

HISTORY AND DOCTRINE

4 PELLIOT TIBÉTAINE 44: A. REFLECTIONS ON THE TEXT

Pelliot Tibétain 44 (PT 44): An Introduction

PT 44 is the single old manuscript source describing the foundation of the Phur pa teachings which has come to light in the Dunhuang collection. Its presentation suggests that it represents a prototype for later Phur pa *lo rgyus* accounts, the historical and mythological literature found typically both at or near the beginning of collections of Phur pa liturgical texts and also often in the introductory sections of commentarial texts as well. But this is not all: it is also one of the few old manuscript sources which relate to the person, teachings and activities of Padmasambhava.¹ For this reason, it has not gone unnoticed in academic Tibetan Studies. Lalou (1939: 14) drew the attention of scholars to the text. Tucci (1949: 88, cited in Bischoff and Hartman 1971: 11), considered it constituted evidence for the historicity of Padmasambhava. Bischoff and Hartman (1971) made a pioneering study of it, including a full transcription and translation. Stein (1978) commented on it further. More recently, Kapstein (2000: 158–9) included a translation and discussion of the first half of the text relating to Padmasambhava's establishment of the tradition, while van Schaik (2004: 184–6) has mined it for the references to *Atiyoga* in the second section, which supplies a terse description of the Phur pa teachings. Perhaps the main contribution we can make to the study of this important document is by adjusting the lens of our attention. Kapstein's focus was on Tibetan memories of the great master, van Schaik's interest was in the early precursors of *rDzogs chen* teachings. Our study, by contrast, is centrally concerned with the subject matter of the text as it presents itself, that is, "*the origins and doctrines of Phur bu*".

The text is written in a rather "home-made" kind of notebook, made up of sheets which are not uniform in size, folded over together and (formerly) strung together through the spine made by the fold. The folded down pages at their largest measure only 10.5 cm across and 7.5 from top to bottom, and there are forty-three sides with four or five small lines of text each.²

Bischoff and Hartman (1971:12) pointed out the difficulties in dating the manuscript from the details given on its rather torn cover sheet, while Karmay (1988:34) suggests a time frame no later than the ninth century. However, more recent research by Takeuchi (2004) has made us revise this assessment. Some sheets of the paper used to make the booklet for our text of PT 44 contain writing and seals from an earlier use of the paper. This includes the front cover which gives a date in Tibetan and also contains part of a seal and a small section of a Chinese character. Takeuchi has studied many Dunhuang documents of international correspondence between rulers in the tenth century, which are often in more than one language. Tibetan continued to be used frequently as a *lingua franca* in such correspondence long after the end of the Tibetan empire, probably partly because it was easy to learn compared with Chinese writing. Carefully examining PT 44's cover page, Takeuchi has identified the bottom of the Chinese brush stroke as a character used in concluding letters between the Khotanese king and the local Chinese ruler in Shazhou. In another example of such a letter (PT 5538), there is a date written immediately beneath the Chinese character, in the same relative position as the date found in PT 44, but this time in Khotanese. Also, just as in the case of our cover page, a seal is then stamped on the page on the left-hand portion where the date is written. The date

¹ Another Dunhuang text, PT 307, which mentions the role of Padmasambhava in enlisting a group of seven Tibetan goddesses to protect the tantric teachings, is translated, transliterated and discussed by Dalton (2004). The Dunhuang *Thabs zhags* commentary (IOL Tib J 321) in its interlinear notes associates its teachings with Padmasambhava in three places (in one comment at the text's beginning and two in the final chapter). The *dBa'sBa bzhed* manuscripts also give early data on Padma.

² See below for a full description, p.56-57.

given in PT 44 corresponds not to Tibetan dating of the time (which was based on the season, eg. the middle month of the summer season etc.) but to the Khotanese system, which gives first the year of the king's reign (eg in this instance, the second year), and then the animal year. Moreover, to the left of the date and seal given in PT 5538, there is a short Khotanese formula written in rather larger writing than the date. The equivalent Tibetan word used in such correspondence is *bka'*, a word we find on the first sheet of PT 44's inside pages. Thus, Takeuchi concludes that some of the paper used for PT 44 had earlier formed part of another such letter from the same period, but in this case written in Chinese and Tibetan instead of Chinese and Khotanese. Moreover, he calculates the most likely date of the original letter to have been 978, which was a tiger year in the first or second regnal year of King Viśā Dharma. It is also possible (but less likely) that it might have been the second year of an earlier king at the time of the previous tiger year of 966. In either event, this suggests that the Buddhist booklet dates from the late tenth century. The cave in which the manuscript was discovered was closed in the early eleventh century (circa 1010), so assuming that PT 44 was genuinely part of the cave library (and there is no reason to suspect otherwise),³ it cannot have been any later.

The question of the Phur bu'i or Vidyottama la 'bum sde

PT 44 refers first to the Phur pa textual collection brought from Nālandā as the *Phur bu'i 'bum sde*, *Phur bu'i rgyud 'bum sde* or simply *'bum sde* (2, 6, 8, 9). Then, in the final part of the first section of the manuscript (31–2), it gives the textual authority for the tradition as the *Vidyottama la* in Sanskrit, equivalent to the *Rig pa mchog kyi rgyud* in Tibetan. Bischoff and Hartman (1971: 12–13), followed by van Schaik (2004: 184 note 51), have taken this to refer to the *bKa' 'gyur* text, the *Ārya Vidyottama mahātantra*, which is called, *'Phags pa rig pa mchog gi rgyud chen po* in Tibetan (sDe dge *bKa' 'gyur* Volume 95, rgyud dza, 1v–237v.) However, Bischoff and Hartman note (25 note 29) that they have not identified any Phur pa sections within it, and their preliminary investigations would lead them to the suspicion that there may be none.⁴ Now although it is not altogether explicit in our Pelliot Tibétain 44 and Bischoff and Hartman were unaware of it (they discuss on p.12 the *Phur bu'i 'bum sde* and the *Vidyottama* on the assumption that they are quite separate texts), it is clear that the later Phur pa literature equates the *Vidyottama la Tantra* mentioned here with the *Phur bu'i 'bum sde* referred to in PT 44's opening and other sections.⁵ However, it is not yet very clear what exactly the terms *Vidyottama la* or *Phur bu'i 'bum sde* refer to in PT 44, and the terms have taken on slightly variant further interpretations over the centuries, some bordering on the mythological. For example, the title might include within its rubric reference to a mythic original text first uttered by the Buddha that is far longer than the condensed versions preserved on earth, a pattern found in other Buddhist tantras, but even this is not made very clear. What is clear is that the subsequent Phur pa tradition has preserved a very strong but somewhat imprecise memory of the *Phur pa 'bum sde* or *Kīlaya 'bum sde*, also called, the *Vidyottama la*⁶ or *Vidyottama la 'bum sde*. The title is used either for a specific text or collection of Phur pa tantras associated with Guru Padma and/or with Prabhahasti,⁷ or as a general term to describe the

³ It seems that at some stage before Stein arrived at Dunhuang, some much later (post-sixteenth century Mongolian) documents were deposited with the manuscript finds, but we have no reason to doubt the authenticity of the Tibetan manuscripts we discuss here.

⁴ They write, "...I was not lucky enough to find in the haystack the little needle 'Called Thunderbolt Youth'. I even suspect him not to be there at all, and that our development has been written to link the modest Pel. tib. 44 to the prestigious *Vidyottama-mahātantra*." Yet PT 44 may have had no such intention to link Phur bu to this tantra; Bischoff and Hartman may simply have made an unwarranted connection themselves due to the similarity in the titles.

⁵ It is worth mentioning that R.A. Stein (1978: 428–9) noticed Bischoff and Hartman's mistaken identification, and he correctly identified the tradition of the, "Vidyottama en cent mille sections".

⁶ As PT 44 notes, the Tibetan is generally given as, *Rig pa mchog kyi rgyud*. The final letter *la* which is given with *Vidyottama* is, however, slightly puzzling. *Vidyottama la* might even have been intended as an abbreviation for *Vidyottama mālā*, but we have not seen any instances of this given either in Sanskrit or Tibetan.

⁷ Prabhahasti is given in many accounts as Guru Padma's preceptor for the Phur pa lineage, for instance, the *'Bum nag* account in which the Guru, under his fifth secret name, Śākya bshes gnyen, together with the Nepalese Śīlamañju and Vimalamitra,

Phur pa tantras as a whole. Khenpo Namdrol's reference (1999:21) could imply either a specific text/set of texts, or the general class of texts, but it is clear that its subject matter is exclusively Phur pa.⁸ Dudjom (1991:481) mentions the *Vidyottama la 'bum sde* in connection with Padmasambhava's subjugation of the four female earth spirits and twelve *mātarah* and his establishment of the Vajrakīlaya Tantras, and the translators/editors of this English edition add in brackets a reference to the various Phur pa sections within the NGB, implying the title to apply to these texts as a whole. It is perhaps a little more likely that our Tibetan authors *do* have a specific Phur pa tantra or collection in mind,⁹ although it is not clear exactly what it contained. We have been unable to identify any such text¹⁰ – or collection of texts – nor to identify the frequently cited Phur pa text which is linked to it by A myes zhabs, the *Phur bu rtsa ba'i rgyud rdo rje khros pa*.¹¹ Both the *Phur pa 'Bum nag* and A myes zhabs claim that there was a chapter on the Vajra Family that was extracted from the *Vidyottama la 'bum sde* and became the basis for the later Phur pa texts. In discussing the tantric authority for Phur pa, the *'Bum nag* states, "the chapter on the Vajra Family was extracted from the *Tantra of Supreme Awareness*, the *Vidyottama la 'bum sde*."¹² A myes zhabs reiterates this, adding the connection between this chapter and the *Phur bu rtsa ba'i rgyud rdo rje khros pa*, and he furthermore specifies that the famous *Phur pa rtsa ba'i dum bu* was taken from this Vajra Family chapter.¹³ Furthermore, in his account of Slob dpon Padma 'byung gnas and his connections with the Phur pa tradition's origins, A myes zhabs discusses how Prabhahasti, the master who transmitted the Phur pa teaching to the great guru, responded to a request to provide the Vajrakīlaya teaching for subjugation, by dispatching one load of (texts on?) rituals for subduing the hostile forces and obstacles, taken from within the *Phur pa bi to ha* (sic = *ta?*) *ma la 'bum sde*,¹⁴ and as a result, as soon as (they) went to the rock cave at Yang le shod, the three types of hindrances were pacified.¹⁵ The account of the eighteenth to nineteenth century Mag gsar Kun bzang stobs ldan dbang pa is even closer to PT 44. Recounting that the Guru sends two Nepalese students, Kun zhi and Śrīlamanju, to the scholars of India to request a teaching for subduing hindrances, "the accomplished scholars sent the two porters to the temple of Śrī Nāleन्द्रa [= Nālandā] for the Phur pa tantras,

respectively called, Śākyaprabha and Śākyamitra, requested Phur pa from Prabhahasti. Each of the three then gained their own understanding which they combined into one authoritative cycle of Vajrakīlaya (*bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edition Volume Tha: 228.3–5; Boord 117).

⁸ "The Vajrakīlaya tantra belongs to the enlightened mind sub-category of the enlightened activity category.... This tantra is called the *Vidyottama Tantra*, and has one hundred thousand sections, all on the subject of Vajrakīlaya." (Khenpo Namdrol 1999: 21)

⁹ Note also that the title, "*Byi to'i rgyud*" (*Vidyottamatāntra*) was also included in the Pho brang Zhi ba'i 'od's list of Kīlaya tantras composed by Tibetans (Karmay 1998: 33).

¹⁰ The colophon of Nyang ral's *bDe bar gshegs pa thams cad kyi 'phrin las 'dus pa phur pa rtsa ba'i rgyud* gives the additional title of, *bi to ta ma la 'bum sde'i bsdus pa* (NGB, mTshams brag Volume Ya 808.3), suggesting that it might represent an abridged edition of the original text of that title, but it may simply reflect the text's understanding of itself as presenting the key teachings of the Phur pa tradition.

¹¹ See the full discussion on this mysterious yet often quoted text, in Cantwell and Mayer 2007: 6. Note that it is not to be confused with the *rDo rje khros pa rtsa ba'i rgyud* which is in the NGB; a full critical edition of this text is given in Cantwell and Mayer 2007.

¹² *rdo rje phur pa 'di rgyud gang nas btus... rgyud rig pa mchog gi rgyud bidyotta ma la 'bum sde'i nang nas rdo rje rigs kyi le'u phyung ba yin no/ (bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edition Volume Tha: 269.5–6; Boord 141).

¹³ The point is made twice: *phrin las kyi rigs phur bu rtsa ba'i rgyud rdo rje khros pa bi to ta ma la 'bum sde'i rgyud dam/ rig pa mchog gi rgyud kyi rdo rje rigs kyi le'u zur du phyung ba la/ phur pa rtsa ba'i dum bur grags pa la ni/ (A myes zhabs: 22.4–5); 'di la 'phags pa'i yul na kī la ya 'bum sde'i rgyud dam /bi to ta ma la'i rgyud ces yod pa'i rdo rje rigs kyi le'u har ston du byas pa da lta'i rtsa dum du grags pa 'di yin no/ (A myes zhabs: 24.1–2).*

¹⁴ *rgya gar gyi mkhan po pra wa hasti la gtad 'dul ba'i rdo rje phur pa'i chos cig zhus cig gsungs nas/ slob dpon pra wa ha sti la zhus pas/ phur pa bi to ha ma la 'bum sde'i nang nas dgra bgegs 'dul ba'i las kha mi khur gcig brdzangs pas/ yang le shod kyi brag phug tu phebs pa tsam gyis bar chad nam pa gsum po zhi/ (A myes zhabs: 56.7–57.2).*

¹⁵ The account preserved in the twelfth century Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer's *bKa' thang zangs gling ma* is very similar to A myes zhabs' here (see Yeshe Tsoqyal 1993: 52–4). See also the *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri lo rgyus*, Volume Tha: 26–7.

the Glorious Vajrakīlaya tantra, the *Bi to ta ma la 'bum sde*, and as soon as [they] arrived at Yang le shod, the hindrances were pacified.... in one month, [they] beheld the face of Vajrakīlaya."¹⁶

Unfortunately, it is clear that this textual collection, undoubtedly that which is referred to in PT 44 as the *Phur bu'i rgyud 'bum sde* or *Vidyottama la*, is not to be equated with the *bKa' 'gyur's Vidyottama Tantra*. Bischoff and Hartman's comments were in this respect justified: the *bKa' 'gyur* text seems not to have a great deal of *phur pa* material in it, nor a chapter on the topic of the Vajra Family, nor a version of the *Phur pa rtsa ba'i dum bu*. Although we have not identified the text or textual collection referred to here (if indeed, such a text is more than a mythological construction), it is interesting that this Dunhuang text claims the Phur pa tradition to descend from it, preserving the same claim of its authoritative status as that given in the later commentarial tradition.

The Guru's Hat

The story presented in PT 44 makes much of the Guru's magic hat: it is the hat in which he confines the troublesome female spirits, and from which emerges the now submissive and beautiful goddess who promises to protect the Phur pa teachings. Both the later elaborate mythologies of the Guru's life, and the ritual and artistic traditions centred on the Guru give significance to his hat. The most common depictions are either of his "lotus hat", symbolising tantric mastery, or of a red *paṇḍita's* hat, for peaceful images putting more emphasis on his enlightened scholarship and teaching.

The influential fourteenth century O rgyan gling pa's *Padma bka'i thang's* Chapter 41 (186.3–4) describes the King of Zahor offering the Guru a royal costume, specifically mentioning that, "upon his head, [he] donned the royal hat endowed with lotus petals; [with] five-coloured jewel[s], upon which a nine-spoked golden vajra was set, and on top, a beautiful vulture feather. Fastened also with a many coloured silk diadem, [this] hat which shined with golden gem sun and moons, [was] an extraordinary wish-fulfilling jewel".¹⁷ Then in Chapter 99 (434.1–4), the significance of the Guru's appearance is glossed at length, beginning with the hat: "Since the Guru's compassion effects the benefit of beings, [he] wears on [his] head the five family petals, symbolising [that he has] perfected the power[s] of the five buddhas, with the five primordial wisdoms. The blue coloured area in the middle symbolises that [he] effects the benefit of beings with the four enlightened activities. The three skulls piled up, the fetters piled up, symbolise [his] demonstration that all dharmas are unadulterated, within [or] without. [The hat being] adorned with a latticework of jewels symbolises that [he] brings the entire three worlds under his control. The golden vajra set into the [hat] symbolises that [he has] mastered the vajra-like samādhi. The fluttering of the five-coloured silk diadem, symbolises that [he] tames beings using the five branches of knowledge. The decoration of the little vulture ornament on the right and left symbolises that [he] conjoins method and wisdom. The glistening clear peacock feather eye symbolises that [he] swirls in the light [of] appearances and mind [as] pure awareness [in] the spatial field. The shining golden gem sun and moons symbolise that [he] clears away the darkness of beings' ignorance."¹⁸

¹⁶ paṇ grub nams kyi shri nā lendra'i gtsug lag khang nas/ dpal rdo rje phur pa'i rgyud bi to ta ma la 'bum sde dang bcas phur rgyud mi khur gnyis brdzangs te/ yang le shod du phebs pa tsam gyis bar chad zhi ste/ ... zla ba gcig nas rdo rje phur pa'i zhal gzigs/ (Mag gsar Kun bzang stobs ldan dbang pa, 2003, 27)

¹⁷ dbu la rgyal po'i dbu zhwa pad 'dab can: nor bu kha dog mi gcig lnga brtsegs la: gser gyi rdo rje rtse dgu btsugs pa yi: rtse mor rgod kyi rtse rgyas mdzes pa dang: dar sna mang po'i cod pan btags pos brgyan: rin chen gser gyi nyi zla gsal ba'i zhwa: dbu zhwa khyad 'phags yid bzhin nor bu gyon:

¹⁸ ghu ru'i thugs rjes 'gro don mdzad tsa na: 'dab ldan rigs lnga dbu la gsol ba ni: sku lnga'i dbang rdzogs ye shes lnga ldan brda: de la dbus mthing phyogs tshon brgyan pa ni: 'phrin las rnam bzhis 'gro don mdzad pa'i brda: thod skam sum brtsegs thag pa brtsegs pa ni: chos kun ma 'dres phyi nang ston pa'i brda: de la rin cen dra bas brgyan pa ni: khams gsum ma lus dbang du sdud pa'i brda: de la gser gyi rdo rje btsugs pa ni: rdo rje lta bu'i ting 'dzin brnyes pa'i brda: dar sna lnga yi cod pan 'phur ba ni: rig pa'i gnas lngas 'gro ba 'dul ba'i brda: g.yas g.yon rgod kyi the'u chung spras pa ni: thabs dang shes rab zung du 'brel ba'i brda: rtse dbus rma bya'i

Tantric liturgies and religious paintings revisit the imagery in everyday ritual contexts.¹⁹ And it is not only such textual accounts of the Guru's life and formal monastic practice which may give significance to the hat. It finds its place also in oral symbolic traditions and popular practices associated with the Guru. For instance, there is the case of a Lotus hat known as "*padma mthong grol*", which was revealed as *gter ma* by mChog 'gyur gling pa and entrusted to the fifth *sprul sku* of Karma Chags med. This hat is reputed to have the power to purify evil karma and bring rebirth in Sukhāvātī.²⁰ There are also links between the Guru's hat and sacred sites associated with him.²¹ In this Dunhuang account, although the Guru's hat is not elaborated on at length, we see a hint of the symbolic value it would later take on.

The Phur pa Protectresses

In PT 44, we meet a group of four troublesome *bse* goddesses, who appropriate people's breath at twilight, so Padmasambhava brings them under control. One appears as a beautiful woman and promises to protect the Phur bu teachings, and then the four are enjoined and given names by the practitioners following the rites they perform in the asura cave.

This account contains important elements of the later imagery relating to the Phur pa Protectresses (*Phur srung*). As with the Tibetan expansion of the Rudra myth (see above p.21), it can be seen as a typically Tibetan charter myth (*rabs* or *smrang*) that serves as a model for subsequent re-enactment of the rituals relating to the Phur pa protectresses. The principal protectresses consist of three groups of four goddesses, the Śvanamukhā, dog-headed goddesses who head the assembly, the Grande Dames (*bDag nyid chen mo*), or Re(ma)tī sisters (*Re tī mched*), and the Earth Mistresses (*Sa bdag ma*), also known as the four *bswe mo* or *bse mo*. They are generally accompanied by a group of Great Noble Ging (*sKyes bu ging chen*). In this case, in so far as the four goddesses would seem to correspond to one of our sets of four, it is to the third group, the Earth Mistresses. Their appearance and associations seem to vary somewhat from one Phur pa cycle to another,²² but there are some continuities. Their individual names are given in some sources as Ya byin, De

mdongs mdangs gsal ba ni: snang sems dbyings rig 'od du 'khyil ba'i brda: rin cen gser gyi nyi zla gsal ba ni: 'gro ba'i ma rig mun pa sel ba'i brda:

¹⁹ The *bDud 'joms Bla sgrub* recitation includes the following terse mention: "[he wears] a lotus hat, endowed with a vulture feather diadem" ("pad zhwa rgod sgro cod pan can:", *The Collected Works of H H bDud-'joms Rin-po-che*, Volume Ca: 8). For miniature paintings of the Guru wearing the classic lotus hat (probably made in the late eighteenth century), and a discussion of the symbolism of his costume, see: "The legacy of Rig 'dzin Tshé dbang nor bu: the miniatures illuminating the collection" in Cantwell, Mayer and Fischer, 2002 (<http://ngb.csac.anthropology.ac.uk/csac/NGB/Doc/TheLegacyofRigdzin.xml>). There are some variations in the depiction of the hat; for instance, the predominant or main colour is generally red, but we find differences in the colours of the subsidiary sections and ornamentations of the hat. Some depictions are far more elaborate than others. Most of the features mentioned in the *Padma bka'i thang* discussion are represented, at least in the more elaborate paintings. The hat is not usually shown as having skulls, but quite often, we do find all the other features, the petal-shaped flaps, various jewel decorations, a sun and a moon motif shown centrally at the front of the hat, and a golden vajra at the top, on which there is a peacock feather, with vulture feathers on both sides, tied with fluttering silk ribbons (see, for example, Tanaka 1999: 104–107, Plates 43 and 44, and Yeshe Tsogyal 1978, Part II: 543, Plate 33).

²⁰ See <http://www.neydo.org/seed6.html> on Karma Chags med, and see also, <http://www.buddhistchannel.tv/index.php?id=39,1474,0,0,1,0> for a report on the public investiture of the present Karma Chags med with a "sacred hat" (although in this case, reported to have been, "preserved in Tibet for centuries"). The article includes a story of an assembly of *dākas* and *dākinīs* each contributing a strand of hair to make the hat for the Guru, which he later hid so that it could be revealed as a *gter ma*.

²¹ In an account of the significance of Ha Valley in Bhutan, Lama Pema Tshewang mentions an impression in rock of the Guru's hat: <http://www.bhutanstudies.org.bt/journal/vol5/v5-4.pdf>

²² Even in the case of the appearance of the chief of the twelve Phur pa protectresses, Śvanamukhā, the description given in the *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri* protectors section (*Phur srung dam can bcu drug gi gtor ma'i cho ga phrin las dga' ston*, 222–3, in *The Collected Works of H H bDud-'joms Rin-po-che*, Volume Tha) would seem to fit closely with the central figure depicted in an illustration of the Phur pa protectors (Mag gсар Kun bzang stobs ldan dbang pa 2003: frontispiece), yet a description in the *Sa skya Phur chen* (43v) is quite different.

byin, Phag byin and bSwe byin.²³ Variants of these names occur in the *Sa skya Phur chen* (45v–46v): sPyi byin rdo rje mthu mo che, Ya byin rdo rje mthu mo che, bSe byin rdo rje mthu mo che, and Phag byin rdo rje mthu mo che. Clearly, the names are not exactly the same as those given in PT 44, but at least two can probably be equated (Phag byin = Phags byin; sPyi byin = Phyi byin), and they all have the same basic form, with "byin" as the second syllable. Although most accounts of how the protectresses were brought into the maṇḍala mention the other groups of protectors as well as the *bSwe mo*,²⁴ it is interesting that in the extensive section on *Praising and Enjoining* (*bstod bskul*, 35r ff) in the *Sa skya Phur chen*, it is the verses introducing the Earth Mistresses (43v ff) which specifically refer to these four goddesses as residing in Nepal, and being tamed by Padma 'byung gnas in the rock cave at Yang le shod. Another notable point about the later presentation of the *bSwe* goddesses, which may have some bearing on PT 44's mention of them as "non-transcendent" (11, *ma 'das*), is that the '*Bum nag* suggests that the *Śvanamukhā* group are transcendent, the *bDag nyid chen mo* are in-between a transcendent and worldly status, while the *bSe mo* are wholly worldly.²⁵

The imagery by which the goddesses are brought under control in PT 44 is also reminiscent of the accounts in the literature. In the '*Bum nag*, we find a dusk attack on the breathing and the goddesses' expressed desire for the life-breath of the four continents,²⁶ followed by their submission and promise to protect the teachings, and the bestowal of new names. In fact, there also appears to be a close parallel to the theme of the Guru confining them in his hat in the '*Bum nag* description. The mention in the '*Bum nag* is very brief and not entirely clear but it seems to suggest that when in the evening the Guru notices that his breathing has been restricted, he rubs [against them?] with his hand, asking what it is that he feels. He then puts [them?] into a casket, which he seals with a mudrā. In the morning, he looks and there are four good [looking] women, who he then questions and binds with mudrās.²⁷ Although the translation here is slightly uncertain,²⁸ it seems that we have the same theme of the Guru capturing and magically imprisoning the goddesses, who reveal gentler forms and make their submission on their release.

An account in the *lo rgyus* section of the bDud 'joms *gNam lcags spu gri* (Volume Tha, 30–32) elaborates at greater length. It begins, "At the rock cave in Yang le shod, [he] established the eight-spoked maṇḍala of the Vajrakīlaya Approach Practice, and generated the heart samaya."²⁹ Then the story continues with the groups of the four Śvana sisters, the four Rematī sisters, and the four Noble Ging arriving in turn, at twilight, midnight and daybreak respectively. Each group is dealt with similarly; it is simply noted that they offer

²³ These names are given in the *Phur pa rGyud lugs* protectors section (*Phur srung lcam dral gyi gnad yig dam can bla chags*, *bDud 'joms bKa' ma*, Volume Ja, 651–2), and also in the *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri* protectors section (Volume Tha, 223–4).

²⁴ The '*Bum nag* account recounts the four groups being brought under control in turn, the *bSe'i lha mo*, followed by the *bDag nyid chen mo*, the *Śvanamukhā*, and the *sKyes bu ging* (Boord: 119–120). Nyang ral also gives the four groups in turn, although with the difference that they are given in the more usual ordering of the groups, ie. the *Śvanamukhā* come first, and the *bSwe mo* come third (Yeshe Tsoqyal 1993: 53). Mag gсар Kun bzang stobs ldan dbang pa (2003: 27) similarly gives the standard order, although in this context he only mentions the three principal groups of the protectresses. He gives greater detail in the context of his description of the maṇḍala deities (230–1).

²⁵ de yang swa na ma 'das pa'i ma mo/ bdag nyid ma 'das ma 'das mtshams kyi ma mo/ bse mo bzhi 'jig rten pa'i ma mo yin te/ ('*Bum nag*, *bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edition Volume Tha: 234.3–4; Boord: 120).

²⁶ See the '*Bum nag*, Boord 120; Volume Tha, 233.3 (nga gling bzhi'i srog dbugs 'dod zer/)

²⁷ srod thun la gu ru'i dbugs thums rngubs pa zhig byung/ phyag gis byugs pas ci cig 'dra ba zhig zin bsniam byed de/ zam tog tu bcug ste mu dras rgyas btab pa las/ nangs par bltas pas bud med bzang mo bzhi 'dug ste su yin dris pas/ bse'i lha mo bya ba yin zer/ khyod ci 'dod byed pas/ nga gling bzhi'i srog dbugs 'dod zer/ der phyag rgyas bsdams pa dang/ srog snying phul/ gsang mtshan re re btags/ (the '*Bum nag*, Volume Tha, 233.1–3)

²⁸ Note that Boord (119) reads the words concerning the casket as suggesting an analogy for the Guru's sensation of his breath being restricted.

²⁹ yang le shod kyi brag phug tu rdo rje phur pa'i bsnien pa'i dkyil 'khor rtsibs brgyad pa zhig bzhengs te thugs dam mdzad pa na/ (bDud 'joms *gNam lcags spu gri lo rgyus*, Volume Tha: 30)

their inner life-force, are bound, named, and enjoined with the bestowal of root mantra syllables.³⁰ When we come to our final group of *bswe mo*, a good deal more detail is given:

"Then, [he] arrived nearby the region of the Enlightenment Spring, at the grove of winter flowers and skeletons, and at twilight, [he] made one little observation. [His] body felt heavy and dense, while into [his] presence, [there] came an unclear vision. Seizing hold [of it] in [his] hand, [he] put [it] into a small vessel³¹ and sealed [it down] with Vajrakīlaya. In the morning, [he] looked and there were four fearsome looking women, extending across the expanse of the sky. Knowingly, the Master asked, 'who are you?' and [they] replied, 'we are the four *bswe mo* sisters,' and also, '[we are] the queens of the four seasons.' Again, [they said,] 'formerly, we brought the lives of people and livestock throughout the worldly realms under control. Now, too, please empower us do the same again!' Each offered up [to him] the essence of [her] life-force, so without empowering [them] in this way, the Master taught [them] Vajrakīlaya. [They] listened and were bound to overpower and destroy the lives of the meditation practitioners' hindrances. [He] tied black silk diadems on each of [their] heads, bestowed upon each of them human skin *phur pas*, dressed [them] all in strong coats of armour, mounted [them] all upon stallions to ride, and gave [them] four lakes as the places to sustain [them]. Giving each [of them] secret names, Shu len ta ri etc.,³² [he] enjoined them, saying, 'the time has come for the Great Earth Mistresses', and [he] created the array of [their] essential root heart [syllables], saying, 'ajiti aparajite'.³³

In this version, it is interesting that although Dudjom Rinpoche first mentions the other three groups of protectors, and gives each of the four groups an even treatment in relation to the lines for them offering themselves up, being bound and enjoined with mantra syllables, these repeated elements are very greatly fleshed out in dealing with the *bswe mo* group, the goddesses we find in PT 44.

The Archetypal Practitioners

While the first theme in PT 44's account is the Guru's foundation of the tradition through introducing the texts and ensuring its vitality by subjugating and enlisting the protectresses, an equally central message is communicated by the story of the complementary practices performed by the group of yogins, and the

³⁰ The sets of syllables given to each of the four groups together form the central core of a mantra referred to as, "the four [mantras] condensed into one essence" (*bzhi snying gcig tu dril ba*), which is recited in the context of engaging in ritual activities following the main mantra recitation (the *gNam lcags spu gri* Mantra List [*sngags byang*], Volume Tha, 283, and the bDud 'joms *sPu gri reg phung*, *Phrin las*, Volume Ba, 492). A version of this string of mantra syllables, within a rather different longer mantra, also occurs in the *rTsa ba rgyud kyi dum bu* (see Boord: 87–88).

³¹ assuming that *spar bu* = *par bu*

³² The set of "secret names" indicated here is also found in other sources, but not in PT 44. The canonical NGB scripture, the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*, lists them in Chapter 13 as Kumadari, Śudari, Camundari and Kaṅkadari, while in Chapter 19, its *mantroddhāra*, upon reconstitution they emerge as Kunmandari, Ḍṣuldari, Camundhari and Kaṅkadari (see Mayer 1996: 128–9). The *Sa skya Phur chen* (44r–45r) includes these names in verses before the invocations using the names which seem partially parallel to those in PT 44 as discussed above. A myes zhabs comments on the relations between the different names: Ku lan dhara is also called, rDo rje Ya byin ma (469.7–470.1); Shu lan dhara is also called, rGyca (sic. = spyi?) byin ma (470.6); Tsa mun ta is also called, rDo rje bSe byin ma (471.6–472.1); and Kaṅ ka dhara is rDo rje Phag byin ma (473.1–2).

³³ de nas chu mig byang chub ris kyi 'gram me tog dgun yang mi skam pa'i tshal der byon nas srod la dgongs pa cung zhig mdzad/ sku nyams su lei thibs se ba dang spyang sngar yang rib rib pa zhig byung ba phyag gis bzung ste spar bur bcug cing rdo rje phur pas rgyas btas nas bzhag /nangs par gzigs pas/ bud med 'jigs su rung ba nam mkha'i mthongs su sleb pa bzhi 'dug ste/ slob dpon gyis mkhyen bzhin du khyed cag su yin gsungs pa na/ bdag cag ni bswe mo mched bzhi zhes kyang bya/ nam zla dus bzhi'i rgyal mo zhes kyang bya/ sngon yang 'jig rten khams kyi mi phyugs kyi srog la dbang bar byas/ da dung yang de ltar dbang bskur du gsol/ zhes zer te so so'i srog snying phul bas/ slob dpon gyis de ltar dbang ma bskur te rdo rje phur pa bshad pa dang/ nyan pa dang/ sgom sgrub byed pa la bar du gcod pa'i srog la dbang gyis shig par dam stsal nas/ dar nag gi cod pan re re mgo la btags /zhing gi phur pa re re lag tu bskur/ dbang gi bswe khrab re re lus la bkon/ bskyod pa'i rta pho re re 'og tu skyon/ rten gyi mtsho bzhi gnas su byin/ shu len ta ri la sogs pa'i gsang mtshan re re'ang so sor btags shing/ sa bdag chen mo'i dus la bab/ ces pa'i bskul dang/ a dzi ti a pa ra dzi te zhes pa'i srog snying yang rtsa bar bkod par mdzad do/ (bDud 'joms *gNam lcags spu gri lo rgyus*, Volume Tha: 30–32)

transmission of the lineage to later practitioners. At one level, it might refer to an underlying historical reality, but at another level, this is a mythic narrative intended to present an ideal model to be re-enacted by succeeding generations, and in this sense, the continuing traditions of Phur pa have entirely maintained the spirit of PT 44. In numerous later commentaries and in oral teachings, very similar stories are reiterated of the earliest students practising alongside the great Guru at Yang le shod and gaining accomplishments, demonstrated materially by their manipulations of the outer world with their *phur bus*. In oral presentations, links are generally made with more recent masters of the tradition who have exhibited similar achievements,³⁴ to make clear the ongoing dynamism and effectiveness of the practice.³⁵ In ritual contexts, we frequently find a mythological history which presents a number of succeeding occasions for the demonstration of the attainments associated with the Phur pa practice. This may include an initial primordial or timeless "occasion" involving Vajrakumāra himself, followed by the first establishment of the maṇḍala by Guru Padma and his students at Yang le shod, and then a subsequent re-enactment in Central Tibet, in which key Tibetan students join the Guru. Finally, a further occasion may be added in which the principal more recent masters of the specific Phur pa transmission concerned take the leading roles.³⁶

The particular practitioners said in PT 44 to have attained accomplishments along with the Guru at Yang le shod do not seem to correspond to those mentioned in the various later accounts that we have read so far, but interestingly, the miracles they demonstrate are very closely related. PT 44 has Padmasambhava setting light to and striking into a forest, and his companions striking into stone and striking into water. An oft-repeated commentarial tradition has the three practitioners demonstrating a superior, middling and lesser accomplishment:

"By performing the practice, [they] beheld the faces of all the deities in the spatial expanse maṇḍala, and [they] accomplished freedom from birth and death [as] vidyādhara [with power over] life. Becoming inseparable from the maṇḍala deities manifesting as Wrathful Ones, [they] attained the supreme siddhi of mahāmudrā. Superior, middling and lesser signs of perfecting the rituals of *union* and *liberation* arose. The

³⁴ Quite often, a lama will make no reference to his own attainments but will emphasise the abilities of his own immediate teachers, and may repeat stories concerning their miraculous accomplishments. The message is not only that the student should feel great respect and devotion for these past exemplars, but that through their connection with the line of masters, they too have the potential for equal realisation.

³⁵ In the mythologies of Guru Padma, it is important that the focus on the Guru figure himself should not cause us to underestimate the symbolic value in the lengthy accounts of the "team" efforts of the archetypal students and patrons in promoting and continuing the tantric tradition in Tibet. This aspect is not only stressed in the mythological stories themselves, but is built into tantric ritual liturgies and practice. It is symbolically crucial since the entire point of the *Mahāyoga* teachings is the possibility for today's practitioners to manifest the deity's full enlightened expression, and thus to realise all forms, sounds and thoughts as enlightened body, speech and mind. Dalton's comments on the Tibetan tradition "forgetting" the contribution of an indigenous Tibetan figure in one of the Dunhuang accounts of Guru Padma's subjugation of the Tibetan deities (Dalton 2004: 768), would seem in this respect rather misleading. Indeed, Rlang dpal gyi seng ge, the "obscure" character Dalton suggests has been forgotten, is on the contrary repeatedly remembered in exactly the role he plays in the Dunhuang text, PT 307, in the context of regular tantric *tshogs* ritual assembly feasts. Here, the group of practitioners seek to re-enact and re-embody the archetypal creation of the tantric maṇḍala in the Tibetan environment, in which the local spirits are integrated into the tantric assembly, and the *samaya* bond between the deities, the practitioners and the retinue of emanations is reaffirmed. Ideal Tibetan predecessors of today's practitioners thus have a vital symbolic place. Rlang dpal gyi seng ge and other early Tibetan figures may be explicitly referred to in the *chad gtor* and *brtan ma* offering sections of the *tshogs* rite. To give just two examples, the name is given in the *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri las byang*, Volume Tha: 139 and 143; the first reference mentions Rlangs chen dpal seng in a list of tantric masters who joined the Guru to subdue the Phur pa protectresses in Tibet, while the second reference eulogises the joint work of the Guru with Rlangs chen dpal seng in subduing and empowering the Tibetan Ancient Established Protectresses (*brtan ma*). Furthermore, in an *Anuyoga* sādhana practice of great importance to the rNying ma pa tradition, the *Tshogs chen 'dus pa'i sgrub thabs dngogs grub char 'bebs* of the sMin grol gling tradition of gTer bdag gling pa and Dharma Śrī, Rlangs chen dpal gyi seng ge, together with the Slob dpon padma 'byung gnas, is similarly identified in the *brtan ma bskyang ba* section as the one responsible for binding the protectresses under oath (*bDud 'joms bKa' ma* Volume Pha: 436.1). Dalton's valuable work on PT 307, then, demonstrates a long-term persistence in a mythological account, rather than an earlier forgotten version.

³⁶ See the *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri las byang*, Volume Tha: 138–141.

best [was that] Guru Padma took a *phur pa* which was flying through the sky, and striking [it] into a sandalwood forest, a divine castle of tīrthikas was instantly burnt up, after which the foliage sprung up again. The middling [was that] Vimala[mitra] took a *phur pa* which was quivering and hovering above the maṇḍala, and striking [it] into the River Ganges, [he] reversed its flow, [so that] the river was stopped, vanquishing a wealth-generating nāga [who was] sustaining tīrthakas. The lesser [was that] Śīlamañju took a *phur pa* which was smiling and exuberantly laughing, and striking [it] into the maṇḍala rock of poisonous stone, [he] shattered to dust a *the'u rang* [sprite] which was demonstrating the supernormal powers to tīrthikas."³⁷

Moreover, just as PT 44 (19 ff) continues with the comparable achievements of later Tibetan disciples, we also find a re-play of similar feats in the later lineage stories in commentarial sources,³⁸ demonstrating the incorporation of the Tibetan landscape into the Phur pa maṇḍala. The cavern of the Red Rock at bSam yas, mentioned in PT 44 (18–19), has a place in the Phur pa commentarial traditions,³⁹ as does the cave of Mon kha ne'u ring in Bumthang (Bhutan),⁴⁰ a site which may be alluded to in PT 44's mention of the 'Bum tang Rock (22).

The specific lineage figures listed in PT 44 are not all recognisable from later Phur pa lineage lists. The group who are said to have done practice and demonstrated accomplishments alongside Padmasambhava do not seem clearly to correspond with any known figures. It is just possible that Pra be se is intended to indicate the Indian guru, Prabhahasti, who as we have seen (see above, p.42–43, note 7), came to be considered crucial to the transmission of the 'Bum sde and the Phur pa lineage. Dan Martin in his *TibSkrit* (2006) puzzles if Shri Ri 'gugs ta might be a rendering of Śrīgupta (dPal sbas); but the application of the name Śrīgupta is probably too blurred and varied in the various records for us to make any confident historical usage of it (see the analysis in Hodge 2003: 541–2, note 15). Sometimes Śrīgupta seems to point to a teacher of Jñānagarbha's, who in turn is described as a teacher of Śāntarakṣita's (Hodge 2003: 24; Roerich 34), which makes him too early for this mention in PT 44. On other occasions, however, the name is applied to the late eighth century Paṇḍit Jñānagarbha (Ruegg 1989: 157), a collaborator on translations in the early 800's with Cog/lCog ro Klu'i rgyal mtshan (Kuijp 2006: 171, 180) and with sKa ba dPal brtsegs (eg. in *Idan dkar ma* Lalou 1953, no. 562), so that a teacher of this Jñānagarbha might indeed be a contemporary of Padmasambhava. In fact, this Jñānagarbha is clearly linked in rNying ma sources with tantrism, since he is also named in some NGB colophons and is sometimes linked with the Vimalamitra tantric lineages and other tantric contexts (Kuijp 2006: 180). But we have not yet located any record that this Jñānagarbha had a teacher named Śrīgupta!

³⁷ sgrub pa mdzad pas dbyings kyi dkyil 'khor du lha tshogs rnam zhal gzig te skye 'chi med pa tshe'i rig 'dzin brnyes/ khro bo rol pa'i dkyil 'khor du lha dang dbyer med du gyur nas/ phyag rgya chen po mchog gi dngos grub thob/ sbyor sgrol gyi 'phrin las mthar phyin pa'i rtags rab 'bring tha gsum byung ste/ rab phur pa gcig nam mkhar lding ba de gu ru padmas blangs te/ tsandan gyi nags la btab pas mu stegs kyi gsas mkhar dang bcas pa thul gyis bsregs nas slar lo 'dab 'khrungs so/ 'bring phur pa gcig dkyil 'khor gyi steng nas 'gul zhing 'phar ba de bi ma las blangs te chu bo ganggā gyen du log pa la btab pas/ mu stegs la 'tsho ba ster ba'i klu nor rgyas bcom ste chu bo yan man du chad/ tha ma phur pa gcig 'dzum zhing rgod pa byung ba de shī la manydzus blangs te maṇḍa la'i mkhar gong gi brag la gdab pas/ mu stegs la mngon shes ston pa'i th'u rang phye mar bcom (Mag gsar Kun bzang stobs ldan dbang pa 2003: 29). An almost identical version of the story is given in A myes zhabs (58.1–5) and a similar account is also given in the 'Bum nag (*bDud 'joms bka' ma* edition Volume Tha: 231–2; Boord: 119). The stories are remembered in ritual contexts as well as in presentations of the teachings; for instance, in the *Sa skya Phur chen*, in a section on "Enjoining the Vidyādhara" (*Rig 'dzin bskul ba*, 55v ff), the first verses recall in turn Slob dpon Padma 'byung gnas, Slob dpon Vimalamitra, and Nepalese Śīlamañju, referring to their specific demonstrations (56r).

³⁸ Thus, for instance, the 'Bum nag supplies an account of Ye shes mtsho rgyal repeating a demonstration of striking, burning and regenerating a forest, this time, in mChims phu in Tibet; sNa nam rDo rje bdud 'joms strikes into the 'On 'jang rockface, and gNyags Jñānakumāra arrests the flow of the gTsang po River in upper gTsang (*bDud 'joms bka' ma* edition Volume Tha: 244–5; Boord: 126).

³⁹ See, for instance, A myes zhabs (87.5), who writes of, "the rock cave called, *brag dmar skye tshang*, located at the supreme sacred place of bSam yas mChim bu" (bsam yas mchim bu'i gnas mchog brag dmar skye tshang zhes bya ba'i brag phug).

⁴⁰ See the *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri las byang*, Volume Tha: 139.

In the list of students in Tibet, Vairocana is given pride of place in PT 44. He is, of course, well-known to later tradition as a master translator and for his centrality to the *rDzogs chen* transmissions in Tibet, although he is not generally given a prominent role in the Phur pa lineages. In his most famous biography, the *Vairo 'dra 'bag*, which Karmay dates to the 13th century and some parts of it later, Vairocana is portrayed as a great translator and monk whose importance lies largely in terms of him being a transmitter of *rDzogs chen* teachings within both Buddhism and Bon (Karmay 1988a: 18ff). It may be that when PT 44 was written, there was an interest in linking the perhaps by then already illustrious figure with Padmasambhava's heritage. Hence, it may be that some early traditions did give Vairocana a key role in the early Phur pa transmissions, but that this was later overshadowed by his later reputed associations with *rDzogs chen*.⁴¹ Certainly, in such early sources such as *dBa' bzhed*, no special emphasis is given to *rDzogs chen*; rather, he is portrayed as a great monk and translator, demonstrating signs of tremendous capacity for development stage Tantric practice, which perhaps tallies with his listing here in PT 44 as a Phur pa practitioner.

He is first mentioned at *dBa' bzhed* 17v, as "*Bee ro tsa na son of Pa 'or Na 'dod*" (Wangdu and Diemberger 2000),⁴² within the list of the sons and nephews of the *zhang blon*⁴³ who were to be trained in Indian languages and who actually succeeded in this difficult task. By 26v ff, his prominence is clearly indicated in the account of his being most urgently summoned from Tsha ba tsha shod in Amdo to take a leading role in the debate about whether bTsan po Khri Srong lde btsan's funeral should be Buddhist or Bon. Here he clearly emerges as a Buddhist monk endowed with miraculous tantric powers: the opponents of Buddhism had tried to humiliate the Buddhist monks by denying them a proper seating row (*gral*) at the debate, but Vairocana redeemed Buddhist honour by demonstrating hundreds of tiny wrathful deities coming from his facial hairs, a *Mahāyoga* Tantric visualisation, similar versions of which are found in various Phur pa texts. This so disconcerted the leading opponent of Buddhism behind whom Vairocana was standing that he stood up, at which point Vairocana promptly was able to take his seat; after which the Buddhists managed to take the whole seating row. The text reads:

"Amongst Vairocana's whiskers, miniature wrathful [deities] the size of white mustard seeds were appearing and amassing and, [they] so much terrified [his opponent, he] abruptly arose, leaving Vairocana behind, [who] sat down, so the right row was lost to the Buddhist monks". (26v.7 – 27r.1)⁴⁴

In the course of the debate, Vairocana presented important arguments, and made brave and crucial affirmations about the sangha's capacity to protect the borders of Tibet, that clinched the debate for Buddhism (30b). Thus, the deceased monarch was buried according to the Tantric Buddhist rites of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala, with Vairocana taking a leading ritual as mantra master (31a). From then on, claims the

⁴¹ Along with Slob dpon chen po Padma 'byung gnas, Vairocana is attributed with the translation of Nyang ral's *bDe bar gshegs pa thams cad kyis 'phrin las 'dus pa phur pa rtsa ba'i rgyud* (NGB, mTshams brag Volume Ya 808.3–4)

⁴² Note that Vairocana's family or clan name appears in different forms in the early sources: *sBa bzhed* B (58) names him in exactly the same way as *dBa' bzhed* 17v, but *sBa bzhed* A (50) calls him the son of Pa dkor Na 'dod, and the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (359–360) calls him the son of Pa gor Hen 'dod. Wangdu and Diemberger surmise that the original clan name was Pa gor, which is also a toponym for a place in sNye mo which still maintains a shrine to Vairocana's birth (Wangdu and Diemberger 2000:70).

⁴³ Literally, "maternal uncle - minister". Strictly speaking, the term "maternal uncle" in this context implied a high-ranking family which had provided the imperial house with one or more heir producing brides, such that they had members related to the King as maternal uncles. Wangdu and Diemberger (2000: 7 note 6) suggest the term epitomises the hybrid nature of the Tibetan state structure, incorporating elements of the old clan system and of a bureaucratic state organisation. However, the term, *zhang blon*, was also used in a rather looser way, in which *zhang* simply served as an honorific prefix, so that the title could also be applied to members of other aristocratic ministerial families who did not necessarily have affinal relations with one of the kings (Dotson 2004: 79–82).

⁴⁴ (26v.7) bai ro tsa na'i sma ra'i gseb na khro chung nyungs (= nyung/yungs) dkar tsam shig shig snang ba dang/ shin tu skrag nas kog (27r.1) gis langs pa'i shul du bai ro tsa nas bzhugs pas ban de la g.yas gral shor/ Wangdu and Diemberger (2000: 96–7), not being specialists in *Mahāyoga*, were unsure how to translate this passage, and hence speculated it might refer to lice in Vairocana's beard! However, this kind of visualisation of tiny wrathful deities emanating from the pores of the skin or the body hairs is not uncommon in the Phur pa literature (see below Ch. 11 p.203 on IOL Tib J 401).

dBa' bzhed, Tibetan royalty had funerals according to such Buddhist tantric systems as *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana*, *Sarvavid Mahāvairocana*,⁴⁵ and *Uṣṇīṣa*. The significance, of course, is that the pre-Buddhist funerals, of such huge symbolic value to the pre-Buddhist religion, had been the occasion of much blood sacrifice, anathema to Buddhism. Vairocana is thus portrayed in *dBa' zhed* as a Buddhist monk with special tantric powers who had a great national impact on Buddhicising Tibetan culture.

In *sBa bzhed* A (64–65), Vairocana was sent by bTsan po Khri Srong lde btsan to India, to procure the teachings the bTsan po himself had not had time to receive directly from Guru Padma, with the idea that Vairocana would then transmit them to the emperor in turn (Karmay 1988a:34). However, in that account, Vairocana does not succeed in getting these teachings.

In PT 44, Kha rtse Nya na si ga is highlighted along with Vairocana as one of the first Tibetan students. Dan Martin (2006 *TibSkrit*) surmises that the name might be a rendering of Kha che Jñānasimha, i.e. Jñānasimha the Kashmiri; this is a reasonable guess, but we know nothing of such a person. Another possible rendering might be Jñānaśekhara.

The following students, Dre Tathagatha and 'Bu na A na, attributed with miraculous accomplishments at Brag dmar bSam yas, are similarly difficult to identify. *dBa' bzhed* (7v; Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 45) mentions A' nanta or Bram se A' nanta (Ānanda), who was learned in brahmanical scholarship, the son of a Kashmiri Brahmin called sKyes bzang resident in Lhasa as an exile. *dBa' bzhed* says he worked for the Tibetan authorities as a translator, especially when Śāntarakṣita first arrived. It is remotely possible this might be the same person as PT 44's 'Bu na A na. Carmen Meinert (2007: 264, 266, 286) suggests that 'Bu na A na might be identified with a dBu na A nang who is mentioned in PT 699 (folio 2r.7), a manuscript for which she proposes a dating of the second half of the ninth century. This dBu na A nang occurs in a list which features two figures who became renowned in the later transmitted accounts of Padmasambhava's transmissions to the Tibetans, gNubs Nam ka'i snying po and Lang 'gro dKon cog 'byung nas.

PT 44 gives the impression that mChims Shag kya might be a slightly later figure in the transmission. However, mChims Śākya occurs in early sources and he also features in the Phur pa lineage stories under the name of mChims Śākyaprabhā (see Boord 2002: 121), as one of the earliest group of students and translators. In the *dBa' bzhed*, he is mentioned as one of the group of trainee translators along with Vairocana (17v), and later (26v), he is given the title, *lo tsa ba* (Translator), described as a monk, and as one of the Buddhist representatives at the debate on whether Khri Srong lde btsan's funeral should follow Buddhist or Bon traditions (Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 69 and 96). Wangdu and Diemberger report (p.69, note 237) that he is also mentioned in *sBa bzhed* A (50), *sBa bzhed* B (58) and *sBa bzhed* C (359). They also inform us that the *Bu ston chos 'byung* includes him as one of the translators of that period; while Dan Martin's 2006 *TibSkrit* tells us that in his *rNal 'byor rgyud kyi chos 'byung* (135.7), Bu ston⁴⁶ also described mChims Śākya as one of those sent by the emperor Khri Srong lde btsan to invite Buddhaguhya to Tibet. More relevant to PT 44, the *Nyang Chos 'Byung* (485) reiterates an account of mChims Śākya receiving of Phur pa teachings directly from Padmasambhava (Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 96, note 379).

sNa nam Zhang rDo rje gnyan might conceivably indicate sNa nam rDo rje bdud 'joms, who is certainly an important figure in the traditional religious accounts.⁴⁷ We cannot find any exact reference to Zhang rDo rje gnyan, but there are many bearers of the sNa nam clan name in old documents. Among them, a remotely

⁴⁵ A *Sarvavid Mahāvairocana* maṇḍala occurs within the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana*.

⁴⁶ Martin gives the reference as: Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364), *Rnal 'byor rgyud kyi rgya mtshor 'jug pa'i gru gzings* (= *Rnal 'byor rgyud kyi chos 'byung*), contained in: *The Collected Works of Bu ston*, Lokesh Chandra (New Delhi 1968), vol. Da (11), pp. 1–184. Composed in 1341.

⁴⁷ See p.49 note 38 above; he is also praised in the *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri las byang*, Volume Tha: 139, and at several points of the recitation in the *Sa skya Phur chen*: 56r, 71v, 72r, 72v.

possible candidate to be the one mentioned here is the famous translator named sNa nam Zhang Ye shes sde, who was widely held in numerous sources to be a direct disciple of Padmasambhava. He was also known as Zhang Bande, and as Zhu chen Lo tsā ba. However, there was also a government minister by the name of Zhang sNa nam Nya bzang, whose name is a little closer to the rendering in P44 (see Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 41).

We have even less clues to the identity of the other students found in PT 44. Wangdu and Diemberger (2000: 30) mention that sNyi ba was an ancient clan from South Tibet, but we have no other data on gNyan rNyi ba bTsan ba dpal. In relation to lDe sman rGyal mtshan, Wangdu and Diemberger (2000: 71, note 252) mention that there was one 'Dan rma rTse ma, or lDan ma rTse mang, who was famous for his calligraphy and glosses. Later sources say he received many teachings from Padmasambhava and link him as transcriber of *gter ma* texts. However, the name is not really very close.

Thus, as a general point on the identification of the practitioners listed, PT 44 seems to express an archetypical pattern in its accounts of the early Phur pa masters' accomplishments, but their specific names seem a good deal less familiar.

The Doctrines: (i) Vajrakīlaya and the Yānas

An interesting feature of PT 44 is its explicit mention of the tantric vehicles (*yānas*) and its discussion of *Atiyoga*. In the first section, the Guru is said to have practised from "*Kriyā* up to *Atiyoga*", and activated the powers of all the vehicles through teaching the Phur bu transmissions. The second section on the doctrines consists of two parts, the first which elaborates on the appropriate approach to the practice, followed by a concluding section on the visualisation and ritual employment of a *phur bu* implement. In the first of the two parts, it is clear that the concern is with ensuring a view which focuses on performing the Phur pa ritual practices in the context of the highest realisation of the primordial wisdom mind, non-dual with objects arising as its natural expression, so that the "secret bodhicitta *Atiyoga*" accompanies the Phur pa sādhana associated with the *Mahāyoga* scriptural tradition. In discussing the practice method, there is, moreover, some hint at what might be considered an "*Anuyoga*" aspect in the mention of meditation on great bliss. The culminating point is that the different aspects of the teaching have their own distinct qualities but can also all be seen as *Atiyoga*.

This presentation is in fact very close to the transmitted commentarial tradition of Phur pa, which emphasises the integration of the three "inner tantras" in Phur pa practice. For instance, the '*Bum nag* cites the *rTsa rgyud rdo rje khros pa*⁴⁸ as saying,

"This supreme Vajrakīlaya
is simply an expression of numerous emanations of mind.
Generated out of *Mahāyoga* tantra,
(he) is meditated on as the natural qualities of the nature of mind's illusory display,
in accordance with the *Anuyoga* path,
and perfected as unborn and unceasing,
the unfabricated *Atiyoga* fruition."⁴⁹
After an elaboration of the nine yānas, the '*Bum nag* concludes its discussion:

⁴⁸ This text is quoted frequently throughout Phur pa commentarial texts, with a number of its classic citations apparently copied from one commentary to another. However, we have not identified any extant text which would seem to correspond to it (see p.43 note 11 above, and the discussion in Cantwell and Mayer 2007: 6).

⁴⁹ /mchog gyur rdo rje phur pa 'di/ /sna tshogs sems kyi rnam 'phrul tsa/ /ma hā yo ga'i rgyud las bskyed/ /sem nyid sgyu ma'i rang bzhin la/ /a nu yo ga'i lam ltar bsgom/ /skye med 'gags med spros bral ba'i/ /a ti yo ga'i 'bras bur rdzogs/ ('*Bum nag*, *bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edition Volume Tha: 268.2-3)

"Thus, the conduct of Vajrakīlaya
is in accordance with *Mahāyoga*;
the View (is) like *Atiyoga* realisation;
(while) for the Meditation, there is no going astray in meditating as in *Anuyoga*."⁵⁰

(ii) Hints concerning the maṇḍala

Unfortunately, although PT 44 gives a clear account of the perspective within which one performs the Phur bu meditation, it tells us very little about the meditation itself. Given that we have not found any Dunhuang texts which describe self-visualisation as the heruka Vajrakīlaya deity, we cannot be entirely certain whether or not the practice here conforms with what became the standard and central meditation of the Phur pa tradition of practice. We merely have hints, in particular, (a) the mention of a primordial wisdom deity concerned with subjugation; (b) a Phur bu sādhana; (c) the specification that the Phur bu meditation involves a clear manifestation within the dharmadhātu; and (d) that all forms are transformed into the primordial wisdom maṇḍala from the time of empowerment. Furthermore, two elements of the ritual symbolism are highlighted, firstly the *kīlaya*, clearly referring to the ritual *phur bu*, since it is said to be rolled. The *phur bu* is the focus of the rite described in the final part of PT 44. It is possible that we also have here some hint of the deity visualisation, given that this reference is in the context on the contemplation of all forms as the maṇḍala. The two middle hands of the principal Vajrakīlaya deity of the tradition are depicted as rolling a *phur pa*. The second symbolic item specified is the *khaṭvāṅga*; again, one of the attributes of the Vajrakīlaya heruka deity, held in the lower left hand in the typical six-armed form. However, the *khaṭvāṅga* is a feature of wrathful heruka deities of all types, and the context here seems simply to suggest an indication of the general symbolism of the male deity as representing "means" while the *khaṭvāṅga* symbolises the female "wisdom" aspect. Moreover, as with the *phur pa*, the reference may only concern an appropriate meditation for the practitioner's ritual implements rather than the appearance of a visualised deity as such.

A final hint about the maṇḍala is that the lines on the practice method begin by announcing that the word for the ritual invocation is Vajrakumāra. We cannot know quite what PT 44 had in mind here, but Vajrakumāra, Youthful Vajra, is the main name of the principal Vajrakīlaya deity.⁵¹ On the connotations of the name, Nyang ral's *Root Phur pa Tantra*⁵² raises the question in Chapter 2 why one who exists from beginningless time should be known as "Youthful".⁵³ The answer is given:

"Youthful in emanating swiftly,
old age and decay has no power over me;
instantaneously [I am] arisen from [my]self!"⁵⁴

In PT 44, it is not even entirely certain that the term, Vajrakumāra, is intended as the deity's name, although that would seem most likely, especially considering that the earlier account of the great practitioners speaks of them seeing the face of the Noble Vajrakumāra. Even assuming that Vajrakumāra is indeed the deity, no description is given. Nonetheless, at the very least, we find here evidence that the imagery of Phur pa as a "youthful vajra" manifestation was not unknown in the earliest days of the tradition's history.

⁵⁰ /des na rdo rje phur pa 'di spyod pa ni ma hā yo ga dang mthun/ lta ba ni a ti yo ga ltar rtogs/ sgom pa ni a nu yo ga ltar bsgoms pas gol sa med pa'o/ (*Bum nag, bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edition Volume Tha: 268.6–269.1)

⁵¹ See above, Chapter 3, p.38.

⁵² *bDe bar gshegs pa thams cad kyis 'phrin las 'dus pa phur pa rtsa ba'i rgyud* (NGB, mTshams brag edition, Volume Ya pages 757.5–808.4)

⁵³ /thog ma med pa'i dus nyid nas/ /gzhon nur grags pa ci zhig lags/ (mTshams brag edition, Volume Ya page 762.7)

⁵⁴ /myur du sprul pa'i gzhon nu ste/ /nga las bgres rgud yong mi mnga'/ /skad cig nyid las byung ba'o/ (mTshams brag edition, Volume Ya page 765.2)

The Phur bu Rite

A break is indicated by the words, *rdzogs s-ho*, ("the end", p.37), and the final section of PT 44 then adds some instruction for a ritual meditation involving a *phur bu* ritual dagger. It does not involve a ritual stabbing or killing and liberation (*sgrol ba*), although such a purpose is suggested by the final line, which refers to the destructive ritual (*abhicāra* = Tibetan *mngon spyod*), as well as by the mention of the rite of killing and liberating in the previous section. Here, the focus of the meditation is rather on the deities inhabiting the *phur bu*, and the seed syllable specified is the deep blue syllable, *hung* (=hūṃ), the main causal syllable of the Phur pa maṇḍala of the tradition. Although no description is given of the main deity, we have a brief listing given of the various deities at different parts of the *phur bu*. The visualisation of various maṇḍala deities in and around the *phur bu* is typical of *phur bu* rites. The specifics of the identities and positioning of these deities vary in different texts. There are, however, some consistent patterns: one is the association of the upper part of the *phur bu* with the buddha families; another is the presence of the ten Wrathful Ones (*khro bo bcu*), who generally form the main retinue, along with the Phur pa deities of the five families. It is interesting that we have both these features here. PT 44's description is brief, but not very different in tone to the tradition; for instance, in Chapter 8 of the *Phur bu Mya ngan las 'das pa'i rgyud chen po* (*Myang 'das*), we find the following elaboration:

"On the [*phur pa*'s] head is the knot [representing] the Immeasurable Palace, with four lotus petals.
At each of the four sides abide four bodhisattvas;⁵⁵
there being four for each of the four families.
At the waist in the middle abide the wrathful kings;
the eight wrathful males and the eight wrathful females,
are established [with] their retinues of the tiger- and yak[-headed] etc.
At the immeasurable knot below,
[is] Hūṃkāra and Mahābala,
the *yab*[s] and *yum*[s and] the male and female emanations.
Gaurī, [and] the eight wrathful females are established, and
the *bse* goddesses bound under oath.
Upon the edges of the wrathful place,
are established the eight lions and the iron hook [protectress].
Upon the three sides [are] the three door protectresses.
The head and the tip are the *yab* and the *yum*.
[This] place [is] for the residence of Vajrakumāra,
(its) meaning the symbol[s] of the Immeasurable Palace.
Even the display as the two knots,
symbolise the non-duality of means and wisdom,
of the [dharma]dhātu and great primordial wisdom.
The three-sided destructive blade,
is explained as destructive single-pointed primordial wisdom."⁵⁶

⁵⁵ The sDe dge edition gives, female bodhisattvas.

⁵⁶ Without here noting all the variants, the Tibetan reads: /dbu la rgya mdud gzhal yas khang/ /padma 'dab ma bzhi dang ldan/ /logs la sems dpa' bzhi gnas/ /rigs bzhi re la bzhi bzhi'o/ /dbus kyi lte ba khro rgyal gnas/ /khro bo bryad dang khro mo bryad/ /stag g.yag la sogs 'khor rnamsgod/ /rgya mdud 'og ma'i gzhal yas la/ /hūṃ kā ra dang stobs po che/ /yab yum sprul pa lcam dral dang/ /go'u ri khro mo bryad rnamsgod/ /dam can bse yi lha mo dgod/ /drag po gnas kyi zur steng du/ /sing ha bryad dang lcags kyu dgod/ /zur gsum logs la sgo ma gsum/ /dbu dang rtse la yab yum gnyis/ /rdo rje gzhon nu bzhugs pa'i gnas/ /don la gzhal yas khang gi rtags/ /rgya mdud gnyis su bstan pa yang/ /thabs dang shes rab gnyis med pa'i/ /dbyings dang ye shes che ba'i rtags/ /rtse mo drag po zur gsum ni/ /ye shes rtse gcig drag por bshad/ For our edition with all the variants, see Cantwell and Mayer 2007: 150–151. The following Chapter 9 gives further details and explanation.

Unlike some of our other Dunhuang sources, PT 44 tells us little about the actual features of the *phur bu* shape, although its reference to the "upper knot" (*rgya mdud gong ma*) suggests that at least it shares the standard feature of two "knots", each interlacing in a continuous circle around the *phur bu*. The upper one forms its neck and the lower one is at its middle or waist. These are discussed in many Phur pa sources: for instance, the *Myang 'das'* citation above from Chapter 8, and also its Chapters 9 and 17.

This *phur bu* is also introduced as a "*ki la ya ri rab*", an image found widely in the Phur pa tradition. As discussed above (see Chapter 2, p.16, 22), the imagery of the *phur bu* or *kīla* as an immovable Mount Meru seems to have widespread South Asian antecedents, for example, in the Vedic mythology of the Indrakīla as the cosmic mountain, in Śilpaśāstric literature on the stūpikīla, and in the Pāli Buddhist Indakhīla ritual traditions. It remains a constant in the Tibetan tradition. Liturgies make frequent reference to the mount meru *phur pa* ("*ri rab phur pa/bu*") held by the main deity. The imagery suggests that it is large and immovable like Mount Meru, with a further connotation of its cosmic significance; in some depictions, the upper half of the *phur pa* has a Mount Meru shape, although this need not be implied. As we shall see, other Dunhuang Phur pa sources also refer to the Mount Meru *phur pa*. Another old source, Nyang ral's *bDe gshegs 'phrin las 'dus pa rtsa ba'i rgyud* in the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* (mTshams brag edition, Volume Ya page 769.3–4) also mentions a "*ri rab phur pa*", while the twentieth century *gter ma* liturgy collection of the *Phur pa spu gri reg phung* of bDud 'joms 'Jigs bral ye shes rdo rje reiterates this widespread symbolism (eg. The Collected Works, Volume Ba: 523.5).

Finally, the ritual visualisation which begins this section has a direct parallel in other Phur pa sources, in the rituals for consecrating the *phur pa* and empowering through the five Buddha families (see Chapter 5 below, p.81-83). The meditation here reverses the usual positioning, in which the right hand is associated with means, having a sun maṇḍala arising from the syllable "ma", while the left hand is associated with wisdom, and a moon maṇḍala arising from "a". Generally, the five male deities arise above the fingers of the right hand while the five females arise above the fingers of the left hand. In bringing the two hands together in rolling the *phur pa*, the means and the wisdom are unified. One description of this "*dbang bskur*" is found in the *'Bum nag* (Boord 2002: 197; *bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edition: 353–4); it is found at greater length than PT 44 in IOL Tib J 331 (see below, Chapter 5–6, p.74, 103-107).

PELLIOT TIBÉTAİN 44: B. THE TEXT

PT 44 consists of a small notebook with forty-three sides of text. It is made up of sheets of paper (the largest pages 15 cm in length x 10.5 cm in width) which have been folded over in half, and originally attached together along the fold, presumably with string, making very small paper pages (the largest pages 7.5 cm in length x 10.5 cm in width), each with four or five lines of Tibetan text. The booklet is opened with the fold of the paper at the top, so that the inside pages of text are read from top to bottom, with the writing on each lower page following below the writing on the upper page, with the crease of the booklet's spine positioned horizontally across the middle between the two pages. The outside cover sheet, however, has writing which goes across the front and back covers, and it is read by turning the booklet with its fold at the top 90 degrees in a clockwise direction, so that the fold of the spine is on the right. The words can be read by opening the booklet out, so that the full cover is visible. However, it is most likely that this cover writing has nothing to do with our text at all, but merely represents a remnant of an earlier letter which was salvaged for the booklet (see above, p.41-42).

Thick light brown paper is used throughout and the pages are of slightly varying size, with the shorter width pages carefully centred where they were attached along the fold. As noted above (p.41), some of the sheets have been re-used, so that there is still visible some writing and sections of one or more rectangular seals on some of the sheets. Part of a seal occurs on the front cover, and in numbering the pages from the first text page, on page 6, and also on one of the otherwise blank pages at the end of the booklet. The outer sheet of the front and back cover also has a large black curling line extending off the page, probably made by an ink brush stroke, and almost certainly part of a large Chinese character previously made on the original paper before it was cut up for our text.¹ The first sheet over which the outer cover has been placed has what appears to be the Tibetan word, *bka'*, in large rather poorly written *dbu can*. One half of this sheet forms the first page of writing of our text, while the bottom half of the sheet forms the back of the final sheet before the back cover. If this double sheet is opened out and turned round 90 degrees in an anti-clockwise direction, the page on the left (ie the front text page 1, with the first lines of our text now the wrong way up) has a *yig mgo*² and two *shads*, while the page on the right continues with the word, *bka'*, followed by a further *shad*. The first page of the writing of our text writes across the *yig mgo* and *shads*, although some effort has been made to avoid the curl of the *yig mgo*, positioning the letters "yu" and the final letter, "l", of "yul" on each side of the *yig mgo*. Thus, it is clear that the "\$ // bka'" was already on the paper when it was re-used to make our booklet.³

The black ink writing used throughout our text is mostly clear and well-preserved. Frequently, the syllables are broken at the end of the line and the final letter completes the syllable on the next line (or less often, the main letter occurs on the second line and merely the prefixed letter on the first), a convention which is not typical of Dunhuang manuscripts, and which may be connected to the tiny size of the sheets. The style of writing is otherwise fairly typical of the Dunhuang period, in between *dbu med* and *dbu can* with a tendency to look more like *dbu med*. There are no ruled lines but since the pages are so small, the lines are generally written fairly straight. There are few blemishes which affect the writing. There are some black spots on the syllable "yu" the fourth line on page 1, but the letters are very legible, and similarly, a stain mark with a tiny hole affecting pages 9–10 does not affect the reading of the lines. There are holes on the wrapping cover, and in particular, there is a large tear out of the back cover, which has removed part of

¹ If Takeuchi (2004: 341) is correct, it is the bottom right part of the character, *chi*.

² The style of this *yig mgo* is similar to that which opens our text on page 1; that is, it resembles a single upside-down standard *yig mgo*.

³ Takeuchi (2004: 346 note 23) argues that it represents a standard term used in the letters of emperors (corresponding to the large Chinese character, *chi*). Presumably, it would have been given on the original paper to the left of the dating in Tibetan writing written on what is now the cover sheet of PT 44.

the Tibetan writing supplying the date, although this date seems to belong to the original use of the paper rather than the Buddhist text.

Note the following features:

- 1) *kyis/gyis* seems often to be used for the genitive;
- 2) other archaic spellings (or errors): *cu* for *chu* (eg *byang cub*; *cu*); (there is one instance of *thams chad* but three of *thams cad*, so this is probably an error/inconsistency rather than an archaism); *ma* with attached *ya* (eg. *myi*; *myed*); *da* for *ta* (eg. *gdog* for *gtog/gtogs*; *rdags* for *rtags*; *sde* for *ste*)⁴; omission of final *a* *chung* (eg. *mtha*, *gza*); *bka' gtsal*: presumably = *bka' stsal/brtsal*.

Cover sheet

As described above, this sheet wraps over the other sheets, formerly having had a binding string attached to the centre of the fold, which would have fastened all the sheets together. The writing goes right across the outside of the front and back cover pages, in a direction at right angles to the writing on the other sheets. The large tear out of the sheet means that some syllables/words are missing. As mentioned above, this cover has Tibetan writing giving a date, a large section of a seal, and of a Chinese character, all apparently from the earlier use of the paper. The Tibetan writing is in a similar style to that within the booklet, but some of the letters are formed slightly differently, suggesting that it was not the same hand.

lo gnyis stag [kyi(/yi)?]⁵ lo zla [...] [gnyis?] (tear out of edge)
d[ku(/shu)(/gu)]⁶ la gnang

[This] was bestowed (to the lord's side?) in the second [regnal?] year, the tiger year, in the [twelfth?] month.⁷

Front cover verso

(blank apart from library identification)

(1)

⁸//phur bu 'i khungs/
/dang gtan tshigs ni/ thog/
/ma bal yul yang la/
/shod nas rgya gar gyis yu
/l na len dra 'i gtsug/

The origins and doctrines of Phur bu

First, (there was) the journey from Nepal, Yang la shod, to the Indian temple of Na len dra (=Nālandā),

⁴ This feature may concern handwriting style rather than spelling. It may simply be that the scribe's letter *ta*, and especially attached *ta*, resembles *da*.

⁵ this syllable is unclear, over the spine fold of the paper, and the *gi gu* also seems to be misplaced.

⁶ It is not clear what the first syllable(s) of the line is/are meant to represent. Since the writing style is not exactly the same as that within the Buddhist text, it is not possible to compare the letters with other similarly shaped letters. Takeuchi's reading, *dku*, would seem appropriate. Another possibility is that we have *dgu*, nine, relating to the day, or alternatively, that this represents */shu*. It is possible that the final syllable of the previous line might be *nyi* (a line resembling the bottom of *nya* is visible beneath the tear), so that if *shu* is the correct reading, we might have the number, *nyi shu*. In this case, the number for the month would have had to have been fitted in before the *nya/nyi* on the previous line.

⁷ The suggested translation assumes that Takeuchi's interpretation (2004: 342) is correct (but see note 6 above).

⁸ before the two *shad*, there is an ornamental opening: the first figure presumably represents a single *yig mgo* (resembling an upside-down standard *yig mgo*), and it is followed by a downwards pointing triangle shape of three circles. As mentioned in the description of the manuscript above, this sheet is of salvaged paper, and there are a few thick ink lines on the paper left by the previous writing, across which our text writes or avoids.

(2)

/lag khang du/ /phur bu 'i
 /'bum sde len du gshegs pa/
 /las⁹ /bal po khur tsa ba/
 /shag kya spur¹⁰ dang/ /i so/
 gnyis glas te bzhud¹¹ bzhud

to collect the *Phur bu'i 'bum sde*. The two Nepalese porters, Shag kya spur and I so¹² were hired and [they] departed. On leaving,

(3)

/na/ /bse 'i lha mo bzhi zhig/
 /nam sros tsam na/ /myi thams/
 /chad kyis srog gcod cing lbug/
 /s¹³ phrog pa las/ /pad ma sam/
 /ba bas khong thung zhing lbugs/

at about the time of twilight, a [group of] four *bse* goddesses killed all the people and appropriated their breath. Then Padmasambaba became short [of breath?],¹⁴

(4)

/phrog pa ltar mdzad nas//
 /byugs¹⁵ pas [c/(ts)]ir¹⁶ ces zin/
 /nas dbu zhu 'i nang du bcug/
 /nas bzhud na/ /na len drar/
 /byon te dbu zhu phye na shin/

[his?] breath similarly having been snatched away,¹⁷ [so he] rubbed [against them?] and saying, "what is this?"¹⁸ [he] captured and put [them] in [his] hat and departed. On arriving at Na len dra (Nālandā), [he] uncovered the hat and an exceedingly

⁹ There is a very light scratch on the paper here, affecting some of the letters, but they are still readable.

¹⁰ Bischoff and Hartman give *yur*; Kapstein gives *spur*, which seems to be correct. The writing here of *sp* is consistent with the instances on pages 6 and 7 (*spyan* and *spyi* respectively) and different from main letter *ya*, eg. of *yang*, *yon*, and *yul* (on page 5, 6 and 7).

¹¹ or *bzhur*, but *bzhud* (set off, departed) seems to fit better, and the final *da* here is consistent with *da* elsewhere in the manuscript, and not *ra*.

¹² We have found no other reference to these two figures in our reading of Tibetan sources.

¹³ *lbug* /s/: syllable *ba* a little uncertain; Bischoff and Hartman give *lvug-* /s/. However, they note (21 note 5): "corr. *dbugs* for *lvugs-lbugs*". Imaeda (2007: 134 note 43) also takes an occurrence of *lbugs* in IOL Tib J 345 as equivalent to *dbugs*, breathe/breath. The intended meaning of *dbugs* would seem clear.

¹⁴ *khong thung*: literally, "short inside/within". This is not entirely clear, but short of breath would make sense. Alternatively, possibly *khong thung* is short for *khong khro thung*? Kapstein gives short-tempered and Bischoff and Hartman also have a consistent translation (infuriated). We are interpreting the not entirely obvious words in this section in line with the similar passages in the *'Bum nag* and the *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri lo rgyus* (see above, Chapter 4, p.46-47).

¹⁵ Bischoff and Hartman suggest (21 note 7) that *byugs* is from *dbyug pa* (to throw, hit). However, *byugs* would be consistent with the *'Bum nag* passage (see above, note 13), where the Guru apparently rubs against them with his hand.

¹⁶ There is a small stroke which seems to correct *tsir* into *cir* but this could also be an accident due to the fabric of the paper.

¹⁷ It is possible that this means that Padmasambhava appropriates *their* breath (Kapstein takes it in this way); the use of the honorific, *mdzad*, strengthens this possibility (there is also what in standard Tibetan would be an instrumental, but the words, "all the people" (*myi thams/ / chad*) are similarly marked with an instrumental). However, it would seem more natural to take it that Padmasambhava has been affected, and this is in line with the *'Bum nag* account ("gu ru'i dbugs thums rngubs pa zhig byung": for the full passage, see above, p.46, note 27).

(5)

/du bud myed sdug gun ma/
 /gcig kyis gzugs su snang/
 /nas/ /phur bu bsgrub pa 'i/
 /srungs mar yang dam bcas/
 /srungs ma nyid du yang dbang

beautiful woman physically appeared. [She] also promised to protect the Phur bu practice, and [he] furthermore empowered [her] as this very protectress.

(6)

/bskur/ /snga rtags kyang/
 /bzang nas/ /rtse dgod¹⁹ la²⁰/
 /gser phye phul gang yang/
 /yon du 'phul nas/ /phur bu/
 /'i 'bum sde spyan drangs sde/²¹

Moreover, the omens being good, [he] playfully laughed and made an offering of a handful of gold dust, [thus] procuring the *Phur bu'i 'bum sde*.

(7)

/bal yul yang [la?]²² shod/
 /du byon ba las/ /spyi 'i/
 /kri ya yan chad a ti/
 /yo ga man chad du gdog/
 /s par bsgrub pa mdzad/

Having returned to Yang [la] shod in Nepal, [he] performed [everything] included²³ in the practices from the general *Kriyā* up to *Atiyoga*.

(8)

/pa dang/ /gsang ba 'i rgyud/
 /thams chad du phur bu 'i/
 /rgyud 'bum sde nas/ /theg/
 /pa mthu dag kyis don du/
 /phur bu 'i lung so so tsam/

(9)

/tsam du bka²⁴ gtsal²⁵ de/ /de lta/
 /r bsgrub pa 'i lung gtan/

¹⁸ Bischoff and Hartman give, "where to throw it?", assuming that *byugs* is from *dbyug*; Kapstein gives *flee* (perhaps taking it as an equivalent for *dkyu?*), but this would not seem to fit well. Anoint or apply (*byugs*) would also not seem very appropriate here, but this is the verb used also in the *'Bum nag*, where it apparently suggests the Guru rubbing with his hand, presumably against them or alternatively, as Boord suggests (119), rubbing his chest.

¹⁹ playfully laughed; Bischoff and Hartman's note on this is not very clear

²⁰ this syllable is smudged and not very clear but *la* is still readable.

²¹ sde: presumably = ste

²² There is a very slight scratch here; *la* would be expected but it is barely visible.

²³ gdog, presumably for gtog/gtogs.

²⁴ 'a subscribed

²⁵ bka' gtsal: presumably = bka' stsal/brtsal

/la phabs nas/ /'bum sde/
/yang slar bskyal nas//

In order [to activate] the inherent powers of these yānas, out of all the secret tantras, [he] simply annunciated the specific oral transmissions of Phur bu from the *Phur bu'i rgyud 'bum sde*. Having thus established the practice transmissions, [he] once again escorted [back] the *'Bum sde*.

(10)
/de nas a tsa rgya²⁶ sam ba ba/
/s/ /bal po ser po dang/ in/
/tra shu gu tu dang/ /pra be se/
/las bsogs pas/ /a su ra/

Then the master²⁷ Sambhava, the Nepalese Ser po, In tra shu gu tu and Pra be se etc.²⁸

(11)
/i brag pug du bsgrub pa mdzad/
/pas/ /ma 'das pa 'i gzug/
/s can²⁹ bse 'i lha mo bzhi/
/bskul nas bsgrub pa mdzad/

performed practice in the Asura cave. [They] performed practice enjoining the four *bse* goddesses with non-transcendent³⁰ forms.

(12)
/de/ /phyi byin phrul mo ce dang//
/zas byin rdzu phrul can dang/
/phags byin mthu mo che dang/
/tshe byin sgyu phrul can dang/

(13)
/bzhi ru mtshan gsol lo/
/bsgrub pa chen po zhags³¹ bdun/
/byas pas/ /'phags pa rdo rje/
/gzho nu 'i zhal mngon sum/
/du mthong ngo/ /phur bu 'i/

[They] gave [the goddesses] the four names: Outwardly Bestowing Great Sorceress; Miraculously Bestowing Food; Conjuress Bestowing Nobility; Miraculously Bestowing Life. For seven days [they] performed the Great Accomplishment, through which [they] saw the face of the Noble Vajrakumāra in person.

²⁶ rgya: presumably an error for *rya*, although *a tsa rgya* might possibly mean, the Indian ācārya.

²⁷ or the Indian master (see transliteration)

²⁸ We have found no other references in our reading of Tibetan sources to these three practitioners accompanying the master, unless Pra be se is intended to indicate Prabhahasti.

²⁹ there is a fold on the paper at this place but *can* is clearly visible.

³⁰ ma 'das: or simply: still living

³¹ zhags: presumably = zhag

(14)

/dngos bsgrub kyang thobs nas/
 /rdags³² kyang pad ma sam ba/
 /bas nags mtha³³ myed la/
 /mye btang bas/ /mye la thebs/
 /shri ri 'gugs tas rgya gar/

(15)

/gyis yul mtha tshal kyis/
 /brag la btab pas/ /brag/
 /mong lo bzhi du btang sde/³⁴
 /rdo la thebs/ /bal po ser/
 /pos cu la btab pas//

Having also obtained the accomplishment of Phur bu siddhi[s], signs [occurred]. Padmasambaba, starting a fire in an endless forest, struck into the fire. By striking the rock of the grove [in] the border area of India, Shri Ri 'gugs ta³⁵ splintered it into four ankle-bones³⁶ and struck into the stone. The Nepalese Ser po struck into water,

(16)

/cu gtan du gyur de/ bal/
 /yul nyid 'khor kyis tshong/
 /dus su btsugs³⁷ so/ /de lta/
 /bu 'i cho phrul dang/ /rtags/
 /byung ngo/ /bod yul du//

making the water permanently endure, so that market trade was established in the very circle of Nepal. In this way, miracles and signs occurred. In the country of Tibet,

(17)

/a tsa rya sam ba bas/
 /ba bor be ro tsa dang [kha?]/³⁸
 /rtse³⁹ nya na si ga la bsha/
 /d/ /slad kyis dre ta tha/

the master Sambaba explained [the teaching] to Ba bor Be ro tsa⁴⁰ and Kha rtse Nya na si ga. Later,

³² rdags: presumably = rtags

³³ mtha: presumably = mtha'

³⁴ sde: presumably = ste

³⁵ It is not clear whether Shri Ri 'gugs ta is meant to be identified with one of the practitioners listed above, perhaps In tra shu gu tu?

³⁶ a little uncertain here

³⁷ Bischoff and Hartman give *tsugs* and note (23 note 17) that the prefixed *ba* has been scored out. However, although there is a mark, this does not seem to be a deletion.

³⁸ kha (and the *tshag* before it, which is not clearly visible) is slightly uncertain; there is a mark created by the fabric of the paper here.

³⁹ possibly, rce, so that we would have kha rce, = kha-che (Kashmiri), as suggested by Bischoff and Hartman (23 note 18).

⁴⁰ Kapstein gives Pagor Vairocana, and Bischoff and Hartman mention in a note that this must denote Spa gor Vairocana: they are no doubt correct, although we do have a clear *bor* and not *gor* in Ba bor.

(18)

/ga tha dang/ 'bu na/
 /a nas kyis nyan/
 /nas brag dmar brag/
 /bsam yas kyis brag/

(19)

/pug du bsgrubs de/ dre ta tha/
 /ga thas nye la thebs/ 'bu/
 /nas as po 'i brag la the/
 /bs/ /de nas phur bu'i/

[it] was heard by Dre Tathagatha and 'Bu na A na, [who] practised [it] in the rock cave of Brag dmar bSam yas. Dre Tathagatha struck into a fire. 'Bu na struck into the Rock of As po (= Has po ri?). Then the Phur bu

(20)

/phogs⁴¹ ni mchims shag/
 /kya⁴² dang/ /sna nam zhang rdo/
 /rje gnyan la mchis/ /des/
 /byin ye shes brtsegs la/

transmission came to mChims Shag kya and sNa nam Zhang rDo rje gNyan. He explained [it] to Byin Ye shes brtsegs.

(21)

/bshad/ /ye shes brtsegs dang/
 /gnyan rnyi ba btsan ba dpal dang/
 /lde sman rgyal mtshan dang gsu/
 /m kyis lho brag gnyan gong du/
 /bsgrubs pas grub sde⁴³//

The trio, Ye shes brtsegs, gNyan rNyi ba bTsan ba dpal and lDe sman rGyal mtshan attained accomplishment by practising in lHo brag gNyan gong.

(22)

/mkhan po 'bum tang kyis/
 /kyis brag la nye bdang⁴⁴ bas/
 /thebs/ /rnyi ba dang lde sman kyis/
 /shing dang rdo la btab pas thebs so/
 /de ldar⁴⁵ thebs shing rtags phyin/

The learned teacher struck the 'Bum tang Rock, setting it on fire. rNyi ba and dDe sman struck and penetrated wood and stone. In this way, signs occurring in [their] striking [with the *phur bu*],

⁴¹ phogs: = phog, past of 'bogs pa (see Bischoff and Hartman: 23 note 21); to bestow or transmit, eg. empowerment, to impart advice etc.

⁴² an ink splodge follows before the tsheg, possibly deleting a final letter.

⁴³ sde: presumably = ste

⁴⁴ bdang = btang?

⁴⁵ ldar = ltar?

(23)

/bas/ /gsang ba snang bas bsgrub/
 /thabs su gsung de/ /slad ma/
 /rnams la yang sngags dang lung/
 /'brel mar gtad do/ /bsgrub pa/
 /'di snom stangs kyis gnas/

[they] were accomplished with the secret visions. Teaching [the practice] as [skilful] method, [they] also entrusted the mantra and transmission conjoined to those who came later.
 The pattern of the way in which the practice is grasped

(24)

/skabs kyis lung yul sems/
 /sbyor zhing/ /bsgrub pa 'i lung/
 /bstan pa dang/ /ye shes kyis/
 /lha dbang du bya ba bsgom b/

(25)

/stan pa dang/ /gsang ba 'i byang/
 /cub kyis sems a ti yo ga/
 /r gtogs pa dang/ /phur bu/
 /'i bsgrub thabs ma ha yo ga

is that the object [of] transmission is unified [with] the mind. This includes demonstrating the practice transmission, teaching the primordial wisdom deity⁴⁶ meditation for subjugating, and the secret bodhicitta *Atiyoga*, as well as the Phur bu *sādhana*,

(26)

/'i gzhung bzhin bstan pa/
 /phur bu'i sgom ba chos kyis/
 /dbyings su gsal nas/ /byang/
 /cub kyis sems bskyed par/

taught in accordance with the *Mahāyoga* scriptural tradition.

[For this] Phur bu meditation, [one] meditates that having clearly manifested within the dharmadhātu, until the bodhicitta generation

(27)

/ma byas kyis bar du/ /yul/
 /sems rnams gnyis su myed/
 /par bsgom mo/ /ye shes sem/
 /s gsal tsam na/ /yul/

is effected, the mind and its object are non-dual. When the primordial wisdom mind clearly arises,

(28)

/thams cad ni shes rab kyis/
 /rang bzhin du bsgom/ /sems/

⁴⁶ since there seems to be a tendency to use the instrumental particle for the genitive, the meaning here is not entirely certain. It might rather imply the primordial wisdom meditation for subjugating deities!

/ni ye shes rnal mar bsgom//
/de ltar sems kyis lus su/

[one] meditates on all objects as wisdom's natural expression. Mind is meditated on as primordial wisdom's natural state. The mind empowerment having thus been bestowed within the body,

(29)
/dbang bskur nas/ /dbang thob/
/tsa na/ /lus thams cad ye/
/shes gyis dkyil 'khor du/
/'gyur to/ /sems ni bde ba/

as soon as empowerment is attained, all bodies are transformed into the primordial wisdom maṇḍala and [one] contemplates that the mind

(30)
/chen po las ma g.yos/
/par bsam/ /kri⁴⁷ la ya/
/dril tsam na/ /yul sems/
/gnyis su myed par bsam/

does not move from great bliss. When *kīlaya*⁴⁸ is rolled, [one] contemplates that the mind and its object are non-dual.

(31)
/kha tam gyi phyag rgya tsam
/na/ /yul sems tha/
/bs dang shes rab du sgo/
/m/ /rgya gar ~~du byi to da~~/

When [taking up] the symbolic implement⁴⁹ of the *khaṭvāṅga*, [one] contemplates that the mind and its object are method and wisdom.

In the Indian

(32)
~~/ma la 'o/ /bod~~⁵⁰ kyis/
/skad du byi to da ma la/
/'o/ /bod skad du rig pa/
/mchog kyis rgyud to/

language, [the textual collection is called] the *Byi to da ma la*,⁵¹ [while] in the Tibetan language, [it is called] the *Tantra of Supreme Awareness*.⁵²

⁴⁷ kri: *kī* intended? We only have two instances of a subscribed *a chung* (9 and 38), and both resemble each other and look nothing like the attached *ra* here. Many instances of attached *ra* would seem unproblematically similar to the attached *ra* here. Nonetheless, *kī* would appear to fit the context, while *kri* would not.

⁴⁸ assuming that *kī la ya* and not *kri la ya* is intended (see note above)

⁴⁹ literally, "the *mudrā*". Perhaps the idea of making a symbolic gesture representing the *khaṭvāṅga* is implied, but it seems quite likely that this may indicate an actual ritual item.

⁵⁰ deleted with strokes through the letters; an obvious error which the scribe noticed.

⁵¹ ie. *Vidyottama la*

(33)

/bsgrub thabs su byang cub/
 /kyis sems gsang bar/
 /bsgom mo/ /las kyis skul/
 /tshig du rdo rje gzho nu/

As the practice method,⁵³ [one] meditates on the secret bodhicitta. The ritual word of invocation is, "Vajrakumāra".⁵⁴

(34)

/zhes bya 'o/ /khungs lung/
 /a ti yo gar bstan pa/
 /dang/ /bsgral nas gnas/
 /kyis cho ga 'i gza gtad/

He⁵⁵ is taught as the basis [in] *Atiyoga*, and the one who⁵⁶ is the meditation focus for the "liberating killing" and transference rites.⁵⁷

(35)

/gang yin bar bstan pa/
 /dang/ /byang cub kyis sem/
 /s bde ba chen po las/
 /myi dams par bsgom mo/

[One] meditates on the bodhicitta as not demonstrated⁵⁸ [apart] from the great bliss.

(36)

/de ltar man ngag kyis/
 /don du lung chen po b/
 /zhir bstan no/ /khyad/
 /bar gyis so sor phye/

(37)

/nas kyang/ /yang dag/
 /pa 'i lung thams cad kyang/
 /a ti yo gar bstan to/ /
 /rdzogs s-ho⁵⁹//⁶⁰//

⁵² *rig pa mchog kyi rgyud* (our text gives kyis for kyi)

⁵³ or: "In the sādhana,"

⁵⁴ rdo rje gzho nu (our text gives rdo rje gzho nu)

⁵⁵ or: "It"

⁵⁶ or: "that which"

⁵⁷ transference rite: *gnas kyis cho ga*. The actual meaning is slightly uncertain here, but it may well refer to "*gnas chog*" rituals for elevating the consciousness of those who have died to a Buddha field (see Nitartha dictionary entry: ry and IW). This fits the context perfectly, since "liberating killing" rituals are invariably accompanied by such ritual meditations (see above, Chapter 1, p. 6-9).

⁵⁸ the significance of "myi dams par" is uncertain here. Presumably, *dams* is from '*dom pa*', but '*dom*' has a number of meanings (to admonish, demonstrate, assemble, measure, select) and it is not at all clear what this means here. An alternative possibility is that *myi dams par* is for *mi dam par*, "not sacred/genuine/consecrated...". We are guessing from the context that the emphasis in this line is on unifying bodhicitta and bliss, perhaps with the connotation that the bodhicitta revealed in *Atiyoga* (see above, f.25) is unified with the great bliss arising in the Phur bu meditation (f.25–30).

Thus, it is taught as the four great transmissions for the purpose of the pith instructions.⁶¹ Although specifically distinguished individually, all of the authentic transmissions are also taught as *Atiyoga*. The End.

(38)

//phyag g.yas na ki la ya/
/ri rab kyi zur pan snams pa'⁶²
/phyag g.yon pa na tsa kra sna/
/ms pa/ /g.yas kyi thal/
/mo 'i dkyil na a las zla/

Holding the mount meru *kīlaya* [with] planed edges⁶³ in the right hand, [one] holds a *cakra* in the left hand. In the centre of the right palm, from "a" [arises] a moon

(39)

/ba 'i dkyil 'khor/ /g.yon/
/gyi thal mo 'i dkyil na ma/
/la nas⁶⁴ nyi ma 'i dkyil 'khor/
/phur bu 'i rang bzhin ni rgya/
/mdud/ /gong ma 'i steng du/

(40)

/rigs lnga 'i he ru ka sgom mo/
/rtsibs la ke 'u ri tse 'u/
/ri brgyad sgom/ /rgya mdud/
/kyi mgo bo la khro bo rol/

maṇḍala, [while] in the centre of the left palm, from "ma" [arises] a sun *maṇḍala*. The natural expression of the *phur bu* is meditated on [as] the *heruka*[s] of the five families [appearing] above the upper knot. At the spokes, [one] meditates on the eight [females,] Ke 'u ri, Tse 'u ri [etc.]. On the head of the knot, the wrathful ones are displayed;

(41)

/pa bcu gsal bar sgom/
/rtse mo la yag ~~clang~~⁶⁵ sha/
/dang rag sha bsgom//
/de 'i yang rtse mo la yi/
/ge hung mthing ka cig/

⁵⁹ sa with attached ha

⁶⁰ two ornamental *shad*, presumably a variation on *sbrul shad* (Unicode 0F08), but with a rather different appearance, each topped by a circle, below which the first half of the line zig zags, while the bottom section curves round and back.

⁶¹ It is possible to tease four categories out of the preceding passage, although this may be stretching the presentation given in the text and it may be that the four great transmissions are not specified. If intended to be drawn from the above, they might be: 1) meditating on the secret bodhicitta; 2) on the basis [in] *Atiyoga*; 3) the meditation focus for the "liberating killing" and transference rites; 4) the bodhicitta as not demonstrated [apart] from the great bliss.

⁶² 'a subscribed

⁶³ zur pan: the translation here is uncertain. We are reading it as "zur 'ben" (*Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* 2467), although it is very questionable whether this is intended. Bischoff and Hartman's translation (in full, "Hold in the right hand the ki-la-ya in the direction of the Sumeru") is unsatisfactory in meaning.

⁶⁴ Bischoff and Hartman give *las* for *la nas*, but *la nas* is clear, even though *las* would make better sense here.

⁶⁵ there is a deletion of *dang*; *dang* is likely to have been an error in which the following *sha* was initially omitted.

meditate on the ten clearly manifesting. At the point [of the *phur bu*], meditate on yakṣa[s] and rākṣasa[s]. Also here, meditate on a single clearly manifesting deep blue syllable *hūṃ* at the tip.

(42)

/gsal bar sgom/ /de 'i/
 /dkyil du 'od dkar la/
 /che ba gcig gsal ba/
 /r sgom mo/ /sang rgyas/
 /gyi bkra 'o/ /sngags/

(43)

/che ba 'i yon tan no//
 /a byi tsa ra'i mthu 'o//

In its centre, meditate on a single great one⁶⁶ clearly manifesting within white light.

[This] is the splendour of the Buddha!

[This expresses] the enlightened qualities of the greatest mantra!

[This expresses] the inherent powers of the abhicāra!⁶⁷

⁶⁶ che ba gcig: it is not certain whether or not this refers to a deity arising from the *hūṃ*.

⁶⁷ Although the wording is different, the final lines proclaiming the qualities of the practice are a little reminiscent of some of the final lines of the *Phur pa rTsa ba'i dum bu*: "[This] is the truth of the Dharmatā! [This] is consecrated by the secret mantra consecration! Consecrated by the Buddha, [this] brings [his] inherent powers!" (chos nyid kyi bden pa'o/ /gsang sngags kyi byin gyi rlabs kyi byin gyis brlabs so/ /sangs rgyas kyi byin gyis brlabs kyi mthur 'gyur ro/ See Boord: 89–90.)