Tibetans recounting the "introduction"[7] of the Kālacakra in India is extremely complex and confused (see Newman 1987b: 70–113; 1985: 65–76). Here I rely on the earliest and – I believe – most important and trustworthy evidence for the beginning of the Indian Kālacakra guru lineage: Gyi jo Zla ba'i 'od zer's translator's colophon to his translations of two of Kalkin Puṇḍarīka's works: (1) the *Vimalaprabhāṭīkā* to the *Śrī Kālacakra*; and (2) the **Kālacakratantragarbhavṛttir vimalaprabhā nāma*.[8] The colophon appears in virtually identical form appended to each translation. An edition and translation of this colophon is given below in Appendix 1.

Gyi jo Zla ba'i 'od zer was active in the first half of the 11th century, and he is considered to be the first Tibetan to translate Kālacakra texts into Tibetan. Because it is the earliest known record of the Kālacakra guru lineage, and because Gyi jo Zla ba'i 'od zer's Indian teacher was only one step removed from the first guru in the lineage, I place great weight on the information in this colophon. This information has been strangely neglected by later Tibetans writing on the history of the Kālacakra, perhaps because Gyi jo Zla ba'i 'od zer's lineage was supplanted by later lineages, and in any case it seems that the manuscript transmission (*dpe rgyun*) of his works became attenuated.

According to Gyi jo Zla ba'i 'od zer: A master named *Kālacakrapāda (*dus kyi 'khor lo pa zhes pa*) went to Sambhala and attained mastery of the psychic powers. Next in this lineage was Nāropāda (*na ro pa zhes pa*), a brahman born in Uḍḍiyāna, i.e., Swāt.[9] Nāropāda's disciple was

[7] Tib. *spyan drangs*; this is an honorific form, literally meaning "invitation." Given that the Buddha first taught the tantra at Dhānyakaṭaka, in a sense this refers to the "re-introduction" of the Kālacakra into India. However, the tradition generally holds that the Kālacakra was not present in India between Śākyamuni's teaching and its subsequent retrieval from Sambhala.

[8] The second text is Kalkin Puṇḍarīka's important commentary on the **Śrī Kālacakra nāma tantragarbha* (see note 50 below), an excerpt from the *Paramādibuddha* redacted by Kalkin Yaśas. It should not be confused with Kalkin Puṇḍarīka's *Vimalaprabhāṭīkā* mentioned above. Unless otherwise noted all references to "the *Vimalaprabhā*" are to the 12,000 line *ṭīkā* on the *Śrī Kālacakra*.

[9] To my knowledge this is the earliest statement of Nāropāda's caste and birthplace. However, if it can be established that Yaśobhadra is in fact another name for Nāropāda (see below), it is clear that he was a Kashmiri. For the identification of Uḍḍiyāna as Swāt, see Kuwayama 1991, esp. pp. 281–285.

Śrī Bhadrabodhi. This was the Indian master under whom Gyi jo Zla ba'i 'od zer translated a large number of important Kālacakra texts (Newman 1987b: 102–103).

Nāropāda[10] ranks among the most famous masters in the history of the Vajrayāna. It is likely that he died circa 1040 CE (Newman 1998: 347, n. 10). As far as the Kālacakra tantra is concerned, his most well-known writing is his *Sekoddeśaṭīkā*, an extensive commentary on the *Sekoddeśa*, a text that the tradition holds to be a section extracted from the *Paramādibuddha*, the Kālacakra *mūlatantra*.[11] Tibetan sources also hold that Nāropāda is identical to Yaśobhadra (sNyan grags bzang po) "the Great Kashmiri" (*bṛhatkāśmīra*; *kha che chen po*), the named author of the *Vajrapadasārasaṃgraha* (D 1186; P 2316), an extensive *pañjikā* commentary on the *Śrī Hevajratantra* which draws heavily on Kālacakra texts and ideas; this work is now beginning to attract detailed etic scholarly attention.[12]

The designation of the first guru in the guru lineage, *Kālacakrapāda[13] – "Venerable Master of the Kālacakra," on the other hand, is an epithet, not a proper name. There are two gurus identified by the epithet *Kālacakrapāda

[10] This appears to be a nickname meaning "Man:" *nāra* > vernacular nom. sg. *nāro* > *nāropādāḥ* > vernacular *nāropā*. I follow the convention of giving names/titles ending in *-pādāḥ* in the nom. sg. *-pāda*, even though this is not correct: the plural *-pādāḥ* is affixed to names to indicate "majesty" or "venerability." With Vajrayāna masters' names we often encounter the form *-pā* (e.g., Nāro-pā), which appears to be a vernacular form of Sanskrit *-pādāḥ*.

[11] See Sferra and Merzagora 2006. On the relationship between the *Sekoddeśa* and the *Paramādibuddha* see Newman 1987a. To further complicate this issue, *Kālacakrapāda suggests that the *Sekoddeśa* is a "subsequent repetition teaching" (*slar bzlas te gsungs pa*) of just the transcendental initiation, apart from the five chapters (*brtag pa* <**kalpa*) of the *Paramādibuddha*: *'di ni brtag pa rnam pa lnga las kyang / 'jig rten las 'das pa'i dbang 'ba' zhig slar bzlas te gsungs pa yin no* / SUṬ K [T] D 2a2.

[12] Professor Sferra informed me [email Oct 18, 2020] that he has located a palmleaf Sanskrit manuscript of this important text, and is preparing an edition of it. I am grateful to him for access to his edition of the manuscript's colophon. He notes that the codex containing this manuscript also contains a previously unknown manuscript of Nāropāda's *Sekoddeśaṭīkā*. David L. Snellgrove ([1959] 1980: 1.xiii,18) accepted without comment the Tibetan identification of Yaśobhadra as Nāropāda. A critical evaluation of this identification remains to be presented.

[13] Tib.: *dus kyi 'khor lo zhabs*, *dus 'khor zhabs* [often abbreviated as *dus zhabs*], *dus kyi 'khor lo pa*, etc. I employ the asterisk to mark this as a back-translation because I have not seen the Sanskrit in any Indic language source.

in the stories about the early Kālacakra tradition, and the Tibetans refer to them as "*Kālacakrapāda the Greater" (Tib.: *dus zhabs chen po*) and "*Kālacakrapāda the Lesser" (Tib.: *dus zhabs chung ba/chung ngu*). Sifting through and untangling the mass of Tibetan-recorded stories about these two individuals would take us too far afield: here I will only present my hypothetical solution of the identity of these two masters.

The *Kālacakrapāda referenced in Gyi jo Zla ba'i 'od zer's record of the origin of the Kālacakra lineage – the master "who went to Sambhala" – must be "*Kālacakrapāda the Greater." I have argued at length that this epithet is one of the names of the early 11th century Kālacakra master Piṇḍo (Tib. *bsod snyoms pa*). Piṇḍo was a brahman Buddhist monk born in Java (*yavadvīpa*), a great scholar (*mahāpaṇḍita*) and *avadhūta* who was among the leading gurus of Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna, a.k.a. Atiśa (982–1054 CE).[14]

That leaves the question of the identity of "*Kālacakrapāda the Lesser." My analysis of the Kālacakra lineage stories preserved in Tibetan leads me to agree with the position expressed by the Tibetan historian Padma dkar po (1527–1592), who asserts that multiple Indian and Tibetan Kālacakra masters held that "*Kālacakrapāda the Lesser was Śrī Nāropā" (Newman 1987b: 105).

As we will see, this entire laborious discussion was necessary because there are two texts titled *Sekoddeśaṭīkā*: Nāropāda's text noted above, and the hitherto neglected **Sekoddeśaṭīkā* of *Kālacakrapāda. Whereas Nāropāda's text has been translated in its entirety into Italian and meticulously

[14] Newman 1987b: 96–106; 1985: 71–75. In addition to the texts studied there, see also Atiśa, *dBu ma'i man ngag rin po che'i za ma tog ces bya ba*, Lha sa *bsTan 'gyur* dBu ma'i A, f. 179b1–2: / *bdag gi bla ma ya ba dwī pa bsod snyoms pa a ba dhū ti'i zhal nas* / "As my guru, the *avadhūta* Piṇḍo of Yavadvīpa said…;" likewise, sDe dge *bsTan 'gyur* no. 3930, dBu ma KI, f. 116a6.

In common Sanskrit usage *avadhūta* indicates an ascetic who has cast aside all worldly ties (cf., e.g., *Śrī Kālacakra* 3.200; *Vimalaprabhā* 3.6.200). This term is regularly translated into Tibetan as *kun spangs*. However, Tibetan versions of Indic sources very often represent this epithet with varying forms of the anomalous transcription *a wa dhū tī pa*. It appears the Tibetans have fairly systematically taken the term *avadhūtī* – a name for the central *nāḍī* of the subtle body (translated into Tibetan as *kun 'dar ma*) – added the Tibetan nominalizing suffix *-pa* to it, and used this to represent Sanskrit *avadhūta*. A clear example of this is found in the colophon to Advayavajra's *Tattvaratnāvalī* (Gerloff 2018: 841).

edited in both the Sanskrit and its Tibetan translation, *Kālacakrapāda's work – to my knowledge – remains unstudied.[15] This is quite understandable: the etic study of Vajrayāna Buddhism remains in its infancy, etic scholars are justifiably attracted to texts that exist in their original language and, again, Nāropāda is one of the towering figures of the Vajrayāna tradition.

Nevertheless, it may turn out to be the case that *Kālacakrapāda's **Sekoddeśaṭīkā* is of equal or even greater importance for understanding the history and doctrines of the Kālacakra system. If my analysis and interpretation of Gyi jo Zla ba'i 'od zer's Indian Kālacakra lineage is correct, the author of *Kālacakrapāda's **Sekoddeśaṭīkā* is the first named non-mythical author in the tradition, and he was the teacher or senior colleague of Nāropāda. Further study of this issue will not be pursued here; we will simply take it as given that *Kālacakrapāda, the author of this **Sekoddeśaṭīkā*, was one of the founders of the tradition in India.

A *Paramādibuddhatantra* quotation in *Kālacakrapāda's **Sekoddeśaṭīkā*

*Kālacakrapāda's **Sekoddeśaṭīkā* (*dBang mdor bstan pa'i rgya cher 'grel pa zhes bya ba*) is not known to exist in Sanskrit. While we can reasonably hope that it will someday be unearthed from among the vast hoards of Sanskrit manuscript treasure preserved in Tibet, for the time being we are limited to studying it in translation. This translation was made by the Kashmiri pandit Somanātha and the Tibetan translator 'Bro Shes rab grags. They were active in the third quarter of the 11th century, and are responsible for numerous important translations of Kālacakra texts (Newman 1987b: 78, 88–89, 92).

*Kālacakrapāda explains why he wrote his **Sekoddeśaṭīkā* in its introductory verses: "I will write this commentary out of love for beings, to benefit the intellectually deranged fools who explain the tantras perversely,

[15] In their superb edition of Nāropāda's *ṭīkā*, Francesco Sferra and Stefania Merzagora (Sferra and Merzagora 2006: 22, 48) note the existence of *Kālacakrapāda's **Sekoddeśaṭīkā*, but – quite understandably – do not investigate its relationship with Nāropāda's work. See also Sferra 2015: 350.

without properly relying on the guru" (SUṬ K [T] D 1b4–2a1). Such concern about degenerate teaching and practice of tantra is one of the hallmarks of the earliest stratum of the Kālacakra literature; we will return to this below.[16] *Kālacakrapāda provides scriptural authority for his accusation that people are teaching and practicing tantra in a perverse fashion by quoting a seventeen and one-half verse prophecy from the *Paramādibuddhatantra*. This quotation is a focal point of this essay. We now present a translation of this passage; an edition of the texts is provided in Appendix 2. In the following translation text given in bold italics marks words and phrases *Kālacakrapāda has modified in his source text, as will be explained later.

Translation

As [the Buddha] says in the *Paramādibuddhatantra*:

PĀ 1: In the future there will be many ***yoga practitioners***[17] who will be avaricious, malignant, and unrestrained. They will delight in sin and be attached[18] to ***the paraphernalia of yoga***. They will reject this ***great tantra and this Fourth***.

PĀ 2: They will be envious, vain, and vulgar, attached to their ***homes*** and acquisitive. They will be constantly addicted to meals and praise. They will reject this ***Fourth***.

PĀ 3: They will clap and stomp, and say whatever comes into their heads. They will be constantly engaged in fun and dancing. With their arms wrapped around each others' necks, they will alter their behavior[19] when they go into towns.

PĀ 4: Marked by these unfit practices, they will constantly crave others' girls. Impassioned and enslaved by their bodies, they will roam around in the villages, towns, and lands.

[16] See also Sferra 2005: 274–278 for an important discussion of other aspects of this.

[17] ****yogācārāḥ***; ***rnal 'byor spyod mang dag***. My hypothetical reconstruction replaces SR [S] ***bhikṣu bahu***. I assume PĀ [T] *…mang dag* is a relic holdover from SR [T]; something like *…rnams ni* or *…pa rnams* would fit my reconstruction better. See also below note 23.

[18] "attached:" *adhyoṣita*; *chags*. Likewise below SR [S] 16.9b, 16.11b, 16.12d. Not in BHSD, but see BHSD *adhyavasita*, referencing Pali *ajjhosita*.

[19] *caryāpathi anyu bheṣyati*; *spyod lam gzhan du 'chos* / *sgyur bar byed*. I assume this refers to *kuhanā* (Tib. *tshul 'chos*): "hypocrisy," "assumption of false sanctity."

PĀ 5: They will always be engaged in eating, drinking, play-acting, singing, and music. They will be constantly zealous in business. Devoted to drinking, they will be shameless.

PĀ 6: They will write and dispatch letters about improper affairs. Having cast away their ***samaya***[20] and the path of the mendicant, having transgressed their ***samaya*** together with laymen, those who have violated ***samaya*** will be fixed in their perversity.

PĀ 7: And they will always cheat at weights and measures. They will engage in the actions always condemned by ***Vajradhara***. Performing those actions, those defiled sinners whose deeds are vile will go to states of evil.

PĀ 8: Having cast away abundant wealth of gems, gold, and conch shells, and homes and friends, ***and having entered the mandala***, these ***go forth***[21] in the buddhas' teaching and practice sinful actions.

PĀ 9: They will think wealth and grain are essential, and be obsessed with milkcows, cattle, and carriages. What is the point of ***entering the mandala*** for those who do not practice ***yoga***?

PĀ 10: And in the past when I practiced ***yoga – without concern for my body or life*** – and I sought this peaceful samadhi, when they heard about it, they laughed.

PĀ 11: Having cast aside forbearance, they talk fraudulent, self-serving nonsense.[22] They say, "We are ***Yogācāras***."[23] How can there be awakening for those who have destroyed their ***samaya***? I have never seen or heard of anyone achieving awakening who has cast away their ***samaya***.

PĀ 12: A bunch of stupid Ājīvakas[24] who have abandoned virtue will constantly talk about ***the virtues of the great***, ***supreme tantra***. They ***will act like yogis***, but be entirely uninterested in the awakening of a buddha.

[20] Tib. ***dam tshig***. As discussed below, in addition to its usual meanings of "agreement," "promise," etc., in Vajrayāna *samaya* also refers to the "coming together" or "bond" of guru-deity and disciple. This multivalence makes the common English translation "pledge" inadequate in many contexts.

[21] ****niḥsaraṇān***; ***nges byungs nas***. That is, "having gone forth from/renounced" life in the household and samsara. Replaces SR [S] ***pravrajitvān***; ***rab byung nas***, "having become a renunciant." Note the sarcastic wordplay.

[22] *prapañca kāhinti*; *rab tu spros pa byed*. As discussed below, I take *prapañca* here in the common senses "mutual false praise," "fraud," and "ludicrous dialogue," noting the pun on the technical sense "conceptual elaboration."

[23] ****yogācārāḥ***; ***rnal 'byor spyod pa***. Replacing SR ***bodhisattvāḥ***; ***byang chub sems dpa'***.

[24] *ājīvaka*; *'tsho ba med pa*. (Many of the Tibetan witnesses read *'tshe ba med pa* ["harmless"], which makes no sense from a Buddhist perspective.) Roberts (2018: sect.

PĀ 13: Those fools, being fixed in the false view of a self, will become frightened when they hear about emptiness.

PĀ 14: One who will ***guard his samaya***, possess virtue, dwell in loving-kindness, be constantly skilled in forbearance, restrained, gentle and calm, will be despised at that time.

PĀ 15: But – on the other hand – one who will ***completely forsake his samaya***, who will be pitiless, violent, engaged in vile deeds, ***behave contrary to samaya***, and delight in strife, will be worshipped at that time.

PĀ 16: I declare to you, I proclaim to you, ***Sucandra***, if you have faith in me, remember this admonition of the Sugata: You should never trust in them!

PĀ 17: They have intense desire, intense anger as well, intense confusion, and are always drunk with conceit. Their bodies are unrestrained, their speech is unrestrained, and their minds are unrestrained; they are headed for an evil destiny.

PĀ 18: One cannot obtain ***siddhi*** by words alone, ***without practicing the samaya of yoga***.[25] Through energetic practice ***siddhi*** is not difficult to obtain. **Thus, practice *samaya*.**

This text raises numerous issues that will not be discussed in detail here – instead we will focus on its implications for the origin of the Kālacakra tradition. We will approach this through two avenues: investigation of its form, and analysis of its content.

Form

In an annotation to his edition of the canonical Tibetan translation of the *Vimalaprabhā*, the great Tibetan Kālacakra scholar Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364) cites the first two verses given above as being the beginning of a quotation from the *Ādibuddha*. In his massive commentary on the *Śrī Kālacakra* and the *Vimalaprabhā*, mKhas grub dGe legs dpal bzang (1385–1438) – without naming *Kālacakrapāda or Bu ston – says

16.29; see also Introduction i.23) translates this word as "had no livelihood," but I believe this misses the reference to the ascetic tradition; see below.

[25] ****yogasamaya***; ***rnal 'byor dam tshig dag***. My translation is tentative. I take the Tibetan *dag* as a mere verse filler, and assume the underlying form was a *tatpuruṣa*. However, *dag* may suggest a *dvandva*, in which case the translation would read: "… without practicing yoga and *samaya*."

that "some" cite these verses as being from the *Ādibuddha*, but this shows "a lack of discernment." mKhas grub rje notes that the *Vimalaprabhā* specifies that the verses of the *Paramādibuddha* are in the *anuṣṭubh* meter whereas the verses in this quotation do not conform to that metrical scheme.[26] And in fact mKhas grub rje is correct: The Tibetans use *seven* syllable quarters to translate *Paramādibuddha* verses that are in *anuṣṭubh*, and the verses in the Tibetan translation of our quotation have *nine* syllables per quarter, which is usual for rendering Sanskrit verses in *triṣṭubh*. More significant is the rest of mKhas grub rje's comment: He notes that – with certain variations – these verses also appear in the *Samādhirājasūtra*. Once again mKhas grub rje is correct, and the implications are rather startling.[27]

A glance at the texts provided below in Appendix 2 will immediately reveal that *Kālacakrapāda's "quotation" from the *Paramādibuddha* is in fact an adaptation of *Samādhirāja* 16.8–31. *Kālacakrapāda has dropped several verses, rearranged *pāda*s from several verses, changed words, and added a couple of new *pāda*s, but most of the text of our "quotation" is identical with the text of the *Samādhirāja*: word changes and additions are indicated by bold italics in the translation above and in the texts in Appendix 2.

Regarding the meter of our *Paramādibuddha* "quotation," not having the Sanskrit of *Kālacakrapāda's **Sekoddeśaṭīkā* absolute proof is lacking, but its thoroughgoing predominantly verbatim correspondence with its *Samādhirāja* source gives us confidence that it was written in *triṣṭubh*.

In terms of language, the *Samādhirāja* source text is written in the Sanskritized Prakrit Franklin Edgerton named "Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit." If we assume *Kālacakrapāda left the Prakrit forms in the *Samādhirāja* source text unaltered, the language of our *Paramādibuddha* "quotation"

[26] *Anuṣṭubh* is a class of meters that have four quarter-verses of eight syllables. *Triṣṭubh* – which we will encounter below – is a class of meters that have four quarter-verses of eleven syllables.

[27] This paragraph is based on Newman 1987b: 406–408, n. 23. mKhas grub rje does not attempt to resolve the embarrassing implications of the problem he identifies: He clearly recognizes an historically problematic fact, but he steps around it in silence and does not confront *Kālacakrapāda's "quotation" of the text, or Bu ston's acceptance of its authenticity.

would markedly differ from the language of all other extant Indic language *Paramādibuddha* excerpts and quotes, which are written in an irregular form of standard Sanskrit (see Newman 1988).

Content

As far as the content of the *Paramādibuddha* quotation is concerned, *Kālacakrapāda's use of the *Samādhirāja* as his source text is calculated, not merely opportunistic. The fact that the *Samādhirāja* "was considered highly authoritative by Mādhyamika scholastics and ignored by Yogācāra authors" (Gómez and Silk 1989: 31), and its uncompromising promotion of asceticism in opposition to "lax" Buddhist lifestyles (Roberts 2018: Introduction i.22–i.23) made it – as we will see – perfectly suited for the message *Kālacakrapāda wished to deliver.[28]

In the *Samādhirāja* the Buddha prophesies to the youth Candraprabha that in the future corrupt monks will thoroughly violate their vows, will be obsessed with wealth, and will corrupt those with whom they interact. They will be attached to a mistaken view of the self, will reject the teaching of emptiness, and in particular will reject the *samādhi* of the *Samādhirāja*.[29] In the *Paramādibuddha* the Buddha prophesies to Dharmarāja Sucandra that in the future corrupt **yogācāra*s will thoroughly violate their *samaya*, will be obsessed with wealth, *et cetera*, and will reject this tantra and the Fourth initiation that is taught within it. Thus, *Kālacakrapāda has taken a scripture that was universally accepted as *buddhavacana* within the Mahāyāna tradition and "updated" it to fit Kālacakra doctrines and his characterization of the conditions of his time.

As mentioned above, criticism of perceived corrupt, degenerate, perverse practice of the Vajrayāna is one of the distinctive features of the early Kālacakra literature.[30] Harsh, oftentimes sarcastic diatribes against

[28] Roberts (2018: Introduction i.19) notes the *Samādhirāja* "gain[ed] a certain importance within the circle of [Tibetan] students who followed Atiśa." Since Atiśa was a disciple of Piṇḍo who, I believe, is *Kālacakrapāda the Greater, this connection may be worth exploring.

[29] For an English translation of the entire *Samādhirāja* see Roberts 2018.

[30] It is more than a little ironic that L. Austine Waddell – in his influential *The Buddhism of Tibet*, *or Lamaism* (1st ed. 1895) – ignorantly fumed about the supposed perversity

bogus Buddhist gurus, *vajrācārya*s, yogis, and foolish, conceited *paṇḍita*s are found in the introductory sections of the *Vimalaprabhā*,[31] Bodhisattva Vajragarbha's commentary on the *Hevajratantra*,[32] Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi's *Laghutantraṭīkā* commentary on the beginning of the Cakrasaṃvara *laghutantra*,[33] Dārika's **Sekaprakriyāvṛtti*,[34] and in Kalkin Puṇḍarīka's *Śrī Paramārthasevā*.[35] A thorough study of these texts and others that describe and criticize perceived corruption would undoubtedly shed considerable light on the sociology of early 11th century Indian Buddhism, but here we will only touch on some of the themes highlighted in our passage from the *Paramādibuddha*.

*Kālacakrapāda's *Paramādibuddha* text begins (PĀ [T] 1a) by replacing the *Samādhirāja*'s "many monks" (*bhikṣu bahu*) with "yoga practitioners" (*rnal 'byor spyod mang dag* <**yogācārāḥ*). The same thing occurs at PĀ 11, where **yogācārāḥ* (*rnal 'byor spyod pa*) replaces SR *bodhisattvāḥ* (see below, and notes 17 and 23). I believe *yogācāra* is deliberately ambiguous here. The primary intended connotation is the literal meaning of the term: (corrupt) Buddhist tantric "yoga practitioners" in a generic sense – this clearly fits the overall context well.

However, I think these references to "*yogācāra*s" are *also* a thinly veiled insult directed toward some followers of the Yogācāra school, proponents of Vijñānavāda doctrine.[36] The Kālacakra follows the Mādhyamika view

of the Kālacakra whereas the Kālacakra itself castigates those it perceives as morally corrupting the practice of tantra (Newman 1987b: 27–28).

[31] Newman 1987b: 406–410.

[32] *Ṣaṭsāhasrikāhevajraṭīkā* 1.7–18, pp. 7–8; Sferra 2009: 444–445. A translation from the Tibetan of the first six verses of this critique is given at Newman 1987b: 409–410, n. 25, and a translation of the entire first *pariccheda* is given at Sferra 2009: 457–468. See also below note 36.

[33] *Laghutantraṭīkā* pp. 51–52.

[34] See Newman 1987b: 408, n. 24.

[35] See, e.g., *Śrī Paramārthasevā* 7ff., Sanskrit in Sferra 2007: 468ff. Luo Hong and Francesco Sferra are working on a critical edition of the entire Sanskrit text (Sferra and Hong 2016: 233–235).

[36] The same thing occurs at Vajragarbha's *Ṣaṭsāhasrikāhevajraṭīkā* 1.7–9: (7) "The *ācārya*s that will teach *yogācāra* at this time of the five deteriorations will promote a false path; (8) the miscreants will teach the brief forms of the *tantra*s without employing *ṭīkā*s, and will exert themselves on the path to hell out of craving for others' women and wealth. (9) Some will write commentaries without having the five psychic powers and the other [qualifications]; due to their arrogance in the science of dialectics (*tarkaśāstra*),

of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva, and the *Vimalaprabhā* trenchently rejects the Vijñānavāda doctrine of a nature of consciousness (*vijñānadharmatā*)[37] that is ultimately existent (*paramārthasat*).[38]

The important early 11th century Vajrayāna master Ratnākaraśānti was "a conservative Yogācāra critic of the Mādhyamikas' interpretations of Nāgārjuna" (McNamara 2017: 191, also 202–204; see also Isaacson 2013). Along with Nāropāda, Ratnākaraśānti was one of the leading masters of this period. There is evidence that Ratnākaraśānti rejected the Kālacakra, and said that "the authors who have the names Yaśas, Puṇḍarīka, Vajragarbha, and Vajrapāṇi are certainly not bodhisattvas" (Newman 1987b: 107–110; see also Newman 2017: 217). Thus, I see the *Paramādibuddha* criticism of "*yogācāra*s" as performing a twofold role: it is an explicit castigation of corrupt practices, and a thinly disguised insult targeted at a competing school within the academic world of early 11th century Indian Vajrayāna scholars.[39]

The next significant rewrite replaces the *Samādhirāja*'s "will reject this ***samādhi***" with "will reject this ***great tantra and this Fourth***"[40] (PĀ [T] 1d; see also PĀ [T] 2d, 12b). This is superficially fairly straightforward: Just as in the *Samādhirāja* the Buddha prophesies that malignant monks of the future will reject the *Samādhirāja*'s *samādhi*,[41] in the *Paramādibuddha* the Buddha prophesies that malignant *yogācāra*s of the future will reject the *Paramādibuddha* and the special revelation of reality that is given in the Fourth initiation.

they will make a mockery of *yogācāra* (*yogācāraviḍambakāḥ*)." Cf. Sferra 2009: 444, 457.

[37] Cf. *Nāmasaṃgīti* 99a: *vijñānadharmatātit*[*aḥ*].

[38] See Newman 1987b: 351; 1992: 231. See also *Vimalaprabhā* 5.3.127 (U 3.86.28–3.87.16).

[39] For another example of this, see the insulting story of Vāgīśvarakīrti's interaction with *Kālacakrapāda (Newman 1987b: 86–87).

[40] This appears to have entailed some sort of reworking of SR [S] 16.8d, employing **mahātantram* and *caturtham*.

[41] Andrew Skilton has demonstrated that in the *Samādhirāja* and some other Mahāyāna sutras "*samādhi*" is employed not in its more common meaning "[meditative] concentration," but in a special sense indicating the "scriptural text" of the sutra itself, and in particular to specific lists of practices and attitudes (Skilton 1999: 645–648; 2002: 89–90). This connotation of *samādhi* is very close to *samāhita*, "assemblage," "collection."

The *locus classicus* of the problem of the Fourth initiation is the slogan *caturthaṃ tat punas tathā*, which is found at *Guhyasamāja* 18.113d and *Hevajra* 2.3.10b (see, e.g., *Vimalaprabhā* 1.2; Newman 1987b: 279–282, 287). In the Kālacakra system, the Fourth initiation is definitively unexcelled (*uttarottara*), supramundane (*lokottara*), related to ultimate reality (*paramārthasatya*), and pertains to "the practice for the achievement of the supreme imperishable *mahāmudrā* gnosis" (*caturthābhiṣekaparamākṣaramahāmudrājñānasiddhisādhana…*; *Vimalaprabhā* 1.2; Newman 1987b: 258). The early Kālacakra literature contains numerous examples of invective directed at "packs of devils who will teach idiots that the buddha gnosis is the bliss born from the two sexual organs" (*Vimalaprabhā* 1.6.2; Newman 1987b: 209–210; cf. also *Vimalaprabhā* 5.3.127 [U 3.80ff.]). The relationship between the experience engendered in the third, *prajñājñāna* initiation and that engendered in the fourth, *caturtha* initiation was clearly highly controversial within the Indian Vajrayāna tradition of the early 11th century, but we will not explore this further here.[42]

The dominant topic in *Kālacakrapāda's quotation from the *Paramādibuddha* is the importance of *samaya* (*dam tshig*). Most of the text is concerned with deprecating those who will "cast away," "transgress," "violate," "destroy," "completely forsake," and "behave contrary to" *samaya* (PĀ 6, 11, 15). This is contrasted with those who will "guard" their *samaya* (PĀ 14), and the quotation concludes with the observation that the *samaya* of yoga (**yogasamaya*) is indispensable for the achievement of *siddhi*, and an admonition to zealously apply oneself to *samaya* (PĀ 18).

In Vajrayāna *samaya* has multiple related connotations, two of which are: (1) "mutual agreement," or "covenant," and (2) "conventional rule." The first connotation includes the mystical "covenant" that binds the buddha/deity/guru and the initiate/disciple, and in this application *samaya* bleeds over into mystico-philosophical discourse about the

[42] For some of *Kālacakrapāda's views on this see: SUṬ K [T] P 8a7ff., *ad* SU 8d *caturthaḥ paramārthataḥ*; and SUṬ K [T] P 9b1ff., *ad* SU 15cd. The *Vimalaprabhā* treats this often, especially in its "*Paramākṣarajñānasiddhir nāma mahoddeśa*" (*Vimalaprabhā* 5.3.127 [U 3.60–103]); cf. also *Śrī Kālacakra* 5.112ff., *Vimalaprabhā* 5.2.112ff. For etic studies of issues related to this see especially Isaacson 2010, and Isaacson and Sferra 2014: 96–111.

nature of divinity, buddhahood, and reality. The second, more common connotation of *samaya*, "conventional rule," subsumes basic moral regulation common to all Buddhists as well as sets of esoteric, oftentimes antinomian and/or transgressive practices that are interpreted provisionally as external behavior and definitively as internal tantric yogic practices.[43]

The way in which *Kālacakrapāda was able to very lightly modify the *Samādhirāja*'s disparagement of corrupt pseudo-monks shows that the primary connotation of *samaya* in our passage is moral regulation in general. This is proved by the fact that in the *Paramādibuddha* quotation *samaya* replaces the *Samādhirāja* words *śīla*, *maryādā*, *vṛtta*, and *dharma* (SR 13, 21, 22, 27, 28), all terms that refer to proper moral behavior in general. However, the narrower tantric connotation is likely also in play. Possession of *samaya* (*samayin*) is the first qualification of the true *vajrācārya* guru (*Śrī Kālacakra* 3.2a, *Vimalaprabhā* 3.1.2), and being bereft of *samaya* (*samayavirahita*) in the sense of openly performing the esoteric *samaya*s that are considered abhorrent in society (*lokajugupsitair guhyasamayaiḥ*) is among the faults of evil masters who are to be avoided by disciples (*Śrī Kālacakra* 3.3a, *Vimalaprabhā* 3.1.3).

Some additional noteworthy modifications of *Samādhirāja* 16.18–31 (I do not include modifications I consider to be less important):

(1) At PĀ 1 "yoga practitioners' attachment to the paraphernalia of yoga" replaces SR 16.8 "monks' attachment to bowls and robes."

(2) At PĀ 7 "Vajradhara" (presumably singular) replaces SR 16.14 "buddhas" (*buddhehi*; inst. pl., BHSG 8.108).

(3) At PĀ 8 "having entered the mandala" replaces SR 16.15 "having become a renunciant," and later in the verse "going forth in the buddhas' teaching" replaces "having become a renunciant within the buddhas' teaching" (see note 21).

(4) At PĀ 9 "what is the point of entering the mandala?" replaces SR 16.16 "what is the point of shaving their heads?"

Most of these modifications replace attributes or activities of monks with attributes or activities of tantric yogis.

[43] These are treated at *Śrī Kālacakra* 3.97–98, *Vimalaprabhā* 3.4.97–98 (Sanskrit edited in Sferra and Merzagora 2006: 93.12–94.23).

(5) As already noted above, at PĀ 11 "We are **yogācāras*" replaces SR 16.21a "We are bodhisattvas," and in both texts the *pāda* preceding this says "Having cast aside forbearance, they talk fraudulent, self-serving nonsense." Here "forbearance" (*kṣānti*) and "fraudulent, self-serving nonsense" (*prapañca*) are being employed in a double entendre (*śleṣa*). In addition to the common meanings of these terms used in my translation, *kṣānti* also has a technical sense referring to "forbearance" with respect to cognition of emptiness and the illusory nature of phenomena, and *prapañca* refers to the cognitive "elaboration" of intrinsic existence that confused beings superimpose upon things. I believe this is another case of *Kālacakrapāda sarcastically denigrating the Vijñānavāda view of the Yogācāras of his time.

(6) At PĀ 12 "A bunch of stupid Ājīvakas … will constantly talk about the virtues of the great, supreme tantra," and "will act like yogis." This modifies SR 16.24ab & 25ab, which says "A bunch of stupid Ājīvakas … who – having become renunciants – will constantly talk about the defects of the foremost vehicle," i.e., the Mahāyāna. The ancient Ājīvaka (more commonly spelled *ājīvika*) ascetic tradition is said to have espoused atomism and determinism, and to have rejected the doctrine of karma and moral causality. Buddhist critics characterize them as being nihilistic materialists prone to immorality. Whereas the *Samādhirāja* invokes the Ājīvakas to tar Buddhist critics of the Mahāyāna (*agrayāna*), *Kālacakrapāda invokes them to mock bogus pseudo-yogis who superciliously praise the virtues of the highest tantra. In both cases, calling a fellow Buddhist a "crypto-Ājīvaka" is an accusation of heresy and immorality, and the following line in both texts (PĀ 13, SR 16.25cd) correlates these pseudo-Buddhist crypto-Ājīvakas' stupidity and lack of good qualities with their foolish fixation on a false view of the self, and their consequent terror when they hear about *śūnyatā*.

(7) At PĀ 16 the vocative "Sucandra" – i.e., Dharmarāja Sucandra of Sambhala – replaces SR 16.29 "O youth" (*kumārā*), referring to Candraprabha, the Buddha's interlocutor in the *Samādhirāja*.

(8) *Kālacakrapāda's *Paramādibuddha* "quotation" concludes in PĀ 18. The first quarter has no parallel in SR, and the two middle quarters are created by twice replacing SR 16.32cd *bodhi* with PĀ **siddhi* (*dngos grub*). The text concludes with a quarter that has no parallel in SR: "Thus, practice (*nan tan bya* <**pratipatti*) *samaya*."

On the origin of the Kālacakra tantra

What are we to make of this? Assuming my identification of the author of *Kālacakrapāda's **Sekoddeśaṭīkā* is correct, we are confronted with the fact that the founder of the Indian Kālacakra tantra tradition – the first non-mythical person in the guru lineage – has taken a section from a well-known Mahāyāna sutra, rewritten it, and presented it as a quotation from the foundational scripture (*mūlatantra*) of the Kālacakra tradition. He has done this at the very outset of his explanation of the *Sekoddeśa*, a text universally accepted within the Kālacakra tradition as a key section of the *Paramādibuddha* which presents the nucleus of the Kālacakra's distinctive doctrines.

It would be facile and misleading to consider this a simple case of plagiarism. *Kālacakrapāda's **Sekoddeśaṭīkā* – like all of the revealed scriptures and exegetical works of the Kālacakra tradition – was written for and only intelligible to elite highly educated members of the Vajrayāna community. If mKhas grub rje in fifteenth century Tibet was able to recognize the source of *Kālacakrapāda's "quotation," we can be quite confident that the *mahāpaṇḍita*s of early eleventh century Nālandā and Vikramaśīla would have immediately seen it for what it is.

Thus, my interpretation of this is as follows: In this "prophecy" *Kālacakrapāda is throwing down the gauntlet to those who would reject the introduction of the Kālacakra's new vision of the Vajrayāna. The literary device of using prophecy to denigrate critics of a new revelation had already been established in the *Samādhirāja*, and this trope has a venerable genealogy in the Mahāyāna sutras.

To understand *why* *Kālacakrapāda produced this polemical prophecy, we turn to Kalkin Puṇḍarīka's *Vimalaprabhā*. Evidence of concern with self-legitimation is prevalent in the introductory material of the *Vimalaprabhā*,[44] which is devoted to establishing the historical and doctrinal "authenticity" of the Kālacakra. Here we find apologetics and polemic directed toward: (1) those who doubt that the Buddha actually taught the *Paramādibuddha* to King Sucandra of Sambhala, because they "have not heard it in any other tantra, and it is not prophesied in any other tantra"

[44] *Vimalaprabhā* 1.2–1.6.2; Newman 1987b: 245–412.

(Newman 1987b: 292); (2) those who say "the Bhagavān Buddha did not teach this [*Śrī Kālacakra*] *tantrarāja*" redacted by Kalkin Yaśas (Newman 1987b: 321); and (3) "vicious *ācārya*s [who reject the Kālacakra], who are outside of the heart of the Tathāgata, attached to sensuality, who prattle lies, and are headed toward *avīci* due to finding fault in things about which they know nothing" (Newman 1987b: 347).

At the end of the sixth *uddeśa* of the *Vimalaprabhā*, Kalkin Puṇḍarīka asserts: "Those who do not know the *Paramādibuddha* do not know the *Nāmasaṃgīti*.[45] Those who do not know the *Nāmasaṃgīti* do not know the Gnosis Body of Vajradhara. Those who do not know the Gnosis Body of Vajradhara do not know the Mantrayāna. Those who do not know the Mantrayāna are all samsaric – they are separate from the path of Bhagavān Vajradhara. Thus, noble gurus should teach the *Paramādibuddha*, and noble disciples who strive for liberation should listen to it" (Newman 1987b: 411–412; 1987a: 93). This Kālacakra "manifesto" makes the radical claim that the Kālacakra – and the *Paramādibuddha* in particular – is indispensable for correct understanding and practice of the Vajrayāna.

As one would expect, this bold assertion of a kind of hegemonic authority did not find universal acceptance when it was presented to Vajrayāna masters outside the Kālacakra tradition. Resistance to the Kālacakra is reflected in the legend relating *Kālacakrapāda the Lesser's (*dus zhabs chung ba*) contentious introduction of the Kālacakra at Nālandā. According to this legend, *Kālacakrapāda the Lesser – whom we have identified above as Nāropāda – drew the Kālacakra *daśākāravaśin* mantric cosmogram[46] above the door of the *vihāra*, and wrote the Kālacakra "manifesto" below it. "About five hundred *paṇḍita*s dwelling in Nālandā were displeased with this" and challenged *Kālacakrapāda to debate, "but he defeated them all with the profound and vast nature of the Kālacakra doctrines, and they became his disciples" (Newman 1987b:

[45] The [*Mañjuśrī*] *Nāmasaṃgīti* – which dates to the 7th century CE at the latest – is one of the foundational texts for the Vajrayāna/Mantrayāna tradition as a whole (see Davidson 1981). It is ubiquitously quoted in the *Vimalaprabhā* and other Kālacakra exegetical works, and it serves as touchstone in connecting the Kālacakra to the established Vajrayāna tradition at large. See, e.g., *Vimalaprabhā* 5.3.127 (U 3.100–102). We will encounter the *Nāmasaṃgīti* again below.

[46] On this see Newman 1991.

82–84, cf. also 104–106). I believe this legend is an echo of the process by which the early Kālacakra cult overcame resistance and came to be legitimized and accepted within the wider Vajrayāna community.

On the origin of the *Paramādibuddha*

In my initial foray into the problem of the Kālacakra *mūlatantra* I adopted the traditional assertion that the 12,000 verse *Paramādibuddha* existed as a "real" text (Newman 1987a). Subsequently I became convinced that this is not the case, and I agree with Professors Raniero Gnoli and Giacomella Orofino (1994: 60–61) that the *Paramādibuddha* "never existed as a [complete] independent work" (Sferra 2005: 268, 273). Instead, I believe that the extant *Paramādibuddha* excerpts and quotations are a mass of *ad hoc* creations produced to introduce doctrines and/or lend authority and legitimacy to the historical or doctrinal claims of the nascent Kālacakra tradition.

Perhaps the most blatant example of this is *Kālacakrapāda's "quotation" from the *Paramādibuddha* studied above. However, another very telling case of appropriation is found at *Vimalaprabhā* 5.1.9d [U 3.6–7], its comment on *Śrī Kālacakra* 5.9d.[47] Here Kalkin Puṇḍarīka explains that the designation of *yoginītantra*s as *prajñātantra* and *yogatantra*s as *upāyatantra* is merely conventional (*saṃvṛtyā*), because all of them are intrinsically (*svarūpataḥ*) *yogatantra*s that consist of wisdom and method (*prajñopāyātmakaṃ yogatantram*). Then, by name, he quotes a verse from the *Hevajra* [1.1.7] as a proof text to establish that the Hevajra tantra is not [merely] a *prajñātantra*; and again, by name, he quotes two half verses from the *Samāja* [18.32ab & 18.24cd] to prove that the Guhyasamāja is not [merely] an *upāyatantra*. He ends this comment by quoting a verse from the *Ādibuddha*: "Yoga cannot occur through the body of *upāya* or through *prajñā* alone; the Tathāgatas call the conjunction of wisdom and method 'yoga'."[48] Remarkably, the second half of this verse

[47] See Sferra 2005: 260–261. Professor Sferra also kindly referred me to *Ṣaṭsāhasrikā-hevajraṭīkā* 3.29–31, which may be a precursor of the *Vimalaprabhā* discussion.

[48] This verse is also quoted anonymously at *Vimalaprabhā* 1.2 [U 1.18] in a related discussion of yoga, wisdom, and method (Newman 1987b: 275). Here Bu ston annotates

is a repetition of *Guhyasamāja* 18.32a and a rewording of 18.32b. From the internal perspective of the Kālacakra tradition, I see this as an assertion by Kalkin Puṇḍarīka that the *Paramādibuddha* is the final word on the Vajrayāna; from an etic text-critical perspective, Kalkin Puṇḍarīka has appropriated and rewritten a piece of the *Samāja* to provide authority to the new revelation.[49]

An even more remarkable instance of the use of *Paramādibuddha* "quotations" to establish the authenticity of the Kālacakra is found in *Vimalaprabhā* 1.4.1 (Newman 1987b: 326–327, 329–331). Here Kalkin Puṇḍarīka quotes two blocks of verses from the *Paramādibuddha* that are the putative source text for *Śrī Kālacakra* 1.1–2. Thus, these *mūlatantra* verses in *anuṣṭubh* are supposed to have been reworked by Kalkin Puṇḍarīka's father Kalkin Yaśas to create the *laghutantra śragdharā* verses of *Śrī Kālacakra* 1.1–2. When we examine the verses of the *Paramādibuddha* quotations, however, we find that they are larded with *pāda*s that are either identical with or closely follow *pāda*s in the *Nāmasaṃgīti*. (Interestingly, these *Nāmasaṃgīti pāda*s are *not* reflected in *Śrī Kālacakra* 1.1–2.) Once again Kalkin Puṇḍarīka has presented *Paramādibuddha* text that contains elements drawn from universally authoritative Vajrayāna scripture to provide historical and doctrinal legitimacy for the new Kālacakra revelation. In this case – if my hypothesis is found to be correct – Kalkin Puṇḍarīka has fabricated new "quotations" from the *Paramādibuddha*, a supposedly seven hundred year-old text, to legitimize the *Śrī Kālacakra*, his mythical father's supposed abridgement of the same text.

Evaluation of the hypothesis that the *Paramādibuddha* is an ad hoc creation will require: (1) detailed investigation of specific texts and passages, including identification of sources where possible; (2) analysis of the aims and strategies employed within *Paramādibuddha* texts; (3) explanation of the roles the *Paramādibuddha* played in the Kālacakra tradition in its origins and as it developed over time.

the verse as being quoted from the *Ādibuddha*, presumably recognizing the *Vimalaprabhā* 5.1.9d specification of its source.

[49] The same thing occurs at *Vimalaprabhā* 1.6.2 (Newman 1987b: 401). Discussing the different numbers of "families" (*kula*), Kalkin Puṇḍarīka quotes a half verse the Bhagavān uttered in the *mūlatantra* – the *Paramādibuddha* – which is a reworking of *Guhyasamāja* 18.36ab.

There is no lack of material for this. Apart from the *Sekoddeśa* – which has already attracted considerable etic study – as mentioned above there is a multitude of quotations from the *Paramādibuddha*/*Ādibuddha*/*mūlatantra* in the *Vimalaprabhā* and other exegetical works of the early Kālacakra tradition. Also, the colophon to the **Śrī Kālacakra-nāma-tantragarbha*[50] and its contents indicate it is a purported extract from the *Paramādibuddha* – an extended section treating the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga-sādhana*.

And most recently David Reigle (2017) has identified and located a Tibetan manuscript text named *gTso bo*[*r*] *bla ma'i yon tan bzung ba zhes bya ba'i rgyud*.[51] In its colophon the text presents itself as: *dpal dang po mchog gi sangs rgyas rtsa ba'i rgyud chen po nas 'byung ba / gtso bor bla ma'i yon tan bzung ba zhes bya ba // bkol ba dum bu'i rgyud // rdzogs s.ho* // (f. 29a3–4). The manuscript's colophon says that it was translated by the famous Mi nyag Sang rgyas grags pa (11th–12th century CE), and that this translation was bestowed upon Se ston lo tstsha ba.

This is undoubtedly the third of three purported extracts from the *Paramādibuddha* whose authenticity was disputed, so that Bu ston did not include them in the old sNar thang *Kangyur*. However, it is reported that these three texts were accepted as authentic by Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje and dPa' bo gTsug lag 'phreng ba, and that they were included in the *dkar chag* of dBus pa bLo gsal (Newman 1987a: 99, n. 17). Reigle estimates that this text is "approximately three times as large as … the *Sekoddeśa*."[52] Based on an initial reading of the text, I am of the opinion that it draws on Indic sources, but portions of it are Tibetan compositions, in which case we would have a Tibetan pseudepigraphon of an Indian pseudepigraphon.

[50] This is my reconstruction of the Sanskrit title, based on the Tibetan title *dPal dus kyi 'khor lo zhes bya ba rgyud kyi snying po* (D 364; P 6).

[51] Buddhist Digital Resource Center scan W3PD287-I3PD292. This is the Tibetan title given on 1b1 and in the colophon. The title page reads *bLa ma'i yon tan yongs su bzung ba'i rgyud bzhugs s.ho*. The Sanskrit title on 1b1 reads: *rgyar gar skad du : pa ra gu ru gu ṇa dha ra na ma tan tra*, i.e., **Paraguruguṇadharanāmatantra*. Note the unusual correspondence of *para* and *gtso bo*[*r*]. The Sanskrit title strikes me as an incompetent translation of the Tibetan.

[52] Reigle 2017: 1. Reigle – like some other recent writers – says that the *Sekoddeśa* is "the only [previously] known section" of the *Paramādibuddha*, but this fails to account for the **Tantragarbha*, not to mention the smaller but still fairly extensive excerpts found in the *Vimalaprabhā* and elsewhere.

An etic Kālacakra origin myth

I conclude by telling a story.[53] Once upon a time (*ekasmin samaye*) – probably around the middle of the 10th century CE, to be precise – a brahman boy was born in Java. He became highly educated and – we know not how, or when, or where – he became a Buddhist monk (*bhikṣu*). At some point – we know not how, or when – he went to India. His great learning (*mahāpaṇḍita*), asceticism (*avadhūta*), and – presumably – spiritual charisma (*adhiṣṭhāna*) were so great that at some point he became the guru of Atiśa (982–1054). He also became the teacher and/or colleague of Nāropāda (died ca. 1040). He was known as "Piṇḍo," but that is a nickname, and we do not know his ordination name or other proper names. In any case, Piṇḍo had a new vision of the ultimate meaning of the Vajrayāna, which he called "Kālacakra."

During the early decades of the 11th century CE a small Kālacakra cult developed in north India – we know not how, exactly, or when, exactly, or where, exactly – that included Piṇḍo, Nāropāda, Anupamarakṣita, perhaps a couple of other *vajrācārya*s, and some of their students. Within the early Kālacakra cult Piṇḍo came to be known as Kālacakrapāda the Greater, and Nāropāda came to be known as Kālacakrapāda the Lesser.

Members of this cult invented mythic literary pseudonyms and produced an astonishing mass of revealed literature in a remarkably short period of time. A provisional list of this body of works would have to include: the excerpt from the *Paramādibuddha* – the Kālacakra *mūlatantra* – titled *Sekoddeśa*, composed by the emanation of the tenth stage bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, Dharmarāja Sucandra of Sambhala; the *Laghutantraṭīkā* commentary on the first part of the *Laghusaṃvara* by the tenth stage bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi; the *Ṣaṭsāhasrikāhevajraṭīkā* on the first portion of the *Śrī Hevajratantra* by the tenth stage bodhisattva Vajragarbha; the *Śrī Kālacakra* – the Kālacakra *laghutantra* – composed by Yaśas, the first Kalkin of Sambhala, an emanation of the tenth stage bodhisattva Mañjuśrī; the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary on the *Śrī Kālacakra* by Puṇḍarīka, Yaśas' son and second Kalkin of Sambhala, an emanation of the

[53] I refer readers who are interested in the evidentiary basis of the facts underlying this myth to Newman 1985, 1987a, 1987b, 1998, 2017; Sferra 2005, 2015; Isaacson and Sferra 2019.

tenth stage bodhisattva Lokeśvara. Other texts attributed to these tenth stage bodhisattvas include: Sucandra's **Tantragarbha* – extracted from the *Paramādibuddha* and redacted by Yaśas – which epitomizes the Kālacakra *ṣaḍaṅgayoga*; Yaśas' **Tantrahṛdaya*, an appendix (*uttara*) to the *Śrī Kālacakra*; Yaśas' *Svadarśanamatoddeśa*, an independent verse text that treats philosophical issues, among other things; Puṇḍarīka's **Kālacakratantragarbhavṛttir vimalaprabhā nāma*, a commentary on the **Tantragarbha*; Puṇḍarīka's *Śrī Paramārthasevā*, an independent work of didactic poetry. This list can be extended, and etic scholars have only begun to scratch the surface of this body of literature.

In addition to the texts composed pseudonymously, the members of the early Kālacakra cult composed a closely associated body of literature under their own names or under the epithets they utilized or were given within the cult. In addition to the two *Sekoddeśaṭīkā*s of *Kālacakrapāda and Nāropāda mentioned above, a list of these texts would include a mass of other Kālacakra works attributed to Piṇḍo, Nāropāda, *Kālacakrapāda [the Greater and the Lesser], Anupamarakṣita, Sādhuputra Śrīdharānanda, and others. This list would be substantial, containing works of varying lengths in a variety of genres. Etic scholars have only begun to explore this body of literature.

The early Kālacakra cult promoted a vision of the Vajrayāna that placed the Paramādibuddha Kālacakra system at the pinnacle of the Vajrayāna tradition. They explicitly asserted that to understand the Vajrayāna one must understand the Kālacakra. The mythically named authors/redactors of the revealed texts claimed to be tenth stage bodhisattvas, endowed with psychic powers, which made them *the* authoritative expounders of the Vajrayāna, in marked contrast to those they disparaged as mere *paṇḍita*s. Another important component of the new Kālacakra "orthodoxy" was a strong assertion of the supremacy of *bhikṣu*s over householders (*gṛhastha*s) within the Vajrayāna community.[54]

In addition, this new revelation was equipped with an elaborate prophetic mythology explaining how it was originally taught by the Buddha

[54] *Vimalaprabhā* 1.7.4 (Newman 1987b: 420–422); *Laghutantraṭīkā* 51.19–21: referring to "idiotic Bauddhas who – due to the stupidity of their faith – revere householder *ācārya*s and disrespect monks;" Sferra 2005: 275–278.

and preserved by the tenth stage bodhisattva *dharmarāja*s and *kalkin*s of Sambhala. The Kālacakra origin myths provide a thin explanation for why this tradition was unknown in India prior to the beginning of the 11th century. However, the Kālacakra myth of the Kalkins of Sambhala is a transparent Buddhist appropriation of the Vaiṣṇava myth of Kalki of Sambhala, and it neither fooled nor was it expected to fool its intended audience, the Vajrayāna *paṇḍita*s of 11th century northern India. Even so, the Buddhist myth of the Kalkins of Sambhala was potent, in part because it addressed the contemporaneous general anxiety induced by Mahmud of Ghazni's jihad in the northwest of the Indian subcontinent.

The totalizing vision of the early Kālacakra cult is captured by a slogan preserved in its literature: *tan nāsti yan noditam ādibuddhe*, "There is nothing that is not spoken of in the Ādibuddha."[55] The central texts of the tradition – the *Śrī Kālacakra* together with its commentary the *Vimalaprabhā* – form an esoteric compendium that treats a plethora of topics ranging from the most abstruse mystico-philosophical vision, to zombie rituals, to instruction on how to build siege weapons and a swing carousel.

Also, the Kālacakra mysticism is situated in a cosmopolitan cultural milieu. As we have seen, its founders were born in Java and Uḍḍiyāna. In addition to its extensive treatment of Islam – unique in classical Sanskrit literature, the early Kālacakra texts exhibit familiarity with conditions in Tibet, including the presence of Buddhism there, and the Sanskrit of the *Vimalaprabhā* even contains a loanword from Tibetan: *lī* – "Khotan."[56] Overall the foundational Kālacakra literature displays a keen interest in and tolerance of the beliefs and practices of foreigners that is unusual in classical Indian literature.

As one might expect, the early Kālacakra cult's aggressive claim of authority was not greeted with universal acclaim within the early 11th century north Indian Vajrayāna community. Some Vajrayāna masters rejected it outright. In his *Āmnāyamañjarī* Abhayākaragupta reports that some scholars asserted that there are many things presented in the Kālacakra

[55] *Ṣaḍaṅgayoga* and *Guṇabharaṇī* 79.23.

[56] Newman 1988: 133; see also Newman 1987b: 362; 1996: 494, n. 10; 1998: 317, n. 11. See also *Śrī Kālacakra* 5.97, which has the buddhas' *sarvajñabhāṣā* teaching the true Dharma to the people of both India and Tibet (*āryabhoṭādikānām*) using their individual languages (*svasvabhāṣāntareṇa*).

that contradict the preexisting traditions of the *buddhadharma*, and they rejected the self-identification as bodhisattvas of the Kālacakra authors named Yaśas, Puṇḍarīka, Vajragarbha, and Vajrapāṇi (Newman 1987b: 107–110). Despite this resistance, the Kālacakra was very successful in establishing itself in north India. Most likely the great prestige and influence of Nāropāda was a key factor in this. By the end of the 11th century Abhayākaragupta – the leading Vajrayāna master of his day – had accepted the Kālacakra as an eminent – perhaps *the pre-eminent* – system of mysticism in the Indic Vajrayāna tradition. Even before that it had established a presence in Tibet, from where it would spread to Mongolia and China, and – eventually – even find a place in modern global culture.

We conclude our tale by posing a question: "Why?" As with all potent myths, a definitive answer eludes us. Of course there were cultural, social, and perhaps even political and economic factors in play, but to truly understand the origin of the Kālacakra tantra one would have to enter the vision of the mystics who saw it. No doubt the Kālacakra's success derived in part from the totalizing scope of this vision: The system provides an explanation of the origin, development, and layout of the cosmos; a mythic explanation of the cycles of human history; an explanation of the origin, development, and structure of the human body and mind. All of this is presented within the framework of the fundamental principle that "as it is without, so it is within" – *yathā bāhyaṃ tathādhyātmam* (*Hevajra* 2.4.49c) – the ancient concept of the homology of the cosmos and the person. In the Kālacakra this becomes expanded to encompass the outer world, the self, and the transcendent: *bāhyādhyātmaṃ paraṃ ca* (*Śrī Kālacakra* 5.93b; also Newman 1988: 137, n. 31).

However, undoubtedly the key factor in the success of the Kālacakra was its promise that those who enter into and accomplish the practice of this mysticism will be granted a completely transformative, salvific, imperishably and limitlessly blissful gnostic vision of the totality of the universe, a vision in which an image of the phenomenal and ultimate reality of everything from pots and cloths up to buddhas will appear in the mirror of your mind as if the universe was in the palm of your hand.[57]

[57] *Ṣaḍaṅgayoga* and *Guṇabharaṇī* 75.26–76.4; 81.9–11; 82.17–19; 83.2; 95.10; 95.28–29; 97.10; 99.1; 104.1; 105.15; 111.25; 113.3; 113.19; 114.17; 117.13; 118.13;

APPENDICES – TEXTS

Appendix 1: The Kālacakra guru lineage of Gyi jo Zla ba'i 'od zer

For my earlier study of this with additional information on the context and background, see Newman 1987b: 102–103.

Translator's colophons to:

(1) Kalkin Puṇḍarīka, *Vimalaprabhāṭīkā* to *Śrī Kālacakralaghutantra*.
VP MS: Non-canonical *dbu med* manuscript. *Dus 'khor phyogs bsgrigs chen mo* (Lha sa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 2012 & 2014) Vol. 1, scan p. 845.3–6; f. 417a3–6. BDRC scan, ref. no. W3PD287; accessed Aug 19, 2020.
(2) Kalkin Puṇḍarīka, **Kālacakratantragarbhavṛttir vimalaprabhā nāma*; *Dus kyi 'khor lo'i rgyud kyi snying po'i 'grel pa dri ma med pa'i 'od ces bya ba*. (This text appears to be absent from the sDe dge and the Co ne *bsTan 'gyur*.)
P: Peking *bsTan 'gyur* no. 4608; vol. 81, p. 293/1/7–8; rGyud 'grel PU.
N: sNar thang *bsTan 'gyur* no. 3398; rGyud 'grel PU f. 13a1–3; BDRC scan p. 25.1–3.

/ sam bha la'i[1] yul byon zhing /
/ mngon par shes pa mnga'[2] brnyes pa /
/ dus kyi 'khor lo pa zhes pa /
/ de'i rim ni brgyud pa dang /
/ u rgyan yul skyes bram za'i rigs /
/ na ro pa zhes bya ba ni /
/ nus pa skyes shing lhas gnang ba /
/ de'i rigs rgyud[3] thos pa'i /
/ bla ma lha yis lhas bstan pa[4] /
/ de mnyan rgyud 'grel[5] 'bad bsgyur bas /
/ mi 'dzags[6] bde ba'i gnas thob shog /
// [A1]rgya gar gyi mkhan po shri bha dra bo dhi'i zhal snga nas[7] / bod kyi lo tsha ba gyi jo ban de[8] zla ba'i 'od zer[9] gyis[A2] / yon bdag zhang btsun dge slong[10] gi phyir bsgyur cing zhus pa'o //

118.20; 122.9; 123.2; 127.13; 129.9; 136.2; 136.13; 137.12; 137.18; 137.26; 138.15–16; 139.26; 143.58.

v.l.: (1) P & N: *sam ba la'i*. (2) VP MS: *lnga*. (3) VP MS: *de'i rim brgyud*. (4) N: *bla ma lha yis*; P: *bla ma lha'i*; VP MS: *bla ma lha 'si lhas bstand pa*. (5) emended to *rgyud 'grel*: P & N: *rgya 'grel*; VP MS: *rgyas 'grel*. (6) VP MS: *myi 'dzag pa'i* {*pa'i* struck out}; N: *mi 'dzags*; P: *mi 'jigs*. (7) VP MS: add *dang*. (8) N: *gyi co ban de*; P: omit *gyi jo*. (9) VP MS: *'od gzer*. (10) VP MS: *dge' slong*.

Annotations to VP MS:

(A1): VP MS adds an annotation below this: *dpal nā ro ta pa'i slob ma*; "Śrī Nārotapa's disciple." This annotation is followed by another which begins: *dpal bya*[*ng*], remainder mostly obscured by inkblot, but *bz* is legible; I am confident this should read: *dpal byang chub bzang po*, translating *shri bha dra bo dhi*.
(A2): VP MS annotates with: *'di khro lotshtsha ba lha rje bsgos pa dkoog* [*bsdus yig* for *dkon mchog*] *skyabs yinaṃ snyaṃs so :*. I assume this annotation is intended to reference *yon bdag zhang btsun dge slong*, and tentatively translate this annotation as: "I wonder if this is dKon mchog skyabs, who was appointed [?] doctor to Khro lotshtsha ba?" (The annotation appears directly under …*zla ba'i 'od zer gyis* /, but it makes no sense to apply this question to him.) Thanks to Dan Martin for assistance on this annotation: He informs me [email Aug 19, 2020] that: "most of the early persons named Dkon-mchog-skyabs I've recorded are physicians in fact, in medical lineages." Contrary to this annotation, I hypothesize that Zhang btsun dge slong, i.e., "the venerable monk of the Zhang clan," refers to Zhang ston Chos 'bar, the uncle of Grwa pa mNgon shes (1012–1090) who "in his youth … had heard the Kālacakra from [his] uncle" (Newman 1987b: 103, n. 75, referencing Roerich 1974: 95 & 755). I speculate Gyi jo Zla ba'i 'od zer functioned as translator for Zhang ston Chos 'bar.

Translation:

The one called "*Kālacakrapāda" (*dus kyi 'khor lo pa*)[1] went to the land of Sambhala[2] and gained mastery of the psychic powers [VP MS: "attained the five psychic powers"]. The one called "Nāropāda" (*na ro pa*),[1] a brahman by caste, born in the land of Uḍḍiyāna,[3] was the successor in his lineage – he was born from *śakti* (? *nus pa skyes*; <**śaktija*?)

and authorized by the deity. The *gurudeva* [Śrībhadrabodhi] who heard the tantra was of his [i.e., Nāropāda's] caste [or, VP MS: "lineage"] and instructed by the deity. By having listened to him and striven to translate the tantra commentary, may I attain the state of uncontaminated bliss.[4] Under the guidance of [Annotation 1: "Śrī Nārotapa's disciple"] the Indian master Śrībhadrabodhi [Annotation 1: *dpal byang chub bzang po*], the Tibetan translator Zla ba'i 'od zer – a monk of the Gyi jo clan – translated and corrected this for the patron Zhang btsun dge slong [see Annotation 2].

Notes to the translation:

(1) I assume Gyi jo Zla ba'i 'od zer is using Tibetan *pa* to represent Sanskrit *-pādāḥ* or its vernacular form *-pā*. (2) Note the dental sibilant (*all* witnesses) which corresponds to the reading we find in the overwhelming preponderance of instances of *sambhala* in the palmleaf MSS of the Sanskrit of the *Śrī Kālacakra* and the *Vimalaprabhā*. Later Tibetan tradition almost always transcribes this name as *sham bha la*, apparently reflecting some Indic pronunciation. (3) To my knowledge this is the earliest datable source giving Nāropāda's caste and birthplace. Other sources give his birthplace as Kashmir – which is of course near Uḍḍiyāna, i.e., Swāt – or Bengal. (4) I assume *mi 'dzags bde ba* corresponds to **anāśravasukha* (usually translated as *zag pa med pa'i bde ba*) [and that P's *mi 'jigs* (**abhaya-*) is not original], but given the Kālacakra context *mi 'dzags bde ba* could easily reference **acyutisukha*, "the bliss of seminal retention."

Appendix 2: A *Paramādibuddha* quotation in *Kālacakrapāda's **Sekoddeśaṭīkā*

A note on the texts: For abbreviations see "Abbreviations and Works Cited" below. The following texts are not an attempt at definitive critical editions. My sole objective is to present readable, reasonably reliable versions to provide evidence for evaluation of the central claims of this essay. I offer a handful of emendations, but otherwise only provide variants for divergent readings that I judge might significantly affect the meaning. The oftentimes verbatim correspondence between PĀ [T] and SR [T]

indicates PĀ [T] depends upon SR [T], and thus that Somanātha and ’Bro Shes rab grags were aware of the *Samādhirāja* source of the passage. Significant differences between PĀ and SR are shown in bold italics to highlight *Kālacakrapāda’s modification of the *Samādhirāja* verses.

PĀ [T]: *Paramādibuddhatantra* quotation in *Kālacakrapāda, **Sekoddeśaṭīkānāma*; *dBang mdor bstan pa’i rgya cher ’grel pa zhes bya ba*. Translated by Somanātha (*zla ba’i mgon po*) and ’Bro Shes rab grags, second half of the 11th century.
D: *bsTan ’gyur* rGyud PA ff. 2a4–3a6 [BDRC scan ff. 3–5].
P: *bsTan ’gyur* rGyud ’grel NGA ff. 2b4–3b3 [vol. 47, p. 147.2.4–147.4.3].
dPe: *bsTan ’gyur dPe bsdur ma* vol. 7, pp. 774.11–776.11.

SR [T]: *’Phags pa chos thams cad kyi rang bzhin mnyam pa nyid rnam par spros pa ting nge ’dzin gyi rgyal po zhes bya ba theg pa chen po’i mdo*.
D: mDo sde DA ff. 52b7–54a1 [BDRC scan ff. 104–107]. I also consulted the eKangyur text correlated with Roberts’ (2018) translation, which is based on D.

SR [S]: *Samādhirājasūtra*. Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit text after Dutt 1941: 208.1–214.4. Also consulted: Digital Sanskrit Buddhist Canon; https://www.dsbcproject.org/canon-text/content/56/501; accessed April 6, 2020. My text includes some tacit emendation of word breaks and punctuation.

ji skad du mchog gi dang po’i sangs rgyas kyi rgyud las gsungs pa /

phyi ma’i dus kyi ***rnal ’byor spyod*** mang dag //
brkam zhing rab gtum ma bsdams ’byung bar ’gyur //
sdig la rab dga’ ***rnal ’byor yo byad*** chags //
rgyud chen ’di dang ***bzhi pa*** ’di spong ’gyur // PĀ [T] 1 (SR 16.8)

phyi ma’i dus la ***dge slong*** mang po dag //
brkam zhing gtum la ma bsdams ’byung bar ’gyur //
sdig la dga’ zhing ***lhung bzed chos gos*** chags //
ting ’dzin ’di ni rab tu spong bar ’gyur // SR [T] 16.8

bheṣyanti ***bhikṣu*** bahu paścakāle lubdhāś ca duṣṭāś ca asaṃyatāś ca /
pāpeccha adhyoṣita ***pātracīvare*** pratikṣipiṣyanti imaṃ ***samādhim*** // SR [S] 16.8 //

*

rgod cing dbang po g.yengs la phrag dog can //
gnas la chags shing rnyed pa 'dod pa dag //
sbyor bar byed pa'i skabs la rtag tu gnas //
bzhi pa 'di ni rab tu spong bar 'gyur // PĀ [T] 2 (SR 16.9)

rgod cing dbang po g.yengs pa phrag dog can //
grong la chags shing rnyed pa 'dod pa dag //
sbyor ba byed pa'i skabs la rtag tu gnas //
ting 'dzin 'di ni rab tu spong bar 'gyur // SR [T] 16.9

īrṣyālukā uddhata prākaṭendriyāḥ ***kuleṣu*** cādhyoṣita lābhakāmāḥ /
prāyogike saṃstavi nitya saṃśritāḥ pratikṣipiṣyanti imaṃ ***samādhim*** //
SR [S] 16.9 //

*

rkang lag ***rdegs***[1] ***shing kha ni gya tshom smra*** //
rtse 'jo dgod[2] la rtag par rab tu zhugs //
gcig la gcig ni mgul 'khyud lag pa sbrel //
grong du 'jug na spyod lam gzhan du 'chos // PĀ [T] 3 (SR 16.10)
(1) P: *rdebs*. (2) P: *rgod*.

lag pa dang ni rkang pa ***rnam par rdob*** //
rtse 'jo rgod la rtag tu rab tu zhugs //
gcig la gcig ni mgul 'khyud lag kyang sbrel //
grong du spyod lam gzhan du sgyur bar byed // SR [T] 16.10

hastāṃś ca pādāṃś ca ***tatha vidyamānā***[1] hāsye ca lāsye ca sadā prayuktāḥ /
parasparaṃ kaṇṭhita śliṣyamāṇā grāmeṣu caryāpathi anyu bheṣyati //
SR [S] 16.10 //
(1) Probably should read something like *vitāḍanā* following T *rdegs*/*rdebs*, *rnam par rdob* <*vitāḍana* "striking, beating, thumping." Cf. also BHSD *tāḍa*.

*

mi rigs sbyor ba'i mtshan nyid 'di dag ste //
gzhan gyi bu mo la yang rtag tu chags //
gzugs kyis chags shing mdud pa bor ba[1] yin //
grong dang grong khyer yul 'khor kun du rgyu // PĀ [T] 4 (SR 16.11)

(1) *mdud pa* < BHSD *grathita* "enslaved;" *bor ba*, cf. Skt. *apahṛta* "taken away, carried off."

mi rigs sbyor ba'i mtshan nyid 'di dag ste //
gzhan gyi bu mo la yang rtag tu chags //
gzugs kyis rgyugs shing 'dun pa bor ba yin //
grong dang grong khyer yul 'khor kun tu rgyu // SR [T] 16.11

ayuktayogān imi bhonti lakṣaṇāḥ parakumārīṣu ca nityādhyoṣitāḥ[1] /
rūpeṇa raktā grathitā bhavanti hiṇḍanti grāmān nigamāṃś ca rāṣṭrān //
SR [S] 16.11 //
(1) emendation: Dutt: *nitya dhyoṣitāḥ*; *rtag tu chags*. Cf. 16.8c, 16.9b, 16.12d.

*

de dag bza' dang btung la rab tu zhugs //
glu dang bro gar de bzhin rol mo dang //
nyo 'tshong lhag par byed cing rab tu brtson //
btung ba dag la chags shing ngo tsha bor // PĀ [T] 5 (SR 16.12)

de dag bza' dang btung la rab tu zhugs //
glu dang bro gar de bzhin rol mo dang //
nyo 'tshong lhag par byed cing rtag tu brtson //
btung ba dag la chags shing ngo tsha bor // SR [T] 16.12

te khādyapeyasmi sadā prayuktā nāṭye ca gīte ca tathaiva vādite /
krayavikraye co sada bhonti utsukāḥ pāne 'pi cādhyoṣita naṣṭalajjāḥ //
SR [S] 16.12 //

*

mi rigs brtson pa'i spring yig bskur par byed //
dam tshig de bzhin spyod lam btang[1] nas ni //
khyim pa dag dang bsten cing ***dam bral nas*** //
de dag ***dam tshig*** log par shin tu gnas // PĀ [T] 6 (SR 16.13)
(1) P: *bstan*.

mi rigs brtson pa spring yig skur bar byed //
tshul khrims de bzhin lam dag btang nas ni //

khyim pa dag dang bsten cing ***khrims bral nas*** //
de dag ***tshul zhig*** log par shin tu gnas // SR [T] 16.13

lekhāna piṣyanti[1] ayuktayogāḥ ***śīlaṃ*** tatheryāpathu[2] chorayitvā /
maryāda bhinditva gṛhībhi sārdhaṃ te ***bhinnavṛttā*** vitathapratiṣṭhitāḥ //
SR [S] 16.13 //
(1) cf. Skt. *preṣaṇa*: "dispatch," "render a service." (2) *īryāpathu* "observance of mendicancy."

*

las gang ***rdo rje 'chang gis*** rtag smad pa //
srang dang tshad la g.yo sgyu byed par zhugs //
de 'dra'i sdig pa nyon mongs las byas pas //
las ngan byed pa de dag ngan song 'gro // PĀ [T] 7 (SR 16.14)

las gang ***sangs rgyas kyis*** ni rtag smad pa //
srang dang tshad la g.yo sgyu byed par zhugs //
de 'dra'i sdig pa nyon mongs las byas pas //
las ngan byed pa de dag ngan song 'gro // SR [T] 16.14

ye karma ***buddhehi*** sadā vivarṇitās[1] tulamānakūṭe ca sadā prayuktāḥ /
tatkarma kṛtvāna kiliṣṭapāpakān apāyu yāsyanti nihīnakarmāḥ // SR [S] 16.14 //
(1) Dutt: *vivarjitās* (no variants); I emend following Tib. *smad pa*.

*

dung dang gser dang nor bu nor mang dang //
khyim dang gnyen bshes rnam spangs[1] ***dkyil 'khor zhugs*** //
sangs rgyas bstan pa 'di la ***nges byungs nas***[2] //
sdig pa'i las rnams shin tu spyod par byed // PĀ [T] 8 (SR 16.15)
(1) P: *rnams spangs*. (2) <**niḥsaraṇān*.

dung dang gser dang nor bu nor mang dang //
khyim dang gnyen bshes rnam spangs ***rab byung ste*** //
sangs rgyas bstan pa 'di la ***rab byung nas*** //
sdig pa'i las rnams shin tu spyod par byed // SR [T] 16.15

prabhūtavittaṃ maṇihemaśaṃkhaṃ gṛhāṃś ca jñātīṃś ca vihāya ***pravraji*** / te ***pravrajitvān*** iha buddhaśāsane pāpāni karmāṇi samācaranti[1] // SR [S] 16.15 //
(1) Dutt: *sadā caranti*; I follow his MSS A & B, and Tib.

*

nor dang 'bru la snying por 'du shes shing //
bzhon dang ba lang shing rta rnams la chags //
gang la ***rnal 'byor*** nan tan med pa rnams //
de dag gis kyang ci phyir ***dkyil 'khor zhugs*** // PĀ 9 (SR 16.16)

nor dang 'bru la snying por 'du shes shing //
bzhon dang ba lang shing rta rnams la chags //
gang la ***bslab pa'i*** nan tan med pa rnams //
de dag gis kyang ci phyir ***mgo bo bregs*** // SR [T] 16.16

dhane ca dhānye ca te sārasaṃjñino dhenūś ca gāvaḥ śakaṭāni sajjayī / kimartha te hi ima ***keśa choritā śikṣāya*** yeṣāṃ pratipatti nāsti // SR [S] 16.16 //

*

ngas ni sngon tshe ***rnal 'byor*** spyad pa na //
lus dang srog la rab tu ma bltas par //
nga yis ting 'dzin zhi ba 'di brtsams na[1] //
de dag de tshes 'di thos gad mos 'debs // PĀ [T] 10 (SR 16.17)
(1) P: *nga yi ting 'dzin bzhi pa 'di brtsams na* //; dPe reports sNar thang reads the same. I follow D, but is P's *bzhi pa* (<**caturtha*) original in PĀ [T], and D's *zhi ba* (<*śānta*) an emendation based on SR [T]; or is D's *zhi ba* original, and P's *bzhi pa* an emendation based on *Kālacakrapāda's use of it to modify SR in PĀ [T] 1d & 2d?

ngas ni sngon tshe ***spyod pa*** spyad pa na //
bskal pa stong du shin tu dka' spyad de //
nga yis ting 'dzin zhi ba 'di btsal na //
de dag de tshe 'di thos gad mos 'debs // SR [T] 16.17

mayā ca pūrve ***cariyāṃ*** caritvā ***suduṣkaraṃ kalpasahasra cīrṇam*** / ayaṃ ca me śānta samādhir eṣito yat teṣa śrutvā tada hāsyu bheṣyati // SR [S] 16.17 //

*

bzod pa spangs nas rab tu spros pa byed[1] //
rnal 'byor spyod pa nged yin[2] tshig tu smra //
dam tshig nyams la byang chub ga la yod //
dam tshig bral nas byang chub 'di thob pa //
ngas ni ma thos nam yang yod ma mthong // PĀ [T] 11
(1) D, P, dPe: *rab tu spro bar byed*. I emend following SR [S] & [T].
(2) D, P, dPe: *de yis*. I emend following SR [S] & [T].

bzod pa spangs nas rab tu spros pa byed // SR [T] 16.20d
byang chub sems pa nged yin tshig tu smra // SR [T] 16.21a
tshul khrims nyams la byang chub ga la yod // SR [T] 16.21d
chos rnams spong byed byang chub 'di thob pa // SR [T] 16.22c
ngas ni ma thos nam yang yod ma mthong // SR [T] 16.22d

SR [S] 16.20d: prapañca kāhinti jahitva kṣāntim
SR [S] 16.21a: vakṣyanti vācā vaya ***bodhisattvāḥ***
SR [S] 16.21d: vipanna***śīlāna*** kuto 'sti bodhiḥ
SR [S] 16.22d: sa lapsyate bodhi ***kṣipitva dharmān***
SR [S] 16 22a: na me śrutaṃ nāpi kadāci dṛṣṭam

*

shes rab dman zhing yon tan rnam spangs la //
rgyud chen mchog gi ***yon tan*** rtag tu brjod //
'tsho ba med pa mang po ***rnal 'byor byed*** //
sangs rgyas byang chub rnam pa kun mi 'dod // PĀ [T] 12

shes rab dman zhing yon tan rnam spangs pa //
theg pa mchog gi ***nyes pa*** rtag tu brjod //
'tsho ba med pa mang po ***rab byung ste*** //
sangs rgyas byang chub rnam pa kun mi 'dod // SR [T] 16.24ab & 25ab

nihīnaprajñā guṇaviprahīnā vakṣyanti ***doṣaṃ*** sada ***agrayāne*** / SR [S] 16.24ab
ājīvakā ye bahu ***pravrajitvā*** anarthikāḥ sarvasu buddhabodhaye / SR [S] 16.25ab

*

byis pa de dag bdag[1] tu lta la chags //
stong pa nyid ni thos nas sngangs skrag 'gyur[2] // PĀ [T] 13

(1) D, P, dPe: *rtag*; I emend following SR [S] & [T]. (2) D, dPe: *thos na sdang skrag 'gyur*; I follow P, which agrees in meaning with SR [S] & [T].

byis pa de dag bdag tu lta la gnas //
stong pa nyid ni thos nas skrag par 'gyur // SR [T] 16.25cd

te ātmadṛṣṭīya sthihitva bālā uttrasta bheṣyanti śruṇitva śūnyatām / SR [S] 16.25cd

*

gang dag ***dam tshig srung*** zhing yon tan ldan //
byams la gnas shing rtag tu bzod rtogs pa //
mnyen zhing nges la shin tu sdom pa rnams[1] //
de dag de tshe yongs su nyams par 'gyur[2] // PĀ [T] 14 (SR 16.27)
(1) P: *gnyen zhing des la shin tu dam pa rnams*. (2) Difficult to tell whether *yongs su nyams par 'gyur* is an emendation or corruption of SR [T], or simply an alternative translation of *paribhūta*.

gang dag ***tshul khrims gnas*** shing yon tan ldan //
byams la gnas shing rtag tu bzod rtogs pa //
mnyen zhing nges la shin tu bsdams pa rnams //
de dag de tshe yongs su brnyas par 'gyur // SR [T] 16.27

yaḥ ***śīlavanto*** guṇavantu bheṣyati maitrīvihārī sada kṣāntikovidaḥ /
susaṃvṛto mārdavasūrataś ca paribhūta so bheṣyati tasmi kāle // SR [S] 16.27 //

*

gang yang shin tu ***dam bral sems ldan*** dang //
mi bzad ma rungs ngan pa'i las byed pa //
dam tshig ma yin spyod cing 'thab la dga' //
de dag de yi dus na mchod par 'gyur // PĀ [T] 15 (SR 16.28)

gang la shin tu ***gtum sems ldan*** 'byung dang //
mi bzad ma rungs ngan pa'i las byed pa //
chos ma yin pa spyod cing 'thab la dga' //
de dag de yis dus na mchod par 'gyur // SR [T] 16.28

yo kho punar bheṣyati ***duṣṭacittaḥ*** sudāruṇo raudranihīnakarmā[1] /
adharmacārī kalahe rataś ca sa pūjito bheṣyati tasmi kāle // SR [S] 16.28 //
(1) Dutt: *raudra ti hīnakarmā*. I emend following Tib.; cf. SR [S] 16.14d, 16.24a.

*

bsgo bar bya[1] zhing rab tu go bar bya //
zla bzang[2] nga la dad pa'i phyir 'brang na //
bde bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa 'di dran nas //
de dag la ni nam yang yid ma rton // PĀ [T] 16 (SR 16.29)
(1) D, P, dPe: *bsgom par bya*; I emend following SR [S] & [T]. (2) D, dPe: *zla bzangs*.

bsgo bar bya zhing rab tu go bar bya //
gzhon nu nga la dad pa'i phyir 'brang na //
bde bar gshegs pas bstan pa 'di dran nas //
de dag la ni nam yang yid mi rton // SR [T] 16.29

ārocayāmi prativedayāmi sa cet ***kumārā*** mama śraddha gacchasi /
imāṃ smaritvā sugatānuśāsanīṃ na jātu viśvastu bhavesi teṣām // SR [S] 16.29 //

*

de dag 'dod chags che zhing zhe sdang che //
gti mug che zhing nga rgyal dregs pas rgyags //
lus kyang ma dul ngag kyang ma dul zhing //
sems kyang ma dul ngan song gzhol ba yin // PĀ [T] 17 (SR 16.30)

de dag 'dod chags che zhing zhe sdang che //
gti mug che zhing nga rgyal dregs pas rgyags //
lus kyang ma dul ngag kyang ma dul zhing //
sems kyang ma dul ngan song gzhol ba yin // SR [T] 16.30

te tīvrarāgās tatha tīvradoṣās te tīvramohā sada mānamattāḥ /
adāntakāyāś ca adāntavācaḥ adāntacittāś ca apāyanimnāḥ // SR [S] 16.30 //

*

rnal 'byor dam tshig dag la mi spyod de //
tshig tsam gyis ni ***dngos grub*** thob mi 'gyur //
nan tan lhur byed ***dngos grub*** thob mi dka' //
de bas dam tshig dag la nan tan bya // zhes so // PĀ [T] 18

tshig tsam gyis ni ***byang chub*** thob mi 'gyur //
nan tan lhur byed ***byang chub*** rnyed mi dka' // SR [T] 16.31cd

na ghoṣamātreṇa ca bodhi labhyate pratipattisārāṇa na bodhi durlabhā / SR [S] 16.31cd

Appendix 3: Addendum – Notes on a quotation in the *Chos thams cad rab tu mi gnas par ston pa'i de kho na nyid tshigs su bcad pa phyed kyi 'grel pa* of *Avadhūtapāda [D 2296]

After this paper was submitted for publication, Dr. Iain Sinclair [email Jan 11, 2021] kindly brought to my attention another Tangyur text related to the findings presented above. He pointed out to me that the *Chos thams cad rab tu mi gnas par ston pa'i de kho na nyid tshigs su bcad pa phyed kyi 'grel pa* [D 2296, P 3144], attributed to one dPal A wa dhū tī'i zhabs [*Śrī Avadhūtapāda], contains a quotation "from tantra" (*rgyud las kyang*), the first part of which closely corresponds to PĀ [T] 1–15.

Upon further study I discovered that the entirety of this quotation appears to be constructed of three parts: (1) D 2296 rGyud KA 223a6–224a2 corresponds mostly verbatim to PĀ [T] 1–15. (2) 224a2–7 corresponds mostly verbatim to a passage at the beginning of Dārika's *Sekaprakriyāvṛtti*: D 1335 rGyud PA 41a3–41b2 (on this passage see Newman 1987b: 408, n. 24). (3) 224a7–224b1 is identical to a verse appearing in the Tibetan translation of Vajragarbha's *Ṣaṭsāhasrikā*: D 1180 rGyud KA 82b2–3 (comment ad *Hevajra* 2.2.22).

My initial impression is that the author of D 2296 has fabricated this quotation by drawing on the three Kālacakra sources given above, but this question is worthy of further study. Despite its title, D 2296 does not appear to be directly related to Maitrīpā/Advayavajra's well-known *Apratiṣṭhānaprakāśa*, but it presents related ideas. At 215a3 it attacks Yogācāra beliefs, and advocates *rab tu mi gnas par smra ba'i dbu ma*, i.e., *Apratiṣṭhānavāda-madhyamaka. It also (217a4ff.) attacks various

misconceptions about and abuses of *karmamudrā* practice. Apart from the apparent tacit quotation of the Kālacakra texts mentioned above, it appears to have no connection to the Kālacakra tradition. To my knowledge, the only prior study of this text is Almogi 2010: 153–155, 204. Almogi – and apparently some members of the Kargyupa tradition – identify the author of this text as Advayavajra/Maitrīpā, but this is not explicit in D 2296, which has no Sanskrit title or translator's colophon. If this ascription of authorship can be established and the text's quotation can be shown to derive from the three Kālacakra texts, it would establish a connection between Advayavajra/Maitrīpā and the Kālacakra.

Abbreviations and works cited

Abbreviations

BDRC	Buddhist Digital Resource Center
BHSD	*Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*. See Edgerton [1953] 1972.
BHSG	*Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar*. See Edgerton [1953] 1972.
D	sDe dge *bKa' 'gyur* and *bsTan 'gyur*
dPe	*bsTan 'gyur dPe bsdur ma*
N	sNar thang *bsTan 'gyur*
P	Peking *bKa' 'gyur* and *bsTan 'gyur*
PĀ	*Paramādibuddhatantra*
[S]	Sanskrit
SR	*Samādhirājasūtra*
SU	*Sekoddeśa*
SUṬ K	**Sekoddeśaṭīkā* by *Kālacakrapāda
[T]	Tibetan
U	See Upadhyaya et al. 1986–1994.
VP	*Vimalaprabhā*

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sDe dge *bKa' 'gyur* and *bsTan 'gyur*. See Karmapae Chodhey 1980ff.
Guhyasamāja(*tantra*). See Matsunaga 1978.
Hevajra(*tantra*). See Snellgrove [1959] 1980.
Laghutantraṭīkā. See Cicuzza 2001.
Nāmasaṃgīti. See Davidson 1981.
Peking *bKa' 'gyur* and *bsTan 'gyur*. See Suzuki 1955ff.
Ṣaḍaṅgayoga and *Guṇabharaṇī*. See Sferra 2000.
Samādhirāja(*sūtra*). See Dutt 1941.

Ṣaṭsāhasrikāhevajraṭīkā. See Shendge 2004.
**Sekoddeśaṭīkā* by *Kālacakrapāda. P 2070; D 1353.

[After this paper was written, I discovered that an extracanonical *dbu can* MS of the Tibetan translation of this text has been published in *Dus 'khor phyogs bsgrigs chen mo* (Lha sa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 2012 & 2014) Vol. 5, pp. 545–618; CA ff. 205b–241b. Scan available at Buddhist Digital Resource Center, ref. no. W3PD287; accessed Aug 19, 2020.]

Śrī Kālacakra. See Upadhyaya et al. 1986–1994.
Śrī Paramārthasevā. See Sferra 2007.
Vimalaprabhā. See Upadhyaya et al. 1986–1994.

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