

## SCRIPTURAL TEXTS

### 9 SECTIONS OF IOL TIB J 438: A DUNHUANG VERSION OF THE GUHYASAMĀJA WITH COMMENTARY

#### *Introduction to the Text*

This Dunhuang version of the *Guhyasamāja* (IOL Tib J 438, together with the single folio of IOL Tib J 481) is a beautifully made and well-preserved manuscript, missing only a few folios. There is some possibility that it might represent an early translation of the root seventeen chapter *Guhyasamāja*, which was quite possibly the basis for Rin chen bzang po's and later revisions of the text. Kenneth Eastman's preliminary study (1980), which reviewed the various available translations of the *Guhyasamāja* and the relationship between them, concluded that Rin chen bzang po's translation – and all later versions – were dependent on this early translation. His argument is that the Dunhuang text is earlier than Rin chen bzang po's and that the considerable agreement between the Dunhuang and later versions would be unlikely if Rin chen bzang po's had been done without any prior translation to rely upon.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, variants between the Dunhuang text and other extant versions show that the Dunhuang manuscript has some distinctive readings, and Eastman notes (1980: 1) an "unsettled use of terminology" (less standardized?) or inconsistencies. Today, given the period in which recent research indicates that the Dunhuang texts were written, ie. the latter tenth century (Dalton and van Schaik 2006: xxi), we can no longer be quite so certain that the Dunhuang translation pre-dated Rin chen bzang po (958–1055), although it remains quite possible that the Dunhuang manuscript constitutes a copy which may have derived from an original translation at a much earlier time. Unfortunately, however, we do not yet have definite proof of when and where the original translation was produced, only that we have a copy from the late tenth century. Eastman makes an apparent assumption that where the tradition stemming from 'Gos lhas btsas (c.1050) has a variant in common with that stemming from Chag lo tsa ba (1197–1264), this must have represented Rin chen bzang po's text.<sup>2</sup> Even leaving aside any question of whether the extant texts may have a more complicated ancestry than their colophons might indicate, this is unproblematic logically only if we can be certain that the two revisors used manuscripts with entirely separate lineages of descent from Rin chen bzang po's own original<sup>3</sup> and if we can be certain that Chag did not consult 'Gos's work (or a manuscript descended from or commentary based on 'Gos's revision).<sup>4</sup> Since we are not specialists in *Guhyasamāja*, we are unsure whether this assumption is warranted. If it is valid, then the Dunhuang manuscript would seem most likely to represent an older and distinctive translation, and it would be extremely valuable as such.<sup>5</sup> Another

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<sup>1</sup> Eastman writes (1980: 4–5): "...we see at a glance that the exemplars latest in date reproduce, without alteration, a large portion of the earliest manuscript. Assuming that two Tibetan translators, working independently and without a previous translation before them, will not use identical words and syntactic order to translate a given Sanskrit verse, it is obvious that only a single original translation is represented: the Dun-huang text."

<sup>2</sup> Eastman says (1980: 5–6): "We have no witness for Rin-chen bzañ-po's text, here \*R, but we can reconstruct \*R for every concurrence of C and D". Eastman's "C" stands for the transmission from 'Gos lhas btsas, represented according to its colophon by the sNar thang text, while his "D" stands for the ancestor of the Peking and sDe dge texts, attributed by their colophons to the revision of Chag lo tsa ba.

<sup>3</sup> Had they both stemmed, say, from a copy of a copy of Rin chen bzang po's original, variants shared by 'Gos and Chag might have been introduced by a copyist rather than Rin chen bzang po.

<sup>4</sup> Had he done so, he might have followed 'Gos's readings silently on a number of occasions, so that some agreements between 'Gos and Chag might have stemmed from 'Gos and not Rin chen bzang po.

<sup>5</sup> The eighteen verses examined by Eastman demonstrate the distinctiveness of the Dunhuang manuscript, and also the distinctiveness of the tradition (represented by the witnesses of the Peking and sDe dge *bKa' 'gyurs*) of the textual tradition which Eastman identifies on the basis of the colophons as stemming from Chag lo tsa ba. Note that the verses in the sTog Palace *bKa' 'gyur* edition (Volume 96, Ca: 10r–11v) which Eastman was unable to consider, like the sNar thang *bKa' 'gyur* edition he does consult, do not evidence these readings shared by the Peking and sDe dge *bKa' 'gyurs*. It is quite likely that the differences represent the two main branches of *bKa' 'gyur* transmission; in this case, sNar thang inheriting a Them spang ma line of descent,

possibility is that Rin chen bzang po's translation was prior to some of the shared readings of the later versions, and that it shared at least some of the Dunhuang readings.<sup>6</sup> In this case, too, the Dunhuang manuscript is to be greatly valued as potentially clarifying aspects of the Rin chen bzang po version of the text. Interestingly, the work by Tomabechi (1999: 56, 76–78) on Tabo fragments of *Guhyasamāja* tradition texts suggests that the Tabo readings of the root text are sometimes close to the Dunhuang manuscript and in contrast to the later tradition's. Tomabechi sees this agreement as suggesting that Rin chen bzang po (who is attributed with the foundation of Tabo monastery) preserved early readings witnessed in the Dunhuang manuscript, before the recensional amendments of 'Gos. At the very least, this Dunhuang text will be of crucial importance for scholars seeking to clarify the *Guhyasamāja*'s early Tibetan ancestry, and it remains possible that, even if the manuscript was a copy dated to the late tenth century,<sup>7</sup> its exemplars might go back to a much earlier time.<sup>8</sup>

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and sDe dge a Tshal pa transmission. Eastman's study does not, however, produce irrefutable logical proof that Rin chen bzang po's translation was dependent on the Dunhuang manuscript tradition rather than vice versa. A full critical edition and study would be necessary to explore more thoroughly the relationships between the extant versions. It is also worth noting that Eastman only had the gTing skyes edition of the NGB available to him, which he uses to represent the NGB tradition. A provisional glance at the mTshams brag manuscript's Chapter 3 (Volume Tsha: 770–1) shows that a number of the gTing skyes variants demonstrated by Eastman (who takes as his sample the verses of Chapter 3) are scribal errors not shared by mTshams brag (eg. *rnams* for *rab* in verse 13; *gsang* for *gsal* in verse 15), but that a few seem quite likely to represent a South Central and Bhutanese NGB line of descent (including one additional *tshig rkang* in verse 2, which is given as an interlinear note in the Dunhuang version). The mTshams brag version, however, does not share gTing skyes's reading of *rdo rje* in verse 15, where all the other editions give *zla ba'i*, and Eastman tells us that gTing skyes's reading alone fits the Sanskrit text (on this basis, he suggests an input from another source into the NGB tradition). We have not yet been able to consult the sDe dge NGB version: it is quite likely that any idea of a single NGB tradition will need further qualification if, as in the case of the '*Phags pa Thabs kyi zhags pa pad ma phreng gyi don bsdus pa*, the sDe dge *bKa' gyur* and the sDe dge NGB texts transpire to have been made from the same blocks (we will discuss this in our forthcoming work on the *Thabs kyi zhags pa*). The picture is further complicated by the fact that the colophon to the root tantra in mTshams brag's version (Volume Tsha: 938) seems to indicate that it was edited by Chag lo tsa ba, ie. that it shares its descent with the Peking and sDe dge *bKa' gyur* versions considered by Eastman, rather than the line he represents as the NGB inheritance! However, a further cursory examination of the variants in Chapter 3 shows only occasional and possibly coincidental agreements between mTshams brag and Eastman's Chag descent, "D" (eg. in verse 5, the line "dkon mchog dpal gyi rgya chen dang", shared by Dunhuang, the gTing skyes NGB, and Eastman's "C", becomes "rin chen tog gi phyag rgya che" in "D", while the mTshams brag NGB reading shares "D"'s "phyag rgya che" but retains "dkon mchog dpal gyi"). In general, it does not seem to evidence the distinctive readings of "D", but of course, these verses are only a small sample of the text.

<sup>6</sup> Given the closeness of the dates, it is even *conceivable* – if rather unlikely – that the Dunhuang may just represent a copy of Rin chen bzang po's translation itself. It does not, however, give any colophon which would indicate this. Note also that the late 10th to early 11th century Indian paṇḍita who visited Tibet, Smṛtijñānakīrti (see Ch. 1 above, p.12), was in fact well known as a teacher of *Guhyasamāja* in Khams, so it is also just possible that the Dunhuang *Guhyasamāja* derives from him (see also note 8 below). Clues in this connection might be found by examining his extant works in the *bsTan gyur*.

<sup>7</sup> We understand from Sam van Schaik (personal communication, March 2007) that the paleographical analysis of this particular manuscript has been inconclusive in terms of dating it, but given that none of the Dunhuang materials have been certainly dated prior to the tenth century, the onus of proof is on those who would argue for an earlier date.

<sup>8</sup> Carmen Meinert, who has worked on Chinese and Tibetan Dunhuang materials and is currently working on a full study of IOL Tib J 438, is of the opinion that the translation was quite likely to have been done well before the late tenth century (personal communication 11/04/08). It is also worth noting that witnesses of this famous scripture as found in the NGB (Rig 'dzin Vol. Tsa; sDe dge Vol. Na; gTing skyes Vol. Tsa), give very specific colophon information that the main *Guhyasamāja mūlatantra* (i.e. chapters 1–17 without the *Uttaratantra* or 18<sup>th</sup> chapter) was first translated by Vimalamitra and sKa ba dpal rtsegs (*paṇḍita bi mā la dang lo tsa ba ska wa dpal rtsegs kyi bsgyur pa'o//*), and moreover, that in these particular editions, the *Uttaratantra* (i.e. chapter 18) was translated later by Buddhaguhya and a certain 'Brog mi dpal ye shes (*rgya gar gyi mkhan po sangs rgyas gsang ba dang/ /bod kyi lotssha ba 'brog mi dpal yeshe bsgyur ba'o//*). The Rig 'dzin and sDe dge edition colophons also suggest that the famous Rin chen bzang po translation was a reworking of the earlier translation (*slad kyi mkhan po āsārya shraddha ka ra war ma dang / zhu chen gyi lo tszha ba dge slong rin chen bzang pos bsgyur te gtan la phab pa'o//*), although it is not absolutely clear if this refers to the whole text or only to the *Uttaratantra*. Of course, colophons are not always reliable as historical sources, but additional information comes from the *Blue Annals* (Roerich: 204–5, 358–9), which also mentions that there existed translations of the *Guhyasamāja* made earlier than Rin chen bzang po's. In one reference, the *Blue Annals*

A further important feature of this Dunhuang *Guhyasamāja* is its copious interlinear notes. Eastman gives a brief resumé of the types of comments found (1980: 2), but notes with regret that he was unable to read them clearly, since he had access only to a poor reproduction of the basis of a microfilm copy of the text.<sup>9</sup> A full study of the notes throughout the text by a *Guhyasamāja* specialist is desirable: until this has been done, it is uncertain whether they might represent a particular *Guhyasamāja* commentarial tradition, or simply reflect a more idiosyncratic interpretation, which might either have come from the "tantric circles" which Dalton and van Schaik suggest (2006: p.185) produced further *Guhyasamāja* related materials found in the Dunhuang cache,<sup>10</sup> or have derived from earlier Tibetan scholarship.

In this study, we make no attempt to pre-judge the findings of *Guhyasamāja* scholars on the main text and its annotations: we simply consider the content from Chapters 13 and 14 which has textual parallels or similarity of theme with the *phur pa* rites we have considered above. Martin Boord (2002: 26–54) has already drawn attention to passages from Sanskrit *Guhyasamāja* sources relating to *phur pa* rituals; the main point here is that this Dunhuang Tibetan version is most likely contemporaneous with our other materials, and may give us further hints about aspects of it.<sup>11</sup>

### Description of the Manuscript

One feature which is abundantly clear is the professionalism of the manuscript's production. At the risk of stating the obvious, the manuscript suggests an institutional production, involving preparation of the sheets – carefully cut pages, evenly spaced ruled lines and margins – and a high standard and consistency of writing style.

The folios of thick paper sheets are long in width, measuring approximately 46.7cm across, by 8.9cm height, and they are generally very well preserved, with a little discoloration, but few holes or degradation of the paper.<sup>12</sup> The edges of most sheets appear to have been cut fairly straight and there is very little fraying in evidence. The sheets each have two string holes. There are five ruled ink lines on each side, seemingly precisely measured to give even spaces, with a little more space allowed to the top and bottom of the page. These lines run from edge to edge, running across the left and right margins. They seem to have been made with a very fine pen, in a slightly lighter colour than the writing. The margins are ruled to the right and left – they are straight, but often not exactly vertical, and the distance from the edge of the page is variable, so presumably, has not been exactly measured. The left recto margin gives the folio number; no volume or collection is indicated. The main writing is kept within the ruled writing area (apart from occasional *shads* which run over), but the interlinear notes frequently run into the margins, especially on the right.

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(Roerich: 204–5) attributes an earlier translation to Smrtijñānakīrti, who along with his near contemporary Rin chen bzang po, traditionally marks the watershed between Old and New translation periods. Later, the *Blue Annals* (Roerich: 358–9) further mentions the contribution of the translator lCe bkra shis in translating the *Guhyasamāja* during the Early Propagation period.

<sup>9</sup> Now that excellent digital images are available on the International Dunhuang Project site (<http://idp.bl.uk/>), international scholarship has no such impediments, although it remains true that consultation of the original manuscript often clarifies readings which may still be uncertain on good quality images.

<sup>10</sup> Any future study of the Dunhuang *Guhyasamāja* will need to address these materials too. In particular, the texts represented by IOL Tib J 419 and PT 42 contain discussion and citation of *Guhyasamāja* passages, apparently closely related to this *Guhyasamāja* manuscript (Dalton and van Schaik 2006: 156, 159, 160). Moreover, Dalton and van Schaik suggest (185) that the interlinear notes may have been written by the same hand as those of IOL Tib J 438. They also draw attention to another incomplete Dunhuang *Guhyasamāja* manuscript, PT 5. This has now been examined by Carmen Meinert, who reports that it covers 129 lines, which seem to represent the same transmission as IOL Tib J 438, and perhaps were copied from it, sharing the same spelling errors (personal communication 6/04/08).

<sup>11</sup> For instance, we noted above (Ch. 5, p.84–85; see also below Ch. 9, p.174–175) that the interlinear notes to the Dunhuang *Guhyasamāja* identify the "*gha gha ghātaya...*" mantra which we find in many of our *Phur pa* sources, as that of rDo rje sder mo.

<sup>12</sup> The single folio which has been catalogued as IOL Tib J 481 – apparently folio 2 – is an exception, having presumably been kept at the top of the manuscript at some stage. The paper is rather damaged; it has been torn – and repaired, presumably by the modern library Conservation Department – it is missing its right and left edges, and much of the ink has been badly smudged.

The main text is written in a carefully executed *dbu can* style, with frequent (but not invariable) use of the reversed *gi gu* and attached *ya* (eg. in *myi*). The writing is fairly consistent across the pages, although in some parts it is rather smaller, possibly written with a slightly finer pen (unless the ink flow was inconsistent). The annotations are written small in a more cursive script, with less full formation of letters, rather similar to the interlinear notes found in other Dunhuang manuscripts such as IOL Tib J 331. A finer pen appears to have been used for them. The same technique we found in IOL Tib J 331 is used (see examples noted above throughout Chapter 6, p.90, 92-93, 95-96, 98, 105, 108), of indicating with a small cross that a note continues on the following line.

There are not elaborate ornamentations or embellishments, but breaks in the content are indicated by the use of red ink *shads* accompanying black *shads*, sometimes also with a red ink dot between the *shads*, and in the case of chapter endings, red circles enclosing two vertically arranged black circles positioned between the *shads*. Before the final colophon after Chapter 17, a red ink flower design (a small circle surrounded by four petals) is given between the *shads*, and a similar design is also given after some of the other chapters (eg. Chapter 14, 55 'og ma r.2).

It is worth mentioning that the idea of the samaya of liberating/killing, so familiar from transmitted Phur pa sources (see above, p.18), is broached in Chapter 9. Here, a meditation on Vajra Akṣobhya, with vajra in hand, pulverising the buddhas of the three times (an interlinear comment adding that primordial wisdom brings realisation of the empty nature of their actually manifesting visualised forms), is followed by the four line verse: "The vajra secret, like this, kills all sentient beings, (so they) are born in Akṣobhya's buddha field, as sons of the conquerors. This is verily the samaya of the hatred family."<sup>13</sup> An interlinear note moreover stresses that the practice does not involve actual hatred, but rather, meditation on the empty nature of sentient beings,<sup>14</sup> a remark reminiscent of the classic Phur pa verse found throughout the tradition (see above, p.18 note 11).

### Selections from Chapter 13 (Manuscript folios 36v.4–48r.3)

Chapter 13 makes reference to wrathful tantric activity, and the transformation of hatred, in terms similar to the *phur pa* rites given in this book and in the later tradition:

(38r.1) /khro bo dam tshIg ye shes kyIs/ /rang gi rdo rje dkyIl 'khor du/

Through the wrathful one's samaya primordial wisdom, in one's/his own vajra maṇḍala,

(small writing below:)

khro bo'i phyag rgya chen por gnas la rang gi snying po drag du brjod cing de la goms par byed pa de ni khro bo' bzlas pa'o//

abiding in the mahāmudrā of the wrathful one, loudly reciting one's/his own essence [mantra], familiarising [oneself] with this, is the wrathful one's recitation.

/sngags kyI yI ge'i sgra grags pa/ /'dI nI khro bo'i bzlas pa yIn//

the sounds of the mantra syllables are proclaimed. This is the wrathful one's recitation.

The delusion recitation is then followed by the desire recitation. Then:

(38r.3) /zhe sdang rdo rje<sup>15</sup> las byung sems/ /lus ngag sems la gnas pa'I/ /sems can zhe sdang gnas la gzhag/ /de nI zhe sdang bzlas pa (line 4) yIn/

<sup>13</sup> /rdo rje gsang ba 'dI lta bus/ /sems can thams cad bsad na nI/ /myI bskyod sangs rgyas zhIng dag du/ /rgyal ba'I sras mams skye bar 'gyur// // 'dI ni zhe sdang gI rigs kyI dam tshig de kho na'o/ (22v.1-2) Thanks to Carmen Meinert for drawing our attention to this verse.

<sup>14</sup> 'di lta bu thabs kyIs 'grub par '[gy?]ur kyi dngosu zhes sdang gis bya ba ni ma yin no/ de lta bu'i dmyIgs pas sems can rang bzhin kyis stong par shes na shar phyogs kyI sangs rgyas kyi rigs'u 'gyur ro// (22v.1)

<sup>15</sup> rdo rje: written beneath the line, positioned by a cross above the line.

The mind arisen from the hatred vajra, settles sentient beings abiding in ordinary body, speech and mind, in the abode of hatred. This is the hatred recitation.

Again, after comments on desire and delusion, the text continues:

(38v.1) /khro bo zhe sdang gnas las skyes/ /gsod la rtag du brtson ba dag/ /grub pa mchog gl chos can la/ /gsod pa'I don gyIs 'grub par 'gyur/// /

The wrathful one is born from the abode of hatred. Continually striving to kill, [one will] reach accomplishment through the ultimate meaning of killing, [focusing] on the phenomena of supreme accomplishment.

A section on the first three types of ritual is followed by discussion of the fourth:

(39r.4) rdo rje khro bo mngon spyod la/

The vajra wrathful one, [is responsible] for the destructive ritual;

(small writing below:)

rdo rje rigs drag po

the vajra family, destructive (rites)

'dI nI sngags rnams thams cad kyI/ / (line 5) gsang ba sku gsum las byung ba/ /sngags rnams kun gyI sprul ba ste/ /spyad pa'I rol mos mtshan pa'o/

the secret of all these mantras, [is] arisen from the three kāyas. All these mantras emanate forth, characterised by the music of activities.

(small writing below:)

sku gsung thugs kyI bdag nyid mnyam ba nyId la sems can gyi don du kun rdzob du thabs sna tshogs kyis rol pa'I phyir sprul//

In the essential sameness of the identity of buddha body, speech and mind,

[they] emanate to display various relative methods for the benefit of sentient beings.

The next section reviews the objects of destructive rites in classic terms used in the Phur pa literature:

/ma chags pa'I sems can dang/ /rdo rje slob dpon smod pa dang/ /gdug pa'I sems can gzhan rnams la'ang/ /rab tu bskul (39v.1) ba 'dI bya'o/// /

Sentient beings who lack desire, who abuse the vajra master, and other evil sentient beings, [are] those [who] should be invoked.

(small writing below, with the note finishing at the top of 39v:)

de la drag pa'I yul gang zhe na byang chub kyI sems la ma chags pa'I sems la ma chags pa/ rdo rje slob dpon la snyIng 'drIng pa dang gnod par byed la gdug sems can mtshams myed pa byed pa/ sdIg chen po byed pa 'dI dag la thabs kyIs de dag dang (39v.1) dbral zhIng de'i don bya'o//

Here, who are the objects for the destructive [rites]? [Those who] have no desire for the mind which is without desire, within bodhicitta; [those who have] *deceptive*<sup>16</sup> hearts and cause harm to the vajra master, and [who] perform the actions of immediate retribution; on those who perform [such] great sin, through skill-in-means, they should be the objects which are the fields for *liberating/separating*.<sup>17</sup>

The comment on the next lines makes the soteriological implications of the destructive ritual clear:

<sup>16</sup> 'drIng pa = 'drid pa? (if this comment had been copied from an *dbu can* source, a visual confusion between nga and da is a possibility).

<sup>17</sup> The term here is actually *dbral* – probably *bsgral* is intended, but it is just possible that it actually means, *dbral*, separation from allies, a ritual procedure which precedes the actual act of liberating/killing.

(39v.1) // /khams gsum gnas pa'I sems can nmams/ /sangs rgyas skur nI nram par bsgom/ /dgra nmams gsad pa byas nas su/ /de nas las (line 2) nmams rab du bsgrub/  
Sentient beings abiding [in] the three worlds, are meditated on as the form and the bodies of the buddha. Killing the hostile forces, the ritual activities are then fully accomplished.

(small writing below:)

sems can jI snyed pa kun sangs rgyas kyī dngos por bsams la/ de nas de dag kun stong par bsams na rtog pa kun myed pas rtog pa'I dgra myed par bya ste [...] 'go stong pa la pyag rgya chen por bsgrub bo/ yang na sems can kun sangs rgyas kyī dngos por dmyigs la/ de dag kun mtshon cha (line 2) can du gyur nas gcag pa'I sems can la drag po bya'o//

Meditate on as many sentient beings as there are, all of them, as actually, the buddha in substance. Then meditating on them all as empty, being completely without discursive thoughts, obliterate the hostile forces of discursive thought. Empty [from?] the start/ [at?] source, [one is] accomplished as the mahāmudrā. Otherwise, meditating on sentient beings as actually the buddha in substance, they are all transformed to be carrying weapons, and [they] should be violent to sentient beings who violate [vows etc.]...

(39v.4) /sangs rgyas ye shes rdo rje can/ /slar spro ba ni rab du bya/

The buddhas endowed with primordial wisdom vajra[s], again emanate everywhere.

/khro bas 'khrug pa'I khro bo nmams/ /myI sdug 'jIgs su rung ba'I gzugs/ /mtshon ca sna tshogs 'dzIn pa/ /gsad pa'I don nmams 'ba' shIg (line 5) sems/ /gdug pa nmams nI gsod pa dang/ /rdo rje sems dpa' 'ang gsod pa bsgom/

Wrathful, (they have) bodies of aggressive wrathful one[s], ugly and terrifying, carrying various weapons. Killing the evil ones with minds solely intent on killing, meditate that [they would] even kill Vajrasattva.

(small writing below:)

spros pa de kun khro bo sna tshogs pyag rgya dang chas pa she dag<sup>18</sup> byung nas gdug pa can thams chad gzhll zhing gdug sems de la gdug par byed de de dagI mthus nI rdo rje sems pa nyId kyang gzhll rus na [lta?] cI smos//

All these emanations have various mudrās, simply having arisen, [they] expel all evil beings and do evil to those of evil minds. Through the inherent power of this, even Vajrasattva himself [would be] expelled; ... what need to speak of [others]?

/sangs rgyas sku gsum dam tshIg gI/ /rdo rje gsum gyI dkyIl 'khor gnas/ /nyI ma bdun du 'dI byas na/

Of [or through?] the samaya of the threefold buddha body, abiding [in?] the maṇḍala of the three vajras, if [one] performs this for seven days,

(small writing below:)

bs[d(/g)(/k)]om<sup>19</sup> ba de 'dra ba zhag bdun byas na drag po bya ba de grub par 'gyur//

Performing this meditation in this way for seven days, destructive activities will bring accomplishment.

/sangs rgyas dngos grub ster par 'gyur/

the siddhi [of] buddha[hood] will be bestowed

(small writing below:)

bsams pa bzhin nus

the ability is in accordance with the aspiration

On the next folio, there are comments about self-identity as the deity and enjoining the objects of the rites to keep to the samaya and avoid the impact of the tantric powers of destruction.

(40r.4) /bdag nI dpal ldan rdo rje 'dzIn/

I am the Glorious Vajradhara,

<sup>18</sup> Martin (2005) notes (citing Katsumi Mimaki 1990 and 1992) that *she dag* can be for *sha stag*.

<sup>19</sup> in this context, bsgom seems most appropriate and is probably intended

(small writing below:)

'di ni rang bzhin can

this [means] endowed with natural [buddha] qualities.

/bka'I 'khor lo rab sbyor ba/ /gal te dam tshIḡ las 'da's na/ /rdo rje rab du 'bar ba yIs/ /sku gsung las byung 'ga's par bgyI/

the wheel of Buddha Word [is] fully engaged in; but if the samaya is transgressed, the really blazing vajra, arisen from buddha body and speech, will shatter [you]!

(small writing below:)

sems can gyi don bgyid pa [lags?] [rkyis(/skyes)] bdagi bsam ba rdzogs pa dang/ bdag la bs[t(/d)]ang ['(/zh)]Ing srogs mdzod [cho]g/ de ma bstangs na dga's par bgyi'o/ dga's kyang yang dag par 'jIgo zhes bskul na rung ngo//

Performing the benefit of sentient beings well, the wishes of laymen are fulfilled and [in] benefiting [your]self, [you] can make/create life (srogs? = srog or phrogs?). If [you] do not create [such] benefit, [you] will be shattered. As well as being shattered, [you] will be completely destroyed. It is appropriate to enjoin [them], saying this.

The point is reiterated a few lines on, in terms familiar in the Phur pa literature:

(40v.1) /dus gsum las 'byung sems can dang/ /gdug sems can gyI dgra bo nmams/

Arising throughout the three times, sentient beings and hostile forces of evil minds;

(small writing below:)

gang sems can gdug pa can de dag ni de ltar gyi mngon ba nyi tse ma yin gyi 'das pa dang ma 'ongs pa kun kyang gzhil bar mdzad do//

Whatever evil sentient beings there are, destructive rites like this will act to expel even all those [who live for] unlimited periods of time, [throughout] the past and the future.

(line 2) ye shes rdo rje'i dkyil 'khor 'dIr/ /khros nas thams cad gsad par bsgom/

in this primordial wisdom vajra maṇḍala, meditate that wrathfulness will kill them all."

(small writing below:)

dkyil 'khor 'di na dgug pa'am yang na 'di ltar gnas pa'i thabs des de dag gzhil bar byed pa'o/

Either with the method of summoning [them] into this maṇḍala or [of them] similarly remaining, they will be expelled.

It is on the next folio that the use of a *phur bu* is expounded upon:

(41r.5) ///dgra'I 'khor kyI dam tshIḡ nI/ /bsam gtan rab du brtag pa 'dI/ /sangs rgyas dag gis 'da's na yang/ /'ga's par 'gyur ba gdon myI za/

The samaya of the wheel of hostile forces, [is that] even if buddhas were to transgress [against] this really scrutinizing contemplation, [they would] be shattered; there is no doubt.

/hūṃ las phur bur bsam ba nI/ /rtse lnga pa'I tshad du ste/ /rdo rje'e<sup>20</sup> phur bu de yIs nI/ /

The meditation on the *phur bu* [arising] from hūṃ: measuring as much as a five-spoked [vajra?], this [is the] rDo rje Phur bu;

(small writing below, continuing on to 41v:)

rdo rje rtse lnga pa'I tshad tsam gyi phur bu la hung gis khro bor bskyed nas/ khro bo [des?] [bcas?] kyI dpung gi snying kar btab par bsgom ba'o/ gzugs (41v.1) brnyan byas pa la btab na de dag skrag cing/ rmongs [pa gong?] nas de dag las rgyal par 'gyur ro//

A *phur bu* the size of a five-spoked vajra is generated as a wrathful one with *hung*. Then [one] meditates on this wrathful one stabbing the heart[s] of a host of (..?) If [one] stabs an image which has been made [to represent them], they become terrified. [Previously?] becoming confused, they will be vanquished [or: they will faint].

<sup>20</sup> 'a subscribed; probably, rdo rje'i is intended.

(41v.1) snyIng kar btab par rab bsgoms na/ /khros pas sangs rgyas dpung dag kyang/ /'jIg par 'gyur ba gdon myI za///

if [one] meditates on stabbing with [it] right into the heart, through [this] wrathful [activity], even armies of buddhas, [would] be destroyed; have no doubt!

Meditations on overcoming illnesses follow, but we return to the theme of the *phur bu* further down the page, now giving the association between Vajra Amṛta and the Phur bu deity, which we find in PT 349 (see Ch.8, p.145 above):

(41v.4) /rdo rje bdud rtsi rgyal po che/ /rdo rje phur bu rab tu bsgom/ /mye sta ga<sup>21</sup> 'bar ba 'dra ba yIs/ /phyogs (line 5) bcu'I dkyIl 'khor gdab par bya///

The great king, Vajra Amṛta, is meditated on as rDo rje Phur bu. [He] blazes like a spark of fire, and should strike the maṇḍalas of the ten directions.

(small writing below:)

lha klu 'am myI la stogs pa sdiḡ byed pa gnod par byed pa la/ a mri ta 'am badzra ling ga gcigi phyag rgyar gnas la pur bu la de'I snying po la btab nas khro bo nyid du byin kyis (line 5) brlabs nas lha klu de dag gi bdag po gzugs brnyan byas la btab na 'khor kun kyang zhI par 'gyur//

To those who perform evil and create harm, whether gods, nāgas or people, [with?] a *phur bu*, abiding in the mudrā of one Amṛta or Vajra liṅga,<sup>22</sup> stab their hearts, and consecrating [the *phur bu*] as the wrathful one himself, if [you] stab a constructed image [of] the master of these gods and nāgas, [their] entire circle will also be pacified.

On the following folio, further destructive meditations again focus on destroying "hostile forces" in similar vein to the Phur pa tradition, and involve animal emanations (possibly versions of the animal-headed attendants of the ten wrathful deities, given in Phur pa and other tantric sources, such as the *Thabs kyi zhags pa* commentary IOL Tib J 321, Chapters 12-13):

(42v.3) //nam mkha'I rdo rje sprin po dang/ /khro bo drag cIng gtum po dang/ /wa dang bya rog sna tshogs dang/ /bya rgod khyI yis (line 4) gang bar bsgom/

Meditate on the sky, filled with vajra cloud[s], wrathful one[s], destructive and fierce, foxes, ravens etc., birds of prey and dogs.

(small writing below:)

drag po bya na khro bo'i phyag rgyar gna[s(/m)] la lus las kyang 'di dag byung 'khor yang 'di lta bus ga nas mye'i dkyil 'khor gsum gyI steng na gnas shing shin du 'bar bar bsgoms nas/

If destructive [rites] are performed, they arise also from the body, abiding in the mudrā of the wrathful one, and similarly [from] the retinue too, abiding above the three fiery maṇḍalas, and really blazing. Meditate on this.

(42v.4) /mye yI dkyIl 'khor la gnas te/ /'bar ba bzhIn du rtag par bsgom/ /sangs rgyas kun la gnod byed pa/ /bsams nas nas rnal 'byor sbyar bar bya/

Meditate on [them] abiding in the fiery maṇḍala, likewise constantly blazing. Having imagined those who harm all the buddhas, the yoga should be engaged in.

/mtshon cha sna tshogs thogs pa yIs/

Carrying various weapons,

(small writing below:)

khro bo dang grin [tsh(/p)]os ni mtshon gyis 'debs/

wrathful ones and [swords?],<sup>23</sup> striking with weapons

<sup>21</sup> stag intended?

<sup>22</sup> here, *liṅga* perhaps indicates the *phur bu* as a symbol; it does not seem to indicate the effigy.

<sup>23</sup> very uncertain: if *grin* is for *gri* with a following *tsheg*.

/rgyu ma rkang dang khrag las (line 5) stsogs/ /thams cad 'drangs par rnam par bsgom/  
with which the intestines, marrow and blood etc. are dragged out.<sup>24</sup> Meditate on this.

(small writing below:)

[b(p)]yol song de dag gis ni 'thog cing sha krag (line 5) 'byung par 'gyur//

the animal [emanations] tear up and make them into the elements of flesh and blood.

/de ltar bsgoms na dgra rnam 'chI/

Meditating thus, hostile forces are killed.

### Selections from Chapter 14 (Manuscript folios 48r.3)

Chapter 14 contains the rDo rje sder mo mantra, connected as in our other sources with the ritual of striking with a *phur bu*, although in this case, the rite follows the mantra rather than culminating with the mantra. Then, the text gives the body, speech and mind mantras which are used in *phur pa* consecration rites. The ritual description contains these specific parallel mantras found in IOL Tib J 331.III and various other sources (see above Ch. 5, p.81-83), and although with different wording, there is an interesting description of the ritual of striking with a *phur pa*. It is noteworthy that on folio 54v (line 3), an annotation specifies the particular places of the body which should be struck. These do not quite correspond to those outlined in IOL Tib J 331.III (8r), but the principle of nailing down one or more *phur bus* into different parts of an effigy following the main rite of stabbing the heart (an aspect of the rite which remains central to *phur pa* rites)<sup>25</sup> is clearly indicated by both examples.

(54r.3) //de nas bcom ldan 'da's de bzhIn gshegs (line 4) pa thams cad kyI sku dang/ gsung dang/ thugs nges par 'chInḡ ba rdo rje zhes bya ba'I tInḡ nge 'dzIn la snyoms par zhugs nas/

Then the Victorious One entered into equanimity in a samādhi called, Vajra Truly Binding the body, speech, and mind of all tathāgatas.

(small writing below:)

sku gsung thugs gcig su gyur pa dbyer myed pa la bya/

cause buddha body, speech and mind to become one, inseparable

rdo rje khams gsum pa thams cad kyI sku dang/ gsung dang/ thugs gnong pa zhes bya ba'I sngags 'di/  
The mantra called, Suppressing the (buddha) body, speech and mind of all the three vajra realms,

(small writing below:)

khams gsum gyI sems can kun rdo rje sems pa'I rang bzhin pas rdo rje/

since all sentient beings of the three realms [have] the natural quality of Vajrasattva, "vajra"

nyId kyI sku dang/ gsung dang/ (line 5) thugs rdo rje las phyung ngo//  
is emitted from (his) own body, speech and mind vajra.

(small writing below:)

rdo rje sder mo'o sngags

[this] mantra is Vajra Claw

//ōṃ gha gha gha ta ghā ta ya sa rba du shṭa na phaṭ/ kī la ya kī la ya sa rba pā pān phāṭ phāṭ/ /hūṃ hūṃ badzra 'kī la ya badzra dha ro/ ad nyā pā ya tī kā ya bāḡ tsId<sup>26</sup> ta ba dzra kī la ya hūṃ hūṃ phāṭ phāṭ/

<sup>24</sup> assuming that 'drangs is for drangs.

<sup>25</sup> In many ritual contexts one strikes the five places of the neck and the four limbs (at the tops of the arms, and the thighs). The *'Bum nag* (Boord: 231–4) gives great detail on various lists (eg. of ten, four or six places). The "Secondary Ritual" (*smad las*) of the *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri* also supplies considerable detail of how to perform *the vanquishing of the basis which supports latent tendencies (bag chags kyi rten gzhi bcom pa*, Volume Tha 471–476), outlining a number of sets of body parts to strike.

<sup>26</sup> da inserted below line, with attention drawn to it by a cross above the line.

om̐ gha gha ghātaya ghātaya sarvaduṣṭān phaṭ/ kīlaya kīlaya sarvapāpān phaṭ phaṭ/ hūṃ hūṃ vajrakīla va-  
jradhara/ ājñāpayati kāyavākcittavajra kīlaya hūṃ hūṃ phāṭ phāṭ/

/'dI ni gsungs ma thag du yang<sup>27</sup> / (54v.1) rdo rje rdzu 'phrul chen po kun/ /brgyal zhIng rab tu 'jIgs par  
'gyur/

Even as soon as this is spoken, all the great vajra miraculous manifestations, faint and become terrified.

(small writing below:)

'phags pa rdzu 'prul can kun

all endowed with the Noble ones['] miraculous manifestations,

/nam mkha' rdo rje sems dran 'gyur/ /

[They] come to recollect the Sky[-like] Vajra mind.

(small writing below:)

'phags pa kun dran

recollect all the Noble Ones

/myI'i rus pa'I phur bu'am/

a *phur bu* of human bone or,

(small writing below:)

sngags gong mas 'dI dag la btab nas

having done those previous mantras

/yang na seng ldeng rtse las skyes/

alternatively, created from an acacia wood blade/point[ed twig?],

(small writing below:)

rtse mo bzang po las bya

make [it] from a good blade/point

/lcags las byas pa'I phur bu dag/ /rdo rje sku gsum 'jIg par (line 2) byed/

[and] *phur bus* made from iron destroy the triple vajra body.

(small writing below:)

'phags pa la yang nus na gzhan lta

if even effective on Noble one[s], so likewise for others.

/'od 'phro 'khrug cIng mdangs bzangs po'i/ /rdo rje sems dpar mnyam bzhag la/

Meditatively resting as Vajrasattva with an excellent glowing appearance, light radiating and pulsating;

/rdo rje gsum gyI sku'I mthar/ /gzer bar bsams nas sbyar bar bya/

Meditating on boring into the extremities of the triple vajra body, [you] should affix [it].

(small writing below:)

'phags pa man cad ces bya ba lta bu

likewise [those] called, lower [than] Noble one[s]

/rnam par snang mdzad rgya chen nam/

Vairocana's great mudrā[s] or

(small writing below:)

las byed pa'i lha ni 'di dag ste

these are the deities who perform the ritual

<sup>27</sup> final nga subscribed

/yang na 'dod chags rdo rje can/  
 alternatively, [the one] endowed with the desire vajra,  
 (small writing below:)  
 tshe dpag myed  
 Amitāyus

/gshIn (line 3) rje gshed kyI rgya chen dag/  
 [or] Yamāntaka's great mudrā[s].  
 (small writing below:)  
 dngos  
 actual/real

/bsams na rdo rje gsum yang gnon//  
 If [they] are meditated on, even the three vajras will be overcome.

rdo rje bdud rtsI 'khyll pa yIs/  
 Vajra Amṛtakuṇḍalin  
 (small writing below:)  
 'dIs kyang bya na bzang  
 also, if performed with him, it is good

/gdug cIng khro ba tshar gcad pa/  
 is annihilating evil and wrath.  
 (small writing below:)  
 phur bu btab pa'i gnas ni snying ka ste [lte]<sup>28</sup> ba gsang gnas rkang pa'i long bu'i nang logs g.yas g.yon gnyis ga  
 the places for striking the *phur bu*: the heart, the navel, the private parts, both the right and left inside ankle bones of the legs

/rdo rje sbyor bas bya ba nI/ /sangs rgyas bdag nyId chen po yang/ /snyIng kha nas nI rkang (line 4) pa'I  
 mthar/ /rdo rje phur bu rnam par bsgom/  
 For the vajra application, meditate on the Buddha, the great Lord, even from the heart down to the foot, in  
 the form of [the] rDo rje Phur bu.

/gong du 'ang dam tshIlg de nyId bya/  
 Yet above, his very samaya [form] should be created.  
 (small writing below:)  
 gong du phur bu'I chog bshad pa dag kyang gdab pa'I gnas 'di dang sbyar  
 above, the explanations of the *phur bu* ritual are also applied to the places for striking

/phur bu rnam par 'phrul pa 'dI/ /bsam gtan rdo rje sbyor ba yIs/  
 This emanation in the Phur bu form, [is] joined with the contemplation vajra, so  
 (small writing below:)  
 'di ltar byed pa yang dngos grub thobs sems las su rung bas bya 'o/  
 performing it in this way, siddhi[s] are obtained, the mind should become entirely fit.

/sangs rgyas dag kyang nges par 'debs/  
 even if [the objects were] buddhas, [they would] certainly be struck!

<sup>28</sup> a syllable, probably lte, is inserted beneath, small, and partly obscured by the *na ro* below. It seems most likely to have been intended as a correction to ste written in the line.

/rdo rje sems dpa' rgyal po che/  
 If Vajrasattva, the great king,  
 (small writing below *rgyal po che*:)  
 la dor bar zad  
 completely casting out

/phur bus (line 5) btab na myur du 'chI/ // <sup>29</sup>  
 should strike with the *phur bu*, death will be swift.

// /de nas bcom ldan 'da's rnam par snang mdzad chen po sku rnam par sprul pa'I rdo rje zhes bya ba'I tIng  
 nge 'dzIn la snyoms par zhugs nas/  
 Then the Victorious One entered into equanimity in a samādhi called, Great Vairocana[']s] Body  
 Emanation, and

sku'I dam tshIg tsham ngam gyIs gnon pa zhes bya ba'I sngags 'di/  
 this mantra, called, Suppressing with the Frightful Body Samaya,

nyId kyI sku dang<sup>30</sup>/ (55r.1) /gsung dang<sup>31</sup> thugs rdo rje las phyung ngo// /  
 was emitted from his body, speech and mind vajras.

//ōṃ tshin da tshIn da/ [da(/nga?)] \*\*\*<sup>32</sup> ha na ha na dIb btātsa kra hūṃ phaṭ/ /  
 Ōṃ chinda chinda (da ha da ha?) hana hana dīptacakra hūṃ phaṭ

/phan tsun bkrI ba'I tshul du byas/ /mthe bo gnyIs nI rab du bsdam/ /rnam par snang mdzad tshul gnas te/  
 Intertwining [the hands] together, completely fixing together the two thumbs, abiding in the manner of  
 Vairocana,  
 (small writing below:)  
 [tha?]<sup>33</sup> mo bsdams te sor mo rnams kyi gyen bzhor mkhyud la mthe bo gshibs te bsdam de'i nang du phur bu bzung la btab/  
 'dI'i phyag rgya bya  
 fixing together the palms of the hands, connecting [and] enfolding<sup>34</sup> the upright fingers, hold the *phur bu* positioned between the  
 joined thumbs, and strike. (Below *rnam par snang mdzad*:) Do this/his mudrā.

/rdo rje'i phur (line 2) bu btab na nI/  
 in the rDo rje Phur bu striking,

/btab ma thag du sems dpa' che/  
 as soon as [the object] is struck, the great being,

/rdo rje sku gsum las byung ba/  
 arisen from the triple vajra body,

<sup>29</sup> a red coloured dot follows this *shad*, marking the break

<sup>30</sup> final nga is subscribed

<sup>31</sup> this *shad* may be a later insertion; there is no gap following it, and it is executed in a thicker stroke of a slightly different colour ink than the rest of the writing (the writing is in a dark blue-black coloured ink but this *shad* appears to be a rather more definite shade of black).

<sup>32</sup> lacuna with no letters, for the space of approximately three syllables. Assuming there is a spoonerism (or alternative ordering) here, we would expect "da ha da ha" to be in this place (see the mTshams brag NGB edition, Volume Tsha p.862.6, and Ch. 5, p.81 note 39, Ch. 6, p.106 and Ch. 7 p.143).

<sup>33</sup> tha is incompletely formed, but seems most likely to be intended in this context

<sup>34</sup> mkhyud = 'khyud?

/dam tshIḡ mchog gIs ldang bar 'gyur/  
will rise up due to the supreme samaya,

(small writing below:)

phur bu tshur btabs zhig yod na 'dI btab pas thar  
if there is an inward striking [with] the *phur bu*, by striking, [one] is liberated

/yang na 'chI ba'I gnas su 'gyur/ // <sup>35</sup>  
or otherwise, is transformed in death.

(small writing below:)

gzhan la btab na yang de bzhin 'grub/  
also, if striking another, the same is accomplished

The above comment may not seem especially pertinent in the specific context of a single ritual through which the being is transferred to a higher state and liberated. However, it is worth noting that it appears to be alluding to the distinction between performing the rite to liberate oneself and to liberate others, which occurs elsewhere in the Dunhuang corpus (in IOL Tib J 436; see above, Ch.1, p.7), as well as becoming established in the later Phur pa commentarial tradition (Kong sprul: 94.6).

//<sup>36</sup>de nas bcom ldan 'da's 'jIḡ rten gyI dbang phyug gsung (line 3) rnam par sprul pa rdo rje zhes bya ba'I  
tIḡ nge 'dzin la snyoms par zhugs nas/

Then the Victorious One entered into equanimity in a samādhi called, Universal Lord[s] Speech Emanation Vajra, and

(small writing below *gyI dbang phyug*:)

tshe dpag myed  
Amitāyus

gsung gI dam tshIḡ gnon pa'I zhes bya ba'I sngags 'di/  
this mantra, called, The Suppressing Speech Samaya,

nyId kyI sku dang/<sup>37</sup> gsung dang/ thugs rdo rje las phyung ngo// /  
was emitted from his own body, speech and mind vajras.

//hrī ṃḡ bhur ba ba/ / /

(line 4) ye shes pad mo kha bye ba/ /rdo rje'i sor mo nges par gzhang/  
Firmly place the vajra finger[s in] the opened lotus [of] primordial wisdom.

(small writing below both *tshig rkang*:)

pyag<sup>38</sup> rgya pad mo kha bye bar bcings la tshe tshad myed du gnas nas pyag<sup>39</sup> rgya des phur bu bzung nas brdab/  
fixing (the fingers) in the open lotus mudrā, resting in immeasurable life, with this mudrā, the *phur bu* is held and strikes

/'dod chags rdo rje tshul gnas te/ /rdo rje'i phur bu nges par gdab/  
abiding in the manner of the desire vajra,<sup>40</sup> the rDo rje phur bu strikes with precision!

<sup>35</sup> a red coloured dot follows this shad, marking the break

<sup>36</sup> this shad consists of a black and a red line

<sup>37</sup> it is difficult to be certain, but it seems that this *shad*, together with the *shad* following (after *gsung dang*), may have been inserted later, as in the apparent insertion of a *shad* in line 1. As in that case, the *shad* is written in a blacker, thicker pen (see note on the instance in line 1).

<sup>38</sup> pyag: presumably, phyag intended

<sup>39</sup> pyag: presumably, phyag intended

<sup>40</sup> note these next lines are repetitive of the above, "abiding in the manner of Vairocana," etc.

/btab ma thag du rdo rje che/ /sku gsum drI myed las byung ba/  
As soon as [it] strikes, the great vajra, arisen from the stainless triple body,

/btab pa tsam gyIs ldang bar 'gyur/ / (line 5) /yang na 'chI ba'I gnas su 'gyur/ // <sup>41</sup>  
will rise up just through this striking, or otherwise, will be transformed in death.

(small writing below:)

gong ma dang 'dra

like before

// /de nas bcom ldan 'da's rdo rje 'dzIn chen po thugs rnam par sprul pa rdo rje zhes bya ba'I tIng nge 'dzIn  
la snyoms par zhugs nas/

Then the Victorious One entered into equanimity in a samādhi called, Great Vajra-Holder[']s Mind Emanation Vajra, and

thugs kyI dam tshIg tsham ngam gyIs gnon pa'I sngags 'di/  
this mantra, Suppressing with the Frightful Mind Samaya,

(55v.1) nyId kyI sku dang/<sup>42</sup> gsung dang/ thugs rdo rje las phyung ngo// /  
was emitted from [his] own body, speech and mind vajras.

//ōṃ badzra ra dzā hūṃ/

/[rtse?] mo lnga par bcIngs nas nI/  
Binding to the five [vajra?] spokes,

(small writing below:)

phyag rgya dngos/

the actual mudrā

/'od 'phro mang por 'khrugs par bsgom/  
meditate on much radiating light pulsating.

(small writing below:)

rdo rje sems dpas 'od 'phro ba khro bor bsgoms la pyag rgya des phur bu bzung nas

meditating on Vajrasattva wrathfully radiating light, hold the *phur bu* with this mudrā

/rdo rje thugs kyI tshul gnas te/ /rdo rje phur bu btab na nI/  
Abiding [in] the manner of vajra mind,<sup>43</sup> if [one] strikes with the rDo rje Phur bu,

/btab pa tsam (line 2) gyIs rdo rje che/ /rdo rje dri myed gsum byung ba/  
simply striking, the great vajra, the three stainless vajras arise,<sup>44</sup>

/btab ma thag du sdang bar 'gyur/ /yang na 'chI ba'I gnas su 'gyur/  
[and] will rise up at the moment of striking, or otherwise, will be transformed in death.

<sup>41</sup> a red coloured dot follows this *shad*, marking the break

<sup>42</sup> again, this and the following *shad* appear to be inserted with a slightly different coloured ink in comparison with the rest of the writing.

<sup>43</sup> note these next lines are repetitive of the above verses, "in the manner of Vairocana," "in the manner of the desire vajra," etc.

<sup>44</sup> it is possible that we have an omission of the word, *las*, so that the line would read, *rdo rje dri myed gsum las byung* (in line with the previous verses above), which would translate as, *arisen from the three stainless vajras*.

/sku gsum thugs kyI <sup>45</sup> sbyor ba yIs/ /cho ga legs par byas na nI/  
 With the application of [buddha] body, speech and mind, if the ritual is done correctly,

/mkha' dbyIngs rdo rje'i mthas klas par/ / (line 3) gnon par 'gyur ba gdon myi za// /  
 in the boundlessness of the vajra, the spatial field of space, [the object] will be suppressed, have no doubt.

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<sup>45</sup> there is a little mark before the sbyor, suggesting perhaps that the scribe may have begun writing "byor" and then realised the error immediately.

## 10 SECTIONS OF IOL TIB J 321: *THE THABS KYI ZHAGS PA PAD MA 'PHRENG*

### *Introduction to the Text*

The Dunhuang manuscript Commentary on the *'Phags pa Thabs kyi zhags pa*, is the only full-length commentary of a NGB scripture recovered from Dunhuang. Furthermore, it is enriched by interlinear notes and these notes associate the text's teachings with Padmasambhava himself. A version of this commentarial text is found in three editions of the *bsTan 'gyur*, but these versions are less complete and have suffered from more scribal corruption than the Dunhuang document.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore an extremely valuable text; we are currently working on a full textual study of it, but here, we are considering the relatively short chapters concerning *phur pa* rites.

The folios measure roughly 31cm across, by 8cm in height; they are mostly constant in size and the sides appear to have been cut fairly straight.<sup>2</sup> The thick sheets of good quality paper each have two tiny string holes, with a circle marked around them. The edges are only very slightly frayed, there are very few marks or blemishes and little discolouration of the paper. Ink writing remains clear, especially in the case of the main text. There is very little smudging or blotting of ink. There is no obvious indication of the ruling of lines, yet the writing is generally positioned straight on the page, and the six lines tend to be quite evenly spaced, suggesting that some form of guidelines might have been used. The small writing for the annotations is slightly lighter, and appears to have been written with a much finer pen, but the handwriting style is similar, quite possibly the same hand. It seems clear that this was not a single manuscript but part of a collection, in which this was in the first volume or text; the left-hand margins are all marked, "ka" and the pagination commences with gcig.

### *The Thabs kyi zhags pa pad ma 'phreng Commentary's treatment of the Four Ritual Activities*

The sections in which we find discussion of rites involving *phur pas* in the *Thabs kyi zhags pa* are those devoted to the four ritual activities (*las bzhi*), which correspond to the usual set of four, but are given in reverse order in comparison with the standard sequence (ie they begin with destructive, followed by subjugating, increasing, and pacifying rites). However, this is the same order for the rites as given in the root *Guhyagarbha* Tantra's Chapter 20 (*gSang ba'i snying po de kho na nyid nges pa*, mTshams brag NGB edition [M] Vol. Wa: 213–4).<sup>3</sup>

In each case, we have a number of chapters relating to various aspects of each category, and one of those chapters describes the appropriate type of *phur pa*, and the effect of striking with it. However, in the Dunhuang version, we are missing two of the chapters relating to the increasing rites, and this includes the chapter on the *phur pa* used for the increasing rites. There is little doubt that this represents a scribal omission which most probably occurred prior to this copying of the manuscript, since the subsequent chapters are numbered in accordance with its own sequence and not that of the complete original text.

The different types of *phur pas* are entirely consistent with the associations for the four types of rites found in many early sources, including the ubiquitous Indian *homa* rituals found in so many Buddhist tantric texts, and the linkage of the *phur pas* concerned with the specific colours and the shapes of the blades is

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter 3 above, p.37.

<sup>2</sup> In some cases, the upper and lower edges bend a little towards the corner, but there is little evidence of jagged cutting. Some of the upper and lower edges of the later sheets are less straight, however – slightly curving in places.

<sup>3</sup> For the rites in the root *Guhyagarbha* Tantra's Chapter 20, see *gSang ba'i snying po de kho na nyid nges pa*, mTshams brag NGB edition [M] Vol. Wa: 213–4. For the more usual sequence in the context of *Phur pa* ritual, see the *'Bum nag*, *bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edition: Volume Tha 521.4–522.1 (Boord 318).

found widely in the later Phur pa literature.<sup>4</sup> Thus, an iron or black thorny wooden *phur pa* with a three-sided blade is said to be appropriate for destructive rites; a copper or red wooden *phur pa* with a semi-circular blade is to be used for subjugating rites; and a silver or white wooden *phur pa* with a circular blade is for pacifying.<sup>5</sup>

Before the chapter on the destructive *phur pa*, the *Thabs kyi zhags pa* Commentary's Chapter 18 describes destructive (ritual) activity in terms of the fierce activities of the vajra animal-headed (*'phra-men*) (emanations), seizing and offering the evil spirits as food. This fits well with the Phur pa tradition's integration of animal-headed deities into the main deity's retinue. In fact, the description given in Chapters 12 and 13 of this text's central wrathful heruka with his retinue of the ten wrathful ones (*khro bo bcu*) and their animal-headed emanations, corresponds very closely with some versions of the lists of these figures found in many Phur pa texts. Moreover, the imagery of the offering and consumption of the bodies of the evil spirits would seem to correspond to the culmination of the tradition's stages of the *sgrol ba* rite as specified in the sequence of "the six hidden mantras" (*gab pa'i sngags drug*) associated with the *smad las* ("subsidiary ritual") category of ritual (*'Bum nag, bDud 'joms bka' ma* edition: 387.2, 388.4–5 and the following pages [= Boord: 223ff]; see also Cantwell 1989: "The Ritual which Expels all Negativities", 13–15). The sixth mantra involves offering the food of their corpse to the deities. In the regular *tshogs* ritual practice, the "final" or "third portion" offering which is stabbed and "liberated" using a *phur pa*, is consecrated as part of the ritual feast, consumed by the deities and practitioners. The account here is also infused with inner tantric interpretations: the view of emptiness is stressed, while wrong views are "consumed" by their true nature. The text cites the *kar ma ma le*, for which we have a possibility in the NGB: perhaps the famous *Karmamālā* which is one of the Eighteen Tantras of *Mahāyoga* (Rig 'dzin Volume Tsa).<sup>6</sup> Chapter 19 develops the theme of consumption further, in the destructive *homa* rite, in which the offerings of the burnt bodies of the elemental spirits are enjoyed by the deities, using a phrase which is commonly given for enjoying the feast in the *tshogs* ritual.

In Chapter 20, we find reference to the *Guhya* and *Kilaya bcu gnyis* Tantra(s).<sup>7</sup> Here, we seem to be on rather familiar ground, with the description of a destructive *phur pa* implement corresponding to a typical *phur pa* used in most traditional Phur pa ritual. Made of iron or black thorny wood, it has a three-sided blade and a heruka deity (head?) with *Ral pa gcig ma*, above the knot, and the male and female wrathful ones around the sides. In striking the effigy, all ten directions – or factors – are thus struck. Moreover, the primordial wisdom emptiness consecration, mentioned in Chapter 18,<sup>8</sup> is again referred to, with the implement for striking described as "a single *phur pa* of [the nature of] mind".<sup>9</sup> In fact, the overwhelming impression of the ethos of the description in this commentarial text is the concern to emphasise the inner meaning of the rites and their significance in *Mahāyoga* practice for realising Enlightenment. At the end of each of the chapters on the four rites, the ritual description is concluded with a verse glossing the soteriological meanings, and these explanations are attributed to named tantric texts, most of which correspond to titles in the NGB, although we have not yet identified the teachings concerned.

Chapter 26 deals with subjugating *phur pa* rites, speaking of copper or red wood, a semi-circular blade and a circle of wrathful ones around the head. The impact of striking with it is to bring the ten directions (or factors) under one's power. Similarly, the silver or white *phur pa* for pacifying is said in Chapter 34 to

<sup>4</sup> See, for instance, the *'Bum nag, bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edition: Volume Tha 521.4–522.1 (Boord 318).

<sup>5</sup> Although increasing is not mentioned in our manuscript, there was once presumably at least one manuscript which had the full version of the text, which (from the Golden *bsTan 'gyur* version, Volume Bu, and NGB witnesses of the root text), predictably specifies a golden or yellow wooden *phur pa* with a four-sided blade (M: Vol.20, p.148.7).

<sup>6</sup> See <http://ngb.csac.anthropology.ac.uk/csac/NGB/tsa/5>.

<sup>7</sup> This does not appear to be the principal *Phur pa bcu gnyis* scripture found in the NGB, but it may be one of the others with this title.

<sup>8</sup> *stong pa nyid kyI ye shes kyi byin rlabs* (Ch. 18: 62v).

<sup>9</sup> *sems kyi phur pa gcig* (64v).

pacify even a god. There is again a reference to meditative connotations, in this case called, the *samādhi phur pa*, which is described as, "the elemental nature's faultless essential pure awareness", so that everything is pacified through [its] natural quality.<sup>10</sup>

Thus, the *phur pas* for the four rites in the *Thabs kyi zhags pa* Commentary's teaching are not simply concerned with the outer performance of burnt offerings rites and liberating troublesome beings through striking an effigy, but with the transformative power of the ritual symbolism in the path to Enlightenment. Each *phur pa* comes to embody an aspect of understanding so that it can infuse the object of the rite with the realisation it exemplifies. In some ways, this is a rather distinctive teaching, with an even more direct linkage between the symbolism of *phur pa* as a penetrating wisdom which brings realisation and *phur pa* as a ritual implement than we find in the classic traditional teachings on the four *phur pas* (see Ch. 8, p.152 note 18). In the four *phur pa* teaching, there is some distinction between the first three *phur pas* which are associated with the primary ritual (*stod las*) of attaining Enlightenment, and the fourth material *phur pa* for liberating obstacles through the subsidiary ritual (*smad las*). There too, the rites using the material *phur pa* depend on the prior accomplishment of the primary ritual, so that the "liberating" may be effective, but in this *Thabs kyi zhags pa* Commentary's explanation, the four material *phur pas* actually *in themselves* express the liberating wisdom, one of which corresponds exactly to the first *phur pa* of the tradition – pure awareness's primordial wisdom (*rig pa'i ye shes*).

A similar teaching is found in the *'Bum nag*. In that case, there is no accompanying instructions on the actual rites to be performed, but the section is introduced with the comment that the rituals of stabbing are unlike the heartless use of weapons upon the bodies of sentient beings, but rather that, "the *phur pa* is consecrated as the deity and primordial wisdom, so by striking the [object], the body and defilements are exhausted, there is no birth in the lower realms, and it brings about the attainment of Enlightenment."<sup>11</sup> Thus, after some lines on the four *phur pas* and a textual citation (from the *Myang 'das*) on the use of the *phur pa* teaching for attaining Enlightenment, the specific list of the *phur pas* for the four rites are elaborated on:

Pacifying the defilements through this realisation is the *phur pa* of pacifying;  
 creating an increase in buddha qualities [is] the *phur pa* of increasing;  
 bringing one's own mind under control [is] the *phur pa* of subjugation;  
 liberating it from samsāra is moreover the actual reality of the *phur pa* of destruction.<sup>12</sup>

Perhaps the main additional gloss which the *Thabs kyi zhags pa* Commentary's approach would seem to suggest here is to stress that the liberating activities are effected through the *phur pa*'s own natural enlightened qualities.

### Selection from Chapter 18

(61v.4):<sup>13</sup> //da ni drag po 'i las bshad par bya ste /  
 /rdo rje 'phra men sbyor ba yis/ /  
 (61v.5) yud tsam gyis nI de bkug nas/  
 /bltod<sup>14</sup> pa'i tshul du rab bstabs na/

<sup>10</sup> chos nyid ma nor par rig pa nyid ting nge 'dzIn gyi phur pa yin te/ thams cad rang bzhin gyis zhi bar 'gyur (75v–76r)

<sup>11</sup> phur pa ni lha dang ye shes su byin gyis rlobs pa yin pas/ de btap pas las dang nyon mongs pa zad nas ngan song du mi skye la/ byang chub thob par byed pa yin no/ (*bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edition, Vol.Thā: 535.2–3; Boord 2002: 326).

<sup>12</sup> /de ltar rtogs pas nyon mongs zhi bas zhi ba'i phur pa'o/ /buddha'i yon tan rgyas par byed pas rgyas pa'i phur pa/ rang sems dbang du 'dus pas dbang gi phur pa/ de 'khor ba las sgröl bar byed pas drag po'i phur pa yang de nyid do/ (*bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edition, Vol.Thā: 536.3–5; Boord 2002: 327).

<sup>13</sup> here there is a kind of ornamental punctuation mark, consisting of two small vertically arranged circles, marking the break between chapters.

/lha yang rung ste brlag par bya / 'gyur / zhes gsungs te / /

Now, to explain destructive [ritual] activity, [the root text] says,  
 "through the application of the vajra animal-headed (*'phra-men*) [emanations],  
 [the evil spirits] are instantaneously summoned;  
 when [they] have been offered as food in a terrifying manner,<sup>15</sup>  
 even a god would be destroyed!"

(61v.6) 'phra men ma stag mgo can la stsogs pa mgyogs pa rnams mngag ste/  
 /gang la bya ba yud tsam gyis snying la bzung nas/ khro bo  
 (62r.1) \$/ //dang khro mo 'i zhal du bstabs te/

Dispatching the swift animal-headed [emanations], the tiger-headed etc.,<sup>16</sup>  
 instantaneously [they] seize whoever is the [rite's] object by [their] heart[s], and offer them to the male  
 and female wrathful ones to eat.

(small writing below:)

[chu?] klong gsol bar bsgoms [na?] bskabs par 'gyur ro [rlung?]<sup>17</sup> la stsogs pa [yang (/ang/spang)] chad par bsgyur ro zhes/  
 this is said [to be] on the occasion when meditating on [petitioning/consuming/offering] an expanse [of water?]; [wind?] etc. is  
 also explained [in this way.]

ltod pa'i tshul du gsol bar bsgoms na/ /lam rgyud lnga 'i sems can gang yang  
 (62r.2) rung ste mod la 'chi bar 'gyur ro/

When meditating on [petitioning/consuming], in [a confrontational/ terrifying?]<sup>18</sup> manner,  
 whatsoever sentient beings of the five types [may be involved, they] will die.

/gzhan du na chos kyi dbyings dang/  
 stong pa nyid kyi ye shes lnga 'i byin rlabs/  
 nam par grol ba'i (62r.3) skye mched bcu gcig gyis/  
 lam rgyud lnga 'i sems can dngos por lta ba ni/  
 /stong pa nyid kyi dam tshig las 'gal (62r.4) bas/  
 /de dag rang bzhin gis za bar 'gyur zhes tan tra kar ma ma le las bshad do/ /

In other [words], with the eleven totally liberated sense bases, consecrated [by] the dharmadhātu and five  
 primordial wisdom emptinesses, since viewing sentient beings of the five types as substantial transgresses  
 the samaya of emptiness, [such viewing] comes to be consumed by [its] true nature. This is how it is  
 explained in the *Karma Male Tantra*.

<sup>14</sup> *bltod*: Variants are found for this syllable in the other versions. The *sDe dge bKa' 'gyur* root text gives *rtod*, *rNying rgyud* section Volume Kha (= Volume 98), f.307v (p.614), as does the *sDe dge rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* (Volume Pa, f294v). The Golden *bsTan 'gyur* version of the commentary gives: *stod* (Volume Bu, 292), while the sGang steng and gTing skyes *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* root text versions (G: Volume Wa, f61v; T Volume Dza, 415) give *bstod*.

<sup>15</sup> *bltod*: Dan Martin 2005: 268, *bltod nas* = *skrag nas*, citing Katsumi Mimaki works on dBus pa blo gsal. However, the text below gives *ltod*, for which bTsan lha Ngag dbang tshul khriims (1997: 262) gives *rtsod pa*, which might suggest a confrontational manner. The *sDe dge* versions (see above note) would suggest: using the method of staking/tethering (them), and the Golden *bsTan 'gyur*, sGang steng and gTing skyes *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* versions would mean: while praising.

<sup>16</sup> The list of twenty, with the tiger-headed as the right-hand emanation in the east, are given in many Phur pa texts. See, for instance, the *Phur pa rTsa ba'i dum bu* (Boord 2002: 81) or the *'Bum nag*, in which a metaphorical association is made between vivid variegated colouring (*bkra ba*) of the Dharma eye of the eastern Wrathful One, Vijaya, and that of the tiger's stripes (*bDud 'joms bKa' ma* edition, Vol.Thā: 340.5–6; Boord 2002: 188). A virtually identical list, broken up into two parts, is given earlier in the text here: Ch. 12, f.53v, and Ch. 13, f.54v.

<sup>17</sup> *rlung*: this is rather uncertain, but on comparison with other letters, seems the most likely word here. Other possibilities are: *hung/ru/rung/drung*.

<sup>18</sup> see note 15 above. Here, again, the Golden *bsTan 'gyur* version (Volume Bu: 293) would mean: praising (*bstod*).

'ug pa'i mgo can (62r.5) la stsogs pa /  
 /'phra men ma nmams sbad byas te/  
 /myig dang rna ba sna dang lce/  
 /de sems 'phrog bsgoms nyams par 'gyur/ (62r.6) zhes gsungs te/

[The root text] says, "The owl-headed etc.,<sup>19</sup>  
 the animal-headed [emanations] create concealment,<sup>20</sup>  
 meditate [that] the eye and ear, nose and tongue,  
 [and?] the mind are appropriated, and degenerate."

khyung dang khwa la stsogs pa khra thabs su btang ste/  
 /gang la bya ba la bya ba'i dbang po 'byin par bsgoms na//  
 (62v.1) dbang po nyams nas myig long ba dang/ rna ba 'on pa dang/  
 sna zhom ba dang/ lce lkugs pa dang/  
 sems myos te glen par 'gyur ro/ /

The garuḍa and the raven etc., [are] sent as the Multiform-Means;<sup>21</sup>  
 meditate that whoever is the object, [their] active sense faculties are removed.  
 (62v) The senses having degenerated, the eyes go blind, the ears become deaf, the nose is destroyed, the  
 tongue becomes mute and the mind becomes mad and stupid.

(62v.2) gzhan du na / stong pa nyid kyi ye shes drug gyI byin brlabs kyis/  
 /ril por lta ba'i dngos po nmams/  
 yang dag pa nyid las 'gal ba'i (62v.3) phyir/  
 /rang bzhin nyams par byed ces tan tra kar ma ma les 'byung ngo/

In other [words], [in the context of] the six primordial wisdom emptiness consecration[s],  
 since material things seen as solid wholes contradict their essential genuine nature, [their] qualities are  
 made to degenerate. This comes from what is said in the *Karma Male Tantra*.

### Chapter 19 (63r.4–64r.5)

//da ni drag po 'i hom gyi las bshad de/  
 /hom khung zur gsum (63r.5) gdengs pa la/  
 /rdo rje mda' gzhu ldan byas te/  
 /thod pa dag gis rnam par brgyan/  
 /spyan drangs bsregs na lha yang 'chi/ zhes (63r.6) gsungs te/

Now, to explain the destructive homa ritual:  
 [The root text] says, "The raised up triangular homa pit,  
 should be endowed with vajra bow and arrow, and  
 ornamented with skulls.  
 If invited and burnt, even a god would die!"

<sup>19</sup> the owl-headed is the second emanation associated with the southern Wrathful One, Yāma (Boord 2002: 82, 188).

<sup>20</sup> It is possible that *sbad byas* here might have the sense of sending forth; bTsan lha ngag dbang tshul khriṃs (1997: 608) gives for *sbad pa*, *gtong ba'am skul ba'i don*. However, given the context here, at least in the Commentary, in which the notion of material things being consumed in emptiness is under discussion, together with the gloss on the *'phra men ma* called, *sBed ma/ sBad ma*, in the main text of Chapter 13 ("not moving anywhere other than sameness, [she] is known as, *the animal-headed Concealed/Veiled female*", "mnyam pa nyid las gzhan du myi g.yo bas / 'phra men ma sbed ma zhes bya ste" 56v.2-3), it would seem that Concealed/ Concealing/ Veiling would fit better.

<sup>21</sup> *Khra thabs*; *thabs* = Skt. upāya, male emanations representing the enlightened skilful means. In the Phur pa tradition, this name may be used for the "Supreme Son" material *phur bus* around the maṇḍala.

/thab khung zur gsum du byas la/  
 /grwa mda' gzhu rnams bkang nas/  
 khro bos 'phen bar bsgom/

Make the triangular pit [for] the hearth,  
 fill the angles/sides [with] bows and arrows and  
 meditate on wrathful ones shooting out.

tha mar phur pa (63v.1) nag po gsum btab la/  
 /lcags thag gam/  
 thag pa nag pos bskor te/  
 /khro bo dang khro mo dang 'phra men gong nas 'byung ba rnams spyen (63v.2) drangs la/  
 /tsher ma'I shing las mye sbar nas/

Finally, plant three black *phur pas*,  
 encircled with iron wire or black rope.<sup>22</sup>  
 Invite the previously arisen male and female wrathful ones and the animal-headed [emanations], and  
 ignite the fire [made] from thorny wood.

/tsha ba'I mar dang lan tsa dang/  
 /dug dang myi khrag ra 'i khrag/  
 /ske tse ldong ros lcags phye (63v.3) la/  
 /khro bo khro mo 'phra men gyi/  
 /gsang sngags rnams ni bzlas nas su/  
 /gang la bya ba'i gzugs dag ni / /  
 (63v.4) ming rus bsregs na 'grub par 'gyur/

Upon the hot butter/oil, salt,  
 poison, human and goat blood,  
 black mustard, realgar powder and iron filings,  
 recite the secret mantras of the male and female wrathful ones and the animal-headed [emanations],  
 and the bodies of whoever is the object,  
 [their] names and family line will be burnt up.

'phra men mngags te bkug nas ni/  
 /thab du bsregs na mod la 'chi/  
 (63v.5) gsur dang bsres pa'i sha rnams kyi/  
 /lha rnams thams cad mchod par bya/

"Dispatching the animal-headed [emanations], having summoned [the objects],  
 [they] will immediately burn up in the hearth and die.  
 The flesh mixed with the burnt offerings  
 should be offered to all the deities.

/rdo rje glu ni blangs nas su/  
 /'byung po 'i sha ni shin du zhim/  
 (63v.6) 'byung po 'I khrag ni shin du zhim/  
 /'byung po 'i rus pa zhim ba ste/  
 /gsol te thams cad dgyes par mdzod/  
 /a la la la ho/

<sup>22</sup> The implication seems to be that the rope outlines the border around the hearth, attaching around the three *phur pas*. In the subjugating ritual below, the rope is termed, *mtha' thag pa* (69r.6).

(64r.1) /ha ha ha hūṃ zhes brjod par bya 'o/

"Singing vajra songs,  
the flesh of the elemental spirits is really delicious!  
The blood of the elemental spirits is really delicious!  
The bone of the elemental spirits is delicious!  
Consuming, [the deities] are all delighted.  
A la la la ho! Ha ha ha hūṃ!" This is [what the root text] says should be recited.

/gzhan du na/  
sku gsung thugs kyi ye shes kyi myes/  
sku gsung thugs dang myi 'thun ba'i (64r.2) phyogs bsregs pa dang/  
ye shes kyi byin rlabs kyi mda' 'phangs pa ltar 'phro bas phog ste/  
sku gsung thugs dang 'thun par gyur (64r.3) pa ni/  
khro bo dang khro mo 'i rang bzhin gyis mnyes pa yin zhing/  
de ltar go ba ni dbyangs blang shes/<sup>23</sup>  
ri bo brtsegs (64r.4) pa'i tan tra las 'byung ng o/

In other [words], the primordial wisdom fire of [buddha] body, speech and mind,  
burns up the factors not conducive with [buddha] body, speech and mind and  
the primordial wisdom consecration emanates and strikes like shooting arrows.  
In becoming conducive with [buddha] body, speech and mind,  
the natural qualities of the male and female wrathful ones are relished,  
and understanding in this way, songs are sung.  
This is taken from the *Heaped up Mountain Tantra (Ri bo brtsegs pa'i tan tra)*.<sup>24</sup>

/thabs kyi zhags pa pad ma 'phreng las  
/drag po 'i hom gyi le'u ste bcu (64r.5) dgu 'o// :<sup>25</sup>

This is Chapter 19 of the *Lasso of Means, Lotus Garland*, on the destructive homa.

## Chapter 20

(64r.5) //da ni drag po 'i las bshad de/  
/lcags sam nag po 'i shing rnams la/  
/mgo bo rgya mdud (64r.6) rtse zur gsum/  
/khro bo khro mo 'khor bsgoms te/  
/btab na lha yang brlag par 'gyur/ zhes gsungs te/

Now, to explain the destructive ritual:  
[The root text] says,  
"[The *phur pa* is made] out of iron or black wood,  
[with] a head, a knot [and] a three-sided blade,<sup>26</sup>  
meditating on male and female wrathful ones encircling [it];  
if [one] strikes [with such a *phur pa*], even a god would be destroyed!"

<sup>23</sup> The Golden *bsTan 'gyur* version (Volume Bu: 296) gives *blangs shing*

<sup>24</sup> The *Ri bo brtsegs pa'i rgyud* is classified as one of the 18 *Mahāyoga* Tantras. The modern version's full title is: *Sangs rgyas kun gyi gdongs pa'i bcud bsdu ri bo brtsegs pa'i rgyud* (mTshams brag edition Volume Dza, 181.2 – 213.3. Rig 'dzin Volume Cha.) In the gTing skyes edition it is classified as within the *rDzogs chen man ngag spyi ti skor*.

<sup>25</sup> this ornamental punctuation mark is not a *gter shad*, but a little similar in consisting of two vertically arranged circles.

<sup>26</sup> blade: literally, point.

lcags dang shing kha dog (64v.1) nag po tsher ma can la/  
 phur pa mgo bo rgya mdud/  
 rtse zur gsum du bzhogs te/  
 rgya mdud kyī steng du he ru ka dang/  
 ral pa gcig ma/  
 ngos (64v.2) su go rims bzhin du/  
 khro bo dang khro mo rnam bsgoms te/  
 gang la bya ba'i gzugs dang/  
 mying rus la btab na/  
 lha yang gzer thabs dang  
 (64v.3) rIms kyI btab ste 'chi bar 'gyur ro/

Using iron or black-coloured thorny wood,  
 a *phur pa* [which has] a head, a knot [and]  
 a three-sided point, is to be chiselled out.  
 [While] meditating [on] Heruka and Ral pa gcig ma above the knot;  
 at the sides, in the appropriate order,  
 the male and female wrathful ones;  
 [then] whosoever the object, if [one] strikes the effigy,  
 with [their] name[s] and family line,  
 even a god, [with this] method (for) transfixing and  
 successive striking, will come to die.

(small writing, below line 2; it most probably applies to the above, or just possibly, to \* below:)

[chu?] klung la btab na skams so ril<sup>27</sup> btab na ra rnyil lo

If you strike at a stream,<sup>28</sup> it will dry up; if you strike at a mountain, its peak (reading *rwa* for *ra*)<sup>29</sup> will topple.

ri rab dang gleng ḡbzhI 'I ngos la stsogs pa la bris te btab na/  
 /phur pa (64v.4) gcig gis phyogs bcur btab par 'gyur ro/ /

Mount Meru and the four continents<sup>30</sup> are [to be] \*drawn at the sides etc., [and then] if [one] strikes,  
 with a single *phur pa*, the ten directions/factors<sup>31</sup> will be struck!

gzhan du na gnyis su myed pa'I ye shes stong pa nyid kyī byin (64v.5) rIabs khro bo dang khro mo yin la/  
 des ma khyab pa myed de/  
 sems kyī phur pa gcig btab pas/  
 phyogs bcur btab par 'gyur zhes

In other [words], the non-dual primordial wisdom emptiness consecration [is] the male and female  
 wrathful ones and

[so the object] cannot fail to be permeated by this.

By striking with [this] single *phur pa* of [the nature of] mind,  
 it is said that the ten directions/factors<sup>32</sup> will be struck.

<sup>27</sup> ril: ri la intended?

<sup>28</sup> or: *an expanse of water*, if *klung* is for *klong*, as (apparently) elsewhere in this text (eg. 10r.3, 11r.3, 84r.6).

<sup>29</sup> alternatively, if *ri rnyil* is intended, this would mean, "there will be a landslide".

<sup>30</sup> If *gleng ḡbzhI* is for *gling bzhi*.

<sup>31</sup> Generally, *phyogs bcu* means the ten directions. However, we have an instance above (Chapter 19, 64r.1–2), where the text explains that one is burning the *phyogs*, seemingly indicating *factor*[s] not conducive with [buddha] body, speech and mind. It may well be that a double meaning is intended here.

<sup>32</sup> See note above.

(64v.6) 'gu hya dang ki la ya bcu gnyis kyi tan tra las 'byung ngo/  
This is taken from the *Secret (Guhya)* and *Twelve-fold Kīlaya (Kīlaya bcu-gnyis)* Tantra[s].

thabs kyi zhags pa pad ma 'phreng las/  
/drag po 'i phur pa'i le'u ste (65r.1) \$//nyi shu 'o//  
This is Chapter 20 of the *Lasso of Means, Lotus Garland*, on the destructive *phur pa*.

Chapter 21 is a short chapter on the mix for destructive rite *gtor mas*, while Chapter 22 comments on the destructive ritual version of the rites of union (*sbyor ba*). This is the same as the ritual visualisation which is used in the Phur pa tradition, generally, in the context of the "Union" (and) "Liberation" offerings.<sup>33</sup> The opening, which gives the verse from the root text, sums up the practice:

(65v.1) //da nI drag por sbyor ba'I las bshad de/  
/khro mo 'i dkyil 'khor gtum cen<sup>34</sup> du/  
/khro bo 'i (65v.2) tho bas brdungs pa yi/  
/rdo rje gtun 'phrugs bsgoms byas na/  
/lha yang rung ste brdungs par 'gyur/  
zhes gsungs ste/

Now, to explain the destructive ritual of union:

[the root text] says,

"In the great ferocious<sup>35</sup> maṇḍala of the female wrathful one,  
the male wrathful one's hammer is beating.  
Having meditated on the vajra pestle vibrating,<sup>36</sup>  
even a god would be beaten."

The explanation given in the *Thabs kyi zhags pa* commentary (65v.3–5) also fits with the tradition: the female "mortar" embodies the pervasive dharmadhātu, while the "hammer which beats all the worlds" is "the pure awareness sphere".<sup>37</sup>

Chapter 23 then develops another aspect of this "Union" (and) "Liberation" meditation which also has some resonance for the Phur pa tradition of liberating the object of the rite. For instance, in the Dudjom *gNam lcags spu gri* tradition, the consciousness is drawn into the *phur bu*, merged with the syllable hūṃ, and raised to the Akaniṣṭha Buddha field with the syllable phaṭ, where it is brought to Vajrasattva uniting with his consort, and brought birth – and liberation – as Vajrasattva's son (*bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri bsnyen yig*: Volume Da 134). In the *Thabs kyi zhags pa* ritual, there is no *phur bu*, but what seems to be a similar ritual for closing the doors of rebirth to worldly realms, drawing in consciousness through hūṃ, and projecting it into the wombs of the uniting deities in Akaniṣṭha with phaṭ. The teaching is said to derive from the *Tan tra sNying rje rol pa*.<sup>38</sup> The discussion of closing the doors of the worldly realms equates each of the three poisons with one of the three lower realms, and the door to rebirth is closed by recognising the lack of

<sup>33</sup> See, for instance, the *Bum nag* (Boord 2002: 214–6) or the *bDud 'joms gNam lcags spu gri las byang*, Vol. Tha: 118–9.

<sup>34</sup> gtum cen: the Golden *bsTan 'gyur* version of the commentary (Volume Bu: 297) gives *gtun chen*. *gTun* is most likely the correct reading here. All versions of the root text which we have consulted give *gtun khung*, which is clearer (explicitly specifying the mortar rather than pestle).

<sup>35</sup> See above note: other versions of the text would suggest the translation, *mortar*, here.

<sup>36</sup> 'phrugs = 'khrugs? 'Phrugs could mean scratch/scrape, but vibrate seems more appropriate.

<sup>37</sup> khro mo lta bu chos kyi dbyings nyld ni/ /'jlg rten thams cad la khyab pa'i gtun no/ /khro bo lta bu 'i dbyings rig pa ni/ /'jig rten thams cad brdungs pa'i tho ba zhes/

<sup>38</sup> In the catalogue of the Rig 'dzin NGB (Cantwell, Mayer and Fischer 2002), the *dPal snying rje rol pa'i rgyud/ 'Jig rten las 'das pa gsang ba'i mdo* is Tsha 3, in the category of *Mahāyoga Tantra sDe bco brgyad*. It is in the mTshams brag Vol. Dza. On a preliminary browsing, we have not yet identified a specific passage in the current editions of this text; however, there does seem some similarities in the materials in the first few chapter, which deserve further attention.

any real nature in the poison. Thus, birth in hell is associated with viewing hatred as though it has substantial reality, while recognition that hatred has no real nature prevents the mind of hatred being born.<sup>39</sup> All this, while not specifically relating to Phur pa rites as such, nonetheless informs much of the ethos of the Phur pa tradition, with the opening line of its root verse, "vajra wrath cuts through hatred" (*rdo rje khros pa zhe sdang gcod*). There is also an interesting example of *sgrol ba* given: reference is made to Rāma of the Indian Epic, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, making aspiration for all those slain to be reborn as gods (67r.5).

Chapter 24 (67v.1–69r.3) begins the rites of subjugation, with invitation and offerings to the deities, and the summoning of the body, speech, and animating qualities of those to be subdued, who are made obedient. Then Chapter 25 (69r.3–70r.2) continues with the subjugating *homa* ritual. In this case, the semi-circular hearth is decorated with a vajra noose, and five red *phur pas* are planted, with a red rope boundary made around them (69r.5–6).<sup>40</sup>

The subjugating *phur pa* rite is then outlined in Chapter 26. It follows the same structure as the destructive *phur pa* rite, with variations in accordance with the symbolism for subjugating. One interesting feature, given in the closing remarks elaborating on the soteriological implications of the rite, is the mention of the *phur pa* being, "pure awareness's primordial wisdom" (*rig pa'i ye shes*). The *purely aware primordial wisdom phur bu* (*rig pa ye shes kyi phur bu*) is the first in the Phur pa tradition's classification of the four *phur bu* or *phur pas*, a categorisation which sometimes has little presence in the NGB's root texts but which became central to the commentarial and practice traditions (see Chapter 8 above, p.150 note 18).

### Chapter 26

(70r.2) //da ni dbang gi phur pa'i (70r.3) las bshad de/  
/zangs sam kha dog dmar po yi/  
/shing la rgya mdud rtse zla gam/  
/mgo la khro bo 'khor (70r.4) bsgoms te /  
btab na nges par de dbang 'gyur/ /zhes gsungs te/

Now, to explain the subjugating *phur pa*'s activity:

[The root text] says,

"Either [make the *phur pa*] out of copper or red-coloured wood, [with] a knot [and] a semi-circular blade;<sup>41</sup>

at the head, meditating on wrathful ones encircling [it];

if [one] strikes [with such a *phur pa*, troublesome spirits/beings] are really brought under [one's] power."

zangs sam kha dog dmar po 'i shing (70r.5) la  
/phur pa mgo rgya mdud la/  
rtse zla gam du bzhogs la  
/rgya mdud kyi steng dang ngos khro bo dang khro mo nams bsgoms te/ /  
(70r.6) gang du dbang du bya ba de 'i gzugs sam mying rus la btab ste/  
bka' bzhin byed par bsgoms na /  
nges par dbang du 'gyur ro/

Using copper or red-coloured wood,

a *phur pa* [which has] a head, a knot and

a semi-circular blade, is to be chiselled out.

Above the knot and on the sides, [one] meditates on the male and female wrathful ones and

<sup>39</sup> sems can dmyal bar ltung ba'i rgyu ni zhe sdang la/ /dngos po yod par lta ba yin te/ /zhe sdang la rang bzhin myed par shes shing/  
/zhe sdang gi sems myi sbye bas na/ dmyal ba'i sgo bcaid pa yin no/ (66v.3–4)

<sup>40</sup> hom khung zla gam la/ rdo rje zhags pas brgyan te/ kha dog dmar po 'i phur pa lnga btab la/ mtha' thag pa dmar pos bskor te/

<sup>41</sup> blade: literally, point.

[then], whosoever the object to be subjugated, if [one] strikes the effigy or [their] name[s] and family line, meditating in accordance with scripture, [they] will certainly be brought under [one's] power.

(70v.1) ri rab dang gling bzhi la stsogs pa la bris te btab na/  
phur pa gcig btab pas/  
phyogs bcu btab par 'gyur te/  
thams cad (70v.2) dbang du 'gyur ro zhes bya ba'i don to/

Mount Meru and the four continents etc. are [to be] drawn, [and then] if [one] strikes, striking with a single *phur pa*, the ten directions/factors<sup>42</sup> will be struck, and all will be brought under [one's] power. This is the meaning of what is said [in the root text].

/gzhan du na chos kyi dbyings kyis phyogs bcu thams cad du khyab la/  
de ltar rig pa'i ye shes ni (70v.3) phur pa yin te/  
thams cad du btab par 'gyur zhing /  
/bdag dang tha myi dad pas las thams cad rang bzhin gis (70v.4) dbang du 'gyur ba yin no zhes/

In other [words], the dharmadhātu pervades all the ten directions/faculties and likewise, pure awareness's primordial wisdom is the *phur pa*, so [it] will strike universally. Since [it] is not separate from oneself, [it] brings all activities under control through [its own] natural qualities.

/phur pa bcu gnyis kyi rgyud phyi ma las 'byung ngo/  
/dbang gi phur pa bshad zin (70v.5) to/

This is taken from the *Twelve-fold Phur pa Tantra's* subsequent [tantra] section.<sup>43</sup>  
This completes the explanation [of] the subjugating *phur pa*.

/thabs kyi zhags pa pad ma 'phreng las/  
dbang gi phur pa bstan pa'i le'u ste nyi shu drug go//

This is Chapter 26 of the *Lasso of Means, Lotus Garland*, on the teaching (about) the subjugating *phur pa*.

The next short Chapter 27 (70v.5–71.6) is on the mix for subjugating *gtor ma*(s), and the method of casting them so that simply the sight of the *gtor ma* brings the objects of the rite under control. Chapter 28 discusses the practice of union (*sbyor ba*) in the context of subjugating rites, while Chapter 29 begins the section on increasing rites, drawing on the usual imagery for increasing, such as items coloured yellow and a square maṇḍala with eight spokes. With Chapter 30 we then have the increasing *homa* ritual, and here again, *phur pas* are used to mark out the area around the hearth. In this case, four yellow *phur pas* are planted, presumably at each of the corners of the square hearth, and yellow rope encircles them (73r.5).<sup>44</sup>

After Chapter 30, two complete chapters found in the *bsTan 'gyur* version are omitted, and the Dunhuang version's Chapter 31 corresponds to the *bsTan 'gyur's* and NGB editions' Chapter 33. There is little doubt that these chapters did once exist in the common ancestor of all the editions; the structure of the text requires them here, and it is virtually inconceivable that this section of the text would have been written without them. The only possible scenario consistent with the idea that later versions might have composed new

<sup>42</sup> See p.188 note 31 above.

<sup>43</sup> We have not yet located this passage or teaching in any of the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*, or *Kīlaya bcu gnyis* scriptures found in the current NGB editions.

<sup>44</sup> hom khung gru bzhl la/ rdo rje 'i 'khor los bryan par bri ste/ phur pa kha dog ser po bzhi btab la/ mtha' thag pa ser bos bskor te/

material lacking in the original to insert here would be if the earliest version of the *Thabs kyi zhags pa* commentary was compiled by inserting older materials on the four ritual activities from some other tantric source which had already lost text, and then the missing text was later reconstructed. This seems especially unlikely in the case of a commentarial text; because the text embeds the root text within it, and the verses of the root text's Chapters 31 and 32 have been lost here also. So unless a previous version of the root text omitted these chapters too, it would seem a safe conclusion that the Dunhuang manuscript copy has an omission of text which was present in an earlier exemplar of the text. Fortunately, since the text is extant in the *bsTan 'gyur* version and there is a good deal of repetition from the chapters on the *phur pa* rites and *gtor mas* in the other ritual activity sections, it is not difficult to reconstruct this text in a manner which is quite likely to be close to the original. Chapter 31 on the *phur pa* rite for increasing (Golden *bsTan 'gyur* version Vol. Bu, 307–8) specifies the use of a golden or yellow wood *phur pa*, and a four-sided blade. Through striking the object, abundance and charismatic brilliance (*dpal dang gzi brjid*) are increased.<sup>45</sup> The soteriological gloss suggests that through the rite, the sambhogakāya arises within the dharmadhātu. Since the *phur pa* is the samādhi (which is) the arising as the sambhogakāya, it increases abundance and charismatic brilliance through its own natural qualities.<sup>46</sup>

The second omitted chapter is on *gtor ma* rites for increasing. The Dunhuang version's Chapter 31 (73v.5–74r.5) corresponds to Chapter 33 in the other versions, and the enumeration of the remaining chapters continue to run two behind the other texts. In keeping with the earlier rites, this chapter concerns rites of union connected with increasing.

Chapter 32 (= Chapter 34 in the other versions; 74r.5–75r.3) begins the pacifying rites, which employ the predictable imagery of a circular maṇḍala with eight spokes, and white offerings. Chapter 33 (= Chapter 35 in the other versions; 75r.3–75v.3) continues with the pacifying *homa* rite, referring to eight white *phur pas*, presumably to be planted at the eight spokes of the circular hearth.<sup>47</sup>

Chapter 34 (= Chapter 36 in the other versions; 75v.3–76r.3) on the *phur pa* for pacifying completes the sequence of teachings on the *phur pas* for the four activities.

(75v.3) // da ni zhi ba'i phur pa'i las bshad de/  
 (75v.4) phur pa kha dog dkar po la /  
 /mgo bo rgya mdud rtse zlum por /  
 /lha rnam bsgoms te gdab par bya /  
 (75v.5) 'di ni zhi ba'i las la shis // zhes gsungs te /

Now, to explain the pacifying *phur pa*'s activity:  
 [The root text] says,  
 "[Using] a white-coloured *phur pa*,  
 [with] a head, a knot [and] a round blade,  
 [one] should strike while meditating on the deities.  
 This is auspicious for pacifying activities."

<sup>45</sup> A reconstruction based on the Golden *bsTan 'gyur* (Volume Bu: 307-8), supplemented (by words in italics) with reference to the chapters in the Dunhuang version on the other ritual activities: /gser ram ser po'i shing rnam la/ /phur pa mgo bo rgya mdud/ *rtse zur bzhi du bzhogs te/ rgya mdud la lha rnam bkod de/ /gdab na gang la bya ba de 'i la btab na 'grub cing/ dpal dang gzi brjid rgyas par 'gyur ro/*

<sup>46</sup> A reconstruction based on the Golden *bsTan 'gyur* (Volume Bu: 308): /gzhan du na chos kyi dbyings la longs spyod rdzogs pa 'byung/ /longs spyod rdzogs par 'byung ba nyid/ /ting nge 'dzin phur pa yin pas/ /rang bzhin gyi dpal dang gzi brjid rgyas pa yin no/

<sup>47</sup> hom khung zlum po gdengs pa la/ /rdo rje pad mas bryang par bya/ /phur pa dkar po drug btab ste/ / spyang drangs dngul phyed la stsogs mchod (75r.4–5)

dngul lam shing kha dog dkar po la /  
 phur pa mgo bo rgya mdud rtse zlum por (75v.6) bzhogs la /  
 rgya mdud la lha nams bkod de /  
 zhi bar bsgoms nas btab na /  
 lha yang zhi bar 'gyur ro/

Using silver or white-coloured wood,  
 a *phur pa* [which has] a head, a knot and a round blade, is to be chiselled out.  
 Establishing the deities around the knot,  
 if [one] strikes while meditating on pacifying,  
 even a god will be pacified!

gzhan du na chos (76r.1) nyid ma nor par rig pa nyid ting nge 'dzIn gyi phur pa yin te/  
 thams cad rang bzhin gyis zhi bar 'gyur zhes /  
 rtse gcig (76r.2) bsdus pa las 'byung ngo /

In other [words], the elemental nature's faultless essential pure awareness is the samādhi *phur pa*, so  
 [it] pacifies everything through [its] natural quality.  
 This is [what it] says in the *rTse gcig bsdus pa*.<sup>48</sup>

/thabs kyi zhags pa pad ma 'phreng las /  
 /zhi ba'i phur pa'i le'u ste /  
 /sum cu (76r.3) bzhI pa 'o //

This is Chapter 34 of the *Lasso of Means, Lotus Garland*, on the pacifying *phur pa*.

Following this chapter, the ritual activities section of the text completes the remaining sections for pacifying rites, again on *gtor mas* and on rites of union, and it then gives a teaching on summing up all the rites (Chapter 37, equivalent to Chapter 39 in the other versions). The final chapter of the text (Chapter 39, equivalent to Chapters 41 and/or 42 in the other versions, which vary in their arrangements) contains some description of wrathful deities (82v–83r) rather reminiscent of the description of the deified *phur pa* in the consecrations section of IOL Tib J 331.III, but this involves similar vocabulary rather than parallel text, and it is not related to Phur pa imagery, despite the passage opening (82v.4–5) with a eulogy which mentions, "hundreds and thousands of Vajrakumāra's group rejoicing".<sup>49</sup> There is no reason to suppose that this name here refers to a Phur pa deity, so it would seem clear that it is only the specific chapters on the four rites in the *Thabs kyi zhags pa* Commentary which concern *phur pa* rites.

<sup>48</sup> In the current editions of the NGB, there is not an exact match for this title.

<sup>49</sup> rdo rje gzhu nu sde 'bum phrag du ma yid rangs te/