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Islam in the Kālacakra Tantra*

They totally differ from us in religion, as we believe in nothing in which they believe, and vice versa.
al-Bīrūnī, al-Hind

PART 1: INTRODUCTION

Islam’s impact on Indian Buddhism is well known to historians of religion: after the Muslim conquest of the Buddhist homeland in northeastern India at the beginning of the 13th century CE, Buddhism ceased to exist as an institutional religious force. Although remnants of Buddhist culture continued to survive for several centuries, Muslim political and economic domination of northern India insured that Buddhist monasteries would not be reborn from their ashes.

The attitude of the Muslims who invaded India towards Buddhism is amply documented by Muslim historians – as idolatrous infidels Buddhists were put to the sword or enslaved, and their temples were looted and destroyed, all as acts of religious merit. It is not surprising that this violent persecution produced fear and hatred in the minds of the victims. Commenting on the results of Mahmud of Ghazni’s famous raids during the first decades of the 11th century, al-Bīrūnī writes:

* An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 1989 Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Religion. I am grateful to Drs. Beth Newman, Michael Sweet, Leonard Zwilling, Cynthia Talbot, and Richard Salomon for criticism and comments on earlier drafts of this paper.


2. For Muslim accounts of the Turkish attacks on East Indian Buddhist monasteries see WARDER 1980: 506-8. For a Tibetan eye-witness account of such raids see ROERICH 1959: xviii-xxii, 93-94.

"The notion [of dīhād] stems from the fundamental principle of the universality of Islam: this religion, along with the temporal authority which it implies, ought to embrace [the] whole universe, if necessary by force... [With regard to idolaters:] their conversion to Islam is obligatory under pain of being put to death or reduced into slavery" (EI ii.538a).
Maḥmūd utterly ruined the prosperity of the country and performed there wonderful exploits, by which the [Indians] became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions, and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people. Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims. This is the reason, too, why [Indian] sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and have fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares, and other places. And there the antagonism between them and all foreigners receives more and more nourishment from both political and religious sources.  

Al-Bīrūnī’s report that ‘antagonism between Indians and foreigners received nourishment from religious sources’ suggests Hindus and Buddhists were aware of the threat Islam posed. However, a standard history of India, commenting on Indian reactions to the Muslim Turkic invasions of the 11th and 12th centuries, states:

There was an awareness that an entirely new force had arrived on the Indian scene, but there was hardly any curiosity about it. That the conquerors would supersede the indigenous rulers in the political sphere was acknowledged; but the wider implications — such as the likelihood that the newcomers would alter and modify the pattern of Indian culture — was not at first clearly realized (THAPAR 1974: 266). The people of India curiously do not seem to have perceived the new arrivals as a unified body of Muslims (THAPAR 1989: 223).

In fact as early as the beginning of the 11th century some Indian Buddhists were very curious about the new religion that had recently appeared on their western horizon, and perceived it to be a threat to traditional Indian culture. As we will see, the Kālacakra tantra is a remarkable exception to the rule that in classical Indian literature “the Muslims, who were not only present in India for many centuries, but were its actual rulers, appear only in vague and marginal references” (HALBFASS 1988: 182); “the Sanskrit tradition has never taken official notice of the existence of Islam” (ERNST 1992: 30); “I would lay stress on this – the religious identity of the Central Asians [who invaded India] is not once thematized in Sanskrit sources” (POLLOCK 1993: 286). In Sanskrit literature the Kālacakra tantra is unique in presenting a fairly comprehensive and quite accurate portrayal of Islamic beliefs and practices.

3. SACHAU 1989: 1.22; see also 19-23. I have replaced Sachau’s “Hindus” with [Indians], because in this passage al-Bīrūnī clearly intends an inclusive ethnonym, not a religious denomination, as SACHAU himself no doubt recognized. Note also the following passage: “Another circumstance which increased the already existing antagonism between [Indians] and foreigners is that the so-called Shamaniyya (Buddhists), though they cordially hate the Brahmans, still are nearer akin to them than to others” (SACHAU 1989:1.21).
Also, the Buddhist authors of the Kālacakra developed strategies for dealing with Islam that grew out of their own religious preoccupations, in line with the contemporary religious milieu.

The Kālacakra Tantra

The source for this study is the literature of the Indian Buddhist Kālacakra tantra tradition. The Kālacakra, or “Wheel of Time,” was the last major product of Indian Vajrayāna Buddhism. All late Vajrayāna Buddhism is syncretic – it takes elements from non-Buddhist religious traditions and assimilates them to a Buddhist context. However, in the Kālacakra tantra syncretism is unusually obvious and is even self-conscious – the tantra makes little effort to disguise its borrowings from the Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, and Jaina traditions. The basic structure of the Kālacakra system is itself non-Buddhist: the Kālacakra uses the ancient idea of the homology of the macrocosm and the microcosm as the foundation of its soteriology. Islam appears in both the macrocosm and the microcosm of the Kālacakra mysticism.

In this essay I have attempted to collect, edit, translate, and analyze all of the references to Islamic beliefs and practices appearing in the earliest stratum of the Indian Kālacakra corpus. There are in addition numerous references to the Muslim “barbarians” in other passages dealing with the myth of the Kalkins of Sambhala (see below, and NEWMAN 1995), but they do not directly bear on our assessment of the Kālacakra’s knowledge of Islam as a historical reality, the main focus of this study.

Much of the Indian Kālacakra literature exists in the original Sanskrit, and all of this is available in Tibetan translation. References to Islam appear in the following Indian Kālacakra texts:

I. Paramādibuddhoddhārta-Śrī-Kālacakra-nāma-tantrarāja (henceforth ‘Śrī Kālacakra’), together with its commentary Vimalaprabha-nāma-mūlatantrānusārinī-dvādaśasāhasrikā-laghukālacakra-tantrarājaśīkā (henceforth ‘Vimalaprabha’).

II. Śrī-Kālacakra-tantrottara-Tantrahrdaya-nāma (henceforth ‘Tantrahrdaya’).

III. Svadarṣanamatoddeśa

IV. Śrī-Paramārthasevā

4. Here tantra has two connotations: its primary meaning is a system of mysticism; by extension, it also refers to the revealed texts that teach such a system. Thus, the Kālacakra tantra is taught in the Śrī Kālacakra and other tantras belonging to the Kālacakra corpus of buddha-vacanam.
The Śrī Kālacakra and Vimalaprabhā are complete in Sanskrit; at least one-fourth of the Sanskrit of the Paramārthaseva has survived; but apart from brief quotations we have only Tibetan translations of the Tantrahrdaya and the Svadarśanamatodosā.

The Śrī Kālacakra is the Kālacakra lāghutantra— it is traditionally held to be the condensed redaction of the Paramāribuddha, the Kālacakra mūlatantra, which is attributed to the Buddha. The Śrī Kālacakra is an esoteric treatise that, together with its massive commentary the Vimalaprabhā, is our main source for the Indian Kālacakra tantra tradition. The Śrī Kālacakra, according to its own account, was composed by Yaśas, an emanation of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, who was the first Kalkin emperor of the mythical Inner Asian land of Sambhala. The Vimalaprabhā claims itself to be written by Yaśas' son Puṇḍarīka, the second Kalkin of Sambhala, an emanation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. The Tantrahrdaya is a supplement (tantrottara) to the Śrī Kālacakra attributed to Yaśas, and Yaśas also composed the Svadarśanamatodosā, an independent verse treatise. The Paramārthaseva, by Puṇḍarīka, is an independent work of didactic poetry.

We can safely assume that ‘Yaśas’ and ‘Puṇḍarīka’ are pseudonyms, elements of an elaborate mythology devised to provide the newly created Kālacakra tantra with a suitable Buddhist pedigree, in an attempt to introduce the Kālacakra to the Indian Buddhist intelligentsia of the early 11th century. A passage in Abhayakaragupta’s Śrī-Sampuṭa-tantrarāja-ṭīkā-Āmnāyamañjari-nāma (composed ca. 1109 CE) informs us that some Buddhist cognoscenti indeed held ‘Yaśas’ and ‘Puṇḍarīka’ to be pseudonyms, rejected their claim to the status of bodhisattva, and found much in the Kālacakra corpus that was incompatible with Buddhism (NEWMAN 1987b: 107-110).

If we assume the names ‘Yaśas’ and ‘Puṇḍarīka’ are products of mythogenesis, we can make some observations about the historical authors of these texts based on their contents. First, the authors were

5. The incomplete MS of the Paramārthaseva is National Archives Kathmandu no. 5-7235, Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project reel no. B 30/31, misleadingly catalogued under the title Kālacakratantra. Brief excerpts are also imbedded in the Paramārthasamgraha, Guṇabharanī, Sekoddeṣatippuni, and Kriyāsamuccaya. Unfortunately, I have not found the verses I have edited and translated below among the portions of the text that survive in Sanskrit.

6. For discussion of the myth and history surrounding these authors and texts see NEWMAN 1985; 1987a; 1987b: 70-113; 1995; 1996.
highly educated masters of late Indian Vajrayāna Buddhism. The Kālcakra literature demonstrates an intimate knowledge of ‘anuttarayoga’ tantras such as the Guhyasamāja, Hevajra, and Cakrasaṃvara; it also presupposes a thorough grounding in Śrāvakayāna and non-tantric Mahāyāna philosophy and soteriology. In addition, the Vimalaprabhā exhibits a more than passing acquaintance with brahmanical learning, citing such texts as the Rgveda, Aṣṭādhyāyī, Śāmkhyakārikā, Manuṣmṛti, Mahābhārata, etc. It is likely that the authors themselves were brahmans by caste, Buddhists by religious affiliation.

An unusual feature of the earliest stratum of the Indian Kālcakra literature is its interest in what we might call ethnography. Although the most striking example of this is the Kālcakra’s information on Muslims and Islam, the texts also comment on the religious and social customs of other people in India and abroad. In brief, we can characterize the authors of the early Kālcakra literature as erudite Indian Buddhists who situated their mysticism in a cosmopolitan cultural milieu.

I believe the earliest stratum of the Indian Kālcakra literature, including the texts studied here, is the product of a small group of vajrācāryas who flourished in northeastern India during the early decades of the 11th century CE. Members of the original Kālcakra cult included Atiśa’s guru Piṇḍo – a brahman Buddhist monk born in Java, and Nāro (Nāropāda) – the famous vajrācārya of Nālandā. For discussion of this theory see NEWMAN 1987b:89-107.

The Śrī Kālcakra, Vimalaprabhā, Tantrahṛdaya, Svadārṣanamatoddeśa, and Paramārthasevā all can be dated with a remarkable degree of precision: all are quoted by name in the Paramārthasamgraha-nāma-Sekoddeṣaṭīkā composed by Nāro, who probably died ca. 1040 CE.  


8. See WYLIE 1982. WYLIE refers only to Alaka Chattopadhyaya’s Atiśa and Tibet for the story of Nāro’s last days (WYLIE 1982: 688-89, n.14-16). For Tibetan sources for this important story see the Atiśa biographies (EIMER 1979: 2.172-74, 1.225); dPa' bo gTsug lag phreng ba 1545: 673; and Padma dkar po 1575: 445. On Marpa’s meeting with Atiśa and his subsequent search for Nāro, in
Even more important is the fact that the Śrī Kālacakra and the Vimalaprabhā contain a year – 403 – which forms the basis for the epoch of the Kālacakra system of chronology and astronomy. The year 403 is the year of the lord of the mlecchas, Muḥammad (I.2,3), and it is a solar calendar reckoning of a year in the Hijra era that can be reckoned as corresponding to 1024/25 CE (see Newman 1998). The appearance of this year in the Śrī Kālacakra and the Vimalaprabhā – a terminus post quem, together with Nārō’s citations – a terminus ante quem, proves that these texts were completed between 1025 and ca. 1040 CE. Also, the Indo-Tibetan Kālacakra guru lineages originate early in the 11th century (Newman 1987b: 89-107). In brief, both internal and external evidence indicates that the earliest stratum of the Kālacakra literature was composed during the early decades of the 11th century. It is certainly no mere coincidence that this was the very time Mahmūd of Ghaznī launched his epoch-making raids into northwestern India.

**Buddhist Perceptions of Islam: the Barbarian Tāyin**

The Kālacakra literature uniformly refers to Muslims as mlecchas – barbarians, and Islam is called the mleccha-dharma, the barbarian religion (I.1 ff.). In brahmanical usage the Sanskrit word mleccha commonly

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9. Henceforth I cross-reference my discussion with the translations and text editions given in Parts 2 and 3. Thus (I.2,3) indicates the second and third extracts from the Śrī Kālacakra and the Vimalaprabhā; (II.4) denotes the fourth extract from the Tantrahrdaya, etc.
denotes any foreigner who does not follow Indian customs, but the Kālačakra texts seem to apply it only to Muslims.

The Kālačakra texts specify the identity of the barbarians: they are the Tāyin. In Buddhist Sanskrit texts the word tāyin is widely used as a laudatory epithet of buddhas and bodhisattvas, meaning, among other things, “a protector” (Edgerton 1972: 251-52); in this sense the Tibetans translate tāyin as skyob pa. And in fact this common usage is well-attested in the Kālačakra literature. However, in the Kālačakra’s discussion of the mlecchas “tāyin” is given another, very different meaning; in this context the Tibetans translate it as stag gzig. We should

10. See al-Bīrūnī: “[A]ll their fanaticism is directed against those who do not belong to them – against all foreigners. They call them mleccha, i.e. impure, and forbid having any connection with them, be it by intermarriage or any other kind of relationship, or by sitting, eating, and drinking with them, because thereby, they think, they would be polluted... [I]n all manners and usages they differ from us to such a degree as to frighten their children with us, with our dress, and our ways and customs, and as to declare us to be devil’s breed, and our doings the very opposite of all that is good and proper. By the by, we must confess, in order to be just, that a similar depreciation of foreigners not only prevails among us and the [Indians], but is common to all nations towards each other” (Sachau 1989:1.19-20). For excellent discussions of traditional brahmanical xenology see Thapar 1971; Halbfass 1988: 172-96. Indian Buddhist attitudes towards foreigners seem to have been somewhat different from the normative brahmanical attitude; a valuable study could be done comparing the two.

11. With a few exceptions, one could accurately gloss mleccha as ‘Muslim’ throughout the Kālačakra literature. On the other hand, the texts do not employ the term mleccha when referring to non-Muslim foreigners. For example, the Tibetans, whose beef-eating and lack of hygiene are equally barbarous from the author’s point of view, are not called mlecchas (see III.2; and Tantrahrdaya P 152a6: bod na khrus dang gtsang spra med: “In Tibet there is no bathing or cleanliness”). This is probably due to the fact that the authors recognized the Tibetans as fellow Buddhists (Newman 1987b: 362; 1996: 494, n. 10).

12. Śrī Kālačakra 5.68c refers to the “beneficent attitude of the Tāyin [– the buddhas and bodhisattvas]” (tāyināṁ saukyabuddhis; skyob pa rnam kyi bde ba’i blo gros). Similarly, the Paramārthasamgraha (p. 28.24-25), commenting on “protector” (tāyin; skyob pa) in Sekoddeśa 22b, reads: “The protection is [the buddhas’] proclamation of the path they saw. Since they do that, they are protectors, the Tathāgatas and so forth” (tāyāḥ svadṛṣṭaṁargoktiḥ ladyoγāt tāyinas tathāgatādayahāḥ skyob pa niyid gzigs lam gsum pa’i de la sbyor ba’i phyir skyob ste l skyob pa ni skyob pa de bzin gšegs pa la sogs rnam so) (see Gnoli and Orofino 1994: 205). Nārō’s gloss takes tāyin as a nominal stem in -in formed on tāyāḥ; see Edgerton 1972: 251-52. For an extensive bibliography on Buddhist Sanskrit tāyin see De Jong 1974: 69, n. 4.
first note that all the examples found in the Sanskrit texts edited below are declined in the genitive plural: tāyināṁ (Sanskrit and Tibetan: I.2,3,7,10; Tibetan only: II.1,4,7; IV.2). However, elsewhere in the Śrī Kālacakrā and Vimalaprabhā we find the feminine nominative singular form tāyini (Tib. stag gzig ma) in a list of eight ethnonyms denoting outcaste and tribal women. Thus, we can be confident that the underlying word is treated as nominal stem in -in; the masculine nominative singular would be tāyī.

The Kālacakrā texts use tāyin in place of the common Sanskrit term tājika to refer to the mlecchas of the West. In Sanskrit literature tājika "ursprünglich die Araber bezeichnete, dann aber allgemein auf die westlichen islamischen Völker ausgedehnt wurde" (MAYRHOFER 1956: 492). Given the 11th century date of the Kālacakrā texts, it is very unlikely that tāyin refers specifically to 'Arabs,' who were not the main participants in the Muslim raids on India at the time. Since the Vimalaprabhā refers to Persians independently of the Tāyin, the Tāyin are not simply 'Persians.' Instead we assume 'Tāyin,' like 'Tājika,' is a somewhat vague ethnonym referring collectively to the Muslim Turks, Persians, and Arabs of the northwestern borderlands of the Indian world.

The question remains, why did the authors use a well-known epithet of the buddhas and bodhisattvas to designate their antithesis, the barbarian Muslims, when the well-established word 'Tājika' was available? I suspect at least two factors come into play here. First, the authors of the Kālacakrā literature exhibit a playful attitude towards language which reflects their philosophical view that words are only conventionally related to the objects they signify; thus a single word can have multiple and even contrary referents (cf. NEWMAN 1988). Second, this coinage

13. Vimalaprabhā 3.5.126 (VP (S) B 132a1 [note: MS enumerates this verse as 124]; U II.112.6); Śrī Kālacakrā 3.134b, Vimalaprabhā 3.5.134b (VP (S) B 132b4 [note: MS enumerates this verse as 131]; U II.114.26, 115.4). VP (S) U consistently reads tāpīṅt with no variants given. Although it is often very difficult to distinguish pa and ya in the MSS, I am confident in my reading, which agrees with Vira-Chandra (ŠK (S) V), Banerjee (ŠK (S) B) and, most importantly, with the Tibetan translation stag gzig ma

Tāyini stands at the northern point of the charnel-ground circle of the Kālacakrā's ganacakrā: Mlecchi, Ḥaddi, Māṭāṅgī, Tāyini, Varvari, Pukkaśi, Bhilli, and Śabarī. This list demonstrates that the author viewed the tāyin – in Indian terms – as comparable to an outcaste or tribal group, and it shows that mleccha and tāyin are not synonymous.

reflects their predilection to transcribe names of Arabic origin with meaningful Sanskrit terms: compare the etymologies of Viṣavimlā, Madhumatī, Varāhī, Mūsa, Īśa, Mathanī, and Vāgadā in the Appendix.

First we will look at the Kālacakra literature's representation of the social customs of the barbarian Tāyin, then we will examine its depiction of their religious ideology and practices.

Barbarian Customs

As a rule, the Kālacakra presents the barbarian customs as contrary to Indian brahmanical norms. The mleccha diet is especially abhorrent. In a verse in the Śrī Kālacakra the Buddha says:

[The barbarians] kill camels, horses, and cattle, and briefly cook the flesh together with blood. They cook beef and amniotic fluid with butter and spice, rice mixed with vegetables, and forest fruit, all at once on the fire. Men eat that, O king, and drink bird eggs, in the place of the demon [barbarians] (1.5. See also 1.6; II.1,4; III.2).

We do not know the extent to which this diet reflects actual Muslim practice, and how much of it is derogatory fiction. The reference to the barbarian fondness for beef and raw eggs, mentioned in several passages, is probably derived from observation. Beef-eating, of course, is particularly repugnant to orthodox brahmans. The alleged mleccha consumption of blood is noteworthy: blood is one of the few foods expressly forbidden in the Koran and by later Islamic tradition (EI i.iii.156ab; EI ii.1061b, 1069a). Perhaps the author encountered Muslims who ignored this fundamental dietary law; perhaps he simply falsely ascribed an imagined barbarity to them. In any case, the purpose of this verse and the other references to the mleccha diet is clear: the barbarian diet is an element of their conduct that serves to define them as barbarians, as outsiders who engage in unacceptable behavior. As we will see later, mleccha dietary practice also has a religious dimension.

Tāyin marriage customs are similarly outlandish from an Indian brahmanical perspective. The Tantrahrdaya notes that in Makka (makha) a barbarian takes his paternal uncle's daughter in marriage (II.3; cf. 1.9; IV.1). Such a marriage of paternal parallel cousins is considered equivalent to incest between siblings.15

15. EI i.iii.913b classes female descendants of aunts and great-aunts among blood relations prohibited as marriage partners; see also 912b. By implication a paternal parallel cousin would be permitted, although I do not know how prevalent such
While these dietary and marriage practices do not find favor with the authors of the Kālacakra texts, they note some barbarian customs with tacit approbation. The mleccha Tāyin reject the doctrine of multiple castes, and live as a single group (I.14; II.4). This contrasts with the casteism of the brahmanical caste system (I.14). The barbarians respect each other’s property, they are truthful, and they practice hygiene (II.4). They avoid each other’s wives, and maintain the “asceticism” of remaining faithful to their own wives (II.4). The barbarians are fierce and heroic in battle (I.1), and the might of their cavalry is specifically mentioned (II.4).

**Barbarian Teachers**

We now turn to the history of the barbarian religion. In a verse in the Śrī Kālacakra the Buddha prophesies the origin and development of the mlecchadharma:

Ādam (arda), Nūḥ (nogha), and Ibrāhīm (varāḥi) [are the first three barbarian teachers]; there are also five others whose nature is tāmas\(^{17}\) in the family of demonic snakes: Mūsā (mūṣa), Īsā (iṣa), the White-Clad One (śvetavastrin), Muhammad (madhupati), and the Mahdī (mathani), who will be the eighth – he will belong to the darkness. The seventh will clearly be born in the city of Baghdād (vāgadā) in the land of Makka (makha), where the demonic incarnation – the mighty, merciless idol of the barbarians – lives in the world (I.5).\(^{18}\)

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\(^{16}\) Buddhism, like Islam, generally espouses egalitarianism in the context of religious practice (see DE JONG 1990). It seems that the Kālacakra texts’ references to Muslim egalitarianism reflect a perceived ritual and doctrinal parallel between Islam and Buddhism in contrast to the casteism and ritual exclusivity of orthodox brahmanism.

\(^{17}\) The Kālacakra appropriates the Sāmkhya notion of the three guṇas – sattva, rajas, tāmas – as a religio-anthropological classification system. Buddhists are sātvikā – endowed with goodness and light. Tīrthikās – the followers of non-Buddhist Indian religious traditions – are rājasā: their nature is a mixture of good and evil. The mleccha Tāyin, of course, are tāmasā – having a vicious, dark nature. *Manu* 12.39-41 (DONIGER 1991: 282-83) posits a very different division of humanity on the basis of the three guṇas, but agrees that mlecchas derive from tāmas (*Manu* 12.43). Cf. HALBFASS 1991: 357-63.

\(^{18}\) For previous study of this verse see HOFFMANN 1960, 1969; NEWMAN 1987b: 594-614; OROFINO 1995.
As Daniel MARTIN and Giacomella OROFINO have suggested, it appears that this list of barbarians derives from a sevener Shi'i source. The Ismāʾīlīs hold that Ādām, Nūh (Noah), Ibrāhīm (Abraham), Mūsā (Moses), ʿĪsā (Jesus), and Muḥammad are the first six nāṭiq (“enunciators”), who will be followed by Muḥammad b. Ismāʾīl, the hidden imām who will return as the Mahdī (EI iv.203ab; DAFTARY 1990: 139-40 and s.v. nāṭiq). We know that Ismāʾīlī dāʾī – missionaries (see EI ii.97b-98a; DAFTARY 1990: s.v.) – were active in Sindh from the latter part of the 9th century, and that they succeeded in establishing an Ismāʾīlī stronghold in Multān during the second half of the 10th century which survived into the early 11th century (STERN 1949; AL-HAMDANI 1956: 1-8; EI iv.198a, 199a; WINK 1990: 212-18; DAFTARY 1990: 118-19, 125, 176, 180, 198, 210-11, 228).

On the other hand, the Mubayyīda (White-Clad) followers of Abū Muslim (d. 755 CE), also believed in a nearly identical succession of teachers, replacing (or identifying?) the Mahdī with Abū Muslim:

About two decades after the death of Abū Muslim, al-Muḳānnāʾ... appeared in Trans-oxtania to lead another [anti-'Abbāsid] revolutionary movement. His following was composed of white-clad (Ar. Mubayyīda, Pers. Sapīd-djamagan) Soghdian peasants and by Turkish tribesman. He claimed to be the final divine incarnation after Ādām, Nūḥ, Ibrāhīm, Mūsā, ʿĪsā, Muḥammad and Abū Muslim... The sect of the Mubayyīda is still mentioned as surviving in the 6th/12th century (EI v.64a; cf. EI iii.617a, iv.16ab, v.1234a).

The reference to “the White-Clad One” (svetavastrin) here, and references to white-clad (svetavastram, svetavāsin) Tayīn ascetics discussed below, may support the hypothesis that the Śrī Kālacakra’s list of barbarians derives from a Mubayyīda source.

However, thus far we have not solved the vexing puzzle of the identity of the sixth barbarian teacher – the White-Clad One. Also, it must be

19. This hypothesis linking the Śrī Kālacakra’s list of mlecchas with the Mubayyīda or the Ismāʾīlīs was first suggested in an unpublished paper titled “The veiled prophet of Khurāsān and the revolutions of the Wheel of Time” written by Daniel MARTIN in 1984. Recently Giacomella OROFINO (1995) has independently arrived at a very similar hypothesis.

20. Helmut HOFFMANN (1960: 98; 1969: 57-59, 67) identified “The White-Clad One” as Mani, and interpreted this verse as reflecting a syncretic knowledge of “Manichaeism, Christianity, and Islam in the Kālacakra tantra.” As I have argued elsewhere, it is much simpler to interpret the entire list of mlecchas as being
noted that the Śrī Kālacakra specifies eight barbarian teachers, with Muḥammad as the seventh and the Mahdī as the eighth, whereas the Ismāʿīlī traditions that follow this sequence of nāṭiqs appear to be unanimous that Muḥammad was the sixth nāṭiq and that the Mahdī will be the seventh (DAFTARY 1990: 105, 128-29, 139, 177-79, 219). It is unclear whether this discrepancy represents confusion on the part of the author of the Śrī Kālacakra, or rather that his Muslim informant communicated a variant sevener Shīʿī tradition about which we have no information. The reference to Baghdad (see below) further complicates matters. It seems unlikely that a sevener Shīʿī informant in the early 11th century would revere Baghdad given the long and bitter conflict between the ‘Abbāsid Caliphate and the Shīʿī. Perhaps the author of the Śrī Kālacakra has drawn a composite picture of Islam based on a variety of sources.

With regard to the eighth barbarian teacher, the tantra reads: “the Mahdī, who will be the eighth – he will belong to the darkness” (mathanī yoḥスタンmah sο 'ndhakaḥ syyī). Given the context, I take it as certain that mathanī – “the Destroyer” is a pejoratively meaningful transcription of Arabic mahdī – “the Rightly Guided One” (EI v.1230b ff.). The word andham indicates “darkness,” and by extension, “spiritual ignorance.” I interpret andhaka – “he will belong to the darkness” – as an allusion to the occultation of the Mahdī (EI v.1235b ff.; DAFTARY 1990: s.v. ghayba and “hidden imāms”), noting that a literal reading of the Sanskrit carries a pejorative connotation. If this interpretation is correct, this reference to the occultation of the Mahdī in the Kalacakra’s list of mleccha teachers strongly suggests that this list was obtained from a Shīʿī source:

Belief in the coming of the Mahdī of the Family of the Prophet became a central aspect of the faith in radical Shīʿīsm in contrast to Sunnism. Distinctively Shīʿī was also the common belief in a temporary absence or occultation (ghayba) of the Mahdī and his eventual return in glory (EI v.1235b).

The Kālacakra literature pays special attention to the seventh of the mleccha teachers listed above. The person responsible for the introduction of the barbarian religion will be “Muḥammad, the incarnation

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derived solely from an Islamic source, and there is no evidence that the authors of the Kālacakra had knowledge of Manichæism or any other Western religion apart from Islam (NEWMAN 1987b: 603-9).
(avatāra)²¹ of ar-Rahmān, the teacher of the barbarian religion, the guru and master (svāmin) of the barbarian Tāyin" (madhumatī rahmanāvatāra mlecchadharmadeśako mlecchānām tāyinām guruḥ svāmi) (I.3; cf. I.2; II.2,6). As noted above, the epoch of the Kālacakra astronomy is based on the era of Muḥammad, the Hijra era (I.3). In the Śrī Kālacakra the Buddha prophesies that in fourteen hundred years²² Muḥammad will introduce the demonic religion of the barbarian Tāyin in the city of Baghdad (vāgaḍā) (I.4,5) in the land of Makka (makha) (I.2,5; II.3). There is, of course, some confusion here. Muḥammad (d. 632 CE) was not born in Baghdad (founded 762 CE; EI i.894b ff.), and Makka is not a “land.” However, it is easily understandable that a writer in 11th century India, just beyond the fringe of the Muslim conquests, could have made Makka — the birthplace of Muḥammad and Islam’s holiest city — into a country, and then placed in it Baghdad, the nominal political center of the Sunnī Islamic world.

**Barbarian Ideology**

What, then, are the beliefs of the followers of Muḥammad? The mleccha Tāyin worship a mighty, merciless, demonic death-deity named ar-Rahmān (rahman)²³ (I.3,7,10). Here we recognize the most common Muslim epithet for Allāh: in Arabic ar-Rahmān means “The Benefactor” (EI i.406b ff., 408a, 1084b-85a). Ar-Rahmān is the Creator who creates all animate and inanimate things for the enjoyment of the Tāyin (I.7) (EI i.407a).

By satisfying ar-Rahmān a man achieves bliss in heaven; by displeasing ar-Rahmān a man suffers in hell (I.7,10) (EI i.408b-9a, 412b-13a).

²¹ In the bilingual Arabic-Sanskrit coins minted in the Punjab by Maḥmūd of Ghaznī in the Tājika years (tājīkiyena samvatād) 418 and 419 (i.e., 418-19 A.H. = 1027-28 CE), the Sanskrit avatāra is used to translate Arabic rasūl — ‘messenger’ or ‘prophet’ — as an epithet of Muḥammad in the kalima: avyaktam eka muhammada avatāra nrpati mahamuda (SIRCAR 1983: 650-51). The Vimalaprabhā (I.3) refers to “the incarnation of the [barbarian] death-deity in battle” (samgrāme mārudevātavatāram).

²² The Kālacakra chronology places the Buddha in the 8th century BCE; see below, and NEWMAN 1998.

²³ This is a consonant-final stem, declined like a root-stem. Thus in Śrī Kālacakra 2.158d and Vimalaprabhā 2.7.158cd (I.7) we find the instrumental rahmanā and the genitive rahmanah. LORENZEN (1972: 62) reports “a Rahamāna (a Muslim)” in a list of heretics found in Yasahpāla’s Moharājaparājaya, which he dates to ca. 1175 (1972: 49, n. 141).
At death a man is judged by ar-Rahmān, and experiences his destiny in heaven or hell in that very corporeal human form (I.10) (EI i.407a, 1092a). The Tāyin assert that the person is spontaneously generated (upapāduka-pudgala; cf. EDGERTON 1972: 162-63), an epiphenomenon (upapattyāṅgika-pudgala) of the material human body it inhabits (I.14). The Tāyin reject the Buddhist notion that a person's experiences are the results of his karma; they reject the concept of reincarnation (I.10); and they deny that there is any sort of nirvana beside the achievement of heaven (I.14).

**Barbarian Religious Practices**

From the Buddhist perspective, the most repugnant feature of the barbarian religion is the practice of animal sacrifice. The mlecchas slit the throats of animals while saying the mantra of their demonic deity Viṣa-vimlā, 'Withered by Poison'; that is, bismillāḥ – "in the name of Allāh" (I.1; cf. III.1).24 The mleccha religion prescribes eating the flesh of animals slaughtered with this mantra, and prohibits consuming the meat of those that die naturally, that die due to their own karma (I.1; cf. I.6).25 Violation of this precept bars one from entrance to heaven (IV.2; cf. II.1).

24. EI ii.213b: "For the [sacrificial victim] to be validly put to death and the animal concerned to be permissible as food [the correct method must be employed]. Otherwise the dead animal will be regarded as carrion (mayta) and therefore legally unfit for consumption except in the case of absolute necessity. At the moment of slaughter it is obligatory to have the necessary intention and to invoke the name of God. [I.e., the basmala. EI i.1084a: "The invocation of the basmala, at the beginning of every important act, calls down the divine blessing upon this act and consecrates it."] ... The [method of slaughter] consists of slitting the throat, including the trachea and the oesophagus; ... the head is not to be severed."

The Buddhist doctrine of non-violence, on the other hand, extends even to prohibit consumption of the meat of animals killed specifically for the consumer: "[I]f the monk who received meat and the donor who gave it to him were not responsible for killing the animal, if they had neither seen, heard, nor suspected that the animal had been killed on purpose for him, then the meat was pure; eating it was not an offense [against the monastic code]" (WĪJAYARATNA 1990: 71). The same principle, in theory at least, is applied to the Buddhist laity. In both cases, however, the issue of 'responsibility' is narrowly defined, being restricted to actual slaughter or direct inducement to slaughter.

25. EI i.iii.156: "Maṭta ... means an animal that has died in any way other than by slaughter. In later terminology the word means firstly an animal that has not been slain in the ritually prescribed fashion, the flesh of which therefore cannot be
Not only do the barbarians eat forbidden and repulsive foods, they eat at odd times as well. While Buddhist ascetics take their meals during the day before noon, Tāyin ascetics dine after sundown and at night (I.6; IV.2). The fact that the texts refer specifically to ‘ascetic’ fasting may indicate knowledge of the Islamic voluntary fast (EI 1 iv.196a) rather than the obligatory fast of Ramaḍān (EI 1 iv.194b). In any case, the Islamic tradition of fasting during the daytime and eating at night (EI 1 iv.193b) is quite contrary to normative Buddhist asceticism, which restricts meals to the period between sunrise and noon (WIJJAYARATNA 1990: 68).

Tāyin religious garb is also contrary to Buddhist conventions. Buddhist ascetics wear red clothing, and are forbidden the white clothing of Indian laymen. Mleccha ascetics (tapasvin) dress in white, but there is no rule on this matter for barbarian laymen (I.6; cf. I.5,11). The Buddhist monastic code prohibits monks and nuns from wearing white clothing, and common Indian ascetic tradition advocates the wearing of ochre (WIJJAYARATNA 1990: 37, cf. 32). However, the Kālacakra’s specification that mleccha ascetics wear white is intriguing. We are not given enough information to identify with certainty the Muslim tradition alluded to, but as noted above, it may refer to some segment of the Mubayyida (‘White-Clad’) movement.

Mleccha prayer practices are also noteworthy. The Tāyin first wash, then they bow down, five times each day: at noon, in the afternoon, in the evening, at midnight, and at sunrise (II.4). When praising their deity they kneel (I.6), and draw in their limbs like a tortoise (I.12). This is a brief but fairly accurate description of the Islamic ritual prayer. The obligatory ritual ablution is mentioned (EI 1 iv.97b), and the order of the five services corresponds exactly to the traditional presentation of the sequence (EI 1 iii.492b-93a). The ‘bowing’ presumably refers to the suṣjūd; the ‘kneeling’ to the džulūs (EI 1 iv.99b).

The barbarian religion demands something of its followers that the author of the Paramārthasevā found bizarre. It reads: “The Tāyin cut the skin from the tips of their penises\(^{26}\) as a cause for happiness in heaven” (IV.2). Although the Muslim doctors of jurisprudence differ as eaten...”. By way of contrast, the Vimalaprabhā’s apology for meat consumption in Vajrayāna ritual notes that Buddhist tantric yogis indeed consume various types of flesh (albeit in tiny pellets), but such meat must not be the product of a sacrifice, and the animal should preferably have died of natural causes (NEWMAN 1987b: 265-67).

26. EI v.20b: “As regards males it is obligatory to cut off the whole skin which covers the glans, so that this latter is wholly denuded.”
to whether circumcision is obligatory or merely customary (El v.20a), its importance is well established in Islamic practice.27

Barbarian iconoclasm is also mentioned: the Tāyin cavalry conduct raids to destroy Buddhist and non-Buddhist temples containing anthropomorphic images (II.4; cf. II.5,6; I.8). During the first quarter of the 11th century Māhmūd of Ghaznī made greed-motivated, religiously sanctioned raids on Indian temples a key element of his very active foreign policy.28 Given the date of the Kālacakra texts, their references to Muslim iconoclasm must refer to the expeditions of Māhmūd, and they are echoes of the terrible jihad he visited upon northwestern India.

A Buddhist Appraisal of Islam

We may summarize the Kālacakra tantra’s perception of Islamic beliefs and practices as follows: from the Buddhist point of view Islam is demonic and perverse, a perfect anti-religion which is the antithesis of Buddhism (dāiyā-dharma; asura-dharma; atyantarādharma; adharma) (I.13,14,15; see also Vimalaprabhā 1.8.22: viparyāsa-dharma). Islam’s theology of an omnipotent Creator who consigns men to heaven or hell based on their pleasing or displeasing him is classed with the lowest of Indian ideologies.29 The Islamic belief that ar-Rahmān makes his

27. El v.20b: “To the uneducated mass of Muslims ... as well as to the great mass of non-Muslims, both of whom pay the greatest attention to formalities, abstention from pork, together with circumcision, have even to a certain extent become the criteria of Islam. The exaggerated estimation of the two precepts finds no support in the law, for here they are on the same level with numerous other precepts, to which the mass attaches less importance.”

28. See, e.g., GANGULY 1979: 5-23. GANGULY (1979: 23) is no doubt correct that “[Māhmūd’s] ruthless destruction of temples and images ... violated the most sacred and cherished sentiments of the Indian people, and his championship of Islam therefore merely served to degrade it in their eyes such as nothing else could.” Referring to expeditions of plunder such as those of Māhmūd, WINK (1990: 302) says, “The Turkish conquest of Northern India was, in the final analysis, a goldrush...” He also makes the important point that “the rhetoric of the ‘holy war’” in Muslim conquest historiography tends to obscure the underlying political and economic objectives of the Muslim invaders (WINK 1990: 196-201).

29. In the Kālacakra doxography Islamic dogma does not merit an independent refutation (NEWMAN 1992: 227-28; GRÖNBOLD 1992). On the one hand, Islamic creationism is covered by the standard Buddhist refutation ofĪśvara, Viṣṇu or Brahmā as creator (see Śrī Kālacakra 2.162; GRÖNBOLD 1992: 287-88); on the other, the Islamic doctrine that Allāh punishes and rewards humans based on their obedience to his law is passed over in silence. Also, Tāyin beliefs are placed in the same verse as those of the Lokaṇyata, materialists whom the Buddhists
followers cut off their foreskins in order to enter heaven is viewed as exotic and bizarre.

The Kālacakra tantra represents Islam as a religion of violence (*hīṃsā-dharma*) that advocates savage behavior (*raudra-karman*) (I.6). It understands the consecration in the name of Allāh of animals to be slaughtered as an animal sacrifice to the barbarian god, who is a merciless deity of death (*māra-devatā*) (I.1.5), a god of darkness (II.6) comparable to Rāhu, the demon who devours the sun and the moon (II.4). The texts exhibit concern about the destructive raids of Tāyin cavalry on the Buddhist and non-Buddhist temples of India (II.4,6). The Kālacakra tantra presents several strategies for dealing with the new Islamic challenge.

**Buddhist Strategies for Dealing with Islam**

First, the tantra prohibits its own adherents from participating in the barbarian religion. Second, it holds out the possibility of converting the barbarians to Buddhism. Third, it uses the threat of Islam in anti-brahman polemics. Finally, it prophesies a Buddhist holy war against Islam.

As an item in a list of twenty-five prohibited behaviors, the Śrī Kālacakra requires that initiates into this tantra refrain from practicing Islam (I.13). This contrasts starkly with the tantra’s general attitude of tolerance towards the performance of non-violent forms of tīrthika religious practice, and it no doubt derives from the tantra’s perception of Islam as being intrinsically contrary (*taddharmavirodhi*) (I.6) to the Buddhist principle of non-violence.

While recognizing the violent tendencies of the barbarian Tāyin, the Kālacakra does not abandon them as being completely outside the range of the Buddha’s compassion. It asserts that with skillful means the Buddha is able to wean the *mlecchas* away from their own crude dogma about the person, and to convert them to the personalist doctrine of the

consider to be nihilists. I assume this is due to a perceived similarity between Lokāyata materialism and the Islamic doctrine that a person is inextricably connected to his material body.

30. For example, Śrī Kālacakra 3.169 and *Vimalaprabhā* 3.5.169 allow the Kālacakra initiate who understands reality to behave as a Buddhist, a Śaiva, a naked Paramahamsa, a Vaisṣṇava, a householder who has undergone brahmanical initiation, a brahman, a Kāpālika, a Jaina, an ordinary householder, a guard, a silent hermit, a madman, a Kaula, a scholar, or a pupil.
Buddhist Vaibhāsika school. Then, once they have heard the transcendent doctrine of the bodhisattvas, some barbarians can indeed eventually go on to achieve the path of perfect buddhahood (I.14).

Islam also appears in the Kālacaktra in the context of Buddhist anti-brahman polemics. The Vimalaprabhā compares the practice of animal sacrifice expounded in the Vedic tradition to the animal sacrifice of the mlecchas, and concludes that they amount to the same thing in so far as both depend on killing living beings. It then warns brahman followers of the Veda that if they do not convert to Vajrayāna Buddhism, their descendants will eventually become barbarians. It says that since there is no difference between the mleccha religion and the Vedic religion with respect to animal sacrifice, when the brahmans see the power of the barbarians in war, and the might of the barbarian death-deity, they will convert to the barbarian religion. Once the brahmans have converted, it says, the other castes will follow (I.1; cf. I.9; IV.1).

The Kālacaktra texts also use Muslim marriage practices to poke fun at brahman caste pretensions. To the brahman claim that their caste was born from the mouth of Brahmā (cf. Rg Veda 10.90.11-12 [O’FLAHERTY 1981: 31]; Manu 1.31 [DONIGER 1991: 6-7]), the Buddhists reply that since female brahmans must originate from the same source, it follows that the brahmans commit incest, just like the mlecchas. This being the case, the brahmans degrade their caste, which according to brahmanical law results in birth in hell (I.9; IV.1; cf. II.3).

In retrospect we can see that defusing the barbarian threat by converting the mlecchas to Buddhism, or rallying Indians against foreign invasion by converting brahmans to Buddhism, had little chance for success. The Kālacaktra tantra apparently recognizes this fact. Its primary approach to dealing with Islam is to counter the actual jihad of the Muslim invaders of South Asia with a prophetic apocalyptic myth of a Buddhist holy war against Islam. This Buddhist crusade is given both an exoteric and an esoteric interpretation, and we will consider each in turn.31

The Kālacaktra tantra prophesies that in the future, in the last phase of the current degenerate age (kali-yuga), the barbarians will dominate southern Asia. All true religion will die out in the barbarian realm, and only the mleccha dharma will flourish. The mlecchas will be ruled by

their Mahdi named Krnmati. Finally, at the very end of the age, the messianic Buddhist warrior-king Kalkin Raudra Cakrin – a reincarnation of Mañjuśrī Yaśas, the first Kalkin of Sambhala – will appear in the Inner Asian land of Sambhala. This bodhisattva emperor will lead the army of Sambhala in a righteous crusade against the barbarian army of Makka, and in Baghdād the war will erupt with the forces of Sambhala and the brahmanical gods on one side, the mlecchas and the demons on the other. Having killed the barbarian Mahdi and utterly annihilated the barbarian horde, Kalkin Cakrin will re-establish the Buddha Dharma, and will reign over a new golden age of happiness, prosperity, and righteousness.

So much for the exoteric version of the myth. As mentioned previously, the Kālacakra tantra is primarily a mystical system of soteriology. In the esoteric interpretation the external war against the barbarians of Makka is explained to be a mere illusion that Kalkin Cakrin will conjure up to destroy the arrogance of the mlecchas:

At the termination of the age, having seen the absolute anti-religion of the barbarians, [Kalkin Cakrin] will become as still as a mountain. By means of the mental concentration of the supreme horse, he will radiate limitless supreme horses that

32. Although it is not explicit in the tantra, I understand Krnmati, referred to in Śrī Kālacakra 1.163 and 2.48, to be another name for Mathanī, the Mahdi referred to in Śrī Kālacakra 1.154. In this I agree with HOFFMANN (1960: 98). Mathanī is the last of the prophesied Muslim teachers, and Krnmati is the mleccha opponent whom Kalkin Cakrin will slay at the end of the kaliyuga (see NEWMAN 1995: 288-89). Thus I assume the author of the tantra envisaged an apocalypse in which the Buddhist Kalkin defeats the Muslim Mahdi.

The verbal root kṛt means “to cut, cut off, divide, tear asunder, cut in pieces, destroy” (APTE 1986: 598), and matih means, among other things, “intellect, heart, thought, intention, inclination” (APTE 1986: 1224). Thus, krnmatih can be interpreted as a tatpurusa: “the intention to destroy.” This accords well with Vimalaprabhā 2.3.48d, comment on Śrī Kālacakra 2.48d: “the external Krnmati is, in the body, the path of non-virtue that gives suffering” (yo bāhye krnmatir duḥkhadātā akuṣalapatha iti dehe). Therefore, in the exoteric aspect of the apocalypse Kalkin Cakrin, the Buddhist messiah, will thwart the Mahdi’s intention to give further suffering to humankind. In the esoteric aspect of the apocalypse, Kalkin Cakrin, i.e., adamantine mind (vajrin, cittavajra), destroys the inclination towards evil that gives rise to samsaric suffering.

I suspect Krnmati, like most of the other names for Muslim prophets found in the Kālacakra texts, is a pejorative transposition from an Arabic original, but I am unable to determine the underlying Arabic.

33. This prophesy is a Buddhist adaptation of the Vaiṣṇava myth of Kalki of Sambhala, the prophesied avatāra of Viṣṇu; see NEWMAN 1995.
will dismay the barbarians, thus establishing them in his own Dharma. He will eradicate their dharma, not kill them (1.15).

The actual war takes place within the human microcosm. In the Kalacakra mysticism the war on the mlecchas serves as an allegory for the personal transformation that is the main subject of the tantra. In this interpretation the barbarian Mahd symbolizes the path of nonvirtue. The mleccha army represents malice, ill-will, jealousy, and attachment. The Buddhist Kalkin is the gnosis of bliss and emptiness, and the Buddhist army stands for love, compassion, sympathy, and equanimity. Thus the myth of the external Armageddon is an allegory for the inner war of the spiritual path. The internal Buddhist jihad occurs when the gnosis actualized by the Kalacakra yoga destroys nescience and produces the golden age of enlightenment.

The dual use of the Buddhist holy war against Islam exemplifies the basic structure of the Kalacakra tantra. In the macrocosm the prophesy of the destruction of the barbarians represents an apocalyptic revelation of the future of the world. In the microcosm the eradication of personal barbarism – ignorance and vice – ushers in a new age of enlightenment. Thus, in the Kalacakra the myth of the defeat of evil illustrates both the prophesied end of the world and the ultimate destiny of a human being.

Conclusion

The Kalacakra tantra’s depiction of Islam can only be understood by placing it in its historical context. As al-Biruni reports, Maḥmūd of Ghazni’s raids into northwestern India during the early decades of the 11th century must have engendered “the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims” in the minds of many Indians. Maḥmūd’s wide-

34. Among the meanings of dhīḥad is “an effort directed upon oneself for the attainment of moral and religious perfection. Certain writers, particularly among those of Shi’ite persuasion, qualify this dhīḥad as ‘spiritual dhīḥad’ and as ‘the greater dhīḥad’, in opposition to the dhīḥad [of military action] which is called ‘physical dhīḥad’ or ‘the lesser dhīḥad.’ It is, however, very much more usual for the term dhīḥad to denote this latter form of ‘effort’” (EI ii.538a).

The notion of ‘holy war’ is fundamentally alien to Buddhist doctrine, but the Kalacakra’s mythic eschatology is a product of indigenous Indian thought rather than a borrowing from Islam. The exoteric myth of the Buddhist Kalkins of Sambhala is clearly drawn from the Vaiṣṇava tradition, and the internalized version of this myth is, I believe, a vision original to the author the Kalacakra tantra. It is nonetheless ironic that Buddhists adopted the idea of holy war from Hinduism in response to the religiously justified military aggression of Muslims.
spread looting and destruction of major temples and pilgrimage centers in the name of Islam no doubt led some Indians to associate Islam with barbaric violence, iconoclasm, and religious persecution.

The authors of the Kālacakra tantra responded to the new Islamic presence by investigating it and interpreting it in their own cultural and religious categories. We should first note the factuality with which the Kālacakra tantra depicts Islamic beliefs and practices. There is no discernible attempt to portray Muslims as monsters by falsifying or distorting their ideology and behavior. On the contrary, the texts even report that the barbarians are truthful, clean, honest, and chaste. Although the authors clearly found Islam to be exotic and evil, they appear to have faithfully recorded their observations of it. Indeed, it is quite remarkable that in terms of comprehensiveness, detail, and accuracy the Kālacakra’s representation of Islam is superior to the sum total of pre-modern Muslim knowledge of Buddhism.  

This relatively complete and accurate portrayal of Islam in the Kālacakra tantra leads us to assume that its authors had fairly extensive direct contact with Muslims. The Kālacakra account of Islamic theology and Muslim refutations of Buddhist dogma even conjures up an image of a Buddhist-Muslim doctrinal discussion.

However, the authors of the Kālacakra tantra were not ethnographers dispassionately studying an alien culture, they were Indian Vajrayāna Buddhist mystics who perceived Islam to be a mortal threat to their own tradition. We can understand the mythology of the Kālacakra tantra as a classic example of a “crisis cult.” Crisis cults form when religious traditions confronted with real crises respond by creating myth to interpret and cope with their predicaments. Apocalyptic eschatology and millenarian messianism are hallmarks of crisis cults. As we have seen, Islam appears in the Kālacakra tantra in Buddhist prophecies depicting the end of the current age of degeneration, the kaliyuga. In fact the tantra as a whole is a “yoga for the liberation of men at the time of the kaliyuga.” The idea that the kaliyuga is characterized by the advent of mleccha rulers and mleccha-dharma has a long history in brahmanical

\[35. \text{For pre-modern Muslim treatments of Buddhism see SACHAU 1989: I. xlv-xlvii, I.8 (II.253-54), I.21 (II.261); GIMARET 1969; SMITH 1973; LAWRENCE 1976: 42-43, 100-14.}

\[36. \text{On crisis cults, see LA BARRE 1970.}

\[37. \text{Śrī Kālacakra 1.1d: yogam śrīkālacakre kaliyugasamaye muktihetor narānām.}\]
religions. The authors of the Kālacakra tantra appropriate this brahmanical mythic topos, make it Buddhist by placing it in the mouth of the Buddha, and use it to explain their contemporary situation: the Muslim invaders are naturally identified as the mlecchas of the kaliyuga, and Islam, of course, is the mleccha-dharma of this age of decadence. Also, the appearance of Islam is not understood in mere human terms; instead it is viewed as an apocalyptic irradiation of evil, a demonic anti-religion that threatens to entirely eclipse the Buddha Dharma. In response to this threat the Kālacakra tantra prophesies an eschatology in which a Buddhist messiah will use magical means to purify the world of Islam, thereby instituting a new age of perfection. Furthermore, the Islamic incursion into India is not treated as a unique historical event. It is depicted as the current instance of a phase that repeats regularly in the never-ending cycle of time: at the end of every age men become barbarians, and the Buddhist messiah returns to free the world from barbarism (II.6). Thus the Kālacakra’s representation of Islam can be viewed as an example of the tendency in classical Indian religions to represent historical events in mythic, trans-historical terms.

In the introduction to his monumental al-Hind, al-Bīrūnī displays a scientific attitude toward the Indian Other:

This book is not a polemical one. I shall not produce the arguments of our antagonists in order to refute such of them as I believe to be wrong. My book is nothing but a simple historic record of facts (SACHAU 1989: 7, emphasis in the original).

Al-Bīrūnī could relax in the knowledge that he belonged to the cultural elite of the strongest state in his region, and to a rapidly expanding religious tradition that had recently come to dominate much of the known world. The authors of the Kālacakra tantra – al-Bīrūnī’s contemporaries – were of course on the other side of this epoch-making clash of civi-

38. Designating the social and religious practices of foreign invaders as mleccha-dharma is an old trope drawn from the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas that is closely associated with the Vaiṣṇava myth of the Kalki avatāra (see, e.g., THAPAR 1971: 421). The Kālacakra tantra seems to be the earliest instance of the application of this concept to Islam.

39. The Kālacakra appears to be the earliest example of a tendency that continued throughout medieval times in India. See TALBOT 1995: 695-99, “The Muslim as Demonic Barbarian,” especially p. 699: “... Muslims were demonized, that is, represented as being like the demons of ancient myth who engaged in endless battle against the forces of good.”
lizations; they perceived themselves as members of a culture under attack. This being so, it is not surprising that they take a less 'scientific' attitude toward the barbarians at the gate, and resort to the mythic demonization that provides a context for their account of Islam. In any case we must credit the authors of the Kālacakra tantra with a remarkable degree of prescience. Less than two hundred years after the revelation of the Kālacakra, Muslim Turks swept over the Gangetic plain and devastated the major centers of Buddhist learning, irrevocably altering the fate of Buddhism in the land of its birth.

**Appendix: Arabic Loanwords in the Kālacakra Tantra**

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<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
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<td>bi ši mi lla / bi ši bi lla</td>
<td>&quot;in the name of Allah&quot;</td>
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<td>makha</td>
<td>ma kha</td>
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<tr>
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<td>tāyin (= tājika)</td>
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<td>madhumati (&quot;wino&quot;)</td>
<td>sbran rtsi'i blo gros / ma dhu ma ti sbran rtsi'i blo gros [sic]</td>
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<tr>
<td>al-Mahdī</td>
<td>mathanī (&quot;destroyer&quot;)</td>
<td>'joms byed</td>
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PART 2: TRANSLATIONS

I.1. [Vimalaprabhā 1.3. This passage is a portion of a lecture Yaśas, the first Kalkin of Sambhala, delivered to Sūryaratha, leader of the brahman sages of Sambhala. For a translation of the entire lecture see NEWMAN 1985: 59-63; 1987b: 304-14.]

"[Sūryaratha, you and the other brahman sages must be initiated into the Kālacakra, and eat, drink and form marriage relations with the vajra family (vajrakulam) of the Vajrayāna.] Otherwise, after eight hundred years have elapsed your descendants will engage in the barbarian dharma and will teach the barbarian dharma in the ninety-six great lands of Sambhala and so forth. Using the mantra of the barbarian deity Bīsmillāh,40 they will slit the throats of animals with cleavers. Then they will prescribe eating the flesh of those beasts killed with the mantra of their own deity, and will prohibit eating the flesh of those that die due to their own karma. That very dharma is authoritative for you [brahman sages] because of the statement in the smṛti: 'Beasts are created for sacrifice' (Manusmṛti 5.39a). With regard to killing there is no difference between the barbarian dharma and the Vedic dharma.

"Therefore, your descendents will see the valor of those barbarians and the incarnation of their death deity (māradevatāvatāram) in battle, and in the future, after eight hundred years have elapsed, they will become barbarians. Once they have become barbarians, everyone dwelling in the nine-hundred-and-sixty million villages [in Sambhala, etc.], the four castes and so forth, will also become barbarians. For the brahman sages say: 'Where the great man goes, that is the path' (Mahābhārata 3.297; appendix p. 1089, l. 68).

"In the barbarian dharma as well as in the Vedic dharma one must kill for the sake of the deities and the ancestors, and the same is true in the dharma of the kshatriyas. For the brahman sages say: 'Having satisfied the ancestors and the gods, there is no fault in eating flesh' (Yājñavalkyasmṛti 1.5.178cd); and likewise: 'I see no fault in one who would

40. "In the name of Allah." VP (S) B: viṣāvimlā; VP (S) U: viṣāvilvā (MSS do not distinguish ba and va); VP (T): bi ši mi lla; annotation to VP (T): "Ma [i.e., rMa dGe ba'i blo gros' s translation of the Vimalaprabhā] says, bi smin ra ma lha'i"; Svadarśanamatoddeśa [section (III.l) below]: bi ši b lla. Cf. HOFFMANN 1969: 62, 64-65; GRÖNBOLD 1992: 280, n. 26.
do ill to a vicious [beast]' [quotation unidentified].

"Thus, holding the Vedic dharma to be authoritative, they will adopt the barbarian dharma. For this reason, so that in the future you will not enter the barbarian dharma, I give you this precept. Therefore, you venerable sirs must obey my command [to take initiation into the Kālacakra]."

I.2. [Śrī Kālacakra 1.26 and Vimalaprabhā 1.9.26.]

Now I will explain "from the first year" and so forth, with which the Tathāgata prophesied the appearance of Mañjuśrī in the land of Sambhala, the corruption of the astronomical siddhāntas (jyotiṣa-siddhānta) due to the appearance of the barbarian dharma, and the introduction of the laghukaraṇa.

Śrī Kālacakra 1.26

Six hundred years from the first year, king Yaśa will clearly appear in the [land] called ‘Sambhala.’ Nāga [8] hundred years after that, the barbarian dharma will definitely appear in the land of Makka. At that time people on earth should know the clear laghukaraṇa. The corruption of the siddhāntas on the entire surface of the earth will occur in the yoga of time."

Regarding, "Six hundred years from the first year, king Yaśa will clearly appear in [the land] called ‘Sambhala’": "The first" is the year the Tathāgata taught the Dharma. Six hundred years from that year — "Yaśa" is the reading in the text, i.e., the great Yaśas – Mañjuśrī, "will clearly appear" in the land named Sambhala north of the Śītā River. This means "[Mañjuśrī] will take up an emanation body [and appear as king Yaśas]."

"Nāga [8] hundred years after that," refers to [eight hundred years] after Yaśas’ nirvana. "Nāga," i.e., in eight hundred years, "definitely," i.e., certainly, the barbarian dharma will appear in the land of Makka. The demonic dharma of the barbarian Tāyin will appear in the land of Makka [— the land of the Muslims (sog yul) —] endowed with ten


42. The Śītā River can be identified as the Tarim River in Eastern Turkestan, and Sambhala corresponds to the region north of the Tian Shan; see Newman 1996: 487.

43. The Tibetan ethnonym sog po was applied to various peoples at different times (see Hoffmann 1971, especially pp. 442-43). The itinerary of Urgyan pa (13th cent.) edited and translated by Tucci explicitly gives "Muslim" as a synonym for
million villages, south of the Śītā [River]. At that time of the barbarians, people on the earth should know the clear laghukaraṇa.44

Regarding, "the corruption of the siddhāntas": The Brahma, Sauram, Yamanakam [= Yavana?; gcer bu pa rnams], and Romakam (sgra gcen) are the siddhāntas.45 The corruption of these four is the corruption of the siddhāntas.

Regarding, "on the entire earth-surface": 'Entire' refers to everywhere on the surface of the earth south of the Śītā that the tīrthika siddhāntas decline — there on the surface of the earth. It is not the case that the Buddhist siddhānta in the lands of Sambhala and so forth will be corrupted.

Regarding, "will occur in the yoga of time": The yoga of time is the barbarian dharma. The joining (yoga; sbyor ba) of that with the [tīrthika] siddhāntas is the yoga of time — it will occur due to that yoga of time.46 Regarding, "in the yoga of time": [It should be in the ablative case, i.e., "due to," and the locative case, i.e., "in," is used. Thus,] the locative case is used for the ablative case.47 [Thus, the meaning is "due to the yoga of time." ]

1.3 [Śrī Kālacakra 1.27a and Vimalaprabhā 1.9.27a. This passage establishes the astronomical epoch of the Kālacakra laghukaraṇa. For a study

44. "Siddhāntas are comprehensive treatises deducing mean motions from the beginning of the Kalpa or the current Kaliyuga; karaṇas are more concise expositions of astronomy in which the mean longitudes for a time close to the date of composition are given, and the mean longitudes at later times are computed therefrom..." (Pingree 1981: 13-14).

45. Vimalaprabhā 1.9.86 [VP (S) U 1.118; VP (S) T 552], commenting on Śrī Kālacakra 1.86, repeats this list. For these siddhāntas see Pingree 1981: 11, 13-17, 21-26.

46. Pingree (1981:30; cf. p. 34) says: "The influence of Islamic Ptolemaic theory upon Indian astronomy can be traced back to Muñjāla in the tenth century..." The Kālacakra astronomy presents itself as a reaction against mleccha "corruption" of the tīrthika siddhāntas (Newman 1987b: 531-38).

47. See Newman 1988:130.
of the Indian, Tibetan, and Western interpretations of this see Newman 1998.

Now the laghukarana [of the Śrī Kālacakra] is discussed: “Add ... to fire [3] sky [0] ocean [4].”

Śrī Kālacakra 1.27a


The epoch (dhruvaka; nes pa) in the [Śrī Kālacakra] King of Tantra is transient because the epoch is reset at the end of the sexagenary cycle.

The epoch in the karaṇa – the era of [Kalkin] Mañjuśrī [Yaśas] – is six hundred years after the era of the Tathāgata. The era of the barbarian is eight hundred years after that. The era of Kalkin Aja – the Aja who corrected the laghukarana – is one hundred and eighty-two years prior to that era of the barbarian. That very era [of Aja] is the epoch in the karaṇa, [calculated] from the barbarian year.

Regarding “the expired prabhava year”: Prabhava is the beginning – i.e., the first – of the sexagenary cycle that begins with prabhava. The year preceding the particular current year among these is the expired prabhava year. Adding [the numerical value of its position in the sexagenary cycle] to the quantity four hundred and three establishes the [expired] barbarian year. Having made one year the first, adding up to sixty years produces the expired prabhava year. That very [expired prabhava] year is established in all the other karaṇas, like Sunday and the other days of the week. Adding that to the quantity four hundred and three years establishes the [expired] barbarian year. The barbarian is Muḥammad, the incarnation of ar-Raḥmān, the teacher of the barbarian dharma, the guru and leader of the barbarian Tāyīn (mleccho madhumatī rahmanāvatāro mlecchadharmadeśako mlecchānāṁ tāyīnāṁ guruḥ svāmī).

48. vahnau khe 'bdhau; me mkha' rgya mtsho. “Fire [3] sky [0] ocean [4]” are “number symbols” (Tib. grangs brda). Pingree (1981: 1) gives the Sanskrit as bhūtāsankhyā, and explains that they are “common objects that appear or are understood to appear in the world in fixed quantities [used] as synonyms for those quantities.” In combination the symbols are read right-to-left; thus, the above example symbolizes the number 403. See ŠK (S) B, appendix, for a list of these terms used in the Kālacakra corpus.
I.4. [Śrī Kālacakra 1.89d and Vimalaprabhā 1.9.89d.]
[(Śrī Kālacakra 1.89d:) At the end of the kaliyuga] a fierce war will occur on earth between the gods and the demons.
[(Vimalaprabhā 1.9.89d:) At the end of the kaliyuga] a fierce war will occur on earth in the city of Baghdad (vāgadā) between the gods and the demons – the barbarians.


Śrī Kālacakra 1.154

Ādām, Nūh, and Ibrāhīm [are the first three barbarian teachers]; there are also five others whose nature is tamas in the family of demonic snakes: Mūsā, ʿĪsā, the White-Clad One, Muḥammad, and the Mahdī, who will be the eighth – he will belong to the darkness. The seventh will clearly be born in the city of Baghdad in the land of Makka, where the demonic incarnation – the mighty, merciless idol of the barbarians – lives in the world.

Śrī Kālacakra 1.155

[The barbarians] kill camels, horses, and cattle, and briefly cook the flesh together with blood. They cook beef and amniotic fluid with butter and spice, rice mixed with vegetables, and forest fruit, all at once on the fire. Men eat that, O king, and drink bird eggs, in the place of the demon [barbarians].

I.6. [Śrī Kālacakra 2.98-99 and Vimalaprabhā 2.5.98-99.]

Now “Knowledge” etc., states the times knowledge (jñāna; ye śes) arises for Buddhists and demonic barbarians:

Śrī Kālacakra 2.98

Knowledge arises for the Jinas in the sun, at daytime, at midnight [or] at daybreak. It arises for demons in the moon, at nighttime, in the middle of the day [or] at the disappearance of the day. Those having correct and deceptive knowledge speak Sanskrit and Prakrit. Their actions in the three existences are peaceful and violent, heroic and vulgar.

Here, indeed, there are three types of yogic practice: Buddhist, demonic, and ghostly. With regard to that, Buddhist yoga consists of emptiness and compassion; demonic [barbarian yoga is] an imaginary dharma. Ghostly [tīrthika yogic practice] is of two types: eternalist and annihilationist. Likewise, there are three types of yogi, in accordance with their different yogic practices. Among them, knowledge arises for Buddhist...
yogis in the daytime. Knowledge arises for demonic yogis in the nighttime, and for ghostly yogis in the time other than [those] four watches.

With regard to the allotments of time: "Knowledge arises for the Jinas in the sun, at daytime, at midnight [or] at daybreak. It arises for demons in the moon, at nighttime, at midday [or] at the disappearance of the day." Since the ghosts are not mentioned [explicitly in the tantra, knowledge arises for them] in the time other than those watches.

The empowerment of knowledge occurs for Buddhists at midnight or at daybreak. [Thus, the Buddha achieved buddhahood at dawn.] The empowerment of knowledge occurs for demons at midday or sundown. It occurs for ghosts in the other four watches: in daytime the empowerment of eternalist knowledge, in nighttime the empowerment of annihilationist knowledge. With regard to the Buddhists and demons, Buddhists have correct knowledge, and demons have deceptive [knowledge] which is contrary to that [Buddhist] Dharma. Correct knowledge, like day vision, sees everything. Deceptive knowledge, like night vision, sees only a bit of the lives and deaths of sentient beings. How does one know that? – from [the truth and falsehood] of their dharma teachings.

With regard to, "Those having correct and deceptive knowledge speak Sanskrit and Prakrit": Those who have acquired correct knowledge speak Sanskrit, which consists of all utterances. Those who have acquired deceptive knowledge speak Prakrit because [their] teachers use the language of a single land.49 The knowledge of the Buddhists teaches peaceful karma – it consists of compassion for all sentient beings. The knowledge of the demons teaches violent karma – it harms animals for meat-eating. In the three existences the knowledge of the Buddhists teaches heroic karma. On earth the knowledge of the demons teaches vulgar karma. On earth [the knowledge] of the ghosts teaches mixed karma. This is the instruction that teaches knowledge. \|98\|

Now “From midday” etc., states the mealtimes of the Buddhists and the demons:

49. Compare this passage with Puṇḍarīka's statement elsewhere in the Vimalaprabhā that the Buddha uses the omniscient language (sarvajñabhāṣā) that consists of the utterances of all sentient beings, in contrast to the parochial (prādeśika) Sanskrit language of the tīrthikas, which is tied up with birth as a god (NEWMAN 1988: 129-30). I assume the 'Prakrit of the demon barbarians' refers to Arabic.
From midday to midnight, at day and at night, are the times they eat. Their foods are cooked rice and beef; their drinks are flavorful mixtures and the fluid of eggs. Their clothes are red and white. Like the paths of the sun and the moon, their abodes are heaven and the underworld. Their dharmas are non-violent and violent. In accordance with the precepts of their gurus, their sitting postures are the adamantine and the demonic.  119911

Each day from midday [backwards] through to midnight is daytime. From midnight [backwards] until midday is nighttime. The mealtimes of Buddhist and barbarian ascetics are in those day- and nighttime, in the latter half of their respective periods; for householders there is no precept. With regard to the food and drink of the Buddhists and demons: Buddhists eat superior cooked rice, and the barbarian diet includes beef. Buddhists drink delicious, flavorful mixtures, and the barbarians drink the fluid of the eggs of fowl and so forth. Buddhists wear red cloth, and the barbarians wear white; this applies to ascetics, for householders there is no precept.

Likewise, after death their abodes are “like the paths of the sun and the moon” – the sun ascends and the moon descends. Like their paths, heaven, the path of the sun, is for the Buddhists, and the underworld – like the path of the moon – is for the demons. Likewise, the Bhagavân [Buddha] said in the Sekoddeśa of the basic tantra:

When all living beings die, the moon-nectar goes below, the sun-menses goes above, and Rāhu-consciousness takes on the characteristic of rebirth. II (Sekoddeśa 86) 51

Likewise, their dharmas are as follows: the dharma of the Buddhists is non-violent, that of the barbarians is violent. The word “and” [in the tantra indicates that the dharma] of the ghosts [is violent also].

In accordance with the precepts of their gurus, when they meditate and when they praise their chosen deities the adamantine sitting posture is commended for Buddhists and the demonic sitting posture is commended for barbarians. The word “and” [in the tantra] indicates that at other [times they are] equal, neither prescribed nor prohibited. Here is

50. khānam; bza’ ba. See also Vimalaprabhā 1.3 (VP (S) U 1.27.13): khānapānam. I am grateful to Richard SALOMON for drawing my attention to this word, which is standard in Hindi but unusual in Sanskrit.

51. This verse alludes to the tantric doctrine that at death a person’s natal semen and blood – the zygote obtained from one’s father and mother – separates, with the semen exiting through the genitals and the blood exiting through the nose.
the demonic sitting posture: On the ground extend the left knee; on top of the left foot is the right foot. The word "and" [in the tantra] indicates that underneath [oneself] the right foot is on top of the sole of the left foot. The word "and" also indicates one is sitting back on one's buttocks. The adamantine sitting posture, etc., will be explained later [in the tantra; see (I.12) below]. This is the instruction on the practices of the Buddhists and the demons. 1199II

I.7. [Śrī Kālacakra 2.158cd and Vimalaprabhā 2.7.158cd. For previous study of this passage see NEWMAN 1987b: 606-7; GRÖNBOld 1992: 277-78, 284.]

Now "The Creator" and so forth states the beliefs of the barbarian Tāyin.

Śrī Kālacakra 2.158cd
The Creator creates all mobile and immobile things for the enjoyment of the Tāyin. Men certainly attain heaven by satisfying him. That is the doctrine of ar-Raḥmān.

The Creator ar-Raḥmān creates all mobile – animate, and immobile – inanimate, things for the enjoyment of the "Tāyin" – the white-clad barbarians. Men certainly attain heaven by satisfying ar-Raḥmān; they attain hell by not satisfying him. That is the doctrine of ar-Raḥmān; [the barbarian] practices were stated above [in Śrī Kālacakra 2.98-99; see (1.6)]. This is the instruction on the beliefs of the Tāyin.


Furthermore, the [brahmanical] scriptures claim: "When the Veda is nonexistent, when the barbarians have eradicated the Vedic dharma, then [Śrī Kālacakra 2.160b:] 'Brahmā, with his four mouths, will proclaim the meaning with the ancient word of the Veda,' by reciting 'Indra became a beast,' etc." Thus it is proven that the meaning is different than the Veda.

I.9. [Vimalaprabhā 2.7.161, comment on Śrī Kālacakra 2.161.]

Furthermore, [the brahmans] claim it is true that brahmans are born from the mouth of Brahmā. Thus I ask, "Are female brahmans also born from that?" If so, then they are [the brahmans'] sisters because they originate from the same womb. The same is true for the kshatriyas and so forth. How could one marry one's sister? If one did one would adopt
the barbarian dharma. By adopting the barbarian dharma one's race is degraded. By degrading one's race one goes to hell. That is the [brahmanical] law.

I.10 [Śrī Kālacakra 2.168 and Vimalaprabha 2.7.168.]
Now, "A living being," etc., states a [Tāyin] refutation [of the doctrine that one] experiences [the results of] previous karma [in the present life] and accumulates present karma [for the future]:

Śrī Kālacakra 2.168
[Buddhists claim:] A living being experiences previously created karmas [in the present life], and [the karmas created] in the present in another life. [The Tāyin reply:] If this were so, men could not destroy karma because of [their] repeated other lives. There would be no exit from samsara, and no entrance to liberation, because of limitless existences. The rejection of other lives is indeed the belief of the Tāyin.

[The Tāyin] believe [the Buddhist doctrine that] a living being experiences previously created karmas [in this life], and [the karmas] created in this life in another life [is false]. If such were the case, [they say,] men could not destroy karma because they would experience the results of karma in repeated other lives. Thus there would be no exit from samsara, and no entrance to liberation, because of limitless existences. That is indeed the belief of the Tāyin. However, [the tantra] says, "the rejection of other lives." The barbarian Tāyin believe that a dead man experiences happiness or suffering in heaven or hell with that human body in accordance with ar-Raḥmān's law. Thus, the rejection of other lives is [their] precept. ||168||

I.11. [Vimalaprabha 3.1.3. This verse is part of a discussion that asserts the superiority of monk vajrācāryas over house-holder vajrācāryas.]
Just as sinners get angry when they see a red-clad [monk], Buddhists fond of white-clad [lay vajrācāryas] are enamored of the barbarian dharma.||

I.12. [Vimalaprabha 3.1.19c; comment on Śrī Kālacakra 3.19c. This passage appears in a section describing the postures used when performing the eight magical rites.]
"Demon" refers to the demonic sitting posture. For [the magical rite of] killing [one sits in] the demonic sitting posture, [with limbs drawn in] like the retracted legs of a tortoise.
I.13. [Śrī Kālacakra 3.94ab and Vimalaprabhā 3.4.94ab; see also Paramārthaśamgraha p. 16; GNOLI and OROFINO 1994: 172.]

[An initiate of the Kālacakra tantra] may not follow ... the dharma of the lord of the demons.

[An initiate of the Kālacakra tantra] may not follow the demonic dharma, i.e., the barbarian dharma.

I.14. [Vimalaprabhā 5.3 (comment on Śrī Kālacakra 5.58).]

From beginningless time sentient beings have been tirثhikas, fond of the dharmas of the gods, ghosts, and demons, deprived of the path of the Omniscient [Buddha], observing [the brahmanical law of] four castes or [the Muslim law of] one caste, craving enjoyment of a heavenly reward, proponents of a Creator and a Self.

Among them, the proponents of [Vedic] scriptural authority observe the dharma of the gods and the manes; they are proponents of a God, a Self, and casteism.

The barbarians observe the demonic dharma; they are proponents of a Creator, a soul, and are free of casteism. The barbarians have two dogmas: the dogma of [the body being] an aggregation of particles, and the dogma of an epiphenomenal person. They believe: "If there is no epiphenomenal person (upapattyañgika-pudgala) dwelling within the physical body that is composed of an aggregation of particles, then who takes up another body when the body consisting of an aggregation of particles is destroyed? Thus, there is a spontaneously generated person (upapāduka-pudgala). That proves that the heavenly reward is the reward of nirvana – there is no so-called 'nirvana' other than the heavenly reward."

When [the barbarians] ask about reality, the Bhagavān [Buddha] who knows reality, knowing their own beliefs, says [in the Bhārahāra-sūtra]: "There is a person who bears the burden; I do not say it is permanent, I do not say it is impermanent."52 That is indeed true, because it is the statement of the Bhagavān; one is unable to say that the person [who is a product of] mental propensities in the dream state is impermanent or permanent. Due to this statement of the Tathāgata, [the barbarians] abandon the barbarian dharma and become Buddhist Vaibhāṣikas.

52. This quotation is cited in Prakrit; likewise at VP (S) U I.266.9-10; in Sanskrit at VP (S) U I.54.3-4, trans. NEWMAN 1987: 422. Bu ston's annotation identifies it as coming from the Bhārahāra-sūtra (Khur khur ba'i mdo), on which see PRUDEN 1991: 1367, n.71.
Furthermore, some hear the transcendental Dharma being taught to the
to the bodhisattvas, abandon the dogma of a person, and resort to the path of
the true, perfect Buddha.

I.15. [Vimalaprabhā 5.3.]
At the termination of the age [Kalkin Cakrin] will see the absolute anti-
religion of the barbarians. He will become as still as a mountain. With
the meditative concentration of the supreme horse he will radiate
numberless supreme horses that will dismay the barbarians, thus estab­
lishing them in his own Dharma. He will eradicate their dharma, not kill
them.

II.1. [Śrī-Kālacakra-tantrottara-Tantrahrdaya-nāma.]
... the Tāyin who vow to eat flesh...

II.2. [Śrī-Kālacakra-tantrottara-Tantrahrdaya-nāma.]
... furthermore, Muḥammad (*madhumati; ma dhu ma ti), the lord of
the goblins (*rākṣasendra; srin po'i dban po), will appear.

II.3. [Śrī-Kālacakra-tantrottara-Tantrahrdaya-nāma.]
... also, in Makka one's own son takes one's brother's daughter [in
marriage].

II.4. [Śrī-Kālacakra-tantrottara-Tantrahrdaya-nāma.]
The cavalry of the Tāyin, engaged in war, will entirely destroy shrines
(*devālaya; lha rten) that display buddhas, bhairavas, men, women, and
snakes. They belong to a single caste, and do not take [each] other's
property; they speak the truth and practice hygiene. Their youths avoid
others' wives, and upholding the precepts of asceticism, they resort to
their own wives.

On earth and in heaven the lord of darkness (*tamasvindra; mun can
dban po) only protects those Tāyin and tīrthikas who, having washed,
prostrate to the worshipped Rāhu (*iṣṭarāhu; 'dod pa'i sgra gcan) five
times each day at noon, afternoon, evening, night, and sunrise.

In fierce battles [he] protects [them] like a father [protecting his] sons
and servants. Since the kshatriyas will not fight, [the Tāyin] king,
having worshipped the terrifying [deity] with the flesh of birds and
beasts, will cut off [the kshatriya] lineages by harming various sentient
beings and pillaging others' wealth.
II.5. [Śrī-Śākacakra-tantrottara-Tantramārdaya-nāma.]
O Sūrya, in the future when the seed of Brahman [− *brahmabijam; tshang pa'i sa bon; i.e., the syllable OM representing the Veda, or else the brahman race −] is about to be destroyed, if one worships the earth-protector [Kalkin Raudra Cakrin] the barbarians and tīrthikas will be destroyed in battle.

II.6. [Śrī-Śākacakra-tantrottara-Tantramārdaya-nāma.]
In the future the descendents, relatives, and men of the lord of the barbarians Muḥammad (*madhumati; ma dhu ma ti) will destroy sixty-eight temples of the sacred sites (*sthānam; gnas) and pilgrimage places (*kṣetram; ziṅ) on earth.

In eighteen hundred (?) years, in Makka (*mukha; ma kha), etc. [and in India,] the land of the Aryans, I [Kalkin Yaṣās, having reincarnated as Kalkin Raudra Cakrin,] will annihilate the barbarians and the god of darkness (*tamasvin; mun can) whom they imagine to be the sun.

O Sūrya, I will place living beings in happiness by establishing them in [the Dharma] through the rite of the three refuges in the Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha. Then I will go from Kalāpa [in Sambhala] to Tuṣita, the supreme abode of the gods.

When XXXXXXXX54 years have elapsed, men will again become barbarians for eighteen hundred (?) years. Again and again I will appear in that kaliyuga to destroy them.

II.7. [Śrī-Śākacakra-tantrottara-Tantramārdaya-nāma.]
I have taught about ... the Tāyin...

III.1. [Śvadarsanamatoddeśā]
... the thing to be held and the holder, the thing to be killed and the killer, for the mantra of Bismillāh (*viṣavilla; bi ši bi lla), Viṣṇu and Bhairava protect.

53. The Tantramārdaya, like the Śrī Kālacakra, is buddhavacanan, but it was redacted by Yaṣās, the first Kalkin of Sambhala. In this passage Yaṣās addresses Sūryaratha, leader of the brahman sages of Sambhala.

54. nam mkha' mkha' dañ dus dañ dbaṅ po mig gis dus kyi dus. I am unable to decipher this number. Tibetan dus could stand for Sanskrit kāla (3), yuga (4), or rtu (6); see ŠK (S) B, p. 267, appendix 1.
III.2. [Svadarsanamatoddeśa]
North of the [Himalaya] snow mountains the kings in Tibet and so forth eat cattle. To the west [of India] the barbarian kings kill cattle and birds (*dvija; gñis skyes) as well.

IV.1. [Śrī-Paramārthasevā]
(1) If you assert (*kila; grags pa na) that brahmans are born from the mouth of Brahmā, then are female brahmans also born from that very place? If both are born from the same womb, then it is unlawful for [such] brothers and sisters to marry. (2) If they do, they become barbarian people. If they become barbarians, it degrades their caste. If they destroy their caste, [they experience] fierce suffering in hell. This obtains for those [brahmans] because they are attached to their own caste.

IV.2. [Śrī-Paramārthasevā]
(1) Others, for happiness in heaven, cut the skin from the tips of their own penises. The Tāyin must eat at the end of the day and during the night. (2) They do not consume the flesh of animals that die due to their own karma. Having killed [animals], they eat them; [they believe that] if men do otherwise they do not go to heaven.

PART 3: SANSKRIT TEXTS AND TIBETAN TRANSLATIONS

I. Śrī Kālacakra and Vimalaprabhā.
[VP (S) B is a superb manuscript copied early in the 12th century CE, about a century after the composition of the Vimalaprabhā – it is the earliest extant witness for this text. Because the early Kālacakra literature self-consciously employs irregular grammar and spelling (see Newman 1988), I reproduce VP (S) B’s orthography and sandhi except for missing avagrahas and irregular doubling of consonants; I have supplied most of the daṇḍas.]

I.1. Vimalaprabhā 1.3 [VP (S) B 10b3-6; U l.27.15-28.3] anyathā aṣṭāsate varṣe gateḥ sati yuṣmatputrapautrādayo mlecchadharmē pravrttim kṛtvā sambhalādiśaṁṇāvataṁmaḥāviṣayeṣu mlecchadharmadeśa-nāṁ kariṣyanti ṭ mlecchadevatāviṣaviṁlāmantreṇa2 kartrikāyā grīvāyāṁ paśuṁ hatvā tatas teṣāṁ svadevatāmantrenāhatānāṁ paśūnāṁ māṁsāṁ
bhaksayisanti svakarnaṁ mrtanam māmsam abhaksyam\(^3\) kariṣyanti l so "pi dharmaṁ yuṣmākaṁ pramānaṁ yāgarthe\(^4\) paśavaḥ sṛṣṭā iti smṛti-vacanāṁ mlecchadharmaṇvedadhamayor viśeṣo nāsti praṇātipātatah l tasmāt yuṣmatkule putraputraṅdayaḥ teṣāṁ mlecchānāṁ pratāpaṁ drṣṭvā saṁgrāme mārasevadātavatāraṅ ca\(^5\) anāgate ’dvhany asṭavāraṅṣate gate sati mlecchā bhavisyaṁtī l teṣu mlecceṣu jāteṣu satsu śaṅnavatikōṭi-grāma-nivāśino ’pi caturvarṇādayaḥ sarve mlecchā bhavisyaṁtī mahājano yena gataḥ sa paṇthaḥ iti brahmaṁśivacanatī l iha mlecchadharme vedadharme ’pi devatāpitarrtham praṇātipātāḥ kartavyāḥ kṣatradharme ’pi ca tarpayitvā piṭṛṇ devān khādan māmsaṁ na doṣabhāgī iti brahmārṣivacanātī l tathā doṣan tatra na? paśyāmy yo duṣṭām acareṇ iti l evam vedadharmāṁ pramaṇāṅkṛtya mlecchadharmaparigrāhāṁ kariṣyanti l tena kāraṇenāṅgagate ’dhvani mlecchadharmaṇpravesāya yuṣmādbyho mayā niyamo dattaḥ l tasmād bhavadbhīr mamājāṅī kartavyeti l


VP (T) 1.356.5-357.5 [This is Bu ston Rin chen grub’s (1290-1364) revised and annotated edition of Šoṅ ston rDo rje rgyal mtshan’s translation, the translation that appears in the bsTan ’gyur.]

\( \text{VP (T) 1.356.5-357.5} \)

\( \text{VP (T) 1.356.5-357.5} \) [This is Bu ston Rin chen grub’s (1290-1364) revised and annotated edition of Šoṅ ston rDo rje rgyal mtshan’s translation, the translation that appears in the bsTan ’gyur.]
tshim byas na (read: byas nas) \( \| \) ša zos skyon gyi cha yod min \( \| \) žes pa dan \( \| \) de bzin du \( \| \) gaṅ žig gdug la gdug spyod pa \( \| \) de la skyon ni ma mthon \( \| \) no \( \| \) žes bram zes smras ba'i phyir ro \( \| \) de ltar rigs byed (read: rig byed) kyi choas chad mar (read: tshad mar) byas nas kla klo'i chos yoṅs su 'dzin par 'gyur te \( \| \) rgyu des na ma 'oṅs pa na kla klo'i chos mi 'jug par bya ba'i phyir khyed rnam la bdag gis žes pa byin no \( \| \) de bas khyed rnam kyis bdag bka' žin bya'o žes so l

I.2. Śrī Kālacakra 1.26 and Vimalaprabhā 1.9.26 [VP (S) B 31a7-31b3; U 1.77.1-19]

idānīṃ sambhalaviṣaye mañjuśriya utpādāya\(^1\) mlecchadhamotpādāt jyotiṣasiddhāntavināśalaghukaranapraṇīrtiḥ tathāgatavyākaranāṃ ādyābdādītyādīnām ājitāmītī l

Śrī Kālacakra 1.26

ādyābdāt sañatābdaiḥ prakaṭa yaśanprāḥ sambhalākhye bhaviṣyat
tasmān nāgaiḥ sañābdaiḥ kalu mahaviṣaye mlecchadhamapraṇīrtiḥ l
tasmin kāle dharaṇyāṃ sphaṭalaghukaraṇāṃ māṇavair veditavyam
siddhāntānāṃ vināṣāḥ sakalabhuvitāle kālayoge bhaviṣyat\(^2\) \( \| \) 26 l

ādyābdāt sañatābdaiḥ prakaṭa yaśanprāḥ sambhalākhye bhaviṣyat iti l
ādyeti dharmadeśanāvarṣāṃ tathāgatasya l tasmaid varṣat sañatābdaiḥ
śītānadyuttare sambhalanāṃni viṣaye yāsa ity aṅgāmapāṭhaḥ mahāyaśo\(^3\) mañjuśrīḥ prakaṭo bhaviṣyat iti\(^4\) nirmānākāyagrahaṁ kariṣyatity arthaḥ l tasman nāgaḥ sañābdair iti tasmād yaśaso nirvṛtāt l nāgair ity aṅtavarṣāsaṭaiḥ khalv iti niścitām mahaviṣaye mlecchadhamapraṇīrtir bhaviṣyati l śītāyā\(^5\) daksine makhaviṣaye koṭīrāmāvibhūṣite mlecchānān
tāyināṁ asuradhamapraṇīrtir bhaviṣyati l tasmin mlecchākāle dharaṇyāṃ sphaṭalaghukaraṇāṃ māṇavair veditavyam l siddhāntānāṃ vināṣā iti siddhāntaḥ brahma sauraṃ yamanakaṁ romakaṁ iti \( \| \) esāṃ caṭurnām
vināṣāḥ\(^6\) siddhāntānāṃ vināṣāḥ l sakalabhuvitāle iti sakala iti yatra tīṛthikasiddhāntā nivartante\(^7\) tatra sakalaṁ bhuvitālāṃ śītādakṣiṇāṁ
tasmin bhuvitāle l na sambhalādiviṣayeṣu bauddhāsiddhāntasya vināṣā iti l kālayoge bhaviṣyat iti kālayogā mlecchadharmaḥ tena siddhāntānāṁ
yogaḥ kālayogā tasmāt kālayogād bhaviṣyat\(^8\) l kālayoga iti pañcamartyārthe saptanī l

v.l.: 1) U: utpādanāṁ. 2) U: 'bhaviṣyat. 3) U: mahāyaśā. 4) U: bhaviṣyati. 5) U: śītā-.
VP (T) 1.477.1-478.3

|| [gnas pa bcu gsum pa] da ni lo 'di nas ni žes pa la sogs pas šambha la'i yul du 'jam dpal 'byuṃ ba daṅ l kla klo'i chos byuṃ nas [mu stegs kyi] skar rtsis kyis (read: kyi) grub pa'i mtha' rnam par ŋams pa daṅ ŋuṅ nu'i byed pa rab tu 'jug par de bžin gsregs pas luṅ bstan pa bdag gis dgrol bar bya'o l

(ŠK (T) 1.9.4-5:)

|| lo 'di nas ni drug bṛgya'i lo yis gsal bar mi bdag grags pa šambha la žes bya bar 'byuṅ l

|| de nas klu yi lo bṛgya rnam kyis ņes par ma kha'i yul du kła klo'i chos dag rab tu 'jug l

|| de yi dus su 'dzin ma la ni ŋuṅ ŋu'i byed pa gsal bar mi rnam dag gis rig par bya l

|| mtha' dag sa gzi la ni grub pa'i mtha' rnam rnam par ŋams pa dus kyi sbyor ba la 'byuṅ 'gyur ll 26

|| lo 'di nas ni drug bṛgya'i lo yis gsal bar mi bdag grags pa šambha la žes bya bar 'byuṅ l žes pa la l lo 'di žes pa ni l de bžin gsregs pas [dus kyi 'khor lo'i] chos bstan pa'i lo ste l lo de nas lo drug bṛgya na chu bo ſi ta'i byaṅ šambha la žes bya ba'i yul du grags pa [ya sa žes pa rnam dbyed par byas pa] žes pa ni l luṅ gi brjod pa ste [sdeb sbyor gyi dbaṅ yin gyi don la ya saḥ 'o ll ] 'jam dpal grags pa chen po gsal bar 'byuṅ žes pa l sprul pa'i sku 'dzin par mdzad par 'gyur žes pa'i don to ll de nas klu'i lo bṛgya rnam kyis šes pa ni l grags pa[s lo bṛgya chos bstan pa'i rjes la] mya Ňan las 'das pa de nas l klu žes pa lo bṛgyad bṛgya na l ņes par žes pa ni gdon mi za bar l ma kha'i yul du kła klo'i chos dag rab tu 'jug par 'gyur te l chu bo ſi ta'i lho phyogs [sog yul] ma kha'i yul groṅ bye bas rnam par bṛgyan par l kla klo stag gzig rnam kyi lha ma yin gyi chos rab tu 'jug par 'gyur ro ll kla klo de'i dus su 'dzin ma la ni [mu stegs pa'i] ŋuṅ ŋu'i byed pa gsal bar mi rnam dag gis rig par bya'o ll grub pa'i mtha' rnam rnam par ŋams pa žes pa ni l tshangs pa daṅ Ňi ma daṅ gcer bu pa rnam daṅ sgra gcan gi grub pa'i mtha' ste l 'di bži rnam par ŋams pa ni l grub pa'i mtha' rnam rnam par ŋams pa'o ll mtha' dag sa gži la ni žes pa la l mtha' dag ni l gaṅ du mu stegs pa'i grub pa'i mtha' žugs pa de mtha' dag go l sa gži ni chu bo ſi ta'i lho ste l sa gži der ro l šambha la sogs pa'i yul rnam su saṅs rgyas pa'i grub pa'i mtha' rnam par ŋams pa ni ma yin no ll dus kyi sbyor ba la 'byuṅ 'gyur žes pa la l dus kyi sbyor ba ni l kla klo'i chos te l de yis [mu stegs kyi] grub pa'i mtha' rnam la sbyor ba ni dus kyi sbyor ba las 'byuṅ bar 'gyur ro ll dus kyi sbyor ba la žes pa ni l [las žes lha pa dgos pa la l la žes bdun pa byas pas na l] lha pa'i don la bdun pa'o l
I.3. Śrī Kālacakra 1.27a and Vimalaprabhā 1.9.27a [VP (S) B 31b7-32a2; U 1.78.8-22]

idānīṁ laghukaranāṁ tāvad ucyate vahnaṁ khe 'bdhau vimiśram iti l

Śrī Kālacakra 1.27a

vahnaṁ khe 'bdhau vimiśram prabhavamukhagataṁ mlecchavāraṁ prasiddham

iha dhruvako 'nityas tantrārēṣaṇāṁ tantrarājaṁ sāstisamvatsarāṁ puṇar dhruvaracanādā iti l iha tathāgatakālāṁ śadhvārasaśataṁ maṇjuśrīkālaṁ kāraṇe dhruvaḥ l tasmād aṣṭaṇaḥ śaeva kālaṁ dhruvakaṁ bhavati mlecchavāraṁ iti prabhavamukhagataṁ iti prabhavo mukham ādir yesaṁ śaṣṭaśamvatsarāṇāṁ te prabhavamurkhaḥ l
tēṣu pratyekavartanānavarṣasya pūrvavāraṁ prabhavamukhagataṁ iti l
tan māmāṁ tryadhikacatuḥśatarāsānuālā mlecchavāraṁ prasiddham bhavati l
ekavāraṁ ādiṁ kṛtvā yāvat śaṣṭiśaṁ prabhavamukhagataṁ iti l
tan māmāṁ tryadhikacatuḥśatarāsānuālā mlecchavāraṁ prasiddham bhavatī l' tad eva varṣam sarvakaraṇāntare prasiddham bhavatyādītyādīnvārvatraṁ tanen māmāṁ tryadhikacatuḥśatarāsānuālā mlecchavāraṁ prasiddham l
māmāṁ tryadhikacatuḥśatarāsānuālā mleccho madhumati rahmaṇavatāro mlecchadharmadeśaṁ mlecchānāṁ täyināṁ guruh svāmī l


VP (T) 1.480.1-481.3

l [gnaḥ pa bcu bži pa l] da ni re śiḥ ēnu ēnu i byed pa gsuṅs pa l

(ŚK (T) 1.9.5-6)

l me mkha' rgya mtsho rnams la rab byun la sogs 'das pa rnams bsres kла klo'i lo ni rab tu grub l

me mkha' rgya mtsho rnams śes pa'o ll rgyud kyi rgyal po 'di la ńes pa ni l mi rtag pa ste l lo drug cu'i mthar slar yaṅ ńes pa 'god pa'i phyir ro ll 'dir byed pa la ńes pa ni l de bžin gsregs pa'i dus [mya ńan las 'das nas śes pa la sogs pa l] nas lo drug brgya na 'jam dpal gyi dus so ll de nas lo bgrya drgya na kla klo'i dus so ll kla klo'i dus [nas bzuṅ ba'i lo'i tshogs] de las bgrya cu rtsa gnis lhag pa'i brgya yis dman pa ni l rgyal dka' gān gis ēnu ēnu i byed pa'i don du] rnam par sbyon ba'i rigs ldan rgyal dka'i dus [nas bzuṅ ba'i lo'i tshogs byed pas] so ll dus de ņid ni l byed pa la ńes par 'gyur te l [gān la sbyor na] kla klo'i lo las so l (N.B.: Here Bu ston annotates VP (T) with six verses quoted from the Laghutantraṭikā that list the years of the sexagenary cycle; see NEWMAN
1998: 344-45.) I rab byuñ la sogs 'das pa žes pa ni l lo drug cu po gañ dag gi dañ po rab byuñ yin pa de dag ni rab byuñ la sogs te l de dag las so sor da ltar ba'i lo'i sña ma'i lo ni rab byuñ la sogs 'das pa'o ll de dag gsum lhag pa'i bži brgya'i phuñ po la bsres pa ni l kla klo'i [mgo zug tshun chad kyi] lor rab tu grub par 'gyur ro ll lo gcig dañ por byas nas lo drug cu ji sñed pa de ŉid ni l rab byuñ la sogs 'das pa rnams bsres su 'gyur ro ll [rab byuñ gi] lo de ŉid ni l byed pa gzan thams cad la [lo rnams kyi dañ por] rab tu grags pa yin te l gza' ŉi ma [res gza' bdun gyi dañ por grags pa l] bžin no ll gsum lhag pa'i bži brgya'i lo yis phuñ po la de yis bsres pa ni l kla klo'i lor rab tu grub ste l kla klo ni l sbran rtsi'i blo gros te l rahma ŉa'i 'jug pa kla klo'i chos ston pa po kla klo stag gzig rnams kyi bla ma dañ rje bo'o l

I.4. Śrī Kālacakra 1.89d and Vimalaprabhā 1.9.89d
[ŚK (S) B 23.4; VP (S) U I.119.23]
devānām dānavānāṁ kṣītitalanilaye raudrayuddhaṁ bhaviṣyat
v.l.: 1) VP (S) U: bhaviṣyat.

[VP (S) B 46a2; U I.119.28-120.2]
devānām dānavānāṁ mlecchānāṁ kṣītitalanilaye vāgaḍāyāṁ nagaryāṁ raudrayuddhaṁ bhaviṣyat

ŚK (T) 1.24.7-1.25.1

| lha rnams dag dañ lha min rnams kyi 'khrug pa drag po sa gzi'i gnas rnams su ni 'byuñ bar 'gyur l

VP (T) 1.554.4-5

[rtsod ldan gyi mjug] de'i dus su lha rnams dag dañ lha min kla klo rnams kyi 'khrug pa drag po sa gzi'i gnas bā ga da rnams su ni 'byuñ bar 'gyur te l

I.5. Śrī Kālacakra 1.154-155 [Note: I follow VP (S) U in numbering these verses; some MSS and the Tibetan translation given below omit verse 90 of this patala, and thus number these verses as 153-154. My edition of these verses is based on the MS readings given in HOFFMANN 1969: 56-66; VP (S) U I.153.15-22; ŚK (S) V 338-39; ŚK (S) B 39.1-8; ŚK (S) T 19a6-19b3; NEWMAN 1987a: 594-616]
ardo nogho varahī danubhujagakule tāmasānaye 'pi pāñca
mūsēsau śvetavastri madhupati mathani yo śṭamaḥ so 'ndhakaḥ syāt l
sambhūtiḥ saptamaṃya sphuṭa makhaviṣaye vāgadādau nagaryām
yasyāṃ loke 'surāṃśi nivasati balavān nidaya mlecchamūrtiḥ ll154 ll
uṣṭṛāśvau gāś ca hatvā sarudhirapiṣṭaṃ suddhapakvam hi kīcīcit
gomāṃsaṃ sūtatoṣya gīṭhatakutakasamam taṇḍulam śākamśrīr am
ekasmān vahnipakvam vanaphalasahitaṃ yatra bhojyaṃ naraṇām
pānaṁ cāṇḍaṃ khagānāṃ bhavati narapate tatpadaṃ cāsurāṇām ll155 ll

VP (T) 1.40.7-41.6 [Without annotations; for discussion of this and
other Tibetan translations of these verses see NEWMAN 1987b: 594-616]

I.6. Śrī Kālacakra 2.98-99 and Vimalaprabhā 2.5.98-99 [VP (S) B
78b5-79a6; U 1.222.10-223.24]
idānīṁ bauddhānāṃ asurāṇāṃ mlecchānāṃ jñānotpattikāla ucyate jñāna
ityādīna

Śrī Kālacakra 2.98

jñānotpattir jñānāṁ ravidinasamaye cārdharātre niśānte
madhyāhne cāsurānāṁ śaśiśīsamaye nirgame vāsarasaya
samayojjāne vibhāṅge prabhavati vacanaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ prākṛtaṃ ca
śāntaṃ raugaṃ ca karma tribhuvanānīlaye pauruṣaṃ prākṛtaṃ ca l98 ll

iha khalu trividho yogābhyaśaḥ bauddha āśuro bhautaś ca l tatra bauddho
yogāḥ śunyatākarunātmakah āsurāḥ kalpanādharmaḥ bhautiko dviṭpra-
kāraḥ śāśvatārūpa ucchedarūpaś ca l evāṃ trividho yogī sa eva vidyate
yasya tadyogābhyaśabalaśvād2 iti l āsu divābhage bauddhayogināṁ jñā-
notpattīḥ rāṭribhage asurayogināṁ3 catuhṣandhyārahitakāle4 bhautayogi-
ನಂಭ ಜ್ಞಾತಪತ್ತಿಯ ಇತಿ l ಅತ್ರ ಕಾಲವಿಧ್ಯಾಗಿ ಜ್ಞಾತಪತ್ತಿಯ ರವಿದೇಶಸಮಯೆ ಕ್ರಾಂತಿಯಾದ ನಿತ್ಯಾಗ್ರಹಕ್ಕೆ ಅನುಕೂಲದ ಸಾಂಖ್ಯಿಕಮಯೆ ನಿರ್ದಿಷ್ಟು ಹೇಳುತ್ತವೆ apಿ sandhyârahitakâle l atrârdhara¬tre pûrvasandhyâyâm vâ jñânâdhiśthânavam5 bhavati bauddhânâm l asurânâm madhyâhna-sandhyâyâṃ astaṅgatasandhyâyâṃ6 vâ jñânâdhisthânam5 bhavati l bhûtânâm aparacatu¬paharasandhyâyâṃ dividhâge sâśvatajñânâdhiśthânam râtrihâge ucchedajñânâdhiśthânam l anayor bauddhâsuryor yathâsãmkhyam samyakjñânaṃ bauddhânâm bhavati vibhaṅga¬ tadadharmavirodhi bhavaty asurânâm l samyakjñânaṃ dividhâge sarvadarśi l vibhaṅga¬ jñânaṃ râtrâlokavat kichit sattvâna¬ jñânavaranâdaśrita7 l katham jñâyata itâ8 aha dharma¬saṇâaya9 iti l iha samyagjñâne vibhaṅge prabhavati vacanâṃ samâskṛtam prâkrtaṇi ceti l samyagjñânotpannânâṃ samâskṛtam vákyâṃ sarvarutâtmakam iti l vibhaṅga¬jñânotpannânâṃ prâkṛtam vákyâṃ bhavati desakânam ekaviṣayabhaśântareneti l sântakarmadesakâṃ10 bauddhânâm jñânaṃ sarvasattvakaranâtmakam l raudrakarmadesakâṃ11 asurâna¬ jñânaṃ tiryak-sâttvâpakâri māṃsabhakṣânâyeti l tribhuvananiyaye praurusâm karma bauddhânâm jñânaṃ desayati l kṣitau prâkṛtan karma asurâna¬ jñânaṃ desayati l bhûtânâm vîmiśraya karma desayati prâhivyâm iti jñânavedesa¬nâniyamal l 98 lll idâniṃ bauddhâsuryor bhuktikâla ucyate madhyâhnâd ityâdinâ l

Śri Kâlacakra 2.99
madhyâhnâd ardhara¬tre dinâniśisamaye bhuktikâlas sayâca annâm gomâṃsabhojyaṃ bauhuviharadâm pânâṃ andâsaṣa śukram l râktam śvetam ca vastram râvishâgigativat svargapâtâlavâsah dharmo "hîmsâ ca hîmsa guruṇiyamaavâśad vajradâtyâsanân ca ll 99 lll

iha pratidine madhyâhnâd12 arabhyârdharâtraṃ yâvat dinasamayaḥ13 l ardhâratra arabhyâ mahdyâhnapatrayantam niśisamayah l tasmin dinâniśisamaye svasvasamayasya parârđhe bhuktikâlaḥ tayor bauddhamlecchayor yathâsãmkhyam tapasvinâm grâsthânahânâṁ iti na14 niyamaḥ l bauddhâsura¬yoḥ punâḥ kânaḥ pânâṃ15 yathâsãmkhyam annâm viśśatatanum bauddhânâm gomâṃsasahitam mlecchânâṁ l pânâṃ yathâsãmkhyam bauhuviharâdâmaṃ miṣṭam bauddhânâm kukkanâdinâṃ andâsaṣa śukram pânâng l mlecchânâm iti l paridâhânâm yathâsãmkhyam râktavastram bauddhânâm śvetam mlecchânâm tapasvinâm grâsthânâṁ na niyamaḥ17 l tathâ marâṇânte âvaso yathâsãmkhyam râvishâgigavit iti raver urdhvavigatir l candrasâyadhogaṇi l tayor gatitav svargavaśo nivititir bauddhânâm pâtalavâso 'surânaṃ candragatitad iti l tathâ19 mûlantre sekoddesa bhagavân āha l
adhas candrâmrtam yâti marâne sarvadehinâm l
úrdhve sûryarâjo20 râhuviññânañ bhâvalaksâne l (Sekoddeśa 86)
tathâ dharmo yathâsamyhym bauddhânâm dharmo 'hinsâ mlecchânâm
hinsâ cakârât bhûtânâm l guruniyamavâsâd21 bhâvanâkâle iñçadevatâstuti-
kâle yathâsamyhym bauddhânâm vajrâsanañ prâsastânâm22 mlecchânâm
daityâsanañ prâsastân cakârât aparam sâmânâm iti tasya na viddhir23
na niśedha iti l atra daityâsanâm24 bhûtale25 vâmajânuprasârañ26 vâma-
pâdordhvam27 daksânapâdañ28 l cakârât adhañ daksânapâda úrhdhvâma-
pâdâte29 'pi l cakârât prâtthe katiniñño 'pi iti30 vajrâsanâdikañ ca31
vakṣyamâne vaktavyam iti bauddhâsurakriyânîyamañâ l l 99 l

5) U & B [emendation]: vâgijânâdhîstânâm; I follow Tib., which I believe reflects
pâdordhvam daksânapâdañ. 29) U: ùrdhvañ pâdâte. 30) U: katiniñño iti; B: omit cakârât prâtthe katiniñño 'pi iti; marginal emendation adds, reading: kati-
nisanno. 31) U: vajrâsanâdî-.

VP (T) 2.143.2-146.7
l da ni ye vûs pas sañs rgyas pa rnams dan lha min [ni kla
klo dan rtag chad pa'i spyi yin pa'm l yañ na lha min kla Klo rnmats ñes
'gyur bcos l de ma yin na goñ 'og 'gal lo l] rnms dañ kla Klo rnmats kyi
ye vûs skye ba'i dus gsuñs te l

(SK (T) 1.70.2-4)
l ye vûs skye ste rgyal ba rnms kyi ni ma ñin mo'i dus su mtshan mo phyed dañ
mtshan mo'i mthar l
l lha min rnmats kyi zla ba mtshan mo'i dus su ñi ma phyed dañ ñin mo dag gi
mjug tu'o l
l yañ dag ye vûs rnsms (read: rnm) ñams dag la tshig ni legs sbyar tha mal dag
tu rab tu 'gyur ba ste l
l zi dañ drag po las te srid pa gsum gyi gnas su skyes bu ñid dañ tha mal dag
kyan no l 98
l 'dir ñes par rnal 'byor goms pa rnm pa gsum sañs rgyas pa'i dañ l lha
min gyi dañ l 'byuñ po'i o l de la sañs rgyas pa'i mal 'byor ni l stoñ pa
ñid dañ sñin rje'i bdag ñid do l lha min [kla Klo rnmats] gyi ni [blos kun] btags pa'i chos so l l 'byuñ po yi ni [mu stegs pa] rnm pa gñis te l
I zla ba bdud rtsi [byaṅ chub kyi sems 'pho ba'i bag chags goms pa las] 'og tu 'gro l
l steṃ du ni ma rdul ['gro la] [mi šes pa ma rig pa'i bag chags dañ lhan
cig stobs dañ ldan pa'i grog (read: srog) dañ bcas pa'i] sgra gcan l
l [rnam šes srid pa'i mtshan ŋid do ll] rnam śes dnos [bha ba dnos po 'di
bzin legs so ll] po'i mtshan ŋid [de dge mi dge'i las kyis sprul pa'i skye
ba srid pa gzan du 'gro ba] do ll
de bzin du chos ni l graṅs bzin du saṅs rgyas pa rnam s kyi [sems can
rnam s la] 'tshe ba med pa'o ll kla klo pa rnam s kyi ni l 'tshe ba ste l yaṅ
yig las 'byuṅ po rnam s kyi'o ll bla ma'i nes pa'i dbaṅ gis sgom pa'i dus
dañ 'dod pa'i lha la bstod pa'i dus su graṅs bzin du saṅs rgyas pa rnam
la rdo rje'i gdn bsṅags śiṅ l kla klo pa rnam s la [de ma thag ston pa'i]
lha min gyi gdn sṅags so ll yaṅ yig las gzaṅ ni l thun moṅ ba ste l de ni
mi sgrub ciṅ mi 'gog go ll 'dir lha min gyi gdn ni l sa'i nes la pus mo
g.yon gyi steṅ du pus mo g.yas brkyaṅ ŋiṅ rkaṅ pa'[i byin pa] g.yon gyi
steṅ du rkaṅ pa'[i byin pa] g.yas pa'o ll yaṅ yig las [rkaṅ pa bsgyur ter
rkaṅ pa g.yas pa] 'og ste l rkaṅ pa g.yas pa'i steṅ du [rkaṅ pa g.yon
pa] 'o ll rkaṅ pa'i mthil du yaṅ l yaṅ yig las rgyab tu dbyi bzag pa'o ll
rdo rje'i gdn la sogs pa ni l 'chod par 'gyur pa las brjod par bya'o ll
saṅs rgyas pa dañ lha min gyi bya ba ņes pa'o ll 99

I.7. Śrī Kālacakra 2.158cd and Vimalaprabhā 2.7.158cd [VP (S) B
90a4-5; U 1.259.3-4, 11-15. The text of Śrī Kālacakra 2.158cd given
below is my edition based on the readings in ŚK (S) V, U, B, T (f.
39b4-5; p. 78.4-5). This is 2.164cd in all three printed editions of the
Śrī Kālacakra. Verses 2.116-121 in the printed editions are clearly a late
interpolation. BANERJEE (ŚK (S) B p. 72) notes that they do not appear
in his two best MSS, nor in the Peking, sDe dge, or sNar thang editions
of the Tibetan translation. They are also absent from ŚK (T). Cf. VP (S)
U 1.232-33, note.]
idāniṃ mlecchātāyināṃ matam ucyate kartreyādi l

Śrī Kālacakra 2.158cd
karāṭra srṣṭāṃ samastam sacaram acarājāṃ tāyināṃ bhuktiḥetoḥ
svargas tasya pratoṣād bhavati Khalu śrṇāṃ dēsānā rahmanāḥ sā ll 158 ll
iha karāṭra rahmanā srṣṭāṃ samastam sacaram jaṅgamaḥ acaram
sthāvaram vastu tāyināṃ iti mlecchānāṃ svetavāsinaṃ bhuktiḥetoḥ l
svargas tasya rahmanāḥ pratoṣāt apratoṣān narako bhavati Khalu śrṇāṃ
dēsānāl rahmanāḥ sā l pūrvokta2 kriyeta tāyināṃ mataniyamaḥ ll 158 ll
v.l.: 1) U: omit dēsānā. 2) U: pūrvokta-. 3) U: tāyi-. 
VP (T) 2.203.2-5
da ni [sog po ṛa ma ṯa (read: rahma ṯa) daṅ] kla klo stag gzig rnams kyi 'dod pa gsun s pa l byed po ḯes pa la sogs pa ste l

.SK (T) 1.83.7-84.1)
byed po rgyu daṅ mi rgyu las skyes mtha’ dag bskyed ciṅ stag gzig rnams kyi thar pa dag gi rgyu l
del mñes pa las ṯes par mi rnams mtho ris su 'gyur de ni rā hma ṯa yi bstn pa'o ll 158

'dir byed po rahma ṯas rgyu ba g.yo ba daṅ mi rgyu ba bṛtan pa’i ḏnos po mtha’ dag skyed ciṅ stag gzig rnams kyi ḯes pa kla klo gos dkar po can rnams kyi thar pa dag gi rgyu l [byed pa po] rahma ṯah de mñes pa las ṯes par mi rnams mtho ris daṅ l ma mñes pa las dmyal bar 'gyur ro ḯes pa de ni rahmah'i (read: rahma ṯah'i) bstn pa ste l bya ba ni [ye ṯes skye ba la sogs pa’i dus skabs su] snar brjod pa'o ll stag gzig gi 'dod pa ṯes pa'o ll 158

I.8. Vimalaprabhā 2.7.160b, comment on Śrī Kalacakra 2.160b (166b of printed eds.) [VP (S) B 90b4; U I.260.26-261.1]
kiṅ cānyad iha kila śrūyate yadā vedābhāvo bhavati mlecchaṁ vedadharmaṁ ucchādite sati tadā (SK 2.160b:) brahmā vaktraś caturbhiḥ prakaṭayati purā vedasābdena cārtam indraḥ paśur āśīd ityādipāṭhneti l ato ‘ṛtho ’nyo vedo ’nya iti siddham l

v.l.: 1) B: -śabdenā.

VP (T) 2.206.3-5
gžan pa ci 'dir gaṅ gi tshe [daṅ por rig byed yod kyaṅ] kla klo rnams kyis rig byed kyi chos [bzi po rgya mtshor bskyur nas] bsgribs par gyur pa na rig byed med par gyur pa de’i tshe [tshaṅs pas dran nas] tshaṅs pa’i gdoṅ bzi dag gis sñon gyi rig byed [de slar] sgra dag gis kyaṅ don ni rab tu gsal bar byas te l dbaṅ po phyugs su gyur ces pa la sogs [pa rig byed 'don] pa’i klog gis so ḯes zer ba thos so ll de’i phyir don gžan daṅ rig byed gžan ḯes grub bo ll

I.9. Vimalaprabhā 2.7.161, comment on Śrī Kalacakra 2.161 (2.167 of printed eds.) [VP (S) B 90b7-91a1; U I.261.17-21]
kiṅ cānyad iha brahmamukhāt brāhmaṇā jātāh kila satyaṁ l ataḥ prcchā- mi kim brāhmaṇyo! 'pi tato jātāh l yādī syus tadā bhaginyo bhavanti ekayonisamutpannatvād iti l evām kṣatriyādīnām api l vivāhaṁ bhaginyā
sārdham bhavati katham | atha bhavati tada mlecchadharmapavr̥ttir
bhavati | mlecchadharmapavr̥ttau jātikṣayāḥ jātikṣayān narakam iti
nyāyaḥ |

v.l.: 1) U: brāhmaṇye.

VP (T) 2.207.5-208.2
I gzan pa ci I 'dir tshaṅs pa'i kha nas bram ze rnams skyes pa ni bden par
grag go l de'i phyir bdag gis dri bar bya'o l bram ze mo rnams kyaṅ
[tshaṅs pa'i kha] de las skyes par gyur tam ci l gal te gyur na de'i tshe
sriṅ mor 'gyur te l skye gnas gcig las skyes pa ŏid kyi phyir ro l de bzin
du rgyal rigs la sogs pa rnams kyaṅ no ll de'i phyir sriṅ mo daṅ lhan cig
bag ma ji ltar byed l ci ste byed na de'i tshe [bram ze rnams] kła klo'i
chos la žugs [par thal te sriṅ mo bag mar len pas] so ll kła klo'i chos la
žugs [par 'dod] na rigs ŋams [par thal] te l kła klo'i chos la žugs pa'i
phyir ro) ll rigs ŋams pa las [bram ze rnams] dmyal ba ['gro ba]r 'gyur
ro ņes pa ni [bram ze'i] rigs pa'o ll

I.10. Śrī Kālacakra 2.168 (2.174 of printed eds.) and Vimalaprabhā
2.7.168 [VP (S) B 93a7-93b1; U I.268.1-11]
idānīṃ pūrvakarmopabhogavartamānakarmasaṅcayapratisedha ucyate
jantur1 ityādi l

Śrī Kālacakra 2.168

jantuḥ pūrvāṇi karmāṇi anubhavati kṛtāny aihikāny anyajātyā
yady evaṃ tārān na hi bhavati nṛṇāṃ jāti-jātyantareṇa l
samsārān nirgamaḥ syād aparimitabhavair naiva mokṣe praveśaḥ2
etad vai tāyināṃ tu prabhavati hi mataṁ cānyajātipraḥiṇam ll 168 ll

iha yeṣāṃ mate3 jantuḥ pūrvakṛtāni karmāṇi bhūmkte iha janmāni kṛtāny
anyajātyā4 iti yady evaṃ tādā karanāśo na hi bhavati nṛṇāṃ jāti-
jātyantareṇa karmaphalopabhogata iti l evan na samsārān nirgamaḥ syād
aparimitabhavair naiva mokṣe praveśo bhavatīti l etad vai tāyināṃ prab-
havati hi mataṁ l kintv anyajātipraḥiṇam iti tāyināṃ mlecchānām
mataṁ manuṣyo mṛtaḥ svargē vā narakē vā 'nayā manuṣyamūrtya
sukham vā duḥkhham vā bhūmkte rahmano niyameneti l ato 'nyajātipra-
hiṇam iti niyamaḥ ll 168 ll

VP (T) 2.223.7-224.4

I da ni sña ma'i las ņe bar loṅs spyod pa dañ l da ltar gyi las gsog pa la dgag pa gsuṅs pa l skye bo 'zès pa la sogs pa ste l

(SK (T) 1.86.1-3)

l skye bo sǹon gyi las rrnaments šams su myoṅ 'gyur 'di la byas pa rrnaments ni skye ba gzan la'o l
gal de de lta yin na las ni 'jig par mi 'gyur mi rrnants skye dañ skye ba gzan dag gi (read: gis) l
dpag med srid pa dag gis 'khor ba las ni 'byuṅ bar 'gyur dañ thar pa 'jug pa med pa ņid l
di dag stag gzig rrnants kyaṅ ņes par 'dod par 'gyur te gzan pa'i rigs kyis rab tu dman pa'o l 168

'dir gaṅ dag gi 'dod pa las l sña bar byas pa'i las rrnants [skye ba 'dir] skye bo loṅs spyod cīṅ l skye ba 'di la [las dge sdig] byas pa rrnants ni skye ba gzan la'o ņes so ll gal te de lta yin na l de'i tshe las ni 'jig [pa dañ zad] par mi 'gyur te l mi rrnants skye dañ skye ba gzan dag gi (read: gis) las kyi 'bras bu ņe bar loṅs spyod pa'i phyir ro ll de ltar na [lam bsgoms kyaṅ] dpag med srid pa dag gis 'khor ba las ni 'byuṅ bar 'gyur ba med cīṅ l thar par 'jug pa med pa ņid du 'gyur ro ll 'di dag stag gzig rrnants kyaṅ ņes par 'dod par 'gyur te l 'on kyaṅ gzan pa'i rigs kyis rab tu dman pa'o ņes pa la l kla klo stag gzig rrnants kyi 'dod pa ni l mi ņi ba dag l mtho ris sam dmyal bar mi'i lus 'dis bde ba'm sdig bsṅal loṅs spyod de l [byed pa po] rahma na'i [mṅes pa dañ ma mṅes pa] ņes pas so ņes pa'o l de'i phyir gzan pa'i [las byed pa po'i lus de ņid kyis byed par 'dod pa'i] rigs kyis rab tu dman pa'o ņes pa ste ņes pa'o ll 168

I.11. Vimalaprabhā 3.1.3 [VP (S) B 96a6; U II.6.21-22]
raktāmbaraṃ yathā drṣṭā1 dveṣaṃ gacchanti pāpinaḥ l
mlecchadharmaratā bauddhās tathā śvetāmbarapriyā l iti l

v.l.: 1) U: yadā drṣṭvā.

VP (T) 2.244.2-5 [Note: parenthetical insertions are subannotations]
l [khyim pa slob sbpon du byed pa] gaṅ [gi] tshe gos dmar [gyi dge sloṅ] mthoṅ gyur nal l [sdig can kla klo'i chos (la) dga' rrnants ll (gus pa med cīṅ) ņe sdaṅ du 'gyur de yi tshe ll sāṅs rgyas pa rrnants gos dkar dga' l (bas de bzuṅ ste rab tu byuṅ ba'i rtags 'jig par 'gyur ro l) l 'di bzin bsgyur na legs l] ņe sdaṅ du 'gyur sāṅs rgyas pa [rrnants kyaṅ] ll sdig can kla klo'i chos la dga' ll de tshe dkar po'i gos la mos [te dkar po'i gos bzuṅ bas rtags ŋams pas bstan pa ņams dmas par 'gyur ro ll] ll ņes so ll
I.12. Vimalaprabhā 3.1.19c (comment on Śrī Kālacakra 3.19c) [VP (S) B 99b7-100a1; U II.18.1-2]
daiyam iti daiyāsanaṃ māraṇe aṅkakārkūrmapādavād iti daiyāsanaṃ

VP (T) 2.262.1-2
l āha min āses na l āha min gīyī 'dug staṅs te l [sa'ī nōs la pus mo g.yon gīyī steṅ du pus mo g.yas brkyaṅs zīṅ rkaṅ na g.yon gīyī steṅ du rkaṅ na g.yas pa'o ll yān yīg las 'og tu ste l rkaṅ na g.yas pa'i steṅ du'o ll rkaṅ pa'i mthil du yān yāŋ yīg las rgyab tu dpyi b'zag pa'o ll āses bśad la sā dhu pu tras lus bskums te rūs sbla ltar gnas pa'i āses bśadцин 'dir l] gsdā pa la 'thap mo byed pa'i rūs sbla gīyī stabs b'zin no āses na l āha min gīyī gandan na l

I.13. Śrī Kālacakra 3.94ab and Vimalaprabhā 3.4.94ab [VP (S) B 124b4; U II.88.25, 89.2-3]
-daiyendradharmam ... na kuryāt
daiyadharmam mlecchadharmam na kuryād iti

ŚK (T) 1.109.7-110.1
... āha min dbaṅ po'ichos ... mi bya'o l

VP (T) 2.386.2
... āha min gīyīchos na l kla klo'i chos de mi bya'o āses na l

I.14. Vimalaprabhā 5.3 (comment on Śrī Kālacakra 5.58) [VP (S) B 198b2-6; U III.86.5-17]
iha sattvā naādikālē tūrthikāh devabhūtsuradharmaratāh sarvajñamārga-
nāstāh catvarvānaikavarnāṣritāh svargaphalopabhogābhilāśīṇāh kartrātm-
vādinaḥ | teśām śabdavādino devapretadharmāṣritā īśvaravadinaś cātma-
vādinaś ca jātivādinaś ceti | mlecchā 'suradharmāṣritāh kartrvādino jīva-
vādino jātivādarahitāh | esām mlecchānām ubhayagrahaḥ paramāṇus-
dohagrahaḥ upapattyāṅgikapudgalagrahaḥ ceti | esām abhiprāyaḥ yadi paramāṇusamdoḥātmake śārīre antavarty upapattyāṅgikapudgalo nāsti
paramāṇusandohātmake kāye vinaśte sati aparākāyagrahānām kāh kari-
ṣyatā l tasmād upapādukapudgalō 'sti l tena sādhitena svargapalām
nirvāṇapalām | bhavati svargaphalād aparaṇī nirvāṇām nāma na syād iti
l tattvaprčchākālē teśām svacitābhīpṛyām abhijnāya tattvavidā bhagava-
toktaṃ atthi puggalo bhāravāho na ničcam bhānaṃi niṇiccam bhaṇāmīti
etad eva satyam bhagavato vacanāt svapnāvasthāyāṃ cittavāsanā-
pudgalo nānītyo na nītyo vaktum² sākyate l anena tathāgatavacanena
mlecchadharmamāṃ tyaktvā bauddhā vaibhāṣikā jātaḥ l punar lokottara-
dharmamāṃ desyamānāṃ śrūtvā bodhisattvānāṃ iha pudgalagraham pari-
tyajya ke cit samyaksambuddhamārgam āśritā iti l

v.l.: 1) B adds ā; emendation deletes; U: ca. 2) B: nītyoktum; marginal emendation
adds va.

VP (T) 3.172.4-173.5
l 'dir sems can rnams ni l thog ma med pa'i dus nas mu stegs pa l lha dañ
'byuñ po dañ lha ma yin gyi chos la dga' ba l thams cad mkhyen pa'i
lam ŋams pa l rigz raw bī dañ raw gcig la brten pa l mtho ris kyi 'bras bu'i
loṅs spyod mñon par 'dod pa l byed pa po dañ bdag tu smra ba po rnams
tel de rnams las sgra smra ba po rnams ni l lha dañ yi dwags kyi chos la
brten pa rnams dañ l dbaṅ phyug smra ba po rnams dañ l bdag smra ba
po rnams te l rigs smra ba dañ bral ba rnams so ll kła klo ni l lha min gyi chos
la brten pa rnams dañ l byed pa por smra ba po rnams dañ l srog smra ba
po rnams te l rigs smra ba dañ bral ba rnams so ll kła klo 'di rnams kyi
'dzin pa gñis ka ste l rdul phra rab tshogs pa'i 'dzin pa dañ l skye ba'i
cha  şaś can gyi gan žag gi 'dzin pa'o ll 'di rnams kyi bsam pa ni l gal te
rdul phra rab tshogs pa'i bdag ŋid can gyi lus la nañ du 'jug pa po skye
ba'i cha  şaś can gyi gan žag med na l rdul phra rab tshogs pa'i bdag ŋid
kyi lus rnam par ŋams pa'i rjes la lus gžan su yis 'dzin par byed par
'gyur l de'i phyir rdzus te byuñ ba'i gan žag yod do ll de yis bsgrubs pas
mtho ris kyi 'bras bu ni l mya ŋan las 'das pa'i 'bras bur 'gyur te l mtho
ris kyi 'bras bu las gžan mya ŋan las 'das pa žes bya ba med do žes pa
ste l de kho na ŋid 'dri ba'i dus su de rnams kyi rān gi sems kyi bsam pa
mñon par mkhyen nas l de ko na ŋid smra ba po bcom ldan 'das kyi
gsuṅs pa la [khur khur ba'i mdo las] khur khur ba'i gan žag yod de l rdag
pa dañ mi rdag par bdag mi smra'o ll žes pa'o ll de ŋid bden te l bcom
ldan 'das kyi gsuṅs pa'i phyir ro ll rmi lams gyi gnas skabs su sems kyi
bag chags kyi gan žag ni l rdag pa dañ mi rdag par brjod par mi nus so ll
de bžin gšegs pa'i gsuṅ 'di yis kła klo'i chos spāns nas sāṅs rgyas pa'i
bye brag tu smra ba rnams byuñ bar gyur to ll de nas byaṅ chub sems
dpa' rnams la 'jig rten las 'das pa'i chos bstan pa thos nas l 'dir gan žag
tu 'dzin pa yoṅs su spāns nas 'ga' žig yaṅ dag par rdzogs pa'i sāṅs rgyas
kyi lams la brten to ll
I.15. *Vimalaprabhā* 5.3 [VP (S) B 203b7; U III.96.26-29]
punar yugāvasāne mlecchānām atyantādharmam drṣṭvā śailavan nih-
kampo bhūtvā paramāśvasamādhinā 'nantān paramāśvān sphārayitvā tair mlecchānām cittāni drāvayitvā svadharme sthāpayiṣyati | teṣām dharmotpātanaṃ karisyati na prāṇatyāgaṃ |

VP (T) 3.200.5-7
l slar yaṅ dus bzi'i mthar kla klo rnams kyi śin tu chos ma yin pa gzigs nas ri bo bzin du 'dar ba med par 'gyur te l rta mchog gi tiṅ Ṉe 'dzin gyis rta mchog mtha'yas pa spros nas l de rnams kyi kla klo rnams kyi sems žum par byas te l raṅ gi chos la 'god par 'gyur žiṅ de rnams kyi chos 'joms par 'gyur gyi l srog gton ba ni ma yin no l

II. Śrī- *Kālacakra-tantrottara-Tantraḥṛdaya-nāma* [D bKa' 'gyur rGyud 'bum KA; P bKa' 'gyur rGyud KA. I mostly follow the readings in P because D appears to have been polished.]

II.1. [D 137a5; P 150a2]
... sa yi dam tshig can gyi stag gzig...

II.2. [D 137b4; P 150a8-150b1]
... gzan yaṅ ma dhu ma ti srin po'i bdaṅ po 'byuṅ l

II.3. [D 138b7; P 152a5]
... ma khar yaṅ ni spun zla'i bu mo raṅ gi bus (bag mar len) l

II.4. [D 141b3-6; P 155a2-6]
l saṅs rgyas rnams daṅ 'jigs byed skyes pa bud med gdeṅs can rnams kyi bstan pa lha rten gaṅ l
l g.yul du žugs pa'i stag gzig rnams kyi rta yi tshogs kyis de rnams ma lus 'jig par byed l
l de rnams rigs gcig gzan gyi nor mi len ciṅ bden par smra daṅ gtsaṅ spra rab tu 'jug l
l gзон nu gzan gyi chuṅ ma spoṅ žiṅ dka' thub ņes pa daṅ ldan raṅ gi chuṅ ma bsten l
l khrus byas gaṅ žig 'dod pa'i sgra gcan mtshan mo so so'i dus su ŋin guṅ phyed yol daṅ l
l srod daṅ thun gsum dag daṅ ņi ma ri la šar bar gyur nas lan lha l phyag byed ciṅ l
I sa steň\(^2\) lha yul dag tu stag gzig mu steğs dag la mun can dbañ pos gcig tu skyob |
I drag po'i g.yul nor pha ltar skyob par byed cĩn bu dañ bran bžin 'gyur la rgyal po ni |
I rgyal rigs 'thab mo min pas\(^3\) gñis skyes phyugs kyi śa yis 'jigs byed las sog\(^s\) mchod nas su |
I sna tshogs sems can gnod pa byed cĩn gžan gyi nor 'phrog pa yis gduñ rgyud 'chad pa 'byuñ l

v.l.: 1) D: lnar. 2) D: steň. 3) D: mun pas. 4) D: la sog.

II.5. [D 142a3; P 155b3]
I ni ma gañ du tshañs pa'i sa bon ņe bar 'jigs par 'gyur ba des na dus phyi mar |
I sa gzi skyoñ ba mchod na 'dir ni g.yul nor kla kla dañ ni mu steğs 'jigs\(^1\) par gyur l

v.l.: 1) P: 'jig.

II.6. [D 142a5-143b1; P 155b6-156a1]
I phyi nas sa steň son pa'i gnas dañ žiñ gi lha khañ\(^1\) drug bcu\(^2\) rtsa brgyad kla kla yì |
I mgon po ma dhu ma ti bu dañ bu mo spun zla skyes pa rnams kyis 'jig par byed l
I der ni bcwa brgyad\(^3\) lo la brgya yis brgya la bsgyur bas ma kha las sog\(^s\) 'phags pa'i yul l
I kla kla rnams dañ lha gañ mun can ņi mar rtogs pa gañ de ña yis brlag par bya l
I sañs rgyaschos dañ dge 'dun rnams la skyabs gsum cho gas skye dgu rnams ni der bžag nas l
I bde la\(^5\) bkod de ka lá pa nas lha gnas dga’ ldan mchog tu ņi ma 'gro bar bya l
I nam mkha’ mkha’ dañ dus dañ dбаñ po mig gis dus kyi dus son pa yi\(^6\) lo yi tshad l
I slar yañ skye bo rnams ni kla kla 'jug ste ji srid bcwa brgyad lo la bsgyur dañ bcas pa'i bar l
I yañ nas yañ du ña yis rtsod pa'i dus der byuñ nas de rnams gžig par bya ba ņid l

v.l.: 1) D: lha gañ. 2) D: drug cu. 3) D: bco brgyad. 4) D: la sog. 5) P: bde ba. 6) D: dus su son pa’i.
II.7. [D 144a5; P 157b7-8]
... stag gzig rnams ... bdag gis bsten l

III. Svadarśanamatoddesa [P gives the Sanskrit title of this text as Pra-
darśanumatoddesāparikṣā-nāma. I follow the form given by Nāro in his Paramārthasaṃgraha-nāma-sekoddeśātikā (p. 61.7). The text appears in P bsTan 'gyur rGyud 'grel PU, but not in D.]

III.1. [P 35b6-7]
| ** buzñ bya 'dzin pa dañ l
| gsad bya dañ ni gsod po dañ l
| bi śi bi lla'i snags ched du l
| khyab 'jug 'jigs byed skyob [*phyir] ro l

III.2. [P 50a2-3]
| gans ri'i byan du sa skyons rnams l
| bod sogs rnams su ba lañ za l
| nub tu kla klo'i rgyal po rnams l
| ba lañ gnis skyes rnams kyañ gsod l

IV. Śrī-Paramārthaseva [D bsTan 'gyur rGyud NA; P bsTan 'gyur rGyud 'grel GA]

IV.1. [D 13b6-7; P 16b7-17a1]
| tshangs pa'i kha ſid las skyes bram ze grags pa na l
| bram ze mo yai gnas de ſid las yin nam ci l
| gal te 'di dag skye gnas gcig las skyes gyur na l
| miñ po dañ ni sriñ mo bag mar rigs ma yin l (1)
| gal te yin na kla klo'i skye bo 'jug par 'gyur l
| kla klo 'jug par gyur na rigs ni ſams pas te l
| rigs zad na ni dmyal bar sdug bsñal ni bzad pa l
| rañ gi rigs ni 'dzin phyir de dag la 'gyur ro l (2)

IV.2. [D 17b7-18a2; P 22a6-8]
| gzan rnams kyis kyañ mtho ris bde ba'i rgyu ru ni l
| rañ gi liñ ga'i1 rtse mo'i pags pa2 gcod par byed l
| ſin mo'i mtha' dañ mtsan mo'i steñ du bza' ba ni l
| ſes par stag gzig3 rnams kyis byed par 'gyur ba'o l (1)
l ran gi las kyi sī bar gyur pa'i phyugs rnams kyi⁴ l
l de yi śa ni ñe bar spyod par mi byed do l
l srog bcad rab tu byas nas de ŋid za byed de l
l gzan du na ni mi rnams mtho ris 'gro ba med l (2)

v.l.: 1) P: līṅgā'i. 2) P: lags pa. 3) P: stag gzir. 4) P&D: kyiś.
References & abbreviations

**Primary Sources in Sanskrit and Tibetan**

**D**

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- **Mahābhārata**
- **Manusmṛti**

**P**

- **Padma dkar po 1575**
- **dPa’ bo gTsug lag phreng ba 1545**
- **Paramārthasamgraha**

**Sekoddeśa**


**ŚK (S) B**


**ŚK (S) T**

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**ŚK (S) V**


**ŚK (T)**


**VP (S) B**

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