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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*¹

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 north-eastern 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.² It is not surprising that this violent persecution produced fear and hatred in the minds of the victims. Commenting on the results of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī's famous raids during the first decades of the 11th century, al-Bīrūnī writes:

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1. SACHAU 1989: I.19.

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 *djihād*] 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).

Mahmūd 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.³

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: I.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:I.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.⁴ 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. *Paramādibuddhoddhṛta-Śrī-Kālacakra-nāma-tantrarāja* (henceforth ‘*Śrī Kālacakra*’), together with its commentary *Vimalaprabhā-nāma-mūlatantrānusāriṇī-dvādaśasāhasrikā-laghukālacakra-tantrarājaṭīkā* (henceforth ‘*Vimalaprabhā*’).
- II. *Śrī-Kālacakra-tantrottara-Tantrahr̥daya-nāma* (henceforth ‘*Tantrahr̥daya*’).
- III. *Svadarśanamatoḍḍeśa*
- 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 *Paramārthasevā* has survived;⁵ but apart from brief quotations we have only Tibetan translations of the *Tantrahr̥daya* and the *Svadarśanamatoḍdeśa*.

The *Śrī Kālacakra* is the *Kālacakra laghutantra* – it is traditionally held to be the condensed redaction of the *Paramādibuddha*, 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 *Tantrahr̥daya* is a supplement (*tantrottara*) to the *Śrī Kālacakra* attributed to Yaśas, and Yaśas also composed the *Svadarśanamatoḍdeśa*, an independent verse treatise. The *Paramārthasevā*, by Puṇḍarīka, is an independent work of didactic poetry.⁶

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 Abhayākaragupta's *Śrī-Saṃpuṭa-tantrarāja-ṭīkā-Āmnāyamañjarī-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 *Paramārthasevā* 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 *Paramārthasaṃgraha*, *Guṇabharanī*, *Sekoddeśatippaṇī*, 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 Kālacakra 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 *R̥gveda*, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, *Sāmkhyakārikā*, *Manusmṛti*, *Mahābhārata*, etc. It is likely that the authors themselves were brahmins by caste, Buddhists by religious affiliation.

An unusual feature of the earliest stratum of the Indian Kālacakra literature is its interest in what we might call ethnography. Although the most striking example of this is the Kālacakra’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 Kālacakra literature as erudite Indian Buddhists who situated their mysticism in a cosmopolitan cultural milieu.

I believe the earliest stratum of the Indian Kālacakra 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 Kālacakra 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 Kālacakra*, *Vimalaprabhā*, *Tantraḥṛdaya*, *Svadarśanamatoḍdeśa*, and *Paramārthasevā* all can be dated with a remarkable degree of precision: all are quoted by name in the *Paramārthasaṃgraha-nāma-Sekoddeśaṭīkā*⁷ composed by Nāro, who probably died ca. 1040 CE.⁸

7. For the *Paramārthasaṃgraha* quotations of the *Śrī Kālacakra* see NIHOM 1984: 20; NEWMAN 1987a: 90, n.11; GNOLI and OROFINO 1994: index s.v. *Laghukālacakratāntra*. For the *Vimalaprabhā* see GNOLI and OROFINO 1994: index s.v. For the *Tantraḥṛdaya* (cited under the short titles *Kālacakrottara* and *Tantrottara*) see NIHOM 1984: 20; GNOLI and OROFINO 1994: 218, 316-17. For the *Svadarśanamatoḍdeśa* see *Paramārthasaṃgraha* p. 61 (cf. GNOLI and OROFINO 1994: 323). For the *Paramārthasevā* see GNOLI and OROFINO 1994: index s.v.
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 gTsong 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),⁹ 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 Nāro’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 Maḥmūd 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

addition to the Marpa hagiography cited by WYLIE (1982: 689), see Padma dkar po 1575: 445-52.

I follow WYLIE in relying on the stories that place Nāro’s death shortly before Atiśa’s departure to Tibet, i.e., ca. 1040. This is not unlikely given the fact Atiśa was a junior contemporary of Nāro. However, unlike WYLIE and other scholars, I have very little faith in the wonderfully precise dates given for the births and deaths of Tilo and Nāro in their late Tibetan hagiographies. These dates are given in the Tibetan element-animal sexagenary cycle, which was never used in India. We must investigate how the Tibetans arrived at these dates before we rely too heavily on them.

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 *Tantrahṛdaya*, etc.

denotes any foreigner who does not follow Indian customs,¹⁰ but the Kālacakra texts seem to apply it only to Muslims.¹¹

The Kālacakra 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 Kālacakra literature.¹² However, in the Kālacakra’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: I.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 Kālacakra 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 khru 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 Kālacakra* 5.68c refers to the “beneficent attitude of the Tāyin [– the buddhas and bodhisattvas]” (*tāyinām saukyabuddhis; skyob pa mams kyi bde ba’i blo gros*). Similarly, the *Paramārthasaṃgraha* (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” (*tāyaḥ svadr̥ṣṭamārgoktiḥ | tadyogāt tāyinas tathāgatādayaḥ | skyob pa nyid gzig lam gsuñ pa | de la sbyor ba’i phyir skyob ste | skyob pa ni skyob pa de bñin gśegs pa la sogs mams sol*) (see GNOLI and OROFINO 1994: 205). Nāro’s gloss takes *tāyin* as a nominal stem in *-in* formed on *tāyaḥ*; 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: *tāyinām* (Sanskrit and Tibetan: I.2,3,7,10; Tibetan only: II.1,4,7; IV.2). However, elsewhere in the *Śrī Kālacakra* and *Vimalaprabhā* we find the feminine nominative singular form *tāyinī* (Tib. *stag gzig ma*) in a list of eight ethnonyms denoting outcaste and tribal women.¹³ Thus, we can be confident that the underlying word is treated as nominal stem in *-in-*; the masculine nominative singular would be *tāyī*.

The *Kālacakra* 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 *Kālacakra* 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 Persians¹⁴ 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 *Kālacakra* 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 Kālacakra* 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 *tāpinī* 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 (ŚK (S) V), Banerjee (ŚK (S) B) and, most importantly, with the Tibetan translation *stag gzig ma*

Tāyinī stands at the northern point of the charnel-ground circle of the *Kālacakra*’s *gaṇacakra*: Mlecchī, Haḍḍī, Mātāngī, Tāyinī, Varvarī, Pukkasī, Bhillī, 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.

14. *pārasika*; *pā ra si ka* (NEWMAN 1987b: 362).

reflects their predilection to transcribe names of Arabic origin with meaningful Sanskrit terms: compare the etymologies of Viṣavimlā, Madhumatī, Varāhī, Mūṣa, 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] (I.5. See also I.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 brahmins. 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 (EI¹ 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 *Tantrahṛdaya* notes that in Makka (*makha*) a barbarian takes his paternal uncle's daughter in marriage (II.3; cf. I.9; IV.1). Such a marriage of paternal parallel cousins is considered equivalent to incest between siblings.¹⁵

15. EI¹ 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).¹⁶ 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 *mlecchadharmā*:

Ādam (*arda*), Nūḥ (*nogha*), and Ibrāhīm (*varāhī*) [are the first three barbarian teachers]; there are also five others whose nature is *tamas*¹⁷ in the family of demonic snakes: Mūsā (*mūṣa*), 'Īsā (*īśa*), the White-Clad One (*śvetavastrin*), Muḥammad (*madhupati*), and the Mahdī (*mathanī*), 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

marriages may have been among the Muslims the Kālacakra authors are likely to have encountered.

Manu 3.5 says: "A woman who [does not] belong to the same lineage (of the sages) [*gotra*] on her father's side ... is recommended for marriage to twice-born men" (DONIGER 1991: 43). A man's paternal uncle necessarily belongs to the same *gotra*, and thus his daughters are prohibited as marriage partners.

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 Sāṃkhya notion of the three *guṇas* – *sattva*, *rajas*, *tamas* – as a religio-anthropological classification system. Buddhists are *sāttvika* – endowed with goodness and light. Tīrthikas – the followers of non-Buddhist Indian religious traditions – are *rājasa*: their nature is a mixture of good and evil. The *mleccha* Tāyin, of course, are *tāmāsa* – 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 *tamas* (*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 sevensh Shī'ī source.¹⁹ The Ismā'īlīs hold that Ādam, Nūḥ (Noah), Ibrāhīm (Abraham), Mūsā (Moses), 'Īsā (Jesus), and Muḥammad are the first six *nāṭiq* ("enunciators"), who will be followed by Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, the hidden *imām* who will return as the Mahdī (EI iv.203ab; DAFTARY 1990: 139-40 and s.v. *nāṭiq*). We know that Ismā'īlī *dā'ir* – 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 Ismā'īlī 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 Mubayyiḍa (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-Muḥannā'... appeared in Trans-oxania to lead another [anti-'Abbāsīd] revolutionary movement. His following was composed of white-clad (Ar. Mubayyiḍa, Pers. Sapīd-djāmagān) Soghdian peasants and by Turkish tribesman. He claimed to be the final divine incarnation after Ādam, Nūḥ, Ibrāhīm, Mūsā, 'Īsā, Muḥammad and Abū Muslim... The sect of the Mubayyiḍa 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" (*śvetavastrin*) here, and references to white-clad (*śvetavastram*, *śvetavāsin*) Tāyin ascetics discussed below, may support the hypothesis that the Śrī Kālacakra's list of barbarians derives from a Mubayyiḍa source.

However, thus far we have not solved the vexing puzzle of the identity of the sixth barbarian teacher – the White-Clad One.²⁰ Also, it must be

19. This hypothesis linking the Śrī Kālacakra's list of *mlecchas* with the Mubayyiḍa or the Ismā'īlīs 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 Ismā‘īlī 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 sevenser Shī‘ī tradition about which we have no information. The reference to Baghdād (see below) further complicates matters. It seems unlikely that a sevenser Shī‘ī informant in the early 11th century would revere Baghdād given the long and bitter conflict between the ‘Abbāsīd Caliphate and the Shī‘ī. 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 yo ‘ṣṭamaḥ so ‘ndhakaḥ syār*). 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 *Kālacakra*’s list of *mleccha* teachers strongly suggests that this list was obtained from a Shī‘ī source:

Belief in the coming of the Mahdī of the Family of the Prophet became a central aspect of the faith in radical Shī‘ism in contrast to Sunnism. Distinctively Shī‘ī 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

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-Raḥmān, the teacher of the barbarian religion, the guru and master (*svāmin*) of the barbarian Tāyin” (*madhumatī rahmaṇāvatāro mlecchadharmadeśako mlecchānām tāyinām guruḥ svāmī*) (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 Baghdād (*vāgadā*) (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 Baghdād (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 Baghdād, 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-Raḥmān (*rahmaṇ*)²³ (I.3,7,10). Here we recognize the most common Muslim epithet for Allāh: in Arabic ar-Raḥmān means “The Benefactor” (EI i.406b ff., 408a, 1084b-85a). Ar-Raḥmān is the Creator who creates all animate and inanimate things for the enjoyment of the Tāyin (I.7) (EI i.407a).

By satisfying ar-Raḥmān a man achieves bliss in heaven; by displeasing ar-Raḥmān 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 (*tājikīyena saṃvatā*) 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 *kalīma*: *avyaktam eka muhammada avatāra nṛpati mahamuda* (SIRCAR 1983: 650-51). The *Vimala-prabhā* (I.3) refers to “the incarnation of the [barbarian] death-deity in battle” (*saṃgrāme māradevatāvatāram*).
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 *Vimala-prabhā* 2.7.158cd (I.7) we find the instrumental *rahmaṇā* and the genitive *rahmaṇaḥ*. LORENZEN (1972: 62) reports “a Rahamāṇa (a Muslim)” in a list of heretics found in Yaśaḥpāla’s *Moharājaparājaya*, which he dates to ca. 1175 (1972: 49, n. 141).

At death a man is judged by ar-Raḥmān, 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 (*upapattyaṅgika-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, *bismillāh* – "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 *basmla*. EI i.1084a: "The invocation of the *basmla*, 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]" (WIJAYARATNA 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: "*Maita* ... 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 (EI¹ iv.196a) rather than the obligatory fast of Ramaḍān (EI¹ iv.194b). In any case, the Islamic tradition of fasting during the daytime and eating at night (EI¹ iv.193b) is quite contrary to normative Buddhist asceticism, which restricts meals to the period between sunrise and noon (WIJAYARATNA 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 (WIJAYARATNA 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 Mubayyiḍa ('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 (EI¹ iv.97b), and the order of the five services corresponds exactly to the traditional presentation of the sequence (EI¹ iii.492b-93a). The 'bowing' presumably refers to the *sudjūd*; the 'kneeling' to the *djulūs* (EI¹ 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 penises²⁶ 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 (EI 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 Maḥmūd 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 Maḥmūd, 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 (*daitya-dharma*; *asura-dharma*; *atyantādharmā*; *adharmā*) (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-Raḥmān makes his

27. EI 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 "[Maḥmūd'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 Maḥmūd, 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 of Īśvara, 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 Lokāyata, 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 (*himsā-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,³⁰ 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 Paramahansa, a Vaiṣṇava, a householder who has undergone brahmanical initiation, a brahman, a Kāpālīka, a Jaina, an ordinary householder, a guard, a silent hermit, a madman, a Kaula, a scholar, or a pupil.

Buddhist Vaibhāṣika 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 Kālacakra 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 Kālacakra 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 Kālacakra 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 Kālacakra 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

31. For previous treatments of this topic see NEWMAN 1985: 54-58, 78-80; 1987b: 578-654; 1995; 1996: 486-87.

their Mahdī named Kṛṇmati.³² 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 Mahdī 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.³³

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 Kṛṇmati, referred to in *Śrī Kālacakra* 1.163 and 2.48, to be another name for Mathanī, the Mahdī 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 Kṛṇmati 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 Mahdī.

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, *kṛṇmatih* can be interpreted as a *taipuruṣa*: “the intention to destroy.” This accords well with *Vimalaprabhā* 2.3.48d, comment on *Śrī Kālacakra* 2.48d: “the external Kṛṇmati is, in the body, the path of non-virtue that gives suffering” (*yo bāhye kṛṇmatir duḥkhadātā akuṣalapatha iti dehe*). Therefore, in the exoteric aspect of the apocalypse Kalkin Cakrin, the Buddhist messiah, will thwart the Mahdī’s intention to give further suffering to humankind. In the esoteric aspect of the apocalypse, Kalkin Cakrin, i.e., adamant mind (*vajrin, cittavajra*), destroys the inclination towards evil that gives rise to samsaric suffering.

I suspect Kṛṇmati, 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 prophecy 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 (I.15).

The actual war takes place within the human microcosm. In the Kālacakra 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 Mahdī 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 Kālacakra yoga destroys nescience and produces the golden age of enlightenment.³⁴

The dual use of the Buddhist holy war against Islam exemplifies the basic structure of the Kālacakra 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 Kālacakra 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 Kālacakra tantra's depiction of Islam can only be understood by placing it in its historical context. As al-Bīrūnī reports, Maḥmūd of Ghaznī'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 *djihād* is "an effort directed upon oneself for the attainment of moral and religious perfection. Certain writers, particularly among those of *Shī'ite* persuasion, qualify this *djihād* as 'spiritual *djihād*' and as 'the greater *djihād*', in opposition to the *djihād* [of military action] which is called 'physical *djihād*' or 'the lesser *djihād*.' It is, however, very much more usual for the term *djihād* to denote this latter form of "effort" (EI ii.538a).

The notion of 'holy war' is fundamentally alien to Buddhist doctrine, but the Kālacakra'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 Kālacakra 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.³⁵ 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."³⁶ 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*."³⁷ The idea that the *kaliyuga* is characterized by the advent of *mleccha* rulers and *mleccha-dharma* has a long history in brahmanical

35. For pre-modern Muslim treatments of Buddhism see SACHAU 1989: I. xlv-xlvii, 1.8 (II.253-54), 1.21 (II.261); GIMARET 1969; SMITH 1973; LAWRENCE 1976: 42-43, 100-14.

36. On crisis cults, see LA BARRE 1970.

37. *Śrī Kālacakra* 1.1d: *yogaṃ śrīkālacakre kaliyugasamaye muktihetor narāṇām*.

religious literature.³⁸ 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 irruption of evil, a demonic anti-religion that threatens to entirely eclipse the Buddha Dharma.³⁹ 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

Arabic	Sanskrit	Tibetan	English	References
<i>bismillāh</i>	<i>viṣavimlā</i> ("withered by poison")	<i>bi ṣi mi lla /</i> <i>bi ṣi bi lla</i>	"in the name of Allah"	I.1; III.1
<i>Makka</i>	<i>makha</i>	<i>ma kha</i>	Mecca	I.2,5; II.3,6
Arabic: <i>Ṭayyi'</i> Pahlavī: <i>Tāzīg</i>	<i>tāyin</i> (= <i>tājika</i>)	<i>stag gzig</i>		I.2,3,7,10; II.1,4,7; IV.2
<i>Muḥammad</i>	<i>madhumatī</i> ("wino") <i>madhupati</i> ("wine- master")	<i>sbraṅ rtsi'i blo</i> <i>gros /</i> <i>ma dhu ma ti</i> <i>sbraṅ rtsi'i blo</i> <i>gros [sic]</i>	Muhammad	I.3; II.2,6 I.5
<i>ar-Raḥmān</i>	<i>rahmaṇ</i>	<i>rahma ṇa</i>	"Beneficent One"	I.3,7,10
<i>Baghdād</i>	<i>vāgadā</i> ("giver of speech")	<i>bā ga dā</i>	Baghdad	I.4,5
<i>Ādam</i>	<i>arda</i>	<i>ā dra [sic]</i>	Adam	I.5
<i>Nūḥ</i>	<i>nogha</i>	<i>a no gha [sic]</i>	Noah	I.5
<i>Ibrāhīm</i>	<i>varāhī</i> ("swineherd")	<i>phag ldan</i>	Abraham	I.5
<i>Mūsā</i>	<i>mūṣa</i> ("mouse")	<i>byi ba</i>	Moses	I.5
<i>'Īsā</i>	<i>īśa</i> ("lord")	<i>dbaṅ po</i>	Jesus	I.5
<i>al-Mahdī</i>	<i>mathant</i> ("destroyer")	<i>'joms byed</i>	the Mahdi	I.5

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 Bismillāh,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 (*māradevatāvātāram*) 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 Allāh.” VP (S) B: *viṣavimlā*; VP (S) U: *viṣavilvā* (MSS do not distinguish *ba* and *va*); VP (T): *bi śi 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*”; *Svadarśanamatoḍdeśa* [section (III.1) below]: *bi śi bi 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 yuga 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,⁴¹ i.e., the great Yaśas – Mañjuśrī, “will clearly appear” in the land named Sambhala north of the Śītā River.⁴² 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*)⁴³ –] endowed with ten

41. That is, “*yaśa*” in the text of the *tantra* lacks a case ending. On irregular grammar in the early Kālacakra literature, see NEWMAN 1988.

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 Uryyan 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 gcan*) 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.”]

I.3 [*Śrī Kālacakra* 1.27a and *Vimalaprabhā* 1.9.27a. This passage establishes the astronomical epoch of the *Kālacakra laghukaraṇa*. For a study

sog po: la la na hin dhu zes pa rgya gar pa yod | la la na mu sur man zes pa sog po yod (TUCCI 1940: 94); “In some places there are ‘Hindus,’ Indians. In some places there are ‘Mussulmans,’ *sog po*” (cf. TUCCI’s interpretation on p. 45). Here and elsewhere in Bu ston’s annotations to VP (T) I believe the translation “Muslim” is called for.

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 *laghukaraṇa* [of the *Śrī Kālacakra*] is discussed: “Add ... to fire [3] sky [0] ocean [4].”⁴⁸

Śrī Kālacakra 1.27a

Add the expired *prabhava* year to fire [3] sky [0] ocean [4] – this establishes the [expired] year of the barbarian.

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 *laghukaraṇa* – 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 Tāyin (*mleccho madhumatī rahmaṇāvātāro mlecchadharmadeśako mlecchānāṃ tāyināṃ 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 *bhūtasankhyā*, 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 ŚK (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 Baghdād (*vāgadā*) between the gods and the demons – the barbarians.

I.5. [*Śrī Kālacakra* 1.154-155. For a translation and analysis of *Śrī Kālacakra* 1.150-170 see NEWMAN 1987b: 578-654; for a translation and discussion of *Śrī Kālacakra* 1.154-165 see NEWMAN 1995.]*Śrī Kālacakra* 1.154

Ādam, Nūḥ, and Ibrāhīm [are the first three barbarian teachers]; there are also five others whose nature is *tamas* in the family of demonic snakes: Mūsā, 'Īsā, 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 Baghdād 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 day-break. 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 *īrthikas*, which is tied up with birth as a god (NEWMAN 1988: 129-30). I assume the ‘Prakrit of the demon barbarians’ refers to Arabic.

Śrī Kālacakra 2.99

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. ||99||

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 nighttimes, in the latter half of their respective periods; for householders there is no precept. With regard to the food⁵⁰ 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 Bhagavān [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. || (*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 I.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. ||99||

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 (I.6)]. This is the instruction on the beliefs of the Tāyin.

I.8. [*Vimalaprabhā* 2.7.160b, comment on *Śrī Kālacakra* 2.160b. See GRÖNBOLD 1992: 275-76, 286.]

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 brahmins] claim it is true that brahmins are born from the mouth of Brahmā. Thus I ask, “Are female brahmins also born from that?” If so, then they are [the brahmins’] 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 *Vimalaprabhā* 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. [*Vimalaprabhā* 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. [*Vimalaprabhā* 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 *Paramārthasaṃgraha* 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 *tīrthikas*, 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 (*upapattyaṅgika-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 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 establishing them in his own Dharma. He will eradicate their dharma, not kill them.

II.1. [*Śrī-Kālacakra-tantrottara-Tantraḥṛdaya-nāma.*]

... the Tāyin who vow to eat flesh...

II.2. [*Śrī-Kālacakra-tantrottara-Tantraḥṛdaya-nāma.*]

... furthermore, Muḥammad (**madhumaiṭ*; *ma dhu ma ti*), the lord of the goblins (**rākṣasendra*; *srin po'i dbaṅ po*), will appear.

II.3. [*Śrī-Kālacakra-tantrottara-Tantraḥṛdaya-nāma.*]

... also, in Makka one's own son takes one's brother's daughter [in marriage].

II.4. [*Śrī-Kālacakra-tantrottara-Tantraḥṛdaya-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 (**tamasvīndra*; *mun can dbaṅ 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-Kālacakra-tantrottara-Tantraḥṛdaya-nāma.*]

O Sūrya,⁵³ in the future when the seed of Brahman [– **brahmabījam*; *tshans 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-Kālacakra-tantrottara-Tantraḥṛdaya-nāma.*]

In the future the descendents, relatives, and men of the lord of the barbarians Muḥammad (**madhumatī*; *ma dhu ma ti*) will destroy sixty-eight temples of the sacred sites (**sthānam*; *gnas*) and pilgrimage places (**kṣetram*; *ḥi*) on earth.

In eighteen hundred [?] years, in Makka (**makha*; *ma kha*), etc., [and in India,] the land of the Aryans, I [Kalkin Yaśas, 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 XXXXXXX⁵⁴ 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-Kālacakra-tantrottara-Tantraḥṛdaya-nāma.*]

I have taught about ... the Tāyin...

III.1. [*Svadarśanamatoḍḍeśa*]

... the thing to be held and the holder, the thing to be killed and the killer, for the mantra of Bismillāh (**viṣavilla*; *bi śi bi lla*), Viṣṇu and Bhairava protect.

53. The *Tantraḥṛdaya*, like the *Śrī Kālacakra*, is *buddhavacanam*, but it was redacted by Yaśas, the first Kalkin of Sambhala. In this passage Yaśas addresses Sūryaratha, leader of the brahman sages of Sambhala.

54. *nam mkha' mkha' dan dus dan dban 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 ŚK (S) B, p. 267, appendix 1.

III.2. [*Svadarśanamatoḍḍeśa*]

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 1.27.15-28.3]

anyathā aṣṭaśate varṣe gate¹ sati yuṣmatputrapautrādayo mleccadharme pravṛttiṃ kṛtvā sambhalādiṣaṇṇavatimahāviṣayeṣu mleccadharmadeśa-nāṃ kariṣyanti | mleccadevatāviṣavimlāmantreṇa² kartrikayā grīvāyāṃ paśuṃ hatvā tatas teṣāṃ svadevatāmantreṇāhatānāṃ paśūnāṃ māmsaṃ

bhakṣayiṣyanti svakarmanā mṛtānām māmsam abhakṣyaṃ³ kariṣyanti | so 'pi dharmo yuṣmākaṃ pramāṇaṃ yāgārthe⁴ paśavaḥ sṛṣṭā iti smṛti-vacanāt mleccadharmavedadharmayor viśeṣo nāsti prāṇātipātataḥ | tasmāt yuṣmatkule putrapautrādayas teṣāṃ mlecchānām pratāpaṃ dṛṣṭvā saṃgrāme mārādevatāvātāraṇ ca⁵ anāgate 'dhvany aṣṭavarṣaśate gate sati mlecchā bhaviṣyanti | teṣu mleccheṣu jāteṣu satsu ṣaṇṇavatikoṭigrāmanivāsino 'pi caturvarṇādayaḥ sarve mlecchā bhaviṣyanti mahājano yena gataḥ sa panthā iti brahmaṛṣivacanāt | iha mleccadharme vedadharme 'pi devatāpitrarthaṃ prāṇātipātaḥ kartavyaḥ kṣatradharme 'pi ca tarpayitvā pitṛn devān khādan māmśaṃ na doṣabhāg iti brahmaṛṣivacanāt⁶ | tathā doṣan tatra na⁷ paśyāmi yo duṣṭe duṣṭam ācared iti | evaṃ vedadharmam pramāṇīkrtya mleccadharmaparigrahaṃ kariṣyanti | tena kāraṇenānāgate 'dhvani mleccadharmāpraveśāya yuṣmadbhyo mayā niyamo dattaḥ | tasmād bhavadbhir mamājñā kartavyeti |

v.l.: 1) U: varṣagate. 2) U: -viṣavilvā-. 3) U: abhakṣaṃ. 4) U: yāgārthāḥ. 5) U: -āvātāraṃ vā. 6) U: brāhmaṇa-. 7) B: *omit* na.

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

| rnam pa gzan du na lo brgyad brgya 'das pa'i rjes la khyed kyī bu dañ tsha bo la sogs pas kla klo'i chos dar bar byas nas śambha la sogs pa'i yul chen po dgu bcu rtsa drug tu kla klo'i chos ston par byed par 'gyur ro || kla klo'i lha [ma | bi smin ra ma lha'i zer] bi ṣi mi lla'i śnags kyis phyugs kyī ske gri gug gis bcad de | de nas (*add*: rañ gi) lha'i śnags kyis bsad pa'i phyugs de rnam kyī śa za bar byed ciñ rañ gi las kyis śi ba rnam kyī śa za bar mi byed par 'gyur ro || chos de yañ khyed rnam la tshad ma ste | mchod sbyin don du phyugs dag [bsad pa] spros || śes pa'i gzuñ gi tshig las so || kla klo'i chos dañ rig byed kyī chos dag la yañ khyad par med de | srog gcod par byed pa'i phyir ro || de'i phyir khyed kyī rigs kyī bu dañ tsha bo la sogs pa rnam kyis kla klo de dag gi gzi byin dañ g.yul du bdud kyī lha 'jug pa yañ mthoñ nas ma 'oñs pa'i dus lo brgyad brgya 'das pa na kla klor 'gyur ro || de dag kla klor gyur pa na groñ bye ba phrag dgu bcu rtsa drug na gnas pa'i rigs bzi la sogs pa thams cad kyañ kla klor 'gyur te | skye bo chen po gañ nas bgrod pa de ni lam mo zes tshañs pa'i drañ sroñ gis smras ba'i phyir ro || 'dir kla klo'i chos dañ rig byed kyī chos la yañ lha dañ pha mes kyī don du srog gcod par bya ba yin la | rgyal rigs kyī chos la yañ ño || lha dañ pha mes

tshim byas na (*read*: byas nas) || śa zos skyon gyi cha yod min || źes pa dañ | de bźin du | gañ źig gdug la gdug spyod pa || de la skyon ni ma mthoñ no || źes bram zes smras ba'i phyir ro || de ltar rigs byed (*read*: rig byed) kyi chos chad mar (*read*: tshad mar) byas nas kla klo'i chos yoñs su 'dzin par 'gyur te | rgyu des na ma 'oñs pa na kla klo'i chos mi 'jug par bya ba'i phyir khyed rnams la bdag gis ñes pa byin no || de bas khyed rnams kyiś bdag gi bka' bźin bya'o źes so |

I.2. Śrī Kālacakra 1.26 and Vimalaprabhā 1.9.26 [VP (S) B 31a7-31b3; U I.77.1-19]

idānīm sambhalaviṣaye mañjuśrīya utpādāya¹ mleccadharmotpādāt jyo-
tiśasiddhāntavināśalaghukaraṇapravṛttitathāgatavyākaraṇam ādyābdādity-
ādinā vitanomīti |

Śrī Kālacakra 1.26

ādyābdāt śaśatābdaiḥ prakāṭa yaśanṛpaḥ sambhalākhye bhaviṣyat
tasmān nāgaiḥ śatābdaiḥ khalu makhaviṣaye mleccadharmapravṛttiḥ |
tasmin kāle dharaṇyām sphuṭalaghukaraṇam mānavair veditavyam
siddhāntānām vināśaḥ sakalabhuvitale kālayoge bhaviṣyat² || 26 ||

ādyābdāt śaśatābdaiḥ prakāṭa yaśanṛpaḥ sambhalākhye bhaviṣyat iti |
ādyeti dharmadeśanāvarṣaṃ tathāgatasya | tasmād varṣāt śaśatābdaiḥ
śītānadyuttare sambhalanāmni viṣaye yaśa ity āgamapāṭhaḥ mahāyaśo³
mañjuśrīḥ prakāṭo bhaviṣyat iti⁴ nirmāṇakāyagrahaṇam kariṣyatīty
arthaḥ | tasmān nāgaiḥ śatābdair iti tasmād yaśaso nirvṛtāt | nāgair ity
aṣṭavarṣaśataiḥ khalv iti niścitaṃ makhaviṣaye mleccadharmapravṛttir
bhaviṣyati | śītāyā⁵ dakṣiṇe makhaviṣaye koṭigrāma vibhūṣite mleccānān
tāyinām asuradharmapravṛttir bhaviṣyati | tasmin mleccakāle dhara-
ṇyām sphuṭalaghukaraṇam mānavair veditavyam | siddhāntānām vināśa
iti siddhāntaṃ brahma sauraṃ yamanakaṃ romaḥ kam iti | eṣāṃ caturṇām
vināśaḥ⁶ siddhāntānām vināśaḥ | sakalabhuvitale iti sakala iti yatra
tīrthikasiddhāntā nivartante⁷ tatra sakalaṃ bhuvitalaṃ śītādakṣiṇaṃ
tasmin bhuvitale | na sambhalādiviṣayeṣu buddhasiddhāntasya vināśa iti
| kālayoge bhaviṣyat iti kālayogo⁸ mleccadharmāḥ tena siddhāntānām
yogaḥ kālayogaḥ tasmāt kālayogād bhaviṣyat⁹ | kālayoga iti pañcamy-
arthe saptamī |

v.l.: 1) U: utpādanam. 2) U: 'bhaviṣyat. 3) U: mahāyaśā. 4) U: bhaviṣyati. 5) U: śītā-
6) U: vināśam. 7) U: vartante. 8) U: kālaḥ. 9) U: bhaviṣyati.

VP (T) 1.477.1-478.3

ll [gnas pa bcu gsum pa] da ni lo 'di nas ni zes pa la sogs pas śambha la'i yul du 'jam dpal 'byuñ ba dañ | kla klo'i chos byuñ nas [mu stegs kyi] skar rtsis kyi (*read*: kyi) grub pa'i mtha' rnam par ñams pa dañ ñuñ nu'i byed pa rab tu 'jug par de bzin gśegs pas luñ bstan pa bdag gis dgrol bar bya'o |

(ŚK (T) 1.9.4-5:)

l lo 'di nas ni drug brgya'i lo yis gsal bar mi bdag grags pa śambha la zes bya bar 'byuñ |

l de nas klu yi lo brgya rnam kyi nes par ma kha'i yul du kla klo'i chos dag rab tu 'jug |

l de yi dus su 'dzin ma la ni ñuñ nu'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 ñams pa dus kyi sbyor ba la 'byuñ 'gyur || 26

l lo 'di nas ni drug brgya'i lo yis gsal bar mi bdag grags pa śambha la zes bya bar 'byuñ | zes pa la | lo 'di zes pa ni | de bzin gśegs pas [dus kyi 'khor lo'i] chos bstan pa'i lo ste | lo de nas lo drug brgya na chu bo śī ta'i byañ śambha la zes bya ba'i yul du grags pa [ya śa zes pa rnam dbye med par byas pa] zes pa ni | luñ gi brjod pa ste [sdeb sbyor gyi dbañ yin gyi don la ya śaḥ 'o ||] | 'jam dpal grags pa chen po gsal bar 'byuñ zes pa | sprul pa'i sku 'dzin par mdzad par 'gyur zes pa'i don to || de nas klu'i lo brgya rnam kyi śes pa ni | grags pa[s lo brgya chos bstan pa'i rjes la] mya ñan las 'das pa de nas | klu zes pa lo brgyad brgya na | nes par zes pa ni gdon mi za bar | ma kha'i yul du kla klo'i chos dag rab tu 'jug par 'gyur te | chu bo śī ta'i lho phyogs [sog yul] ma kha'i yul groñ bye bas rnam par brgyan par | kla klo stag gzig rnam kyi lha ma yin gyi chos rab tu 'jug par 'gyur ro || kla klo de'i dus su 'dzin ma la ni [mu stegs pa'i] ñuñ nu'i byed pa gsal bar mi rnam dag gis rig par bya'o || grub pa'i mtha' rnam rnam par ñams pa zes pa ni | tshañs pa dañ ñi ma dañ gcer bu pa rnam dañ sgra gcan gi grub pa'i mtha' ste | 'di bzi rnam par ñams pa ni | grub pa'i mtha' rnam rnam par ñams pa'o || mtha' dag sa gzi la ni zes pa la | mtha' dag ni | gañ du mu stegs pa'i grub pa'i mtha' žugs pa de mtha' dag go | sa gzi ni chu bo śī ta'i lho ste | sa gzi der ro | śambha la sogs pa'i yul rnam su sañs rgyas pa'i grub pa'i mtha' rnam par ñams pa ni ma yin no || dus kyi sbyor ba la 'byuñ 'gyur zes pa la | dus kyi sbyor ba ni | kla klo'i chos te | de yis [mu stegs kyi] grub pa'i mtha' rnam la sbyor ba ni dus kyi sbyor ba las 'byuñ bar 'gyur ro || dus kyi sbyor ba la zes pa ni | [las zes lña pa dgos pa la | la zes bdun pa byas pas na |] lña pa'i don la bdun pa'o |

I.3. Śrī Kālacakra 1.27a and Vimalaprabhā 1.9.27a [VP (S) B 31b7-32a2; U I.78.8-22]

idānīm laghukaraṇaṃ tāvad ucyate vahnau khe 'bdhau vimiśram iti |

Śrī Kālacakra 1.27a

vahnau khe 'bdhau vimiśram prabhavamukhagataṃ mlecchavarṣaṃ prasiddham

iha dhruvako 'nityas tantrarāje ṣaṣṭisamvatsarānte punar dhruvaracanād'
iti | iha tathāgatakālāt ṣaḍvarṣaśatair mañjuśrīkālaḥ karaṇe dhruvaḥ | ta-
smād aṣṭaśatavarṣaiḥ mlecchakālaḥ | tasmāt mlecchakālāt dvyaśītyadhika-
śatena hīno 'jakalkīkālo yenājena laghukaraṇaṃ viśodhitam | sa eva kālaḥ
karaṇe dhruvakaṃ bhavati mlecchavarṣād iti | prabhavamukhagataṃ iti
prabhavo mukham ādir yeśāṃ ṣaṣṭisamvatsarāṇāṃ te prabhavamukhāḥ |
teṣu pratyekavartamānavarṣasya pūrvavarṣaṃ prabhavamukhagataṃ iti |
tan miśram tryadhikacatuḥśatarāśau² mlecchavarṣaṃ prasiddham bhavati
| ekavarṣaṃ ādim kṛtvā yāvat ṣaṣṭivarṣaṃ tāvad vimiśram prabhava-
mukhagataṃ bhavātīti | tad eva varṣaṃ sarvakaraṇāntare prasiddham
bhavaty³ ādityādivāravat | tena miśram⁴ tryadhikacatuḥśatavarṣarāśau iti
mlecchavarṣaṃ prasiddham | mleccho madhumatī rahmaṇāvātāro
mlecchadharmadeśako mlecchānāṃ tāyināṃ guruḥ svāmī |

v.1.: 1) U: dhruvakaraṇād. 2) U: -śatavarṣaṃ rāśau. 3) U: bhavātīty. 4) U: vimiśritam.

VP (T) 1.480.1-481.3

| [gnas pa bcu bži pa |] da ni re śig ñuñ ñu'i byed pa gsuñs pa |

(ŚK (T) 1.9.5-6)

| me mkha' rgya mtsho rnam la rab byuñ la sogs 'das pa rnam bsres kla klo'i lo
ni rab tu grub |

me mkha' rgya mtsho rnam śes pa'o || rgyud kyi rgyal po 'di la ñes pa
ni | mi rtag pa ste | lo drug cu'i mthar slar yañ ñes pa 'god pa'i phyir ro
|| 'dir byed pa la ñes pa ni | de bzin gśegs pa'i dus [mya ñan las 'das nas
zes pa la sogs pa |] nas lo drug brgya na 'jam dpal gyi dus so || de nas lo
brgyad brgya na kla klo'i dus so || kla klo'i dus [nas bzuñ ba'i lo'i
tshogs] de las brgyad cu rtsa gñis lhag pa'i brgya yis dman pa ni | rgyal
dka' gañ gis ñuñ ñu'i byed pa['i don du] rnam par sbyoñ ba'i rigs ldan
rgyal dka'i dus [nas bzuñ ba'i lo'i tshogs byed pas] so || dus de ñid ni |
byed pa la ñes par 'gyur te | [gañ la sbyor na] kla klo'i lo las so | (N.B.:
Here Bu ston annotates VP (T) with six verses quoted from the
Laghutrantraṭīkā that list the years of the sexagenary cycle; see NEWMAN

1998: 344-45.) | rab byuñ la sogs 'das pa žes pa ni | lo drug cu po gañ dag gi dañ po rab byuñ yin pa de dag ni rab byuñ la sogs te | de dag las so sor da ltar ba'i lo'i sña ma'i lo ni rab byuñ la sogs 'das pa'o || de dag gsum lhag pa'i bži brgya'i phuñ po la bsres pa ni | kla klo'i [mgo zug tshun chad kyi] lor rab tu grub par 'gyur ro || lo gcig dañ por byas nas lo drug cu ji sñed pa de ñid ni | rab byuñ la sogs 'das pa rnams bsres su 'gyur ro || [rab byuñ gi] lo de ñid ni | byed pa gžan thams cad la [lo rnams kyi dañ por] rab tu grags pa yin te | gza' ñi ma [res gza' bdun gyi dañ por grags pa l] bžin no || gsum lhag pa'i bži brgya'i lo yis phuñ po la de yis bsres pa ni | kla klo'i lor rab tu grub ste | kla klo ni | sbran rtsi'i blo gros te | rahma ña'i 'jug pa kla klo'i chos ston pa po kla klo stag gzig rnams kyi bla ma dañ rje bo'o |

I.4. Śrī Kālacakra 1.89d and Vimalaprabhā 1.9.89d

[ŚK (S) B 23.4; VP (S) U I.119.23]

devānām dānavānām kṣīṭitalanilaye raudrayuddham bhaviṣyati¹ ||

v.l.: 1) VP (S) U: bhaviṣyati.

[VP (S) B 46a2; U I.119.28-120.2]

devānām dānavānām mlecchānām kṣīṭitalanilaye vāgadāyām nagaryām raudrayuddham bhaviṣyati |

ŚK (T) 1.24.7-1.25.1

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

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 gži'i gnas bā ga dā rnams su ni 'byuñ bar 'gyur te |

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 *paṭala*, 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 varāhī danubhujagakule tāmasānye 'pi pañca
 mūṣeṣau śvetavastrī madhupati mathanī yo 'ṣṭamaḥ so 'ndhakaḥ syāt |
 sambhūtiḥ saptamasya sphuṭa makhaviṣaye vāgadādau nagaryām
 yasyām loke 'surāmṣī nivasatī balavān nirdayo mlecchamūrtiḥ ||154||
 uṣṭrāśvau gāś ca hatvā sarudhirapiśitaṃ śuddhapakvaṃ hi kiñcit
 gomāṃsaṃ sūtatoyaṃ ghṛtakaṭukasamaṃ taṇḍulaṃ śākamiśram |
 ekasmīn vahnipakvaṃ vanaphalasaḥitaṃ yatra bhojyaṃ narāṇāṃ
 pānaṃ cāṇḍaṃ khagānāṃ bhavati narapate tatpadaṃ cāsurāṇāṃ ||155||

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]

l ā dra a no gha dañ phag ldan lha min lag 'gro'i rigs la mun pa can ni gzan yañ
 lña |
 l byi ba dbaṅ po gos dkar can dañ sbrañ rtsi'i blo gros 'joms byed brgyad pa gañ
 de mun pa can |
 l gsal bar ma kha'i yul gyi bā ga dā sogs groñ khyer du ni bdun pa yañ dag skyes
 pa ste |
 l gañ du 'jig rten lha min yan lag stobs dañ ldan par gnas śiñ brtse ba med pa kla
 klo'i gzugs | 153
 l rña mo rta dañ ba lañ bsad nas khrag dañ bcas pa'i śa ni chuñ zad btsos pa 'ba'
 žig dañ |
 l ba lañ śa dañ dñul chu chu dañ mar dañ tsha ba mñam pa 'bras dañ lo ma bsres
 pa ni |
 l gcig tu me la btsos pa nags kyi 'bras bu dag dañ bcas pa gañ du mi rnams dag gi
 zas |
 l btuñ ba bya rnams dag gi sgo nar 'gyur ro mi yi bdag po de ni lha min rnams
 kyi gnas | 154

I.6. Śrī Kālacakra 2.98-99 and Vimalaprabhā 2.5.98-99 [VP (S) B 78b5-79a6; U I.222.10-223.24]

idānīṃ bauddhānāṃ asurāṇāṃ mlecchānāṃ jñānotpattikāla ucyate jñāna
 ityādinā

Śrī Kālacakra 2.98

jñānotpattir jinānāṃ ravidinasamaye cārdharātre niśānte
 madhyāhne cāsurāṇāṃ śaśiniśisamaye nirgame vāsarasya¹
 samyagjñāne vibhaṅge prabhavati vacanaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ prākṛtaṃ ca
 śāntaṃ raudraṃ ca karma tribhuvanānilaye pauraṣaṃ prākṛtaṃ ca || 98 ||

iha khalu trividho yogābhyāsaḥ bauddha āsuro bhautāś ca | tatra bauddho
 yogaḥ śūnyatākaruṇātmakaḥ āsuraḥ kalpanādharmāḥ bhautiko dviḥpra-
 kāraḥ śāśvatarūpa ucchedarūpaś ca | evaṃ trividho yogī sa eva vidyate
 yasya tadyogābhyāśabalatvād² iti | teṣu divābhāge bauddhayogināṃ jñā-
 notpattiḥ rātrībhāge asurayogināṃ³ catuḥsandhyārahita⁴ bhautayogi-

nām jñānotpattir iti | atra kālavibhāgaḥ jñānotpattir jinānām ravidina-
samaye cārdharātre niśānte madhyāhne cāsurāṇām śaśiniśisamaye nir-
game vāsarasya¹ | bhautānām anuktatvād api sandhyārahita-kāle | atrārdha-
rātre pūrvasandhyāyām vā jñānādhiṣṭhānam⁵ bhavati bauddhānām |
asurāṇām madhyāhnasamdhyaḥyām astaṅgatasandhyāyām⁶ vā jñānādhi-
ṣṭhānam⁵ bhavati | bhūtānām aparacatuḥprahasandhyāyām divābhāge
śāsvatajñānādhiṣṭhānam rātribhāge ucchedajñānādhiṣṭhānam | anayor
bauddhāsuraḥ yathāsamkhyam samyakjñānam bauddhānām bhavati
vibhaṅgam taddharmavirodhi bhavaty asurāṇām | samyakjñānam divā-
lokavat sarvadarśi | vibhaṅgam jñānam rātryālokavat kiñcit sattvānām
jīvanamaraṇadarśi⁷ | katham jñāyata ity⁸ āha dharmadeśanāyā⁹ iti | iha
samyagjñāne vibhaṅge prabhavati vacanam saṃskṛtam prākṛtañ ceti |
samyagjñānotpannānām saṃskṛtam vākyaṃ sarvarutātmakam iti |
vibhaṅgajñānotpannānām prākṛtam vākyaṃ bhavati deśakānām eka-
viśayabhāṣāntareneti | śāntakarmadeśakam¹⁰ bauddhānām jñānam sarva-
sattvakarūṇātmakam | raudrakarmadeśakam¹¹ asurāṇām jñānam tiryak-
sattvāpakāri māmsabhakṣaṇāyeti | tribhuvanānilaye pauruṣam karma
bauddhānām jñānam deśayati | kṣītau prākṛtam karma asurāṇām jñānam
deśayati | bhūtānām vimīśram karma deśayati pṛthivyām | iti jñānadeśa-
nāniyamah || 98 ||

idānīm bauddhāsuraḥ bhuktikāla ucyate madhyāhnād ityādinā |

Śrī Kālacakra 2.99

madhyāhnād ardharaṭram dinaniśisamaye bhuktikālas tayoś ca
annam gomāmsabhojyam bahuvidharasadam pānam aṇḍasya śukram |
raktam śvetam ca vastram raviśaśigativat svargapātālavāśaḥ
dharmo 'himsā ca himsā guruniyamavaśād vajradaityāsanam ca || 99 ||

iha pratidine madhyāhnād¹² ārabhyārdharāṭram yāvat dinasamayāḥ¹³ |
ardharāṭrād ārabhya madhyāhnaparyantam niśisamayāḥ | tasmin dinaniśi-
samaye svasvasamayasya parārdhe bhuktikālaḥ tayoḥ bauddhamlecchayor
yathāsamkhyam tapasvinām gṛhasthānām iti na¹⁴ niyamah | bauddhāsura-
yoḥ punaḥ khānam pānam¹⁵ yathāsamkhyam annam viśiṣṭataram
bauddhānām gomāmsasahitam mlecchānām | pānam yathāsamkhyam
bahuvidharasadam miṣṭam bauddhānām kukkuṭādīnām aṇḍasya śukram
pānam¹⁶ mlecchānām iti | paridhānam yathāsamkhyam raktavastram
bauddhānām śvetam mlecchānām tapasvinām gṛhasthānām na niyamah¹⁷
| tathā maraṇānte āvāso yathāsamkhyam raviśaśigativat iti raver ūrdhva-
gatiḥ¹⁸ candrasyādhogatiḥ | tayoḥ gativat svargavāso ravigatir bauddhā-
nām pātālavāso 'surāṇām candragativat iti | tathā¹⁹ mūlatantre sekoddeśe
bhagavān āha |

adhaś candrāmṛtaṃ yāti maraṇe sarvadehinām |
ūrdhve sūryarajo²⁰ rāhuvijñānaṃ bhāvalakṣaṇe || (Sekoddeśa 86)

tathā dharmo yathāsaṃkhyāṃ bauddhānām dharmo 'hinsā mleccānām
hinsā cakārāt bhūtānām | guruniyamavaśād²¹ bhāvanākāle iṣṭadevatāstuti-
kāle yathāsaṃkhyāṃ bauddhānām vajrāsanāṃ praśastaṃ²² mleccānām
daityāsanāṃ praśastaṃ cakārād aparāṃ sāmānyam iti tasya na vidhir²³
na niśedha iti | atra daityāsanāṃ²⁴ bhūtale²⁵ vāmajānuprasārah²⁶ vāma-
pādordhvaṃ²⁷ dakṣiṇapādaḥ²⁸ | cakārād adhaḥ dakṣiṇapāda ūrdhva vāma-
pādātale²⁹ 'pi | cakārāt pṛṣṭhe kaṭiṇiṣaṇṇo 'pi iti³⁰ vajrāsanādikaṃ ca³¹
vakṣyamāṇe vaktavyam iti bauddhāsuraṅkriyānīyamaḥ || 99 ||

v.l.: 1) U: vāsavyasya. 2) U: -ratatvād; Tib.: dga' ba las. 3) U: āsura-. 4) U: -rahithe kāle.
5) U & B [emendation]: vāgiñānādhiṣṭānaṃ; I follow Tib., which I believe reflects
B's original reading. 6) U: aṣṭaṅgata-. 7) U: jīva-. 8) U: ity ata. 9) U: -deśanayā.
10) B: śāntaṃ karma-. 11) B: raudraṃ karma-. 12) U: madhyānad. 13) U:
-samayam. 14) U places this na after tapasvinām. 15) U: khānapānaṃ. 16) U:
śukrapānaṃ. 17) B reads yamaḥ; marginal emendation adds ni-. 18) U:
ūrdhvaṃ gatiḥ. 19) U: yathā. 20) U: sūryaṃ rajo. 21) B: -vasāt. 22) B:
prasastaṃ. 23) B: nividher. 24) U: daityānām. 25) B: bhūtaṭe. 26) U: -prasārataḥ.
27) U: vāmajānūrdhvaṃ. 28) U adds: dakṣiṇajānūrdhvaḥprasāro vāma-
pādordhvaṃ dakṣiṇapādaś. 29) U: ūrdhvaṃ pādātale. 30) U: kaṭiṇiṣaṇṇa iti; B:
omit cakārāt pṛṣṭhe kaṭiṇiṣaṇṇo 'pi iti; marginal emendation adds, reading: kati-
nisanno. 31) U: vajrāsanādi-.

VP (T) 2.143.2-146.7

l da ni ye śes śes pa la sogs pas saṅs rgyas pa rnams daṅ lha min [ni kla
klo daṅ rtag chad pa'i spyi yin pa'm | yaṅ na lha min kla klo rnams śes
'gyur bcos | de ma yin na goṅ 'og 'gal lo ||] rnams daṅ kla klo rnams kyi
ye śes skye ba'i dus gsuṅs te |

(ŚK (T) 1.70.2-4)

l ye śes skye ste rgyal ba rnams kyi ſi ma ſiṅ mo'i dus su mtshan mo phyed daṅ
mtshan mo'i mthar |

l lha min rnams kyi zla ba mtshan mo'i dus su ſi ma phyed daṅ ſiṅ mo dag gi
mjug tu'o |

l yaṅ dag ye śes rnams (read: rnam) ſiams dag la tshig ni legs sbyar tha mal dag
tu rab tu 'gyur ba ste |

l ſi daṅ drag po las te srid pa gsum gyi gnas su skyes bu ſiṅ daṅ tha mal dag
kyaṅ no || 98

l 'dir ſes par rnal 'byor goms pa rnam pa gsum saṅs rgyas pa'i daṅ | lha
min gyi daṅ | 'byuṅ po'i 'o || de la saṅs rgyas pa'i mal 'byor ni | stoṅ pa
ſiṅ daṅ ſiṅ rje'i bdag ſiṅ do || lha min [kla klo rnams] gyi ni [blos
kun] btags pa'i chos so || 'byuṅ po yi ni [mu stegs pa] rnam pa gñis te |

rtag pa'i ño bo[r 'dod pa] dañ chad pa'i ño bo[r 'dod pa] 'o ll de bzin du rnal 'byor de goms pa la dga' ba ñid las l de ñid gañ la yod pa'i rnal 'byor pa rnam pa gsum mo ll de rnams las [ye śes skye ba'i dus] ñin mo'i cha la sañs rgyas pa'i rnal 'byor pa rnams kyi ye śes skye'o ll mtshan mo'i cha la lha min gyi rnal 'byor pa rnams kyi'o ll thun mtshams bzi spañs pa'i [mtshams bzi'i] dus su 'byuñ po'i rnal 'byor pa rnams kyi ye śes skye'o ll 'dir dus kyi cha ni l ye śes skye ste l rgyal ba rnams kyi ñi ma ñin mo'i dus su [ye śes skye ba ñin mo'i dus ni l] mtshan mo phyed [nas] dañ mtshan mo'i mthar [te tho rañs kyi ñi ma phyed kyi bar du'o ll] l lha min rnams kyi zla ba mtshan mo'i dus su [ye śes skye ste mtshan mo'i dus ni l] ñi ma phyed [nas] dañ ñin mo dag gi mjug tu [ste nam phyed kyi bar du] 'o ll 'byuñ po rnams kyi yañ [rgyud du dnos su] ma brjod pa ñid las thun mtshams spañs pa'i dus su'o ll 'dir mtshan mo'i phyed dam sña dro'i thun mtshams la sañs rgyas pa rnams kyi ye śes lhag par gnas 'gyur [bas sañs rgyas kyañ tho rañs sañs rgyas pa lta bu'i] ro ll ñi ma phyed dam nub par gyur pa'i thun mtshams la l lha min rnams kyi ye śes [skye 'chi cuñ zad tsam mthoñ ba de] lhag par gnas par 'gyur ro ll gžan thun bzi'i thun mtshams la 'byuñ po rnams kyi ste l ñin mo'i cha la ['byuñ po rnams kyi] rtag pa'i ye śes lhag par gnas śiñ mtshan mo'i cha la chad pa'i ye śes lhag par gnas so ll sañs rgyas pa dañ lha min 'di dag gi grañs bzin du sañs rgyas pa rnams kyi yañ dag ye śes su 'gyur ro ll [sañs rgyas pa] 'di'i chos dañ 'gal ba rnam ñams ni l lha min rnams kyir (*read: kyi*) 'gyur ro ll yañ dag śes (*read: ye śes*) ni l ñin mo'i snañ ba bzin du thams cad mthoñ ba'o ll rnam ñams ye śes ni l mtshan mo'i snañ ba bzin du sems can rnams kyi 'chi ba dañ 'tsho ba cuñ zad mthoñ ba'o ll ji ltar śes že na l de'i phyir gsuñs pa l chos ston pa[i rtags] las [śes] so zes pa ste l 'dir yañ dag ye śes rnam ñams dag la tshig ni legs sbyar tha mal dag tu 'gyur ba ste l zes pa ni l yañ dag ye śes skyes pa [sañs rgyas] rnams kyis (*read: kyi*) legs par sbyar ba'i ñag sgra thams cad kyi bdag ñid do ll rnam ñams ye śes skyes pa rnams kyi tha mal gyi ñag tu 'gyur te l ston par byed pa po rnams kyi yul gcig gi skad kyi khyad par gyis so ll sañs rgyas pa rnams kyi ye śes ni l [thog mtha' bar gsum dge ba ston pas l] sems can thams cad la ['tshe ba med pas l] sñiñ rje'i bdag ñid can ži ba'i las ston par byed pa po'o ll lha min rnams kyi ye śes ni l śa bza' ba'i slad du dud 'gro'i sems can la gnod pa byed pa drag po'i las [bde sdug gi rgyur] ston par byed pa'o ll srid pa gsum gyi gnas su sañs rgyas pa rnams kyi ye śes ni l [bde sdug gi rgyur] skyes bu ñid kyi [rañ rañ gi] las ston par byed do ll lha min [kla klo] rnams kyi ye śes ni sa la tha mal gyi las [rañ gis ma byas pa rgyur] ston par

byed do ll 'byuñ po [mu stegs pa] rnam kyi ni | sa la [de gñis ka] rnam
par 'dres pa'i las ston par byed do ll ye śes ston par byed pa'i ñes pa'o ll
98

da ni ñi ma guñ źes pa la sogs pas sañs rgyas pa dañ lha min dag gi za
ba'i dus gsuñs te |

(ŚK (T) 1.70.4-5)

| ñi ma guñ dañ mtshan mo phyed nas ñin dañ mtshan mo'i dus su de dag gis
(*read: gi*) ni za ba'i dus |

| bza' ba zan dañ ba lañ śa ste btuñ ba rnam mañ bcud ster dag dañ sgo ña'i khu
ba'o |

| gos ni dmar dañ dkar po dag dañ ñi ma zla ba'i bgrod pa bźin du mtho ris sa 'og
gnas |

| chos ni 'tshe med 'tshe ba yañ ste bla ma'i ñes pa'i dbañ gis rdo rje lha min
gdan yañ ño ll 99

| [ñin mtshan gyi tshul 'di ni kla klo'i 'dod lugs dañ bstun gyi sañs rgyas
pa'i lugs ni 'di las ldog pa sñar gyi bźin no ll] 'dir ñin źag so so la [yañ
na de riñ] ñi ma guñ nas brtsams nas [mdañ] mtshan mo'i phyed kyi bar
du ñin mo [sañs rgyas pa'i za ba]'i dus so ll [mdañ] mtshan mo phyed
nas brtsams nas [sañ] ñi ma guñ gi mthar thug pa ni mtshan mo'i dus so
ll ñin mo dañ mtshan mo'i dus de la rañ rañ gi dus kyi phyed phyi ma ni
grañs bźin du sañs rgyas pa dañ kla klo de dag gi dka' thub pa rnam kyi
za ba'i dus te | khyim pa rnam kyi ni [za dus ñes pa bstan pa |] ma yin
no źes pa ste ñes pa'o ll sañs rgyas pa dañ lha min dag gi bza' ba dañ
btuñ ba yañ grañs bźin du sañs rgyas pa rnam kyi zan khyad par du
'phags pa ste | kla klo rnam kyi ba lañ gi śa dañ bcas pa'o ll btuñ ba ni
grañ bźin du sañs rgyas pa rnam kyi ['o ma la sogs pa] rnam mañ bcud
ster źim pa ste | kla klo rnam kyi btuñ ba ni | bya gag [khyim bya] la
sogs pa'i sgo ña'i khu ba'o ll bgo ba ni | grañs bźin du sañs rgyas pa
rnam kyi gos dmar po ste | kla klo pa rnam kyi ni | dkar po'o ll [de
rnam kyañ] dka' thub pa rnam kyi ste | khyim pa rnam kyi ni ñes pa
med do ll de bźin du śi ba'i mthar gnas ni | grañs bźin du ñi ma zla ba'i
bgrod pa bźin du źes pa ste | ñi ma steñ du bgrod ciñ zla ba 'og tu bgrod
do ll de dag gi bgrod pa bźin du [dge ba'i dbañ gis] mtho ris kyi gnas ñi
ma'i bgrod pa ni | sañs rgyas la (*read: pa*) rnam kyi ste | zla ba'i bgrod
pa bźin du [mi dge ba'i dbañ gis] sa 'og gi gnas ni lha min rnam kyi'o
ll de bźin du rtsa ba'i rgyud kyi dbañ mdor bstan pa las bcom ldan 'das
kyis gsuñs pa |

| [lha mi lha min la sogs pa |] lus can thams cad śi ba na [ste 'chi ba'i
dus su] |

l zla ba bdud rtsi [byañ chub kyi sems 'pho ba'i bag chags goms pa las]
'og tu 'gro l

l steñ du ñi ma rdul ['gro la] [mi śes 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 śes srid pa'i mtshan ñid do ||] rnam śes dños [bha ba dños po 'di
bžin legs so ||] po'i mtshan ñid [de dge mi dge'i las kyis sprul pa'i skye
ba srid pa gžan du 'gro ba] do ||

de bžin du chos ni l grañs bžin du sañs rgyas pa rnams kyi [sems can
rnams la] 'tshe ba med pa'o || kla klo pa rnams kyi ni l 'tshe ba ste l yañ
yig las 'byuñ po rnams kyi'o || bla ma'i ñes pa'i dbañ gis sgom pa'i dus
dañ 'dod pa'i lha la bstod pa'i dus su grañs bžin du sañs rgyas pa rnams
la rdo rje'i gdan bsñags śiñ l kla klo pa rnams la [de ma thag ston pa'i]
lha min gyi gdan sñags so || yañ yig las gžan ni l thun moñ ba ste l de ni
mi sgrub ciñ mi 'gog go || 'dir lha min gyi gdan ni l sa'i ños la pus mo
g.yon gyi steñ du pus mo g.yas brkyañ žiñ rkañ pa[']i byin pa] g.yon gyi
steñ du rkañ pa[']i byin pa] g.yas pa'o || yañ yig las [rkañ pa bsgyur te
rkañ pa g.yas pa] 'og tu ste l rkañ pa g.yas pa'i steñ du [rkañ pa g.yon
pa] 'o || rkañ pa'i mthil du yañ l yañ yig las rgyab tu dbyi bžag pa'o ||
rdo rje'i gdan la sogs pa ni l 'chad par 'gyur pa las brjod par bya'o ||
sañs rgyas pa dañ lha min gyi bya ba ñes pa'o || 99

I.7. *Śrī Kālacakra* 2.158cd and *Vimalaprabhā* 2.7.158cd [VP (S) B
90a4-5; U I.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 I.232-33, note.]

idānīm mlecchatāyinām matam ucyate kartretyādi l

Śrī Kālacakra 2.158cd

kartrā sṛṣṭaṃ samastaṃ sacaraṃ acarajaṃ tāyinām bhuktihetoḥ
svargas tasya pratoṣād bhavati khalu nṛṇāṃ deśanā rahmaṇaḥ sā || 158 ||

iha kartrā rahmaṇā sṛṣṭaṃ samastaṃ sacaraṃ jaṅgamaṃ acaraṃ
sthāvaram vastu tāyinām iti mlecchānām śvetavāsinām bhuktihetoḥ l
svargas tasya rahmaṇaḥ pratoṣāt apratoṣān narako bhavati khalu nṛṇāṃ
deśanā¹ rahmaṇaḥ sā l pūrvoktā² kriyeti tāyinām³ mataniyamaḥ || 158 ||

v.l.: 1) U: *omit* deśanā. 2) U: *pūrvokta*-. 3) U: *tāyi*-.

VP (T) 2.203.2-5

da ni [sog po rā ma ṇa (*read*: rahma ṇa) dañ] kla klo stag gzig rnams kyi 'dod pa gsuñs pa l byed po źes pa la sogs pa ste l

ŚK (T) 1.83.7-84.1)

l byed po rgyu dañ mi rgyu las skyes mtha' dag bskyed ciñ stag gzig rnams kyi thar pa dag gi rgyu l

l de mñes pa las ñes par mi rnams mtho ris su 'gyur de ni rā hma ṇa yi bstan pa'o ll 158

'dir byed po rahma ṇas rgyu ba g.yo ba dañ mi rgyu ba brtan pa'i dños po mtha' dag skyed ciñ stag gzig rnams kyi źes pa kla klo gos dkar po can rnams kyi thar pa dag gi rgyu l [byed pa po] rahma ṇaḥ de mñes pa las ñes par mi rnams mtho ris dañ l ma mñes pa las dmyal bar 'gyur ro źes pa de ni rahmaḥ'i (*read*: rahma ṇaḥ'i) bstan pa ste l bya ba ni [ye śes skye ba la sogs pa'i dus skabs su] sñar brjod pa'o ll stag gzig gi 'dod pa ñes pa'o ll 158

I.8. *Vimalaprabhā* 2.7.160b, comment on *Śrī Kālacakra* 2.160b (166b of printed eds.) [VP (S) B 90b4; U 1.260.26-261.1]

kiñ cānyad iha kila śrūyate yadā vedābhāvo bhavati mlecchair vedadharme ucchādite sati tadā (ŚK 2.160b:) brahmā vaktraiś caturbhiḥ prakāṭayati purā vedaśabdena' cārthaṃ indraḥ paśur āsīd ityādipāṭheneti l ato 'rtho 'nyo vedo 'nya iti siddham l

v.l.: 1) B: -śabdenā.

VP (T) 2.206.3-5

gźan pa ci 'dir gañ gi tshe [dañ por rig byed yod kyañ] kla klo rnams kyis rig byed kyi chos [bźi po rgya mtshor bskiyur nas] bsgribs par gyur pa na rig byed med par gyur pa de'i tshe [tshañs pas dran nas] tshañs pa'i gdoñ bźi dag gis sñon gyi rig byed [de slar] sgra dag gis kyañ 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 źes zer ba thos so ll de'i phyir don gźan dañ rig byed gźan źes grub bo ll

I.9. *Vimalaprabhā* 2.7.161, comment on *Śrī Kālacakra* 2.161 (2.167 of printed eds.) [VP (S) B 90b7-91a1; U 1.261.17-21]

kiñ cānyad iha brahmamukhāt brāhmaṇā jātāḥ kila satyaṃ l ataḥ pṛcchāmi kiṃ brāhmaṇyo' 'pi tato jātāḥ l yadi syus tadā bhaginyo bhavanti ekayonisamutpannatvād iti l evaṃ kṣatriyādīnām api l vivāhaṃ bhaginyā

sārdhaṃ bhavati kathaṃ | atha bhavati tadā mleccadharmapravṛttir
bhavati | mleccadharmapravṛttau jātikṣayaḥ jātikṣayān narakam iti
nyāyaḥ |

v.l.: 1) U: brāhmaṇe.

VP (T) 2.207.5-208.2

| gzan pa ci | 'dir tshaṅs pa'i kha nas bram ze rnams skyes pa ni bden par
grag go || de'i phyir bdag gis dri bar bya'o || bram ze mo rnams kyaṅ
[tshaṅs pa'i kha] de las skyes par gyur tam ci | gal te gyur na de'i tshe
sriṅ mor 'gyur te | skye gnas gcig las skyes pa ṅid kyī phyir ro || de bzin
du rgyal rigs la sogs pa rnams kyaṅ ṅo || de'i phyir sriṅ mo daṅ lhan cig
bag ma ji ltar byed | ci ste byed na de'i tshe [bram ze rnams] kla klo'i
chos la źugs [par thal te sriṅ mo bag mar len pas] so || kla klo'i chos la
źugs [par 'dod] na rigs ṅams [par thal] te [| kla klo'i chos la źugs pa'i
phyir ro] || rigs ṅams pa las [bram ze rnams] dmyal ba ['gro ba]r 'gyur
ro źes pa ni [bram ze'i] rigs pa'o ||

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]
idānīm pūrvakarmopabhogavartamānakarmasañcayapraṭiṣedha ucyaṭe
jantur¹ ityādi |

Śrī Kālacakra 2.168

jantuḥ pūrvāṇi karmāṇy anubhavati kṛtāny aihikāny anyajātyā
yady evaṃ karmanāśo na hi bhavati nṛṇāṃ jātijātyantareṇa |
saṃsārān nirgamaḥ syād aparimitabhavair naiva mokṣe praveśaḥ²
etaḍ vai tāyināṃ tu prabhavati hi mataṃ cānyajātiprahīṇam || 168 ||

iha yeṣāṃ mate³ jantuḥ pūrvakṛtāni karmāṇi bhūṃkte iha janmani kṛtāny
anyajātyā⁴ iti yady evaṃ tadā karmanāśo na hi bhavati nṛṇāṃ jāti-
jātyantareṇa karmaphalopabhogata iti | evaṃ na saṃsārān nirgamaḥ syād
aparimitabhavair naiva mokṣe praveśo bhavātīti | etaḍ vai tāyināṃ pra-
bhavati hi mataṃ | kintv anyajātiprahīṇam iti tāyināṃ mlecchānām
mataṃ manuṣyo mṛtaḥ svarge vā narake vā 'nayā manuṣyamūrtyā
sukham vā duḥkham vā bhūṃkte rahmaṇo niyameneti | ato 'nyajātipra-
hīṇam iti niyamaḥ || 168 ||

v.l.: 1) B: yantur. 2) U: mokṣapraveśa. 3) U: mataṃ. 4) U: anyajātyām.

VP (T) 2.223.7-224.4

l da ni sña ma'i las ñe bar loñs spyod pa dañ l da ltar gyi las gskog pa la dggag pa gsuñs pa l skye bo zes pa la sogs pa ste l

(ŚK (T) 1.86.1-3)

l skye bo sñon gyi las rñams ñams su myoñ 'gyur 'di la byas pa rñams ni skye ba gžan la'o l

l gal te de lta yin na las ni 'jig par mi 'gyur mi rñams skye dañ skye ba gžan dag gi (read: gis) l

l dpag med srid pa dag gis 'khor ba las ni 'byuñ bar 'gyur dañ thar pa 'jug pa med pa ñid l

l 'di dag stag gzig rñams kyañ ñes par 'dod par 'gyur te gžan pa'i rigs kyis rab tu dman pa'o ll 168

'dir gañ dag gi 'dod pa las l sñar byas pa'i las rñams [skye ba 'dir] skye bo loñs spyod ciñ l skye ba 'di la [las dge sdig] byas pa rñams ni skye ba gžan la'o zes so ll gal te de lta yin na l de'i tshe las ni 'jig [pa dañ zad] par mi 'gyur te l mi rñams skye dañ skye ba gžan dag gi (read: gis) las kyi 'bras bu ñe bar loñs spyod pa'i phyir ro ll de ltar na [lam bsgoms kyañ] dpag med srid pa dag gis 'khor ba las ni 'byuñ bar 'gyur ba med ciñ l thar par 'jug pa med pa ñid du 'gyur ro ll 'di dag stag gzig rñams kyañ ñes par 'dod par 'gyur te l 'on kyañ gžan pa'i rigs kyis rab tu dman pa'o zes pa la l kla klo stag gzig rñams kyis 'dod pa ni l mi ši ba dag l mtho ris sam dmyal bar mi'i lus 'dis bde ba'm sdug bsñal loñs spyod de l [byed pa po] rahma ña'i [mñes pa dañ ma mñes pa] ñes pas so zes pa'o l de'i phyir gžan pa'i [las byed pa po'i lus de ñid kyis byed par 'dod pa'i] rigs kyis rab tu dman pa'o zes pa ste ñes pa'o ll 168

I.11. Vimalaprabhā 3.1.3 [VP (S) B 96a6; U II.6.21-22]

raktāmbaram yathā dṛṣṭā¹ dveṣaṃ gacchanti pāpinaḥ l
mlecchadharmaratā bauddhās tathā śvetāambarapriyā ll iti l

v.l.: 1) U: yadā dṛṣṭvā.

VP (T) 2.244.2-5 [Note: parenthetical insertions are subannotations]

l [khyim pa slob dpon du byed pa] gañ [gi] tshe gos dmar [gyi dge sloñ] mthoñ gyur nal [l sdig can kla klo'i chos (la) dga' mams ll (gus pa med ciñ) že sdañ du 'gyur de yi tshe ll sañs rgyas pa rñams gos dkar dga' l (bas de bzuñ ste rab tu byuñ ba'i rtags 'jig par 'gyur ro l) l 'di bžin bsgyur na legs l] l že sdañ du 'gyur sañs rgyas pa [rñams kyañ] ll sdig can kla klo'i chos la dga' ll de tshe dkar po'i gos la mos [te dkar po'i gos bzuñ bas rtags ñams pas bstan pa ñams dmas par 'gyur ro ll] ll zes so ll

I.12. *Vimalaprabhā* 3.1.19c (comment on *Śrī Kālacakra* 3.19c) [VP (S) B 99b7-100a1; U II.18.1-2]

daityam iti daityāsanam māraṇe aṅkakārakūrmāpādavad iti daityāsanam

VP (T) 2.262.1-2

l lha min zes pa ni l lha min gyi 'dug staṅs te l [sa'i űos la pus mo g.yon gyi steṅ du pus mo g.yas brkyaṅs žiṅ l rkaṅ pa g.yon gyi steṅ du rkaṅ pa g.yas pa'o ll yaṅ yig las 'og tu ste l rkaṅ pa g.yas pa'i steṅ du'o ll rkaṅ pa'i mthil du yaṅ yaṅ yig las rgyab tu dpyi bžag pa'o ll zes bśad la sā dhu pu tras lus bskums te rus sbal ltar gnas pa'i zes bśad ciṅ 'dir l] gśad pa la 'thap mo byed pa'i rus sbal gyi stabs bžin no zes pa ni l lha min gyi gdan no l

I.13. *Śrī Kālacakra* 3.94ab and *Vimalaprabhā* 3.4.94ab [VP (S) B 124b4; U II.88.25, 89.2-3]

-daityendradharmaṃ ... na kuryāt

daityadharmam mleccadharmam na kuryād iti

ŚK (T) 1.109.7-110.1

... lha min dbaṅ po'i chos ... mi bya'o l

VP (T) 2.386.2

... lha min gyi chos ni l kla klo'i chos de mi bya'o zes pa l

I.14. *Vimalaprabhā* 5.3 (comment on *Śrī Kālacakra* 5.58) [VP (S) B 198b2-6; U III.86.5-17]

iha sattvā anādikāle tīrthikāḥ devabhūtāsuradharmaratāḥ sarvajñamārga-
naṣṭāḥ caturvarṇaikavarṇāśritāḥ svargaphalopabhogābhilāṣiṇaḥ kartrātma-
vādinaḥ l teṣāṃ śabdavādinō devapretadharmāśritā īśvaravādinaś cātma-
vādinaś ca jātivādinaś ceti l mleccḥā 'suradharmāśritāḥ kartṛvādinō jīva-
vādinō jātivādarahitāḥ l eṣāṃ mleccḥānām ubhayagrahaḥ paramāṇusa-
dohagrahaḥ upapattyāṅgikapudgalagrahaś ceti l eṣāṃ abhiprāyaḥ yadi
paramāṇusaṃdohātmake śarīre antarvarty upapattyāṅgikapudgalo nāsti
paramāṇusaṃdohātmake kāye vinaṣṭe sati aparakāyagrahaṇam kaḥ kari-
ṣyati l tasmād upapādūkapudgalo 'sti l tena sādhitena svargaphalam
nirvāṇaphalam' bhavati svargaphalād aparaṃ nirvāṇam nāma na syād iti
l tattvaprccḥākāle teṣāṃ svacittābhiprāyam abhijñāya tattvavidā bhagava-
toktaṃ atthi puggalo bhāravāho ṇa ṇiccam bhaṇāmi ṇāṇiccam bhaṇāmīti

l etad eva satyaṃ bhagavato vacanāt svapnāvasthāyāṃ cittavāsanā-
pudgalo nānityo na nityo vaktuṃ² śakyate l anena tathāgatavacanena
mlecchadharmam tyaktvā bauddhā vaibhāṣikā jātāḥ l punar lokottara-
dharmaṃ deśyamānaṃ śrutvā bodhisattvānām iha pudgalagrahaṃ pari-
tyajya ke cit samyaksambuddhamārgam āśritā iti l

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

VP (T) 3.172.4-173.5

l 'dir sems can rnam 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 ñams pa l rigs bži dañ rigs gcig la brten pa l mtho ris kyi 'bras bu'i
loñs spyod mñon par 'dod pa l byed pa po dañ bdag tu smra ba po rnam
te l de rnam las sgra smra ba po rnam ni l lha dañ yi dwags kyi chos la
brten pa rnam dañ l dbañ phyug smra ba po rnam dañ l bdag smra ba
po rnam dañ l rigs smra ba po rnam so ll kla klo ni l lha min gyi chos
la brten pa rnam dañ l byed pa por smra ba po rnam dañ l srog smra ba
po rnam te l rigs smra ba dañ bral ba rnam so ll kla klo 'di rnam kyi
'dzin pa gñis ka ste l rdul phra rab tshogs pa'i 'dzin pa dañ l skye ba'i
cha śas can gyi gañ zag gi 'dzin pa'o ll 'di rnam kyi bsam pa ni l gal te
rdul phra rab tshogs pa'i bdag ñid can gyi lus la nañ du 'jug pa po skye
ba'i cha śas can gyi gañ zag med na l rdul phra rab tshogs pa'i bdag ñid
kyi lus rnam par ñams pa'i rjes la lus gžan su yis 'dzin par byed par
'gyur l de'i phyir rdzus te byuñ ba'i gañ zag yod do ll de yis bsgrubs pas
mtho ris kyi 'bras bu ni l mya ñan las 'das pa'i 'bras bur 'gyur te l mtho
ris kyi 'bras bu las gžan mya ñan las 'das pa žes bya ba med do žes pa
ste l de kho na ñid 'dri ba'i dus su de rnam kyi rañ gi sems kyi bsam pa
mñon par mkhyen nas l de ko na ñid smra ba po bcom ldan 'das kyi
gsuñs pa l [khur khur ba'i mdo las] khur khur ba'i gañ zag yod de l rtag
pa dañ mi rtag par bdag mi smra'o ll žes pa'o ll de ñid bden te l bcom
ldan 'das kyi gsuñs pa'i phyir ro ll rmi lam gyi gnas skabs su sems kyi
bag chags kyi gañ zag ni l rtag pa dañ mi rtag par brjod par mi nus so ll
de bžin gšegs pa'i gsuñ 'di yis kla klo'i chos spañs nas sañs rgyas pa'i
bye brag tu smra ba rnam byuñ bar gyur to ll de nas byañ chub sems
dpa' rnam la 'jig rten las 'das pa'i chos bstan pa thos nas l 'dir gañ zag
tu 'dzin pa yoñs su spañs nas 'ga' žig yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas
kyi lam la brten to ll

I.15. *Vimalaprabhā* 5.3 [VP (S) B 203b7; U III.96.26-29]

punar yugāvasāne mlecchānām atyantādharmam dr̥ṣṭvā śailavan niḥ-
kampo bhūtvā paramāśvasamādhinā 'nantān paramāśvān sphārayitvā tair
mlecchānām cittāni drāvayitvā svadharme sthāpayiṣyati | teṣāṃ dharmot-
pāṭanam karīṣyati na prāṇatyāgaṃ |

VP (T) 3.200.5-7

| slar yañ dus bži'i mthar kla klo rnams kyi śin tu chos ma yin pa gzigs
nas ri bo bžin du 'dar ba med par 'gyur te | rta mchog gi tiñ ñe 'dzin
gyis rta mchog mtha'yas pa spros nas | de rnams kyi kla klo rnams kyi
sems žum par byas te | rañ gi chos la 'god par 'gyur žiñ de rnams kyi
chos 'joms par 'gyur gyi | srog gtoñ ba ni ma yin no |

**II. *Śrī-Kālacakra-tanrottara-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]

... śa yi dam tshig can gyi stag gzig...

II.2. [D 137b4; P 150a8-150b1]

... gžan yañ ma dhu ma ti srin po'i bdañ po 'byuñ |

II.3. [D 138b7; P 152a5]

... ma khar yañ ni spun zla'i bu mo rañ gi bus (bag mar len) |

II.4. [D 141b3-6; P 155a2-6]

| sañs rgyas rnams dañ 'jigs byed skyes pa bud med gdeñs can rnams kyi
bstan pa lha rten gañ |

| g.yul du žugs pa'i stag gzig rnams kyi rta yi tshogs kyi de rnams ma
lus 'jig par byed |

| de rnams rigs gcig gžan gyi nor mi len ciñ bden par smra dañ gtsañ
spra rab tu 'jug |

| gžon nu gžan gyi chuñ ma spoñ žiñ dka' thub ñes pa dañ ldan rañ gi
chuñ ma bsten |

| khrus byas gañ žig 'dod pa'i sgra gcan mtshan mo so so'i dus su ñin
guñ phyed yol dañ |

| srod dañ thun gsum dag dañ ñi ma ri la śar bar gyur nas lan lña' phyag
byed ciñ |

l sa steñs² lha yul dag tu stag gzig mu stegs dag la mun can dbañ pos
 gcig tu skyob l
 l drag po'i g.yul ñor pha ltar skyob par byed ciñ bu dañ bran bzin 'gyur
 la rgyal po ni l
 l rgyal rigs 'thab mo min pas³ gñis skyes phyugs kyi śa yis 'jigs byed las
 sogs⁴ mchod nas su l
 l sna tshogs sems can gnod pa byed ciñ gzan gyi nor 'phrog pa yis gduñ
 rgyud 'chad pa 'byuñ l

v.l.: 1) D: lñar. 2) D: steñ. 3) D: mun pas. 4) D: la sogs.

II.5. [D 142a3; P 155b3]

l ñi ma gañ du tshañs pa'i sa bon ñe bar 'jigs par 'gyur ba des na dus
 phyi mar l
 l sa gzi skyoñ ba mchod na 'dir ni g.yul ñor kla klo dañ ni mu stegs
 'jigs¹ par gyur l

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

II.6. [D 142a5-143b1; P 155b6-156a1]

l phyi nas sa steñ son pa'i gnas dañ zin gi lha khañ¹ drug bcu² rtsa
 bryad kla klo yi l
 l mgon po ma dhu ma ti bu dañ bu mo spun zla skyes pa rnams kyis 'jig
 par byed l
 l der ni bcwa bryad³ lo la brya yis brya la bsgyur bas ma kha las
 sogs⁴ 'phags pa'i yul l
 l kla klo rnams dañ lha gañ mun can ñi mar rtogs pa gañ de ña yis brlag
 par bya l
 l sañs rgyas chos dañ dge 'dun rnams la skyabs gsum cho gas skye dgu
 rnams ni der bžag nas l
 l bde la⁵ bkod de ka lā pa nas lha gnas dga' ldan mchog tu ñi ma 'gro
 bar bya l
 l nam mkha' mkha' dañ dus dañ dbañ po mig gis dus kyi dus son pa yi⁶
 lo yi tshad l
 l slar yañ skye bo rnams ni kla klo 'jug ste ji srid bcwa bryad lo la
 bsgyur dañ bcas pa'i bar l
 l yañ nas yañ du ña yis rtsod pa'i dus der byuñ nas de rnams gzig par
 bya ba ñid l

v.l.: 1) D: lha gañ. D: drug cu. 3) D: bco bryad. 4) D: la sogs. 5) P: bde ba. 6) D:
 dus su son pa'i.

II.7. [D 144a5; P 157b7-8]

... stag gzig rnams ... bdag gis bstén |

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

III.1. [P 35b6-7]

| ** bzuñ bya 'dzin pa dañ |
| gsad bya dañ ni gsod po dañ |
| bi śi bi lla'i sñags ched du |
| khyab 'jug 'jigs byed skyob [*phyir] ro |

III.2. [P 50a2-3]

| gañs ri'i byañ du sa skyoñs rnams |
| bod sogs rnams su ba lañ za |
| nub tu kla klo'i rgyal po rnams |
| ba lañ gñis skyes rnams kyañ gsod |

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

IV.1. [D 13b6-7; P 16b7-17a1]

| tshañs pa'i kha ñid las skyes bram ze grags pa na |
| bram ze mo yañ gnas de ñid las yin nam ci |
| gal te 'di dag skye gnas gcig las skyes gyur na |
| miñ po dañ ni sriñ mo bag mar rigs ma yin | (1)
| gal te yin na kla klo'i skye bo 'jug par 'gyur |
| kla klo 'jug par gyur na rigs ni ñams pas te |
| rigs zad na ni dmyal bar sdug bsñal mi bzad pa |
| rañ gi rigs ni 'dzin phyir de dag la 'gyur ro | (2)

IV.2. [D 17b7-18a2; P 22a6-8]

| gžan rnams kyis kyañ mtho ris bde ba'i rgyu ru ni |
| rañ gi liñ ga'i rtse mo'i pags pa² gcod par byed |
| ñin mo'i mtha' dañ mtshan mo'i steñ du bza' ba ni |
| ñes par stag gzig³ rnams kyis byed par 'gyur ba'o | (1)

l rañ gi las kyis śi bar gyur pa'i phyugs rnamś kyis⁴ |
l de yi śa ni ñe bar spyod par mi byed do |
l srog bcad rab tu byas nas de ñid za byed de |
l gźan du na ni mi rnamś mtho ris 'gro ba med | (2)

v.l.: 1) P: liñgā'i. 2) P: lags pa. 3) P: stag gzir. 4) P&D: kyis.

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