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The Life and Tibetan Legacy of the Indian
Mahāpañḍita Vibhūticandra

The Indian Buddhist master Vibhūticandra (Rnal-'byor zla-ba) first came to Tibet in 1204, and was active and influential for several decades in the transmission and translation of both sūtra and tantra teachings. He traveled to Tibet three times, and at least one of the works he translated himself into the Tibetan language has been passed down to the present as an important tantric practice in living transmission. Other works have been the subject of some controversy, although the one which has received the most attention over the centuries may have been forged by

I should like to express my gratitude to the sublime vajrācārya Bco-brgyad Khri-chen Rinpoche, of Bodhnath and Lumbini, Nepal, under whose guidance I was privileged to study the sadāṅgayoga according to the teachings of Jo-nang Taranātha. I am grateful to Prof. Leonard van der Kuijp, Harvard University, for his suggestions in regard to this paper, and for allowing me to use his copies of the manuscripts by Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba and Shes-rab mgon which are listed in the bibliography. I should also like to thank Dr. Franz-Karl Ehrhard of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, Kathmandu, for his kind help in obtaining copies of manuscripts from Nepal.

1. This is the most common Tibetan translation of Vibhūticandra’s name, although the forms Rnam-'byor zla-ba and Rab-'byor zla-ba are also found. For example, in a prayer to the transmission lineage of these practices in the Jo-nang-pa tradition, Dol-po-pa Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan (1292-1361) refers to Vibhūticandra as both Rnam-par 'byor-pa'i zla, and the more common translation of Rnal-'byor zla-ba. See Dol-po-pa, Bla ma nye, 770, 771. Other than in the colophons of works he authored and/or translated into Tibetan, his name is usually just transliterated as Bi-bhu-ti-tsandra. Cf. de Jong 1979, 164-167, who was very uncertain whether Rnal-'byor zla-ba and Vibhūticandra could even be the same person.

2. This is the Rnal 'byor yan lag drug pa, a fundamental text on the practice of the sadāṅgayoga of the Kālacakra-tantra, directly revealed to Vibhūticandra by the legendary mahāsiddha Śavaripa. See below for a discussion of this text. See Grönbold 1983 for basic information on the sadāṅgayoga.
an unknown author with polemic motives. The following sketch of the life and literary activities of Vibhūticandra will seek to provide a glimpse of this fascinating but little known master and clarify his significance in light of the opinions put forth by later Tibetan authors.

THE LIFE

Vibhūticandra was born in the later half of the 12th century, in the region of Varendra in East India. He received full monastic ordination in the region of Varendra in East India. The following discussion of Vibhūticandra’s life is based upon secondary sources in Tibetan, of which the most important by far are Padma gar-dbang, Zab, 23b-28b, and Tāranātha, Rdo 481-486. Padma gar-dbang’s work was written in 1538, and Tāranātha’s about 80 years later. The accounts given by Tāranātha are what he considered to be the miraculous oral biographies (gtam-rgyud rnam-thar ngo-mtshar che-ba) of the Kālacakra tradition of Vibhūticandra (Tāranātha, Rdo 479). Tucci 1949, vol. 1, 129, also knew of this source.

Padma gar-dbang’s text is a lineage history of the Kālacakra teachings known as the Sbas pa mig 'byed. Very little is presently known about this compendium of teachings on the sadāṅgayoga. The Sbas pa mig 'byed is often found mentioned among other traditions related to the Kālacakra, and was a special teaching of the Bo-dong-pa school in Tibet. After Vajradhara, the text traces the lives of the following lineal masters: Śavaripa, Vibhūticandra, Chos-skū ’od-zer, ’Phags-’od Yon-tan rgya-mtsho, Bu-ston Rin-chen grub, Lo-chen Byang-chub rtse-mo, Lo-chen Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, Bo-dong Pañ-chen, Bsod-nams mchog-gyur, Pañ-chen Byams-pa Chos-kyi ngyi-'od, and Padma gar-kyi dbang-phyug. The relationship, if any, between the text known as the Sbas pa mig 'byed, its commentary by *Kālacakrapada (Dus-zhabs-pa), and this tradition will remain unclear until more texts which have recently surfaced in Nepal can be examined.

4. Tāranātha, Rdo 481, states that Vibhūticandra was born as the son of a merchant in Bha-lendra: rgya gar shar phyogs bha lendrar tshong dpon cig gi sras su 'khrungs. But in the colophon to Vibhūticandra’s commentary on the Bodhicaryāvatāra, in the Peking edition of the Tibetan Tripitaka, vol. 100, #5282, 280.6-7, he is described as born in the ksatriya caste, in Ba-rendra, an eastern region of India: shar phyogs ba lendrar rgyal rigs las 'khrungs. Padma gar-dbang, Zab, 24a, also states that he was from the ksatriya caste. The Tibetan rendering of Bha-lendra or Ba-rendra certainly refers to the area
in the mahāsammitīya (mang-pos bkur-ba) tradition, and studied at such monastic universities as Vikramaśīla in the central Indian region of Magadha, and also in other areas such as Orissa during the final years before the total destruction of those institutions by Muslim invaders. He may have first met his future guru, the mahāpanḍita of Kashmir, Śākyasrībhadra (1127?-1225?), at Vikramaśīla and fled with him to the monastic complex of Jagaddala in Bengal to escape the Muslim onslaught, or he may have already been studying there when Śākyasrī arrived. At Jagaddala he became an expert in the traditional fields of sūtra, vinaya, and abhidharma, and also in the non-buddhist sciences.

In any case, it seems that he studied under the Kashmiri master for three years in India before traveling with him to Tibet, in the company of a large group of fellow Indian scholar-siddhas. In addition to Śākyasrī, Vibhūticandra’s other early teachers were the scholars Vikhyatadeva (Bi-khya-ta-de-ba) and *Dharmadāsa (Chos ’bangs). From these three gurus he received many teachings, but especially the Kālacakra-tantra initiations, reading transmissions, explanations, and oral instructions.

in northern Bengal which was known during that period as Varendra or Varendri. See note 6 below.

5. The Tibetan text reads O-di-bi-sha. Dutt 1962, 378, note 2, mentions that Otivassa is another name for Orissa. For information on Vikramaśīla, see 358-362 of the same work.

6. For the life of Śākyasrī, Vibhūticandra’s other early teachers were the scholars Vikhyatadeva (Bi-khya-ta-de-ba) and *Dharmadāsa (Chos ’bangs). From these three gurus he received many teachings, but especially the Kālacakra-tantra initiations, reading transmissions, explanations, and oral instructions.

8. Chimpa and Chattopadhyaya, trans. 1990, 319, state that Śākyasrī spent 3 years at Jagaddala, but erroneously places it in Divisa. Tāranātha, Rdo 481, correctly states that Jagaddala was in Bengal, and that Vibhūticandra studied with Śākyasrī for three years in India.

9. Padma gar-dbang, Zab, 24a. Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba, Khro, 42a-b, specifies that the panḍita-siddha Vikhyatadeva (Bi-khyā-ta-de-ba) was the main teacher
Vibhūticandra took Śākyasri as his main guru, and stayed with him for eleven years in Tibet, learning innumerable topics of secret mantra, as well as mahāyāna subjects such as the Five Bhūmi Treatises of Asanga.¹⁰

Soon after his arrival in Tibet, Śākyasri, accompanied by Vibhūticandra and most of the other panditas of the group, traveled to Central Tibet. The summer retreat of 1206 was spent at Srin-po-ri.¹¹ During this time Śākyasri received invitations from the mahāmudrā master 'Bri-gung 'Jig-rten mgon-po (1143-1217), Rgya-ma Sangs-rgyas dbon-ston, and perhaps the monastery of Mtshur-phu.¹² According to Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba Byams-pa'i dpal (1172-1236), who was Śākyasri’s Tibetan interpreter, Vibhūticandra made the following remark while discussing which invitation to accept:

The 'Bri-gung-pa is said to have more wealth, but it is also said that this mahāmudrā adept is a great liar.¹³

for tantric subjects of mahāsiddha Buddhasri, whom Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba studied with for five years, and later invited to Tibet in 1200. Vikhyātadeva’s main residence (gtan-sa) was at the Mahābodhi in Bodhgaya. Toward the end of the 12th century we find Vikhyātadeva refusing an invitation from the king of Bhaktapur, the ham-du priests (?), and the ascetics of the central Kathmandu valley to come teach in Nepal (bal yul 'thil gi ta pa swi dang / ham du rnam dang / kho pom gyi rgyal pos...). His excuse was advanced age, and he sent Buddhasri in his place. My thanks to Mr. Hubert Decleer, Kathmandu, for suggestions on the translation of this passage. Bu-ston, Bla 90, lists both Vikhyātadeva and *Dharmadāsa before Vibhūticandra in the lineage of the Gsung rab rin chen 'dus pa.

¹⁰. Taranātha, Rdo 481.
¹¹. Mang-thos klu-sgrub, Bstan 156.
¹². The earliest available description of this event is Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba, Khro, 69a-b, which states only that the invitations of the ‘Bri-khung-ba and Rin-chen sgang-pa arrived at the same time. Roerich, trans. 1976, 600, (‘Goslo, Deb vol.2, 706) mentions all three, but Dpa'-bo, Chos vol. 1, 523, mentions only the first two. Padma gar-dbang, Zab, 24b, makes no mention of the following episode, except for stating that Vibhūticandra accompanied Śākyasri to Srin-po-ri and built an image of Cakrasamvara. See Jackson 1990, 20-21, and 1994, 69-70, for important information about the following events. Bsod-nams dpal-bzang-po’s version of the events (in Jackson 1990, 70) is copied verbatim from Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba’s original account.
¹³. Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba, Khro, 69b: nor ' bri khung ba mang zer te / phyag rgya chen po ba 'di brdzun che ba yin zer byas pas / Dpa'-bo, Chos vol. 1, 523, has exactly the same wording.
But according to 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba Gzhon-nu dpal (1392-1481), writing more than two centuries later, Vibhūticandra said:

This mahāmudrā adept is said to be a great liar. We should go to the place of the Bka’-gdamgs-pa.\(^{14}\)

Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba says that Śākyāśrī then exclaimed, “[He is a] Buddha! A Buddha! It’s not right to say that!”\(^{15}\) He proceeded to explain that his own special deity Tārā had indicated to him that ‘Jig-rten mgon-po was indeed the rebirth of the Indian master Nāgārjuna. Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba further tells us:

\[Śākyāśrī said,\] “Paṇḍita, you must go there and confess your sin \(\text{sgrīb sbyong}\). Build a temple for \[a deity\] to whom you have devotion.”

So the master Vibhūti also went to ‘Bri-khung, confessed his sin to Rin-po-che \(\text{\textquoteleft\textquoteright}\) ‘Jig-rten mgon-po \textquoteleft\textquoteright\) himself, and offered a eulogy. Later he built a temple on Srin-po-ri.\(^{16}\)

‘Gos Lo-tsā-ba describes the episode like this:

The mahāpaṇḍita was shocked, and exclaimed “Bhūti! Bhūti! Don’t say that! A buddha has no error. ‘Bri-khung-pa is master Nāgārjuna. You

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14. ‘Gos-lo, Deb vol. 2, 706: \(\text{\textquoteright}\)paṇḍi ta bi bhū ti candras / phyang rgya ba \'di rdzun che ba yin zer / \'o skol bka’ gdamgs pa\' i sar 'byon pa 'thad zhus pas \(/\).
15. Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba, Khro, 69b: \(\text{\textquoteleft} \text{\textquoteleft}chos rje' i zhal nas / bud dhang bud dhang / de skad byar mi rung ngo /. Dpa'-bo, Chos vol. 1, 523, has: \(\text{\textquoteleft} \text{\textquoteleft} rje paņ chen gysis nā gardzhu na nā gardzhu na de skad mi btub bo /\).
16. Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba, Khro, 69b: \(\text{\textquoteleft} \text{\textquoteleft} paṇdi ta yang der song la sgrīb sbyong gysi / rang gang mos pa'i lha khang gcig bzhengs gsung / der bia ma bi bhū tas kyang 'bri khung du byon nas rin po che nyid la sgrīb sbyong byas bstod pa phul / physis sрин po rир lha khangs bzhengs sò //. Dpa'-bo adds that the temple contained a Samvara image which was the same size as the body of Šākyāśrī, and which was very blessed and floated in space. Dpa'-bo, Chos vol. 1, 523: \(\text{\textquoteleft} \text{\textquoteleft} physis sрин po rир paņ chen gyi sku tshad kyi bde mchog gi lha khang bzhengs te nam mkha' la bzhugs pa byin riabs can du grags /.
It is indeed strange that the available biographies of ‘Jig-rten mgon-po, and his nephew, are silent about Vibhūticandra. The only entry in reference to these events is in Shes-rab ‘byung-gnas, Dgongs vol.1, 83.5, which may be dated between the years 1203-1207: \(\text{\textquoteleft} \text{\textquoteleft} de' i dus su paṇḍi ta šākya shri dang zhal mjāl du bzhed pa la / gshegs pa ni ma byung / zhabs tog ni rgya chen po mādzad do /\).
have committed a great sin. Go before him now, and confess. Request dharma.”

Vibhūtī did precisely that. Then the mahāpandita asked Holy [Tārā], “Does that purify Vibhūtī’s fault?”

She replied, “If he constructs a Saṃvara temple at this place, that will purify it.” Hence he properly constructed a temple also.17

The temple was constructed on Drang-srong Srin-po-ri. Vibhūticandra himself fashioned the terra-cotta image of Cakrasamvara, and requested Śākyāṣṭri to perform the consecration.18 This was a very famous temple in Tibet up until recent times, and recognized as a holy place specially associated with Cakrasamvara.19

Returning to Gtsang from Central Tibet, Śākyāṣṭri stopped at the monastery of Sa-skya, and spent the rainy season retreat of 1209 at the Rin-chen-sgangs palace.20 During this time he met with Rje-btsun Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (1147-1216), then Patriarch of Sa-skya, and

17. 'Gos-lo, Deb vol. 2, 706: paṅ chen thugs hur phyung ste / bhū ti bhū ti de skad [707] ma zer / sangs rgyas la 'khrul pa mi mnga' / 'bri khung pa slob dpon klu sgrub yin / khyod kyis las chen po bsags / da khong ni [sic!] drung du song la bshags pa gyis / chos zhus gsungs pas / bi bhū tis kyang de kho na bzhin du mdzad / de nas rje btsun ma la paṅ chen gyis / bi bhū ti'i nyes pa des dag gam zhus pas / gnas 'dir bde mchog gi lha khang zhig bzhengs na des 'dag par 'gyur gsung ba bzhin lha khang yang legs par bzhengs so /
18. Taranatha, Rdo 481: drang srong srin po rir bde mchog gi lha khang bzhengs / 'jim bzo bi bhū ti rang gis mdzad / rab gnas kha che paṅ chen la zhus /
19. Tāranātha, Rgyal 65b, records in his autobiography that in the last decade of the 16th century there were also kept in the temple at Srin-po-ri two exceptionally fine icons of the maṇḍala (dkyi thang) of Cakrasaṃvara according to the tradition of Luipa, and of Kālacakra, both definitely of Indian workmanship, which had been the personal meditation objects of Vibhūticandra himself. Tāranātha, Rgyud 63, mentions specific iconographical details concerning the figure of Yamāri depicted in Vibhūticandra’s Cakrasaṃvara icon at Srin-po-ri.

Kah-thog Chos-kyi rgya-mtsho (1880-1925), Gangs, 156, specifies that the famous image was in the form of Cakrasaṃvara-sahaja (Bde-mchog lhanskyes), with the figure and face of a Nepalese person. Curiously, he does not mention Vibhūticandra, and says that it was built by an emanated master who then dissolved into it. He also mentions that the feet of the image didn’t touch the ground, and that it was suspended in space.

continued to teach that master’s precocious nephew Kun-dga’ rgyal-mtshan (1182-1251), to whom he had earlier given the lasting epithet “Sa-skya Paṇḍita.” Vibhūticandra was also in Sa-skya, along with the other eight paṇḍitas in Šākyaśrī’s company. According to Jo-nang Tāranātha (1575-1635), he was the most learned of the nine “junior paṇḍitas,” and already a mahāpaṇḍita in his own right.21 Historical records of the Sa-skya tradition mention several meetings between Šākyaśrī and Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, during some of which Sa-paṅ and the other paṇḍitas were also present. On one occasion Šākyaśrī returned the prostration which Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan offered to him when the Kashmiri master visited in his private chambers. The junior paṇḍitas had earlier requested that Šākyaśrī not prostrate to Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, who was a layman, and afterward questioned Šākyaśrī about the reason for his prostration. He replied that Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan was actually Mahāvajradhara in the maṇḍala of Guhyasamāja, so he had been compelled to prostrate.22

No mention is made in the various Sa-skya chronicles of a refusal by any of the paṇḍitas to prostrate to Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, but Tāranātha records an account in which Vibhūticandra refused to prostrate, although the other eight junior paṇḍitas did so.23 According to this version, Sa-skya Paṇḍita had already studied grammar with Saṅghaśrī, and logic with Dānaśrī, and also requested teachings from each of the other paṇḍitas, and given each of them gifts. But he did not request teachings from Vibhūticandra, nor offer him any gifts, even though he was the most expert of the junior paṇḍitas. This was because of the alleged disrespect Vibhūticandra had shown to Sa-paṅ’s uncle, Rje-btsun Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan.24 The Tibetan scholar Dge-dun chos-phel (1903?-1951) held

22. 'Jam-dbyangs Mkhyan-brtse'i dbang-phyug, Gdams 68b. For other traditional versions of this episode according to the Sa-skya tradition, see 'Jam-mgon A-myes-zhabs Sa, 79-80, and Yongs 191. An example of justification for the junior paṇḍita’s concerns is found in the Gurupañcaśikā by Aśvaghōsa, which has been translated as Fifty Verses of Guru-Devotion. See Translation Bureau of Tibetan Works and Archives 1976, 10.
23. This is only found in Tāranātha, Rdo 484, not in the earlier text of Padma gar-dbang, Zab.
24. Tāranātha, Rdo 484.7: paṅ chung gzhan rnams kyi rje btsun grags pa la phyag phul / [485] bi bḥū tis ma phul / rje sa paṅ gys de'i sngon du sanga shri la sgra dang / dā na shri la tshad ma gsan / de dus paṅ chung gzhan rnams la'ang chos 'brel re tsam zhus / rdzong pa bzang po mādzad pa la / bi bḥū ti de dus nas paṅ chung dgu'i nang nas mkhas shos yin / de dus paṅ chen
the opinion that the melancholy verses written by Vibhūticandra in a Sanskrit manuscript preserved at Sa-skya bear witness to the truth of the account given by Tāranātha.25

However, this version of the story does not ring true for several reasons, and may have been used as a means to show an early rift between Vibhūticandra and the Sa-skya 'Khon family, for which there is no other evidence. First of all, it is difficult to imagine that a young Indian scholar would refuse to offer a prostration when his own guru and eight other panḍitas did so. And, as was mentioned above, none of the records of the Sa-skya tradition itself make this claim.

The account may have been fabricated in order to establish Vibhūticandra's estrangement from the Sa-skya family, and thus by extension his disagreement with Sa-skya doctrinal positions, the only textual evidence for which is the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba*, which will be dealt with in more detail below. It should be noted that Vibhūticandra and the other eight junior panḍitas were not adverse to paying deference to Tibetans. They had previously shown the greatest respect for the young Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba, Byams-pa'i dpal, rising at his approach and clasping their palms together, after having been convinced of his learning.26 In any case, this version of the events may have been used by 'Bri-gung-pa sympathizers for the purpose of placing

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25. Dge-'dun chos-'phel, Rgyal, 32: 'di bi bha [sic!] ti tsandra kha che pañ chen gyi zhabs zhur byon pa de bzhì'i phyag bris yin cing sa skya rang du bris par mngon / mjug tu sa mtha' la slebs par dka' tshul sogs thugs skyo ba'i tshigs bcd gnyis tsam rgya skad du bris pa / tå ra nā tha'i 'khrid yig don ldan gyi lhan thabs bi bha [sic!] ti rje btsun grags pa la phyag ma 'tshal bas zhabs tog bzang po ma byas sogs gsungs pa dpang por song nas snang /. The verses in question are reproduced in devanagari script in Saṃkṛtyāyana 1937, 11-13. In addition to Vibhūticandra's Sanskrit manuscripts which Saṃkṛtyāyana examined in Sa-skya, it is interesting to note that a very blessed image of Cakrasamvara, which had been the personal meditation object of Vibhūticandra, was housed in the Dbu-rtse byang-gi thig-khang temple of Sa-skya right next to an image Rje-btsun Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan had made of himself. Kun-dga' rin-chen, Gdan, 19a: pañḍi ta bi bhū ta tsandra'i thugs dam bde mchog byin rlaus shin tu che ba /. The author of this text was an abbot of the ancient Sgo-rum temple in Sa-skya. See Dkon-mchog bstan-pa rab-rgyas, Yul 8.

26. Dpa'-bo, Chos vol. 1, 496.
Vibhūticandra in opposition to the Sa-skya-pa, for purposes that will be made clear below.

In 1213 Śākyāśrī traveled from Kho-phu west to Mnga'-ris, and spent the summer retreat in Pu-rang. Vibhūticandra translated a number of brief tantric works in collaboration with Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba Shes-rab rin-chen at a location identified only as the royal citadel of Nyi-gzungs (sku-mkhar nyi-gzungs/nyi-gzugs). In fact, this is the citadel built at Pu-rang in the early 10th century by Skyid-lde Nyi-ma mgon, the son of the Tibetan king Dpal-khor btsan (b. circa 892), to be the capital of a new state which he founded in Mnga'-ris after fleeing the chaotic situation in central Tibet. This identification allows us to state with some certainty that Vibhūticandra was in Pu-rang with Śākyāśrī in 1213, and engaged in some translation work there. In 1214 Śākyāśrī returned to his homeland of Kashmir. Vibhūticandra may have accompanied him to Kashmir, or gone directly from Pu-rang to Nepal. Since all of the translations made with Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba were either in Pu-rang or Kathmandu, it seems reasonable to assume that they traveled together from Tibet to Nepal.

27. Mang-thos Klu-sgrub, Bstan 157; 'Jam-mgon A-myes-zhabs, Dpal 166.
28. See #1-3 in the Appendix. Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba Shes-rab rin-chen was a well known scholar of the time. See Sa-skya Paṇḍita, Glo, for Sa-pan's reply to questions from Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba. We also know that Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba became an important teacher of Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa (1235-1280), to whom he gave many initiations and teachings. See Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan, Bla 308-313. Almost all of Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba's translations found in the Bstan-'gyur collection were translated at Sku-mkhar nyi-(ma) gzungs, identified as the palace of a religious king (chos-kyi rgyal-po'i pho-brang).
29. This is stated in various sources, the most detailed of which is Tshe-dbang nor-bu, Rgyal 73, and Bod 185. The king of Pu-rang in 1215 was Bla-chen Stag-tsha khri-bar. Petech 1978, 316. It is intriguing that one of the extant Sanskrit notes by Vibhūticandra found in Sa-skya is a farewell to a king, which may well have been addressed to the king of Pu-rang. Saṃkrtyāyana 1937, 12, thought it might have been addressed to Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, but this is impossible, because he would never have been referred to as a king.
31. In one of the Sanskrit notes in Vibhūticandra's handwriting, found by Saṃkrtyāyana, he seems about to go to Nepal. Saṃkrtyāyana 1937, 13: pascānepālataḥ sthitvā. Another note (p. 12) mentions that he was going to return to his own country: svadeśameva yāsyāmi. Although Tāranātha, Rdo 481, states that Vibhūticandra went to Nepal, Padma gar-dbang, Zab 24b, has India, which could perhaps be understood as the Indian cultural area in general.
Vibhūticandra continued his studies in the Kathmandu valley of Nepal under learned and realized Newar Buddhist masters such as Buddhasrī, receiving various textual and oral instructions he had not heard before. In particular, he mastered the Kālacakra and Cakrasamvara tantras under the guidance of the Newar mahāpandita Ratnarakṣita. Most important, he received from Ratnarakṣita the teachings of the sadāṅgayoga of the Kālacakra in the tradition of the Indian mahāsiddha Anupamaraksita.

32. Tāranātha, Rdo, 481. Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba, the interpreter for Śākyaśrī during the years 1204-1214 in Tibet, had also studied in Nepal with mahāpandita Buddhasrī for five years, and then invited him to Tibet in 1200. Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba, Khro 42b, 43a. Also see Roerich, trans. 1976, 709.

33. Tāranātha, Rdo 481. A number of works by the Newar master Ratnarakṣita, and some in which he collaborated with a Tibetan translator, are found in the Tibetan Bstan-'gyur. He initiated Ko-brag-pa (1170-1249) into the cycle of Cakrasamvara, and was also the guru of Chag Lo-tsā-ba Chos-rje-dpal (1197-1264), who studied with him at Swyambhunāth in Kathmandu, also receiving the Cakrasamvara, and served as his interpreter when he taught Tibetan disciples (Roerich, trans. 1976, 726, 1057). Vibhūticandra also translated at least two texts into Tibetan in collaboration with Chag Lo-tsā-ba. Perhaps they met in Kathmandu and translated texts together there.

34. According to Tāranātha, Rdo, 479-480, Anupamaraksita was an 11th-12th century contemporary of the famous master Abhayakaragupta. He was born in Magadha, and received full monastic ordination in the Mahāsammitiya tradition. He was skilled in all areas of traditional learning, and also knew the Kālacakra-tantra. Taking Avalokiteśvara as his personal deity for meditation, he lived for twelve years in the temple of a self-created image of Khasarpaṇa in the area of Li-kha-ra (Shing-'phel), in east India, meditating upon the ultimate nature of existence. When not even the slightest sign of success in meditation occurred, he became depressed. One night he dozed off briefly, and Khasarpaṇa appeared in his dream and told him, “Son, go to Vikramapuri and your wish will be fulfilled.”

The next morning he set off, traveling with one of his disciples. On the day they finally reached Vikramapuri he saw a presentation of a variety of dances and shows, which served as a catalyst, and he realized all apparent phenomena to be like an illusion. That night he stayed in a courtyard, and his special deity, or Kālacakra, came there in the form of a mendicant, who said to him, “Son, this is reality.” Simply hearing that, his experiential realization of the sadāṅgayoga was instantly perfected, and he beheld the meaning of the nature of existence. Although he had become a mahāsiddha, he continued to act for the benefit of living beings for many more years, keeping the same ordinary human body as before, even though he now had many supernatural abilities. When he finally actualized the rainbow body of the vajakāya, he left behind no physical remains.
This lineage later became known in Tibet as the sequential lineage (*ring-brgyud*) of Vibhūticandra.  

During this period of study in the Kathmandu valley, Vibhūticandra concentrated his attention upon the huge commentary to the *Kālacakra-tantra*, the *Vimalaprabhā* of the Śambhala emperor Kalkī Puṇḍarīka, and became an expert *mahāpandita* in this subject. He had long before composed annotations to the *Vimalaprabhā*. He exerted great effort in the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* meditation, and is said to have gained control of the subtle channels and energies, which resulted in exceptional experience and realization.

Vibhūticandra became abbot of the Stham Bihar in Kathmandu, where he taught many subjects. There he also established an independent institute for the study of the major works of Abhayākaragupta such as the

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35. Taranātha, *Rdo* 477.
36. Padma gar-dbang, *Zab* 24a. Vibhūticandra's annotations to the *Kālacakra-tantra* and the *Vimalaprabhā* were very influential in Tibet. They are frequently cited by Bu-ston Rin-chen grub (1290-1364) in his annotated editions of both texts, where they are referred to as *bla ma bi bhū ti tsandra'i phyag dpe yi rgya dpe, bi bhū ti'i mchan*, or simply *rgya dpe*. See for example, Kalkī Yaśas, *Mchog* 101, 118, and 220, and Kalkī Puṇḍarīka, 'Jig 432, 433, 437, 466, etc. Vibhūticandra's annotations were the primary source for Bu-ston's suggested revised translations, which were themselves then accepted in the last revision of the Tibetan translation made in 1334 by Ma-ti pañ-chen Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (1294-1376) and Jo-nang Lo-tsā-ba Blo-gros dpal (1299-1353). This will be discussed in detail in my "The Tibetan Translations of the *Kālacakra-tantra* and its Great Commentary," which is near completion. Grönbold 1991, 393, briefly discusses Vibhūticandra's opinion about the identification of some Śambhala emperors.
37. This monastery is said to have been established by Dipamkara Atiśa (982-1054), and is often known by the name Tham-bahil, or Vikramaśīla-Bihar. It is in the Thamel district of modern Kathmandu. The earliest mention I have found in Tibetan literature is in Khro-phu Lo-tsā-ba, *Khro* 42b. The most extensive discussion of Tham-bahil is in Locke 1985, 404-413. See also Decler n. d., Macdonald 1987, 114, and Slusser 1982, vol. 1, 87, 297, 360, etc. Important historical information about the *bihar*, and other names by which it was known, is found in Roerich, trans. 1959, 6-7, and 55-56. A different version of the events leading to the construction of the monastery by Atiśa is related by Petech 1984, 42-43. Further information, and a description of the present day temple is provided by Bajracharya 1979. This temple, described as being in N. E. Kathmandu, was visited by Si-tu Pañ-chen Chos-kyi 'byung-gnas in 1723. See Chos-kyi 'byung-gnas, *Ta'i* 112.
Munimatālāṃkāra, the Upadeśamāṇjari, and the Āvalī Trilogy. His disciples were both Indian and Nepalese, for whom he emphasized intense study and practice of the Kālacakra-tantra. His own spiritual efforts resulted in visions of a number of tantric deities, among them Maṇjūśrī and Vajravarāhī early in his life, and later Cakrasamvara and Kālacakra. Many extraordinary signs accompanied his bestowal of initiation for these practices.

After some time Vibhūticandra traveled once again to Tibet. He had become extremely fluent in the Tibetan language, and translated many works on both sūtrayāna and vajrayāna into Tibetan. His translation work at the temple of 'Bring-mtshams in Gtsang dates from this visit. Padma gar-dbang also tells us that it was during this time that

38. Tāranātha, Rdo 482: 'phreng ba skor gsum / thub pa dgongs rgyan / man ngag snye ma sogs la'ang rkgang tshugs kyi grwa btsugs /.

These early 12th century works by Abhayakaragupta, as found in the Peking edition of the Tibetan Tripitaka, are as follows:

Thub pa'i dgongs pa'i rgyan (Munimatālāṃkāra), vol. 101, #5299, 71b.3-398b.3.

Man ngag gi snye ma shes bya ba rgyud thams cad kyi skyed rdzogs thun mong du bstan pa (Upadeśamāṇjari-nāma-sarvatantrotpannopapanna-sāmānya-bhāṣya), vol. 87, #5024, 77.4.5-86.2.4.

Dpal 'jam pa'i rdo rje la sogs pa'i mngon par rtogs pa kun las btsus pa rdzogs pa'i rnal 'byor gyi phreng ba (Śrī-maṇjuvajrādī-kramābhisdhisa-sramuccaya-nispanna-yogāvali, vol. 87, #5023, 47.5.6-77.4.5).

Rdzogs pa'i rnal 'byor gyi phreng ba (Nispanna-yogāvali), vol. 80, #3962, 126.3.4-154.2.8.

Dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga rdo rje phreng ba (Vajrāvali-nāma-maṇḍalopāyikā), vol. 80, #3961, 79.1.1-126.3.4. A somewhat different list of the Āvalī Trilogy is found in Dpa'-bo, Chos vol. 2, 1497.

39. Bu-ston, Bla 93, records the transmission line of a commentary to the Nāmasaṅgīti in which the lineage is traced from Vibhūticandra to a Gotaṃ Śrī, from him to Kīrticandra, and from him to the Tibetan translator Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan.

40. Tāranātha, Rdo 482.

41. Tāranātha, Rdo 482, and Padma gar-dbang, Zab 24b.

42. Padma gar-dbang, Zab 24b. See #8-10 in the Appendix. A dharma-conch which had belonged to Vibhūticandra, as well as one which had belonged to his master Śākyasrī, were kept in one of the monasteries at 'Bring-mtshams until the period of fighting between Ta'i Si-tu Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan (1302-1364) and the Shar-ka-pa rulers at Rgya-rtse, when they were moved to Khar-chen for safe keeping. See the anonymous genealogy of the Shar-ka-pa, Dpal 66.
Vibhūticandra composed the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba*. Very little is known of the period, but it is said that he spent time at the monastery of 'Bri-khung gling, where his activities were very influential. Then he returned to Nepal.

In Nepal he continued to live and teach at Stham Bihar into his old age. Then the most significant event in his life occurred.

Once, when [Vibhūticandra] had become very old, a young *yogin* with bone loops fixed in his ear lobes appeared. He was briefly entertained, and then shown to a verandah. A junior *pandita* studying grammar there watched him. When there were several amazing signs, such as no circulation of breath, and his body changing into various colors and shapes, he told the master, *pandita* [Vibhūticandra].

The *pandita* invited him in, and he replied immediately and without hesitation to every question [Vibhūticandra] mentally asked him.

So he asked, "Who are you?"

"I am the *siddha* Śavaripa," he replied.

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43. Padma gar-dbang, *Zab* 24b.
44. Tāranātha, *Rdo* 485. Once again, it is strange that the biography of 'Bri-gung-gling pa, included in Shes-rab 'byung-gnas, *Dgongs* 96-123, has no mention of Vibhūticandra during these years.
45. Tāranātha, *Rdo* 482: *dgung lo'ang mang rab song skabs / rnal 'byor pa gzhon nu snyan la rwa dung bcug pa gcig byung nas / sna len cung zad cig mdzad nas grang khang zhig tu bskyal / der sgra slo p a'i pan chung cig gis blta pas / rlung mi rgyu ba dang lus kyi mdog dbyibs sna thogs su 'gyur ba sogs ngo mtshar ba'i rtags 'ga' re 'dug nas / bla ma pandi ta la zhus pas pandi tas kyang de spyan drangs te yid kyis bri [sic!] ba byas tshad la thogs med du lan [483] shar shar byung / nyid su yin zhus pas / grub thob sha ba ri pa yin gsung / mchod tu dgyes shing gus nas rjes su gzung bar zhus pas sbyor drug gsungs / yi ger bkod pa da lia'i gzhung chung 'di yin / spyir zab mo'i gdams pa mtha' yas pas tshims par mdzad cing rgyud byin gyis brlabs / zhag nyi shu rtsa gcig tsam dngos su bzhugs par yang grags / de nas gang du bzhud zhus pas / 'di nas o rgyan du 'gro / skal idan 'ga'i don byed / de nas dpal gyi ri la ka 'gro gsung sie mi sngan bar gyur / der slob dpon bi bḥū ti tsandra ni byin rlabs kyi stobs kyi nyams rtogs mthar phyin pa skad cig la brnyes / 'dzin pa'i yon tan mthar thug pa'i rtags thob /

Tāranātha, *Rdo* 477, states this episode occurred at Stham bi-ha-ra in Nepal, as does Padma gar-dbang, *Zab* 24b, who specifies that it was in Kathmandu. Padma gar-dbang, *Zab* 24b-26a, gives a considerably more detailed account of the event.
46. The *mahāsiddha* Śavaripa was one of the eighty-four archetypal tantric adepts of ancient India. It is said that he gained liberation on the basis of the mystical songs (*doha*) of *mahāsiddha* Saraha. The *śadāṅgayoga* instructions
which he bestowed upon Vibhūticandra were also based upon those songs. Tāranātha, \textit{Rdo} 707.5-6. According to Tāranātha, \textit{Rdo} 459, Saraha himself based his spiritual practice in the \textit{sādaṅgayoga} discipline, and the technical terms specific to that tradition are found throughout his \textit{Dohākoṣa}.

Since it is not well known, I will summarize the biographical sketch of Śāvaripa given by Padma gar-dbang, \textit{Zab} 21b-23b, according to the \textit{sādaṅgayoga} tradition:

Śāvaripa was born into a family of low caste troubadours in southern India. His father was named Loka and his mother Guna. He had two sisters. On one occasion they went to seek food on a mountain in Bengal where the master *Nāgārjunagarbha (Klu-grub snying-po) was meditating. The master, who had no qualms about low caste people, called them inside and gave them much food. Śāvaripa pointed to an icon of the bodhisattva *Matiratna (Blo-gros rin-chen), and asked, "Who is this?"

The master replied, "This is the divine youth *Matiratna, the bodhisattva who is my master Saraha’s master, and who resides in the thirty-third heaven teaching the profound \textit{dharma} of secret \textit{mantra}. He cannot be seen by ordinary people."

Śāvaripa prayed over and over to the master to be given the eyes with which to see *Matiratna. The master realized that Śāvaripa was an extraordinary being, and immediately bestowed upon him the initiation of Cakrasamvara in a \textit{mandala} of meditative concentration, and also gave him the complete instructions of the \textit{tantra} and the esoteric teachings. While practicing the instructions, Śāvaripa continued to make his living by begging and dancing, until his mental stream was purified and he beheld the bodhisattva *Matiratna. At that instant *Matiratna transformed into the great brahmin Saraha, and sang for Śāvaripa the \textit{dohā} of the quintessential meaning of ultimate reality. Realizing the profound nature of reality through the actualization of \textit{mahāmudrā}, Śāvaripa sang Saraha’s song in return as an offering. *Matiratna then asked, "Do you understand the meaning?"

Śāvaripa replied, "I don’t understand." *Matiratna revealed the true meaning, blessing Śāvaripa’s mental stream, and his realization was perfected. Then *Matiratna gave a prophecy to Śāvaripa: "Listen well, and keep this in mind. You are to be known as Śāvaripa, the Hunter from the South. Now you must not stay here, but dress as a hunter and go south into the mountains, such as Śrī Parvata, and benefit those who have superior faculties."

The great hermit, together with his sisters, did as he was told, and achieved the sublime attainment of \textit{mahāmudrā}. He wandered in all directions, carrying the bow and arrows of skillful means and knowledge which slay the three poisons. He shot and killed the birds of passion, the snakes of hatred, and the pigs of ignorance, and in a state of non-duality devoured their flesh, and tasted the flavor of the fruit of the blissful, sublime and immutable pristine awareness of \textit{mahāmudrā}. Having received the ultimate
Overjoyed and devoted, [Vibhūticandra] asked to be accepted as a follower, and [Śāvaripa] spoke the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga*. [Vibhūticandra] recorded it in writing, which is this small extant text.47

In general [Śāvaripa] satisfied him with infinite profound oral instructions, and blessed his stream of mind. It is also known that he actually stayed for about twenty-one days.

Then [Vibhūticandra] asked, “Where will you go?”

“I will go from here to Oddiyāna, and benefit a few who are fortunate.”48 Then I will go straight to Śrī Parvata [Dpal-gyi-ri],” he replied, and disappeared.49

At that, due to the force of the blessing, the master Vibhūticandra instantly reached the culmination of experience and realization, and achieved the signs of perfection of the qualities of the branch of dhāraṇā.50

Soon thereafter Vibhūticandra decided that the instructions he had received from *mahāsiddha* Śāvaripa, which have since become known as the direct transmission of Vibhūticandra (*bi-bhū-ti'i nye-brgyud*), would be of great benefit to many persons in Tibet. First he questioned a number of Tibetan mendicant yogins who were in Kathmandu, and learned that the most renowned meditation master in Tibet was a former disciple of his, the siddha Ko-brag-pa (1170-1249).51 Vibhūticandra sent a initiations and teachings of the *tantras* directly from Vajradhara, Vajrayogini, and Avalokiteśvara, the immortal siddha Śāvaripa is said to still wander everywhere in this world to bring benefit to human beings.

See also Tatz 1987, especially 703-707, for further information on Maitrīgupta and his relationship with his teacher Śāvaripa.

47. The “small extant text” referred to by Taranātha is the *Rnal 'byor yan lag drug pa* (*Yogāṣaḍaṅga-nama*), Peking Tripitaka, vol. 47, #2091, 258.4.2-258.5.1. Vibhūticandra translated it into Tibetan himself. This is a very important text for the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* tradition in general, and the Jo-nang-pa transmission in particular. Another transmission of the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* from Śāvaripa was later received by the Indian master Vanaratna (1384-1468), who taught it extensively in Tibet. See Roerich 1976, 798-805, 821, etc.

48. According to Roerich, trans. 1976, 976, Śāvaripa stated that he was going to Kashmir.

49. An inscription has been found indicating that Śrīparvata was at Nāgārjunakonda in Southern India (Hirakawa 1990, 253). 50. Dhāraṇā (*'dzin-pa*), is the fourth of the six branches of the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga*. The signs referred to are signs of exceptional realization which arise from control of the *prāṇa* and *bindu*.

51. Rgyal-ba Ko-brag-pa Bsdon-nams rgyal-mtshan’s dates are given in Roerich 1976, 726-727, as 1182-1261. Mang-thos Klu-sgrub, *Bstan* 143, questions this, gives the earlier birth date of 1170, and states that Ko-brag-pa
junior *pandita*, accompanied by the Tibetan mendicants, to deliver gifts and a letter requesting Ko-brag-pa to come to Nepal for the purpose of requesting the teachings.\(^{52}\)

Ko-brag-pa received the invitation at Ding-ri glang-'khor, and immediately sent a reply and gifts back with the junior *pandita* and an escort of many Tibetan mendicants. He felt that if he went to Nepal and alone lived to the age of 80 (1249). The dates given by Mang-thos Klu-sgrub are certainly preferable. Ko-brag-pa’s most important disciple was the Bka’-brgyud-pa master Rgyal-ba Yang-dgon-pa Rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po (1213-1258). Just before he died, Ko-brag-pa sent for Yang-dgon-pa, telling him that he would not live beyond that year, which was his eightieth (or eighty-first). This is recorded in Shes-rab mgon, *Chos* 9a, and also in the anonymous biography of Yang-dgon-pa, *Rin* 44, which adds that Yang-dgon-pa was not able to go to his master because the Mongol army had blocked the roads. Therefore it is certain that Yang-dgon-pa was still alive at the time of Ko-brag-pa’s passing, and that the earlier set of dates for him are a better choice. Cf. van der Kuijp 1994, 186.

Ko-brag-pa is known to have mastered most of the meditation practices in Tibet, but is usually connected with the *Lam-’bras* tradition in the lineage of the lady Ma-gcig Zhwa-ma, and the *sadahgayoga* tradition of Vibhūtīcandra. According to Ngor-chen, *Lam* 116.3.3, Ko-brag-pa meditated upon just the *Lam-’bras* for twenty-four years in the cave of Ra-sa chu-phug, and gained tremendous results. He wrote many texts about the *Lam-’bras*, but only one is now available. This is the *Lam ’bras snyan brgyud / lam ’bras bu dang bcas pa’i gdamgs ngag*, mistakenly identified by the modern publisher as a work of the Sa-skya master Bla-ma dam-pa Bsod-nams rgyal-mtshan (1312-1375). The colophon (589-590) mentions that it was written at the retreat site of Chuphug. The historical texts in this collection of the Zhwa-ma tradition may well prove to have also been written by Ko-brag-pa, with additions in the name list of lineal teachers after his time.

\(^{52}\) See *Tāranātha*, *Rdo* 483, and especially Padma gar-dbang, *Zab* 226a-27a, who quotes both Vibhūtīcandra’s letter and Ko-brag-pa’s reply.

Shes-rab mgon, *Chos* 6b-7a, provides the following account of this event in his biography of Ko-brag-pa:  
\[\text{de'i dus na bal po nas pa} n\text{ }\text{d}i\text{ }\text{ta bhi bu ta tsandra} / \text{zhes pa'i mkhas pa gcig grub pa brnyes pa des / chos rje [7a] }\text{ba la / bal po na pa} n\text{ }\text{d}i\text{ }\text{ta nga che / bod na dge bshes khyed che bar 'dug pas / 'dir byon gsung pa'i yi ge gha dho li dang / ka ra'i glang po che la sogs nor khyad 'phags kyi rten dang bcas pa byung zhirg / bod la phan pa la dgongs nas a po byang chub bya ba 'tshams sbyor byed du bcug te / bod du spyan drangs / glang khor du bsu ba dang / 'bul ba dpag tu med pa mdzad / dbang chos mang du gsan / pa} n\text{ }\text{chen gyis kyang / chos rje la chos gha re gsan / drang srong srin po ri tshun chad la byon cing / dbus gtsang du 'gro don rgya chen po mdzad /}.\]
received the teaching it would not be of much use to others, but if Vibhūticandra would agree to come to Tibet there would be widespread benefit. Vibhūticandra accepted his invitation. Ko-brag-pa provided much assistance and supplies for the trip north to Tibet. After four months a messenger arrived with the news that Vibhūticandra was approaching Skyid-grong, near the border with Nepal. Ko-brag-pa sent word in all directions that the master would soon be coming to Ding-ri glang-’khor, and then hurried with offerings to Skyid-grong to welcome him. After Vibhūticandra was escorted to Ding-ri, he bestowed the initiation of Kalacakra, the explanation of the tantra and the oral instructions for meditation to a large number of Tibetans who had gathered there. In particular, he taught the special ṣādaṅgayoga of Śavaripa to Ko-brag-pa and six other learned men: Dpyal A-mo-gha, Nyeg-po Chos-ladan, Lho-pa Tshul-gzhon, Mar-ston G.yangs-’bar, G.yung-phug-pa Rgyal-mtshan bde-ba, and Gnyal-ba Mi-mnyam bzang-po. While at

53. Grönbold 1982, 340, mistakenly states that Ko-brag-pa invited the master Śakyasri to Tibet.
54. Tāranātha, Rdo 483.
55. Padma gar-dbang, Zab 27a-b. In Shes-rab mgon, Chos 6a, it is mentioned that when he was ten years old (1223) Rgyal-ba Yang-dgon-pa, who is referred to as Rin-po-che Lha-gdong-pa’i sprul-pa’i sku, came to receive teachings from Ko-brag-pa. The same information is found in Yang-dgon-pa’s anonymous biography, Rin 41. This source, on p. 42, states that Yang-dgon-pa was 21 years old (1233) at the time of his full ordination by Ko-brag-pa. Shes-rab mgon, Chos 6b-7a, describes Vibhūticandra’s arrival in Tibet not long after the mention of Yang-dgon-pa’s ordination by Ko-brag-pa (6a). The reference to the Mongols on 6b, just prior to Vibhūticandra’s trip, speaks of Ko-brag-pa’s repulsion of a Mongol army (hor gyi dmag zlog pa), which may indicate an earlier event than the famous Mongol incursion of 1240. Cf. van der Kuijp 1994, 186.
56. Padma gar-dbang, Zab 27b.
57. Padma gar-dbang, Zab 27b. Roerich, trans. 1976, 727, and 797, also specifies that Ko-brag pa invited Vibhūticandra to Ding-ri, and there received the ṣāḍaṅgayoga instructions of Śavaripa. Dpyal A-mo-gha also wrote a ṣāḍaṅgayoga text on the basis of Vibhūticandra’s teachings. See Bu-ston, Bla 89, and Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal, Chos 10a.

There is considerable confusion in the sources about who received these teachings from Vibhūticandra. Tāranātha, Rdo 484.2, states that there were many who received the ṣāḍaṅgayoga from Vibhūticandra, and in particular there were nine disciples who later upheld the lineage of the direct transmission (nye-brgyud).
Ding-ri glang-'khor Vibhūticandra and the Tibetan translator Mi-mnyam bzang-po translated the *ṣaḍāṅgayoga* of Anupamarakṣita, and several other Sanskrit works.58 During this period Vibhūticandra lived at the Mkhan-pa charnel ground (Mkhan-pa dur-khrod) west of Ding-ri glang-'khor. This was Ko-brag-pa’s place, and had been the principal residence of the Indian master Pha-dam-pa Sangs-rgyas in the 11th century, and the site of his famous meeting with Rje-btsun Mi-la ras-pa (1040?-1123?).59

After teaching the Kālacakra three times at Ding-ri glang-'khor, Vibhūticandra fell seriously ill. He was cured by Ko-brag-pa, who utilized both techniques for removing impediments (*gegs-sel*) in yoga, and medicinal treatments.60 Vibhūticandra was very grateful, and requested

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58. Padma gar-dbang, *Zab* 27b. See #11-17 in the Appendix.


60. Padma gar-dbang, *Zab* 27b-28a. Ko-brag-pa is most well known in the *Lam-’bras* literature for his expertise in the techniques for removal of impediments (*gegs-sel*) during the practice of yoga. He is also said to have gained incredible realization on the basis of his practice of the *Lam-’bras*, and the *ṣaḍāṅgayoga* which he received from Vibhūticandra, and is known to have written texts combining these two systems of tantric practice. In addition to the traditional techniques for removal of impediments according to the *Lam-’bras* teachings, he wrote many texts about previously unknown techniques which were revealed to him when he directly perceived the network of energy pathways in the *vajra* body during meditation. The most famous of his works is the *Gegs sel ha dmigs rgya mtsho*. He also authored a text on the elimina-
from Ko-brag-pa many initiations, textual transmissions, and oral instructions of the Lam-'bras teachings, of which Ko-brag-pa was an acknowledged master. This is one of the few instances in which an Indian master is known to have received extensive tantric teachings from a Tibetan.

Vibhūticandra stayed in Tibet for three years, two of which were spent in Ding-ri glang-'khor. During this period, and most probably while Vibhūticandra was still in Ding-ri, the 'Brug-pa Bka'-brgyud master Rgod-tshang-pa Mgon-po rdo-rje (1189-1258) also came to receive teachings from him. Vibhūticandra also traveled again to Srin-po-ri in Central Tibet, and probably made the extant translations done at Srin-po-

The most extensive discussion of his Lam-'bras connections is Ngor-chen Kun-dga' bzang-po, Lam 116.

61. Padma gar-dbang, Zab 28a. Shes-rab mgon, Chos 7a, also verifies that Vibhūticandra received some teachings from Ko-brag-pa. See note 52 above for the full Tibetan text.

62. Taranatha, Rdo 484.2-4. Taranatha states that Rgod-tshang-pa requested teachings on the short outer, inner, and secret bla-sgrub texts, and even wrote annotations and a topical outline for them. He mentions that this is clear if one consults the written works of Rgod-tshang-pa, but that there is no mention of their meeting in his hagiography because his disciples kept it secret. Despite a careful search of all the texts related to practices such as guruyoga in The Collected Works of Rgod-tshang-pa, I have been unable to locate any collaborating evidence of contact between Vibhūticandra and Rgod-tshang-pa.

The three texts referred to are, according to the titles in the Peking edition of the Tibetan Tripitaka, vol. 87: Bla ma sgrub pa'i rgya gzhung phyi sgrub tillo pas mdzad pa, #5014, 14.1.3-14.2.3, Bla ma sgrub-pa'i rgya gzhung nang sgrub nā ro pas mdzad pa, #5016, 14.4.2-15.2.7, and Bla ma gsang sgrub klu grub gyi sgrub mdzad pa, #5017, 15.2.7-16.2.6. All three texts were translated into Tibetan by Vibhūticandra. The gsang-sgrub text was translated at the monastery of Ding-ri, and the phyi-sgrub text at the charnel ground of Mkhan-pa (Mkhan-pa'i dur-khrod). The nang-sgrub was no doubt translated at the same time as the two other related texts. These texts are also found in the Gdams ngag mdzod, vol. 7 (Delhi: N. Lungtok and N. Gyaltsan, 1972) 97-107.

Following the phyi-sgrub text is another small text composed by Vibhūticandra himself: Phyi sgrub kyi sgrub kyi sgrub mdzad pa, #5015, 14.2.3-14.4.2. Tāranātha, Khrid 352, in his supplement to the history of the Jo nang khrid brgya of his predecessor Kun-dga’ grol-mchog (1507-1566), refers to this text by Vibhūticandra as the essential basis for the bla-sgrub practices of the 'Brug-pa Bka'-brgyud tradition: gams ngag ngo bo ni / bi bhū ti tsandra'i gzhung gi rjes su 'brangs so.
ri during this visit. Rgwa-lo Rnam-rgyal rdo-rje (1203-1282) also invited Vibhūtīcandra to Rong Dben-dmar in Gs塘, as well as Kyog-po monastery and Sham-bhar, and requested all the initiations and instructions of the Kālacakra. Finally, Vibhūtīcandra was invited by the famous teacher Kun-mkhyen Chos-skū 'od-zer (1214-1292) to Gser-sdings in the upper Nyang valley of Gtsang. He bestowed upon Chos-skū 'od-zer many initiations, such as Kālacakra and Cakrasaṃvara, and many teachings such as the Avalī Trilogy of Abhayākaraṇagupa, and especially the sadāṅgayoga received directly from Śāvārapī. As will be emphasized below, it is very significant that Vibhūtīcandra also taught the Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba to Chos-skū 'od-zer. At this time Rgyus-pa Bzhon-seng and Zhang-sgom Rin-chen seng requested many instructions from Vibhūtīcandra, such as the Ye shes spyan sgrub (Jñānacaksu-śādhanā).

After three years in Tibet, Vibhūtīcandra returned to Nepal, and lived for many more years. Tāranātha states that he achieved the siddhi of indivisibility, and the realization of the total integration of bliss and emptiness through his perfection of dhārāṇā, the fourth branch of the sadāṅgayoga. As a result he is said to have left no body at death.

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64. Padma gar-dbang, Zab, 28a. Stag-tshang Lo-tsā-ba, Shes-rab rin-chen (b. 1405), Dpal 57-60, provides the most detail about Rgwa-lo, and mentions that Vibhūtīcandra was one of his teachers. See also Roerich, trans. 1976, 790.
65. Padma gar-dbang, Zab, 28a, 34b. The biography of Kun-mkhyen Chos-skū 'od-zer given in this text, 28b-39b, is the most extensive available discussion of his life. Bu-ston, Bla, also places Chos-skū 'od-zer after Vibhūtīcandra in one lineage of the sadāṅgayoga transmitted by Śāvārapī. See note 38 above for the identification of the Avalī Trilogy of Abhayākaraṇagupta.
67. Padma gar-dbang, Zab 28b. In Bu-ston, Bla 89, Zhang-sgom Rin-chen seng-ge is listed after Vibhūtīcandra in the transmission lines for both the Ye shes spyan sgrub and the Nyi zla sgrub pa. Zhang-sgom is listed as Bla-ma Zhang Ratnasimha in the transmission line the colophon of the Bla ma gsang sgrub. See #16 in the Appendix.
68. Tāranātha, Rdo 484.
THE LEGACY

The legacy of Vibhūticandra has come down to the present day in the form of texts which he authored and translated into Tibetan, and in the practice of the šaḍaṅgayoga directly transmitted to him by mahāsiddha Śavaripa. In the following centuries, it was these teachings of the šaḍaṅgayoga which were regarded in Tibet as the most significant spiritual legacy of Vibhūticandra. From among the other texts which he authored and/or translated, the Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba is the one text which has received the most attention from critics.

Vibhūticandra is the author of at least eight texts found in the Peking edition of the Tibetan Bstan-'gyur. Six of those eight he translated into Tibetan by himself or with a Tibetan translator, as well as at least another twenty-five works written by other Indian teachers. All but four of these are tantric texts. He translated works in Tibet at the ancient royal palace in Pu-hrang, at 'Bring-mtshams in Gtsang, at Ding-ri glang-'khor near the border with Nepal, and at Srin-po-ri in Dbus. Others he translated at Stham Bihar in Kathmandu, Nepal.

The Rnal 'byor yan lag drug pa (Yogashaḍaṅga)
The Rnal 'byor yan lag drug pa (Yogashaḍaṅga) spoken by mahāsiddha Śavaripa to Vibhūticandra at Stham Bihar in Kathmandu is the most important core text (mūla, rtsa-ba) for the direct transmission (nye-brgyud) of the šaḍaṅgayoga perfection stage practices of the Kālacakra-tantra as practiced in Tibet. The very succinct verse definitions of each of the six branches of the practice found in this short work are quoted as authoritative speech in virtually every šaḍaṅgayoga instruction text written in Tibet. The special importance of this transmission for the Jo-nang-pa tradition is underscored by the fact that Kun-spangs Thugs-rje brtson-grus (1243-1313), the founder of Jo-nang monastery, wrote the only known commentary to it.

69. A complete list of these texts is found in the Appendix.
70. See #17 in the Appendix. The most important core text for the sequential transmission (ring-brgyud) of the šaḍaṅgayoga in Tibet is the Sbyor ba yan lag drug gi man ngag rje dus 'khor zhab kyi mdzad pa'i snyan rgyud zhal gyi gdam pa (Arya-kālacakrapāda-sampradāya-nāma-śaḍaṅgayogopadeśa) of *Kālacakrapada (Dus-'khor zhab), translated in the 11th century by the Kashmiri pandita Somanātha and the Tibetan lo-tsā-ba 'Bro Shes-rab grags. Peking, vol. 47: 245.5.8.-247.1.3.
71. Kun-spangs-pa was responsible for first gathering together all the extant lineages of the šaḍaṅgayoga in Tibet, and then furthering their propagation.
Kun-spangs-pa wrote a number of important texts on the ʂaḍaṅgayoga, although only one seems to have survived to the present day. This is the earliest available Tibetan work on the ʂaḍaṅgayoga, the Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i rnal 'byor yan lag drug gi 'grel pa snying po bsdus pa, written by one Dpal Mi-bskyod rdo-rje, a yogin of the Kālacakra, who is identified as the siddha Yu-mo-ba in an editorial note at the end of the text. This is, of course, a false attribution. The Snying po bsdus pa is a commentary upon the ʂaḍaṅgayoga revealed by Śavaripa to Vibhūticandra. As discussed above, Vibhūticandra came to Tibet as a young man in 1204, whereas the Tibetan Kālacakra master Yu-mo-ba Mi-bskyod rdo-rje was born in the first cycle of the Tibetan system of reckoning dates, which began in 1027. In fact, Thugs-rje brtson-'grus is only one of the many names of the founder of Jo-nang. He was also known as Kun-spangs Chos-rje, Zhang Thugs-rje brtson-'grus, Kun-tu bzang-po, and Dpal Mi-bskyod rdo-rje.

He occupies a central position in the transmission lines of these teachings as received by both Bu-ston Rin-chen grub and Dol-po-pa Shes rab-rgyal mtshan. Kun-spangs-pa received and practiced seventeen different lineages of the ʂaḍaṅgayoga, and then synthesized them. Tāranātha, Rdo 476-478, gives a clear and succinct sketch of these seventeen lineages, many of which are associated with the different Tibetan translators of the Kālacakratantra and Vimalaprabhā. In his treatment of the history of the ʂaḍaṅgayoga in Tibet, 'Jam-mgon Kong-sprul (1813-1899), Theg vol. 1, 549-551, simply copies verbatim Tāranātha’s entire discussion.

72. See Bu-ston, Bla, 92 for a list of Kālacakra texts by Kun-spangs-pa, but without clear titles.

73. Dpal Mi-bskyod rdo-rje, Dpal 24. What may be another copy of this commentary is preserved in the library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities, Beijing, under the title Dpal sha ba ri pa'i gzung chung / gzung chung de'i 'grel pa kun spangs thugs rje rtson 'grus gyis mdzod, in six folios. See van der Kuijp 1994, 193, note 40.


75. Ngor-chen Kun-dga' bzang-po, Lam 117.4.2, gives both the names Kun-tu bzang-po and Dpal Mi-bskyod rdo-rje. Jo-nang Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal (1306-1386) notes that Byang-sems Rgyal-ba ye-shes (1257-1320) received this commentary on the ʂaḍaṅgayoga of Śavaripa from Kun-spangs-pa himself. See Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal, Chos 9a, where it is referred to as sha ba ri pa'i gzung 'grel. Mkhas-btsun Yon-tan rgya-mtsho also received this text from Kun-spangs-pa himself. See Dol-po-pa, Bla ma yon 304.

Kun-spangs-pa is clearly stated to be the author of the commentary in Jo-nang Kun-dga' grol-mchog’s biography of Pan-chen Shākya mchog-ldan (1428-1507), and in the biography of the 16th century Jo-nang throne-holder
Kun-spangs-pa’s *Snying po bsdus pa* is significant for several reasons. First of all, he collected in it the scattered oral instructions (*man-ngag kha-'thor-ba*) of the teachings Śavaripa bestowed upon Vibhūticandra. Special instructions from Kun-spangs-pa’s work can later be seen in the *sādāṅgayoga* instruction manual of Jo-nang Tāranātha, especially the teachings of the first branch of *pratīyāhāra* (*so-sor sdu-d-pa/gcod-pa*), where the oral instructions of *mahāpaṇḍita* Vibhūticandra are presented on the basis of the explanations in the *Snying po bsdus pa*, although not identified as drawn from that source. Kun-spangs-pa’s text is also important as the earliest available Tibetan work concerning the *Kālacakra*, and specifically as the only commentary on the teachings of the *sādāṅgayoga* as passed down in the direct transmission of Vibhūticandra (*bi-bhū-tī*i nye-brgyud*). 

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76. Dpal Mi-bskyod rdo-rje, *Dpal* 24. 
77. Tāranātha, *Zab* 369-370. 
78. The oldest available Tibetan treatise concerning the sequential transmission (*ring-brgyud*) of the *sādāṅgayoga* is the *Dus kyi ’khor lo’i ge gels mig gi sgron me*, by Kun-spangs-pa’s disciple La-stod Dbang-rgyal, who was also known as Gnyos Dbang-rgyal. This text has survived unnoticed among the numerous volumes of the collected works of Bo-dong Paṅ-chen Phyoṣgs-las rnam-rgyal (1376-1451). See La-stod Dbang-rgyal, *Dus*. It is an instruction manual dealing with the last four branches of the *sādāṅgayoga*, and focusing upon methods for the removal of impediments (*gegs-sel*) which may arise during the advanced practice of those yogas.

The most detailed treatment of La-stod dbang-rgyal’s views, especially in connection with the *sādāṅgayoga* and the *Lam-’bras* teachings, is found in Kun-dga’ bzang-po, *Lam*, 117.2.4-117.4.1. Here it is made clear that his synthesis of these two systems was soundly rejected by the Sa-skya-pa lineage holders of the *Lam-’bras*. In particular, his view is said to have been exactly the same as that of the Chinese master Ha-shang (*rgya-nag mkhan-po ha-shang*), whose view had been refuted centuries before in Tibet by the Indian paṇḍita Kamalaśīla. This is particularly interesting since it is known that La-stod Dbang-rgyal’s teacher, Kun-spangs-pa, actually transmitted the teachings of the notorious Chinese monk. Kun-spangs-pa taught the Chinese Ha-shang’s esoteric instructions to ‘Phags-’od Yon-tan rgya-mtsho (b. 1268), the teacher
The Sdom gsum ’od kyi phreng ba (Trisamvaraprabhāmālā)

This work is concerned with the three most important vows which may be taken by a Buddhist: those of the pratimokṣa, the bodhisattva, and the vidhyādhara.79 This is an area of exegesis in which scholars of the Sa-skya school have long excelled, beginning with the Rtsa ltung 'krul spong of Rje-bstun Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, dealing with the nature of the sacred commitments inherent in vajrayāna Buddhist practice, and the renowned Sdom gsum rab dbye of his nephew Sa-skya Paṇḍita, dealing in depth with all three vows. Both of these have been, to say the least, controversial works.80 In addition, the master of 'Bri-gung, Jig-rten mgon-po, and his nephew Shes-rab 'byung-gnas (1187-1241), wrote very influential works, known collectively as the Dgongs gcig yig cha, some of which touch on these same subjects, often at odds with the interpretations of the Sa-skya-pa.81

As mentioned above, Vibhūticandra had contacts with the 'Bri-gung tradition before he visited Sa-skya in 1209, and later was very active at 'Bri-gung monastery during his second trip to Tibet. Padma gar-dbang specifies that Vibhūticandra wrote the Sdom gsum ’od kyi phreng ba at this time.82 The earliest mention of the Sdom gsum ’od kyi phreng ba is by the scholar Bcom-ldan Rig-pa'i ral-gri (C.1235-C.1315?). In his catalogue of works translated into Tibetan, which was most probably written before 1283, he specifically lists the text as a work composed by

of Bu-ston, who should not be confused with Mkhas-btsun Yon-tan rgya-mtsho (1260-1327), the teacher of Dol-po-pa. See A-mes-zhab Ngag-dbang kun-dga’ bsod-nams (1597-1659), Dpal 133: rgya'i ha shang gi man ngag gi skor rnam gnang ngo l. Some of the texts of the Chinese Ha-shang were still preserved at Jo-nang in the time of Tāranātha, who mentions that he had read the Mdo sde brgyad bcu khungs of Ha-shang, and felt that the absolute denigration of Ha-shang's teachings in Tibet were based on ignorance of their actual content, and were judgments based upon isolated quotations taken out of context. See Tāranātha, Dge 542-544.

79. See #31 in the Appendix. Peking, vol. 81, #4549, 214.3.4-215.4.1. Derge, #3727, vol. TSHU, 54b.2-56b.7. Cone microfiche edition, vol. TSHU, 54b.1-56b.7. Another version is found in Go-ram-pa Bsod-nams seng-ge, Sdom, written in 1461. The entire text is quoted on 228.1.1-229.3.4, and followed by Go-ram-pa's refutation.

80. See Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, Rtsa, and Sa-skya Paṇḍita, Sdom.

81. Most of these 'Bri-gung works were apparently written down in about 1226.

82. Padma gar-dbang, Zab 24b.
Vibhūticandra. From this information it can be seen that before the turn of the 14th century the text was accepted as an authentic work composed by Vibhūticandra.

On the other hand, while Jo-nang Tāranātha also stated that the text of the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba* first appeared after Vibhūticandra's second visit to Tibet, he believed it to be a forgery:

After that [trip to 'Bri-gung], the short text called *Sdom gsum 'od 'phreng*, in which there are refutations of the philosophical position of the *Rtsa ltung 'khrul spong* of the great Rje-btsun, was composed, perhaps by a scholar of Srin-po-ri, it is said, or perhaps by a partisan of the 'Bri-khung-pa, it is also said, and with the attribution “composed by Vibhūticandra.” It also does contain the philosophical position held by Vibhūticandra.

Later followers of the Sa-skya-pa had no experience in regard to Tibetan compositions and Indian compositions, and when they saw those refutations, they were deeply offended. Since the text of the *Od-'phreng* has clear and obvious signs of being a Tibetan composition, it was definitely not composed by Vibhūticandra.

There is no need to be that angry at him. It is the same, for example, as Vajradhara not being at fault even though there is wrong view and conduct in a false *tantra*.

Henceforth, if there are [points] in the tradition of the *Sdom gsum 'od 'phreng* which can be refuted with scripture and reasoning, cite them!

To have deep animosity just about a prostration not offered to Rje-btsun Grags-rgyal, and a refutation, is merely narrow-minded and not the conduct of a scholar. So if you hope to be a scholar, it would be preferable if you acted in a manner fit for a scholar.

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83. Bcom-ldan Rig-pa'i ral-gri, *Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi me tog*, 32b:

84. Taranātha, *Rdo*, 485: de rjes srin po ri pa'i dge bshes cig yin nam yang zer / 'bri khung pa'i phyogs 'dzin cig yin nam yang zer te / rje btsun chen po'i rtsa ltung 'khrul spong gi grub mtha' la dgag pa yod pa'i sdom gsum 'od 'pheng zer ba'i gzhung chung de brtsams nas / bi bhū ti candras mdzad do zhes kha 'phangs byas 'dug / grub mtha' bi bhū ti'i bzhed pa ni yin yod par yang gda' / phyis kyi sa skya pa mams bod rtsom dang rgya rtsom gyi nyams ni med / dgag pa de mthong bas snying na ba yin te / 'od 'phreng gi gzhung de bod rtsom sang sang sngon rtags can yin pas / bi bhū tis ma mdzad par nges / khong la tshig pa de tsam za mi dgos / dper na rgyud brdzus ma gcig gi
These comments raise a number of interesting points. To begin with, Tāranātha informs us that the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba* refutes positions laid forth in the *Rtsa lung 'khrul spong* of Rje-btsun Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, which the Sa-skya tradition to this day considers the definitive text on the nature of the fourteen fundamental sacred commitments (*samaya, dam-tshig*) of the vajrayāna, following the tradition of the Indian mahāsiddha Virūpa.85 This opinion is shared by the important Sa-skya scholar Go-ram-pa Bsod-nams seng-ge (1429-1489), who repeatedly mentions the specific points in the *'Khrul-spong* which he feels have been attacked in the brief verses of the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba*, and then proceeds to strongly refute those attacks.86 However, the Bka'-brgyud-pa historian Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag 'pheng-ba (1503/4-1566) states that Vibhūticandra wrote his text after seeing Sa-skya Paṇḍita's explanation in the *Sdom gsum rab dbye* that the three vows are transmutable (*gnas-'gyur*).87 Another early commentator upon the *Sdom gsum rab dbye*, Kun-mkhyen Dga'-gdong-pa, identified the specific use of the examples of sun, moon, and stars by Vibhūticandra to be a refutation of the position that the three vows possess a single essence (*ngo-bo* nang na / lta spyod log pa 'dug kyang / de rdo rje 'chang la khag med pa dang 'dra / lar sdom gsum 'od 'phreng gi lugs de la'ang lung rig gis gnod byed yod na khyogs shog / rje brtsun grags rgyal la phyag ma phul ba dang / dgag pa byas pa tsam la snying 'kham [486] pa ni gu dog tsam yin gyi / mkhas pa'i bya ba ma yin no / des na mkhas pa yin du re na mkhas pa la 'os pa zhi gya na dga' 'o'.

85. The *Rtsa lung 'khrul spong* was later the object of a refutation by Tsong-kha-pa, Blo-bzang grags-pa (1357-1419) in his *Gsang*, which was in turn refuted by the Sa-skya master Gser-mdog Pan-chen Shakya mchog-Idan (1408-1507) in his *'Khrul*.
86. See for example, Bsod-nams seng-ge, *Sdom* 234.4.4-235.2.1, where he quotes the relevant passage from Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, *Rtsa* 258.4.3-258.4.6, on the issue of *gnas-'gyur* and *ngo-bo-gcig*, which is refuted in the *'Od phreng*.
87. Dpa'-bo, *Chos* vol. 1, 524: phyis sa pan gyi sdom gsum rab dbye brtsams nas sdom gsum gnas 'gyur du gzigs nas / deng sang bstan pa'i zabs 'di ru. sdom pa gsum gyi nram gzhag la / mkhas pa'i rgyu skar 'ga' zhi gis / phyogs re'i cha tsam riogs gyur mod. sogs nas / bdag blo nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor gyis / phyogs las rgyal bar byas te 'god / ces dang / gsum ldan gsungs pa'i dgongs pa ni / zhes sogs kyi sdom gsum 'od phreng brtsams / I have not located any reference to this in Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *Sdom gsum rab dbye*. 

which had been stated in the *Rtsa ltung 'khrul spong* of Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan. 88

The Bka' brgyud master Karma 'phrin-las-pa (1456-1539) would later remark, "Since there have been very many statements in Tibet about the three vows being identical in essence or different, I will not elaborate upon it here." 89 Although many of the issues being dealt with in these texts are exceedingly complex, it seems appropriate to at least briefly outline the positions of Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan and Vibhūtīcandra in regard to the question of the identical or different nature (ngo bo gcig dang tha dad) of the three vows, and whether they are transmutable (gnas- 'gyur). It was perhaps these two points which provoked the strongest reactions from many critics of Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan’s work. 90

Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan defines the nature of the pratimokṣa vow as renunciation of everything which is harmful to others. In addition to that, the bodhisattva vow is the commitment to benefit others. The vidyādhara vow is to carry out the former vows while sustaining the pristine awareness of oneself as a deity. There is thus no contradiction between the three vows. 91

When a person who has taken full ordination

88. See Bsod-nams seng-be, Sdom 233.2.5-6: sdom gsum rab dbye'i 'grel byed kha cig (Dga') na re / da ni 'di dpyad par bya ste / kha cig sdom pa gsum po rje btsun chen pos rtsa ltung 'khrul spong du ngo bo gcig du gsungs pa / paṇḍi ta bi bhū ti candras sdom gsum 'od kyis phreng bar nyi zla skar gsum gyi dpes ngo bo gcig pa bkag nas rdzas tha dad du bzhad zer ro /

The commentary by Kun-mkhyen Dga'-gdong-pa is not presently available, but is mentioned in the autobiography of Jo-nang Kun-dga' grol-mchog (1507-1566) as one of the four great authentic commentaries (tshad-thub 'grel-chen bzhi). See Kun-dga’ grol-mchog, Zhen 361.3.

The examples of the sun, moon, and stars are found in the 'Od pheng, Peking edition, 215.1.4-5. The section of the *Rtsa ltung 'khrul spong* which is being refuted with the use of those examples is the same passage cited in note 86 above.

89. Karma 'phrin-las-pa, *Dri lan padma*, 101: sdom gsum ngo bo gcig dang tha dad ces bod na lab brjod shin tu mang bas 'dir ma spros //

90. For example, Bu-ston rin-chen grub later said that the statement "the three vows are transmutable and have a single essence" was a perverse Tibetan invention, for which there were no believable scriptural sources. See Bu-ston, Gtsang 256: sdom pa gsum gnas gyur ngo bo gcig ces pa bod kyi ngan rtog yin / yid ches thub pa'i lung khungs med // And according to Karma 'phrin-las-pa, *Dri lan drang* 124, Karma pa VII Chos-grags rgya-mtsho (1454-1506) held the opinion that the idea of the vows being transmutable contradicted the idea of their single essence.

according to the *pratimokṣa* becomes motivated to attain Buddhahood for the benefit of all sentient beings, all the *pratimokṣa* vows become *bodhisattva* vows. When that same person enters into a *maṇḍala* to receive tantric initiation, all the vows are then referred to as *vidyādha* vows.92

Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan used a series of examples drawn from scripture to illustrate his position. In the scriptural quotation it is pointed out that when some varieties of stone are smelted, they yield iron, copper, and silver. But a single gold-transforming tincture can transmute them all into gold. Likewise, the different vows determined by specific attitudes are all referred to as *vidyādha* if one enters into a great *maṇḍala*. Finally, Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan notes that the example of the stone obviously designates ordinary persons, while the iron is the *śrāvaka* discipline, the copper is the *pratyekabuddha* discipline, the silver is the discipline of the *bodhisattva*, and the gold-transmuting tincture is the discipline of the *vidyādha*.93 In the view of later Sa-skya-pa commentators, such as Go-ram-pa, Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan’s intention was to show that the lower vows are sequentially transformed into the higher ones as those vows are later taken. When one is thus endowed with all three vows, they may be said to have a single essence.94

In regard to the nature of the vows, the following lines are often quoted from the *Sdom gsum ’od kyi phreng ba*, where they are found soon after Vibhūṭicandra’s refutation of Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan’s interpretation of the scriptural quotation summarized in the previous paragraph:

> Therefore, when one endowed with the *pratimokṣa* takes the [bodhisattva vow] of the mind of sublime enlightenment, the former resides in the *ālaya* in a dormant fashion. When the *vidhyādha* vow is received, both the lower ones become dormant. For example, while the stars shining in the sky provide some light, when the orb of the moon shines the starlight becomes dim, but the world is bright. When the hot rays of the sun appear, the moonlight becomes dim, but the world is bright. 95

93. *Ibid.* The scripture which is quoted is identified as the *Rgyud ’bum pa’i lung de kho na nyid ye shes grub pa*.  
95. Bi-bhu-ti-tsandra, *Sdom* 215.1: des na so sor thar ldan pas / byang chub mchog gi sems blangs na / dang po de ni kun gzhi la / bag la nyal ba’i tshul
Here Vibhūticandra clearly disagrees with Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's assertion that the former vows transform into the latter vows. Instead, he states that they all remain individual, although the latter ones may seem to dominate the former. While agreeing with Vibhūticandra, the Sde-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho (1653-1705) would later give another example to illustrate the same point. If water, beer, and milk are mixed together in the same vessel, the smell of the beer and the color of the milk will dominate, but this does not prove that the water is gone.\(^{96}\)

According to the Sde-srid, the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba* also states that the three vows are substantially different (*rdzas tha-dad*).\(^{97}\) This, of course, contradicts Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's position that they have a single essence. The following lines illustrate Vibhūticandra's argument.

Therefore, it is not correct that one becomes endowed with the three [vows] when [receiving] the single *vidhyādhara* [vow]. If it were correct, the former two would arise without the necessity of rituals. The Great Sage did not teach a common ritual for the three vows.\(^{98}\)

Here the Sde-srid comments that the three vows which are present in the mental continuum of an individual are substantially different for a number of reasons. They are different at the point of arising, because the former must be present as the basis for the latter ones. They are different in duration, because the *pratimokṣa* endures as long as one lives, whereas the latter two remain until the attainment of Buddhahood. And they are different in that the former is lost at death, but the latter two are not.\(^{99}\)

As mentioned by Karma 'phrin-las-pa, there were numerous textual discussions in Tibet of these and many other questions raised in Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan and Vibhūticandra's works. Hopefully these same topics will receive detailed scholarly treatment in the future which is not possible in this paper.

\(^{96}\) Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, *Dpal* 480.

\(^{97}\) Ibid., 419.

\(^{98}\) Bi-bhu-ti-tsandra, *Sdom* 215.2: *des na rig 'dzin gcig pu la / gsum ldan sbyor ba 'thad ma yin / gal te 'thad na 'og ma gnyis / cho ga mi dgos skye bar 'gyur / sdom gsum cho ga thun mong du / thub pa chen pos gsungs pa med* //

\(^{99}\) Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, *Dpal* 479.
The next issue which was mentioned above by Tārānātha is the question of authenticity. He states that the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba* contains the attribution (*kha-'phangs*) "composed by Vibhūtīcandra (*bi bhū ti candras mzdad do")." This is indeed the case, but it should be noted that all the colophons of texts composed or translated by Vibhūtīcandra alone are written in the third person, using the honorific verb "to compose" (*mzdad*). Not a single colophon is in the first person, using another ordinary verb such as *sbyar-ba*, *'bri-ba*, or *bkod-pa*. In other words, Vibhūtīcandra wrote none of the colophons to his own works, and it seems that the unknown author of the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba*, if it is indeed a forgery, may have simply copied a standard formula usually found at the end of a work by Vibhūtīcandra, to the effect of "(The work) composed by Vibhūtīcandra, the *mahāpandita* of Jagaddala in eastern India, and translated himself, is complete."  

Tārānātha then makes the very significant statement that the views within the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba* do actually coincide with those of Vibhūtīcandra himself. His source for this knowledge is not specified, but he seems to make the point, both here and further below in the quote, that the doctrinal content of the text presents no problem for him, and a few lines further on he invites debate upon this very subject. It is other evidence within the text, such as style, diction, and so forth, which presumably caused him to state that it was obviously not by Vibhūtīcandra, and must have been written by a Tibetan. The specific refutation by

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100. In this context it is very interesting to note that Grags-pa rgyal-rtsegn lists seven treatises concerning the nature of vows attributed to early masters such as *Maṇjuśrīyāsas ('Jam-dpal grags-pa), *Ānandagarbha (Kun-dga' snying-po), and Lady *Lakṣmī (Lcam Legs-smi), which he states are certain forgeries, even though he received them in a living transmission from his own guru, and had even taught them a bit himself! He also emphasizes the use of the third person honorific "mzdad" used in the forged colophons. See Grags-pa rgyal-rtsegn, *Rtsa* 238.3.3-4: *gzhung dang don gyi 'grel pa bdun po de dag kho bos kyang bla ma las thos shing / gzhana'ang cung zad 'chad mod kyi / de dag ni log par smra ba 'ba' zhi g yin la / mzdad do zhes zer ba'i slob dpon chen po de dag gis kyang ma mzdad pa nyid du rig par bya'o /.

101. For example, see the *'Od-phreng* colophon of the Peking edition, 215. 4.1: *rgya gar shar phyogs dza ga ta la'i pandi ta chen po bi bhū ti candras mzdad te rang 'gyur du mzdad pa rdzogs so /.

102. In Grags-pa rgyal-rtsegn, *Rtsa* 249.4.2-4, there is a pertinent discussion of how to deal with texts attributed to the Buddha, or to other great masters, which were not composed by them: *yang sangs rgyas sam slob dpon chen po dag gis ma mzdad pa la mzdad par ming biags pa dag mthong na de legs par
an Indian *paṇḍita* of points in a contemporary Tibetan text is also, to my knowledge, unprecedented. This may have been another factor contributing to Tāranātha’s judgment that the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba* was not composed by Vibhūticandra himself. It is conceivable that Vibhūticandra taught the basic positions found within this text, which was then written in verse form with a specific polemic aim by someone who had heard them during his stay at 'Bri-gung or Srin-po-ri.

Tāranātha also states that later Sa-skya authors were not able to discern the difference between authentic texts of Indian origin, and those composed in Tibet. In particular, later scholars of the Sa-skya tradition criticized and ridiculed Vibhūticandra, which Tāranātha dismisses as mere bluster.103 He gives as a reason the episode which was discussed above, in which Vibhūticandra is said to have not prostrated to the Sa-skya master Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, therefore arousing the ire of those in the Sa-skya tradition.

As we have seen, the Sa-skya-pa thinkers, as represented by Dga’-gdong-pa and Go-ram-pa, believed the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba* to have been composed by Vibhūticandra. As mentioned above, the strongest witness for the authenticity of the text is the fact that it was taught by Vibhūticandra to Kun-mkhyen Chos-sku 'od-zer.104 This shows that the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba* was also accepted as an authentic work of Vibhūticandra in the lineage of the Bo-dong-pa tradition of the *saḍāṅgayoga* masters whose lives are recorded by Padma gar dbang in 1538. The *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba* is also included in all the available editions of the Tibetan *Bstan-'gyur*. Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub included it in his landmark edition, and his index to the collection states that it was composed by Vibhūticandra, with no mention of any uncertainty of authorship.105 Bu-ston also translated at least one of Vibhūticandra’s works from Sanskrit into Tibetan, and certainly did possess the ability to distinguish between Indian and Tibetan compositions.106

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103. Tāranātha, *Rdo*, 484: . . . 'ur 'brog langs pa kho nar zad do /
105. Bu-ston Rin-chen grub, *Bstan* 566: *bi bhū ti candras mdzad pa'i sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba/ de nyid kyi rang 'gyur /
106. Sgrub thabs mdor byas kyi dka' 'grel (*Piṇḍikṛta-sādhana-pañjikā*), Peking, vol. 62, #2701: 263.1.6.-265.2.6. See #25 in the Appendix. This
The *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba* was also accepted as authentic in the Dge-lugs-pa tradition, since we find Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang grags-pa using a verse from it when quoting Vībhūticandra. Moreover, the *Sde-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho* gives Vībhūticandra’s opinions from the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba* a prominent place in his treatment of the controversy about whether the three vows can be considered transmutable. He specifically quotes the concluding lines of Vībhūticandra’s work, and states that they clearly show he was following the views of his master Śākyāśrī in maintaining that the vows are different in nature.

The Bka'-brgyud teacher Karma 'phrin-las-pa, writing in 1502 and 1509, engaged in a fascinating discussion of the issues raised in the *Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba*, while clearly considering the text to have been composed by Vībhūticandra. As noted above, the Bka'-brgyud historian Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag phreng-ba also mentions the composition by Vībhūticandra, with no hint of controversy about authorship. Finally, the later Sa-skya scholar Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims rin-chen (1697-1774) included the text in the Sde-dge edition of the *Bstan-'gyur*, without special comment.

**CONCLUSIONS**

During three separate trips to Tibet, which totaled at least fifteen years, the Indian mahāpandita Vībhūticandra made significant contributions to
the transmission of Buddhist knowledge from India and Nepal at a time when it was being destroyed by the Islamic invasions in India. In particular, the practice of the sadhagayoga of the Kālacakra, as taught to him by the immortal mahāsiddha Śavaripa, has continued until the present day to be of special importance for the Kālacakra traditions maintained in Tibet. A number of works composed and translated by Vibhūticandra are preserved in the Tibetan Bstan-'gyur, some of which hold promise for future research, especially his compositions concerning the Kālacakrantantra and the Bodhicaryāvatāra.

The Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba is certainly the most controversial work attributed to Vibhūticandra. Rje-btsun Tāranātha was of the opinion that it was definitely a forgery, although the ideas within it correspond to positions Vibhūticandra accepted. Representatives of the other traditions all seem to have accepted it as an authentic work. Final conclusions on this issue will have to await more thorough research into the Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba itself, and the numerous issues raised by the opinions found therein.

APPENDIX
Works in the Peking Edition of the Tibetan Bstan-'gyur
Composed and / or Translated by Vibhūticandra

Texts composed and/or translated at the Royal Palace in Pu-rang, Tibet:
1. Rdo rje tsar tsi ka'i las sgrub pa'i thabs (Vajracarīcākārma-sādhanā), vol. 86, #4824: 46.2.5.-46.4.3.
   Composed by Śrīdhara
   Translated by Vibhūticandra and Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba Shes-rab rin-chen, at Chos-kyi rgyal-po'i pho-brang sku-mkhar nyi-gzugs.
2. Dpal rdo rje dbyangs can ma'i sgrub thabs (Śrīvajrasarasvatī-sādhanā), vol. 86, #4826: 47.1.8.-47.5.6.
   Composed by Śrīdhara.
   Translated by Vibhūticandra and Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba Shes-rab rin-chen at Chos-kyi rgyal-po'i pho-brang sku-mkhar nyi-gzungs.
3. Rdo rje dkar mo'i rjes su 'dzin pa'i sgrub thabs (Vajragauryānugraha-sādhanā), vol. 86, #4827: 47.5.6.-48.3.3.
   Composed by Śrīdhara.
   Translated by Vibhūticandra and Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba Shes-rab rin-chen, at Chos-kyi rgyal-po'i khab sku-mkhar nyi-gzungs.
4. *Dpal bde mchog gi dkyil 'khor kyi cho ga* (Śrīsāmvara-maṇḍalavidhi), vol. 52, #2226: 74.1.7.-85.5.3.
Composed by Tathāgatavajra.
Translated by Vibhūticandra, at Thang bi-ha-ra.

5. *'Phags pa don yod zhags pa'i sgrub pa'i thabs* (Āryāmoghapāśa-sādhana), vol. 86, #4841: 102.4.2.-102.5.8.
Composed by Vibhūticandra, who was blessed by Śrī Cakrasaṃvara.

6. *'Phags pa don yod zhags pa'i sgrub thabs* (Āryāmoghapāśa-sādhana), vol. 86, #4840: 101.3.7.-102.4.2.
Composed by Śākyasrībhadra.
Translated by Vibhūticandra and Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba Shes-rab rin-chen.
Transmitted from Vibhūticandra to Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba, by him to his (spiritual?) son (sras) Blo-gros bzang-po, and by him to Slob-dpon A-mo-gha.

7. *Dpal rdo rje phag mo'i sgrub thabs* (Śrīvajravārāhī-sādhana), vol. 86, #4825: 46.4.3.-47.1.8.
Composed by Śrīdharā.
Translated by Vibhūticandra, and revised and finalized (*zhus te gtan la phab*) by Blo-bo Lo-tsā-ba Shes-rab rin-chen, at Dpal chos-kyi-dbyings kyi gtsug-lag-khang rang-byung.112

Texts composed and/or translated at 'Bring-mtshams, in Gtsang, Tibet:

8. *Sbyor ba yan lag drug pa'i 'grel pa* (Saḍāṅgayoga-ṭīkā), vol. 47, #2084: 238.2.5.-242.4.2.
Composed by Ravisrijñāna.
Translated by Vibhūticandra, at Ru-lag gi snying-po 'bring-mtshams kyi sa'i-cha/ dpal rgya-rtags kyi gtsug-lag-khang.

9. *Byang chub kyi spyod pa la 'jug pa'i dgongs pa'i 'grel pa khyad par gsal byed* (Bodhicaryāvatāra-tātparyapañjikā-viśeṣadyotani), vol. 100, #5282: 235.5.8.-281.3.4.
Composed and translated by Vibhūticandra.
Translated at Ru-lag gtsang-stod 'bring-'tshams kyi sa'i-cha dpal rgya-rtags kyi gtsug-lag-khang.

112. Roerich, trans. 1959, 55, states that the Indians referred to Stham-Bihar by this name.
10. *Rnal 'byor yan lag drug gi brjed byang yon tan gyis 'gengs pa* (Guṇabharanī-nāma śaḍaṅgayoga-tippāṇī)\(^\text{\textsuperscript{113}}\), vol. 47, #2103: 283.1.5.-294.4.8.
Composed by Raviśrīnjāna.
Originally translated by Vibhūtīcandra, but later retranslated by Dpang Lo-tsā-ba Blo-gros brtan-pa (1276-1342) at the insistence of Chos-grags dpal-bzang.\(^\text{\textsuperscript{114}}\)
The original translation by Vibhūtīcandra was of only half the text.\(^\text{\textsuperscript{115}}\)

*Texts composed and / or translated at Ding-ri, near the Tibet-Nepal border:*

11. *Sbyor ba yan lag drug pa* (Śaḍaṅgayoga), vol. 47, #2083: 234.2.4.-238.2.5.
Composed by Śrī Anupamarakṣīta.
Translated by Vibhūtīcandra and Gnyal Lo-tsā-ba Mi-myam bzang-po, at La-stod Ding-ri glang-skor mkhan-pa (dur) khor. See #22 below for the later retranslation by Dpang Blo-gros-brtan-pa.

12. *Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i gdams ngag nyi ma zla ba sgrub pa* (Śrī-kālacakropadeśa-sūryacandra-sādhana), vol. 47, #2085: 242.4.2.-244.5.6.
Translated by Vibhūtīcandra, at Dpal Ding-ri glang-'khor.\(^\text{\textsuperscript{116}}\)

13. *Bla ma sgrub pa'i rgya gzhung phyi sgrub ti llo pas mdzad pa* (Guru-sādhana), vol. 87: 14.1.3.-14.2.3.
Composed by yogesvara Tilopa.
Translated by Vibhūtīcandra, at Dpal mkhan-pa'i dur-khor (in Ding-ri.)

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\(^\text{113}\) This text has been translated into German by Günter Gröbold (1969).
\(^\text{114}\) This master may be identified as Kun-spangs Chos-grags dpal-bzang (1283-1363), one of the great disciples of Kun-mkhyen Dol-po-pa at Jo-nang monastery. He was also a translator of several texts from Sanskrit. See Ngag-dbang blo-gros grags-pa, *Dpal* 32-33, and Mang-thos klu-sgrub, *Bstan* 180.
\(^\text{115}\) Dpang-lo mentions in his colophon that although there are several instances of questionable meaning in the text, and many corrupt grammatical constructions, he had consulted an authoritative original document, and finding them there as well, had strictly adhered to the original in his work. Padma gar-dbang, *Zab* 24b, states that this text was translated at 'Bring-mtshams rgya-rtags.
\(^\text{116}\) According to the Derge Index, this text #1369, PHA, 216b.2-221b.4, was composed by Rigs-gsum mgon-po.
No colophon, but the composition and translation are attributed to Vibhūticandra.

15. *Bla ma sgrub pa'i rgya gzhung nang sgrub nā ro pas mdzad pa* (Guru-siddhi), vol. 87, #5016: 14.2.4.-15.2.8.
Composed by ŚrīNāropa.
Translated by Vibhūticandra, probably at Ding-ri.

16. *Bla ma gsang sgrub klu sgrub gyis mdzad pa* (Guru-guhyasiddhi), vol. 87, #5017: 15.2.8.-16.2.6.
Composed by *pandita* Nāgārjuna.
Translated by Vibhūticandra, at Dpal Ding-ri glang-'khor gyis dgon-pa.
Transmission lineage: Vajradhara, Vajrapāni, Nāgārjuna, Tilopa, Nāropa, Pham-thing-pa, Śākyasrībhadra, Vibhūticandra, Ratnasrībhadra, Bla-ma zhang Ratnasīmha.

17. *Rnal 'byor yan lag drug pa* (Yogaśādāṅga), vol. 47, # 2091: 258.4.2.-258.5.1.
Spoken by Śrī Śavareśvara.
Translated by Vibhūticandra, probably at Ding-ri.
Transmitted by Śavaripa directly to Vibhūticandra, at Stham Bihar in Kathmandu, Nepal.

**Texts composed and/or translated at Drang-srong Srin-po-ri, in Dbus, Tibet:**

18. *Lu yi pa'i mngon par rtags pa'i 'grel pa sdom pa'i 'byung ba* (Lūhipādābhisamaya-vṛtti-saṁvarodaya), vol. 52, #2224: 58.2.1.-63.1.7.
Composed by Tathāgatavajra.
Translated by Vibhūticandra, at Drang-srong Srin-po-ri.

19. *Lu yi pa'i mngon par rtags pa'i 'grel pa'i ti ka khyad par gsal byed* (Lūhipādābhisamaya-vṛtti-tīkā-viśeṣa-dyota), vol. 52, #2225: 63.1.7.-74.1.7.
Composed by Tathāgatavajra.
Translated by Vibhūticandra, at Drang-srong Srin-po-ri.
Received by 'Jam-dpal gzhon-nu from Vibhūticandra himself.

**Other texts:**

20. *Ye shes spyan sgrub pa* (Jñānacaksu-sādhana), vol. 47, #2086: 244.5.6.-245.3.7.
Composed by Kālacakrapada.
Translated by Vibhūticandra.
Transmission lineage: Kālacakrapada, jñānaḍākini Sūryadharma, Ratnaśrībhadra, Śākyāśrībhadra, Vibhūticandra.
21. Nang gi snye ma (Antarmaṇjarī), vol. 47, #2093: 259.2.1.-264.5.3. Edited and translated by Vibhūticandra. 117
22. Sbyor ba yan lag drug pa (Ṣaḍāṅgayoga), vol. 47, #2102: 274.3.7.-283.1.5. Composed by Anupamaraksita.
A revision of #11 above, which was translated by Vibhūticandra and Gnyal Lo-tsā-ba Mi-yam bzang-po. This new translation is by Dpang Lo-tsā-ba Dpal-lidan blo-gros brtan-pa at the insistence of the great Kālacakra master Chos-grags dpal-bzang-po. 118
23. Rmi lam brtag pa (Svapnohana), vol. 59, #2621: 110.3.8.-111.2.5. Composed and translated by Vibhūticandra.
24. Rim pa Inga'i dgongs 'grel zla ba'i 'od zer (Pañcakrama-mata-tīkā-candraprabhā), vol. 62, #2700: 252.3.1.-263.1.6. Composed by Abhyākaragupta. Translated by Vibhūticandra. 119
25. Sgrub thabs mdor byas kyi dka' 'grel (Piṇḍikṛta-sādhanā-pañjikā), vol. 62, #2701: 263.1.6.-265.2.6.

117. Rong-pa Shes-rab seng-ge (1251-1315) and Rdo-rje rgyal-mtshan (1283-1325) strongly criticized Vibhūticandra. Both these teachers had been fellow students with Bu-ston Rin-chen grub under Thar-lo Nyi-ma rgyal mtshan, who had been the abbot of Bodhgaya, India, for six years. See Tāranātha, Myang 142. Rdo-rje rgyal-mtshan later became one of Bu-ston’s most important teachers. See Roerich 1976, 792-793, and Ruegg 1966, 87-89. According to Tāranātha the criticism by Shes-rab seng-ge and Rdo-rje rgyal-mtshan was because of an awkward translation by Vibhūticandra of his own anthology of Kālacakra related teachings, the Nang gi snye ma (Antarmaṇjarī). They had found what they considered to be serious mistakes in meaning, but according to Tāranātha this was due to the lack of fluency in the translation, and they had therefore been unable to correctly comprehend Vibhūticandra’s intended meaning. Tāranātha, Rdo 484: nang gi snye ma'i 'gyur ma bde ba zhig 'dug pas 'khrul gzhi byung nas don ma dgongs par... 118. The colophon states: dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i tshul la thag par mos shing blo gros kyi snang ba cher rgyas pa'i slob dpon chen po chos grags dpal bzang po'i bkas bskul / See note 114 above for the identification of Chos-grags dpal-bzang.
119. Ruegg 1966, 123, mentions that Bu-ston completed Vibhūticandra’s translation of this text.
26. 'Jam pa'i rdo rje mchod pa'i cho ga (Mañjuvajra-pūjā-vidhi), vol. 66, #2766: 59.2.3.-60.5.8.
Composed by Śrīdatta.
Translated by Vibhūticandra, with revision by Blo-gros seng-ge.

27. A ra pa tsa na'i sgrub thabs (Arapacana-sādhana), vol. 79, #3538: 85.3.4.-85.5.2.
Composed by Ajitamitra.
Translated by Vibhūticandra and Chag Lo-tsā-ba Chos-rje dpal.

28. Rmuchs 'dzin 'chol ba'i sgrub thabs (Ucchusma-jambhala-sādhana), vol. 81, #4565: 225.2.5.-226.1.8.
Composed by Abhayākara gupta.
Originally translated by Alamkadeva and Tshul-khrims 'byung-gnas sbas-pa, but retranslated by Vibhūticandra and Chag Lo-tsā-ba Chos-rje dpal.

29. 'Phags ma gdugs dkar mo can gzhan gyis mi thub pa sgrub pa'i thabs (Arya-sitātapatrāparājīti-sādhana), vol. 80, #3935: 20.3.8.-20.5.6.
Translated by Vibhūticandra and (Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba) Shes-rab rin-chen.

30. 'Phags ma sgrol ma sgrub pa'i thabs (Arya-tārā-sādhana), vol. 81, #4519: 97.4.6.-98.1.4.
Composed by Śākyaśrībhadra.
Translated by Vibhūticandra.

31. Sdom gsum 'od kyi phreng ba (Trīsaṃvaraprabhāmālā), vol. 81, #4549: 214.3.4.-215.4.1.
Composed and translated by Vibhūticandra.

32. Chos mngon pa'i mdzod kyi 'grel pa gnad kyi sgron ma (Abhidharmakośa-vṛtti-mar ma-pradīpa), vol. 118, #5596: 275.5.8.-332.5.1.
Composed by Dignāga.
Translated by Vibhūticandra and 'Jam-dpal gzhon-nu.

33. 'Chi ba med pa'i mdzod kyi rgya cher 'grel pa 'dod 'jo'i ba mo (Amarakosa-ṭīkā-kamadhenu), vol. 140, #5788: 157.4.1-183.2.7.
Composed by Vibhūticandra (Rab-'byor zla-ba).
Translated by Rgya-gar gyi mkhan-po Kirticandra and Yar-lungs-pa Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (13th-14th cent.) in Kathmandu, Nepal.

120. Ruegg 1966, 122, also mentions Bu-ston’s translation of this text.
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