

ISTITUTO ITALIANO
PER IL MEDIO ED ESTREMO ORIENTE

SERIE ORIENTALE ROMA

FONDATA DA GIUSEPPE TUCCI

DIRETTA DA
GHERARDO GNOLI

Vol. LXXII

ROMA
Is. M. E. O.
1994

SERIE ORIENTALE ROMA
LXXII

GIACOMELLA OROFINO

SEKODDEŚA

A CRITICAL EDITION
OF THE TIBETAN TRANSLATIONS

With an Appendix by RANIERO GNOLI
ON THE SANSKRIT TEXT



ROMA
ISTITUTO ITALIANO PER IL MEDIO ED ESTREMO ORIENTE
1994

Distributed by Herder, International Book Centre,
120, Piazza Montecitorio, 00186 Rome, Italy.

In Italy by Libreria Distributrice Degrassi,
61a, Via Fonteiana, 00152 Roma.

In India, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka by Munshiram Manoharlal,
Post Box 5715, 54 Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi 110055.

*In memory of Giuseppe Tucci
on the centenary of his birth*

TUTTI I DIRITTI RISERVATI

Printed in Italy – Stampato in Italia

Stampa: «Studio Tipografico SP» – Via Clemente IX, 12 – 00167 Roma – Tel. e Fax: 06/6146350

Finito di stampare nel mese di luglio 1994

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	Pag. 9
INTRODUCTION	
I. THE <i>SEKODDEŚA</i> IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE <i>KĀLACAKRA</i> TRADITION	» 11
II. THE TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION OF THE TIBETAN TRANSLATIONS	» 25
1. <i>The 'Bro Tradition</i>	» 25
a. The Tibetan Canon	» 25
b. The Eastern Tradition of the Kanjur	» 26
c. The Western Tradition of the Kanjur	» 27
d. Methodological Considerations	» 28
e. The Sources	» 29
f. Stemmatic Relationships	» 30
2. <i>The Rwa Tradition</i>	» 35
a. The Sources	» 36
III. NOTES ON THE CRITERIA ADOPTED IN THE TEXTUAL ANALYSIS	» 38
IV. ANALYSIS OF THE TWO TRANSLATIONS	» 39
BIBLIOGRAPHY	» 45
CRITICAL EDITION OF THE TIBETAN TRANSLATIONS	» 53
SINGLE READINGS	
TEXT A	» 117
TEXT B	» 119
APPENDIX BY RANIERO GNOLI	» 123
Introduction	» 127
List of the Sources	» 129
The Sanskrit Text	» 131

PREFACE

In Buddhist Tantric literature the *Sekoddeśa* holds a position of considerable interest. Infact it is the first text of the Kālacakra tradition to have come down to us and contains the nucleus of the doctrine of this religious movement which represents the culmination of medieval Indian Buddhism before its decline.

The original Sanskrit version, consisting in 174 stanzas in the *anuṣṭubh* metre, is lost apart from the first folio, extant in two distinct manuscripts both preserved in the National Archives of Kathmandu. However, as the reader will see below in the edition by Professor Raniero Gnoli, the reconstruction of the entire Sanskrit text has been made possible because in the exegetical literature more than seventy stanzas are found integrally and the others have been restored on the basis of the extant commentaries in Sanskrit and of the numerous quotations occurring in other Sanskrit texts.

The *Sekoddeśa* was translated into Tibetan in the second half of the eleventh century, the first time by the Kashmiri Paṇḍit Somanātha and the Tibetan Lo tsā ba 'Bro Dge slong Shes rab grags. This translation (Text A) is preserved in all the Tibetan *Bka'* 'gyur (henceforth Kanjur) collections deriving from the old Snar thang prototype. At the end of the eleventh century it was drastically revised, so much so as to represent a second, different translation, by the Nepalese Paṇḍit Samantaśri and the Tibetan Lo tsā ba Rwa Chos rab. This second version (Text B) is preserved in the independent tradition of the Phug brag Kanjur recently found in the east of Western Tibet.

This study forms part of a larger research project under the auspices of the Italian CNR (Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche) started in 1991 under the direction of Prof. Raniero Gnoli on the first period of the *Kālacakratantra* literature. Together we read and translated large part of the early literature on the Kālacakra, including various commentaries on the *Sekoddeśa*: the *Ṭikā* by Nāropā, the anonymous *Pañjikā* translated by Bu ston and the *Ṭippaṇi* by Sādhuputra Śrīdharānanda, all due for publication soon both in critical editions in Sanskrit and Tibetan and in Italian and English translation.

Those who know Prof. Raniero Gnoli either personally or through his

numerous works, will realise which eminent school I had the good fortune to attend during these years, and for this he has my heartfelt gratitude. I must express likewise my great appreciation to Dr Helmut Eimer of the Indologisches Seminar in Bonn. Unanimously considered the father of Tibetan Kanjur studies, he let me have copies of the two Tibetan versions of the *Sekoddeśa* preserved in the Phug brag Kanjur and also read a preliminary version of this work, offering me precious advice. I also wish to thank all those who helped me to collect the sources for the critical edition of the texts: first of all the Hungarian scholar Dr Géza Bethlenfalvy, who gave me a photocopy of the *Sekoddeśa* text conserved in the inaccessible *Them spangs ma* Kanjur preserved in the Ulan Bator State Library. Moreover I wish to thank Dr Helga Uebach and Dr Jampa L. Panlung of the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Munich for having sent to me a photocopy of the text from the Sde dge Mtshal pa Kanjur and the Stog Palace Kanjur; Dr Günther Grönbold of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich for his help and Dr H. Ortwin Feistel of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin for supplying me very promptly with a microfilm of the text from the 'Jang Sa tham or Lithang Kanjur preserved in Berlin; Ms Gita Venu Gopal and the staff of the Oriental & India Office Library for providing me with a photographic reproduction of the text from the London Manuscript Kanjur and from the Snar thang Kanjur blockprint preserved in the British Library, and the staff of the Toyo Bunko Library for very rapidly sending me a copy of the text preserved in the Kawaguchi Collection Manuscript Kanjur.

I also wish to thank Dr Andrew Lukianowicz for his help in revising the English text.

Furthermore I am grateful to Prof. Gherardo Gnoli, President of the IsMEO and to the boards of Directors for having accepted this short study for publication in SOR.

Giacomella Orofino

INTRODUCTION

I. THE *SEKODDEŚA* IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE KĀLACAKRA TRADITION

According to tradition, the *Sekoddeśa* is a section of the *Paramādibuddha* or the *Mūlakālacakratāntra*, the root tantra of the Kālacakra school believed to consist of 12,000 verses that was lost in Sanskrit and was not translated into Tibetan.

I will briefly summarise the traditional account of the origin of the Kālacakra teaching in order to clarify the position of the *Paramādibuddha* in the context of the first phase of the Kālacakra religious literature¹.

Tradition has it² that the *Paramādibuddha* was first promulgated by Lord Buddha at the request of Sucandra, emanation of Vajrapāṇi and King of the mythical realm of Sambhala³, in the *Dharmadhātu maṇḍala* at Śrīdhānyakaṭaka,

¹ For further information the reader is referred to the works by J. Newman (1985, 1987a: 70-113, 1987b).

² LKC (Skr. & Tib.) I: 1-3; Nāropā, *Paramārhasaṃgraha*, Skr.: 1-4, Tib.: 105-106 (fols. 259a-259b); Bu ston, *Dus 'khor chos 'byung*: fols. 23-27.

³ In the Kālacakra literature the mythical kingdom of Sambhala is a transposition and adaptation of a myth already found in the Viṣṇuite tradition. In the *Mahābhārata* and in various *Purāṇa* Sambhala is the name of a village of indeterminate location where the last avatāra of Viṣṇu will reincarnate as the son of Viṣṇu-Yaśaḥ, under the name Kalkin, to destroy the barbarians at the end of the current degenerate Kali age. The term Sambhala was transliterated into Tibetan as Śambhala and this is the reason why in western literature, starting with Alexander Csoma de Körös (1833: 57) it has consistently been referred to as Śambhala. In the Kālacakra literature we find that Sambhala is no longer a simple village, but has become a fabulous kingdom at the centre of a vast empire of ninety-six great lands and of nine hundred-sixty million villages where King Kalkin's dynasty reigned. We also find the prophecy that at the end of the Kaliyuga the last Buddhist king Raudracakrin, son of Mañjuśrī-Yaśaḥ, would lead the great army of Sambhala against the enemy, in this case the forces of Islam, and re-establish the Buddhist law. It should be underlined that in the *Laghukālacakratāntra* (II, 48-50) a symbolic interpretation is given to the great final battle between the Buddhists and the unbelievers, whereby Kalkin represents right knowledge, his fourfold army the four "Immeasurable Virtues", Muhammad the tempting demon, the killing of the unbelievers their conversion etc.; thus the outer battle becomes a metaphor for the inner one. The kingdom of Sambhala should therefore be interpreted allegorically; however the precise geographical description found in the early Kālacakra literature suggests a historical interpretation: in fact, as related by Newman (*Forthcoming*: 4) the VP asserts that this kingdom was situated north of

a place regarded in the Kālacakra tradition as the fount of all the Vajrayāna teachings⁴.

Sucandra then wrote the twelve thousand verses Kālacakra *mūlatantra* and returned to Sambhala where he taught and transmitted it. Sucandra was followed by a lineage of kings of Sambhala, all practitioners of the Kālacakra doctrine, whose reigns lasted one hundred years each. The seventh king, King Yaśaḥ, was an emanation of Mañjuśrī; he was known as the first Kalkin⁵ of Sambhala and wrote the *Śrī Kālacakra* or *Laghukālacakratantra* (LKC) an abridged version (*laghu*) of the *Paramādibuddha*, traditionally considered to consist of 1030 stanzas and which is still extant in Sanskrit and in its Tibetan translation⁶. Yaśaḥ sired a son, Puṇḍarika, an emanation of *Avalokiteśvara*, who authored the extensive commentary to the LKC, the *Vimalaprabhā* (VP) whose length corresponds to twelve thousands lines. The LKC and the VP are still extant in Sanskrit and in their Tibetan translations⁷ and among the followers of the Kālacakra school the *Laghutrantra* takes the actual role of the

the Sitā river, and in a passage on astronomy it transpires that this kingdom lay north of Tibet, Kotan and China. This leads Newman (*ibidem*) to identify the river Sitā with the river Tarim in eastern Turkestan, in the area north of Tien-Sha, and to hypothesise that the kingdom of Sambhala might correspond with the Uighur kingdom centred around Khocho which flourished circa A.D. 850-1250. See Newman 1985: 83, fn. 4. Nevertheless, however fascinating, this hypothesis is far from having been proved.

⁴ See Newman 1987a: 72-75. Dhānyakāṭaka, which has been located in the proximity of the village of Amarāvati in the Guntur District of Āndhra Pradesh in India, was the site of a marble *stūpa* of considerable dimension, probably dating back to the second century A.D. or earlier, that was razed to the ground in the nineteenth century by a petty *rāja*. Vestiges of the *stūpa* are now preserved in museums in India and Europe. Cf. Hoffmann 1973; Newman 1885: 52-54; Newman 1987a: 71.

⁵ In the Buddhist Kālacakra literature the epithet *Kalkin* (Tib. *rigs-ldan*) assumed the specific meaning of sovereign-master, from *kalkaḥ*: a kind of tenacious paste or a paste used as plaster or cement (cf. Apte: s.v.), because he binds in unity, he cements the four castes, by conferring on them the adamantite initiation. See VP, V, MS. Calcutta: fol.203b, l.7. Cf. also Newman 1987a: 94; 1988: 132.

⁶ In the Tibetan translation its full Sanskrit title is quoted as *Paramādibuddhodhṛta-Śrī-Kālacakra-nāma-tantrarāja*.

⁷ On the different Sanskrit editions of the LKC and of the VP, so far only partially edited, see Newman 1987a: 660-661. The Tibetan version of the LKC by Somanātha and 'Bro Shes rab grags is preserved in the various Kanjur editions: see Eimer 1989: 60 as well as in the *Sde dge Bstan 'gyur* (henceforth Tanjur) (D 1346), and in the annotated revision by Bu ston to which I refer in this work, see Bibliography. The Tibetan translation of the VP by Shong ston rdo rje rgyal mtshan is preserved in the various Tanjur editions (D 1347, Q #2064) as well as in the *Sde dge Kanjur* (D 845). We have also a revised and annotated version by Bu ston, see Bibliography.

*mūlatantra*⁸, while its extensive commentary represents the major source of information we have on the Kālacakra system.

Yaśaḥ was the first in a lineage of 25 Kalkin of Sambhala whose names are found, together with those of the preceding kings, in the VP. This list of names of the seven Dharmarāja and of the twenty-five Kalkin of Sambhala was then frequently repeated in the later Tibetan literature of the Kālacakra tradition⁹.

We have no certainty about the original length of the *Paramādibuddha*, neither are we certain whether it ever existed as an entire text. In the exegetical literature of the Kālacakra tradition of the early phase, however, it is possible to trace numerous other fragments of it apart from the *Sekoddeśa* verses, demonstrating that other sections of the Kālacakra *mūlatantra* were circulating in India during the early spread of this religious stream¹⁰.

In the first chapter of the VP seventy-two verses are quoted from the Kālacakra *mūlatantra* which do not belong to the *Sekoddeśa*, and other verses can also be found among the other chapters of the text; moreover, other verses can be found in Vajrapāṇi's *Lakṣābhīdhānodhṛtalaghutrantrapiṇḍārthavivarāṇa*, in Vajragarbha's *Hevajrapīṇḍārthaṭīkā*¹¹ and in Sādhuputra Śrīdharānanda's *Sekoddeśaṭippaṇī*¹². Nāropā too must have known the *Paramādibuddha* as he quotes some verses from it both in the

⁸ On the relationship between the *Kālacakralaghutrantra* and its *mūlatantra* see the article by Nihom (1984) which contains some inaccuracies and the relative correction by Newman (1987b: 95).

⁹ Cf. among others, the eighteenth century work by Klong rdol Bla ma, *Dus 'khor lo rgyus*: fols. 238-262. On the Kings of Sambhala see Reigle 1986.

¹⁰ Regarding the missing *mūlatantras* among the texts of Vajrayāna literature, not only in the Kālacakra context, see Newman 1987b: 98, fn. 27.

¹¹ These two texts by Vajrapāṇi and by Vajragarbha, together with Puṇḍarīka's *Vimalaprabhā* form a trilogy, later called by the Tibetans the Bodhisattva Corpus (*Byang chub sems dpa'i 'khor*), which was introduced in India together with the Kālacakra doctrines. The three texts comment on the abridged (*laghu*) versions of the *Cakrasaṃvara*, *Hevajra* and *Kālacakra* cycles respectively, presenting similar stylistic and doctrinal features. The *Hevajratantra* and the *Cakrasaṃvara* tantra are interpreted in the light of the new ideas of the Kālacakra school.

¹² Cf. Skr.: fol. 1b/3-5; Tib.: Q #2069, p. 137 (fol. 337b). Among the other Indian Kālacakra commentaries where quotations from the *Paramādibuddha* can be found, Newman (1987b: 97, fn. 19) mentions a stanza from the *Paramādibuddha* found in Vajragarbha's *Hevajrapīṇḍārthaṭīkā* quoted by Snellgrove (1959, part I: 66-68, fn. 2). But it should be noticed that the stanza in question is nothing but the combination of the first verse of stanza 63 and the first verse of stanza 64 of the *Sekoddeśa* itself.

*Paramārthasaṃgraha*¹³, his commentary on the *Sekoddeśa* and in the *Vajrapādasārasaṃgrahaṭīkā*, his commentary on the *Hevajratāntra*, extant only in Tibetan¹⁴.

From these fragments we can deduce that the *Paramādibuddha* was a late text which reflected the preceding Buddhist Tantric literature of the seventh and eighth centuries as the *Guhyaśamājatantra*, the *Hevajratāntra*, the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*. In addition in Nāropā's *Paramārthasaṃgraha* we find a quotation from the *Paramādibuddha* which corresponds to the initial stanza of the *Ḍākinīvajrapañjaratantra*¹⁵, a Tantra which according to Bu ston's Tantra Catalogue belongs to the cycle of the *Hevajratāntra*¹⁶.

According to the VP¹⁷ the *Paramādibuddha* was divided in five chapters: Worldly Realm (*Lokadhātu*), Inner Realm (*Adhyātmadhātu*), Initiation (*Abhiṣeka*), Practice (*Sādhana*) and Gnosis (*Jñāna*). This division is the same as the one we find reproduced in the LKC¹⁸.

As Newman has already remarked¹⁹ it is not easy to determine the exact position of the *Sekoddeśa* within the *Paramādibuddha*. The colophons of the two Tibetan translations allow different interpretations:

The colophon of the first translation (text A)²⁰ implies that the *Sekoddeśa*, "the treatise on the performance of the initiation into the fifth chapter's supreme immovable (bliss)", was extracted from the first chapter on the Worldly Realm ('*jig rten khams kyi le'ur*'), but in the second translation this statement is followed by the word "etc." ('*jig rten khams kyi le'u la sogs pa las*)²¹. In this case the meaning would change and the statement could be interpreted as referring to the entire text of the *Paramādibuddha*, starting from the *lokadhātupaṭala*. I am also, as is Newman, rather inclined to think that the

second Tibetan text is in this case more reliable and that the *Sekoddeśa* could be a section of the fifth chapter of the *Paramādibuddha*. This hypothesis is confirmed in the introductory chapter of Kālacakrapāda's *Sekoddeśaṭīkā* where he states that the *Sekoddeśa* was extracted from the fifth chapter of the *Mūlatantra* (*rtsa ba'i rgyud kyi le'u lnga pa las dbang mdor bstan pa 'di phyung ba yin*)²².

Concerning the *Sekoddeśa* treatise, we know with certainty that in the first half of the eleventh century it was circulating in India as an independent text, because it drew the attention of many important religious figures of that time who wrote commentaries on it. As mentioned above, Nāropā (d. 1040)²³ wrote a long commentary on the *Sekoddeśa*, the *Paramārthasaṃgraha*, which is preserved both in Sanskrit and in its Tibetan translation²⁴. Other commentaries still extant in Sanskrit and in Tibetan are a *Ṭippaṇi* by Sādhuputra Śrīdharānanda, a contemporary of Nāropā, and a brief *Pañjikā* by an anonymous author which was translated into Tibetan by Bu ston. Besides, two other commentaries are extant only in their Tibetan translations: the *Ṭikā* by *Kālacakrapāda²⁵ mentioned above and a *Ṭippaṇi* by *Vijayāpāda (Rnam par rgyal ba brjed byang).

As regards establishing the date of the spread of the Kālacakra tradition in India, an important indication is found in the LKC (I, 27) and in the VP where mention is made of the end of the sexagenary cycle which falls 403 years after the Hijra (*mlecchendravarṣam*)²⁶. In my opinion this year corresponds to A.D. 1026 (the last year of the sexagenary cycle starting in A.D. 967), which in fact falls 403 years after the elapse of A.D. 622 (the Hijra)²⁷. In the interpretation of this stanza it is necessary to take into consideration that we are dealing with a prophecy, as is also evident from the preceding stanza (I,

¹³ For references to the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts mentioned here and below see the Bibliography. Cf. Nāropā *Paramārthasaṃgraha*, Skr.: 3-4; Tib.: Q #2069, p. 106, fol. 259b.

¹⁴ Cf. Nāropā *Vajrapādasārasaṃgrahaṭīkā*, Q #2316, p. 4 (fol. 77b), p. 5 (fols. 80a-b).

¹⁵ *Ḍākinīvajrapañjaratantra*, extant only in Tibetan in the translation by Gāyadhara Śākya ye shes: '*Phags pa mkha' 'gro ma rdo rje 'gur shes bya ba rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po* in Q #11.

¹⁶ Cf. Eimer 1989: 68.

¹⁷ See Upādhyaya edition p. 12, translated in Newman 1987a: 245.

¹⁸ In his annotated Tibetan edition of the VP, Bu ston compares the list of topics treated in the *Paramādibuddha*, such as it is presented in the second *Uddeśa* of the VP, with the list of topics in the LKC, whence we can infer that the two treatises diverged in the order of the subject-matter. See Newman 1987b: 96.

¹⁹ Newman 1987b: 96.

²⁰ See below: 114.

²¹ See below: 115.

²² Cf. Kālacakrapāda *Sekoddeśaṭīkā*: Q #2070, p. 148, fol. 4b/1.

²³ On Nāropā's chronology see Wylie 1982 and Newman 1987a: 90, fn. 53.

²⁴ See the forthcoming translation by Gnoli & Orofino 1994.

²⁵ I have included this text among the witnesses of the second Tibetan translation of the *Sekoddeśa*, because in this commentary all the 174 stanzas of the *Sekoddeśa* can be found. See below p. 36 ff.

²⁶ Skr.: 31b/7; Tib. 480/1-482/3. Translated in Newman 1987a: 538-542.

²⁷ In making this calculation I think it is necessary to adopt the Indian system of reckoning years in which 1026-403=623; but A.D. 623 should be encompassed within the span of 403 years, whereby the "year of the barbarian" mentioned in LKC I, 27 corresponds to A.D. 622. It should be observed that this stanza has been interpreted in another way in the past: in fact assuming that A.D. 1027 (the *prabhava* i.e. first year of the sexagenary cycle) corresponded to the end of the previous sexagenary cycle, many western scholars deduced that in Kālacakra astrology the Hijra had been erroneously calculated as A.D. 624 (i.e. 1027-403=624), see Roerich 1949: 753; Schuh 1973: 20; Grönbold 1991: 393. I find it unlikely that the Kālacakra

26). This leads us to infer that the period of composition of this literature in India corresponds to the sexagenary cycle from A.D. 967 to A.D. 1026. Furthermore, in the LKC I, 27 and in the relative comment in the VP we find another important clue to help establish the era (*dhruvaka*) of the Kālacakra chronology: the 182nd year after the Hijra is indicated as the year corresponding to the time of Kalkin Aja, the eleventh Kalkin in the lineage succession. This date is also mentioned in a brief treatise on Kālacakra chronology, the *Kālacakraganītopadeśa*²⁸, which specifies that Kalkin Aja rectified the Kālacakra calendar 182 years after the Hijra and that 221 further years elapsed until the end of the sexagenary cycle [A.D.1026]. It also asserts that the *dhruvaka* corresponds to the 19th year of the Jupiter cycle²⁹, which falls 41 years before the end of the sexagenary cycle. Thus we can assume that the astronomical era of the Kālacakra *laghukaraṇam* corresponds to A.D. 805 of the Gregorian calendar³⁰.

Subsequently, as is well known, the Kālacakra calendric system was

astronomer miscalculated the year of the Hijra; besides it is well known that the question of the Indian current year and expired year frequently gives rise to complications in the process of conversion to western chronology. In another interpretation Newman suggests that according to Muslim astrology, the year 403 should be interpreted as corresponding to A.D. 1012/1013; however I find this hypothesis difficult to substantiate because this date would be meaningless in Kālacakra astrology. Besides, it seems beyond doubt that the authors of the LKC and the VP reckoned the years according to the lunisolar or stabilised sexagenary Jupiter cycle rather than according to the Muslim lunar calendar. Newman however is of the opinion that in any case the year 1012/1013 would not determine the exact year of composition of the LKC which he locates within the first three decades of the eleventh century. Cf. Newman 1987b: 100 fn. 24.

²⁸ Skr.: *Kālacakrānusāriṅganīta*, fol. 1a. The first folio of this manuscript in Sanskrit is badly damaged therefore here I have quoted the Tibetan text: *Rtsis kyi man ngag*, Q #5900 fol. 266b.

²⁹ "...me [3] mkha' [0] rgya mthso [4] 403 la lag pa [2] gdengs can [8] zla bas [1] phri ba'i lhag ma'i lo 221 yang drug cus phri ba'i lhag ma'i lo 41 dang por lo drug cu'i nang nas lo bcu dgu ma 'das par byas so zhes pa..." cf. *Rtsis kyi man ngag*: Q #5900, fol. 266b/3-4. However it should be noticed that here the Tibetan translator reads 'gate (*ma 'das par* in both D and Q Tanjur) instead of the original Sanskrit reading *gate* (*ekonaviṃśativarṣe gate*).

³⁰ And not A.D. 806 as asserted by certain scholars (Roerich 1949: 754; Schuh 1973: 100. See also p.104 where the author miscalculates the year of the *dhruvaka*, which he identifies as the twentieth year of the Jupiter cycle). As proof of the fact that the *dhruvaka* corresponds to A.D. 805 we can use the Teliṅga rule of conversion from the Indian to the Gregorian calendar, in fact it has been demonstrated that the Kālacakra tradition adopted the sixty-year Jupiter cycle following the South Indian Teliṅga (Telugu) calculation. The Teliṅga rule runs as follow: "To the expired kaliyuga year (Christian year+3102-1) add 13, divide by 60; the remainder gives the number of the current year of the Jupiter cycle, counting from *Prabhava*". (cf. Vogel 1964: 234, fn. 30) i.e.= 805+3102-1+13=3919: 60=65 (remainder 19).

introduced in Tibet in the successive sexagenary cycle by Gyi jo Lo tsā va, the first Tibetan translator of the Kālacakra texts, active in the first half of the eleventh century, and later systematized by Atiśa in 1051.

Tibetan historiographical literature furnishes some information on the history of the early phase of the Kālacakra tradition. One of our main sources is Bu ston Rin po che 's *Rgyud sde'i zab don sgo 'byed rin chen gces pa'i lde mig*³¹ where we find the traditional account of the beginning of the Kālacakra school as handed down in the two different lines of transmission of this system in Tibet:

(1) The Rwa tradition, which originated with the Tibetan translator Rwa Chos rab, author with Paṅḍit Samantaśrī of the second translation of the *Sekoddeśa* and

(2) the 'Bro tradition, which was initiated by Dge slong Shes rab grags, author, as mentioned above, together with Somanātha, of the first translation of the *Sekoddeśa* and of several other translations of texts of the Kālacakra tradition.

Although Bu ston Rin po che wrote this account in the second decade of the fourteenth century he was certainly referring to oral traditions which date back to the beginning of the school.

Other information can be found in later works: the *Dus 'khor ṭik chen*, written in 1434 by Mkhas grub rje³²; the *Blue Annals* written by 'Gos gzhon nu dpal in 1478³³; the treatise on the history of the *Kālacakra* written by Tāranātha (b. 1575)³⁴. They all agree in the division into two lines of the tradition. Because the two extant Tibetan translations of the *Sekoddeśa* correspond to these two traditions I will give here a synthesis of the account of the two lineages as given by Bu ston.

According to the Rwa tradition the Bodhisattva Corpus³⁵ appeared in India during the simultaneous reigns of three kings: Dehapāla in the East, Jauṅgapa in the South and Kanauj in the West³⁶. At that time the Paṅḍit Ci

³¹ In Bu ston *Dus 'khor chos 'byung*: fols. 56-61 For a partial translation see Newman 1987a: 75 ff.

³² Mkhas grub rje *Dus 'khor ṭik chen*: fols. 97 ff. Some parts of this account were translated in Roerich 1932.

³³ 'Gos Lo tsā ba, *Deb gter sngon po*: fols. 661-673. Transl. Roerich 1949: 753-766.

³⁴ Cf. Tāranātha *Dus 'khor chos bskor*: fols. 6 ff.

³⁵ See *supra* fn. 11.

³⁶ As observed by Newman (1987a: 77), Dehapāla is the only one among the three who can be identified as he might correspond to Devapāla, the Pāla king who reigned in the first half of the ninth century; but this information is of no help as far as establishing chronology is concerned.

lu³⁷ was born in Orissa. He studied Buddhism at the Ratnagiri vihāra (in Cuttak district, Orissa), at Vikramaśilā (possibly in Bihar) and at Nālandā (in Bihar), distinguishing himself in Buddhist studies. He became convinced of the importance of the Vajrayāna teachings and in particular of the method set out in the Bodhisattva Corpus. He then decided to set off in search of those teachings which were known to be extant in the land of Sambhala. But on his way to Sambhala he met an emanation of Mañjuśrī who conferred on him all the initiations and teachings of the Bodhisattva Corpus. Later he resided in Kaṭaka (in Orissa) where he transmitted those teachings to Piḍo or Piṇḍi Acārya³⁸, born in Bengal. The latter transmitted the Bodhisattva Corpus to *Kālacakrapāda the Elder, who was born in Varendra (Northern Bengal). The latter in turn transmitted the teachings to many disciples, among whom there was *Kālacakrapāda the Younger. *Kālacakrapāda the Younger became a prominent figure in the promulgation of these teachings at Nālandā. He had several disciples including Mañjukīrti, the Kashmiri Paṇḍit Somanātha and others. Later Paṇḍit Samantaśrī of Ye rang heard the Kālacakra doctrines and in particular followed Mañjukīrti.

According to the 'Bro tradition the Kālacakra school was introduced in India at the time of Kalkin Śrīpāla³⁹. In that period a young yogin came to know that in the south⁴⁰ the Bodhisattvas in person taught the dharma so he went to listen to them, but Kalkin Śrīpāla, understanding the young man's pure motivation and aware that the long journey would have been dangerous for his life, met him as an emanation body at the edge of the desert and initiated the young yogin into the doctrines of the *Anuttaratantra* and into the *Bodhisattva Corpus*. On his return he became renowned as an emanation of Mañjuśrī and was called *Kālacakrapāda. *Kālacakrapāda became a famous master. He transmitted the lineage to many disciples including Nālendrapā, who was also called *Kālacakrapāda the Younger⁴¹. The latter transmitted the tradition to Somanātha, the son of a Kashmiri Brahmin and of a Buddhist lady who had

become the disciple of the Kashmiri Paṇḍit *Brāhmaṇapāda⁴². Somanātha had been sent to Magadha by Brāhmaṇapāda after he had received the *Sekoddeśa* and a commentary on the *Sekaprakriyā*⁴³, sent to him by 'Dul ba blo gros (*Vinayākaramati), a disciple of *Kālacakrapāda the Elder. In Magadha Somanātha met both *Kālacakrapāda the Elder and *Kālacakrapāda the Younger and received the instructions on the Doctrines of the Bodhisattva Corpus. Later on Somanātha went to Tibet where he transmitted the Kālacakra teachings, which were then spread in the Land of Snow.

We can schematize the two lineages as follows⁴⁴:

<i>Rwa Tradition</i>	<i>'Bro Tradition</i>
An Emanation of Mañjuśrī	
Cilu	
Piṇḍo	Kalkin Śrīpāla
*Kālacakrapāda the Elder	*Kālacakrapāda the Elder
*Kālacakrapāda the Younger (Nālendrapā)	Nālendrapāda (*Kālacakrapāda the Younger)
Mañjukīrti	Somanātha
Samantaśrībhadra	'Bro Shes rab grags
Rwa Chos rab	

Cilu, the first person named in the Rwa lineage is not very easily identifiable. It should be noted, however, that in the Tanjur there are two works

³⁷ Tib. Tsi lu (cf. Bu ston ston *Dus 'khor chos 'byung*: fol. 56/5).

³⁸ Below in his account Bu ston refers to this name as Piṇḍa Acārya (fol. 58/2).

³⁹ The seventeenth in the Kalkin succession according to the VPI, 3 (see Reigle, 1986: 10).

⁴⁰ Bu ston's account has *lo phyogs* (cf. fol. 59/7) while Mkhas grub (*Dus 'khor 'tik chen*: fol. 171/4) reads *byang phyogs*, but as Newman has pointed out the term "*lo phyogs*" does not seem to be an error by Bu ston. Cf. Newman 1987a: 85, see also below fn. 49.

⁴¹ Mkhas grub relates that in some accounts it is handed down that *Kālacakrapāda the Younger and Nālendrapā were master and disciple cf. *Dus 'khor 'tik chen*: fol. 172/6.

⁴² In the Blue Annals his name is reported as Bram je zhabs bzang po (*Brāhmaṇapādabhadra) or Sūryaketu ('Gos Lo tsā ba, *Deb gter sngon po*: fol. 666). Roerich (1949: 758) translates it: "an excellent brahmana scholar named Bzang po or Sūryaketu".

⁴³ This text on the Kālacakra initiation rites is no longer extant in Sanskrit. On its Tibetan translations see below fn. 114. The commentary mentioned by Bu ston and Mkhas grub is probably Dārikā's *Śrī Kālacakratāntrarājasekaprakriyā*, Q #2072.

⁴⁴ The same schema is reproduced in Newman 1985: 71, and 1987a: 94.

attributed to him: the *Ṣaḍaṅgayogopadeśa*⁴⁵ and the *Ratnavṛkṣanāma-rahasyasamājavṛtti* a commentary on the *Guhyasamāja*⁴⁶.

The second person, Piṅḍo, could be identified, as Newman also suggests, with the yogin *Piṅḍo (Bsod nyoms pa), the itinerant monk from Yavadvipa (Java) indicated by the famous Bengali master Atiśa in his *Bodhimārgapradīpapañjikā* as his teacher of the Great *Ādibuddhatantra*⁴⁷. This hypothesis would correspond with the colophon to the *Kālacakragarbhāḷaṃkārasādhana*, which cites the author as the Brāhman Bsod snyoms pa (* *Piṅḍo*), born in the land of the southern ocean⁴⁸. Besides, analysing a statement found in a prayer of the 'Bro tradition recorded by Bu ston, which invokes "Kalkin Śrīpāla at the end of the southern ocean"⁴⁹, Newman concludes that the 'Bro tradition considered Kalkin Śrīpāla another name for Piṅḍo. Furthermore, in his analysis of Gyi jo Zla ba'i 'od zer's colophon to the Tibetan translation of Puṅḍarika's *Kālacakratāntragarbhavṛttivimalaprabhā*, which states that after having gone to Sambhala Piṅḍo introduced the Kālacakra doctrines into India where he taught them to Nāropā, the American scholar suggests shortening the chain by one link, advancing the hypothesis that *Kālacakrapāda the Elder is another name for Piṅḍo/Kalki Śrīpāla⁵⁰.

Albeit these hypotheses deserve our full attention, the current state of research does not allow us to reach any final conclusion concerning the identity of these personages. Indubitably Kalkin Śrīpāla (the seventeenth in

⁴⁵ Q #2090, D 1374. This text was translated in Tibetan by Rwa Chos rab and Samantaśrī.

⁴⁶ Q #2709, D 1846.

⁴⁷ We should notice that in his *Bodhimārgadīpapañjikā* Atiśa mentions his master, the Bhikṣu Bsod nyoms pa from Yavadvipa as the originator of a moral reformation of monastic discipline and of the behaviour of tantric practitioners, and ascribes to him the rule prohibiting monks from taking the higher initiations of the *guhyābhiṣeka* and the *prajñābhiṣeka* of the Great *Ādibuddhatantra*, which include sexual union. Cf. Ruegg 1981: 212-226. This statement from Atiśa's text could be very important for understanding some of the differences between the two Tibetan translations of the *Sekoddeśa*. See below fn. 118.

⁴⁸ This colophon has already been noticed by Ruegg (1981: 219). Nevertheless Ruegg does not think that Bhikṣu Pañḍapātika, master of Atiśa and author of the *Śrīkālacakragarbhāḷaṃkārasādhana*, can be identified with Piṅḍo or Piṅḍo Ācārya the teacher of *Kālacakrapāda the Elder (Ruegg 1984:274).

⁴⁹ Furthermore it has to be noticed, as mentioned above see fn. 40 that in Bu ston's account of the 'Bro tradition states that *Kālacakrapada the Elder set off southwards in search of the doctrines.

⁵⁰ Cf. Newman 1987a: 97-104.

the Kalkin lineage) is a title, but the data we have at the moment are not sufficient to enable us to be sure it conceals the name of Piṅḍo, just as we cannot be certain that Kālacakrapāda the Elder corresponds to the name of the founder of this school and can thus be identified with Kalkin Śrīpāla and/or Piṅḍo.

We arrive thus at *Kālacakrapāda the Younger in the Rwa tradition, corresponding to Nālendrapāda in the 'Bro tradition. According to the eighteenth century Tibetan scholar Padma dkar po⁵¹ this figure should be identified as Nāropā who was, as is well-known, expert in the Kālacakra doctrines. As we have seen above, Nāropā is the author of one of the most important commentaries to the *Sekoddeśa*, the *Paramārthasaṅgraha*, and was one of the most famous vajrācāryas of Nālandā monastic university where he held the office of abbot for eight years. This statement would also accord, as Newman notes, with Gyi jo Zla ba'i 'od zer's above mentioned colophon to Puṅḍarika's *Kālacakratāntragarbhavṛttivimalaprabhā*⁵² which asserts that: "The one called Nāro, a brahman by caste, born in the land of Uḍḍiyāna, was the successor of *Kālacakrapāda the Elder"⁵³.

The lineages of transmission of the doctrine, which we have found united in the personages of *Kālacakrapāda the Elder and *Kālacakrapāda the Younger or Nālendrapāda, then divides again in the successive lineage holders, the Kashmiri Paṅḍit Somanātha and the Nepalese Paṅḍit Samantaśrībhadra.

Our Tibetan sources recount that Somanātha was one of the disciples of the Kashmiri scholar *Brāhmāṇapāda or Sūryaketu in the middle of the eleventh century⁵⁴. They also inform us that the Kālacakra literature was unknown in Kashmir at that time as, besides Bu ston, both Mkhas grub and 'Gos Lo tsā ba⁵⁵ report that it was then that the *Sekoddeśa* and a commentary

⁵¹ Cf. Padma dkarpo, 'Brug pa'i chos 'byung: fol. 221/4-5.

⁵² Cf. Q #4608: 293/17-8.

⁵³ See Newman 1987a: 103.

⁵⁴ Cf. also 'Gos Lo tsā ba, *Deb gter sngon po*: fol. 666; Roerich 1949: 758 and Nadou 1968: 161-162. As Newman refers (1987a: 92) in the *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* we find the date 1064 A.D. (*shing 'brug lo*) for Somanātha's arrival in Tibet. The compilers of the chronological table in the *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* do not give any reference for this information which probably was taken from *Deb gter sngon po*: fol. 66 (Roerich 1949: 72). In *Deb gter sngon po*: fol. 663 (Roerich 1949: 755) we find also the information that Somanātha visited Tibet during the second half of Gra pa mngon shes' s life (1012-1090).

⁵⁵ Mkhas grub rje Dus 'khor tik chen: fol. 173; 'Gos Lo tsā ba, *Deb gter sngon po*: fol. 665 (Roerich 1949:758).

to the *Sekapraṅkiyā* (or the *Sekapraṅkiyā* itself in 'Gos Lo tsā ba's account) were first introduced into that country when *Vinayākaramati sent these texts to Sūryaketu. The Kashmiri master then showed them to his disciples, Paṅḍit Sonasati, Lakṣmikara, Dānaśrī, Candrarāhula, Somanātha and others. Somanātha was filled with wonder when he saw the new doctrines and decided to set off in search of those teachings. He went to Madhyadeśa where he met *Kālacakrapāda the Younger, becoming his disciple. He then proceeded to Tibet as he wanted to spread the teachings there. 'Gos Lo tsā ba tells us that in Tibet he was received with particular munificence by certain benefactors, notably Dge bshes Lce ba and his son from Bzang yul in G.yor po. Another eminent benefactor of Somanātha was the Dge bshes of 'Phan yul Dkon mchog bsrung. As well-known Somanātha, together with the Tibetan Lo tsā va 'Bro Shes rab, was the translator of several texts of the Kālacakra tradition preserved in the Tibetan canon⁵⁶.

The other line of transmission of the Kālacakra system in Tibet can be traced back to Paṅḍit Samantaśrī, born in Ye rang (Patan in Nepal)⁵⁷, disciple of Mañjukirti, and the Tibetan translator Rwa Chos rab, who together translated other texts of the Kālacakra tradition besides the *Sekoddeśa*. Rwa Chos rab was the nephew of the famous Tibetan translator Rwa Lo tsā ba Rdo rje grags, a very important figure in the history of the second propagation of the Buddhist Tantra in Tibet who lived during the last decades of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh⁵⁸.

However the names of other Indian yogins connected with the transmission lineages by Bu ston have come down to us: their works are preserved in the Tibetan Tanjurs and constitute very important material for the study of the religious tradition of the *Kālacakratāntra*. Among the most eminent are: Dārika, Anupamarakṣita and Sadhuputra Śrīdharānandā, who can be dated at the beginning of the eleventh century or even earlier. To the second half of the same century and the beginning of the twelfth belong the works by Abhayākaragupta and Raviśrījñāna. At the end of the twelfth century and the first half of the thirteenth Śākyaśrībhadra (1127-1225) and Vibhūticandra undertook to spread the Kālacakra doctrines in India and Tibet. Notwithstanding the downfall of Tantric Buddhism in Eastern India consequent on the Turkish

⁵⁶ Cf. Nadou 1968: 162 for a list of these.

⁵⁷ The Newar name of Patan is Ye la, reproduced by the Tibetans as Ye rang. See Snellgrove 1987: 365, fn. 14.

⁵⁸ Cf. 'Gos Lo tsā ba, *Deb gter sngon po*: fols. 331-334; (Roerich 1949: 374-378).

invasions of Maghada and Bengal at the beginning of the thirteenth century, we are informed that the Kālacakra doctrines were still practised and studied in India until the fifteenth century⁵⁹. As reported by 'Gos gzhon nu dpal, the Indian Paṅḍit Vanaratna (1384-1468) from Bengal, who had received the Buddhist teachings from the Buddhist Paṅḍits *Buddhaghōṣa (Sangs rgyas dbyangs) and Sujātaratna, was expert in the practice of the *Ṣaḍaṅgayoga* according to the system of Anupamarakṣita and in the Kālacakra methods. He was the last Indian Paṅḍit (*Paṅḍita mtha' ma*) to teach in Tibet, which he visited several times from 1426⁶⁰.

In brief, analysing the historical data referred to above concerning the origin of this religious system, it would appear to consist in a movement that spread in certain regions in east and north India during the sexagenary cycle preceding A.D. 1027⁶¹. Incidentally, the hypothesis that these doctrines originated in Central Asia, principally formulated by Hoffmann⁶², has now been proved groundless by Newman⁶³.

However, it has not yet proved possible to define precisely where in India the authors of the first treatises lived. According to the accounts we have just analysed, the first personages who are identifiable historically lived and operated in Orissa, in Bengal, in Bihar, and shortly afterwards, in the Himalayan regions of Kashmir and Nepal. After all, these are the very places where the development of the medieval phase of Indian Buddhism generally took place. It is also worth noting that at the beginning of the lineage of transmission mention is made of the yogin Piṅḍo, who, as we saw above may correspond to Kalkin Śrīpāla and who should also be linked with the master of Atiśa, who came from Java. However this is hardly surprisingly as we know that during the ninth century under the Pāla kings the ties between the Buddhist communities in eastern India and those of south-east Asia were strengthened. We have documents attesting that during that period a king of

⁵⁹ See Tucci 1931: 690-691, Newman: 1987a: 112.

⁶⁰ Cf. 'Gos Lo tsā ba, *Deb gter sngon po*: fols. 701-708; (Roerich 1949: 797-805). Chimpa & Chattopadhyaya: 440.

⁶¹ This hypothesis would correspond with the information found in Tāranātha's *Dgos 'dod kun 'byung* where it is stated that Piṅḍo introduced the Kālacakra in Tibet at the time of king Mahipāla (977-1027). (Transl. in Chimpa & Chattopadhyaya 1970: 289).

⁶² Actually, Hoffmann considered this as fact rather than as hypothesis: see Hoffmann, 1951; 1956:41, 118-125 and *passim*; 1960: 98-99; 1964; 1976a: 406; 1969: 58-59, 67; 1975: 142. As Newman pointed out (Newman 1987a: 152) this induced many later scholar to accept Hoffmann's opinion as a matter of fact.

⁶³ Newman 1987a: 148-172; 603-614.

Sumatra requested the Pāla King's permission to endow a monastery at Nālandā⁶⁴. Another factor worthy of note is the appearance of the name of Mahipāla as the 16th Kalkin in the list of the VP preceding the name of Śrīpāla. As suggested by Newman⁶⁵ this could be interpreted as a tribute to the monarch reigning in eastern India at the time the Kālacakra was introduced, and could furnish further evidence for locating the first phase of this school in east India.

However other element might suggest on the contrary that the movement originated in north-west India. Above all, the descriptions found in the *Lokadhātupaṭala* of the LKC and of the VP, the mention of the Hijra as chronological reference point (I, 27), the descriptions of various kinds of *svarodaya*, sorts of rituals to summon military victory, and of military devices such as siege machines and other types of weapons (I, 128-149), the reference to the final conflict between the *Cakravartin* and the barbarians at the end of the age which clearly designates the imminent danger of foreign enemy forces, the list of the prophets of the Judeo-Christian-Islamic traditions (I, 154) and the detailed description of the customs of the *Mleccha* (I, 155), are all factors which might imply that the early exponents of the Kālacakra tradition lived in an Indian region around the turn of the tenth century when the *Mleccha* were well-known and the threat of military conflict deeply felt. This would appear to correspond exactly to the north-western area, as it is well-known that in the first decades of the eleventh century those regions were frequently raided by Mahmud of Ghazni.

Nevertheless we cannot yet ascertain definitively the exact geographical collocation of the originators of the *Kālacakra* literature, not least because the authors under discussion were wandering yogins and at the time contacts between the eastern and northern regions of India were anything but rare.

⁶⁴ Cf. Tapar 1966: 223.

⁶⁵ Newman 1987a: 102.

II. THE TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION OF THE TIBETAN TRANSLATION

1. The 'Bro Tradition

The translation of the *Sekoddeśa* by Somanātha and 'Bro Shes rab⁶⁶ is preserved in all the versions of the Tibetan Kanjur which, according to the most recent studies, stem from a collection of manuscripts that were gathered between the first and second decades of the fourteenth century in the Bka' gdams pa monastery of Snar thang.

At this point it is necessary to summarise briefly the current state of research on the Tibetan canon in order to present the witnesses I have used in the critical edition of the texts⁶⁷.

a. The Tibetan Canon

Tibetan historiographical sources refer that the first Snar thang compilation was followed by a revision of the entire manuscript Kanjur in Tshal pa Gung thang monastery under the direction of Tshal pa kun dga' rdo rje, alias Si tu dge ba'i blo gros (1309-1364)⁶⁸. This revision took place thirty or forty years after the first compilation, as it is known that in the year 1351 Bu ston Rin chen grub visited Tshal Gung thang where he consecrated a copy of the Kanjur⁶⁹. The extent of the revision by Tshal pa kun dga' rdo rje is not yet known, but it seems to have been a thorough one. The Tshal pa version of the Kanjur was very widespread in Tibet and is considered the prototype of the "Eastern Tradition" of the Kanjur.

On the other hand, other copies of the first manuscript of Snar thang were made in some sites in western Tibet. The most famous of these is the *Them spangs ma* which was frequently reproduced. Some copies of this MS have been found outside Tibet and form the group called the "Western Tradition".

⁶⁶ The colophons of the different Kanjur versions of this text state that the translation by Somanātha and 'Bro shes rab underwent revision by Rin chen Rgyal mtshan on the basis of the commentary by Nāropā.

⁶⁷ For a more detailed description of the state of Kanjur studies see Eimer 1992.

⁶⁸ Cf. Eimer 1988a: 67.

⁶⁹ See Ruegg 1966: 134, and Eimer 1983b: 59-60, fn. 4.

b. The Eastern Tradition of the Kanjur

In 1410, during the Yongle dynasty, the first xylograph edition of the Kanjur was printed in Peking based on the Tshal pa manuscript. It was printed in cinnabar ink; copies of this print are still extant, but not available⁷⁰. Other editions were printed from the Yongle blocks: one issue was the Wanli impression of 1606 in black ink; there is no confirmation whether this issue is extant⁷¹. In 1684-92, more than 250 years after the first wood blocks, the new Kangxi impression was made using as masters the reproduction of the earlier blocks that had been impressed with a glue process in newly prepared wood planks. In this way the new set of blocks contained the specular image of the old blocks, except for some minor corrections and for small mistakes due to re-inking or misinterpretation of the extant letters. The result of this procedure is what Eimer calls the "technical identity"⁷² of the earlier copies and the second set. From this set the subsequent issues of 1700, of 1717-20 (which was corrected using as source the Lithang Kanjur⁷³), the Qianlong impression of 1737 and at least one other impression after 1765 were made⁷⁴. Some other manuscript copies were also made, among which the so-called Berlin manuscript⁷⁵.

Parallel to the Peking editions, a revised edition was prepared between 1609 and 1614 in 'Jang Sa tham in eastern Tibet, based on a version of the Tshal pa manuscript which had been preserved at 'Phying ba Stag rtse Castle situated to the south of Lhasa, in 'Phyong rgyas⁷⁶. The wood blocks of this edition were transferred to Lithang Monastery by the end of the seventeenth

⁷⁰ See Eimer 1988a: 69 and Eimer 1992: xxxiv.

⁷¹ In a private communication (April 1994) Dr Eimer informed me that volumes of the 1606 issue existed before the earthquake in the twenties of this century in Japan and before the 2nd war in Berlin, while another copy was seen by a Japanese scholar at around 1940 at the Wu tai shan in China.

⁷² See Eimer 1988a: 69.

⁷³ See Eimer 1988b: 45. Dr Eimer confirmed this information in a private communication (March 1994).

⁷⁴ The Japanese reprint by the Suzuki Foundation of the so-called "Peking Edition" is a reprint of the 1717-20 impression preserved in the Otani University with gaps filled from the 1737 print preserved in Paris Bibliothèque Nationale. See Imaeda, 1977: 32, n. 33. See also Harrison, 1992b: xvii.

⁷⁵ This manuscript was catalogued by Beckh in 1914. See also Haahr 1954.

⁷⁶ See Imaeda 1982-84 and Samten 1987.

century where they remained until they were burnt by the Chinese in 1908⁷⁷. Its contents are more heavily edited than those of the various re-editions of the Peking Kanjur⁷⁸.

The Lithang impression was the base text for the Cone (1721-1733) and Derge (1729-1733) xylographic editions. The Cone edition can be considered a true copy of the Lithang edition⁷⁹, while the Sde dge (Derge) edition was checked against other Kanjurs including the inaccessible Kanjur of A gñen Pakši and the Lho rdzong Kanjur⁸⁰. The Lho rdzong Kanjur was compiled by Sde srid bsod nam rab brtan, *alias* Bsod nam chos 'phel (1595-1658) at the Thang po che gtsug lag khang and was based, as we shall see below, on the Rgyal tse Them spangs ma⁸¹, so it presents some contaminations from the Western Tradition. From the Derge edition stem the more recent Kanjur editions: those of Ra rgya (1814-1820), of Urga (1908-1910) and of Wara (twentieth century)⁸².

c. The Western Tradition of the Kanjur

As mentioned above, other copies were most probably made from the old original version of the Snar thang Kanjur which, however, underwent less editorial revision than the Tshal pa Kanjur. The Them spangs ma manuscript is the most famous of them. It was copied in 1431 by order of the ruler of Rgyal tse, Rab rtan kun bzang 'phags pa and deposited as an exemplar in the Dpal 'khor chos sde⁸³. It was subsequently frequently copied; we know that during the reign of the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682) alone, over a hundred copies were reproduced from the Them spangs ma copy⁸⁴. One of these is the Lho dzong manuscript mentioned above, which was used to revise the Derge edition. Another copy was presented by the Fifth Dalai Lama to the first Rje btsun dam pa Khutuktu Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (1635-1723) and

⁷⁷ The only copy of this Kanjur outside Tibet is preserved in the Rnying ma pa monastery in Orissa. It has been microfilmed by Naritasa Shishojin Temple in Japan and also by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project. Samten 1987: 20.

⁷⁸ See Eimer 1988b: 51.

⁷⁹ See Eimer 1980: 196; 1983b: I, 118-119 and 1988b: 47-50.

⁸⁰ See Eimer 1983a: 20.

⁸¹ See Samten 1987: 18, 19.

⁸² See Eimer 1992: xiv-xv.

⁸³ See Eimer 1983a: 45 and Eimer 1988a: 68.

⁸⁴ Harrison 1992a: xviii.

is kept in Ulan Bator State Library⁸⁵. A much later copy of the Them spangs ma (and probably not a direct copy) was made during the years 1858-1878 and kept at Gyantse until 1915 when, during his second visit to Tibet, the Japanese Buddhist monk Kawaguchi Ekai received it from the Thirteenth Dalai Lama and took it to Japan. It is now preserved in the Toyo Bunko Library in Tokyo⁸⁶. Also belonging to the Western Tradition is the so-called London manuscript prepared at Shel skar rdzong (according to recent research, in 1712)⁸⁷ and presented in 1906 by the Government of India to the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts of the British Library⁸⁸.

The Snar thang xylograph prepared in 1730-1732 shows anomalous features, because while it follows the Tshal pa model in the division of the texts and in some parts sides with the Eastern Tradition, a large part of the literature preserved in it sides with the Western Tradition in consequence of its having been based on the Kanjur preserved at Shel dkar rdzong⁸⁹. From this Kanjur stems the Lhasa Kanjur (1943), which was based on the Snar thang edition with some readings from the Derge edition.

In addition there is the Stog Palace manuscript Kanjur, kept in the royal Palace of Stog in Ladak and recently reprinted⁹⁰. This manuscript was probably copied from a Bhutanese original stemming from the Them spangs ma during the first half of the eighteenth century⁹¹.

d. Methodological Considerations

In the study of the Kanjur texts it is very important to take into consideration the historical and social factors that determined the production of the various editions.

One important aspect to be considered is that the first manuscript editions of the Kanjur were made, as we have seen above, in the first half of the fourteenth century on the basis of the raw collections of manuscripts which had previously been gathered between the first and the second decades of the

⁸⁵ See Bethlenfalvy 1982.

⁸⁶ See Saito 1973: 405-401.

⁸⁷ Harrison 1992a: xviii, fn. 29.

⁸⁸ See Grinstead 1967.

⁸⁹ See Eimer 1992: xv.

⁹⁰ *The Tog Palace Manuscript of the Tibetan Kanjur* (Leh: Shes rig Dpe mdzod, 1975-1980).

⁹¹ Skorupski 1985: xii.

same century at the monastery of Snar thang. These were texts that had already undergone a great number of revisions and emendations over the preceding five hundred years, a period that, as is well-known, is one of the most obscure and tormented in Tibetan history.

Another important aspect to be taken into account, as Eimer has remarked⁹², is that the introduction into Tibet of printing led to the fact that, as it was a very expensive procedure, whenever it was decided to make a new Kanjur edition the attempt was made to make an excellent version collating various manuscript copies that often came from different places.

Besides, as the number of the texts collected in the various Kanjurs is very large (it goes from Kanjurs of 760 titles to others which collect 1110 titles), and as they belong to different philosophical and religious traditions, it is important to consider the history of each individual text. In some cases, such as the Snar thang xylograph, different sections of texts preserved in the same Kanjur follow different stemmatic traditions.

In our case, as in the textual analysis of other Oriental literature (such as many Sanskrit texts), is not possible to reconstruct the "archetype", the "original version". It has now been demonstrated that a large part of the Kanjur texts have to be considered "open recensions", using a term first coined by the Italian philologist Giorgio Pasquali⁹³, since often the different editions follow horizontal (or contaminated) traditions rather than vertical ones⁹⁴.

e. The Sources

When I was collecting all the witnesses for the critical edition of the Tibetan texts of the *Sekoddeša* I had the good fortune to meet Dr Geza Bethlenfalvy, author of the publication of the *Hand-list of the Ulan Bator Manuscript of the Kanjur Rgyal rtse them spangs ma* (1982). He had a xerox copy of the *Sekoddeša* text taken from that Kanjur while he was working in Ulan Bator on the preparation of his hand-list. He very kindly agreed to give it to me so that I could collate this text with the others. This is the first time that a text from the Ulan Bator manuscript has been analysed and collated with the

⁹² See Eimer 1992: x-xiii.

⁹³ Pasquali 1934: 126.

⁹⁴ On the problem of closed and open recensions see also West 1973: 31-47. On this aspect of the Kanjur traditions see Harrison 1992a: 88; 1992 b: xlvi; Eimer 1992: x-xiii.

other Kanjur witnesses.

The other versions that I deemed necessary in order to establish a critical edition are listed below with the corresponding sigla that I used in the critical apparatus. I did not use those available witnesses of the Kanjur which have proved to be copies or derivatives of the principal ones (i.e. the Berlin MS, the Cone, Rargya, Urga, Wara and Lhasa editions).

- D: The Sde dge Mtshal pa Kanjur, Rgyud, (Repr. Karmapa, Delhi, 1977) Ka 14a/1-21a/6;
J: 'Jang Sa tham or Lithang Kanjur, Rgyud, Ka 15a/1-24a/4;
L: Manuscript Kanjur in the British Library, London, Rgyud, Ka 1a/1-12b/3;
N: Snar thang Kanjur, Rgyud, Ka 18b/1-28b/3;
Q: Peking [Qianlong] Rgyud Ka 16a/1-22a/8 (The Tibetan Tripitaka: Peking Edition, Vol. 1, #3, pp. 124-127);
S: Stog Palace Manuscript Kanjur, Rgyud, Nga, 60b/5-70b/6;
T: Kawaguchi Collection Manuscript Kanjur in the ToyoBunko, Tokyo: Rgyud, Ka 1b/1-12a/6;
U: Them spangs ma Manuscript Kanjur in the Ulan Bator State Library, Rgyud, Ka 1a/1-11b/3.

f. Stemmatic Relationships

Collating these witnesses I too came to the same conclusion drawn by previous research regarding the existence of two separate lines of the Kanjur tradition: a "Western" (LNTU) and an "Eastern" one (DJQ), while S proved to be a cross-contaminated recension.

Because in this case we can establish the text with a high degree of certainty, we can easily prove that, at least in the case of the *Sekoddeśa* the "Eastern" Tshal pa Tradition preserves the original text, while several errors have been found in the Western recension⁹⁵.

Some examples of the false readings of the Western witnesses are listed below:

⁹⁵ My results contrast with other Kanjur MSS textual analysis results which maintain that the Western MSS tradition tend to transmit the better text. Cf. Eimer 1983b: I, 123-125, Harrison 1992a: 90, 1992b: xliiv- xlv.

The Sanskrit title is incorrectly transcribed *Ṣa ko ta da sha* in LNSTU.

In stanza 36 (d) in the translation of *jñānadhātukajātiṣu* LNU read *ye shes khams kyi ri mams la* (where *ri* probably stands for *rigs*), while T reads *ye shes khams mams skyes pa la* agreeing with S and DJQ, but with some minor differences (S: *ye shes khams mams skyes mams la*; DJQ: *ye shes khams mams skyed mams la*). In stanza 50 (a) to translate *nābhi* LNU read *zla ba* against *lte ba* of DJQST. Here S and T agree with the Eastern reading.

In stanza 97 (b) LNTU read *mi 'gyur ba'i yang mi 'gyur*, against *mi 'gyur ba'i yang mi 'gyur med* of DJQS, in accordance with the required meaning (**akṣaraṇaṃ nākṣarasya ca*, or something like so). Here S reads with the Eastern tradition.

In stanza 99 (c) LNU read *mi g.yo ba med* against *mi g.yo ba dang* of DJQST. In this case the repetition of the negative is without any doubt an error. It should be noted that here too T and S read with the Eastern group.

In stanza 152 (c) LNU read *shes rab rgyu las byung skyes phyir* against *shes rab rgyu las ma skyes phyir* of DJQST. Here too S and T read with the Eastern tradition.

In stanza 173 (a) LNSTU read *lus ngag gsang ba* (for the Sanskrit *kāyaguhyā*) against *lus dang gsang ba* of DJQ.

Other variants have been found in the Western witnesses, however of trivial nature, as they merely offend against grammar. Nevertheless they demonstrate the validity and the necessity of the Tshal pa revision.

At the same time, however, we have to observe that the Western tradition contains some archaic peculiarities in letter combinations such as: *rgyud tu* (for *rgyud du*); *zhig du* (for *zhig tu*); *zhes* when standard usage prescribes *ces*; or, on the contrary, *ces* for *zhes*.

Furthermore in the London manuscript we find a large number of both *bsdus yig* and *bskungs yig*, the graphical devices used in Tibetan script to make the process of writing faster and simpler⁹⁶. These graphic devices occur more frequently in all kinds of cursive writings but do not conform to the standard rules for the compilation of a Kanjur text, therefore they might give some indication of the antiquity of the MS⁹⁷. These abbreviations can be classified in two different kinds⁹⁸:

⁹⁶ See Bacot 1912: 8-11

⁹⁷ As Dr Eimer told to me in a private communication (January 1994) these graphical devices need our attention, albeit at the moment we cannot use them as arguments for dating. It is noteworthy that in this case, a part from very few cases in the Snar thang edition, the London manuscript is the only text where they have been found.

⁹⁸ Eimer 1983: Vol. I, 146-150.

1) *bsdus yig*: a simple device, which consists in the elimination of a consonant in cases where the final consonant is the same as the first consonant of the following syllable, and

2) *bskungs yig*, a more complex case of contractions where two or three different syllables are dropped from a word, forming a single syllable.

Some examples of these two cases, as they appear in the text, are as follows:

1) *yongsu* (*yongs su*), *gzhonu* (*gzhon nu*), *dusu* (*dus su*), *gtumo* (*gtum mo*), *mkha'gro* (*mkha' 'gro*), *brjodus* (*brjod dus*), *dbusu* (*dbus su*), *dbyugus* (*dbyug us*), *namkha'* (*nam mka'*), *dago* (*for dag go*), *gcigo* (*gcig go*), *'gago* (*'gag go*), *spyodo* (*spyod do*).

2) *sed'* (*se[ms]d [pa]'*), *semn* (*se[ms ca]n*), *tamd* (*tha[ms ca]d*), *dkyor* (*dky[il 'kh]or*), *ralri* (*ral [g]ri*), *sangyas* (*sang[s rg]yas*), *snogs* (*sn[a tsh]ogs*).

The first fact that emerges is the very close agreement among the Ulan Bator MS, the London MS and Snar thang edition. As their readings agree invariably in each case, they must stem directly from the same manuscript.

As we know that U is a copy of the Rgyal rtse Them spangs ma, we have here evident proof that the version of the *Sekoddeśa* preserved in the London MS and in the Snar thang edition are direct copies of it⁹⁹.

Besides, as the Tokyo manuscript is considered a later copy (A.D. 1858-1878) of the Rgyal rtse Them spangs ma we would expect the same strict agreement between U and T; however, as we have seen above, on the contrary, in the majority of significant errors (st. 36, 50, 99, 152) T agrees with DJQS against LNU. Some other minor variants are found, of trivial nature, e.g. grammatical emendations, standardisation etc. as reported in the critical apparatus. It is possible that all the variations found in T may be due to a later revision of the text by a learned Tibetan scribe who probably emended it on the basis of other sources, commentaries etc. Another possibility is that T stems from a different copy of the old Snar thang manuscript which preserved a less corrupted version than that from which LN U stem. Unfortunately at this point of research, until other Kanjur texts are collated with the Ulan Bator MS, we cannot draw any conclusions.

⁹⁹ In one of his recent personal communications (January 1994) Dr Eimer informed me that the conclusion I draw in this matter is confirmed by a hitherto unpublished study by Peter Skilling where he presents the final proof that the London MS belongs to the Them spangs ma group.

We now turn to the analysis of the position of the Stog Palace Kanjur.

S shares several readings with the Western tradition LNTU, such as in the title and in several other cases of trivial nature such as grammatical variances (see st. 99, 100, 168 etc.). Moreover, in stanza 7 (b) S reads with LNTU *le'u lngar ni 'dod rnams kyis* for the Sanskrit *paṭalaih pañcabhiḥ mataih* against *le'u lnga yi gzhung rnams kyis* of DJQ¹⁰⁰.

However in all the cases of indicative errors which distinguish the Western from the Eastern recension, as we have seen above S reads with the Eastern group. Besides, S reads with the Eastern tradition DJQ in several other cases, but many of these shared readings are of trivial nature and might be attributed to scribal emendations, rather than deliberate editorial changes given to transmissional variations.

I give some examples here:

In stanza 14 (c) S reads with DJQ *ni* against *yin* of LNTU.

In stanza 15 (b) S shares the reading *rjod* with DQS against *brjod* of LNTU while in 15 (d) S shares the same reading with DQ against *brjod* of JLNTU.

In stanza 19 (a) S reads *spros* with DJQ (for the Sanskrit *āspālāt*) against *spro* of LNTU.

In stanzas 22 (b), 53 (d), 67 (b), 69 (a) S reads *skyed* with DJQ against *bskyed* of LNTU.

In stanza 36 (c) S and T read *sa rlung dang* with DJQ against *sa dang rlung* of LNU.

In stanza 88 (a) S gives the revised reading *mdzod spu* with DJQ against *mdzod pu* of LNTU.

In stanza 116 (c) S and T read *kyi* with DJQ against *kyis* of LNU.

In the colophon S and T correctly read together the genitive *gi* with DJQ against the instrumental *gis* handed down in LNU.

According to Paul Harrison's analysis of the *Drumakinnararāja-pariprcchāsūtra*, as far as the position of S is concerned there are three possible explanations¹⁰¹:

–The first is that S is not a Them spangs ma offshoot, but descends from an earlier MS on the Western side (perhaps the old Snar thang);

¹⁰⁰ Where I accept the Western reading *'dod rnams kyis* as a possible literary translation of the Sanskrit *mataih*; the variation *gzhung* looks like a simplification of *'dod (mataih=iṣṭaiḥ)* which is correct but not easily comprehensible.

¹⁰¹ Harrison 1992b: xxvii.

–the second is that it is a Them spangs ma offshoot, but goes back to a direct copy of the Them spangs ma and not to the intermediary copy that is supposed to have been used to produce T and the ancestor of L;

–the third possibility is that it is a Them spangs ma descendant which has been corrected in the light of a Kanjur from the Eastern tradition, i.e. that it is contaminated.

Given that in the text studied by Harrison S does not differ to an appreciable extent from LT, and that the differences between LT and S are due to the use of an intermediary copy, Harrison accepts as a working hypothesis that the Bhutanese Kanjur used to produce S was also descended from the Them spangs ma.

But in the text analysed here the cases of agreement between S and DJQ are more frequent than those where S agrees with LNTU, and because it agrees invariably with DJQ in the case of indicative errors of LNU, as we have seen above, I would deem that the Bhutanese Kanjur used to produce S, even if it shares a common matrix with T, presents a high degree of contamination from the Eastern tradition¹⁰².

As far as the Tshal pa tradition is concerned, we have a very evident case of agreement between D, J and Q, where D stems from J, but in this case the confluence of readings from the Lho rdzong MS cannot be detected as D agrees with LNTU in very few trivial cases and never in the indicative variants. Regarding the Peking tradition, unfortunately we can only use an issue stemming from the second Peking block print, but we hope that in the near future it will be possible to use an issue of the first block print of 1410, as we know that at least two copies of that issue are still extant¹⁰³.

In his study of the *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* Harrison confirms his previous supposition¹⁰⁴ that the Tshal pa editors collated old MS collections other than those from which the Them spangs ma descends, and reaches the conclusion that the so-called Old Snar thang Kanjur must have been a raw collection of copies which included many duplicates, i.e. multiple copies of the same translation, or different recensions or even different translations of the same text. Moreover he conjectures that while this material was processed at Tshal Gung thang to produce the Tshal pa edition of 1351, it was also

¹⁰²This conjecture was also considered by Eimer (1982 :129) who hypothesised that S (in his paper R) was contaminated by D.

¹⁰³See Eimer 1992b: xxxiv, fn. 78.

¹⁰⁴Harrison 1992a: 89.

worked on at Zha lu by Bu ston to produce the edition on which the Them spangs ma of 1431 was based¹⁰⁵.

As regards my study, while I have also come to the conclusion that the Tshal pa editors must have had access to a large variety of sources, in some cases of different origin from those previously gathered at Snar thang (i.e. the Kanjur tradition is an open one) I cannot find any evidence, at least for the *Rgyud* section, for a “*Zha lu ma* hypothesis”. In Bu ston’s commentary to the *Sekoddeśa*¹⁰⁶ none of the errors of LNTU are found, while the Tshal pa recension is unfailingly observed. I do not think that such a corrupted version of one of the most important Tantric texts preserved in the *Rgyud* section (the very first text of the *gnyis su med pa’i rgyud* of the *Anuttaratantra* according to Bu ston’s *dkar chag* of the Kanjur)¹⁰⁷ could have been accepted in that section of the Kanjur if the editor had been Bu ston Rin po che himself.

This could lead to rejecting Harrison’s “*Zha lu ma* hypothesis”, or at least demonstrate that while it might work for some sections of the Kanjur it cannot be extended to its entirety, as Harrison himself also admits¹⁰⁸.

We are again confronted with the problem of the intricacy of the constitution of the Tibetan Kanjur, and with evidence that suggests it is an open textual tradition, with texts that in some cases might prove inconsistent from a stemmatic point of view within the same Kanjur edition.

2. The Rwa Tradition

As we have seen above, the other extant Tibetan translation of the *Sekoddeśa* is preserved in two copies in the Phug brag Kanjur, an independent tradition of the Tibetan canon which was compiled between A.D. 1696-1706 in the monastery of Phug brag in west Tibet and is now preserved in the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives of Dharamsala (H.P. India). This precious text collection has recently been brought to the attention of Western

¹⁰⁵Harrison 1992b: xlvi. This same opinion was also discussed by Harrison in his paper “In Search of the Source of the Tibetan Bka’ ’gyur: A Reconnaissance Report” read during the 6th International Conference of the International Association for Tibetan Studies (Fagernes, August 21st-28th 1992).

¹⁰⁶Cf. Bu ston *Dbang mdor bstan pa’i rnam bzhad*.

¹⁰⁷Translated in Eimer 1989: 59.

¹⁰⁸In Fagernes, August 1992, see above fn. 105.

scholars thanks in particular to the research undertaken by Jampa Samten¹⁰⁹.

In the colophons of these texts, catalogued under Nos. 412 and 485 in Jampa Samten's Descriptive Catalogue *Phu brag bka' 'gyur bris ma'i dkar chag*¹¹⁰, we find that the first Tibetan translation of the *Sekoddeśa* by Somanātha and Dge slong Shes rab grags, was revised (*zhu chen*) by Paṇḍit Samantaśrī and the Tibetan translator Dge slong Rwa Chos rab, and later revised by Puṇyaśrīdeśantra¹¹¹.

But it should be observed that these revisions gave rise to a very different text, in which we can detect several discrepancies not only in syntactic structure and in word-renderings but also in the interpretation of the Sanskrit original. We will analyse these differences below. Because of the significant differences between the two texts I think there are good reasons to believe that the authorship of the second translation has to be attributed entirely to Samantaśrī and Rwa Chos rab. As we have seen above they belong to a distinct line of transmission of the Kālacakra teachings, so the differences between the two Tibetan versions can be also interpreted as the result of two different requirements: stylistical, lexical, grammatical and also exegetical. The first statement found in the colophon of the Phug brag texts, where the translation is attributed to Somanātha and Bro Shes rab¹¹², informs us that together with the original Sanskrit version the authors, Samantaśrī and Rwa Chos rab, had at their disposal its first Tibetan translation.

It is important to notice that the same version of the Samantaśrī and Rwa Chos rab translation is also found in the Tibetan translation of Kālacakrapāda's *Sekoddeśaṭikā*, which is preserved in all the various versions of the Tibetan Tanjur. This text, which unfortunately is no longer extant in the Sanskrit version, has turned out to be of extraordinary value for the critical edition of the Rwa translation of the *Sekoddeśa* as in it all 174 stanzas of this text are quoted in the same version as that given in the Phug brag Kanjur. Furthermore, since the two texts preserved in the Phug brag Kanjur are not integral, I was able to reconstruct the entire version by including it among the witnesses.

The only problem is due to the fact that in the Tibetan colophon of Kālacakrapāda's *Sekoddeśaṭikā* preserved in the Tanjur, the translation is

¹⁰⁹Samten 1992, see also Hahn 1988.

¹¹⁰Samten 1992: 148 and 179.

¹¹¹It has not yet been possible for me to identify this name, that however is given in the colophon in a corrupted form.

¹¹²See below: 115.

attributed exclusively to Somanātha and Dge slong Shes rab grags, authors, as we have seen, of the first translation of the *Sekoddeśa*. No mention is made of Samantaśrī and Dge slong Rwa Chos rab. I think that in this case we can surmise an error in the Tanjur colophon¹¹³: as the two versions are so perfectly matched it is highly unlikely that the Tibetan translation of Kālacakrapāda's *Sekoddeśaṭikā* was by Somanātha and 'Bro shes rab; it must have been authored by Samantaśrī and Rwa Chos rab¹¹⁴.

a. The Sources

In editing the Samantaśrī and Rwa Chos rab translation of the *Sekoddeśa* I have used the two texts handed down in the Phug brag Kanjur and two editions of Kālacakrapāda's *Sekoddeśaṭikā* as they are preserved in the Sde dge and Peking Tanjur.

These version are listed below according to the sigla used in the critical apparatus:

- F: Phug brag Kanjur, Rgyud, Ka 170a/3-181b/7, Vol. 99 Samten Catalogue No. 412 ;
V: Phug brag Kanjur, Rgyud, Da 248a/1-261a/5, vol. 109, Samten Catalogue No. 485;

¹¹³In this case the erroneous information is also handed down in Bu ston's commentary to the Tanjur, *Bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag*: fol. 420. For an analogous case of erroneous attribution of authorship found in the Tanjur colophon see Hahn 1988: 57.

¹¹⁴However we must observe that other cases like this are found in the Kanjur and Tanjur collections, where the two pairs of translators Somanātha and 'Bro Dge slong Shes rab grags, and Samantaśrī and Rwa Dge slong Chos rab, are the authors of different Tibetan translations of the same Sanskrit text. For example, the translation of another text of the Kālacakra tradition, the *Sekaprakriyā*, is handed down both in the translation by Samantaśrī and Rwa Chos rab (in the *Rgyud* section of all the known edition of the Kanjur, cf. Q #7; D 365) and in the translation by Somanātha and 'Bro Shes rab (preserved in the Peking Tanjur (Q #4609) while it is not preserved in D Tanjur. This translation however is preserved in the *Rgyud* section of the Phug brag Kanjur, catalogued in Samten 1992 with Nos. 413 and 486. As mentioned above, since in the case of the *Sekoddeśa* the differences between the two translations are also differences in interpretation, I am inclined to hypothesise that, as the authors belong respectively to the two recognised traditions of the Kālacakra school (the Rwa and 'Bro tradition, as we have seen above) the diversities of the translations might be considered the result of two different lines of transmission of the doctrine. But further research has to be conducted and all their extant translations should be investigated before drawing any conclusion.

†(D): *Dbang mdor bstan pa'i rgya cher 'grel pa*, Sde dge *Bstan 'gyur*, *Rgyud 'grel*, Pa 1b/1-27b/7¹¹⁵;

†(Q): *Dbang mdor bstan pa'i rgya cher 'grel pa*, Peking *Bstan 'gyur*, *Rgyud 'grel*, Nga 2a/1-34a/1 (*The Tibetan Tripitaka: Peking Edition*, Vol. 47, No. 2070, pp. 146-159).

III. NOTES ON THE CRITERIA ADOPTED IN THE TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

In compiling this edition my aim was to present a text conforming with the readings and the meaning of the various commentaries, *pratikas* etc. both in Sanskrit and in Tibetan. I have chosen the standardised, more legible version because in any case to construct the ultimate archetype of the text (i.e. the text of the original Tibetan translation which can be traced back to the eleventh century) would be impracticable, as we know that the first Kanjur MS does not date earlier than the middle of the fourteenth century; therefore we are confronted with three centuries of possible corruptions that we cannot investigate. Besides, it should be borne in mind that our knowledge of the form of the Tibetan language used in the eleventh century is very vague and that, as remarked by Harrison¹¹⁶, in many ways traditional editorial methods have not yet been thoroughly understood by modern scholarship.

In the case of the 'Bro translation of the *Sekoddeśa* we can note the paradoxical situation where the texts which retain the most archaic orthography, as we have seen in the case of the copies of the Them spans ma MS, are also the most corrupted, while the texts which belong to the Eastern group and which display the greatest degree of standardisation preserve a more correct version conforming to the required sense. Thus in many cases Giorgio Pasquali's famous principle '*recentiores non deteriores*', whereby the Italian scholar demonstrated that the true readings are sometimes preserved only among the latest versions, proves the most valid¹¹⁷.

In editing the text I have omitted the single readings from the main

¹¹⁵I have consulted the edition preserved in the Is.MEO Library.

¹¹⁶Cf. Harrison 1992b: 90.

¹¹⁷Pasquali 1934: xv, see also Eimer 1988a: 72.

apparatus on the accepted principle that important variants should be discerned from unimportant ones. But as at present we are just beginning to study the texts included in some Kanjurs (i.e. the Ulan Bator, the Phug brag Kanjur) I have collected the single readings of the two Tibetan translations in the last chapter of this study, as I think they might be of interest in order to understand the degree of corruption of the different Kanjur versions. I have referred to the number of the stanzas, the single quarters (a,b,c and d) and the number of the respective syllable (preceded by an asterisk).

IV. ANALYSIS OF THE TWO TRANSLATIONS

The 'Bro version of the *Sekoddeśa* is a very literal translation, where the Sanskrit verses of the Indian text in *anuṣṭubh* metre are rendered in the classical Tibetan seven-syllable quatrains. As the Sanskrit text is translated word for word, in some cases the Tibetan reading is not very clear; while the second translation, by Samantaśrī and Rwa Chos rab, also in seven-syllable quatrains, uses more elegant and comprehensible syntactic structures. According to its colophon, as mentioned above, this second version followed the first translation by Somānatha and 'Bro Shes rab grags, but in some cases it presents errors of interpretation which had not been made in the earlier work.

The most disconcerting error to be observed in text B is the systematic confusion between the Sanskrit term *niḥspanda* (Tib. *g.yo ba med pa*) and *niṣyanda* (Tib. *rgyu 'thun pa*), and between *spanda* (Tib. *g.yo ba*) and *syanda* (Tib. *'thun*)¹¹⁸. Let us examine it case by case.

In stanza 16 the Sanskrit text:

kṣarah kṣaras tataḥ spando niḥspandaś ca tato 'paraḥ ||

¹¹⁸Although quite inexplicable with regard to the meaning, the reason for this confusion may be of graphical nature, as suggested by Prof. Raniero Gnoli, as in many Indian scripts the consonant Pa in ligatures can easily be mistaken for the consonant Ya. Another reason may be the sexual connotation in this context of the term *niḥspanda*, which in the Rwa tradition may have been expressly distorted to make the text more suitable for monastic institutions. It should

is translated in A:

| 'gyur dang 'gyur ba de nas 'dzag |
| de nas gzhan yang mi 'dzag pa'o¹¹⁹ |

while in B we find instead:

| 'gyur zhing 'gyur te de nas 'thun |
| de nas gzhan ni rgyu 'thun pa |

The same discrepancy is found again in stanza 20 where the Skr. text:

*guhyaṣphālāc cirāj jātam vajrāgre spandataḥ sukham |
prajñājñānābhīktaḥ sa vṛddhaḥ spandaṃ gato yataḥ ||*

is rendered in A:

| yun ring gsang bar spros las skyes |
| rdo rje 'i rtse mor g.yo ba'i bde |
| shes rab ye shes dbang bskur ba |
| gang las g.yo ba'i bgrod de rgan |

while in B it is translated:

| yun ring gsang ba mnyes las skyes |
| rdo rje rtse mo bde ba 'thun |
| gang phyir rgan las 'thun gyur pas |
| shes rab ye shes de dbang skur |

In stanza 21 we find the same confusion. The Sanskrit text:

be pointed out that the origin of the Rwa tradition is ascribed to Piṇḍo, the monk from Java who was the master of Atiśa and who according to the latter played an important role in the exegesis of tantric texts during the second propagation of Buddhism in Tibet (cf. Ruegg 1981). This is only a hypothesis, which however I hope to examine in detail in my next studies.

¹¹⁹However it should be noticed that in this stanza Somanātha and 'Bro Shes rab grags too had read *syanda* and *niṣyanda*, with their meanings of "to drop" and "not to drop" as they translated it by the Tibetan verb "'dzag pa" and "mi 'dzag pa".

*mahāmudrānurāgād yaj jātaṃ niḥspandataḥ sukham |
mahāprajñābhīktaḥ sa yato niḥspandatāṃ gataḥ ||*

is conveyed in A:

| phyag rgya chen po rjes chags las |
| skyes pa g.yo med bde ba ni |
| shes rab chen po'i dbang bskur ba |
| gang las g.yo med rtogs pa de |

and in B:

| phyag rgya che la rjes chags pas |
| rgyu 'thun las skyes bde ba gang |
| gang phyir rgyu 'thun nyid du 'gyur |
| phyag rgya chen mos de dbang bskur |

The same is the case in stanza 99. The text of A has:

| der son zla ba g.yo ba dang |
| mi g.yo ba dang mi 'gyur bsgom |

for the Sanskrit:

tatra candragataspando niḥspandākṣarabhāvanā ||

rendered in B:

| de la zla ba 'thun 'gyur nas |
| mi 'gyur¹²⁰ bsgom pa rgyu 'thun no |

The term *rgyu 'thun pa* in place of *g.yo ba med* is also found in the Tibetan translation of Kālacakrapāda's *Ṭikā* mentioned above. In this text in the

¹²⁰It should be noticed that while in the Phug brag text we find *mi 'gyur*, the *Ṭikā* texts here again have *mi 'thun*.

comment to stanza 16 we read¹²¹:

...de bas gzhan ni rgyu mthun bde la 'jig rten pa thams cad ni zag pa dang bcas pa yin la || zag pa dang bcas pa nyid kyi bye brag ni 'gyur ba dang mthun pa la sogs pa ste || 'dzag pa 'i bdag nyid can no ||

In the comment to stanza 20 we find:

...mthun zhes pa ni yun ring du gnas pa la bya'i thams cad du mi 'dzag pa ni ma yin noll

In these cases rgyu 'thun pa too seems to be an error. It should be noted, however, that in the comment to stanza 21 (b) in the same text we find:

| rgyu mthun ni thogs pa med pa'i rgyu las thogs pa med pa'i 'bras bu skye bar mthun pa'i phyir ro¹²² ||

and below in commenting 21 (c) we find:

....gang phyir rgyu 'thun nyid du 'gyur zhes pa ni rgyu bsgom par bya ba med pa las 'bras bu 'dzin pa med pa'i ye shes su 'byung ba'o ||

Reconstructing the original Sanskrit text is obviously quite difficult if one conjectures that the Tibetan translation is the result of an error, but in this case the suspicion might arise that Kālacakrapāda himself had in mind the word *niṣyanda*, as in this case *niḥspanda* would not make any sense.

Furthermore, below, in the comment to stanza 99 we read¹²³:

| rang gi shes rab ni las sam ye shes so | de la 'khyud cing snyoms par 'jug pa las zla ba byang chub kyi sems mthun pa zhes pa 'dzag pa 'i rang bzhin ni | mi 'thun bsgoms pa rgyu 'thun no |

which again would lead to suppose that the Indian writer used the term *niḥspanda* where we find the Tibetan translation *rgyu 'thun pa*.

The confusion between *niḥspanda* and *niṣyanda* must have occurred in

¹²¹Cf. T (D) fol. 8b/1-2; T(Q): 150 (fol. 10a/3) omits *de bas gzhan ni rgyu mthun bde*.

¹²²Cf. T(D): fols. 9a/7-9b/1; T(Q): 150 (fol. 11a/4).

¹²³Cf. T(D): fol. 20a/6; T(Q): 155 (fol. 24a/4-5)

the early phase of the Kālacakra school, as it seems that in at least one case Kālacakrapāda himself reads *niṣyanda* in his comment. Further research is necessary to draw light on this problem, but in this work I intend to limit myself only to pointing out the lexical and semantic differences between the two Tibetan translations of the *Sekoddeśa*. I hope to do further research into the question of the Kālacakra school hermeneutical traditions in my next studies.

Another significant discrepancy between the two translations is found in stanza 82, where for the Sanskrit “*yac cyutam saukhyam tan nirvāṇam pratiṣṭhitam*” we find an error in all the editions of A consulted:

'dod chags bral las 'pho med bde || de ni mya ngan 'das rab gnas |¹²⁴

While in B we have the correct rendering:

| dga' bral las ni bde 'pho gang || mya ngan 'das la de rab gnas |

Furthermore, in stanza 73 (d) in B we find an error: *zla gnyis* (for the Skr. *tribhir māśair*) instead of *zla gsum* of A.

Besides, analysing the lexicon used in the two translations, we also have to note the differences in linguistic choice, such as:

while in A we find *bshang*, *gci*, and *khu ba* consistently used, in B we have the more literary *dri chen*, *dri chu*, *sa bon* or *shu bkra*¹²⁵.

In stanza 16 the Sanskrit term *cit* is rendered *sems* in A and *yid* in B.

In stanza 18 the Sanskrit *payodhara* is rendered 'o ma 'dzin pa in A and *dkar 'dzin* in B.

In stanza 26 the Sanskrit *khadyota* is translated *mkha' snang* in A and *me khyer* in B.

In stanza 46 in B the translation of the term *lalanā* (*brkyang ma* in A) is omitted.

In certain cases B prefers the transcription of Sanskrit words to their translation into Tibetan. This is the case, for example, in stanzas 51 and 53

¹²⁴It has to be noticed however that this same mistake is also found in the Tibetan translation of Nāropā's *Sekoddeśaṭikā*, but not in the Sanskrit text. In the Tibetan translation we read in the comment to stanza 82: (Q #2068: 129, fol. 317b/4): “*rdo rje nor bu las pho ba med pa gang yin pa de ni myang las 'das pa'o*”.

¹²⁵In this case too the semantic choice found in B could again be due, as seen above, to the necessity of rendering the text more suitable to a monastic audience. Cf. above fn. 117.5

where the second translation has *padma* while in the first we find *chu skye*. However in stanza 52 while in A we have the transliteration of *avadhūti*, in B we find its Tibetan translation *kun 'dar*. But below, in stanza 77, while in A we find the Tibetan term *kun spangs* in B we find the transcription of the Sanskrit *avadhūti*.

Again, in stanza 56 we find the Tibetan translation *g.yun mo rigs snan* in A whereas in B we find the transliteration of the Sanskrit *ḍombhī*.

Besides, in stanza 56 the Sanskrit *khagamukhā* is translated *mkha' gro gdong* in A and *nam mkha'i gdong* in B.

In stanzas 60 and 61 the Sanskrit term *nāḍikā*, correctly translated with the Tibetan *chu tshod* in A, in B is improperly rendered with the Tibetan word *rtsa* (Skr. *nāḍi*).

In stanza 62 the Sanskrit *bhava* is translated in A *'byung ba*, while in B we find the rendering *srid par*.

In stanza 63 in A the Sanskrit *dharā* is literally translated with the Tibetan *'dzin ma* while in B we find its more comprehensible translation in Tibetan *sa*.

In stanza 79 in A the Sanskrit *vañcana* is translated with *slu*; in B we find the Tibetan *blu*.

In stanza 82 the translation of the Sanskrit expression *apratīṣṭhita-nirvāṇa* is rendered in B in a more intelligible way (*rab tu mi gnas mya ngan 'das*) than in A (*rab gnas mya ngan 'das pa min*).

In stanza 86 in A the Sanskrit *bhava* is rendered in Tibetan with the word *ngos po* while in B we find the term *srid pa*, which in this case is more appropriate to the meaning.

In stanza 100, whereas B translates the Sanskrit *kāyavākcitta* in both instances where it occurs with the Tibetan *lus ngag sems*, A distinguishes their different connotations and in the second case renders the Sanskrit with the Tibetan honorific *sku gsung thugs*.

In stanza 115 the Sanskrit *dharma* (*chos* in A) is rendered with the Tibetan *sem* in B (as the translators had the term *cit* in their manuscript).

In stanza 147 Samantaśrī and Dge slong Chos rab do not read *tad acyuta* (in A *de mi 'pho ba'o*) but *tad uktam* (Tib. *de brjod do*).

In stanza 153 in A we find the Tibetan rendering of the Sanskrit term *akṣara* (Tib. *mi 'gyur*) while in B we find the translation of *anuttara* (Tib. *bla na med*).

In stanza 154 Samantaśrī and Dge slong chos rab read *anyonyalingita* (Tib. *phan tshun du ni mkhyud pa*) for *anyonyamudrita* (*phan tshun rgya yis biab pa*) as found in A.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

SIGLA

- A The Tibetan translation of the *Sekoddeśa* by Somanātha and 'Bro Shes rab.
 B The Tibetan translation of the *Sekoddeśa* by Samantaśrī and Rwa Chos rab.
 D Sde dge Kanjur and Tanjur. Followed by a number refers to a text catalogued in: *A Catalogue-Index of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons (Bkaḥ-ḥgyur and Bstan-ḥgyur)*. Edited by Hakuju UI, Munetada Suzuki, Tokan Tada. With an Index Volume. Sendai: Tōhoku Imperial University, 1934. [Reprint Tokyo 1970].
 F Volume 99 (Rgyud, Ka) of the Phug brag Manuscript Kanjur.
 J Lithang Edition of the Kanjur.
 L London Manuscript Kanjur.
 LKC *Laghukālacakratantra*.
 N Narthang Edition of the Kanjur.
 Q Peking (Qianlong) Edition of the Kanjur and Tanjur. Followed by Vol. and a number, and/or # and a number, refers respectively to the number of the volume and the number of the text as catalogued in: *The Tibetan Tripitaka. Peking Edition*. Reprinted under the supervision of the Otani University. Kyoto. Ed. by Daisetz T. Suzuki, Vols. 1-168. Tokyo, Kyoto: Suzuki Research Foundation 1955-1961.
 S Stog Palace Manuscript Kanjur.
 Skr. Sanskrit.
 T Tokyo Manuscript Kanjur.
 Tib. Tibetan.
 Ṭ(D) Kālacakrapāda's *Sekoddeśaṭikā* (Sde dge *bstan 'gyur*).
 Ṭ(Q) Kālacakrapāda's *Sekoddeśaṭikā* (Peking *bstan 'gyur*).
 U Ulan Bator Manuscript Kanjur.
 V Volume 109 (Rgyud, Da) of the Phug brag Manuscript Kanjur.
 VP *Vimalaprabhā*.

- Bod tshig: Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo.* Nyan shul Mkhayen rab 'od gsal et als. Peking: *Mi rigs dpe skrun khang*. III vols. 1985.
- Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290-1364)
Bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag: Bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag yid bzhin nor bu dbang gi rgyal po'i phreng ba in *The Collected Works of Bu-ston*, Part 26 (La). Ed. Lokesh Chandra. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture. 1971: fols. 401-466.
Dbang mdor bstan pa'i rnam bzhad: Dbang mdor bstan pa'i rnam bzhad bsdud pa'i snying po rab tu gsal ba in *The Collected Works of Bu ston*, Part 3 (Ga) Ed. Lokesh Chandra. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture. 1965: fols. 587-726.
Dus 'khor chos 'byung: Rgyud sde'i zab don sgo 'byed rin chen gces pa'i lde mig ces bya ba in *The Collected Works of Bu ston*, Part 4 (Nga). Ed. Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture. 1965: fols. 1-92.
- Dākinivajrapañjaramahātantarājakaḷpa*, (Tib only): '*Phags pa mkha' 'gro ma rdo rje 'gur shes bya ba rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po* in Q Vol. 1 # 11: 223-238. D 419.
- 'Gos Lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal (1478)
Deb gter sngon po. Reproduced by Lokesh Chandra. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture. 1976. English Transl. Roerich 1949.
- Guhyādyasiddhisamgraha*, ed. by Samdhong Rinpoche and Vrajavallabha Dvivedi, Rare Buddhist Text Series, 1, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, Varanasi, 1988.
- Kālacakraṅgāṇitopadeśa* (Skr.) *Kālacakrānusāriṅgāṇita*, National Archives, Kathmandu, No 152 VI, 22, Mf. B 22/22, (Tib.) *Rtsis kyi man ngag*, Q Vol. 149 # 5900. D 4455.
- Kālacakrapāda
Sekoddeśaṭīkā, (Tib. only) *Dbang mdor bstan pa'i rgya cher 'grel pa*, in Q Vol. 47 # 2070. D 1353.
- Klong rdol bla ma (1765)
Dus 'khor lo rgyus: Klong rdol bla ma Nga dbang blo bzang: Dang po'i sangs rgyas dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i lo rgyus dang ming gi rnam grangs, in Lokesh Chandra. *The Collected Works of Longdol Lama*. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture. 1973: fols. 232-282.
- Laghukālacakratāntra* (Skr.) in Raghuvira and Lokesh Chandra (ed.) *Kālacakratāntra and Other Texts*, Part 1. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture. 1966: fols. 332-378.

Mkhas grub rje (1434)

Dus 'khor 'ik chen: Mkhas grub Dge legs dpal bzang: Rgyud thams cad kyi rgyal po bcom ldan 'das dpal dus kyi 'khor lo mchog gi dang po'i sangs rgyas kyi rtsa ba'i rgyud las phyung ba bsdud ba'i rgyud kyi 'grel chen rtsa ba'i rgyud kyi rjes su 'jug pa stong phrag bcu gnyis pa dri ma med pa'i 'od kyi rgya cher bshad pa de kho na nyid snang bar byed pa zhes bya ba in *Yab sras gsung 'bum*, Mkhas grub, Kha, Dharamsala, H.P. India: Tibetan Cultural Printing Press. 1983.

Nāropā (d.1040)

Paramārthasamgraha: Skr: Paramārthasamgrahanāmasekoddēṣaṭīkā (Skr.) in Carelli, M. (ed) *Sekoddeśaṭīkā of Naḍapāda*. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XC Baroda 1941.
(Tib.) *Dbang mdor bstan pa'i 'grel bshad don dampa bsdus pa zhes bya ba*. Q Vol. 47 #2068. D 1351.
Vajrapadasārasamgrahapañjikā. (Tib. only) *Rdo rje tshig gi snying po bsdus pa dka' 'grel*. Tib. Transl. by Śākyaśribhadra and Chos kyi bzang po in Q Vol. 54 #2316. D 1186.

Padma dkar po (1527-1592)

'Brug pa'i chos 'byung in *The Tibetan Chronicles of Padma dkar po*. Ed. Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture. Śata-pīṭaka Series vol. 75. 1968.

Pañjikā

(Skr.) National Archives, Kathmandu, *Sekādikoddeśapada [Kalyāṇakāmadhenuvivaraṇasahitaḥ]*, ṭ 363, VI 194; Mf. B 94/9. (Tib.): *Dbang mdor bstan pa'i dka' 'grel* (Transl. Bu-ston) in Q Vol. 47 # 2071. D1354.

Puṇḍarika

Kālacakratāntragarbhavṛttivimalaprabhā (Tib. only) Q Vol. 81 #4608. *Vimalaprabhā*, (Skr.) MS. Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, MS. G. 10766.
Vimalaprabhāṭīkā of Kalkin Śrīpuṇḍarika (Vol. I, containing the *ṭīkā* to the chapters I and II), critical ed. by Jagannatha Upadhyaya, Bibliotheca Indo-Tibetica, Series 11. Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies. Sarnath, Varanasi. 1986.
(Tib.): *Bsdus pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po dus kyi 'khor lo'i 'grel bshad rtsa ba'i rgyud kyi rjes su 'jug pa stong phrag bcu gnyis pa dri ma med pa'i 'od* in *The Collected Works of Bu-ston*. Part 3 (Ga). Ed. Lokesh Chandra. 1965. New Delhi. Q Vol. 46 #2064. D 845 and 1347.

Sādhuputra Śrīdharānanda

Sekoddeśaṭīppaṇi (Skr.) (Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. MS. 10744. (Tib.): *Dbang mdor bstan pa'i mdor bshad*, Transl. Nags kyi nin chen, Gzhon nu dpal) in Q Vol. 47 # 2069; D 1352.
(Tib.): *Mchog gi dang po 'i sangs rgyas las phyung ba rgyud kyi rgyal po*

chen po dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i bsdud pa'i rgyud go sla'i mchan bcas in *The Collected Works of Bu ston*: Part 1 (Ka). Ed. Lokesh Chandra. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture. 1965: fols. 1-299. Q 1 #4. D 362.

Tāranātha (1575-1634)

Dus 'khor chos bskor. Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i chos bskor gyi byung khungs nyer mkho in *Taranatha gsung 'bum*, Kha 1a-22a.

Dgos 'dod kun 'byung: Dam pa 'i chos rin po che 'phags pa'i yul du ji ltar dar ba'i tshul gsal bar ston pa dgos 'dod kun 'byung. Ed. Lhama Thubtan Jungnes. Samath. 1971. Engl. Transl. in Chimpa & Chattopadhyaya. 1970.

Vajragarbha

Hevajratantrapīṇḍārthaṭīkā by Vajragarbhadāśabhūmiśvara, National Archives, Kathmandu, C 128, Mf, C 14/6; t̄ 693, VI 230, Mf., A 693/11. (Tib.) *Kye'i rdo rje bsdud pa'i don gyi rgya cher 'grel pa*. Q Vol. 53 #2310; D1180.

Vajrapāṇi

Lakṣābhīdhānoddhṛtalaghvabhīdhānapīṇḍārthavivaraṇam (MS. Tucci, IsMEO, not in catalogue).

(Tib.): *Mngon par brjod pa 'bum pa las phyung ba nyung ngu'i rgyud kyi bsdud pa'i don rnam par bshad pa* Q vol. 48, # 2117. D 1402.

Vijayāpāda

Sekoddeṣaṭippanī (Tib. only) *Dbang mdor bstan pa'i brjed byan*. Tib. Transl. by Dpang blo gros brtan pa in Q Vol. 48 #2104. D 1389.

STUDIES

Apte, V. S.

1970 *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Revised and Enlarged Edition. Kyoto: Rinsen Book Company reprint. 1986.

Bacot, J.

1912 "L'écriture cursive tibétaine." *JA*, Série X, Tome XIX (Janvier-Février): 5-78.

Beckh, H.

1914 *Verzeichnis der tibetischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*. I: Kanjur (Bkah-hgyur) Berlin. (Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin. XXIV).

Bethlenfalvy, G.

1982 *A Hand-list of the Ulan Bator Manuscript of the Kanjur Rgyal-rtse Them Spangs ma*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Chimpa, L. & A. Chattopadhyaya

1970 (Transl.) *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Csoma de Körös, A.

1833 "A Note on the Origin of the Kāla-cakra and Ādi-Buddha Systems." *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 2: 57-59. (Reprinted in 1911 in the *Journal & Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 7(extra number): 21-23.

Eimer, H.

1980 "Einige Hinweise zur Edition tibetischer kanonischer Texte." *Zentralasiatische Studien* 14/1: 195-209.

1982 "Zur Beurteilung der Textqualität der Kanjurhandschrift aus dem Palast in Tog/Ladakh" in Hercus, L. B. et. al., eds. *Indological and Buddhist Studies: Volume in Honour of Professor J. W. de Jong on his Sixtieth Birthday*. Canberra: Faculty of Asian Studies: 121-136.

1983a "Some Results of Recent Kanjur Research" in D. Schuh & M. Weiers, eds., *Archiv für Zentralasiatische Geschichtsforschung*. Heft 1. Sankt Augustin: 5-25.

1983b *Rab tu 'byuñ ba'i gzi: Die tibetische Übersetzung des Pravrajyāvastu im Vinaya der Mūlasarvāstivādins* (Asiatische Forschungen, 82) 2 vols. Wiesbaden: Harassowitz.

1988a "A Note on the History of the Tibetan Kanjur." *Central Asiatic Journal* 32 (1-2): 64-72.

1988b "The Position of the 'Jañ sa tham/Lithang Edition within the Tradition of the Tibetan Kanjur" in H. Eimer, ed. *Indology and Tibetology: Thirty Years of Indian and Indo-Tibetan Studies in Bonn* (Indica et Tibetica 13). Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag: 43-52.

1989 *Der Tantra-Katalog des Bu ston im Vergleich mit der Abteilung Tantra des tibetischen Kanjur*. Studie, Textausgabe, Konkordanzen und Indices (Indica et Tibetica 17). Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag.

1992 "Zum Stand der Kanjurforschung" in H. Eimer *Ein Jahrzehnt Studien zur Überlieferung der tibetischen Kanjur*. Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde. Heft 28. Wien: IX-XL.

Gnoli, R. & G. Orofino

1994 *Nāropā. L'iniziazione, Traduzione e commento della Sekoddeṣaṭīkā di Nāropā*. Milano: Adelphi. In Press.

1995 *Sekoddeṣa. Commentaries. Part I: Critical Edition of the Sanskrit Texts. Part II: Critical Edition of the Tibetan Texts*. Rome: S.O.R. Forthcoming.

Grinstead, E.D.

1967 "The Manuscript Kanjur in the British Museum." *Asia Major*. New Series. XIII (Parts 1-2): 48-70.

Grönbald, G.

1991 "Das datum des Buddha nach tantrischen Texten" in H. Bechert, ed. in *The*

Dating of the Historical Buddha. I. Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung, IV,1. Göttingen: 385-402.

- Haarh, E.
1954 "Die Berliner Kanjur Handschrift." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. CIV, pp. 539-540.
- Hahn, M.
1988 "Bemerkungen zu zwei Texten aus dem Phug drag-Kanjur" in H. Eimer, ed. *Indology and Tibetology: Thirty Years of Indian and Indo-Tibetan Studies in Bonn* (Indica et Tibetica 13) Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag: 53-80.
- Harrison, P.
1992a "Meritorious Activity or Waste of Time? Some Remarks on the Editing of Texts in the Tibetan Kanjur" in *Tibetan Studies. Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Narita 1989*, Ihara Shōren, Yamaguchi Zuiho, eds. Narita: Naritasan Shinshoji.
1992b *Druma-kinnara-rāja-paripṛcchā-sūtra*. A Critical Edition of the Tibetan Text (Recension A) based on Eight Editions of the Kanjur and the Dunhuang Manuscript Fragment. *Studia Philologica Buddhica. Monograph Series, VII*. Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies.
- Hoffmann, H.
1951 "Literarhistorische Bemerkungen zur Sekoddeśatikā des Nāḍapāda". *Festschrift Walther Schubring*. Hamburg: 140-147.
1956 *Die Religionen Tibets*. Freiburg: Karl Alber.
1960 "Manicheism and Islam in the Buddhist Kālacakra System." *Proceedings of the IXth International Congress for the History of Religions, Tokyo and Kyoto 1958*. Tokyo.
1964 "Das Kālacakra, die letzte Phase des Buddhismus in Indien." *Saeculum*. 15: 125-131.
1967 "Hinduismus und Buddhismus von Ashoka bis zur mohammedanischen Eroberung." *Saeculum Weltgeschichte* 3 : 358-408.
1969 "Kālacakra Studies: Manicheism, Christianity and Islam in the *Kālacakra Tantra*", *Central Asiatic Journal* 13: 52-63.
1973 "Buddha's Preaching of the Kālacakra Tantra at the Stūpa of Dhānyakāṭaka." *German Scholars of India* 1. Varanasi: 136-140.
1975 *Tibet: A Handbook*, Bloomington: Research Center for the Language Sciences, Indiana University.
- Imaeda, Y.
1977 "Mise au point concernant les éditions chinoises du Kanjur et du Tanjur" in Macdonald Arianne, ed. *Essais sur l' art du Tibet*. Paris: Librairie d' Amerique et d' Orient: 23-51.
1982-1984 *Catalogue du Kanjur tibétain de l' edition de 'Jang sa-tham* (Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica, Series Maior, a & b) 2 vols. Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies.

- Naudou, J.
1968 *Les Bouddhistes Kāsmiriens au Moyen Age*. Annales du Musée Guimet. LXVIII. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Newman, J.
1985 "A Brief History of Kālacakra" in Geshe Lhundub Sopa, ed. *The Wheel of Time* (Deer Park Books, Madison, Wisconsin) 1. Reprinted by Snow Lion Publications, Ithaca, New York, 1991: 51-90.
1987a *The Outer Wheel of Time: Vajrayāna Buddhist Cosmology in the Kālacakra Tantra* (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International) [University of Wisconsin-Madison Ph.D. thesis].
1987b "The *Paramādibuddha* (The *Kālacakramulantra*) and its Relation to the Early Kālacakra Literature." *Indo-Iranian Journal* 30: 93-102.
1988 "Buddhist Sanskrit in the Kālacakra Tantra." *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 11 (1): 123-140.
Forthcoming "Itineraries to Sambhala" in Roger Jackson and José Cabezon, eds. *Tibetan Literature*. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications.
- Nihom, M.
1984 "Notes on the Origin of Some Quotations in the Sekoddeśatikā of Nāḍapāda." *Indo Iranian Journal* 27: 17-26.
- Pasquali, G.
1934 *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, Firenze: Le Monnier (Repr. 1988 Casa Editrice Le Lettere. Firenze).
- Reigle, D.
1986 "The Lost Kālacakra Mūla Tantra on the Kings of Śambhala." *Kālacakra Research Publications*, 1 (Talent, O.R. Eastern School).
- Roerich, G. N.
1932 "Studies in the Kālacakra I". *Journal of the 'Urusvati' Himalayan Research Institute of the Roerich Museum*. 2 : 11-23
1949 (Transl) *Blue Annals*. Compiled by 'Gos Lotsāwa. Calcutta. Repr. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976.
- Ruegg, D. S.
1966 *The Life of Bu ston Rin po che*, S.O.R. (XXXIV): Is.M.E.O. Roma.
1981 Deux problèmes d' exegèse et de pratiques tantriques selon Dipaṅkaraśrījñāna et le Paṅḍapātika de Yavadvipa/ Suvarṇadvīpa" in M. Strickmann, ed. *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R. A. Stein*. Melanges chinois et bouddhiques XX. Bruxelles: 212-226.
1984 "Problems in the Transmission of Vajrayāna Buddhism in Western Himalaya About the Year 1000." *Acta Indologica* 6: 369-381.
- Saitō, K.
1973 "Kawaguchi Ekai-shi shōrai Tōyō Bunko shozō shahon chibetto daizōkyō chōsa bibō." *Taishō Daigaku Kenkyū Kiyō* 63 (Sept. 1973): 406 (1)-345 (62).

- Samten, Jampa S.
 1987 "Notes on the Lithang Edition of the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur." *The Tibet Journal* XII, 3 Dharamsala:LTWA: 17-40.
 1992 *Phug brag bka' 'gyur bris ma'i dkar chag. A Catalogue of the Phug brag Kanjur.* Dharamsala: LTWA.
- Snellgrove, D. L.
 1959 *The Hevajra Tantra.* Part 1: Translation, Part 2: Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts. London: Oxford University Press.
- Schuh, D.
 1973 *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Kalenderrechnung. Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschlands. Supplementband 16.* Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Skorupski, T.
 1985 *A Catalogue of the sTog Palace Kanjur* (Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica, Series Maior, IV) Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies.
- Tapar, R.
 1966 *A History of India.* London, New York: Penguin Books.
- Tucci, G.
 1931 "The Sea and Land Travels of a Buddhist Sadhu in the Sixteenth Century". *Indian Historical Quarterly* VII: 683-702. Repr. in *Opera Minora.* II. Università di Roma (VI) 1971: Giovanni Bardi Editore: 305-321.
- Vogel, C.
 1964 "On Tibetan Chronology." *Central Asiatic Journal* IX (3): 224-238.
- West, M.
 1973 *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique,* Stuttgart: Teubner.
- Wylie, T.
 1982 "Dating the Death of Nāropa." L. Hercus et al., eds. *Indological and Buddhist Studies. Volume in Honour of Professor J.W. de Jong on his Sixtieth Birthday.* Canberra.

CRITICAL EDITION OF THE TIBETAN TRANSLATIONS

Text A

| rgya gar skad du || se ko dde sha¹ |
| bod skad du || dbang mdor bstan pa |

| dpal rdo rje sems dpa' la phyag 'tshal lo |
| zla ba bzang pos gsol pa |

| ston pa dbang bskur rnam bdun dang |
| rnam gsum de bzhin bla na med |
| 'jig rten 'das pa'i dngos grub phyir |
| mdor bsdus pa yis bdag la gsungs | [1]

| bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa |

| nyon cig zla bzang dbang bskur don |
| rnam pa bdun dang rnam gsum mchog |
| rtsa yi kun spyod rtsol ba ni |
| mdor bstan pa yis khyod la bshad | [2]

| rgyud du mdor bstan rnam gsum dang |
| rgyas par bshad pa rnam gsum 'gyur |
| rab tu mdor bstan mdor bstan che |
| rab tu rgyas par bshad pa gzhan | [3]

| mdor bstan rgyas par bshad pa nyid |
| rgyud yang dag par bsdus par brjod |
| rab tu mdor bstan rgyas bshad pa |
| dka'² 'grel tshig ni 'byed pa'o | [4]

| mdor bstan chen po rgyas bshad pa |
| 'grel bshad thams cad don ston byed |
| de ni mngon shes thob rnams kyis |
| bya yi mkhas rnams kyis min nyid | [5]

¹ L N S T U: *Ṣa ko ta da sha.*

² S Q: *bka'*.

Text B

| se ko dde sha |¹ | bod skad du |
| dbang mdor bstan pa |

| dpal dus kyi 'khor lo la phyag 'tshal lo |
| zla ba bzang pos yang gsol pa |

| ston pa dbang ni rnam bdun dang |
| rnam gsum de bzhin bla na med |
| 'jig rten 'jig rten 'das bsg grub phyir |
| mdor bsdus par ni² bdag la gsungs | [1]

| bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa |

| nyon cig zla bzang dbang gi don |
| rnam bdun rnam gsum mchog dang ni |
| rtsa ba'i kun spyod rtsol ba ni |
| mdor bsdus pa³ yis khyod la bshad | [2]

| rgyud la mdor bsdus rnam gsum dang |
| rgyas par bshad pa 'ang gsum du 'gyur |
| rab tu mdor bstan mdor bstan che |
| rab tu rgyas par bshad pa gzhan | [3]

| mdor bstan 'di nyid rgyas bshad te⁴ |
| rgyud kyi bsdus pa brjod pa yin |
| rab tu mdor bstan rgyas bshad ni |
| dka' 'grel tshig ni 'joms pa'o | [4]

| mdor bstan chen po'i rgyas bshad ni |
| 'grel bshad thams cad bsdus don te |
| de yang mngon shes thob rnams kyis |
| bya ba yin gyis⁵ mkhas gzhan min | [5]

¹ F V: *she kod de sha*; T(D) T(Q): *she kodde sha*

² T(D) T(Q): *pa yis for par.*

³ T(D) T(Q): *ba.*

⁴ T(D) T(Q): *rgyas par bshad pa nyid for 'di nyid rgyas bshad te.*

⁵ T(D) T(Q): *ma yin for yin gyis.*

A | de ltar mtha' drug mams kyis dag |
 | rdo rje'i rnal 'byor mnam bzhi dang |
 | rdzogs pa'i byang chub bzhi mams dang |
 | phung khams skye mched rigs drug mams | [6]

| dag pa 'jig rten khams la sogs |
 | le'u lngar ni 'dod¹ mams kyis |
 | bden gnyis dang po'i sangs rgyas 'gyur |
 | dus kyi 'khor lo mngon brjod² byed | [7]

| dang por dbang bskur bdun po gang |
 | byis pa mams ni gzhug pa'i phyir |
 | mam gsum 'jig rten kun rdzob kyis |
 | dam pa'i don gyis bzhi pa'o | [8]

| bden pa gnyis kyi chos mams kyi |
 | rdo rje can bdag gis bstan pa |
 | 'jig rten kun rdzob bden pa dang |
 | dam pa'i don gyi bden pas so | [9]

| chu dang cod pan dar dpyangs dang |
 | rdo rje dril bu brtul zhugs che |
 | ming dang rjes gnang yang dag ldan |
 | dbang bskur mnam bdun mi yi bdag | [10]

| lus ngag sems ni legs dag pa |
 | mngon par dbang bskur gnyis gnyis so |
 | rjes gnang ye shes yang dag dag |
 | gzhan pa khams sogs dag pa las | [11]

¹ DJQ: *lnga yi gzhung* for *lngar ni 'dod*.

² DQS: *rjod*.

B | de ltar mtha' drug mams kyis dag |
 | rdo rje'i¹ rnal 'byor mnam bzhi dang |
 | byang chub mnam bzhi² phung po dang |
 | khams dang skye mched rigs drug mams | [6]

| 'jig rten khams sogs brjod pa ste |
 | le'u lnga yis dag pa yin³ |
 | dus kyi 'khor lo mngon brjod de |
 | gden gnyis dang po'i sangs rgyas yin | [7]

| gang yang dang por⁴ dbang bdun ni |
 | byis pa mams ni bzhugs pa ste |
 | 'jig rten kun rdzob mnam pa gsum |
 | bzhi pa dag ni don dam nyid | [8]

| chos mams bden pa gnyis kyis ni |
 | rdo rje 'dzin pa ngas bstan te |
 | 'jig rten kun rdzob bden pa dang |
 | don dam gnyis kyi bden pas so | [9]

| chu dang cod pan dar dpyangs dang |
 | rdo rje dril bu brtul zhugs che |
 | ming dang rjes gnang bcas pa dang |
 | mnam bdun dbang po rgyal po kye | [10]

| lus ngag yid ni dag byed pa |
 | mngon par dbang bskur gnyis gnyis ste |
 | rjes gnang ye shes dag pa yin |
 | gzhan yang khams sogs yang dag dag |⁵ [11]

¹ T(D) T(Q): *rje*.

² T(D) T(Q): *bzhi'i*.

³ T(D) T(Q): *ste*.

⁴ T(D) T(Q): *po'i*.

⁵ Verse 11d (Skr. *anyā dhātvādisuddhitāḥ*) is omitted in F and V but is found in T(D) T(Q).

A

| chu ni khams kyī dag pa ste |
 | cod pan phung po rnam sbyong byed |
 | dar dpyangs pha rol phyin pa dag |
 | rdo rje dril bu mi 'gyur che | [12]

| sangs rgyas skad rgyun mi 'chad pa |
 | nyi zla gcig¹ tu dag par byed |
 | yul dang dbang po legs dag pa |
 | 'pho med rdo rje'i brtul zhugs 'gyur | [13]

| ming ni byams sogs yang dag dag |
 | rjes gnang sangs rgyas nyid dag byed |
 | dbang bskur bdun po 'di rnams ni² |
 | dkyil 'khor bzhengs nas sbyin par bya | [14]

| bum pa gsang ba'i dbang bskur dang |
 | shes rab ye shes mngon brjod³ pa |
 | slar yang shes rab chen po nyid |
 | de yi ye shes mngon brjod⁴ byed | [15]

| 'gyur dang 'gyur ba⁵ de nas 'dzag |
 | de nas gzhan yang mi 'dzag pa'o |
 | lus ngag sems ni legs dag pas |
 | dbang bskur gsum po rim pa yis | [16]

| bzhi pa ye shes yang dag dag |
 | lus ngag sems ni dag par byed |
 | byis pa dar ma de nas rgan |
 | bzhi pa skye dgu'i bdag po'o | [17]

¹ NSTU: *cig*
² LNTU: *yin*.
³ DQS: *rjod*.
⁴ DJQS: *rjod*.
⁵ DJS: *dang*.

B

| chu'i khams rnams dag pa ste¹ |
 | cod pan gyis ni phung po dag² |
 | dar dpyangs pha rol phyin pa dag |
 | rdo rje dril bu mi 'gyur che | [12]

| sangs rgyas gsung rgyun mi 'chad pa |
 | nyi zla gcig tu dag pa'o |
 | rdo rje brtul zhugs mi 'pho ba |
 | yul dang dbang po dag pa'o | [13]

| ming ni byams pa la sogs dag |
 | gnang pa³ sangs rgyas nyid du dag |
 | dbang bdun po ni 'di yin te |
 | dkyil 'khor bzhengs nas sbyin par bya | [14]

| bum pa dang ni gsang ba'i⁴ dbang⁵ |
 | shes rab ye shes mngon brjod pa⁶ |
 | slar yang shes rab chen po ni |
 | de yis⁷ ye shes mngon par brjod | [15]

| 'gyur zhing 'gyur te de nas 'thun |
 | de nas gzhan ni rgyu 'thun pa⁸ |
 | mngon par dbang skur rim gsum gyis |
 | lus ngag yid ni yang dag dag | [16]

| bzhi pa ye shes dag pa ni |
 | lus ngag yid kyang dag par byed |
 | byis pa dar ma de nas rgan |
 | bzhi pa yang ni skye rgu'i bdag | [17]

¹ FV: | *chu'i khams sogs yang dag dag* | for | *chu'i khams rnams dag pa ste* |
 (resulting from the conflation of 11d with 12a).

² FV: *dang*.

³ FV: *pa*.

⁴ T(D) T(Q): *ba*.

⁵ T(D) T(Q): *dang*.

⁶ T(D) T(Q): *mngon par brjod* for *mngon brjod pa*.

⁷ F T(D) T(Q): *yi*.

⁸ T(D) T(Q) omit quarters 16 a, b except for the first two words of the beginning.

A

| shes rab nu mar yan lag ni |
| reg pas byang chub sems 'pho'i bde |
| 'o ma 'dzin pas dbang bskur ba |
| gang las bde thob de byis pa'o | [18]

| yun ring gsang bar spros¹ las skyes |
| byang chub sems ni 'pho ba'i bde |
| gsang ba'i dbang bskur gsang ba ni |
| gang las bde thob de dar ma | [19]

| yun ring gsang bar spros las skyes |
| rdo rje'i rtse mor g.yo ba'i bde |
| shes rab ye shes dbang bskur ba |
| gang las g.yo ba'i bgrod de rgan | [20]

| phyag rgya chen po rjes chags las |
| skyes pa g.yo med bde ba ni |
| shes rab chen po'i dbang bskur ba |
| gang las g.yo med rtogs pa de | [21]

| skye dgu'i bdag por nam shes bya |
| skyob pa thams cad skyed² mdzad pa |
| rdo rje sems dpa' sems dpa' che |
| byang sems gnyis med mi 'gyur ba | [22]

| 'di ni dam tshig sems dpar 'gyur |
| rdo rje'i rnal 'byor nam pa bzhi |
| dus kyi 'khor lo 'dir bshad pa |
| rnal 'byor pa yi thar ster byed | [23]

¹ LNTU: *spro*.

² LNTU: *bskyed*.

B

| shes rab nu ma'i¹ yan lag ni |
| reg las byang chub sems 'pho bde |
| gang phyir byis pa de thob pa |
| dkar 'dzin gyis ni de dbang bskur | [18]

| gsang ba mnyes las yun ring skyes |
| byang chub sems 'pho bde ba ste |
| gang phyir gsang las bde thob pa |
| dar la bab pa de dbang bskur | [19]

| yun ring² gsang ba mnyes las skyes |
| rdo rje rtse mo bde ba 'thun³ |
| gang phyir rgan las 'thun⁴ gyur pas |
| shes rab ye shes de dbang bskur | [20]

| phyag rgya che la rjes chags pas |
| rgyu 'thun⁵ las skyes bde ba gang |
| gang phyir rgyu 'thun⁶ nyid du 'gyur |
| phyag rgya chen mo sde dbang bskur | [21]

| skyobs pa skye rgu'i bdag po de |
| thams cad skyed⁷ mdzad mar shes bya |
| rdo rje sems dpa' sems dpa' che |
| mi 'gyur gnyis med byang chub sems⁸ | [22]

| dam tshigs sems dpa' 'di yin zhing |
| rdo rje'i rnal 'byor nam pa bzhi |
| dus kyi 'khor lo 'di ru brjod |
| rnal 'byor mams la thar ster ba | [23]

¹ FV: *nyi ma for nu ma'i*.

² FV: *rings*.

³ T(D) T(Q): *methun*.

⁴ T(D) T(Q): *methun*.

⁵ T(D) T(Q): *methun*.

⁶ T(D) T(Q): *methun*.

⁷ FV T(Q): *bskyed*.

⁸ In the Tikā stanza 22 is omitted but it is commented.

A

| 'di nyid kyi ni bsgrub pa¹ bya |
 | rab gsal bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i |
 | du sogs mtshan ma de mams kyis² |
 | shes rab gzugs brnyan nam mkha' mnyam | [24]

| yod dang med las rnam par 'das |
 | rang gi sems kyi rkyen gyi don |
 | rdul phran las skyes tshogs pa mams |
 | kun nas yongs su³ dor ba yis | [25]

| du ba smig rgyu⁴ mkha' snang dang |
 | sgron ma 'bar ba zla nyi ma |
 | mun can cha dang thig le che |
 | sna tshogs gzugs brnyan 'od gsal ba | [26]

| bkab dang ma bkab mig dag gis |
 | stong par 'di ni rjes brtags min |
 | rmi lam bzhin du gzugs mthong 'gyur |
 | rtag tu gzugs de bsgom par bya | [27]

| dngos med gzugs la sgom pa de |
 | rnal 'byor pa yi bsgom ma yin⁵ |
 | dngos po dngos med sems kyi min |
 | stong par ma brtags mthong phyir ro | [28]

| ji ltar pra phab me long la |
 | gzhon nu mas mthong dngos med skyes |
 | de bzhin 'das dang ma 'ongs chos |
 | mkha' la de nyid rnal 'byor pas | [29]

¹ J Q: *sgrub byed* for *bsgrub pa*.

² D J Q: *kyi*.

³ L U: *yongsu*.

⁴ L N T U: *sgyu*.

⁵ D J: *pa min* for *ma yin*.

B

| 'di nyid bsgrub par bya ba ni |
 | ma bsam pa'i snang ba dang |
 | du ba la sogs mtshan ma de |
 | shes rab gzugs ni mkha' mnyam dang | [24]

| yod dang med las rnam par 'das |
 | sems kyi rkyen gyis¹ don rnam dang |
 | rdul 'phran las skyes tshogs pa mams |
 | kun tu² yongs su spangs pas so | [25]

| du ba smig rgyu me khyer dang |
 | mar me 'bar dang nyi zla dang |
 | mun can cha shas thig le che |
 | sna tshogs gzugs ni rab tu gsal | [26]

| mig gnyis ma phye ma btsums pas |
 | gang zhig³ stong par ma brtags pa |
 | rmi lam bzhin du gzugs mthong ba⁴ |
 | gzugs de rtag tu bsgom par bya | [27]

| med pa'i gzugs la bsgom pa ni |
 | rnal 'byor rnam kyis de bsgom min |
 | stong par ma brtags mthong ba'i phyir |
 | sems la dngos dang dngos po med⁵ | [28]

| ji ltar me long pra la ni |
 | dngos med las skyes bu mos mthong |
 | mkha' la de nyid⁶ rnal 'byor pas |
 | 'das dang ma 'ongs chos de bzhin | [29]

¹ F V: *gyi*.

² F T(D) T(Q): *du*.

³ T(D) T(Q): *gis*.

⁴ T(D) T(Q): | *rmi lam lta bur mthong ba'o* | for | *rmi lam bzhin du gzugs mthong ba* |.

⁵ T(D) T(Q): | *sams ni dngos dang dngos po min* | for | *sams la dngos dang dngos po med* |.

⁶ T(D) T(Q): *bzhin*.

A

l 'di la¹ dngos po dngos med 'gyur l
 l dngos po stong pa'i don mthong phyir l
 l dngos po dngos med don yod pa l
 l sgyu ma rmi lam mig 'phrul bzhin l [30]

l med pa'i chos can dag la chos l
 l skye ba 'di ni rab tu mthong l
 l yid bzhin nor ltar mtha' yas pa'i l
 l sems can bsam pa yongs rdzogs byed l [31]

l pra phab pa yi gzhon nu mas l
 l ma mthong ba yi rkun po mthong l
 l nyi tshe ba yi mig dag gis l
 l song nas sgrub pa po yis mthong l [32]

l gal te yod pa'i gzugs mthong na l
 l rang gi gdong pa cis mi mthong l
 l gal te med pa'i gzugs mthong na l
 l ri bong rwa ni ji ltar min l [33]

l gzhan gyi mig gis mi mthong zhing l
 l rang gi mig gis mthong min pa l
 l skye ba med pa mthong ba ni l
 l gzhon nu ma yi bu ji bzhin l [34]

l gzugs brnyan mthong na de nas ni l
 l bar ma chad par srog rtsol bya l
 l steng 'og rtsa gsum po mams la l
 l lus ngag sems ni 'gog pa las l [35]

¹ D J Q: las.

B

l 'di min¹ pas na dngos yod min l
 l dngos po stong pa'i don mthong phyir l
 l dngos po med pa'i don yod² pa l
 l rmi lam sgyu ma mig 'phrul mtshungs l [30]

l chos can med pa las ni chos l
 l skye ba 'di ni mthong bas na l
 l yid bzhin nor ltar mta' yas pa'i l
 l re ba thams cad rdzogs par³ mdzad l [31]

l gzhon nu ma'i pra la ni l
 l ma mthong ba'i rkun po mthong l
 l nyi tse ba'i mig gnyis kyis l
 l bskyod de bsgrub pa po yis gzigs l [32]

l gal te yod pa'i gzugs mthong na l
 l bdag gi gdong pa cis mi mthong l
 l gal te med pa'i gzugs mthong na l
 l ri bong rwa ni ji ltar min l [33]

l mig gzhan gyis ni ma mthong zhing l
 l bdag gi mig gis kyang mi mthong l
 l skye ba med pa mthong ba ni l
 l gzhon nu ma yi bu bzhin no l [34]

l gzugs mthong de yi 'og tu ni l
 l steng dang 'og tu rtsa gsum la l
 l lus ngag sems ni dgag pa'i phyir l
 l rgyun mi 'chad par srogs brtsol bya l [35]

¹ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): med.

² Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): yin.

³ F: bar.

A

| zla nyi sgra gcan bshang gci dang |
 | khu ba 'bab pa'i lam rnams su |
 | chu me stong pa sa rlung dang¹ |
 | ye shes khams rnams² skyed³ rnams la | [36]

| gang zhig zla nyi mun can dang |
 | bshang gci khu ba 'bab ma rnams |
 | srog dang thur sel rim pa las⁴ |
 | lus ngag sems kyi rtsa rnams so | [37]

| zla ba thabs kyi sku yin te |
 | nyin mor byed pa shes rab gsung |
 | shes rab sku ni bshang ba'i rtsa |
 | gci⁵ ba 'bab ma gtso bo'i gsung | [38]

| steng 'og thugs kyi rtsa gnyis dag |
 | mun can khu ba 'bab ma'o |
 | thabs kyi thugs ni mun pa can |
 | khu ba 'bab ma shes rab kyi | [39]

| steng 'og rigs drug 'di rnams ni |
 | sku gsung thugs kyi rnal 'byor las |
 | shes rab thabs dngos yan lag gis |
 | lus can kun la yang dag gnas | [40]

| 'chi ltas lus ngag rtsa dag la |
 | steng 'og lhag pa'i rlung rnams kyi |
 | mun can khu ba 'bab ma la |
 | skye ba dang ni 'chi ba gnas | [41]

¹ L N U: *sa dang rlung* for *sa rlung dang*.

² L N U: *kyi*.

³ L N U: *ri*; T S: *skyes*.

⁴ D J Q: *yis*.

⁵ N U: *ci*.

B

| zla nyi sgra gcan dri chen dang |
 | dri chu sa bon 'bab pa'i lam |
 | chu me stong pa sa dang rlung |
 | ye shes khams rnams dag gi rigs | [36]

| gang rnams zla nyi mun can ni¹ |
 | lus ngag sems kyi rtsa de rnams |
 | srog dang thur sel rim pa yis |
 | dri chen dri chu sa bon 'bab | [37]

| thabs kyi sku ni zla ba la |
 | shes rab gsung ni nyin mor byed² |
 | shes rab sku ni dri chen rtsa |
 | dri chu 'bab pa gtso bo'i gsung | [38]

| steng 'og sems kyi rtsa gnyis ni |
 | sa bon 'bab dang mun can ma |
 | thabs kyi thugs ni mun pa can |
 | sa bon 'bab ma shes rab kyi | [39]

| sku gsung thugs kyi rnal 'byor gyis |
 | steng 'og rigs drug 'di nyid do |
 | thabs dang shes rab sku dngos kyi |
 | lus can rnams la yang dag gnas | [40]

| steng 'og lhag pa'i³ rlung gis ni |
 | lus ngag rtsa la mchi ltas yin |
 | mun can sa bon 'bab ma las |
 | skye dang 'chi ba gnas pa yin | [41]

¹ T(D) T(Q): *nyi zla mun can ni* for *zla nyi mun can ni*.

² T(D) T(Q): *nyin mo mi* for *nyin mor byed*.

³ T(D) T(Q): *ma'i*.

A

| skye dang 'chi dang 'khrig pa yi |
 | dus su khu ba 'bab pa'o |
 | mun can ma yang steng du 'bab |
 | nyi ma'i 'pho ba mnyam pa la¹ | [42]

| dus sbyor 'char ba'i mngon mtshams su² |
 | dbu ma nas ni mnyam pa 'bab |
 | rkang pa dang bcas lnga bcu drug |
 | 'byung dang 'jug pa'o mi yi bdag | [43]

| bdun bcu rtsa lnga lhag pa yi³ |
 | drug brgya nyin dang mtshan la'o |
 | drug brgya rnams kyis lhag pa yi |
 | stong phrag nyi shu rtsa gcig po | [44]

| 'di yis dman pa gang de rnams |
 | g.yon dang g.yas pa'i rtsar 'bab pa'o |
 | phyogs gsum dang bcas lo gsum rnams |
 | lo brgya rnams las dbu ma'o | [45]

| steng du g.yon g.yas zla nyi ma |
 | brkyang ma lug dang ser skya gzhan |
 | chu dang me yi rang bzhin can |
 | padma rin chen 'dzin par 'dod | [46]

| 'og tu bshang gci 'bab pa dag |
 | sa dang rlung gi rang bzhin can |
 | dbu ma'i rtsa dang g.yon pa yang |
 | 'khor lo ral gri 'dzin par 'dod | [47]

¹ L N S T U: las.

² L N: mtshamsu.

³ L N U: yis.

B

| skye dang 'chi ba'i dus dang ni |
 | 'khrig la sa bon 'bab pa'o |
 | nyi ma 'pho dang mnyam pa la |
 | mun can ma ni steng du 'bab | [42]

| dus sbyor 'byung ba'i mngon mtshams¹ su |
 | dbus ma yin ni mnyam par 'bab |
 | rkang pa dang bcas lnga bcu drug |
 | 'byung 'jug dbugs so mi dbang kyi | [43]

| bdun bcu rtsa lnga lhag pa yi |
 | drug brgya nyin dang mtshan mo'o |
 | gang yang drug brgyas lhag pa yi |
 | stong phrag nyi shu rtsa gcig ste | [44]

| g.yas pa dang ni g.yon pa'i rtsa |
 | de yis dman pa de rnams 'bab² |
 | phyogs gsum dang bcas lo gsum ni |
 | lo brgya yis ni dbus mar 'gyur | [45]

| steng du g.yas dang g.yon pa ni |
 | nyi zla lug dang ser skya gzhan |
 | chu dang me yi rang bzhin te |
 | pad mar³ rin chen 'dzin par gsungs | [46]

| 'og tu dri chen dri chu 'bab |
 | sa dang rlung gi rang bzhin te |
 | g.yas pa dang ni g.yon pa'i rtsa |
 | 'khor lo ral gri 'dzin pa gsungs⁴ | [47]

¹ F V: 'tshams.

² Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): | 'di yis dman pa rnams 'bab phyogs | for | de yis dman pa de rnams 'bab |.

³ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): padma.

⁴ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): ni.

A | steng dang 'og tu dbu ma g.yas |
| sgra gcan khu ba rab 'bab pa |
| stong pa ye shes rang bzhin can |
| rdo rje rdo rje 'dzin par 'dod | [48]

| zla ba'i lam gyis bshang ba'i rtsa |
| nyi mas gci ba 'bab pa ste |
| skye 'chi mnyam pa chags pa la |
| sgra gcan khu ba rab tu 'bab | [49]

| lte¹ ba'i steng du kun 'dar ma |
| gang de yid bzang mun pa 'bab |
| 'og tu khu ba 'bab gang de |
| mkha' 'gro gdong dang dung can ma | [50]

| lte ba'i chu skyes snying mgrin dang |
| dpral ba gtsug tor 'dam skyes la |
| sa chu me rlung stong pa mams |
| rab tu 'bab pa sdud pa yis | [51]

| 'byung 'gyur de ni 'jug pa dag |
| bskyed pas 'jug ste sa la'o |
| lte ba nas ni lte ba'i dbus |
| a ba dhū²tir³ 'gro dang 'ong | [52]

¹ LNU: zla.

² LNQU: dhu.

³ DJQST: ti.

B | steng gi¹ dbus ma 'og tu g.yas² |
| sgra gcan sa bon 'bab pa la³ |
| stong pa⁴ ye shes rang bzhin te |
| rdor 'dzin rdo rje 'dzin par mdzod | [48]

| zla ba'i lam gyis⁵ dri chen rtsa |
| nyi mas dri chung 'bab ma'o⁶ |
| mnyam dang skye 'chi 'dod chags la |
| sgra gcan sa bon 'bab ma'o⁸ | [49]

| gang zhig lte steng kun 'dar ma |
| mun 'bab bzhin du⁹ yid bzang ste |
| gang 'og nam mkha'i gdong de ni |
| sa bon 'bab pa'i dung can ma | [50]

| lte ba'i pad ma¹⁰ snying mgrin dang |
| dpral ba'i gtsug gtor 'dam skyes la |
| sa chu me rlung stong pa ni |
| sdud¹¹ pa yis ni 'bab pa'o | [51]

| gshegs pa dang ni byon pa de |
| bskyed pa yi ni sa la 'jug |
| lte ba nas ni lte ba'i dbus |
| kun 'dar¹² mas¹³ ni gshegs shing byon¹⁴ | [52]

¹ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): du.

² F V: yang.

³ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): | sgra gcan dang ni sa bon 'bab | for | sgra gcan sa bon 'bab pa la |.

⁴ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): pa'i.

⁵ F V: gyi.

⁶ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): pa'o

⁷ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): | skye 'chi mnyam du 'dod chags la | for | mnyam dang skye 'chi 'dod chags la |.

⁸ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): pa'o.

⁹ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): tu.

¹⁰ F Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): padma.

¹¹ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): bsdus.

¹² F V: dar.

¹³ F V: ma.

¹⁴ In Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): byong zhing gshegs for gshegs shing byon.

A | lte gsang nor bu'i chu skyes la |
 | lus ngag sems mams 'bab pa ni |
 | 'byung dang de ni 'jug pa dag |
 | sdud dang skyed¹ pa'i rang bzhin can | [53]

| dung can skye bo thams cad kyi |
 | thur sel rlung ni 'bab pa'o |
 | 'di nams bud med bde ba las |
 | khu ba khrag 'bab dus dag tu | [54]

| shes rab thabs dngos yan lag gis |
 | steng du g.yas dang g.yon dag dang |
 | 'og tu bshang gci 'bab pa dang |
 | rdul dang khu ba 'bab pa dag | [55]

| rdul 'bab phyir te² gtum mo ste |
 | khu ba 'bab phyir mkha' 'gro gdong |
 | steng du brjod dus bud med kyi |
 | g.yung mo skyes bu'i kun 'dar ma³ | [56]

| rnam shes la sogs dkyil 'khor lnga |
 | rtag tu g.yon pa'i rtsa la'o |
 | sa sogs g.yas pa'i rtsa la ste |
 | dbus su drug pa 'bab pa'o | [57]

| lte ba'i padma 'i 'dab⁴ ma la |
 | dkyil 'khor drug cu⁵ nams rim bzhin |
 | g.yon dang g.yas pa'i dus sbyor ni |
 | lug sogs glang la sogs pa la | [58]

¹ L N T U: *bskyed*.

² D J L N S T U: *de*.

³ D J Q: *ma'o*.

⁴ J T: *mdab*.

⁵ J Q: *bcu*.

B | lte gsang nor bu'i pad ma la |
 | lus ngag sems ni 'bab ma ste |
 | gshegs pa dang ni byon pa de |
 | sdud¹ dang skyed² pa'i gzugs can ma | [53]

| skyes bu kun la dung can ma |
 | thur sel rlung ni 'bab par byed |
 | 'di ni bud med bde ba yis |
 | sa bon dus su khrag 'bab ma | [54]

| thab dang shes rab sku dngos kyis³ |
 | steng du g.yas dang g.yon pa'o |
 | 'og tu dri chen dri chu 'bab |
 | rdul dang sa bon 'bab pa'o⁴ | [55]

| rdul 'bab phyir na gtum mo⁵ ste |
 | sa bon 'bab phyir nam mkha'i gdong |
 | steng du rigs ngan bud med la |
 | skyes bu la ni kun 'dar⁶ brjod | [56]

| sna khung g.yon pa'i rtsa la ni |
 | rnam shes la sogs dkyil 'khor lnga |
 | g.yas pa'i rtsa la sogs te |
 | dbus su drug la⁷ 'bab pa'o | [57]

| lte ba'i pad ma⁸ i 'dab⁹ ma la |
 | dkyil 'khor drug bcu rim pa bzhin |
 | dus sbyor g.yas dang g.yon pa la |
 | lug sogs khyu mchog la sogs pa'o¹⁰ | [58]

¹ F V: *bsdud*.

² F T(Q): *bskyed*.

³ T(D) T(Q): *sku'i tshul* for *sku dngos kyis*.

⁴ T(D) T(Q): *ni*.

⁵ T(D) T(Q): *tsandali* for *gtum mo*.

⁶ F V: *dar*; T(D) T(Q): *spangs*.

⁷ T(D) T(Q): *pa*.

⁸ T(D) T(Q): *padma*.

⁹ F V: *mdab*.

¹⁰ T(D) T(Q): *sogs so* for *sogs pa'o*.

A

| rtsa ba g.yon dang de nas g.yas |
| steng dang dbus su rim pas rlung |
| sa sogs dkyil 'khor re re zhing |
| dbyug gus sna bug dag la'o | [59]

| rim pas chu tshod 'bab pa ni |
| drug cu¹ dang bcas sum brgya'i dbugs |
| brgya phrag bco² brgyad dbugs de rnams |
| chu tshod lngar ni 'bab pa'o | [60]

| chu tshod drug cu³ nyin mtshan du |
| lus la dkyil 'khor rnams zhes pa'o |
| 'dab⁴ ma'i dbus dang de nas shar |
| g.yas g.yon gzhan du rim pa yis | [61]

| g.yon par rtag tu nam mkha' sogs |
| g.yas par sa sogs gzhan las so |
| g.yon par rnam shes sogs 'byung ba |
| g.yas par sa sogs sdud pa'o | [62]

| nub dang shar du 'dzin ma rlung |
| phan tshun shes rab thabs yin te |
| mthe bong ming med dag gis ni |
| gang phyir kha la dbang bskur ba | [63]

| g.yas dang g.yon du me dang chu |
| phan tshun shes rab thabs yin te |
| gung mo mdzub mo gnyis dag gis |
| gang phyir ral grir 'gyur ba'o | [64]

¹ J Q: *bcu*.

² D J Q U: *bcwo*.

³ J Q: *bcu*.

⁴ J L T U: *mdab*.

B

| rtsa ba g.yon dang de nas g.yas |
| steng dang dbus su rim pas rlung |
| dkyil 'khor re re'i dbyug gu las |
| sa sogs sna bug dag la'o | [59]

| drug bcur bcas pa'i sum brgya'i dbugs |
| rtsa ni rim pas 'bab pa'o |
| stong dang brgyad brgya'i dbugs rnams ni |
| rtsa lnga po yis de rnams 'bab | [60]

| drug bcu'i rtsa ni nyin mtshan du |
| lus can la ni dkyil 'khor zhes |
| 'dab ma'i dbus dang de nas shar |
| g.yas g.yon nub tu² rim pas rlung | [61]

| g.yon par³ rtag par mkha' sogs te |
| g.yas la sa sogs gzhan ma'o |
| g.yon du srid par rnam shes sogs |
| g.yas su sa sogs bsdu⁴ pa'o | [62]

| nub dang shar du sa dang rlung |
| phan tshun thabs dang shes rab ste |
| mthe bong dang ni ming med kyis |
| gang gis kha la dbang bskur ro⁵ | [63]

| g.yas dang g.yon du me dang chu |
| phan tshun thabs dang shes rab ste⁶ |
| 'dzub mo dang ni gung mo yis |
| gang phyir ral gri 'gyur ba'o | [64]

¹ T(D)T(Q): *lus can rnams la dkyil 'khor ni* for *lus can la ni dkyil 'khor zhes*.

² T(D) T(Q): *g.yas dang g.yon du* for *g.yas g.yon nub tu*.

³ T(D) T(Q): *la*.

⁴ F V: *bsdud*.

⁵ T(D) T(Q): *phyir*.

⁶ T(D) T(Q): *po*.

A

| zla phyed rnam pa'i phyag rgya ni |
| mche ba gri gug mthe chung ste |
| stong pa mi 'gyur steng 'og tu |
| phan tshun thabs dang shes rab po¹ | [65]

| dkyil 'khor bcu po yang dag sbyor |
| sor mo rnams ni phan tshun du |
| mgo bor lag mthil sbyar ba la |
| gri gug dang bcas rtse gcig go | [66]

| dbu ma'i rtsa la mnyam pa ste² |
| skyed³ dang sdud pa'i byed pa po |
| phung po khams dang rdo rje gsum |
| gcig nyid dbu mar son pa na'o | [67]

| zla ba nyi ma'i rtsa 'gags na |
| bshang ba gci ba'i rtsa 'gag go |
| sgra gcan rtsa ni 'gags pa na |
| 'og tu khu ba 'bab 'gags 'gyur | [68]

| skyed⁴ dang sdud pa'i byed pa can |
| 'di mams grol na grol bar 'gyur |
| srog dang thur sel lam gsum gyis⁵ |
| 'di ni rtsa yi kun spyod do | [69]

| g.yon pa 'am ni g.yas pa la |
| mtshan mo gcig dang de bzhin lngar |
| lhag pa'i rlung ni rab 'bab pa |
| de las lo gsum na 'chi⁶ 'o | [70]

¹ SD: *bo*.

² DJL: *de*.

³ LNTU: *bskyed*.

⁴ LNTU: *bskyed*.

⁵ DJL: *gyi*.

⁶ NU: *mchi*.

B

| phyag rgya zla ba phyed pa'i tshul |
| mche ba mthe¹ chung gri gug ste |
| stong pa mi 'gyur steng 'og tu |
| phan tshun thabs dang shes rab po | [65]

| sor mo rnams ni phan tshun du |
| dkyil 'khor bcu ni yang dag sbyor² |
| spyi bor thal mo sbyar ba yis |
| gri gug dang bcas rtse gcig po | [66]

| skyed³ pa dang ni sdud⁴ byed pa'o |
| mnyam pa de yang dbus ma'i rtsar |
| phung po khams dang⁵ rdo rje gsum |
| dbu mar song nas gcig tu 'gyur | [67]

| zla ba nyi ma'i rtsa 'gags na |
| dri chen dri chu'i rtsa 'gag go |
| sgra gcan rsta ni 'gags 'gyur na⁶ |
| 'og gi sa bon 'gag⁷ ma'o | [68]

| 'di grol na ni kun grol 'gyur⁸ |
| skyed pa dang ni sdud⁹ byed ma |
| srog dang thur sel lam gsum gyis |
| rtsa rnams kun spyod 'di yin no | [69]

| g.yas pa'm¹⁰ ni g.yon pa la |
| nyin mtshan lnga dang de bzhin gcig |¹¹
| rlung ni rab tu 'bab pa na |
| de nas lo gsum gyis 'chi 'gyur | [70]

¹ T(D) T(Q): *mthe'u*.

² T(D) T(Q): *yang bya'o* for *yang dag sbyor*.

³ F V T(Q): *bskyed*.

⁴ F V: *bsdud*; T(Q): *bdud*.

⁵ T(D) T(Q): *ni*.

⁶ T(D) T(Q): *'gag yin no* for *'gags 'gyur na*.

⁷ T(D) T(Q): *'bab*.

⁸ T(D) T(Q): *| grol na 'di mams grol bar 'gyur |* for *| 'di grol na ni kun grol 'gyur |*.

⁹ T(D) T(Q): *bsdud*.

¹⁰ F V: *g.yas pa dag* for *g.yas pa'm*.

¹¹ T(D) T(Q): *| nyin mtshan gcig dang g.yas nga yis |* for *| nyin mtshan lnga dang de bzhin gcig |*.

A

| g.yas pa nyi ma'i 'chi ltas la |
 | lnga dang phyogs tshes nyi shu dang |
 | de nyid gcig lhag gzhan rim pas |
 | nyin zhag sum¹ cu² gsum rgyu na | [71]

| gsum gnyis gcig lo zla ba ni |
 | drug gsum zung zla nyin zhag tshes |
 | phyogs lnga yon tan gnyis gcig gis |
 | lus can rnams kyi tshe 'gro'o | [72]

| rtsa ba nas gcig lhag pa yis |
 | g.yon par zla ba'i rgyu bar 'gyur |
 | nyin zla nyin zhag zla ba dag |
 | nyin zhag gsum rnams zla ba gsum | [73]

| nyin la 'chi ltas zla bar dge |
 | 'phel 'grib de nas 'di dag la |
 | dbu ma'i 'chi ba'i rgyu ba ni |
 | lo brgya yongs su³ rdzogs pa yis | [74]

| mnyam dang mi mnyam nyin zhag rnams |
 | skye bar skyes pa'i dkyil 'khor gyis |
 | de rgyu g.yas dang g.yon la yang |
 | phyogs gnyis rnam par nyams pa las | [75]

| gzhan du 'chi bar mi 'gyur te |
 | phyogs gnyis yang dag gnas pa na |
 | g.yas dang g.yon pa'i kun spyod dang |
 | dkyil 'khor lnga rnams 'bab pa'i phyir | [76]

¹ D Q U: *gsum*.

² J Q: *bcu*.

³ L N: *yongsu*.

B

| lnga phyogs tshes dang nyi shu dang |
 | de nyid rim pas re res lhag |
 | nyi ma sum bcu gsum gnas pas |
 | g.yas pa'i nyi ma'i 'chi ltas so | [71]

| lo gsum gnyis gcig mnyam zla ba |
 | drug gsum zung zla nyi ma ni |
 | tshes phyogs lnga dang yon tan gnyis |
 | gcig gis lus can tshe 'gro 'gyur | [72]

| rtsa ba gnas ni re re lhag |
 | g.yon du¹ zla ba 'byung bar 'gyur |
 | zhag dang zhag gis zla ba ste |
 | zla gnyis can gyis zhag gsum mo | [73]

| 'chi ltas zhag dang dge zla ba |
 | de dag 'phel dang 'grib pa yin² |
 | lo brgya yongs su rdzogs pa yis |
 | dbus ma la ni 'chi bar 'gyur | [74]

| mnyam dang mi mnyam zhin zhag gis |³
 | de skyes nas ni dkyil 'khor 'byung |
 | phyogs gnyis rnam par nyams pa'i phyir |
 | g.yas dang g.yon pa dag las 'byung | [75]

| gzhan du na ni 'chi ba med⁴ |
 | phyogs gnyis yang dag gnas pa na⁵ |
 | g.yas dang g.yon du kun du spyod |
 | dkyil 'khor lnga ni 'bab pa yin |⁶ [76]

¹ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *gyi*.

² Quarters 73 c,d and 74 a,b omitted in Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q).

³ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): | *mnyam dang mi mnyam pa yis ni* | for | *mnyam dang mi mnyam zhin zhag gis* |.

⁴ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *yin*.

⁵ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *dang*.

⁶ Quarter 76 c,d omitted in Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q).

A | 'chi ltas mtshan nyid shes nas ni |
 | srog ni thig ler gzhus par bya |
 | a ba dhū¹ ti² 'i zhabs brten nas |
 | mchog tu mi 'gyur bsgom par bya | [77]

| rtag tu rdo rje bslang bar bya |
 | zla nyi 'i bgrod pa 'joms pa las |
 | gzhan du kun 'dar yan lag la |
 | srog gi rlung ni 'jug pa med | [78]

| 'og tu 'ang dung can ma thur sel |
 | de ma zhugs las 'chi ba'o |
 | 'chi ltas slu³ ba rnal 'byor pa'i |
 | 'di ni dga' ba rnams kyis 'gyur | [79]

| mgo bo'i padma gtsug tor⁴ las |
 | khu ba 'ongs pa dga' ba ste |
 | 'grin pa snying khar mchog dga' 'o |
 | dga' bral dga' ba de nas 'gyur | [80]

| sna tshogs dga' ba lte ba dang |
 | gsang ba'i padmar gang 'ongs pa'o |
 | gsang gnas rdo rje nor bu'i bar |
 | lhan gcig⁵ skyes dga' mi 'pho ba | [81]

| rab gnas mya ngan 'das pa min |
 | chags chen mi 'gyur khyab bdag po |
 | 'dod chags bral las 'pho med bde |
 | de ni mya ngan 'das⁶ rab gnas | [82]

¹ LNU: *dhu*.

² DJQS: *ti*.

³ JT: *bslu*.

⁴ JQ: *gtor*.

⁵ JLTU: *cig*.

⁶ LNU: *las*.

B | 'chi¹ ltas mtshan nyid shes byas la |
 | srog ni thig ler gzhus² par bya |
 | kun spangs go 'phang brten byas la |
 | mchog tu mi 'gyur bsgom par bya | [77]

| nyi zlar 'gro ba gzhom pa'i phyir |
 | rtag par rdo rje bslang bar bya |
 | gzhan du na ni kun spangs³char⁴ |
 | srog gi rlung ni 'jug pa med | [78]

| 'og tu dung can thur sel ni |
 | de⁵ ma zhugs na 'chi ba yin |
 | 'chi ba blu ba 'di nyid ni |
 | rnal 'byor rnams la dga' bas bya⁶ | [79]

| gtsug gtor steng gi pad ma⁷ las |
 | shu bkra byung na dga' ba yin |
 | mgrin pa snying kha mchog dga' ba |
 | de nas rnam par dga' bar 'gyur |⁸ [80]

| sna tshogs dga' ba lte ba la |
 | gal te gsang ba'i pad mar⁹ song |
 | gsang gnas rdo rje nor bu'i bar |
 | lhan cig skyes dga' mi 'pho ba | [81]

| rab tu mi gnas mya ngan 'das |
 | chags chen mi 'gyur mnga' bdag go |
 | dga' bral las ni bde 'pho gang |
 | mya ngan 'das la de rab gnas¹⁰ | [82]

¹ FV: *'di*.

² T(D) T(Q): *zhugs*.

³ FV: *spong*.

⁴ FV: *'char*.

⁵ T(D) T(Q): *der*.

⁶ T(D) T(Q): *dga' bar 'gyur for dga' bas bya*.

⁷ T(D) T(Q): *padma*.

⁸ T(D) T(Q): *| de yang dga' bral dga' bar 'gyur | for | de nas rnam par dga' bar 'gyur |*.

⁹ T(D) T(Q): *padmar*.

¹⁰ In T(D) T(Q): *bde ba'i gnas for de rab gnas*.

A

| khu ba zla 'char gtsug tor du |
| rdzogs pa gsang ba'i mtsho skyes la |
| bcu drug cha gang de nor bu'i |
| padmar rdo rje'i rtse mor gnas | [83]

| de steng 'pho ba'i dus su 'gyur |
| nag po'i tshes gcig 'ongs pa na |
| 'dod chags bral bas gnam stong la |
| nyi ma mdzod spu'i gnas su 'gro | [84]

| de yi cha shas bcu drug la¹ |
| gtsug tor padmar son pa'o |
| zla ba nyams pa zhes brjod de |
| chags pa'i bde la chags bral phyir | [85]

| lus can thams cad 'chi ba na |
| zla ba bdud rtsi 'og tu 'gro |
| steng du nyi ma rdul sgra gcan |
| nam shes dngos po'i mtshan nyid la | [86]

| de phyir zla ba bdud rtsi ni |
| steng du bgrod bya mi yi bdag |
| 'og tu nyi ma rdul sgra gcan |
| nam shes 'gyur med bde ba la | [87]

¹ J Q: ma.

B

| sa bon zla ba gtsug tor¹ shar |
| gsang ba'i chu skyes dag la rdzogs |
| cha ni bcu drug pa² gang de³ |
| rdo rje nor bu⁴ pad rtser song | [83]

| de 'og 'pho ba'i dus yin te |
| nag po'i tshes gcig 'ong nas so⁵ |
| stong la dga' ba bral ba yis |
| nyi ma mdzod spur 'gro bar 'gyur | [84]

| de yi cha ni bcu drug ma |
| gtsug tor⁶ pad mar⁷ song bas na |
| 'dir⁸ ni zla ba zad par brjod |
| 'dod chags bde ba bral phyir ro | [85]

| lus can thams cad 'chi ba na |
| zla ba bdud rtsi thur du 'gro |
| steng du nyi rdul sgra gcan⁹ dang |
| nam shes srid pa'i mtshan nyid do | [86]

| de bas zla ba¹⁰ bdud rsi'i steng¹¹ |
| 'gro bar bya'o rgyal po skye¹² |
| 'og tu nyi rdul sgra gcan¹³ dang |
| nam shes mi 'gyur bde ba'o | [87]

¹ F V: gtor.

² T(D) T(Q): ma.

³ T(D) T(Q): ste.

⁴ T(D) T(Q): bu'i.

⁵ T(D) T(Q): 'byung ba yin for 'ong nas so.

⁶ F V: gtor.

⁷ T(D) T(Q): padmar.

⁸ T(D) T(Q): 'di.

⁹ F V: dgra can for sgra gcan.

¹⁰ T(D) T(Q): ba'i.

¹¹ T(D) T(Q): ste.

¹² T(D) T(Q): kye.

¹³ F V: dgra can for sgra gcan.

A

| sangs rgyas kun gyi mdzod spu¹ yi |
 | padmar zla ba bdud rtsi nya |
 | nyi rdul gnam stong gsang bar te |
 | gtsug tor nor bur de dag go | [88]

| zhes² pa ston pa'i rdo rje'i tshig |
 | lus can kun gyi phyin ci log |
 | rab gnas mya ngan 'das pa min |
 | khams mams phyin ci log tu 'gyur | [89]

| nor bur thugs dang gsang bar gsung |
 | lte bar sku ste bde chen las |
 | chos dang longs spyod rdzogs sprul pa |
 | 'di mams dag pa'i sku las spro | [90]

| thabs kyi 'og tu rgyal po'i dbang |
 | shes rab kyi ni steng du 'gyur |
 | 'di yi dpral bar sku rdo rje |
 | mgrin snying lte ba'i 'dam skyes la | [91]

| gsung thugs ye shes rdo rje mams |
 | sprul pa la sogs 'di mams spro |
 | phung po khams mams spro ba ni |
 | sgrib pa med pa'i bde ba las | [92]

¹ LNTU: pu.

² LNTU: ces.

B

| mdzod spu chu skyes sangs rgyas kun |
 | zla ba'i bdud rtsi nya bzhin no¹ |
 | nyi rdul gnam stong gsang ba la |
 | gtsug gtor nor bu de nyid 'char | [88]

| ston pa'i rdo rje tshig 'di ni |
 | lus can rnams la phyin ci log |
 | mi gnas mya ngan 'das pa yis² |
 | khams mams phyin cig log tu 'gyur | [89]

| nor bur thugs dang gsang bar gsung |
 | lte bar sku ni bde chen phyin |
 | dag pa'i sku las spro ba³ni |
 | chos dang longs spyod sprul pa 'di⁴ | [90]

| 'og tu thabs 'gyur rgyal po kye |
 | steng du shes rab dag tu 'gyur |
 | dpral bar sku'i rdo rje yin |
 | mgrin snyin lte ba'i 'dam⁵ skyes la | [91]

| gsung thugs ye shes rdo rje ni |⁶
 | sprul sogs 'di mams sprul par mdzad |
 | phung po khams mams spro ba⁷ ni |
 | sgrib pa med pa'i⁸ bde ba'o⁹ | [92]

¹ T(D) T(Q): yin zhin for bzhin no.

² T(D) T(Q): yin.

³ T(D) T(Q): spros pa for spro ba.

⁴ T(D) T(Q): yi.

⁵ T(D) T(Q): 'dab.

⁶ T(D) T(Q): | sku gsung ye shes rdo rje thugs | for | gsung thugs ye shes rdo rje ni |.

⁷ T(D) T(Q): spros pas for spro ba.

⁸ T(D) T(Q): pas.

⁹ T(D) T(Q): yi.

A

l las kyi phyag rgya'i snyoms 'jug dang l
l ye shes phyag rgya'i dmigs pa dang l
l phyag rgya chen po gcig sbyor bas l
l mi 'gyur ba de 'phel bar 'gyur l [93]

l 'phel ba'i 'phel bar 'gyur ba med l
l nyams pa'i nyams pa nyid kyang med l
l nub pa de yi nub pa med l
l 'char ba yi ni 'char ba med l [94]

l rab tu gsal ba'i rab gsal med l
l bkab pa'i bkab pa yang med do l
l skye ba'i skye bar 'gyur nyid med l
l 'chi ba'i 'chi ba yang med do l [95]

l grol ba'i grol bar 'gyur ba 'ang¹ med l
l mi gnas pa yi mi gnas med l
l dngos po med pa'i dngos med med l
l dngos po'i dngos po nyid kyang med l [96]

l 'gyur ba'i 'gyur bar 'gyur ba 'ang med l
l mi 'gyur ba'i yang mi 'gyur med² l
l rang bzhin med pa'i chos rnam kyil
l skye 'jig sgyu ma de bzhin no l [97]

l 'byung rnam 'jig par 'gyur min te l
l rang bzhin nyid kyis skye mi 'gyur l
l sna tshogs 'di ni rang bzhin med l
l dngos po dngos med mtshan nyid gcig³ l [98]

¹ L U: omit 'ang.

² L N T U: omit med

³ L N U: cig.

B

l las kyi phyag rgya'i snyoms 'jug dang l
l ye shes phyag rgya sogs dmigs dang¹ l
l phyag rgya chen po gcig sbyor bas l
l mi 'gyur ba ni 'phel bar 'gyur l² [93]

l 'phel ba las ni 'phel ba med l
l zad pa las ni zad pa med l
l nub pa las ni nub pa med l³ [94]

l gsal ba las ni gsal ba med l
l btsun pa las ni btsun pa med l
l skye ba las ni skye ba med l
l shi ba las ni shi ba med l [95]

l grol ba las ni grol ba med l
l mi gnas pa la mi gnas med l
l dngos med pa la dngos med min l
l dngos po las ni dngos med nyid l [96]

l 'gyur ba las ni 'gyur ba med l
l mi 'gyur ba las mi 'gyur med l
l chos rnam rang bzhin med pa ni l
l sgyu ma 'byung dang zad bzhin no l [97]

l 'byung ba zad par mi 'gyur te l
l rang bzhin gyis ni skye ba med l
l dngos dang dngos med⁴ mtshan nyid cig l
l sna tshogs 'di ni mtshan nyid bral l [98]

¹ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *phyag rgya'i dmigs pa dang* for *phyag rgya sogs dmigs dang*.

² Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *'phel bar 'gyur dang mi 'gyur ba'o* l for *l mi 'gyur ba ni 'phel bar 'gyur l*.

³ Pāda 94d is missing in all the witnesses.

⁴ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *min*.

A

| rang gi shes rab la 'khyud sems |
 | rdo rje nor bu'i padmar son |
 | der son zla ba g.yo ba dang¹ |
 | mi g.yo ba dang mi 'gyur bsgom² | [99]

| lus ngag sems kyi rtsa mams su |
 | sku gsung thugs mams bsgom³ pa ste |
 | rdo rje gsum mams legs bsdus pa |
 | ye shes dung can mar bsgom⁴ pa'o | [100]

| shes rab chags pas zhu ba yi |
 | thig le rim pas mgo bo las |
 | rdzogs pa'i gnas su zhugs mams kyang |
 | 'ching ba dam pa'i don gyis so | [101]

| ji ltar zla shar rim pa yis |
 | cha mams kyis ni rdzogs par 'gyur |
 | grib ma nyams pa rdzogs pa ste |
 | zla ba chad dang rdzogs pa min | [102]

| de bzhin ye shes shar rim pas |
 | sa mams kyis ni rdzogs par 'gyur |
 | nyon mongs la sogs nyams pa rdzogs |
 | ye shes chad dang rdzogs pa min | [103]

¹ L N U: *med.*

² L N S T U: *sgom.*

³ L N S T U: *sgom.*

⁴ L N S T U: *sgom.*

B

| rang gi shes rab la mkhyud sems |
 | rdo rje nor bu'i pad mar¹ song² |
 | de la zla ba 'thun 'gyur nas |
 | mi 'gyur bsgom pa³rgyu 'thun no | [99]

| lus ngag sems kyi rtsa mams la |
 | lus ngag sems ni bsgom par bya |
 | rdo rje gsum ni bsdus pa yis l⁴ |
 | dung can ma la ye shes bsgom | [100]

| mgo bo las ni rims pa yis |
 | shes rab chags pas thig le zhu⁵ |
 | rdzogs pa'i go 'phang zhugs mams la |
 | don dam par⁶ ni bcing bar bya | [101]

| rim pa ji ltar zla ba shar |
 | cha mams kyis ni rdzogs par 'gyur |
 | 'phel 'grib grib ma'i dbang gis te⁷ |
 | zla ba chad dang rdzogs pa min | [102]

| de bzhin rim pas⁸ ye shes 'char⁹ |
 | sa mams kyis¹⁰ ni rdzogs par 'gyur |
 | nyon mongs la sogs bcom rdzogs pa¹¹ |
 | ye shes chad pa¹² rdzogs pa min | [103]

¹ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *padmar.*

² In Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): | *pad mar rdo rje nor bu song* | for | *rdo rje nor bu'i pad mar song* |.

³ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *mi mthun bsgoms pas* for *mi 'gyur bsgom pa.*

⁴ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): | *rdo rje gsung ni sdud pa po* | for | *rdo rje gsum ni bsdus pa yis* |.

⁵ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *zhugs.*

⁶ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *pas.*

⁷ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): omit 102c.

⁸ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *pa.*

⁹ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *shar.*

¹⁰ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *dag.*

¹¹ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *bcom pas rdzogs* for *bcom rdzogs pa.*

¹² F V: *cha dang* for *chad pa.*

A

| ji ltar ri bong mtshan mas dbus |
 | rdzogs par ri bong can mi gnas |
 | de bzhin 'gyur med bde bar sems |
 | 'khor ba'i bag chags mtshan ma yis | [104]

| skyed¹ dang rab tu nyams pa'i phyogs |
 | dkar po nag po rab tu gnas |
 | de dag dbus su rdzogs pa gang |
 | de ni rdzogs par mi gnas so | [105]

| skad cig gcig mngon rdzogs sangs rgyas |
 | rdzogs pa la ni g.yo mi 'gyur |
 | gang tshe rdo rje nor bur sems |
 | de ni skad cig thams cad rdzogs | [106]

| dkar po'i phyogs la 'di mi gnas |
 | res 'ga' dkar min la mi 'gro |
 | phyogs gnyis po yi dbus gnas pa |
 | rdzogs pa la gnas gnyis su med | [107]

| gtsug tor las ni shar ba de'i |
 | rdo rje nor bur rdzogs par 'gyur |
 | de chags bral las cha nyams pa |
 | rdo rje nas nyams la rab rdzogs | [108]

¹ L N S T U: *bskyed*.

B

| dbus su ri bong gis mtshan ltar |¹
 | nya la ri bong can mi gnas |
 | 'khor ba'i bag chags kyi² mtshan pas |
 | mi 'gyur bde la de bzhin sems | [104]

| skye ba dang ni 'jig pa'i phyogs |
 | yar ngo mar ngo bar du gnas³ |
 | de gnyis dbus su rdzogs pa gang |
 | rdzogs pa de ni rab mi gnas | [105]

| skad cig gcig gis rdzogs sangs rgyas |
 | rdzogs pa la ni g. yo⁴ mi 'gyur |
 | gang zhig rdo rje nor bur⁵ sems |
 | skad cig thams cad de⁶ rdzogs byed | [106]

| dkar po'i phyogs la 'di⁷ mi gnas |
 | dkar min la yang de⁸ mi 'gro |
 | gnyis med rdzogs pa la song na |
 | phyogs gnyis po'i⁹ dbus su gnas | [107]

| gtsug tor¹⁰ las ni byung ba de |
 | rdo rje nor bur¹¹ rdzogs par 'gyur |
 | dga' bral bcas pas¹² cha bcom pa |
 | rdo rje nas ni rdzogs pa bcom¹³ | [108]

¹ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): | *zla ba yongs su rdzogs pa yin* | for | *dbus su ri bong gis mtshan ltar* |.

² Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *kyi*.

³ F V omit verse 105a,b.

⁴ F V: *yongs*.

⁵ F V: *bu*.

⁶ F V: *der*.

⁷ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *de*.

⁸ F V: *dkar min pa la yi* for *dkar min la yang de*.

⁹ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *pa yi*.

¹⁰ F V: *gtor*.

¹¹ F V: *bu*.

¹² Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *pa'i*.

¹³ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *'joms*.

A

| slar yang gtsug tor du shar ba |
 | slar yang rdo rje nor bur rdzogs |
 | de chags bral las cha nyams pa |
 | lus can ye shes nyams pa min | [109]

| 'di yi bde ba che rang bzhin |
 | rdzogs pa'i sgra yis brjod par bya |
 | dngos po bar ma gzhan thams cad |
 | 'byung dang sdud pa'i rgyu yin no | [110]

| srid las mya ngan 'das par 'gro |
 | de las slar yang srid par 'ong |
 | rang phyogs dag las zla bzhin dang |
 | bgrod pa dag las snang byed bzhin | [111]

| rdzogs par mi g.yo ba 'di ni |
 | sa mams kyis ni yongs rdzogs nyid |
 | nyi khri brgyad gnyis brgya yi dbugs |
 | 'gyur med skad cig zos mams kyis | [112]

| phyogs gnyis yang dag gnon pa ni |
 | sa mams kyis ni yongs su rdzogs |
 | bden don nam pa bcu gnyis pa |
 | nam pa bcu drug 'gyur ba med | [113]

B

| slar yang gtsug tor las byung ba |¹
 | slar yang² rdo rje nor bur³ rdzogs |
 | dga' bral bcas pas⁴ cha bcom pa |
 | lus can ye shes bcom pa min | [109]

| bde ba chen po'i rang bzhin 'di |
 | rdzogs pa'i sgra yis brjod par bya |
 | gzhan ma dngos po'i mtha' kun ni |
 | skyed⁵ pa dang ni sdud⁶ byed rgyu | [110]

| srid nas mya ngan 'das par gshegs |
 | de nas slar yang srid par byong |
 | rang phyogs gnyis la zla bzhin dang |
 | bgrod pa gnyis la⁷ nyi⁸ bzhin no | [111]

| rdzogs pa mi g.yo ba 'di ni |⁹
 | mi 'gyur skad¹⁰ cig gis zos¹¹ pa'i |
 | dbugs ni nyi khri chig stong dang |
 | drug brgya yis ni lhag pa yis | [112]

| sa mams kyis ni yongs rdzogs so¹² |
 | phyogs gnyis yang dag mnan¹³ pa ni |
 | sa mams kyis ni yongs su rdzogs¹⁴ |
 | bden don nam pa bcu gnyis ldan | [113]

¹ F V omits 109a.

² T(D) T(Q): *yang na*.

³ F V: *bu*.

⁴ T(D) T(Q): *pa'i*.

⁵ F V: *bskyed*.

⁶ F V: *bsdud*.

⁷ F V: *pa*.

⁸ F V: *nyid*.

⁹ In T(D) T(Q): | *rdzogs la mi g.yo ba'i dpe ni* | for | *rdzogs pa mi g.yo ba 'di ni* |.

¹⁰ F V: *ska*.

¹¹ F V: *thos*.

¹² T(D) T(Q): *yongs rdzogs nyid* for *yongs rdzogs so*.

¹³ F V T(Q): *gnas*.

¹⁴ T(D) T(Q): *yongs rdzogs na* for *yongs su rdzogs*.

A

| rnam pa bcu gnyis sa rnams kyis |
| rdzogs pa gnyis su med pa mchog |
| cha shas rnams kyis rdzogs pa'i sems |
| rnam pa bcu drug mi 'gyur ba | [114]

| don gcig gnyis su med pa chos |
| dam pa'i don te 'jigs pa med |
| rdzogs pa'i gnas skabs son pa'i sems |
| kun nas rab tu rdzogs pa'o | [115]

| chags bral dang po chags pa che |
| rdo rje lus med mi 'gyur che |
| yongs su rdzogs pa phyogs gnyis kyi¹ |
| bag chags rnams kyis ma mkhyud pa'o | [116]

| ji ltar chu bo'i chu zhugs pa |
| de ni rgya mtshor chur mtshungs pa |
| de bzhin dngos po'i tshogs 'di ni² |
| 'gyur ba med par 'gyur med mtshungs | [117]

| ji ltar khams kyi tshogs pa 'di³ |
| zos pa las ni ro nyid 'gyur |
| sa bon rang bzhin sa bon gyis |
| 'bras bu'i dus su nga rgyal spangs | [118]

| de ltar dngos po'i tshogs pa yang |
| mchog tu mi 'gyur zos pa yis |
| mchog tu mi 'gyur ba nyid 'gyur |
| rnam pa thams cad rang bzhin 'dzin | [119]

¹ LNU: *kyis*.

² DJST: *de*.

³ DJ: *'dis*.

B

| rnam pa bcu gnyis sa rnams kyis |
| rdzogs nas¹ gnyis su med pa'i mchog |
| cha rnams kyis ni rdzogs pa'i sems |
| rnam pa bcu drug mi 'gyur ba | [114]

| don gcig gnyis su med pa'i sems |
| don dam pa ni mi mnyam pa |
| rdzogs pa'i gnas skabs sems 'gyur na |
| kun nas rab tu rdzogs pa yin | [115]

| chags bral dang po chags pa che |
| rdo rje yan lag mi 'gyur che |
| phyogs gnyis pa yi bag chags kyis |
| yongs su gang ba ma 'dres pa | [116]

| ji ltar rgya mtshor chu bo'i chu |
| zhugs nas chu de dang mnyam 'gyur |
| de bzhin du ni dngos po'i tshogs |
| 'gyur ba de ni mi 'gyur mnyam | [117]

| ji ltar khams kyi tshogs 'di ni |
| sa bon gyis zos ro nyid 'gyur |
| sa bon rang bzhin nyid du ni |
| 'bras bu'i dus su nga rgyal spangs | [118]

| de ltar dngos po'i tshogs kyang ni |
| mchog tu mi 'gyur bas² zos na |
| rnam pa thams cad rang bzhin 'dzin |
| mchog tu mi 'gyur nyid du 'gyur | [119]

¹ T(D) T(Q): *pa*.

² T(D) T(Q): *ba*.

A

| mche ba'i tshor ba sdug bsngal ni |
 | dug rdzogs gnas skabs gyur pa na |
 | rma la rig min gzhan du min |
 | yul rnams¹ dbang po'i sgo rnams kyis | [120]

| de bzhin rnal 'byor dam pa'i bde |
 | sems rdzogs char gyur na rdo rje |
 | nor bur rig min gzhan du min |
 | yul rnams dbang po'i sgo rnams kyis | [121]

| ji ltar ro chen lcags rnams kyi² |
 | phyogs gcig yang dag gnas pa ni |
 | lcags la drag po'i mes gdungs na |
 | kun nas kun tu 'bigs par byed | [122]

| de bzhin nyid du 'gyur med bde |
 | phyogs gcig yang dag gnas pa yang |
 | sems la 'dod pa'i mes gdungs na |
 | kun nas kun tu 'bigs par byed | [123]

| ji ltar phug pa'i lcags rnams ni |
 | 'ga' zhig tu³ yang dri ma med |
 | de bzhin du ni phug pa'i sems |
 | 'ga' zhig tu yang bag chags med | [124]

| lcags ni gser nyid du gyur pa |
 | me yis dri ma med par 'gyur |
 | de bzhin yang dang yang du sems |
 | 'dod chags me yis dri ma med | [125]

¹ DJQ: *dang*.

² QT: *kyis*.

³ LNU: *du*.

B

| mche rma'i tshor ba'i sdug bsngal ni |
 | gzhan du nad pas rig med la |
 | dug¹ rdzogs gnas skabs gyur na ni |
 | dbang po'i sgo yi yul ma yin | [120]

| de bzhin rnal 'byor rdor nor bur |
 | gzhan du dam pa'i bde rig min |
 | sems ni rdzogs pa'i char gyur na |
 | dbang po'i sgo yi yul la min | [121]

| ji ltar lcags kyi phyogs cig² na |
 | ro bcud chen po yang dag gnas |
 | lcags la drag po'i mes gdungs na |
 | kun nas kun du 'bigs par byed | [122]

| de bzhin du ni phyogs gcig na |
 | mi 'gyur bde ba yang dag gnas |
 | sems ni 'dod chags mes³ gdungs⁴ na |
 | kun nas kun du 'bigs par byed | [123]

| de ltar phug pa'i lcags la ni |
 | gang du yang ni dri ma med |
 | de bzhin phug pa'i sems la ni |
 | gang du 'ang bag chags yod pa min⁵ | [124]

| gser nyid du ni lcags bsgyur la |
 | me yis⁶ dri ma med par 'gyur⁷ |
 | de bzhin sems ni yang nas yang |
 | 'dod chags me yis⁸ dri med 'gyur | [125]

¹ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *kun*.

² Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *gcig*.

³ FV: *sems*.

⁴ FV: *gdugs*.

⁵ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *g.yo ba for yod pa*.

⁶ Ṭ(Q) V: *me'i for me yis*.

⁷ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q) *dri med 'gyur ba ltar for dri ma med par 'gyur*.

⁸ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q) *med ni for me yis*.

A

| ji ltar nor bu che reg las |
 | rdo ni rab tu 'bar bar 'gyur |
 | de bzhin 'gyur med bde reg las |
 | sems ni bde ba nyid du 'gyur | [126]

| 'dir ni mang po brjod pas ci |
 | 'jig rten kun rdzob bden pa yis¹ |
 | lcags mams rab tu 'bigs² byed pa |
 | ro yi mthu ni brtag bya min | [127]

| ci zhig slar yang don dam pas |
 | glo³ bur dri mas g.yogs pa yi⁴ |
 | sems ni rab tu 'bigs byed pa |
 | ye shes mthu ni brtag bya min | [128]

| sems la glo bur dri ma med |
 | sems las yun ring dus can min |
 | sems med par ni skye ba med |
 | sems la mi zad gnas pa min | [129]

| gal te 'di nyid glo⁵ bur ba |
 | de tshe sngon du sems dri med |
 | gal te⁶ sems las dus ring can |
 | de tshe de ni ci las skye⁷ | [130]

| gal te sems med par skye na |
 | de tshe nam mkha'i me tog mtshungs |
 | gal te sems la rtag tu gnas |
 | de tshe kun tu thar pa min | [131]

¹ L N U: yi.
² L N S: 'bugs.
³ D N T: blo.
⁴ Q S U: yis.
⁵ J L T D: blo.
⁶ D L N T U: gang tshe for gal te.
⁷ L N S T U: skyes.

B

| nor bu chen po rdo la reg |
 | rab tu gsal bar 'gyur ba ltar |
 | de bzhin mi 'gyur bdes¹ reg na |
 | sems ni bde ba nyid du 'gyur | [126]

| 'dir mang smras pas ci zhig rtogs² |
 | 'jig rten kun rdzob bden pa la³ |
 | lcags la kun du 'bigs pa yi⁴ |
 | ro yis nus mthu bsam mi khyab | [127]

| don dam par ni ye shes dngos |
 | rtogs par yang ni nus sam ci |
 | blo bur dri mas g.yogs pa yi |
 | sems la kun tu 'bigs pa yin | [128]

| sems la glo bur dri ma med |
 | sems la yun rings dus su⁵ 'ang min |
 | sems las ma gtogs skye ba 'ang min |
 | sems la zad med gnas pa 'ang min⁶ | [129]

| gal te 'di ni⁷ blo bur na |
 | de phyir sngon du dri med sems |
 | gal te 'di ni yun rings na |
 | de phyir de la srid min gang | [130]

| gal te sems las ma gtogs 'ongs |
 | del tar nam mkha'i me tog mthsungs |
 | gal te sems la rtags gnas na |
 | de la kun tu⁸ thar pa min | [131]

¹ T(D) T(Q): bde.
² T(D) T(Q): bya.
³ T(D) T(Q): yis.
⁴ T(D) T(Q): yin.
⁵ T(D) T(Q): na.
⁶ T(D) T(Q): med.
⁷ T(D) T(Q): 'di'i for 'di ni.
⁸ F V T(D): du.

A

| ji ltar zangs kyi dri ma ni |
 | ro yi sbyor bas nyams par 'gyur |
 | de yi yod nyid nyams pa med |
 | dri med nyid kyis yang dag gnas | [132]

| de bzhin sems kyi dri ma ni |
 | stong nyid sbyor bas rnam nyams 'gyur |
 | de yi ye shes nyid nyams med |
 | dri med nyid kyis yang dag gnas | [133]

| ji ltar bcud kyis phug pa'i lcags |
 | lcags nyid du ni rjes 'gro min |
 | de bzhin bde bas phug pa'i sems |
 | sdug bsngal nyid du rjes 'gro min | [134]

| chags bral las gzhan sdig pa med |
 | bde ba las gzhan bsod nams med |
 | de phyir 'gyur med bde bar sems |
 | mi bdag rtag tu gnas par bya | [135]

| gzhon nu ma yi dga' ba ni |
 | med par bde ba smra mi nus |
 | lang tsho'i dga' ba thob pa na |
 | bde ba chen po rang gis rig | [136]

| de bzhin ting 'dzin dang bral ba'i |
 | bde ba smra bar nus ma yin |
 | 'gyur med ting 'dzin thob pa na |
 | rnal 'byor pa yis rang rig 'gyur | [137]

B

| ji ltar zangs ma'i dri ma ni |
 | bcud kyi sbyor bas nyams par 'gyur |
 | dri med kyis ni yang dag gnas |
 | de yi¹ de nyid nyams pa med | [132]

| de bzhin sems kyi dri ma ni |
 | stong nyid sbyor bas nyams par 'gyur |
 | dri med kyis ni yang dag gnas |
 | de yi² ye shes nyams pa med | [133]

| ji ltar bcud kyis lcags phug³ pa |
 | lcags nyid du ni 'gyur ba med |
 | de bzhin bde bas phug pa'i sems |
 | sdug bsngal nyid du 'gyur ma yin | [134]

| chags bral las ni sdig gzhan med |
 | bde las bsod nams gzhan pa med |
 | de bas mi 'gyur bde sems kyis⁴ |
 | rtag tu dbugs bya mi dbang kye | [135]

| chags las ma gtogs bde ba ni |
 | gzhon nu ma yis smra nus min |
 | lang tshos bde ba thob nas su |
 | bde chen rang gis rig pa ste⁵ | [136]

| de bzhin ting 'dzin bral ba yis |
 | bde ba smra bar mi nus so |
 | ting nge 'dzin gyis mi 'gyur thob |
 | rnal 'byor pa rnam rang gis rig | [137]

¹ F Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): yis.

² V Ṭ(D): yis

³ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): 'biggs.

⁴ Verses 135 c, d in Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): | de bas rtag par mi 'gyur bde | | sems ni dbugs bya mi dbang kye |.

⁵ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q) read stanza 136: | gzhon nu ma yi dga' ba ni | | bde ba smra bar mi nus kyi | | lan tsho yis ni bde thob pa | | bde ba chen po rang gis rig |.

A | 'gyur med las skyes bde rig pa |
| thams cad mkhyen la 'ang the tshom¹ za |
| de lta na yang yid bde min |
| chags bral nyid du mi bya'o | [138]

| 'phos pa las ni chags bral 'gyur |
| chags bral las ni sdug bsngal 'byung |
| sdug bsngal skyes bu'i khams zad byed |
| zad pa las ni 'chi bar brjod | [139]

| shi nas² slar yang de rnams kyi |
| srid pa'o srid las slar 'chi 'pho |
| de ltar sems can gyi srid pa |
| chags bral las 'byung gzhan du min | [140]

| de phyir 'bad pa thams cad kyis |
| 'pho ba'i chags pa nam par spang |
| gang gis 'gyur med bde bar 'gyur |
| rnal 'byor 'khor bar bcings pa yis | [141]

| 'dod ldan yang ni chags bral bar |
| 'dod pa'i bstan bcos su mi 'dod |
| bdag gis brjod pa'i rgyud du³ slar |
| rnal 'byor pa cis⁴ sdug bsngal 'dod | [142]

| khu ba mi 'gyur rang bzhin gyis |
| mchog tu mi 'gyur bsgrub par bya |
| rten ni 'pho ba thob pa na |
| brten pa'i 'dod chags bral ba nyid | [143]

B | mi 'gyur las skyes the tshom ste |
| thams cad mkhyen pa ma rig¹ kyang |
| yid la bde min chags bral ba² |
| de ltar nam yang mi bya'o | [138]

| 'pho ba las ni chag bral 'gyur |
| chags bral las ni sdug bsngal 'byung |
| sdug bsngal las ni skyes bu khams |
| zad las 'chi ba zhes su brjod | [139]

| shi las de rnams slar yang srid |
| srid pa las ni slar 'chi 'pho |
| 'di ltar chags bral byung ba las ³ |
| sems can gzhan du srid pa med | [140]

| de bas 'bad pa thams cad kyis |
| 'pho ba'i bde ba spang bar bya |
| gang gis srid pa'i 'ching ba las |
| mi 'gyur bder 'gyur rnal 'byor pas | [141]

| 'dod pa'i bstan bcos chags can pas |
| chags bral bar ni mi 'dod do⁴ |
| bdag gis⁵ bstan pa'i rgyud las ni |
| rnal 'byor pa ni bsdug bsngal 'dod | [142]

| sa bon mi 'gyur rab bzhin gyis |
| mchog tu mi 'gyur bsgrub par bya |
| rten ni 'pho ba thob pa la |
| rten byed chags dang bral ba nyid | [143]

¹ D J: *tsom*.

² J Q: *las*.

³ L N T U: *tu*.

⁴ L N T U: *ci*.

¹ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *thob*.

² Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *bas*.

³ Verses 139 b, c, d and 140 a, b, c are omitted in the *Tikā*.

⁴ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): *na*.

⁵ F Ṭ(Q): *gi*.

A

| rten dang brten pa legs rdzogs pa |
 | ji srid 'gyur med nyid du 'gro |
 | sems kyi 'gyur med nyid thob na |
 | rten dang brten pa'i mtshan nyid med | [144]

| 'gyur med las byung sku yi ni |
 | mdzod spu'i 'khor lor son pa'i yang |
 | ā li kā li mnyam sbyor ba |
 | hūm yig mi 'dod mi yi bdag | [145]

| stong pa las byung gzugs brnyan rgyu |
 | mi 'gyur las skyes bde ba 'bras |
 | rgyu ni 'bras bus rgyas btab pa |
 | 'bras bu rgyu yis rgyas btab pa'o | [146]

| stong nyid gzugs brnyan 'dzin pa rgyu |
 | snying rje 'gyur med 'dzin pa 'bras |
 | stong nyid snying rje dbyer med pa |
 | byang chub sems de mi 'pho ba'o | [147]

| mya ngan 'das pa bral ba'i gzugs |
 | 'khor ba las 'das mi 'gyur ba |
 | de dag sbyor ba gnyis med mchog |
 | rtag dang chad las nges par grol | [148]

| dngos med las byung mtshan nyid phyir |
 | gzugs ni dngos po med pa min |
 | dngos po las byung mtshan nyid phyir |
 | 'gyur ba med pa dngos po min | [149]

B

| rten dang brten¹ pa'i 'brel pa ni |
 | ji srid mi 'gyur nyid du 'gyur |
 | sems kyis mi 'gyur nyid thob nas |
 | rten dang brten pa'i 'brel pa med | [144]

| mi 'gyur ba las skyes pa'i sku |
 | mdzod spu'i 'khor lor son pa las² |
 | ā³ li kā 'li'i sbyor ba yis |
 | hūm yig mi 'dod rgyal po kye | [145]

| stong pa las byung⁵ gzugs ni rgyu |
 | 'bras bu mi 'gyur las skyes bde⁶ |
 | 'bras bu yis ni rgyu rgyas gdab |
 | rgyu yis 'bras bu rgyas gdab po | [146]

| stong nyid gzugs 'dzin rgyu yin te |
 | 'bras bu snyin rje mi 'gyur 'dzin |⁷
 | stong nyid snying rje dbyer med pa |
 | byang chub sems su de brjod do | [147]

| myang ngan 'das dang bral ba'i sems |
 | 'khor ba las 'das⁸ mi 'gyur ba |
 | rtag dang chad las nges par grol |
 | de nyid sbyor ba gnyis med gzhan | [148]

| dngos med las byung mtshan nyid phyir |
 | gzugs la dngos po med pa min |
 | dngos po las byung mtshan nyid phyir |
 | mi 'gyur ba la dngos po med | [149]

¹ F V: rten.

² Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): la.

³ F V: a.

⁴ F V: ka.

⁵ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): byung ba'i for byung.

⁶ Verse 146 b is omitted in the *Tikā*.

⁷ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q) read verse 147 a, b: |stong pa nyid gzugs rgyu yin te | |'bras bu snying rje'i gzugs mi 'dzin |.

⁸ Ṭ(D) Ṭ(Q): 'da'.

A

| dngos po dngos med yang dag sbyor |
 | rdo rje¹ i rnal 'byor gnyis med mchog |
 | gzugs dang gzugs min rnam par grol |
 | pra phab me long la bzhin no | [150]

| gzugs ni srid par mi 'ong ste |
 | 'gyur med mya ngan 'das mi¹ 'gro |
 | phan tshun mkhyud² pas³ zhi ba ste |
 | ma ning gi ni go 'phang mchog | [151]

| shes rab rgyu las ma byung zhing |
 | shes rab rgyu las byung ba 'bras |
 | shes rab rgyu las ma⁴ skyes phyir |
 | shes rab las⁵ skyes rgyu skyes min | [152]

| de phyir ye shes rgyu skyes min |
 | shes rab ye shes bla na med |
 | 'bras bu rgyu yis gzhan dang gzhan |
 | phan tshun du ni rgyas btab med | [153]

| rgyu dang 'bras bu thams cad gang |
 | de ni rten cing 'brel bar⁶ 'byung |
 | phan tshun rgya yis btab pa¹ i gzugs |
 | skye min mya ngan 'das pa'ang min | [154]

| shes rab kun nas mya ngan 'das |
 | skye ba mchog tu 'gyur ba med |
 | rgyu dang 'bras bu rnam nges grol |
 | phan tshun du ni rgyas btab med | [155]

¹ LN: *ma*.
² DJ: *'khyud*.
³ LNSTU: *pa*.
⁴ LNU: *byung*.
⁵ LNSTU: *la*.
⁶ LN: *par*.

B

| dngos dang dngos med yang dag sbyor |
 | rdo rje rnal 'byor gnyis med mchog |
 | gzugs dang gzugs min rnam par grol |
 | me long la¹ ni pra bzhin no | [150]

| gzugs ni srid par mi 'gro ste |
 | 'gyur med mya ngan 'das mi 'gro² |
 | phan tshun mkhyud pa³ zhi ba na |
 | ma ning gi ni go 'phang mchog | [151]

| rgyu las shes rab ma skyes te |
 | shes rab rgyu las 'bras bu 'byung |
 | rgyu las shes rab ma skyes phyir |
 | shes rab las skyes rgyu skyes min | [152]

| de phyir rgyu skyes ye shes min |
 | shes rab ye shes mi 'gyur te |
 | 'bras bu dang ni rgyu yis ni |
 | phan tshun du ni rgyas gdab med |⁴ 153

| gang zhig rgyu dang 'bras bu kun |
 | de ni rten cing 'brel bar⁵ 'byung |
 | phan tshun du ni mkhyud pa⁶ i⁶ gzugs |
 | skye ba med cing 'das pa⁷ med | [154]

| shes rab kun nas mya ngan 'das |
 | mchog tu 'gyur ba med pa skyes⁸ |
 | rgyu dang 'bras bu rnam par grol |
 | phan tshun rgya yis btab⁹ pa med | [155]

¹ T(D) T(Q): *gi*.
² T(Q) T(D) read 151 a, b: | *srid gsum gzugs ni mi 'ong ste* | | *'gyur med mi grol myang ngan 'das* |.
³ T(D) T(Q): *dang*.
⁴ Verses 152 and 153 are omitted in the *Tikā*.
⁵ T(D) T(Q): *las*.
⁶ T(D) T(Q): *rgyas gdab* for *mkhyud pa'i*.
⁷ T(D) T(Q): *pa 'ang*.
⁸ T(D) T(Q): *ste*.
⁹ T(D) T(Q): *gdab*.

A
| ma skyes pa dang ma 'gags pa'i |
| shes bya gang zhig 'dir mthong ba |
| de ni rang sems gzhan ma yin |
| phyi yi shes bya nam 'byed phyir | [156]

| de phyir bdag gis bdag nyid la |
| 'gar yang rgyas gdab nus ma yin |
| ral gri chen po bdag nyid la |
| bdag nyid so yis gcod dam ci | [157]

| mo gsham bu mo dang 'grogs pas |
| rmi lam du ni bde 'gyur ltar |
| nam mkha' las byung gzugs brnyan ni |
| bsten pas bdag la de bzhin no | [158]

| shes rab ma yin thabs kyang min |
| 'di ni lhan skyes shes rab bcas |
| kun nas bde ba rdzogs pa las |
| sgrib pa thams cad spangs pa ste | [159]

| nam mkha' bzhin du gos pa med |
| yul dang dbang po spangs pa ni |
| kun nas 'byung po kun la gnas |
| gcad du med pa dbye ba spangs | [160]

| rang byung rdo rje sems dpa' 'di¹ |
| don chen mchog tu mi 'gyur ba |
| 'dod chags chen po sems dpa' che |
| sems can thams cad dga' bar byed | [161]

| byang chub sems dpa' zhe sdang che |
| nyon mongs zad pa dgra chen po |
| dam tshig sems dpa' gti mug che |
| gti mug blo ste gti mug sel | [162]

¹ D J: ni.

B
| ma skyes pa dang ma 'gags pa'i |
| shes bya gang zhig 'dir mthong ba |
| phyi yi ye shes byas 'byed pa'i phyir² |
| rang gi sems las de bzhin min | [156]

| de phyir rang gis rang la ni |
| gar yang rgyas gdab nus ma yin |
| ral gri'i so yis rang la ni |
| ral gri chen pos gcod dam ci | [157]

| mo gsham bu mor sbyor ba yis |
| rmi lam bde bar 'gyur ba ltar |
| nam mkha' las byung gzugs kyis ni |
| bdag la bsten³ pas de bzhin no | [158]

| lhan cig skyes pa'i shes rab bcas |
| 'di ni thabs min shes rab min |
| kun nas kun tu yongs su rdzogs |
| sgrib pa thams cad dag ni spangs | [159]

| nam mkha' lta bur gos pa med |
| yul dang dbang po spangs pa nyid |
| kun tu yang dag⁴ kun la gnas |
| mi chod mi phyed spangs pa nyid | [160]

| 'di ni rang byung rdo rje sems |
| don chen mchog tu mi 'gyur ba |
| 'dod chags chen po sems dpa' che |
| sems can thams cad dga' bar mdzad | [161]

| byang chun sems dpa' zhe sdang che |
| nyon mongs zad mdzad dgra chen po |
| dam tshig sems dpa'⁵ gti mug che |
| gti mug blo ste gti mug sel | [162]

¹ T(D) T(Q): na.

² T(D) T(Q) read 156c: *phyi ru nam par dbye ba las*.

³ T(D) T(Q): *brten*.

⁴ In T(D) T(Q): *'byung po* for *yang dag*.

⁵ T(D) T(Q): *chen po'i* for *sems dpa'*.

A

| rdo rje'i rnal 'byor khro ba che |
 | lha min khro bo dgra chen po |
 | dus kyi 'khor lo chags pa che |
 | pho ba'i chags pa sel bar byed | [163]

| rdo rje mi phyed ces¹ par brjod |
 | 'dir ni don chen bcom ldan 'das |
 | sems dpa' srid gsum gcig pa nyid |
 | mchog tu mi 'gyur brjod par bya | [164]

| mchog tu mi 'gyur bde ba rdzogs |
 | sa rnams yongs su rdzogs pa yis |
 | 'dod chags chen po sems dpa' che |
 | sems can thams cad dga' bar byed | [165]

| byang chub la gnas sems dpa' ni |
 | mi g.yo de phyir byang chub sems |
 | nyon mongs la sogs zhe sdang tshogs |
 | zhe sdang chen po dgra chen ba | [166]

| dam tshig zla ba bdud rtsi yi |
 | khu ba 'pho med de za ba |
 | dam tshig sems dpa'o rigs pa 'dis |
 | gti mug blo ste gti mug sel | [167]

| rdo rje thams cad gcig pa nyid |
 | shes rab sku dang mi 'gyur bcas |
 | khro bo chen po dgra chen po |
 | khro bo'i gzugs can bdud rnams kyi'o² | [168]

B

| rdo rje rnal 'byor khro bo che |
 | lha min¹ khro bo dgra chen po |
 | dus kyi 'khor lo chags pa che |
 | 'pho ba'i chags pa sel bar mdzad² | [163]

| don chen bcom ldan 'das kyi's 'dir |
 | rdo rje mi phyed zhes su gsungs |
 | sems dpa' srid pa gsum gcig pa |
 | mchog tu mi 'gyur dag tu brjod | [164]

| mchog tu mi 'gyur bdes³ gang ba |
 | sa rnams kyi's ni yongs rdzogs nyid |
 | 'dod chags chen po sems dpa' che |
 | sems can thams cad dga' bar mdzad | [165]

| sems dpa' byang chub rnams par gnas |
 | de phyir mi g.yo byang chub sems |
 | nyon mongs la sogs zhe sdang tshogs |
 | zhe sdang chen po dgra chen po | [166]

| dam tshig zla ba'i bdud rtsi dkar |
 | 'pho med de ni za ba 'o |
 | rigs pa 'dis na dam tshig⁴ sems |
 | gti mug blo ste gti mug sel | [167]

| shes rab sku dang mi 'gyur bcas |
 | rdo rje thams cad gcig pa⁵ nyid |
 | khro bo'i gzugs can bdud rnams la |
 | khro bo chen po dgra chen po | [168]

¹ LNTU: zhes.

² DLNSTU: kyi's.

¹ T(D) T(Q): mo'i.

² T(D) T(Q): sel mdzad pa for sel bar mdzad.

³ T(D) T(Q): bde.

⁴ T(D) T(Q): byang chub for dam tshig.

⁵ T(D) T(Q): po.

A

| 'gyur med bde ba che thabs las |
 | nam yang sems can don mi 'dor |
 | sems can grol nas chags chen po |
 | 'gyur ba'i chags pa sel bar byed | [169]

| 'di rnams rnam pa drug tu brjod |
 | mi 'gyur ye shes tshor ba dang |
 | rnam shes gzugs dang 'du byed dang |
 | 'du shes de rnams phung po'i rigs | [170]

| ye shes me dang nam mkha' sa |
 | rlung chu rnams kyi rim pa bzhin |
 | yid mig rna ba lus dang sna |
 | lce rnams kyi yang de bzhin nyid | [171]

| sgra ro chos kyi dbyings dang dri |
 | reg bya kha dog mams kyis yang |
 | khro bo'i rgyal po gdong drug 'jigs |
 | rigs drug rnams kyis¹ yongs dag pa | [172]

| lus dang² gsang ba dbang po sems |
 | rtag tu dkyil 'khor rnam pa gsum |
 | shes rab thabs kyi rdo rje gsum |
 | rdo rje sems dpa' nyid du 'gyur | [173]

| 'di ni dbang gis sgrub thabs te |
 | mchog tu mi 'gyur sgrub pa'i thabs |
 | rtsa dang rigs dang yang dag ldan |
 | zla ba mdor bstan pa yis bshad | [174]

¹ LNQSTU: *kyi*.

² LNSTU: *ngag*.

B

| mi 'gyur chen po bde thabs kyis |
 | nam yang sems can don mi 'dor |
 | sems can grol rnams ser sna che¹ |
 | 'gyur ba'i ser sna² sel bar mdzad | [169]

| mi 'gyur ye shes tshor ba 'di |
 | rnam pa drug po dag tu brjod³ |
 | rnam shes gzugs dang 'du byed dang |
 | 'du shes phung po'i rigs de rnams | [170]

| ye shes me dang nam mkha' sa |
 | rim pa ji bzhin rlung dang chu |
 | yid dang mig dang rna ba lus⁴ |
 | sna dang lce ni de bzhin no⁵ | [171]

| sgra dang ro dang chos kyi dbyings |
 | dri dang reg pa gzugs dag ste |⁶
 | rigs drug po ni yongs su dag |
 | khro bo'i rgyal po gdong drug 'jigs | [172]

| lus dang gsang ba'i dbang po sems |
 | dkyil 'khor rnam gsum rtag par ni |
 | thabs shes rdo rje gsum rnams kyi |
 | rdo rje sems dpa' nyid 'dren to⁷ | [173]

| dbang gi bsgrub pa 'di nyid ni |
 | mchog tu mi 'gyur bsgrub pa ste |
 | rtsa dang rigs su yang dag ldan |
 | mdor bsdu bshad do zla bzang kye | [174]

¹ In T(D) T(Q): *sams can grol ba'i chags chen po for sems can grol rnams ser sna che*.

² T(D) T(Q): *chags pa for ser sna*.

³ Verse 170 b is omitted in T(D) T(Q).

⁴ T(D) T(Q): *dang*.

⁵ T(D) T(Q): *lus*.

⁶ T(D) T(Q): *dri dang reg dang ka dog ste for dri dang reg pa gzugs dag ste*.

⁷ Verse 173 is omitted in T(D) T(Q).

l ces pa 'jig rten khams kyi le'ur le'u¹ lnga pa'i mchog tu mi'gyur ba'i
dbang gi² sgrub thabs mdor bstan pa rdzogs so ||
|| 'di ni kha che'i paṇḍi ta so ma nā tha dang | bod kyi lo tsā³ ba 'bro dge
slong shes rab grags pas bsgyur zhing⁴ zhus te | gtan la phab pa las | slar
yang⁵ rin chen rgyal mtshan gyis dpal nā ro pa'i 'grel bshad dang mthun⁶
par bsgyur cing zhus te dag par byas pa'o ||

¹ J Q: *le'ur*.

² L N U: *gis*.

³ L N Q T U: *tstsha*; JS: *tsa*.

⁴ L N S T U: *cing*.

⁵ D J Q: insert *sgra tshad pa*.

⁶ L N T U: *'thun*.

l 'jig rten gyi khams kyi le'u la sogs pa las || le'u lnga pa mchog tu mi
'gyur ba'i dbang gis bsgrub pa mdor bsodus pa'i le'u zhes bya ba rdzogs
sto ||

|| rgya gar gyi paṇḍi ta zla ba mgon po dang || bod kyi lo tstsha ba dge
slong shes rab grags kyis bsgyur nas gtan la phab pa'o | lslad nas paṇḍi
ta mkhas pa chen po sa manta shri'i zhal mnga' nas dang |
| lo tstsha ba dge slong chos rab kyis zhu chen legs par bgyis pa'o ||
|| yang phyis puṅye shri de shantras rgya dpe la gtugs shing 'grel pa dang
bstun¹ nas chad pa bsabs zur nyams pa rnam bsos te dag par byas pa'o ||

¹ F V: *btun*.

SINGLE READINGS¹

TEXT A

Title		D: <i>se kko dde sha</i> ; Q: <i>se kod de sha</i>
Stanza	6	(d*2) T: <i>mams</i> .
	9	(d*4) L: <i>gyis</i> .
	10	(a*6) Q: <i>dbyangs</i> ; (b *2) S: <i>rje'i</i> .
	20	(b*2) J: <i>rje</i> .
	24	(a*6) Q: <i>byed</i> .
	22	(c*3,4,5,6) L: <i>sed' sed'</i> .
	27	(d*3) U: <i>yongsu</i> .
	28	(b*5) L: <i>sgom</i> .
	30	(d*6) S: <i>'khrul</i> .
	31	(d* 1, 2) L: <i>semn</i> .
	32	(a*5, 6) L: <i>gzhonu</i> .
	34	(d*1, 2) L: <i>gzhonu</i> .
	35	(b*6) L: <i>brtsol</i> .
	36	(d*6) T: <i>pa</i> .
	37	(d*6, 7) L: <i>mamso</i> .
	38	(b*8) T: <i>gsungs</i> ; (d*1) U: <i>ci</i> .
	42	(b 1, 2) L: <i>dusu</i> .
	44	(a*2) L: <i>cu</i> .
	45	(d*3, 4) L: <i>ralri</i> .
	46	(d*1,2) Q: <i>pad ma</i> .
	52	(b*1) Q: <i>skyed</i> .
	54	(a*5, 6) L: <i>tamd</i> ; (c*7) T: <i>yis</i> .
	56	(a *5, 6) L: <i>gtumo</i> ; (b *4, 5) L: <i>mkha'gro</i> ; (c*3, 5) L: <i>brjodus</i> ; (c*7) S: <i>kyis</i> .
	57	(d*1,2) L: <i>dbusu</i> .
	58	(a *3,4) Q: <i>pad ma</i> ; (b*1,2) L: <i>dkyor</i> .
	59	(c*7) T inserts the repetition: <i>g.yan (sic!) dang g.yas pa'i dus sbyar na</i> ; (d*1, 2) L: <i>dbyugus</i> .
	62	(a*5, 6) L: <i>namkha'</i> ; (d*1,2,3,4) L: <i>g.yas pas sogs</i> for <i>g.yas par sa sogs</i> .
	63	(c*1) J: <i>'the</i> ; U: <i>the</i> .
	64	(c*3) J: <i>'dzub</i> ; (d*3, 4) L: <i>ralrir</i> .
	66	(d*6,7) L: <i>gcigo</i> .

¹ See above p. 39.

Stanza	68	(b*6,7) L: 'gago.
	69	(d*6,7) L: spyodo.
	72	(d*7) S: bo.
	73	(a*5) S: lag; (c*6,7) L: nyin for ba dag.
	74	(a*7) Q: dag.
	75	(d*5) Q: myam.
	78	(b*3) T: bzod.
	80	(a *3,4) Q: pad ma; (c*7) J: po.
	81	(a* 1,2) L: snogs; (b*3,4): pad ma.
	82	(b*7) Q: go.
	83	(b *2) S: pa'i; (d *1,2) Q: pad ma.
	84	(a* 5,6) L: dusu.
	85	(a*4) J: shes; (b*3,4) Q: pad ma; (c*7,8) L: brjode; (c*7) S: do.
	86	(a*3, 4) L: thamd.
	88	(a*1.2) L: sangyas; (b *1, 2) Q: pad mar; (c*7) J: ste; (d*4) N: bu; (d*7) L: dgo for da go.
	94	(b*7) T: omits med.
	99	(a*6) T: mkhyud; (b* 5,6) Q: pad mar.
	108	(d*3) Q: las.
	110	(d*3) J: bsdud.
	116	(d*5) Q: mi D: omits ma; (d*6) D: 'khyud.
	118	(a*7) D: 'dis.
	123	(c*7) Q: nas.
	124	(b *5) T: bri.
	128	(c*5) S: 'bugs.
	132	(a*4) Q: gyi.
	137	(c*7) T: ni.
From	141	(d)
to	166	(a*1) missing in Q (Rgyud Ka fols. 22a and b).
	146	(d* 3, 4, 5) S: rgya yis for rgyu yis rgyas
	147	(d*5) T: yi.
	153	Quarter a is omitted in J.
	156	(b*7) S: pa.
	157	(d*4) S: yi.
	161	(s* 3 4) N: tamd.
	174	(c*4) L: pa.
Colophon:		Q: rdzogs te for rdzogs so; T: slar spos gang for slar yang.

TEXT B

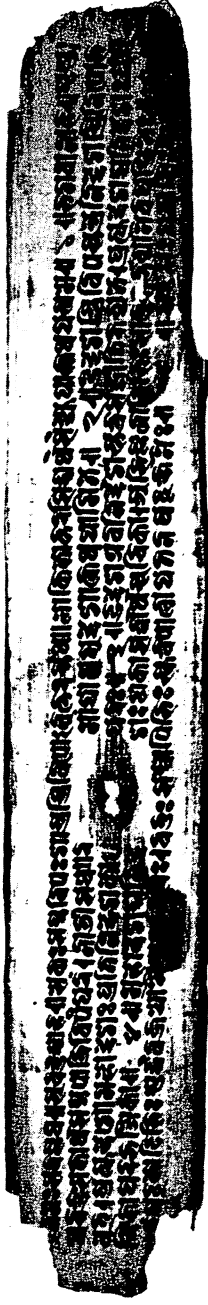
Stanza	3	(c*2) V: du; (c*6) V: stan.
	4	(c*4) V: stan.
	5	(a* 4) F: bo'i; (d*4) F: gyi.
	7	(b*7) F: ni; (c*4) F: lor.
	9	(a*4) V: nyid.
	10	(a*6) F: sbyangs, V: spyangs; (b*6) F: bshugs, V: shugs.
	11	(b*1) Ṭ(Q): sbyong; (d*2) Ṭ(Q): ni;
	12	quarter a is omitted in Ṭ(Q); (b*1) V: gcod; (b*3): gyi; (b*6) Ṭ(Q): po'i; (c*2) F: spyangs; V: sbyangs; (c*7) Ṭ(Q): 'dags.
	13	(b*4) V: du; (c*6,7) V: 'phog pa for 'pho ba; c and d omitted in Ṭ(Q).
	14	(a*5) V: las.
	15	(c*1) F: sngar.
	17	(a*5,6,7) V: de dag ni for dag pa ni; (d*1) V: bzhin.
	21	(d*4) V: pos.
	24	(c*7) F: med.
	27	(a*6) V: 'dzum.
	28	(c*5) Ṭ(Q): blta; Ṭ(D): lta.
	29	(a*5, 6) Ṭ(Q): cig for pra la Ṭ(D): bkrab gcig for pra.
	31	(d*6) F: bar.
	32	(a *4) F: bar; (c*1) F: nya.
	34	(b*2) V: gis; (d) Ṭ(D): dper na bu mo gzhon nu ma, Ṭ(Q): dper na gzhon nu ma for gzhon nu ma yi bu bzhin no.
	35	(a*6) V: du; (c*7) F: pyir.
	36	(a*3, 4) F: sgrag can for sgra gcan; (d*6) V: gis.
	37	(b*5) F: rtse V: rtsal (c*7) V: yin no for yis.
	38	(d*4) Ṭ(Q): ma.
	39	(b*5) V: mchu; (d*6):V: pa ma shes for ma shes rab.
	41	(a*6) V: gi; (b*3,4,5,6,7) V: rtsal chi ltas yin no for rtsa la chi ltas yin.
	42	(a*3) V: mchi; (b*2) Ṭ(D): las; (d*6) V: 'og
	43	(a*1) F: du; V: dum; (b*4) F: no; (d*5): ma'i.
	44	(b*2) V: brgyad; (b*4) Ṭ(D): mo (d*7) F: steng.
	45	(a*7) Ṭ(D): rtsar; (b*3) V: rman; (c*1) Ṭ(D): phyeb.

Stanza 46	(d*7) Ṭ(Q): <i>ni</i> .
47	(d*7) F: <i>gsung</i> .
49	(a*4) Ṭ(D): <i>ni</i> .
50	(a*4) Ṭ(Q): <i>stengs</i> ; (b*2) Ṭ(D): 'ba'; (b*3) Ṭ(Q): <i>shin</i> ; Ṭ(D): <i>zhig</i> ; (c*4) V: <i>mkha'</i> .
52	(b*1) Ṭ(D): <i>skyes</i> .
55	(a*6) F: <i>gdong</i> ; (c*2) Ṭ(D): <i>gi</i> .
58	(b*5) V: <i>rims</i> .
60	(a*7) V: <i>dbus</i> .
62	(a*3) V: <i>brtags</i> ; (b*2) Ṭ(Q): <i>pa</i> ; (c*4) Ṭ(D): <i>pa</i> .
63	(a*4) V: <i>tu</i> .
64	(c*1) V: 'dzug Ṭ(D): <i>mdzub</i> ; (d*5,6,7) Ṭ(Q): <i>gyur</i> <i>pas so</i> , Ṭ(D): 'gyur bas so for 'gyur ba'o.
65	(b*1) F: <i>che</i> ; (b*3) V: <i>tha</i> .
68	(c*5) F: 'gag; (c*6) F: <i>gyur</i> .
69	(b*1) F: <i>bsskyes</i> , V: <i>bsskyed</i> ; Ṭ(Q): <i>skye</i> ; (c*3) F: 'thul.
70	(c*4) V: <i>du</i> .
71	(b*1) V: <i>deng</i> ; (c*4) Ṭ(Q) inserts <i>rtsa</i> ; (d*1,2) Ṭ(Q) reads <i>sa</i> for <i>g.yas pa</i> .
74	(c*2) V: <i>rgya</i> .
75	(a*5) F: <i>gzhan</i> ; (a*6) F: <i>zhig</i> .
77	(b*5) V: <i>gzhugs</i> ; (c*2) F: <i>spong</i> , V: <i>sgo</i> ; (d*2) V: <i>du</i> .
78	(a*5) Ṭ(D): <i>gzhon</i> .
79	(a*7) Ṭ(Q): <i>ni</i> ; (d*7) V: <i>blus</i> .
80	(b*6) V: <i>bas</i> ; (c*7) Ṭ(Q): <i>bo</i> ; Ṭ(D): 'o.
82	(c*3) V: <i>las nas</i> for <i>las</i> ; (d*5) F: <i>der</i> .
84	(a*7) Ṭ(D): <i>no</i> ; (d*4) F: <i>sbyar</i> .
85	(a*2) V: <i>yis</i> ; (a*4) V: <i>na</i> ; (c*6) V: <i>pa</i> .
86	(b*4) F: <i>rtsir</i> .
87	(b*4) Ṭ(Q): <i>skye</i> .
88	(a*2) Ṭ(D): <i>spur</i> ; (c*3) F: <i>gnas</i> ; (d*6) V: <i>gnyis</i> .
90	(a*6) Ṭ(D): <i>ba</i> .
91	(c*1) F: <i>dpal</i> .
92	(b*6) F: <i>bar</i> .
93	(d*5) V: <i>phrel</i> .
95	(b*1) V: <i>btsub</i> ; (b*5) V: <i>btsub</i> .
96	(c*2)V: <i>po</i> ; (c*3)V: <i>med</i> ; (c*7) V inserts <i>ngos</i> <i>po las ni ngos med min</i> .
98	(b*5) V: <i>skyes</i> .
99	(c*7) F: <i>na</i> .

Stanza 101	(a*1, 2) F: <i>mgong po</i> for <i>mgo bo</i> ; (a*5) Ṭ(Q): <i>rol</i> .
102	(d*3) F: <i>cha</i> .
105	(a*5) Ṭ(Q): 'jigs; (b*4) Ṭ(Q): <i>mo</i> ; (d*2) Ṭ(D): <i>nyid</i> .
106	(a*3) F: <i>gis</i> ; (a*4) F: <i>ni</i> ; (b*5) V: <i>yongs</i> .
107	(a*4) V: <i>gsal</i> .
111	(a*7) V: <i>shegs</i> ; (d*4) Ṭ(Q): <i>las</i> ; (d*7) V: <i>yin</i> .
112	(b*6) Ṭ(Q): <i>zlos</i> .
113	(a*5,6,7) V: <i>yongs su rdzogs</i> ; (c*4) omitted in F.
114	(a*5) V: <i>mams</i> ; (a*6) V: <i>sa</i> .
116	(d*3,4) Ṭ(Q): <i>dag pa</i> for <i>gang ba</i>
117	(a*6) V: <i>bo</i> ; (b*5) F: <i>dangs</i> ; (d*7) Ṭ(D): <i>snyams</i> .
120	(b*3) Ṭ(D): 'ang; Ṭ(Q): <i>gnan</i> (b*5) F: <i>rigs</i> ; (b*6) Ṭ(Q), Ṭ(D): <i>min</i> .
121	(a*5,6,7) V: <i>rdo rje nor bu</i> for <i>rdor nor bur</i> ; (a*6) F: <i>bya</i> .
122	(a*7) V: <i>ni</i> ; (c*5) F: <i>sems</i> ; (c*6) F: <i>bdugs</i> ; V: <i>gdugs</i> ; (d*5) V: 'big.
123	(a*6) F: <i>cig</i> (d*2) V: <i>mams</i> .
125	(a*6,7) V: <i>la bsgyur</i> for <i>bsgyur la</i> .
127	(a*2) Ṭ(Q): <i>yang</i> ; (c*2) Ṭ(Q): <i>ni</i> ; (d*4) Ṭ(Q): <i>mtu</i> .
128	(b*4) Ṭ(Q): <i>na</i> ; (c*5) V: <i>g.yog</i> ; (d*7) Ṭ(Q) <i>yi</i> .
129	(c*4) V: <i>rtog</i> (c*5) V: <i>pa</i> .
130	(c*7) Ṭ(D): <i>na</i> ; (d*5) F: <i>srin</i> .
132	(d*5) F: <i>nyam</i> ; V: <i>mnyams</i> .
134	(b*2, 3) Ṭ(Q): 'big <i>pa</i> for <i>nyid du</i> .
135	(d*7) V: <i>kyi</i> .
136	(b*5) V: <i>smras</i>
137	(b*7) Ṭ(D): <i>kyis</i> ; (c*1,2,3,4) F: <i>ting 'dzin gyis ni</i> for <i>ting nge 'dzin gyis</i> .
138	(d*4) Ṭ(D): <i>yang ni</i> for <i>nam yang</i> .
141	(d*5) F: <i>mam</i> .
142	(a*4) F: <i>bcom</i> .
144	(a*6) F: <i>ba</i> ; (c*2) V: <i>kyi</i> ; (c*6) Ṭ(D): 'thob; (d*3) V: <i>rten</i> ; (d*6) F: <i>ba</i>
145	(a*3) F: <i>pa</i> ; (b*2) F: <i>spu la'i</i> for <i>spu'i</i> ; (b*4) F: <i>los</i> .
146	(d*7) Ṭ(Q): <i>pa</i> .
147	(b*4) V: <i>rje'i</i> .
150	(b*7) Ṭ(Q): <i>sbyor</i> .
154	(b*6) V: <i>pa</i> .
157	(c*2) F: <i>gri li</i> .

Stanza 159 (d*5,6,7) Ṭ(D): *spangs pa dang* for *dag ni spangs*.
162 (a*5) V: *zhes*.
166 (b*1) Ṭ(Q): *ci'i*.
167 (b*5) F: *zab*.
169 (a*6) Ṭ(D): *stobs*; (b*1, 2) Ṭ(Q) omits *nam yang*.
174 (a) omitted in V; (d*4) V: *pa'i*.
Colophon F: *Sa mante shi*; V: *Sa manta shri*.

APPENDIX



The first folio of the *Sekoddeśa* as found among the leaves of the *Pañjikā* (see below p. 127)

ON THE SANSKRIT TEXT

BY

RANIERO GNOLI

INTRODUCTION

Only the first leaf of the *Sekoddeśa* has been preserved in Sanskrit, in two different manuscripts. The first of them substitutes the first folio of a manuscript of the *Yogaratnamālā* or *Hevajrapañjikā*. It was edited by Hara-Prasād Shāstrī and contains stanzas 1-13, with the omission of stanza 6, of the first six *akṣaras* of stanza 7 and of the fourth *pāda* of stanza 13¹.

The other leaf (see the plate) is included in a manuscript containing the anonymous *Pañjikā* to the *Sekoddeśa* together with the leaves of another small tantric work (see below). It contains stanzas 1-6 and the first *pāda* of stanza 7.

I have found other stanzas of the *Sekoddeśa* in various works, both printed and manuscript. I am sure that others could be added to them, scattered in various commentaries. All these stanzas have been written in italics and the source indicated in the notes.

The reconstruction of many stanzas and *pādas* is certain, but I have not written them in italics, preferring instead to write in italics the first words of the stanzas or verses occurring in the commentaries, and verses and *pādas* when they are expressly quoted in full in the commentaries.

The remaining stanzas (about 70) have been reconstructed with the help of the three commentaries we have of the work in Sanskrit and of the Tibetan translations. The text of many of them is also certain, in as much as all or almost all the words are quoted in the commentaries. Of the other ones, the meaning is always certain, but the reading not always so, and when the original text shall be discovered, sometime and somewhere (of this I am sure), they shall surely be the object of formal modifications and emendations. For the time being, however, I do not think that my work is useless, inasmuch as, the *Sekoddeśa* being a work conceived and written in Sanskrit, the reader is obliged somehow to reelaborate it and mentally retranslate it into this language. Anyway the text I propose to Buddhist scholars accords well "with the required sense as it may be ascertained from the Tibetan translation and

¹ A catalogue of palm-leaf and selected paper MSS belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal by Hara Prasād Shāstrī, vol. II, Calcutta 1905, pp. 44, 45 (reprinted in Reinhold Grünendahl, etc., Publications of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project 1, Stuttgart 1989).

the several commentaries”² and that is, I think, the most important thing.

The language of the *Sekoddeśa* and of the *Mūlakālacakratāntra* is just an inferior Sanskrit, as is usually found with Buddhist tantric texts³, with scattered, here and there, grammatical solecisms, sandhi inconsistencies and metrical irregularities.

The translation of the stanzas, which are not easily intelligible without the help of a commentary, will appear together with that of three commentaries, as the third volume of this work.

The Sanskrit commentaries to the *Sekoddeśa* upon which I have based this edition are the following⁴:

1) the anonymous *Pañjikā* (National Archives, Kathmandu, *Sekādikoddeśapada* [*Kalyāṇakāmadhenuvivaraṇasahita*], ṭ 363, VI 194; Mf. B 94/9; 23 palm leaves. The fourteenth and last leaf of the *Pañjikā* is missing (see Hara Prasād Shāstri, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 37, 38, No. III. 363 B);

2) the *Ṭippaṇi* by Sādhuputra Śrīdharānanda, a disciple of Anupamarakṣita and contemporary of Nāropā (Asiatic Society of Bengal, MS. 10744, 10 palm leaves, complete);

3) the *Paramārthasaṅgrahanāmaṭikā* by Nāropā. This work was edited by M. Carelli, very imperfectly and with many omissions. Dr Mario Carelli was not able to review the final proofs because of the war. The book appeared in Gaekwad’s Oriental Series, No. XC (*Sekoddeśaṭikā* of *Naḍapāda* [Nāropā], by Mario E. Carelli, Baroda 1941). “The edition of the present work (says M. Carelli) had been undertaken in 1931 when my master, Dr G. Tucci, entrusted me with the transcription of the palm-leaf ms. of *Sekoddeśaṭikā* he had borrowed from the Mahārāja’s Library, Kathmandu, Nepal”. Of this manuscript there is no more trace. In the National Archives of Kathmandu, there is instead a paper-manuscript consisting of 90 folios, almost correct and with a single omission (see p. 21 of the printed text). The manuscript is signed: pan 116, Mf B 94/9.

These three commentaries will be edited as the second volume of this work.

² D.L. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra*, vol. II, 1959, p. xi. On the Sanskrit of the *Kālacakra Tantra*, see the paper by John Newman, *Buddhist Sanskrit in the Kālacakra Tantra*, JIABS, vol. 11, 1988, pp. 123-133.

³ Snellgrove, 1959, p. x.

⁴ In quoting the manuscripts preserved in the National Archives of Kathmandu I have followed Mitutoshi Moriguchi, *A Catalogue of the Buddhist Tantric Manuscript in the National Archives of Nepal and Kesar Library*, Tokyo 1989.

GBh: *Guṇabharāṇi* by Raviśrījñāna, being a commentary to the *Ṣaḍaṅgayoga* of Anupamarakṣita. See Günter Grönbold’s doctoral dissertation, *Ṣaḍaṅgayoga: Raviśrījñāna’s Guṇabharāṇi nama Ṣaḍaṅgayogaṭippaṇi mit text übersetzung, und literarhistorischern kommentar* (München 1969). The edition is based on the unique manuscript preserved in the Royal Asiatic Society, London, Hodgson Collection (no. 66).

Dhīḥ, *A Review of Rare Buddhist Texts*, Sarnath, Varanasi (1985-1994).

DK: *Dohākośavyākhyā* by Munidatta. I have used the edition by Per Kvaerne, *An Anthology of Buddhist Tantric Songs*, Bangkok 1986.

Kaṇikā: Amṛtakaṇikānāmanāmasaṅgīṭippaṇi or *Amṛtakaṇikā* by Raviśrījñāna, being a commentary to the *Nāmasaṅgīti*. All or almost all the stanzas quoted by Raviśrījñāna are reproduced in *Dhīḥ*. There are many MSS of this work in India and in other countries. I have mainly used a paper MS preserved in the Keśar Library, Kathmandu, of which I have photocopies.

KR: Anonymous Commentary to the *Kalparājantra*, IsMEO, FGT V^I 263.

SS: *Subhāṣitasamgraha*, edited by Cecil Bendall, in *Le Muséeon*, Nouvelle Série, Vol. 4-5, 1903-04.

TJS: *Tattvajñānasamsiddhīḥ* by Śūnyasamādhivajrapāda with the *ṭikā* called *Mahāsukhaprakāśikā* by Bhikṣuśrīdhyanacandra, *Dharmodayagranthamāla* 37, 2013 Vikrama Saṃvat, Kathmandu. All the stanzas of SU quoted in this commentary are borrowed from the commentary *Marmakaṇikā* by Viryaśrimitra (see Mitutoshi Moriguchi, *A Catalogue of the Buddhist Tantric Manuscripts in the National Archives of Nepal and Kesar Library*, Tokyo 1989).

VC: *Amṛtakaṇikoddyota* by Vibhūticandra, being a commentary to the *Amṛtakaṇikā* by Raviśrījñāna. The manuscript I have used is that in Tokyo (see Seiren Matsunami, *A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tokyo University Library*, Tokyo, 1965, No. 18).

Vajragarbhā: *Hevajratāntraṇḍārthaṭikā* by Vajragarbhadaśabhūmiśvara, National Archives, Kathmandu, C 128, Mf, C 14/6; ṭ 693, VI 230, Mf, A 693/11.

Vajrapāṇi: *Lakṣābhīdhānoddhṛtalaghvabhīdhānapiṇḍārthavivaraṇam* (MS. Tucci, IsMEO, not in catalogue).

Vimalaprabhā: Vimalaprabhāṭikā of Kalkin Śrīpuṇḍarīka (Vol. I, containing the *ṭikā* to the chapters I and II), critical ed. by Jagannatha Upadhyaya, Sarnath, Varanasi, 1986.

oṃ namaḥ kālacakrāya

sucandra āha

*sekaḥ saptavidhaḥ śāsta trividho 'nuttaras tathā |
laukikottarasiddhyarthaṃ saṃkṣepāt kathayasva me || 1 ||*

bhagavān āha

*śṛṇu sucandra sekārthaṃ saptadhā trividhaṃ param |
nāḍisaṃcāram āyāmam uddeśāt kathayāmi te || 2 ||*

*uddeśas trividhas tanre nirdeśas trividho bhavet |
pratyuddeśo mahoddeśaḥ pratirirdeśako 'paraḥ || 3 ||*

*uddeśa eva nirdeśas tantrasaṃgitir ucyate |
pratyuddeśas ca nirdeśaḥ pañjikā padabhañjikā || 4 ||*

*mahoddeśas ca nirdeśaḥ ṭikā sarvārthasūcikā |
abhijñālabhibhiḥ sā tu kartavyā naiva paṇḍitaiḥ || 5 ||*

*evaṃ ṣaṭkoṭibhiḥ śuddhaṃ vajrayogaiś caturvidhaiḥ |
catuḥsambodhibhiḥ skandhadhātvaṃyatanaṣaṭkulaiḥ || 6 ||*

*pāṭalaiḥ pañcabhiḥ śuddhaṃ lokadhātvaḍikair mataiḥ |
satyābhyām āḍibuddhaṃ syāt kālacakrābhidhānakam || 7 ||*

*āḍau saptābhiṣeko yo bālānām avatāraṇam |
trividho lokasaṃvṛtyā caturthaḥ paramārthataḥ || 8 ||*

Oṃ namaḥ kālacakrāya H.P. Shastri: *Oṃ namaḥ sarvajñāya* Manuscript leaf included in the *Pañjikā*, see above p. 128.

1-13a: see the Introduction p. 127.

8: Vajrapāṇi, fol. 54b.

*satyadvayena dharmāṇām deśanā vajriṇo mama |
lokasaṃvṛtisatyena satyena paramārthataḥ || 9 ||*

*udakamukutaḥpaṭṭo vajraghaṇṭā mahāvratam |
nāmaṇujñāsamāyuktaḥ sekah saptavidho nṛpa || 10 ||*

*kāyavākcittasaṃsuddhir abhiṣekadvayaṃ dvayam |
anujñā jñānaśuddhiḥ syād anyā dhātvādiśuddhitaḥ || 11 ||*

*udakam dhātusaṃsuddhir mauli skandhaviśodhanam |
paṭṭaḥ pāramitāśuddhir vajraghaṇṭā mahākṣaram || 12 ||*

*buddhabhāṣā na vicchinnā arkenvekatraśodhanam |
viṣayendriyasaṃsuddhiḥ syād vajravratam acyutam || 13 ||*

*nāma maitryādiśuddhiḥ syād anujñā buddhaśodhanam |
ete sapta sekā deyā vartayitvā tu maṇḍalam || 14 ||*

*kumbho guhyābhiṣekāś ca prajñājñānābhidhānakaḥ |
punar eva mahāprajñā tasyā jñānābhidhānakaḥ || 15 ||*

*kṣaraḥ kṣaras tataḥ spando niḥspandaś ca tato 'paraḥ |
kāyavākcittasaṃsuddhyā abhiṣekatrayaṃ kramāt || 16 ||*

*caturtho jñānasaṃsuddhiḥ kāyavākcittaśodhakaḥ |
bālah prauḍhas tathā vṛddhaś caturthas tu prajāpatiḥ || 17 ||*

*prajñāstanāṅgasamsparsād bodhicittacyutaṃ sukham |
payodharābhiṣiktaḥ sa bālah prāptaṃ yataḥ sukham || 18 ||*

14: Pāda 14d, *vartayitvā tu maṇḍalam* occurs in the Hevajratra, II, I, 2.

15-23a: *Kaṇikā* (quoted in *Dhiḥ*, IX, pp. 29, 30). Stanza 15 is also quoted in the *Ḍākinijālasaṃvararahasyam* (*Dhiḥ*, IX, pp. 151-161), p. 151 (= X, p. 34). Stanza 16b is quoted in *Dhiḥ*, X, p. 39 (from the *Kaṇikā* and with the variant *vimalo 'paraḥ* in the second *pāda*).

15-17a: Vajrapāṇi, fol. 54b.

*guhyāsphālāc cirāj jātaṃ bodhicittacyutaṃ sukham |
prauḍho guhyābhiṣiktaḥ sa guhyāt prāptaṃ yataḥ sukham || 19 ||*

*guhyāsphālāc cirāj jātaṃ vajrāgre spandataḥ sukham |
prajñājñānābhiṣiktaḥ sa vṛddhaḥ spandaṃ gato yataḥ || 20 ||*

*mahāmudrānurāgād yaj jātaṃ niḥspandataḥ sukham |
mahāprajñābhiṣiktaḥ sa yato niḥspandatāṃ gataḥ || 21 ||*

*prajāpatiḥ sa vijñeyo janakaḥ sarvatāyīnām |
vajrasattvo mahāsattvo bodhisattvo 'dvayo 'kṣaraḥ || 22 ||*

*asau samayasattvaḥ syād vajrayogaś caturvidhaḥ |
kālacakra iha khyāto yogināṃ muktidāyakaḥ || 23 ||*

*asyaiva sādhanam kuryāt pratibhāsair acintitaiḥ |
dhūmādibhir nimittaiḥ taiḥ prajñābimbair nabhaḥsamaiḥ || 24 ||*

*astināstivyatikrāntaiḥ pratayārthaiḥ svacetasaḥ |
paramānurajaḥsaṃdohaiḥ sarvataḥ parivarjitaiḥ || 25 ||*

*dhūmamaricikhadyotadipajvālendubhāskaraiḥ |
tamaḥ kalā mahābindur viśvabimbaṃ prabhāsvaram || 26 ||*

*pihitāpihitanetrābhyāṃ śūnye yan nānukalpitaṃ |
dṛśyate svapnavad bimbaṃ tad bimbaṃ bhāvayet sadā || 27 ||*

*abhāve bimbe bhāvanā sā yogināṃ na bhāvanā |
bhāvo 'bhāvo na cittasya bimbe 'kalpitadarśanāt || 28 ||*

24-26: *Kaṇikā*.

27: *Kaṇikā*; VC, fol. 75b.

28: The reading of *pādas* AB is certain. *Pāda* A is metrically irregular but the form *bimbe* is confirmed by Skr. commentaries

pratisenām ivādarśe paśyēt kumāry avastujām |
tathātitānāgataṃ dharmam yogy ambare 'pi paśyati || 29 ||

asyā bhāvo na bhāvaḥ syāt *vastuśūnyārthadarśanāt* |
vastuno 'bhāvato 'py arthaḥ *māyāsvapnendrajālavat* || 30 ||

asati dharmini hy eṣa dharmotpādaḥ pradṛśyate |
cintāmaṇir ivānantasattvāśāparipūrakaḥ || 31 ||

adṛṣṭam pratisenāyām kumārī caurādi paśyati |
tat pradēśikanetrābhyaṃ gatvā paśyanti sādhaḥ || 32 ||

yadi paśyati sadrūpaṃ svamukhaṃ kiṃ na paśyati |
yadi paśyaty asadrūpaṃ śaśaṅgaṃ kathaṃ na ca || 33 ||

na paśyaty anyacakṣurbhyaṃ svacakṣurbhyaṃ na paśyati |
dṛśyamānam ajātam tu kumāryā jātakam yathā || 34 ||

dṛṣṭe bimbe tataḥ kuryāt prāṇāyāmaṃ niranṭaram |
ūrdhvādhas triṣu nāḍiṣu kāyavākcittarodhanāt || 35 ||

candrārkarāhuviṇmūtraśukramārgappravāhiṣu |
toyāgniśūnyabhūvāyujñānadhātukajātiṣu || 36 ||

candrasūryataminya yāḥ kāyavākcittanāḍikāḥ |
viṇmūtraśukravāhinyaḥ prāṇe 'pāne kramaṇa tāḥ || 37 ||

29-30. The reading is quite certain, as nearly all the words are quoted in the Skr. commentaries.

31-32: The reconstruction of these two stanzas is mainly based on the Tib. translations. The meaning is satisfactory, but the reading may be subject to some minor variations.

33-34: The reading is certain except the *pādapūraṇam tu* after *ajātam*, which could also be *ca*.

35-38; 39b-40: KR, fol. 33b. 35a: VC, fol. 2b.

candraḥ kāya upāyasya prajñāyā vāg divākaraḥ |
prajñākāyas tu viṇnāḍi vibhor vān mūtravāhini || 38 ||

ūrdhvhādho dve 'pi cittasya tamaḥśukrapravāhikau |
tamini cittam upāyasya prajñāyāḥ śukravāhini || 39 ||

ūrdhvhādhaḥ ṣaṅkulaṃ hy etāḥ kāyavākcittayogataḥ |
prajñopāyāṅgabhāvena samsthitaṃ sarvadehinām || 40 ||

ariṣṭam kāyavānnāḍyor ūrdhvādho 'dhikamārutaiḥ |
taminiśukravāhinyor utpādamaraṇasthitiḥ || 41 ||

utpādamṛtyukāle ca maithune śukravāhini |
tamini tu vahed ūrdhvaṃ viṣuve samkrame raveḥ || 42 ||

lagnodayābhisamdhau ca madhyā viṣuvavāhini |
ṣaṭpañcāśat sapādam ca praveśanirgame nrpa || 43 ||

adhikaiḥ pañcasaptatyāḥ ṣaḍbhiḥ śatair divāniśam |
ṣaṣṭatair adhikā cāpi yā sahasraikaviṃśatiḥ || 44 ||

anenonau pravāhinyau nāḍi vāmā ca dakṣiṇā |
satripakṣatrivaṣṇāni śatavarṣe ca madhyamā || 45 ||

vāmā savyordhve candro 'rko lalaneḍā piṅgalāparā |
toyatejaḥsvabhāvinyau padmadhṛg ratnadhṛṇ mate || 46 ||

41: The reconstruction is quite certain.

42: The meaning is sure, but the reading can admit some variants as, e.g. *mṛti* and *mithuna* for *mṛtyu* and *maithuna*, and, in *pāda C*, *tamini ca vahaty ūrdhvam*, etc. The first two *pādas* may perhaps be reconstructed as *utpādamṛtyumaithunakāle syāc chukravāhini*. This reconstruction is more similar to Tib. translation A.

43-45: The reading of these stanzas too can admit some minor variants.

46-48: In my opinion, the reading of these stanzas is quite certain.

adho viṇmūtravāhinyau prthvivāyusvabhāvikaḥ |
madhyānādi ca vāmaiva cakradhṛk khaḍgadhrī mate || 47 ||

ūrdhve madhyā ca savyādho rāhuśukrapravāhikaḥ |
śūnyajñānasvabhāvinyau vajradhṛg vajradhṛī mate || 48 ||

viṇnādi candramārgaṇa raviṇā mūtravāhini |
utpādamṛtyuviṣuvakāme rāhuśukravāhā || 49 ||

yā nābhūrddhve 'vadhūtiḥ syāt suṣumnā tamovāhini |
yā cādhaś śukravāhini khagamukhā ca śāṅkhini || 50 ||

nābhyabje hṛdaye kaṇṭhe lalātoṣṇiṣapaṅkaje |
bhūtoyāgnimarutsūnyaṃ saṃhāreṇa pravāhini || 51 ||

nirgacchanti viśanti sā sṛṣṭinā viśati kṣitau |
nābheś ca nābhimadhye syād avadhūter gatāgatam || 52 ||

nābhau guhye ca maṇyabje kāyavākcittavāhini |
nirgacchanti viśanti ca saṃhārasṛṣṭirūpiṇi || 53 ||

śāṅkhini sarvasattvānām apānavāyuvāhini |
eṣaiva ca sukhāt strīṇām śukraraktāvahā ṛtau || 54 ||

prajñopāyāṅgabhāvena ūrdhve savyāpasavyayor |
adho viṇmūtravāhinyor rajaśukrapravāhayor || 55 ||

49: I think that the reading is certain, except perhaps °kāme, which can be substituted by °ratau or °rāge.

50: The reading is certain, as all the words are quoted in the commentaries, in full agreement with the Tib. translations.

51, 52a, 53: *Vimalaprabhā*, p. 228.

54: The reading of the first three pādas is certain. Pāda D may be perhaps read as śukraraktam (or śukraraktau) vahed ṛtau.

55-63: The text of this group of stanzas is quite certain as nearly all the words and some pādas too are quoted in the Skr. commentaries.

caṇḍāli rajaso vāhāt śukravāhāt khagamukhā |
ūrdhve ṛtau smṛtā strīṇām ḍombī puṃsas tv avadhūti || 56 ||

vijñānādyam sadā vāme nādyām syāt pañcamaṇḍalam |
bhūmyādi dakṣiṇe nādyām madhye ṣaṣṭham punar vahet || 57 ||

nābhipadmadale ṣaṣṭi maṇḍalāni yathākramam |
vāmadakṣiṇalagne tu meṣādivṛṣabhādīṣu ca || 58 ||

mūle vāme tataḥ savye ūrdhvaṃ madhye 'nilaḥ kramāt |
daṇḍaikaṃ maṇḍalaikaikaṃ bhūmyādyam nāsarandhrayoḥ || 59 ||

nādikā vahati śvāsān saṣaṣṭitrisatān kramāt |
aṣṭādaśaśataśvāsān nādyā vahanti pañca ca || 60 ||

ṣaṣṭidaṇḍān ahorātraṃ maṇḍalāniti dehataḥ |
dalamadhye tataḥ pūrve savye vāme 'pare kramāt || 61 ||

ākāśādyam sadā vāme bhūmyādyam dakṣiṇe 'parāt |
vijñānādi bhavo vāme saṃhāraḥ kṣmādi dakṣiṇe || 62 ||

pare pūrve dharā vāyuh prajñopāyau parasparam |
aṅguṣṭhānāmikābhyām ca yato seko mukhe bhavet || 63 ||

savye 'gnir udakaṃ vāme prajñopāyau parasparam |
madhyamātarjanībhyām ca yataḥ khaḍgo bhaviṣyati || 64 ||

62: The two first pādas are quoted by VC, fol. 23a (*kramāt* for 'parāt). The first and fourth pādas are quoted in KR, fol. 32a (*tathā* for *sadā*).

63b: Pāda C may be perhaps read as aṅguṣṭhānāmikāgrābhyām, even if *agra* is not represented in the Tib. translations. In the *Pañjikā*, the reading is aṅguṣṭhānāmikādvābhyām, which looks like a mistake for °grābhyām. In a similar context aṅguṣṭhānamikāgrābhyām occurs in the *Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇam* of Āryadeva, 22b.

64, 65: The text of this stanza is certain, except that perhaps the two lines of stanza 65 should be read in inverted order.

śūnyam akṣaram ūrdhvādhaḥ prajñopāyau parasparam |
ardhacandrākṛti daṁṣṭrāmudrā karti kaniyasī || 65 ||

daśamaṅḍalasaṁyogas tv aṅgulinām parasparam |
mūrdhni karatale yogād ekaśūkaṁ sakartikam || 66 ||

viṣuvaṁ madhyamānādyām sṛṣṭisamhārakārakam |
skandhadhātutrivajrānām ekatvaṁ madhyamāgatau || 67 ||

candrārkanāḍirodhād viṇmūtranāḍi nirudhyate |
rāhunāḍya adho rodhāc chukravāho nirudhyate || 68 ||

muktā bhavanti mokṣe tāḥ sṛṣṭisamhārakārah |
saṁcāra eṣa nāḍinām prāṇāpānatrivartmanā || 69 ||

vāmāyām dakṣiṇāyām vaikarātram atha pañca ca |
yady adhiko vahed vāyus trivarṣair maraṇam tadā || 70 ||

pañcadiktithiviṁśatis tattvam ekottarakramāt |
trayastrīṁśaddinārohaḥ sūryāriṣṭena dakṣiṇe || 71 ||

tridvyekasamakair māsaiḥ ṣaṭtriugmendubhir dinaiḥ |
tithidikpañcaguṇadvyekair dehinām jivitaṁ gatam || 72 ||

mūlād ekottareṇa syād vāme candrasya rohaṇam |
dinair māsair dinair māsair tribhir māsair tribhir dinaiḥ || 73 ||

66-67: These two stanzas are certain. The two first *pādas* are quoted by VC, fol. 23a (*kramāt* for '*parāt*'). The first and fourth *pāda* are quoted in KR, fol. 32 a (*tathā* for *sadā*).

69: In *pāda* A perhaps we can read *muktā mokṣe bhavanti tāḥ*. The reading *saṁcāra eṣa nāḍinām* occurs in the *Ṭippaṇi*.

70-75: The text of these stanzas is mainly certain and can be the object of minor variations only.

ariṣṭadinamāseṣu tadvṛddhes tatkaṣyāt tataḥ |
madhyamārohaṇam mṛtyoḥ śatavarṣe paripūrite || 74 ||

samaviṣamadinais ca janmajātasya maṅḍalaiḥ |
savyetare tadārohaḥ pakṣadvayavināśanāt || 75 ||

anyathā maraṇam na syāt pakṣadvayasya samsthiteḥ |
savyetarasya saṁcārāt pañcamaṅḍalavāhanāt || 76 ||

ariṣṭalakṣaṇam jñātvā prāṇam bindau niveśayet |
avadhūtipadam śritvā bhāvayet paramākṣaram || 77 ||

vajrothānam sadā kuryāt candrārkagatibhañjanāt |
anyathā nāvadhūtyaṅge viśati prāṇamārutaḥ || 78 ||

apāno 'dhaś ca śaṅkhinyām maraṇam tadaveśataḥ |
ariṣṭavañcanaṁ caitad ānandaiḥ yoginām bhavet || 79 ||

śukrasyāgatir ānandam uṣṇīśād ūrṇṇāpaṅkaje |
kaṅthe hr̥di paramānandaṁ viraṁānandaṁ tato bhavet || 80 ||

viidharamaṇam nābhau guhyapadme yato gatam |
vajramaṇau ca guhyasthe sahañānandam acyutam || 81 ||

76-77: The reading of these two stanzas does not present any doubt and the text is certain.

78: DK, p. 139 (the stanza is attributed to Virūpākṣapāda by Munidatta). The stanza is quoted in *Dhīḥ*, II, p. 59.

79: The reading is certain. *Pāda* D is quoted in the *Ṭippaṇi*.

80: The words *ānandam* etc. are treated as neuter in the *Sekoddeśa*, as attested by the author of the *Pañjikā*. *Pādas* CD are hypermetric, but in my opinion the reading is certain.

81: In my opinion the reading of this stanza too is quite certain. The Tib. translation B suggests a reading *yadi (gal te)* for *yato*, but I think that *yato* is more consistent with the meaning.

*apraṭiṣṭhitanirvāṇaṃ mahārāgo 'kṣaraḥ prabhuh |
virāgād yac cyutaṃ saukhyaṃ tan nirvāṇaṃ praṭiṣṭhitam || 82 ||*

*sukrendūdaya uṣṇiṣe pūrṇā guhyasaroruhe |
ṣoḍaśi yā kalā maṇipadme sā vajramūrdhniḡā || 83 ||*

*tadūrdhvaṃ cyutikālaḥ syāt kṣṇapratipadāgame |
virāgatas tv amāvasyām ūrṇāpadaṃ gato raviḥ || 84 ||*

*tasya ca ṣoḍaśi kalā uṣṇiṣakamale gatā |
naṣṭacandra iti khyātā viraktiḥ rāgasaukhyataḥ || 85 ||*

*adhaś candrāmṛtaṃ yāti maraṇe sarvadehinām |
ūrdhve sūryarajo rāhuvijñānaṃ bhāvalakṣaṇe || 86 ||*

*ataś candrāmṛtasyorddhe kartavyaṃ gamanaṃ nrpa |
adho 'rkarajaso rāhuvijñānasyākṣare sukhe || 87 ||*

*ūrṇābje sarvabuddhānāṃ candrāmṛtasya pūrṇimā |
amā 'rkarajaso guhye kaloṣṇiṣe maṇau tayoḥ || 88 ||*

*iti vajrapadaṃ śāstur viparītaṃ sarvadehinām |
apraṭiṣṭhitanirvāṇād viparītaṃ ca dhātavaḥ || 89 ||*

82: VC, fol. 44a.

83-84: The reading is confirmed by the Skr. commentaries and by the Tib. translations. In 83, *pāda* D, I have preferred the reading *mūrdhniḡā* (*Pañjikā*) to *mūrdhagā*, which however serves equally well.

85: The reading *virakteḥ* for *viraktiḥ* is perhaps also possible. Seemingly Nāropā and the *Pañjikā* read *viraktiḥ*.

86, 87: Vajragarbha, fol. 56a (*bhāvalakṣaṇam* for *bhāvalakṣaṇe*); 86: *Vimalaprabhā*, p. 223; KR, fol. 35a.

87, 88, 89a: VC, fol. 60b (*'rkarajasām* for *'rkarajaso*).

*maṇau cittaṃ ca guhye vān nābhau kāyo mahāsukhāt |
dharmasambhoganirmānakāyāḥ śuddhāt spharanti te || 90 ||*

*adhopāyasya rājendra prajñāyā ūrdhvato bhavet |
kāyavajraṃ lalāte 'syāḥ kaṇṭhe hr̥nnābhīpaṅkaje || 91 ||*

*vākcittajñānavajrāṇi nirmāṇādyāt spharanti hi |
spharaṇaṃ skandhadhātūnāṃ syān nirāvaraṇāt sukhāt || 92 ||*

*karmamudrāsamāpattiyā jñānamudrāvalambanaiḥ |
mahāmudraikayogena vṛddhiṃ yāti tad akṣaram || 93 ||*

*vṛddhasya na hi vṛddhiḥ syād kṣayaḥ kṣīṇasya naiva ca |
nāstamanam astamitasya noditasyāpi codayaḥ || 94 ||*

*na pradīptiḥ pradīptasya channasya nāpi chādanam |
jātasya naiva jātiḥ syān mṛtasya na mṛtir bhavet || 95 ||*

*muktasya nāpi muktiḥ syān nāsthitasyāsthitis tathā |
nābhavanaṃ abhūtasya bhūtasya bhavanaṃ na ca || 96 ||*

*kṣaraṇaṃ na kṣarasyāpy akṣaraṇaṃ nākṣarasya ca |
svabhāvābhāvadharmānāṃ māyotpādaḥ kṣayas tathā || 97 ||*

90: The reading of this stanza is certain. In the following stanza Skr. commentaries point to *lalāte* as the opening word of the *pāda*, which in this case would be metrically irregular (*lalāte 'syāḥ kāyavajraṃ* or *lalāte kāyavajraṃ asyāḥ*).

92: In contrast to the Skr. commentaries, the Tib. translations suggest the reading *nirmāṇādyāḥ* for *nirmāṇādyāt*, which is surely the genuine one. As for the fourth *pāda*, it would be easy to restore it into *nirāvṛteḥ sukhād bhavet*, but in my opinion the proposed reading is more consistent with the style of the text.

93: KR, fol. 36a; 93b: VC, fol. 32b.

94-97a: With the exception of the words *vṛddhasya na hi vṛddhiḥ syād*, these stanzas have been reconstructed on the basis of Tib. translations and the text may be subject to some minor variations.

97b, 98: The text is certain. Verse 98b is quoted in full by Nāropā.

*ekārtham advayadharmam paramārtham avinaśvaram |
pūrṇāvasthāgataṃ cittam paripūrṇam samantataḥ || 115 ||*

*virāgādīmahārāgam kāyavajram mahākṣaram |
paripūrṇam dvipakṣayor vāsanābhir anābīlam || 116 ||*

*yathā nadyudakam viṣṭam samudre tatsamaṃ bhavet |
tathā bhāvasamūho 'yam akṣare tatsamo bhavet || 117 ||*

*yathā dhātusamūho 'yam rasatām bhakṣito gataḥ |
bijair bijasvabhāvaṃ ca phalakāle mānavarjitam || 118 ||*

*evam bhāvasamūho 'pi paramākṣarabhakṣitaḥ |
paramākṣaratām yāti sarvākārasvarūpadhṛk || 119 ||*

*na daṃśe vedanām vetti nānyatra cāpi daṣṭakaḥ |
na viṣayān indriyadvārīḥ pūrṇāvasthām viṣe gate || 120 ||*

*evam na ca maṇau yogī nānyatra vetti satsukham |
na viṣayān indriyadvārīḥ citte pūrṇakalām gate || 121 ||*

115: This verse, irregular and hypermetric, is, with some minor variations, *Nāmasaṃgī*, 123 (ix, 5): *ekārtho 'dvayadharmārthaḥ paramārtho 'vinaśvaraḥ |*

116: The reconstruction of this stanza is certain, except perhaps for *pāda C*, where we may read *ca pakṣayor* for *dvipakṣayor*.

117: The meaning is clear but the reading is in some way provisional, as there are some other possible ways of rendering the concept. The reading accepted by me is, I think, the more probable and symmetrical.

118, 119: The reading is certain. In the fourth *pāda* of stanza 118, which is hypermetric, the reading *mānavarjitam* is assured by the author of the *Pañjikā*.

120, 121: The reconstruction of these two stanzas does not give rise to difficulties, as all the words and four entire *pādas* are cited in the commentaries. *Pāda C* is hypermetric in both stanzas but the proposed reading occurs twice in *Nāropā* and I think it is the genuine one, even if one could easily venture a correction to *viṣayān nendriyadvārīḥ*. In *pāda A* of stanza 121 both the commentaries and the Tib. translations suggest reading *vajramaṇau* for *maṇau*, in which case the *pāda* would be *evam vajramaṇau yogi* or, as a hypermetron, *evam na vajramaṇau yogi*.

*yathā lohaikadeśe 'pi saṃsthito hi mahārasaḥ |
loham tivṛāgnisaṃtaptam vedhayed āsamantataḥ || 122 ||*

*tathaivaikapradeśe 'pi saṃsthitaṃ sukham akṣaram |
cittam kāmāgnisaṃtaptam vedhayed āsamantataḥ || 123 ||*

*yathā ca vidhhalohānām naiva malo bhavet kvacit |
tathā ca vidhacittānām na vāsanā bhavet kvacit || 124 ||*

*suvarṇatvaṃ gato loho 'gninā hy evāmalo bhavet |
tathā punaḥ punaś cittam rāgāgnināmalaṃ bhavet || 125 ||*

*yathā mahāmaṇisparśād yāti śilā pradīptatām |
tathākṣarasukhasparśāt sukhatām cittam eti vai || 126 ||*

*kim atra bahunoktena lokasaṃvṛtisatyataḥ |
avitarkyo rasasadbhāvo lohasyāvedhanaṃ prati || 127 ||*

*vitarkyo rasasadbhāvaḥ kiṃ punaḥ paramārthataḥ |
malāgantukalīptasya cittasyāvedhanaṃ prati || 128 ||*

*nāgantuko malo citte na cittāc cirakālikaḥ |
na cittena vinā jāto na citte saṃsthito 'vyayaḥ || 129 ||*

*yady āgantuka eva syāc cittam prāg amalam tadā |
cirakālī yadā cittāt tasyaiva saṃbhavaḥ kutaḥ || 130 ||*

*yadi cittam vinā jātas tadā khakusumaṃ yathā |
yadi sthitaḥ sadā citte na naśyēt sarvataḥ tadā || 131 ||*

122-123: VC, fol. 25a, fol. 39b.

124-125: My restoration is mainly founded on the Tib. translations.

126-131: The reading of these five stanzas as reconstructed by me may be considered as certain. It is confirmed both by the Skr. commentaries and by the Tib. translations.

tāmrasya kalimā yadvad rasayogena naśyati |
na tasya sattvatā naśyen nirmalatvena yā sthitā || 132 ||

tadvac cittamalaḥ sūnyatāyogena pranaśyati |
na tasya jñānatā naśyen nirmalatvena yā sthitā || 133 ||

rasavidddho yathā loho na punar lohatām vrajet |
sukhaviddham tathā cittam na punar duḥkhatām vrajet || 134 ||

na virāgāt param pāpam na puṇyam sukhataḥ param |
ato 'kṣarasukhe cittam veśaniyam sadā nrpa || 135 ||

vaktum na śakyate saukhyam kumāryāḥ surataḥ vinā |
yauvane surataḥ prāpya svato vetti mahāsukham || 136 ||

evam na śakyate vaktum samādhiraḥhitaiḥ sukham |
samādhāv akṣaram prāpya svato vindanti yoginaḥ || 137 ||

akṣarajasukhajñāne sarvajñair api śaṅkyate |
tathā kvacin na kartavyo virāgo manaso 'sukhāt || 138 ||

132, 133: TJS, p. 21 (quoted in *Dhīh*, II, p. 60).

134: Vajragarbha, fol. 50a. Actually this is not a quotation but a stanza strikingly similar to SU 134: *rasavidddham yathā tāmram na punas tāmratām vrajet | jñānaviddham tathā kāyo na punaḥ paśutām vrajet ||*

135: Vajrapāṇi, fol. 69b; *Kaṇikā* (= *Dhīh*, X, p. 49) KR, fol. 32b; 135a: VC, fol. 14b; TJS, p. 3; DK, 154 (= *Dhīh*, II, p. 50). Verse 135a occurs in an identical form in the *Caṇḍāmahāroṣaṇa Tantra*, 6, 183; see the *Caṇḍāmahāroṣaṇatantra* by Ch. S. George, New Haven, Connecticut, 1974.

136-137: *Kaṇikā* (quoted in *Dhīh*, X, p. 49).

138: The reconstruction of this stanza is doubtful. It is not commented on either by Nāropā or by the other commentators and the Tib. translations are in disagreement. Tentatively, I have rendered it in Skr. according to Tib. translation A, which makes good sense; see e. g. Anaṅgavajra, *Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi*, II, 3, *idaṃ tad iti tad vaktum naiva śakyam jinair api*. If we take *śaṅkyate* (however *śaṅk-* seems to be confirmed by the Tib. translations) as a misreading for *śakyate*, one could perhaps

cyuter virāgasambhūtir virāgād duḥkhasambhavaḥ |
duḥkhād dhātukṣayaḥ pumsām kṣayān mṛtyur iti smṛtaḥ || 139 ||

mṛtyoḥ punar bhavas teṣāṃ bhavān mṛtyuś cyutiḥ punaḥ |
evam virāgasambhūteḥ sattvānām nānyathā bhavaḥ || 140 ||

tasmāt sarvaprayatnena cyutirāgam vivarjayet |
yenākṣarasukham yāti yogi saṃsārabandhanāt || 141 ||

kāmuko 'pi virāgān na kāmaśāstram samihate |
mayokte kiṃ punaḥ tanre yogi duḥkham samihate || 142 ||

śukrākṣarasvabhāvena sādhayet paramākṣaram |
ādḥāre cyutim āpanne ādheyasya virāgatā || 143 ||

ādḥārādheyasambandho yāvan nākṣaratām vrajet |
cittam akṣaratāprāptam nādḥārādheyalakṣaṇam || 144 ||

akṣarodbhavaśākyasya ūrṇācakragatasya tu |
ālikālisamāyogo hūmkāro neśyate nrpa || 145 ||

reconstruct the line as *akṣarajasukham jñātum sarvajñair nāpi śakyate*. In any case there is no guarantee whatsoever that the afore-said translations represent the original text. In *pādas* CD the words *kartavyo virāgo manaso 'sukhād* seem to be certain, but this is not the case for the beginning of the line. I think that the proposed reconstruction is the more probable, but the readings *tathā na jātu* or *tathāpi naiva* are also possible.

139-141: KR, fol. 35a (*prajāyate* for *iti smṛtaḥ* and *marāṇāt* for *mṛtyoḥ*); 139: Vajrapāṇi, fol. 69b; *Dhīh*, I, 35; *Ḍākinijālasaṃvararāhasyam* (*Dhīh*, IX, pp. 151-161), p. 154 and *Dhīh*, X, p. 25; 139 ḥ TJS, p. 3. See S.B. Dasgupta, *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, Calcutta 1958, p. 164, note 1.

141-144: TJS, p. 17 (quoted in *Dhīh*, II, p. 63). Stanza 143 is quoted in SS, p. 33 (see *Dhīh*, IV, p. 27) with the reading: *śukrākṣaraṇayogena bhāvayet paramākṣaram*. 144: KR, fol. 40b; 144 f: VC, fol. 53a. For *yāvan nākṣaratām vrajet*, TJS, KR and VC read *yāvad akṣaratām vrajet*.

145: The reconstruction of this stanza is confirmed both by the commentaries and the Tib. translations.

*bimbaṃ śūnyodbhavaṃ hetuḥ phalam akṣarajam sukham |
phalena mudrito hetur hetunā mudritaṃ phalam || 146 ||*

*śūnyatā bimbadhṛg hetuḥ karuṇākṣaradhṛk phalam |
śūnyatākaruṇābhinnam bodhicittam tad acyutam || 147 ||*

*nirvāṇarahitam bimbaṃ saṃsārātitaṃ akṣaram |
śāśvatocchedanirmuktas tayor yogo 'dvayo 'paraḥ || 148 ||*

*abhāvo nāsti bimbasya abhāvodbhūtalakṣaṇāt |
bhāvo nāsty akṣarasyaṅpi bhāvasambhūtalakṣaṇāt || 149 ||*

*bhāvābhāvasamāyogo vajrayogo 'dvayo 'paraḥ |
rūpārūpavinirmuktaḥ pratiseneva darpaṇe || 150 ||*

*bimbaṃ na bhavam āyāti nāpi nirvāṇam akṣaram |
anyonyāliṅgitaṃ śāntam napuṃsakapadam param || 151 ||*

*prajñā hetor ajātatvāt prajñāhetūdbhavaṃ phalam |
prajñā hetor ajātatvāt prajñājātam na hetujam || 152 ||*

*ato na hetujam jñānam prajñājñānam anuttaram |
phalena hetunānyonyam na parasparamudraṇam || 153 ||*

*hetuḥ phalam ca yat sarvaṃ tat pratīyasamudbhavam |
anyonyamudritaṃ bimbaṃ notpannam na ca nirvṛtam || 154 ||*

146a: KR, fol. 35b.

146b: Vajragarbha, fol. 49a.

147-151: The reading of these stanzas does not present any difficulty as the Skr. commentaries and the Tib. translations are in substantial agreement.

152: The first and third *pādas* of this stanza may equally be read as *prajñā hetor na jātatvāt*.

153-155: As far as I can judge, the proposed text is quite certain.

*prajñā cātyantanirvṛtā utpannā ca paro 'kṣaraḥ |
hetuphalavinirmuktir na parasparamudraṇam || 155 ||*

*ajātasyañiruddhasya yaj jñeyasyeḥa darśanam |
tat svacittasya nānyasya bhāyājñeyavibhāgataḥ || 156 ||*

*ato na cātmanātmānam mudritaṃ śakyate kvacit |
kiṃ chinatti mahākhaḍga ātmānam āmadharayā || 157 ||*

*vandhyāduhitṛsaṃgena svapne saukhyam yathā bhavet |
gaganodbhavabimbena seviteṇa tathātmanaḥ || 158 ||*

*na prajñā nāpy upāyo 'sau sahaḥ prajñayā saha |
āpūrṇā caiva saukhyena sarvāvaraṇavarjitaḥ || 159 ||*

*ākāśavan nirāvaraṇo viṣayendriyavarjitaḥ |
sarvataḥ sarvabhūtaṣṭha acchedyo bhedavarjitaḥ || 160 ||*

*svayambhūr vajrasattvo 'sau mahārthaḥ paramākṣaraḥ |
mahārāgo mahāsattvaḥ sarvasattvaratiṃkaraḥ || 161 ||*

*bodhisattvo mahādveṣaḥ kleṣakṣayī mahāripuḥ |
samayasattvo mahāmoho mūḍhadhimohasūdanaḥ || 162 ||*

*vajrayogo mahākrodhaḥ kruddhamāramahāripuḥ |
kālacakro mahālobhaḥ kṣaralobhaniṣūdanaḥ || 163 ||*

156-158: GBh, p. 40.

159: The proposed text seems to be certain. One could perhaps read the first *pāda* of stanza 160 as *ākāśavan nirāvṛtir*, to avoid the hypermetron, but I think that the accepted form is more consistent with the style of the text.

161-164: The text of these three stanzas of *uddeśa* is confirmed by the Skr. commentaries and the Tib. translations. Almost all the epithets derive from the *Nāmasaṃgiti*. The reading of *pādas* AB of stanza 164 is confirmed by Nāropā, who says *vajram śūnyabimbaṃ tad yasmād abhedaṃ tasmān mahārtham āhoddeśe*.

*vajram abhedyam ity āha mahārthaṃ bhagavān iha |
sattvaṃ tribhavyaikatā tad uktaṃ paramākṣaram || 164 ||*

*paramākṣarasukhāpūrṇo bhūmibhiḥ paripuritaḥ |
mahārāgo mahāsattvaḥ sarvasattvaratimkaraḥ || 165 ||*

*bodhau vyavasthitaḥ sattvo bodhisattvas tato 'calaḥ |
kleśādiveśasaṃghānāṃ mahādveṣo mahāripuḥ || 166 ||*

*samayaś candrāmṛtaṃ śukram acyutis tasya bhakṣaṇam |
samayasattvo 'nayā yuktyā mūḍhadhimohasūdanaḥ || 167 ||*

*ekatvaṃ sarvavajrānāṃ prajñākāyākṣaraiḥ saha |
mahākrodho mahāśatrur mārāṇāṃ krodharūpiṇām || 168 ||*

*mahākṣarasukhopāyāt sattvārthaṃ na tyajet kvacit |
sattvān muktṛvā mahālobho kṣaralobhaniṣūdanaḥ || 169 ||*

*ete hy uktāḥ ṣaḍākārā akṣarajñānavedanā |
vijñānarūpasamṣkārasaṃjñāḥ skandhakulāni te || 170 ||*

*jñānāgnyambarapṛthivivāyūdakā yathākramam |
manaḥcakṣuḥśrutikāyanāsajihvās tathaiva ca || 171 ||*

*śabdarasadharmadhātukagandhaspraṣṭavyarūpiṇaḥ |
krodharāt ṣaṇmukho bhimaḥ ṣaṭkulaiḥ pariśodhitaḥ || 172 ||*

165: VC, fol. 23b.

166, 167: VC, fol. 23b (perhaps *vṛttyā* for *yuktyā*).

168: VC, fol. 24a.

169: VC, fol. 24a. For *muktṛvā*, the MS seemingly reads *moktuṃ*, which reading is equally possible.

170-172: These three stanzas have been reconstructed mainly from the Tib. translations and the reading cannot help but be provisional in places.

*kāyaguhyendriyacittaṃ trividhaṃ maṇḍalaṃ sadā |
prajñopāyatrivajrāṇāṃ jāyate vajrasattvatā || 173 ||*

*idaṃ sekasya sādhanam paramākṣarasādhanam |
nāḍikulasamāyuktam uddeśāc candra bhāṣitam || 174 ||*

173: The reading of this stanza is certain.

174: The two last *pādas* of this stanza can equally be read as *uddeśāt kathitaṃ candra nāḍikulasamanvītam*. In my opinion, the proposed reading is better.

Errata Corrige

p. 9, l. 2	Infact	In fact
p. 11, l. 9	<i>Dharmadhātu maṇḍala</i>	<i>Dharmadhātumaṇḍala</i>
p. 14, l. 11	VP	VP
p. 14, fn. 13, l. 1	Sanskrit	Sanskrit
p. 18, fn. 38, l.1 insert:	Piṇḍo is also found, and can be considered as nominative singular of Piṇḍa. Other variant transcriptions of the same name are: Piṇṭo, Piṇḍi, Piṭo, Biṭo, Paṇḍi etc. See Newman 1987a: 96 fn. 61 and 97 fn. 65.	
p. 20, l. 14	Puṇḍarika	Puṇḍarika
p. 21, l. 15	Puṇḍarika	Puṇḍarika
p. 22, l. 27	Sadhuputra	Sādhiputra
p. 37, fn. 114, l. 3	Samantaśri	Samantaśri
p. 40, l. 8	<i>jātam</i>	<i>jātaṃ</i>
p. 43, l. 9	<i>cyutam</i>	<i>cyutaṃ</i>
p. 43, fn. 125, l. 2	fn.117.5	fn. 118
p. 44, l. 7	<i>ḍombhi</i>	<i>ḍombi</i>
p. 44, l. 12	<i>nāḍi</i>	<i>nāḍi</i>
p. 44, l. 30	<i>sem</i>	<i>sems</i>
p. 44, l. 31	Samantaśri	Samantaśri
p. 47, bottom line ∞	(Tib.): <i>Mchog gi dang po'i sangs rgyas las phyung ba rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i bsdud pa'i rgyud go sla'i mchan bcas in The Collected Works of Bu ston : Part 1 (Ka)</i> . Ed. Lokesh Chandra. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture. 1965: fols. 1-299. Q Vol. 1#4. D 362.	
move to		
p. 46, bottom line, after	<i>Laghukālacakrantra</i> (Skr.) in Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra (ed.), <i>Kālacakra-tantra and Other Texts</i> , Part 1. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture. 1966: fols. 332-378.	
p.114, upper left margin	insert A	
p.115, upper right margin	insert B	
p.129, l. 3	nama	nāma

- XXXII. — SCARCIA G., *Ṣifat-Nāma-yi Darviṣ Muḥammad Ḥān-i Gāzi*. Crociata musulmana contro i Kafiri di Lagmān, 1582.
- XXXIII. — TAKASAKI J., *A study on the Ratnagoṭra-vibhāga (Uttaratantra)* being a treatise on the Tathāgatagarbha theory of Mahāyāna Buddhism.
- XXXIV. — RUEGG D.S., *The Life of Bu ston Rin po che, with the Tibetan text of the Bu ston rNam thar*.
- XXXV. — SOPER A.C., *Chinese, Korean and Japanese bronzes*. A catalogue of the Auriti collection donated to IsMEO and preserved in the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale in Rome.
- XXVI. — *Orientalia Romana*, 2, Essays and Lectures by V.S. AGRAWALA, P. BEONIO-BROCCHIERI, P. CORRADINI, L. LANCIOTTI, NAMKHAI N. DEWANG.
- XXXVII. — PENZA C., *L'Abhisamayāṅkāravṛtti di Ārya-vimuktisena*. Sanskrit text.
- XXXVIII. — BOYCE M., *The Letter of Tansar*. (Literary and Historical Texts from Iran - 1).
- XXXIX. — *Orientalia Romana*, 3, *Ghalib*. Two essays by AHMED ALI and A. BAUSANI.
- XL. — ZAHIRUDDIN AHMAD, *Sino-Tibetan relations in the seventeenth century*.
- XLI. — MOLÉ G., *The Tu-yü-hun from the Northern Wei to the time of the Five Dynasties*.
- XLII. — WYLIE T.V., *A Tibetan religious Geography of Nepal*.
- XLIII. — TUCCI G., *Minor Buddhist Texts*. Part III: *Third Bhāvanākrama*.
- XLIV. — *Orientalia Romana*, 4, Essays by W. HEISSIG, A. TAMBURELLO, R. BEVIGLIA, L.P. MISHRA.
- XLV. — PETECH L., *Aristocracy and Government in Tibet (1728-1959)*.
- XLVI. — CONZE E., *The Gilgit manuscript of the Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā. Chapters 70 to 82 corresponding to the 6th, 7th and 8th Abhisamayas*.
- XLVII. — RICHARDSON H.E., *Ch'ing Dynasty Inscriptions at Lhasa*.
- XLVIII. — *The Tārīkh-e Sistān*. Translated by MILTON GOLD (*Literary and Historical Texts from Iran - 2*).
- XLIX, 1-2. — GNOLI R., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu* (2 vols.).
- L. — GNOLI R., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaranavastu*.
- LI. — PETECH L., *The Kingdom of Ladakh c. 950-1842 A.D.*
- LII. — *Orientalia Romana*, 5, *Iranian Studies*, edited by G. GNOLI, Essays and Lectures by J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN, J. KELLEN, P. LECOQ, G. WIDENGREN, I. GERSHEVITCH, PH. GIGNOUX, W. SUNDERMANN, G. GNOLI.
- LIII. — SABATTINI M., *The Aesthetic Thought of Zhu Guangqian*.
- LIV. — PETECH L., *Mediaeval History of Nepal (c. 750-1482)*. Second, thoroughly revised edition.
- LV. — GNOLI R., *Ricordo di Giuseppe Tucci*. Con contributi di L. PETECH, F. SCIALPI, G. GALLUPPI VALLAURI.
- LVI, 1-3. — *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci memoriae dicata*. Edenda curaverunt G. GNOLI et L. LANCIOTTI.
- LVII. — *Orientalia Romana*, 6, *The First European Colloquium of Iranology (Rome, June 18th-20th, 1983)*, edited by G. GNOLI.
- LVIII. — G. GNOLI, *Il commento di Abhinavagupta alla Parātrīṃśikā (Parātrīṃśikāttattvavaraṇam)*. Traduzione e Testo.
- LIX. — FORTE A., *On the Significance of the Mingtang and Buddhist Utopias in the History of the Astronomical Clock*.
- LX. — PETECH L., *Selected Papers on Asian History*.
- LXI. — *Gans ti se' i dKar c'ag. A Bon-po Story of the Sacred Mountain Ti-se and the Blue Lake Ma-paṅ*. Edited by Namkhai Norbu. Revised, collated and completed by R. PRATS.
- LXII. — GNOLI G., *The Idea of Iran. An Essay on its Origin*.
- LXIII. — *Oman Studies. Papers on the Archaeology and History of Oman*. Edited by P.M. COSTA and M. TOSI.
- LXIV. — *Atti del Convegno sul tema: Mircea Eliade e le religioni asiatiche*. A cura di G. GNOLI.
- LXV. — PETECH L., *Central Tibet and the Mongols. The Yüan - Sa-skya Period of Tibetan History*.
- LXVI, 1-2. — *South Asian Archaeology 1987*. Proceedings of the Ninth International Conference of the Association of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe, held in the Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Island of San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice. Edited by M. TADDEI, with the assistance of P. CALLIERI.
- LXVII, 1-2. — *Proceedings of the First European Conference of Iranian Studies*. Turin, 7th-11th September 1987. Edited by G. GNOLI and A. PANAINO.
- LXVIII, 1. — PANAINO A., *Tiṣṭrya*. Part I: *The Avestan Hymn to Sirius*.
- LXIX. — EMMERICK R.E. and PULLEYBLANK E.G., *A Chinese Text in Central Asian Brahmi Script* (in press).
- LXX, 2. — *Arabia Antiqua. Hellenistic Centres around Arabia*. Edited by A. INVERNIZZI and J.F. SALLES.
- LXXI. — TORELLA R., *The Īśvarapratyabhijñārikā of Utpaladeva with the Author's Vṛtti*.