

# INTRODUCTION

## General Remarks

The collection of twenty-six<sup>1</sup> texts on non-conceptual realization (in the following referred to as the *amanasikāra* cycle) is the result of blending the essence and tantric *mahāmudrā* teachings of Saraha, Nāgārjuna and Śavaripa with a particular form of Madhyamaka philosophy, called ‘non-abiding’ (*apraṭiṣṭhāna*), which aims at radically transcending any conceptual assessment of true reality. This goal is achieved by “withdrawing one’s attention” (*amanasikāra*) from anything that involves the duality of a perceived and perceiver. The result is a “luminous self-empowerment,” Maitrīpa’s (986-1063)<sup>2</sup> final tantric analysis of *amanasikāra*. In an attempt to reflect these two meanings, I translate *amanasikāra* as “non-conceptual realization,” but leave the term untranslated when it is not certain, whether this double meaning is clearly intended. Maitrīpa composed the *amanasikāra* cycle after returning from Śavaripa to a monastic milieu of late Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism. He thus considerably contributed to the integration of the new teachings and practices of the Mahāsiddhas into mainstream Buddhism.<sup>3</sup> These texts of Maitrīpa are, together with Nāropa’s (956-1040)<sup>4</sup> teachings, the main doctrinal source of the bKa’ brgyud lineages.

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<sup>1</sup> The exact number varies depending on whether the *Caturmudrānvaya* and other texts (see below) are included or not.

<sup>2</sup> Roerich (1949-53:842) settled on 1007/10-1084/1087, while Tatz (1994:65) suggested ca. 1007 – ca. 1085. Roberts (2014:4 & 212 (fn. 8)) rightly points out, however, that the Blue Annals do not specify the year elements, and that the life stories of Maitrīpa’s disciples require their master already had to have passed away before Vajrapāṇi reached Nepal in 1066.

<sup>3</sup> Mathes 2006:208-09.

<sup>4</sup> Roberts 2014:4.

The collection of Maitrīpa texts edited and translated here is one of the three famous cycles of *mahāmudrā* works, the other two cycles being the “Seven Sections on Accomplishment” (*Grub pa sde bdun*) and the “Six Works on Essential [Meaning]” (*sNying po skor drug*). This Tibetan classification already existed at the time of Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290-1364) and constitutes, together with the *Anāvīlantantra* (D 404, P 58) and the commentary on it by Kumāracandra (D 1204, P 2334), the first volume of Karmapa VII Chos grags rgya mtsho’s (1454-1506) “Indian *Mahāmudrā* Works” (*phyag chen rgya gzhung*). The *Anāvīlantantra* associates *mahāmudrā* with the non-conceptual realization of one’s true nature of mind,<sup>5</sup> wherefore Mar pa Lo tsā ba Chos kyi blo gros (11<sup>th</sup> cent.) also refers to it.<sup>6</sup>

The seven sections on accomplishment represent an extract of the essence of all Highest Yoga Tantras.<sup>7</sup> All seven works are contained in the *rgyud ‘grel* section of the bsTan ‘gyur.<sup>8</sup> The ‘*Bri gung bka’ brgyud chos mdzod*,<sup>9</sup> in which the first four of the seven sections on accom-

<sup>5</sup> See Jackson 2009.

<sup>6</sup> In the Mar pa’i bka’ ‘bum (vol. *ka*, 225a<sub>5</sub>) the *Anāvīlantantra* is described as follows: “What has never been established [as anything] is the natural mind. Not to think of anything is *mahāmudrā*. Abide within this natural state which is not touched by any phenomenon.” (| *gdod nas ma grub gnyug ma’i sems* || *cir yang mi rtog phyag rgya che* | | *chos rnams kun gyis ma reg pa* || *ma bcos de nyid dad la zhog* |)

<sup>7</sup> Karma bKra shis chos ‘phel: “rGya gzhung dkar chag” 21b<sub>6</sub>; *rnal ‘byor bla na med pa’i rgyud sde thams cad kyi don gyi snying po phyung ba grub pa sde bdun ni* |

<sup>8</sup> The *Grub pa sde bdun* in the *Phyag chen rgya gzhung* are: (1) the *Gsang ba grub pa* (D 2217, P 3061); (2) the *Thabs dang shes rab rnam par gtan la dbab pa grub pa* (D 2218, P 3062); (3) the *Ye shes grub pa* (D 2219, P 3063); (4) the *gNyis med grub pa* (D 2220, P 3064); (5) the *dPal u rgyan nas byung ba gsang ba de kho na nyid kyi man ngag* (D 2221, P 3065); (6) the *dNgos po gsal ba’i rjes su ‘gro ba’i de kho na nyid grub pa* (D 2222, P 3066); and (7) the *dPal lhan cig skyes pa grub pa* (D 2223, P 3067). See “rGya gzhung dkar chag”, 21b<sub>6</sub>-22b<sub>1</sub>. The same titles are listed in a slightly different order in the “Bu ston gsan yig” (115<sub>4-7</sub>).

<sup>9</sup> During my stay at the Srong btsan Library (Dehra Dun) in March 2006 I received copies of first two volumes of the ‘*Bri gung bka’ brgyud chos mdzod*. There is no useful information in the colophons of these two volumes, but according to the present Chetsang Rinpoche, they were compiled under the direction of the 17<sup>th</sup> ‘Bri gung abbot Kun dga’ rin chen (1475-1527), and this is corroborated by the ‘*Bri gung gdan rabs* written by the Fourth Chetsang Rinpoche bsTan ‘dzin padma’i rgyal mtshan (1722-1778). See the ‘*Bri gung gdan rabs* 183.

plishment are identical with the ones in Chos grags rgya mtsho's collection of Indian *mahāmudrā* works, contains the extra information that this cycle of seven sections consists of *mahāmudrā* works by masters from Uḍḍiyāna.<sup>10</sup>

The six works on essential meaning are Saraha's *Dohākośagīti* (D 2224, P 3068), Nāgārjuna's<sup>11</sup> *Caturmudrānvaya* (D 2225, P 3069), Āryadeva's *\*Cittāvaraṇaviśodhana* (D 1804, P 2669), \*Divākaracandra's<sup>12</sup> *\*Prajñā-jñānaprakāśa* (D 2226, P 3070), \*Sahajavajra's *\*Sthitisamāsa* (D 2227, P 3071) and Koṭali's *\*Acintyakramopadeśa* (D 2228, P 3072). Bu ston lists the same texts in a slightly different order,<sup>13</sup> and the 'Bri gung bka' *brgyud chos mdzod* includes Maitrīpa's *Sekanirdeśa* (D 2252, P 3097) instead of the *\*Prajñājñānaprakāśa*.<sup>14</sup> All six works of this cycle are also contained in the *rgyud 'grel* section of the bsTan 'gyur. To explain briefly their different points of view, it was in his *dohās* that Saraha launched what was later called *mahāmudrā*, describing unconventional techniques (he was critical not only of traditional forms of Buddhism, but also of the tantras) for experiencing the co-emergent nature of mind.<sup>15</sup> The *\*Prajñājñānaprakāśa* presents *mahāmudrā* in the context of the four seals. While \*Divākaracandra (one of the four heart disciples of Maitrīpa)<sup>16</sup> argues in his "Elucidation of *Prajñā* Wisdom" that *mahāmudrā* must be preceded by a kind of preliminary wisdom attained with the help of a tantric consort (i.e., a *prajñā*), Maitrīpa's disciple \*Sahajavajra suggests in his *\*Tattvadaśakaṭikā* the possibility of an alternative approach,<sup>17</sup> claiming that there is a *mahāmudrā* practice independent of

<sup>10</sup> See Mathes 2011:92-94.

<sup>11</sup> The attribution of the *Caturmudrānvaya* to Nāgārjuna was already controversial in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Thus we find this text included in the collection of Maitrīpa's works, the *Advayavajrasaṃgraha*.

<sup>12</sup> According to the Peking bsTan 'gyur (*rgyud 'grel*, vol. mi, fol. 99a<sub>4</sub>) and the "Bu ston gsan yig" (116<sub>1</sub>). In the Blue Annals (Roerich 1949-1953) we find "Devākaracandra", and in the rGya gzhung dkar chag (fol. 22bb<sub>2</sub>) "Deva-ākarendra."

<sup>13</sup> "Bu ston gsan yig", 115<sub>7</sub> – 116<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>14</sup> 'Bri gung bka' *brgyud chos mdzod*, vol. ka, 4a<sub>3-5</sub>.

<sup>15</sup> See Mathes 2006:207-08.

<sup>16</sup> Roerich 1949-1953:842-43.

<sup>17</sup> See my "Analysis of \*Sahajavajra's *\*Tattvadaśakaṭikā*" below.

the sequence of the four seals.<sup>18</sup> The works by the Mahāsiddhas Āryadeva and Koṭali do not support such a Pāramitānaya-based *mahāmudrā*, and in the last work, by \*Sahajavajra, true reality is either approached through Madhyamaka analysis or experienced directly according to the tradition of Mantranaya.<sup>19</sup>

The *amanasikāra* cycle is presented here in the same order as in Haraprasad Shastri's \**Advayavajrasaṃgraha*.<sup>20</sup> In addition, I include the *Do hā ti zhes bya ba de kho na nyid kyi man ngag* (\**Dohānidhināmatattvopadeśa*) and the *Shes pa spro bsdu med par 'jog pa'i man ngag gsang ba dam pa*, both of which are part of Chos grags rgya mtsho's *amanasikāra* cycle. In Chos grags rgya mtsho's collection of Indian *mahāmudrā* works, the *Caturmudrānvaya* forms part not of the *amanasikāra* cycle but of the cycle of the six works on essential meaning. Even though its authorship remains controversial, I include it here on the basis of the Indian manuscripts.<sup>21</sup> It may not be by Maitrīpa, but its combination of tantric *mahāmudrā* with the *amanasikāra* practice of the *sūtras* provides the *amanasikāra* cycle with a perfect doctrinal basis. My edition and translation of the *amanasikāra* cycle is followed by Maitrīpa's \**Mahāmudrākanakamālā*, which was translated by Mar pa Lo tsā ba Chos kyi blo gros, who studied under Maitrīpa. The *Phyag rgya chen po gser phreng* picks up on the themes of the *amanasikāra* cycle and shows that all aspects of Maitrīpa's *mahāmudrā* were indeed passed on to early bKa' brgyud masters. Chos grags rgya mtsho included the \**Mahāmudrākanakamālā* in his "Collection of Indian *Mahāmudrā* Works," but outside of the three cycles. In the following chart, my list of *amanasikāra* texts is compared with the ones found in Bu ston's *gsan yig* and Chos grags rgya mtsho's "Collection of Indian *Mahāmudrā* Works" (the

<sup>18</sup> Which means that *mahāmudrā* can be practiced without the generation and completion stages.

<sup>19</sup> Mathes 2006:222-23 and Mathes 2011:94-95.

<sup>20</sup> This title is not found in any of the available manuscripts and is probably an invention of Shastri.

<sup>21</sup> Even though contained in the \**Advayavajrasaṃgraha*, an author is not mentioned in the colophon. Maitrīpa's disciple Rāmapāla attributes *Caturmudrānvaya* to the (tantric) Nāgārjuna (Mathes 2009:90-91). This is corroborated by the colophon to it in the Tibetan translation and the "Bu ston *gsan yig*" (116<sub>1</sub>).

numbers in columns two and three stand for the position of a text in respectively the list and collection):

Texts edited and translated	Bu ston's <i>gsan</i> <i>yig</i>	<i>Phyag chen</i> <i>rgya gzhung</i>
1. <i>Kudṛṣṭinirghātana</i>	2	1
2. <i>Kudṛṣṭinirghātavākyaṭippinikā</i>	23	2
	(by Vajrapāṇi)	
3. <i>Mūlāpattayaḥ</i>	-	-
4. <i>Sthūlāpattayaḥ</i>	-	-
5. <i>Tattvaratnāvalī</i>	3	15
6. <i>Pañcatathāgatamudrāvivarāṇa</i>	17	17
7. <i>Sekanirdeśa</i>	22	23
8. <i>Caturmudrānvaya</i>	-	-
9. <i>Sekatātparyasaṃgraha</i>	20	18
10. [ <i>Vajrasattva-</i> ] <i>Pañcākāra</i>	19	20
11. <i>Māyānirukti</i>	7	11
12. <i>Svapnanirukti</i>	6	12
13. <i>Tattvaparakāśa</i>	14	16
14. <i>Apratiṣṭhānaparakāśa</i>	8	6
15. <i>Yuganaddhaparakāśa</i>	10	3
16. <i>Mahāsukhaparakāśa</i>	13	14
17. <i>Tattvaviṃśikā</i>	16	22
18. <i>Mahāyānaviṃśikā</i>	15	21
19. <i>Nirvedhapañcaka</i>	12	10
20. <i>Madhyamaṣaṭka</i>	4	8
21. <i>Premapañcaka</i>	11	5
22. <i>Tattvadaśaka</i>	9	13
23. <i>Amanasikārādhāra</i>	1	9
24. <i>Sahajaṣaṭka</i>	5	7
25. * <i>Dohānidhināmatattvopadeśa</i>	-	4
26. <i>Shes pa spro bsdu med par 'jog</i> <i>pa'i man ngag gsang ba dam pa</i>	-	24

It should be noted that the compilers of the bsTan 'gyur did not recognize that the *Thabs dang shes rab rtse ba lnga pa* (D 2246, P 3091) and the *dGa' gcugs lnga pa* (D 2237, P 3082) are simply two different Ti-

betan translations of the same text, the *Premapañcaka*. Moreover, the *lTa ba ngan sel gyi 'dran pa* is in fact the same text as the *lTa ba ngan sel gyi bka' 'grel*, i.e., the *Kudrṣṭinirghātavākyatippinikā*. According to Bu ston, it was written by Maitrīpa's disciple Vajrapāṇi (1017-).<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Roerich 1949-52:843.

## A Summary of the *Amanasikāra* Texts and the \**Mahāmudrākanakamālā*

### 1. The Destruction of Wrong Views (*Kudṛṣṭinirghātana*)

The *Kudṛṣṭinirghātana* situates Maitrīpa's blend of *mahāmudrā* and Madhyamaka within the more general Mahāyāna context of the six perfections (*pāramitā*). It then elaborates in detail on the daily routine of a good adept, such as taking refuge, observing the vows of not killing and so forth, avoiding the ten unwholesome deeds, washing one's face with clean water, recalling the three jewels, mantra recitations and meditation. The meditation includes the visualization, worship, and praise of a *maṇḍala* of the five Buddha families with Akṣobhya in the center. With these many details, Maitrīpa shows the necessity of conventional Dharma practice. The quintessence of the *Kudṛṣṭinirghātana* is that even though the first five perfections of generosity, discipline, patience, diligence, and meditation (i.e., "initial activity") are performed automatically by those who are realized, they need to be intentionally performed by those who are still learning. In other words, if initial activity does not unfold without effort, one is obviously still in need of learning on the path of accumulating merit and wisdom. The sixth perfection, i.e., the perfection of insight (*prajñāpāramitā*), is inseparably linked with first five perfections. This union results in an advanced practice of initial activity, such as being generous (*dāna*) by even offering one's body. This is how Maitrīpa defines the tantric concept of "mad conduct" (*unmattavrata*)—that is, conduct in which the adept appears to be mad in order to test his own freedom from worldly concerns.

### 2. The Commentary on the [Initial] Statement of "The Destruction of Wrong Views" (*Kudṛṣṭinirghātavākyaṭippinikā*)

The relatively short commentary on the *Kudṛṣṭinirghātana* adds only a few points of clarification. For example, it subdivides the state of no more learning into the state of fruition and the state of working for oth-

ers. Furthermore it elaborates on three aspects of initial activity, i.e., proper intention, the practice of conviction, and having gained power over the following five concerns: defilements, appearances, *karman*, means, and causing sentient beings to ripen. The practice of conviction is here explained in terms of ten perfections generosity, discipline, patience, diligence, meditation, insight, skill in means, aspiration, strength and wisdom; and the attainment of bodhisattva-levels in terms of seven perfections generosity, discipline, patience, diligence, meditation, insight and skill in means.

### 3.+4. The Major Offences (*Mūlāpattayaḥ*) and The Gross Offences (*Sthūlāpattayaḥ*)

The next two texts which list major and gross offences are missing in the Tibetan bsTan 'gyur, but are suited to the context of formal tantric practice, such as keeping one's commitments (*samaya*). Not doing so is considered a gross offence. In case of having committed any of the major or gross offences, one should perform *pūjā* and keep the enlightened attitude (in the case of major offences) or worship one's teacher and confess openly (in the case of gross offences).

### 5. A Jewel Garland of True Reality (*Tattvaratnāvalī*)

The *Tattvaratnāvalī* is one of Maitrīpa's most important texts as it systematically presents the four philosophical tenets: Vaibhāṣika, Sautrāntika, Yogācāra, and Madhyamaka. This is followed by the famous verse from the *\*Nayatrayapradīpa*, which states the reasons for the method of Mantra (*mantranaya*) being superior. For further information about this method Maitrīpa refers the reader to his *Presentation of Empowerment* (*Sekanirdeśa*). This comment is interesting since it builds a bridge between the non-tantric method of perfections and the *Sekanirdeśa*'s explanation of the four seals (*karma-*, *dharma-*, *mahā-*, and *samaya-mudrā*),<sup>23</sup> skipping the six vase empowerments and implicitly any creation stage practice. It should be noticed that in his *\*Sthitisamāsa*,

<sup>23</sup> For an explanation of the four seals, see below.



\*Sahajavajra<sup>24</sup> follows the lead of his master's *Tattvaratnāvalī* and presents the four seals and thus completion stage practice immediately after the four tenets.<sup>25</sup> In his *\*Guruparamparākramopadeśa*,<sup>26</sup> Vajrapāṇi includes between the four tenets and the four-seal-based empowerments the six vase empowerments, though. The *Tattvaratnāvalī* follows the common division into three vehicles (Śrāvakayāna, Pratyekabuddhayāna, and Mahāyāna) and includes tantra into Mahāyāna, dividing the latter into the method of Pāramitā and the method of Mantra. Noteworthy are also the inclusion of Sautrāntika within the method of Pāramitā, and the statement that the method of Mantra can be only practiced on the basis of the tenets of Yogācāra and/or Madhyamaka. At the peak of Madhyamaka and thus all tenets is Maitrīpa's favored Apratiṣṭhāna ("non-abiding"), which, according to Rāmapāla's commentary on the *Sekanirdeśa*, must be taken as *amanasikāra*, which means that one must refrain from any superimposition in order to realize true reality, which does not provide any 'basis to stand on' (*apratīṣṭhāna*).

#### 6. Explaining the Seals of the Five Tathāgatas (*Pañcatathāgatamudrāvivarāṇa*)

Maitrīpa explains in this text that the five psycho-physical aggregates (*skandhas*) are in reality the five Tathāgatas which means that sentient beings have the nature of the five Tathāgatas. The first four (Vairocana, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi) are sealed with Akṣobhya, in order to show that they are mind only. The Akṣobhya seal thus stands for the realisation of Yogācāra-emptiness, namely the absence of the subject-object-duality from the dependently arising mind. In order to further refine one's realization in Maitrīpa's system, it is necessary to embrace Madhyamaka-emptiness, namely that the dependently arising mind also lacks the independent existence of an own-being (*svabhāva*).

<sup>24</sup> One of the four main disciples of Maitrīpa, the other three being Rāmapāla, Vajrapāṇi, and \*Kāropa (see Roerich 1949-53:842-847). See also Sanderson 2009:233, fn. 536.

<sup>25</sup> See Mathes 2006:222-23.

<sup>26</sup> In the colophon of Vajrapāṇi's commentary on the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya* (D 3820 P5219), it is stated that this disciple of Maitrīpa taught a special instruction on this sūtra to the translator Seng ge rgyal mtshan in Patan, Nepal (Lopez, Jr. 1996:215). It is possible that the *\*Guruparamparākramopadeśa* was composed under similar circumstances.

This is then symbolized by sealing the Akṣobhya seal with the seal of Vajrasattva or Vajradhara. Of great interest here is also that *Ratnagoṭravibhāga* II.61b (“And the latter two the form-*kāyas*”)<sup>27</sup> is quoted in the context of explaining the Yogācāra meditation of Nirākāravāda and the resultant state attained afterwards. Worth mentioning is also the statement in the prose after PTMV 13 that a Madhyamaka tenet is seen to be superior, that is established on the basis of awareness (the Tibetan has ‘self-awareness’). It should be noted that Maitrīpa still calls such a self-awareness-based Madhyamaka Apratiṣṭhāna on the grounds that self-awareness is not ascribed any privileged ontological status, but simply dependent origination like anything else.

### 7. A Presentation of Empowerment (*Sekanirdeśa*)

In the introduction to his *Sekanirdeśapañjikā*, Rāmapāla claims that the *Sekanirdeśa* was composed in accordance with the *Caturmudrānvaya* of (the tantric) Nāgārjuna.<sup>28</sup> Maitrīpa thus presents tantric empowerment on the basis of the four moments, i.e., the moments of the manifold activity of embracing, kissing and so forth, the moment of maturation, which is the enjoyment of blissful wisdom, the moment of freedom from defining characteristics, and the moment of relaxation.<sup>29</sup> The four moments correspond to the four joys (i.e., joy, supreme joy, co-emergent joy, and the [joy of] no-joy). As for his sequence of the four moments and joys, Maitrīpa explains in his *Caturmudropadeśa* that in treatises such as the *Hevajratantra* the correct sequence has not been

<sup>27</sup> The full verse RGV II.61 is as follows: “Here, the first one is the *dharmakāya*, and the latter two the form-*kāyas*. [These latter appear on the basis of the former, just as visible forms appear in space. (for the Sanskrit, see the English translation of PTMV below).

<sup>28</sup> See Mathes 2009:91.

<sup>29</sup> In the *Hevajratantra* (HT II.3.7-8, HT 156<sub>1-4</sub>) we find the following explanation of the four moments: “[The moment of the] manifold is called variety, since it involves embracing, kissing and so forth. [The moment of] maturation is the reverse of the [first moment] in that it is the enjoyment of blissful wisdom. [The moment of] relaxation is said to be the reflecting upon [the fact]. That one has experienced bliss. [The moment of] *vilakṣaṇa* is something other than these three being free from both passion and absence of passion.” (*vicitraṃ vividhaṃ khyātam āliṅgacumbanādikam | vipākaṃ tadviparyāsaṃ sukhajñānasya bhuñjanam || vimardam ālocanam proktaṃ sukhaṃ bhuktaṃ mayeti ca | vilakṣaṇaṃ tribhyo ‘nyatra rāgārāgavivarjitam ||*)

made explicit, in order to confuse outsiders who do not rely on a guru.<sup>30</sup> Maitrīpa clearly follows, like his teacher Ratnākaraśānti, a tradition which claims that the moment of freedom from defining characteristics and co-emergent joy are marked or recognized in the third position. As a further source for placing co-emergent joy before the joy of no-joy Zhwa dmar IV Chos kyi grags pa (1453-1524) mentions the pith instructions of Maitrīpa's guru Śavarīpa.<sup>31</sup> The majority of scholars—Kamalanātha, Abhayākara Gupta, Raviśrījñāna, Vibhūticandra, and others, put them in the fourth position, however.<sup>32</sup> Skt. *virama* (“the [joy of] no-joy”) is then understood as “intensification of joy”. The moment called *vilakṣaṇa* is then not taken as “freedom from defining characteristics”, but “other.”

In *Sekanirdeśa*, verse 38, the four moments (and thus the four joys) are also linked with the four *mudrās*, the moment of enjoying manifold appearances being related to the *karmamudrā*, the moment of maturation to the *dharmamudrā*, the moment of freedom from defining characteristics to *mahāmudrā*, and the moment of relaxation to the *samayamudrā*. The four joys are first enjoyed physically with a *karmamudrā* (a technical term standing for a consort). This proceeds to the phase of *dharmamudrā* wherein the practitioner again realizes the four joys, but this time on the basis of teachings such that the sights and sounds of the manifold world are one's own mind. This leads to the realization of *mahāmudrā*. The four joys of the *samayamudrā* are experienced when the yogin manifests as a Heruka in union with his consort for the sake of benefiting others.

The *Sekanirdeśa* plays a central role among the *amanasikāra* texts, for *mahāmudrā* is not only presented in the tantric context of the four seals, but is also equated with the Madhyamaka view of non-abiding (*apratiṣṭhāna*). With reference to two quotations from *Jñānālokālamkāra* Rā-

<sup>30</sup> CMU (B 11b<sub>1-2</sub>, D 213a<sub>6-7</sub>, P 232b<sub>6-7</sub>): *de ni bla ma la ltos<sup>a</sup> pa dang bral ba<sup>b</sup> glegs bam gyis mkhas par<sup>(c)</sup> byed pa'i<sup>(c)</sup> gang zag gi<sup>d</sup> ched<sup>e</sup> du dkrugs nas bshad de |*

<sup>a</sup> P *bltos* <sup>b</sup> P om. <sup>c</sup> D om. <sup>d</sup> D *gis* <sup>e</sup> DP *phyed*

<sup>31</sup> Zhwa dmar Chos kyi grags pa: "mKhas grub nā ro mai tri dbang gi bzhed pa mthun pa grub pa," 826<sub>20-21</sub>: *lhan skyes gsum par mdzad pa'i khungs gzhan ni ri khrod zhabs sha wa ri'i man ngag las rnyed tshul go sla'o |*

<sup>32</sup> See Kvaerne 1986:34-35.

mapāla equates in his *Sekanirdeśapañjikā* on verse 29 non-abiding with *amanasikāra* and reassures us that this can be practiced because thanks to the kindness of one's guru *mahāmudrā* can be directly made manifest. That *amanasikāra* also includes meditation practice on the path can be gathered from the first quotation from the *Jñānālokālaṃkāra* that *amanasikāra* is virtuous, and from Rāmapāla's commentary on SN 36, where *mahāmudrā* is said to be found through the abandonment of characteristic signs. In his commentary on verse 36, Rāmapāla nearly quotes literally from the part of *Avikalpapraveśadhāraṇī* in which characteristic signs are described as being abandoned in the act of “not directing one's attention [to them]” (*amanasikāra*). All eight verses on *mahāmudrā* in the *Sekanirdeśa* (SN 29-36) teach Apratiṣṭhāna-Madhyamaka, three of them being identical with Apratiṣṭhāna verses in the *Tattvaratnāvalī*. From the *Amanasikārādhāra* we know that Maitrīpa does not understand *amanasikāra* only in the sense of ‘becoming mentally disengaged’, but also understands the term in the sense of ‘luminous self-empowerment’—terminology that suggests a tantric framework (see below). In other words, in *mahāmudrā* the term *amanasikāra* also stands for a direct realization of luminosity or emptiness wherefore I translate it in this context as ‘non-conceptual realization’. To what extent *amanasikāra* practice can do without initial *manasikāra* (i.e., investigation) and also without the four seals, remains a controversial issue. But in his *Tattvaviṃśikā* Maitrīpa claims that within Mantranaya advanced practitioners have a direct access to *mahāmudrā*, and \*Sahajavajra describes in his *\*Tattvadaśaṭīkā* a *mahāmudrā* practice, which operates without the usual creation and completion stage practice (see below).

## 8. The Succession of the Four Seals (*Caturmudrānvaya*)

The *Caturmudrānvaya* served as a basis for the *Sekanirdeśa*, and thus represents the most important source for Maitrīpa's blend of *mahāmudrā* and Madhyamaka. In the sequence of the four seals it is explained how something artificially created, such as the physical experience of the four joys (i.e., the wisdom arisen from a *karmamudrā*), can initiate a process that leads to Buddhahood (*mahāmudrā*). The wisdom which arises from a *karmamudrā* or *prajñā* (i.e., the *prajñā* wisdom) is only an imitation of the real wisdom, the *prajñā* wisdom of the third

empowerment only being an exemplifying wisdom. Only in combination with the teaching of the *dharmamudrā* does it become a cause for *mahāmudrā*. \*Divākaracandra, a disciple of Maitrīpa, warns us in his \**Prajñājñānaprakāśa* that the related practice of *karmamudrā* must go together with *mahāmudrā*. On the other hand \*Divākaracandra insists that without sexual union one does not realize true reality in its manifestation of bliss.<sup>33</sup>

In his introduction to the *Sekanirdeśapañjikā*, Rāmapāla attributes the *Caturmudrānvaya* to (the tantric) Nāgārjuna,<sup>34</sup> which is corroborated by the colophon to it in the Tibetan translation and the *Bu ston gsan yig*.<sup>35</sup> This attribution is contested, however, by Vibhūticandra (12<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century) in his *Amṛtakaṇikoddyotanibandha*. Whether taught by the tantric Nāgārjuna or not, the *Caturmudrānvaya* is of crucial importance to Maitrīpa's *amanasikāra* cycle, inasmuch as it combines the tantric *mahāmudrā* system of the four seals with the non-tantric teachings of the *Jñānālokālaṃkāra* and the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (or *Ratnagoṭravibhāga*), and thus with the Maitreya works. On the basis of grammatical considerations I suggest that the *Jñānālokālaṃkāra* quotes in the definition of *mahāmudrā* are insertions. Whether interpolations or not, the quotes served to link *mahāmudrā* with the view of non-abiding and the practice of *amanasikāra*. As we have seen above, this blend of Sūtras and Tantras is elaborated in the *Sekanirdeśa* and the commentary on it by Rāmapāla.

## 9. A Summary of the Meaning of Empowerment (*Sekatātparyasaṃgraha*)

The *Sekatātparyasaṃgraha* offers a complete explanation of the entire procedure of tantric initiation that starts in a traditional way with the six vase empowerments. The presentation of the six, in particular, contains some unexpected and most valuable iconographic descriptions of the *vajra* and bell. For example, the *vajra* is pictured as having five spokes

<sup>33</sup> See Mathes 2011:111-12.

<sup>34</sup> See Mathes 2009:91.

<sup>35</sup> “Bu ston gsan yig” 116<sub>1</sub>: *klu sgrub* (text: *grub*) *kyis mdzad pa'i phyag rgya bzhi pa*.

emerging from the calyxes of lotuses which symbolize the five Tathāgatas.

#### 10. The Five Aspects [of Vajrasattva] (*[Vajrasattva-]Pañcākāra*)

The *Pañcākāra* describes the *maṇḍala* of the five Tathāgatas, with Akṣobhya in the middle, Vairocana in the East, Ratnasambhava in the South, Amitābha in the West, and Amoghasiddhi in the North. On Akṣobhya's crown is Vajrasattva, who symbolizes the sealing of everything (i.e., the five *skandhas* and thus the five Tathāgatas) with his seal of Madhyamaka emptiness. Interestingly, the five Tathāgatas are not only related to the five *skandhas*, but, expanded to a group of six (including Vajrasattva), are also correlated with the six seasons, six types of taste, and groups of Sanskrit letters. In the intermediate directions are the female Buddhas Locanā (south-east), Māmakī (south-west), Pāṇḍaravāsīnī (north-west) and Tārā (north-east). The mistress of these four is Vajradhātṽśvarī in the middle.

#### 11. A Discourse on Illusion (*Māyānirukti*)

In this text on tenets, Maitrīpa does not, like in similar texts of this kind, explain the role illusion plays in each of the philosophical systems. What the simile of illusion refers to is that the world lacks any own-being. The underlying view thus is Madhyamaka, probably its variety of Māyopamādvaya (“non-duality in the sense [of everything being] like an illusion”).

#### 12. A Discourse on Dream (*Svapnanirukti*)

Maitrīpa discusses here the role the dream example plays in six different philosophical positions. Two of them (Vaibhāṣika and Sautrāntika)

have to be abandoned,<sup>36</sup> and among the remaining four (i.e., the two Yogācāra and two Madhyamaka tenets), Apratiṣṭhāna-Madhyamaka is considered to be supreme.

### 13. An Elucidation of True Reality (*Tattvaprakāśa*)

True reality is here presented in terms of the Buddha's threefold *kāya*, from which cyclic existence and *nirvāṇa* arise. Even though the three *kāyas* are thus taken as a primordial ground, they are explained along the lines of Madhyamaka as non-arising, but at the same time dependently originated. In other words, we have to understand the three *kāyas* which underlie everything as a dynamic system of interrelatedness which occurs without any ontological foundation or building blocks, that exist in terms of an "own-being" (*svabhāva*) or "other-being" (*parabhāva*), as explained in chapter fifteen of the *Mūlamadhyamakārikās*.<sup>37</sup> Phenomena are empty of an own-being and hence only arise interdependently with other phenomena. When Maitrīpa insists that as a Mādhyamika one has to negate arising in order to stand out from Vijñānavāda, he thus means to negate arising in terms of an own-being.

### 14. An Elucidation of Non-Abiding (*Apratiṣṭhāna*)

Maitrīpa chose the term *apratīṣṭhāna* as a label for his strongly anti-foundationalist Madhyamaka, in which the true reality of all phenomena not only "lacks any foundation,"<sup>38</sup> but also, for this reason, cannot be grasped conceptually. However well-refined one's model of reality may be, the model inevitably distorts true reality by introducing wrong superimpositions or denials. In APP 8 "non-abiding" (*apratīṣṭhāna*) is

<sup>36</sup> This I conclude from Maitrīpa's statement in the *Tattvaratnāvalī* that tantra can only be practiced on the basis of Yogācāra and Madhyamaka, and thus not Vaibhāṣika and Sautrāntika (see above).

<sup>37</sup> MMK XV.3ab (Ye Shao Yong 2011: 236): "Where, in the absence of an own-being, will there be an other-being?" *kutaḥ svabhāvasyābhāve parabhāvo bhaviṣyati*

<sup>38</sup> I.e., taking *pratiṣṭhāna* in the sense of *sthiti* (APP 6b), as referring to the 'object-side', so to say.

thus directly opposed to mental fabrication. Maitrīpa informs us that the arising of phenomena (i.e., dependent origination) even remains inconceivable for self-awareness which, so we are warned, should not be reified as existent. Like in the text before, dependent origination is again equated with the three *kāyas*: the *dharmakāya* in terms of dependent origination's emptiness, the *sambhogakāya* in terms of the fact that dependent origination is mind, and the *nirmāṇakāya* in terms of dependent origination's multitude.

#### 15. An Elucidation of [the Term] “Indivisible union” (*Yuganaddha-prakāśa*)

The title of the text is a little misleading since Maitrīpa does not use *yuganaddha* in its originally tantric context of ‘indivisible union’ of the illusory body and luminosity (*yuganaddha*), which stands for the level of the fruit. Rather, *yuganaddha* here stands for the more general Madhyamaka concept of indivisible arising and non-arising, i.e., dependent origination (or appearance) and emptiness. It is thus a thematic continuation of the *Apratiṣṭhānaprakāśa* and contains an interesting Madhyamaka analysis of causality aimed at refuting the arising of any phenomenon in terms of an own-being. *Yuganaddha* is then also explained as the indivisible union of emptiness and compassion or clarity. A yogin realizing this union is said to abide in great bliss.

#### 16. The Manifestation of Great Bliss (*Mahāsukhaprakāśa*)

In this text, great bliss is taken as non-duality which is the true nature of entities. Maitrīpa cautions against a ‘false manifestation of bliss’ which appears in the pure apparent truth of the yogin. It goes without saying, that both forms of bliss are inseparable, just as the ultimate and pure apparent truths are. It is important to note, that even though great bliss is related to the ultimate, it is not reified as an entity, being nothing but dependent origination. There are a few noteworthy tantric explanations, such as taking the realization of emptiness as seed syllables from which deities arise. The blissful mind thus assumes the form of the deity, while one's consort (*prajñā*) is called emptiness. The union of bliss and emptiness symbolized by this tantric couple is taken as the goal.



17. The Twenty Verses on True Reality (*Tattvaviṃśikā*)

*Prajñā* is a polysemous term, two of its primary meanings being ‘insight’ and ‘tantric consort’. In this text, *prajñā* is first interpreted on the level of the four seals. Maitrīpa begins by implying—through the mention of the four moments—that true reality is realized from a *prajñā* as consort. The four moments are also recognized on the level of *dharmamudrā*, so that *prajñā* could also be understood as ‘insight’. Of particular importance are verses TV 7-11, which indicate that only inferior practitioners rely on a *karmamudrā* and the *samayamudrā*, while a more direct approach to *mahāmudrā* is open to those with sharp faculties. Those of average faculties rely on the practice with a visualized consort (*jñānamudrā*). TV 6 states, however, that the means of access to her (i.e., *prajñā* either as *karmamudrā* or insight) are variegated in the treaties of Mantranaya, corresponding to persons of inferior, average and superior [faculties]. Thus the direct *mahāmudrā* approach of the advanced still falls into the category of Mantranaya.

18. The Twenty Verses on Mahāyāna (*Mahāyānaviṃśikā*)

The seeing of the natural (*nija-*) *kāya* which is contained in the three *kāyas* (*dharma-*, *sambhoga-*, and *nirmāṇakāya*) as their true nature, is here taken as the appropriate practice for the attainment of enlightenment, provided that it is performed without superimposing anything. Maitrīpa then announces that this will be explained ‘in accordance with the Mantranaya’, a phrase also used by \*Sahajavajra to characterize the Pāramitānaya-pith-instructions of the *Tattvadaśaka* (see below). Since nothing specifically tantric can be found in the whole of the remaining text of the *Mahāyānaviṃśikā*, it could be argued, as already pointed out in some of my earlier publications, that ‘in accordance with the Mantranaya’ precisely refers to this non-conceptual or direct<sup>39</sup> vision of the *nijakāya*, a special *vipaśyanā* practice which enables direct realization of the fruit of the path. In other words, we have here a path of fruition in the same sense that Mantranaya is regarded as path of fruition as

<sup>39</sup> These attributes follow from the fact that one’s vision is supposed to be without superimposition.

distinct from a causal Pāramitānaya. Yet, as ‘Gos Lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal claims in his *Blue Annals*, Jñānakīrti considers such a direct *mahāmudrā* access possible from within Pāramitānaya.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, \*Sahajavajra in his *\*Tattvadaśakaṭikā* claims that reality is directly experienced as luminosity on the basis of a *vipaśyanā* practice performed with direct perceptions right from the beginning. In support of this claim, \*Sahajavajra quotes Maitrīpa’s *Mahāyānaviṃśikā*, verse 12.

### 19. The Five Verses on Penetrating Insight (*Nirvedhapañcaka*)

An unmediated vision of true reality without superimposition is the focal point of the five verses on penetrating insight. In the first verse this insight is identified with the realization of the Buddha within. According to the commentary in the ‘*Bri gung bka*’ *brgyud chos mdzod*, Maitrīpa here teaches buddha nature. It should be noted, however, that he does not make use of the terminology found in the *Ratnagotravibhāga*. It is also noteworthy that even though wisdom is positively described as having the nature of effortless compassion, it nonetheless arises in dependence for Maitrīpa like everything else. This is similar to the awareness, or self-awareness in the Tibetan translation, which according to the *Pañcatathāgatamudrāvivarāṇa* is only dependent origination, a recognition which marks the superiority of the Madhyamaka view.

### 20. The Six Verses on the Middle [Path] (*Madhyamaṣaṭka*)

The two Yogācāra tenets are summarized in one verse each, while two verses each are dedicated to a summary of Māyopamādvaya- and Apratiṣṭhāna-Madhyamaka. It should be noted that the presentation of Nirākāra-Yogācāra and Māyopamādvaya-Madhyamaka hardly differ, in that the former upholds self-awareness without characteristic signs while the latter maintains an awareness that is empty of entities. In Apratiṣṭhāna, clarity, which is—to go by the *Pañcatathāgatavivarāṇa*—a variety of awareness or self-awareness, is taught to be non-dual bliss

<sup>40</sup> See Mathes 2008:35.

and mere dependent origination. As noted above, it is this view that self-awareness is dependently arisen which is held to account for the alleged superiority of Apratiṣṭhāna over Māyopamādvaya.

## 21. The Five [Verses on Transcendent] Love (*Premapañcaka*)

The five verses offer a poetic comparison of the union of dependently arising appearances and emptiness to the union of a handsome suitor and his lovely mistress. Maitrīpa also explains how the skillful guru uses the natural pleasure of the couple to generate the transcendent love of co-emergence.

## 22. The Ten Verses on True Reality (*Tattvadaśaka*)

In his initial *namaskāra* verse, Maitrīpa venerates suchness (as true reality is referred to in the first three verses) which is not only negatively described as neither existent nor non-existent but also positively described as enlightenment (*bodhi*). This clearly reflects the doctrinal background of the *Ratnagoṭravibhāga* wherein suchness or the ultimate are similarly characterized.<sup>41</sup> While the *via negationis* of the second *dharmacakra* leaves no choice but to negate what true reality is not, the third *dharmacakra* describes it positively. For Maitrīpa this second approach is based on a meditative concentration which realizes true reality

<sup>41</sup> See RGV I.9 (RGVV 10<sub>16</sub>-11<sub>2</sub>): “Homage to You, Dharma Sun, which cannot be thought of as non-existent, existent, both existent and non-existent together, and as being different from both existent and non-existent together, To You which is beyond explanation, and whose calmness must be directly realized by self-awareness. To your brilliance of stainless wisdom light, To You who dispels the darkness of attachment and aversion towards the entire basis of cognition.” (*yo nāsan na san na cāpi sadasan nānyaḥ sato cāsato*<sup>a</sup> *śakyas tarkayituṃ niruktyapagataḥ pratyātmavedyaḥ śivaḥ | tasmai dharmadivākarāya vimalajñānāvabhāsatviṣe sarvārambaṇarāgadoṣatimiravyāghātakaratre namaḥ ||*); and RGVV on I.25 (RGVV 21<sub>9-10</sub>): “Suchness apart from stains is precisely this [*dhātu*] which is called the *dharmakāya* of a Tathāgata when it has the defining characteristic of fundamental transformation on the level of a Buddha.” (*nirmalā tathatā sa eva buddhabhūmāv āśrayaparivṛṭtilakṣano yas tathāgatadharmakāya ity ucyate |*)

<sup>a</sup> Johnston *nāsato*; see Schmithausen 1971:136.

as it is (*yathābhūtasamādhi*). In this immediate access to true reality phenomena are experienced as being luminous. This *samādhi* is cultivated by arousing *bodhicitta* on the basis of a *vipaśyanā* practice that starts with direct cognitions. Beneficial concepts on the path, such as the idea that the world is beyond duality, are realized to be luminous by nature, too. In his commentary on the *Tattvadaśaka*, \*Sahajavajra calls Maitrīpa's ten verses 'Pāramitā[naya] pith-instructions that accord with Mantra[naya]'. In the commentary on TD 7, \*Sahajavajra refers to these pith-instructions as *mahāmudrā*. Based on that, 'Gos Lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal is then able to claim in his *Blue Annals*:

In essence it is Pāramitā[naya]; it accords with the Mantra[naya]; and its name is *mahāmudrā*.<sup>42</sup>

### 23. A Justification of Non-conceptual Realization (*Amanasikārādhāra*)

The first part of the title, which lends the *amanasikāra* cycle its name, is—as already mentioned above—somewhat misleading in that it does not simply negate mental engagement, but it also refers to the cultivation of realization, or self-empowerment (*svādhiṣṭhāna*), to use Maitrīpa's final interpretation of *manasikāra*. According to Maitrīpa, the initial *a-* does not only represent the simple negation of a privative *a*, but also stands for a profound Madhyamaka-type of negation, such as non-arising or emptiness, which Maitrīpa also understands positively as luminosity. The two levels of analysis—*amanasikāra* as (1) the negation of dualistic conceptual engagements that leads to and reinforces the belief in subject and object and (2) luminous self-empowerment—reflect the same structure of a *via negationis* and a *via eminentiae* already encountered in the *Tattvadaśaka*. Such a blend of the negative Madhyamaka approach and the positive descriptions of direct *mahāmudrā* experience underlies the whole structure of the *amanasikāra* cycle. In order to do justice to Maitrīpa's two-layered interpretation of *amanasikāra*, I use the translation 'non-conceptual realization'.

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<sup>42</sup> See my analysis of the *Tattvadaśaka* below.

24. The Six Verses on the Co-emergent (*Sahajaṣaṭka*)

In this short text on yet another important term for the ultimate, the “co-emergent” (*sahaja*), we find again the basic structure of the *amanasikāra* cycle. True reality is first negatively described as being neither existent nor non-existent, as there should be neither affirmation nor exclusion, when it comes to ‘naturally arisen phenomena’ (SṢ 1). The latter phrase I take to stand for dependent origination and emptiness. The co-emergent is also equated with the genuine bliss without attachment, that is experienced in realization.

25. A Pith Instruction on Reality Called A Treasure of *Dohās* (\**Dohānidhināmatattvopadeśa*)

This text is not contained in the \**Advayavajrasaṃgraha* and not available in its original Sanskrit. However, Karmapa VII Chos grags rgya mtsho included it in his cycle of *amanasikāra* texts. It presents a summary of the four tenets as found in the *Tattvaratnāvalī*, with Apratiṣṭhāna-Madhyamaka at the summit. Contrary to the *Tattvaratnāvalī*, though, the last part of the text contains tantric teachings, i.e. a summary of empowerment and/or completion stage practice on the basis of the four seals as explained in the *Caturmudrānvaya* and *Sekanirdeśa*.

26. A Pith Instruction on Settling the Mind Without Becoming Engaged in the Thought Processes of Projecting and Gathering—A Genuine Secret (*Shes pa spro bsdu med par 'jog pa'i man ngag gsang ba dam pa*)

This short text is not contained in *Advayavajrasaṃgraha*, but Chos grags rgya mtsho includes it in his *amanasikāra* cycle. Of particular interest is its endorsement of a non-gradual path: even meditation is realization once the flavour of emptiness is tasted. Moreover, the experience of true reality is direct (Tib. *thad kar*) since the yogin of non-conceptual realization (*amanasikāra*) has nothing to think about when it comes to emptiness (SM 7cd). In other words, emptiness is irreducible to the abstractions of conceptual thinking.

27. A Golden Garland of *Mahāmudrā* (\**Mahāmudrākanakamālā*)

Maitrīpa's \**Mahāmudrākanakamālā* which was translated into Tibetan by Mar pa Lo tsā ba documents the *mahāmudrā* teachings which were transmitted in the so-called 'subsidiary translation tradition' (*zur 'gyur*). Even though Mar pa was a disciple of Maitrīpa, other *mahāmudrā* transmissions, such as those stemming from Vajrapāṇi, were initially considered more important.<sup>43</sup> One of the most noteworthy features of Maitrīpa's *mahāmudrā* system is that he presents, within the sequence of the four moments and four joys, the moment of freedom from defining characteristics and co-emergent joy, in the third position.<sup>44</sup> This differs from the mainstream scheme accepted by a number of famous scholars such as Kamalanātha, Abhayākaragupta, Raviśrījñāna, and Vibhūticandra.<sup>45</sup> Given that the correct sequence of the four joys was a subject of considerable debate in late Indian Buddhism, it is noteworthy that Mar pa faithfully renders Maitrīpa's position in his translation of the \**Mahāmudrākanakamālā*, verse II.5, even though this goes against his root guru Nāropa. The final colophon informs us that Maitrīpa had combined the teachings of many accomplished yogins and *paṇḍitas* within a single text.

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<sup>43</sup> Roberts 2014:5.

<sup>44</sup> Mathes 2009:99-106.

<sup>45</sup> Kvaerne 1986:34-35.

## Maitrīpa’s Life Story in the ‘*Bri Gung bKa’ brgyud* *Chos mdzod*

Maitrīpa (also known under his ordination name Maitrīgupta and tantric name Advayavajra) was born to Brahmin parents in Jhāṭakaraṇī near Kapilavastu and given the name Dāmodara.<sup>46</sup> He received a traditional Sanskrit education, and at the age of eighteen was ordained as a Buddhist monk by Ratnākaraśānti.<sup>47</sup> Under the latter he studied for one year the Yogācāra system of Nirākāravāda.<sup>48</sup> Ratnākaraśānti is known to have read an idealist position into Nāgārjuna’s *Madhyamaka*,<sup>49</sup> Candrakīrti not having been viewed in high esteem in Ratnākaraśānti’s circle.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> This is according to the Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript kept at the Kaiser Library in Kathmandu with the title *Yathāśrutakrama* (see NGMPP reel no. C 82/1). For editions and translations see Tucci 1971 and Lévi 1930-32.

<sup>47</sup> Brunnhölzl 2007:125-26.

<sup>48</sup> Tucci 1971:222<sub>1-2</sub>.

<sup>49</sup> This hermeneutic stance is demonstrated in Ratnākaraśānti’s commentary on Hevajra-tantra I.1.10-12 (HP 10-16), where he quotes Nāgārjuna’s *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā*, verse 34, in support of his idealist position: “Such things spoken of as the great elements are contained in consciousness and disappear in wisdom. They are falsely imagined indeed.” (*mahābhūtādi vijñāne proktaṃ samavarudhyate | taj jñāne vigamaṃ yāti nanu mithyā vikalpitaṃ ||*). See Lindtner 1990:110-11. The reading *taj jñāne* over *tajjñāne* represents Ratnākaraśānti’s idealist interpretation of Nāgārjuna, as *taj* then takes up *mahābhūtādi* (see Isaacson 2013:1042).

In his commentary on HT II.8ab (“Then teach Yogācāra followed by *Madhyamaka*”; *yogācāraṃ tataḥ paścāt tad anu madhyamakam diśet*), Ratnākaraśānti (HP 223<sub>5-7</sub>) provides the following definitions: “Yogācāra means that all that [world] is mind only. Even in the absence of an object the very mind itself arises with an object as its appearance through the power of mental imprints, just as in a dream. *Madhyamaka* means the right middle path, in the sense that the mind does not exist in its form of duality, nor is it non-existent, in its form of [something that is] empty of duality.” (*yogācāram iti cittamātram idaṃ viśvam | asaty arthe ‘rthapratibhāsam cittam eva vāsanabalād utpadyate yathā svapna iti | madhyamakam iti madhyamāṃ pratipadam | tad api cittam na sad dvayarūpeṇa | nāsad dvayaśūnyena rūpeṇeti |*)

<sup>50</sup> This is clear from the colophon of Ratnākaraśānti’s *Madhyamakālaṃkāra-Upadeśa* (D 231a<sub>2-4</sub>, P 266b<sub>3-5</sub>): “[Ratnākaraśānti] was the greatest among the four gate-keepers

According to the Tibetan sources Maitrīpa refuted Ratnākaraśānti after receiving *mahāmudrā* instructions from the legendary figure Śavaripa at the twin mountains Manobhaṅga and Cittaviśrāma and returning to the monastic milieu of Buddhist scholasticism. It should be noted that reports on Maitrīpa’s expulsion from Vikramalaśīla for having enjoyed wine and women<sup>51</sup> are absent in both the Nepalese Sanskrit manuscript and the life story in the ‘*Bri gung bka’ brgyud chos mdzod*. The earliest sources for the expulsion story are probably the Atiśa biographies, of which the earliest are from the middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>52</sup>

The section called “A History of the Twenty-Five Texts of the *amanasi-kāra* Cycle”<sup>53</sup> starts off with a hitherto untranslated life story of Maitrīpa. It contains new material, such as a description of Maitrīpa’s previous incarnation Jvālapati and the circumstances under which Maitrīpa received empowerment from his guru Śavaripa.

### Translation of Maitrīpa’s Life Story in the ‘*Bri gung bka’ brgyud chos mdzod*

In a former life, this venerable master Maitrīpa [was Nāgārjuna’s disciple Jvālapati<sup>54</sup>]. [One] of the two students of the teacher Nāgārjuna was

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[of Vikramaśīla] during his time, because he had faultlessly realized the true intent of Ārya Asaṅga and Nāgārjunagarbha and clarified [their] teachings in a most excellent way. The monk Candrakīrti and others had deviated from Nāgārjuna’s intent, and have abandoned nihilism and composed commentaries on the profound tantras later in their life.” (*dus mtshungs pa’i sgo srung<sup>a</sup> chen po bzhi las kyang gtso bor gyur pa |’phags pa thogs med dang klu sgrub snying po’i thugs kyī dgongs pa ma nor bar rtogs shing bstan pa’i gsal byed mchog tu gyur pa’i phyir dang | btsun pa zla grags la sogs pa klu sgrub kyī dgongs pa las ‘chal bar gyur na (read nas?) rang slad kyis tshe smad la med par smra ba dor nas rgyud zab mo’i ‘grel pa byed par ‘gyur la |*)

<sup>a</sup> P *srungs*

<sup>51</sup> For the details of the story, see Chattopadhyaya 1981:135.

<sup>52</sup> Tatz 1988:474.

<sup>53</sup> For detailed description of this cycle see Mathes 2014:368-371.

<sup>54</sup> Tib. ‘*Bar ba’i gtso bo*. The name Jvālapati (‘Chief Blazer’) appears to be used in reference to Kṛṣṇācārya as an honorific term reflecting the high degree of yogic practice he had attained in *mahāmudrā*. Maitrīpa was thus a reincarnation of Kṛṣṇācārya



Nāgabodhi.<sup>55</sup> Belonging to the Brahmin caste, he was stronger in meditation and thus instructed to meditate. [The other student] Jvālapati was of Kṣatriya caste and thus instructed to explain [the Dharma] that tames sentient beings.<sup>56</sup> Jvālapati then taught the Dharma, and through his practice a special power arose [in him]. Since there were heretics on an island in the ocean, he thought to tame them and made a request to his teacher [Nāgārjuna]. The teacher replied:

Bring a vase full of water from the river Gaṅgā<sup>57</sup>!

He brought it, and [Nāgārjuna] took a drop from this water just once and said:<sup>58</sup>

Generally speaking, the entire Buddhist Dharma is like the river Gaṅgā. What I know resembles a vase full [of it]. What you know is like a drop of water. The time to tame the heretics has not come. Do not go!

Not listening, [Jvālapati] and three servants left. They reached the shore of the ocean and Jvālapati moved floating over the water just like that.<sup>59</sup> Dhanarati thought: Now, if I [simply] follow the teacher [moving] over

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(Templeman 1989:83). Templeman (1997:213) identifies Kṛṣṇācārya also with Jvālanātha.

<sup>55</sup> Tucci 1971:212.

<sup>56</sup> *'Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod*, vol. ka, 173b<sub>6</sub>-174a<sub>1</sub>: | rje mnga' bdag mai tri pa de nyid sku skye ba snga ma la || slob dpon klu sgrub kyi slob ma gnyis yod pa las || klu'i byang chub bram ze'i rigs yin pas bsgom pa'i snying rus che bas sgom cig par gdams || 'bar ba'i gtso bo rgyal rigs yin pas 'gro ba thul bas shod cig par gdams so |

<sup>57</sup> I.e., taking *gha gha* as a corrupt form of *gaṅgā*.

<sup>58</sup> *Op. cit.*, 174a<sub>1-3</sub>: de nas 'bar ba'i gtso bos chos bshad cing nyams su blangs bas nus pa khyad par can skyes te || rgya mtsho'i gling la mu stegs pa yod pas 'dul snyam nas slob dpon la zhu ba phul bas || slob dpon gyi zhal nas chu bo gha gha las (text: la) chu bum pa gang long la shog dang gsungs || blangs nas byung ba dang | chu de'i nang nas rtsa cig gis chu thigs pa cig blangs nas 'di skad gsungs so |

<sup>59</sup> *Op. cit.*, 174a<sub>3-4</sub>: | spyir sangs rgyas pa'i chos thams cad chu bo gha gha dang 'dra || de la ngas shes pa ni bum pa gang po dang 'dra || de la khyod kyi shes pa chu'i thigs pa 'di dang 'dra bas || da rung stegs 'dul ba la ma bab pas ma 'gro byas pa la || ma nyan par g.yog po gsum dang chas te phyin pa dang | rgya mtsho'i 'gram du sleb pa ste || 'bar ba'i gtso bos chu'i steng na 'phar te (text: phar da) rang song ngo |

[the water], I will fall behind. He whispered the *mantra* of [his] chosen deity (*yidam*) on [a handful of] soil and threw it onto the water. [In doing so] he parted the water<sup>60</sup> and walked on the dry [ocean] ground. The teacher said:

You are a *siddha*. Since it is not proper to keep you as my servant, you must return!<sup>61</sup>

The disciple requested:

My *siddhis*, indeed, have arisen from [you] the teacher. May I therefore be [your] servant!”

[Jvālapati] replied:

Do not proceed by all means and return!

And sent [him] back. Then [Jvālapati] took the two [servants] Dha-nga and Sing-dha pa-li and left. They reached the island of the heretics and when it was time to eat they took fruit.<sup>62</sup> A yoginī<sup>63</sup> said:

Are you not yogins? Perform the practice of making [the fruit] fall [on its own]!

<sup>60</sup> Lit. „into an upper and lower part.“

<sup>61</sup> *Op. cit.*, 174a<sub>4-6</sub>: *dha na ra tis bsam pa slob dpon gyi phyi na yar phyin na rjes la ‘gongs te ‘gro snyam nas || yi dam lha’i sngags sa la btab ste || de chu la btab nas chu stod smad du bcad nas gram pa skya khro lo (=khrol le?) song ba la phyin pas || slob dpon gyi zhal nas khyod sgrub thob cig ‘dug pa nga’i g.yog po byar mi rung bas log la song cig gsungs |*

<sup>62</sup> *Op. cit.*, 174a<sub>6</sub>-b<sub>1</sub>: *slob mas nga’i dngos grub kyang slob dpon las byung ba yin pas bdag g.yog la mchi’o zhes zhus pas || cis kyang ma ‘gro bar log cig gsung nas bzlog go | de nas dha nga dang sing dha pa li gnyis khrid nas phyin pa dang | mu stegs kyi gling du sleb pa des | gro’i dus la bab ste shing thog blangs pa dang |*

<sup>63</sup> According to Tāranātha’s life story of Kṛṣṇācārya (i.e., Jvālapati) this was the malicious *ḍākinī* Viśvarūpi, who had five hundred *rākṣasī* attendants. Each day they were said to devour hundred thousand men and animals in Jambudvīpa and the small islands. In order to subdue them, Kṛṣṇācārya crossed the ocean by magical means. (Templeman 1989:21)

Jvālapati brought down the fruit with a fixed gaze. When she caused [the fruit] to move up [the tree again], floating, and descending her mother came and said:

Do not mistreat him, this noble being and offer him [the fruit]!

At this time, many *paṇḍitas*, who were engaged in studying, had loaded many books on an elephant, and the yoginī sang the [following] song:<sup>64</sup>

What is the use for you of carrying many texts? It is like in the example of the noble fruit [and] the bees. Attached to the external, you [only] find an image of what is essential. Now, what do you know at all?

Then she offered him [the fruit] with the words:

My fruit is this noble fruit: [its] three eyes are the three *kāyas*; [its] three edges are the three realms; and three sides [indicate] the withdrawal of one's attention from the three times.

Jvālapati got angry and did not take the fruit.<sup>65</sup> The yoginī got angry at him:

Being a male you will win, so let us perform the practice of killing. I will [first] protect [my] body, and [then it will be my turn to] perform the practice of killing you. You must protect then your own body.

<sup>64</sup> 'Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod, vol. ka, 174b<sub>1-2</sub>: | rnal 'byor ma cig na re || rnal 'byor ma yin nam dbab pa'i sbyor ba gyis zer nas || 'bar ba'i gtso bos lta stangs kyis shing thog phab pas || mos par sbyar yar sbyar yar lding mar ling byed yod tsa na | mo'i a ma byung nas kho skyes bu dam pa la brnyas pa ma byed shing thogs drongs zer nas || de'i dus su slob gnyer byed pa'i paṇḍita mang pos glang po che dpe cha mang po bkal byung ba rnal 'byor ma des glu blangs pa |

<sup>65</sup> *Op. cit.*, 174b<sub>2-4</sub>: po ti mang po khur na ni || de'i khyod la dgos pa ci || dper na dpal 'bras bung ba bzhin || phyir chags snying po'i ri mo rnyed || da ni khyod kyis cang shes sam || zer nas nga'i shing thog dpal 'bras 'di || mig gsum ni sku gsum || zur gsum ni khams gsum logs gsum ni dus gsum yid la mi byed pa'o zer nas drangs pas | 'bar ba'i gtso bo 'khros nas shing thog ma blangs so |

Jvālapati started and nothing happened to her.<sup>66</sup> [Then,] when she performed the practice of killing, he was suddenly raised from meditative concentration. [His] lungs, heart, and so forth came out of his mouth and he died.<sup>67</sup> [Jvālapati] told his two disciples there, that having broken the command of the teacher, [this] was the result. [Then] he said:

Protect this [my] corpse from being burned for seven days from now so that I [can] confess to the teacher with my mind.<sup>68</sup>

This yoginī over there went to the local king and said:

In our place there is the corpse of a big dead Yakṣa. If it is not burned, it will turn into a zombie after seven days and spread disease among the people all over the country.

The king came, and [Jvālapati's] disciples could not even protect [the corpse] from being burned. Upon his return to this [island], Jvālapati [found himself] without a body; without a chance of finding [another] body he prayed to enjoy [and practice] what is essential his next life. It is said that as a consequence of this the teacher Maitrīpa was born.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>66</sup> *Op. cit.*, 174b<sub>4-5</sub>: | *der rnal 'byor ma de 'khros te khyod skye ba rgyal bas gsad pa'i sbyor ba gyis shing* || *ngas lus srung pa'i sbyor bar* (text: *ba*) *bya'o* || *de nas ngas khyod la gsad pa'i sbyor bar* (text: *ba*) *bya'o* || *khyod rang lus srung ba'i sbyor ba gyis cig zer ro* || *der 'bar ba'i gtso bos byas pas mo la ci yang ma byung ngo* |

<sup>67</sup> In his life story of Kṛṣṇācārya, Tāranātha reports, however, that Viśvarūpi and her attendents were successfully tamed. (Templeman 1989:22).

<sup>68</sup> *'Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod*, vol. *ka*, 174b<sub>5</sub>-a<sub>1</sub>: | *mos gsad pa'i sbyor ba byas pa dang* | *kho tin nge 'dzin las bzhengs pa 'dzam nas* || *glo snying la sogs pa kha nas yar phyur gyis byung ste grongs* | *der slob ma gnyis la ngas slob dpon gyi bka' bcag pas lan pa yin pas* | *nga'i sems kyis* (text: *kyi*) *slob dpon la bshags* (text: *gshags*) *pa byas la 'ong gis zhag bdun du ro 'di ma bsreg par srungs cig zer ro* ||

<sup>69</sup> *Op. cit.*, 175a<sub>1-3</sub>: *der rnal 'byor ma de yul gyi rgyal po'i drung du phyin te* || *'o skol gyi pha ki na gnod sbyin chen po cig shi ba'i ro cig yod* || *de ma sregs na zhag bdun nas ro langs byung nas yul thams cad mi nad kyi 'gengs so byas pa dang* || *rgyal po 'ong ste slob mas srungs kyang ma thub par bsregs so* | *der 'bar ba'i gtso bos log tsam na lus med pas* || *da ni lus blangs pa'i skal ba med pas tshe phyi ma la snying po'i don la spyod par shog par smon lam btab pas* || *slob dpon mai tri pa sku 'khrungs pa yin gsungs so* |

In the Middle Country there was a town called Jhātakaraṇī. In it [dwelt] the brahmin father Nānūka<sup>70</sup> with his wife Sāvitrī.<sup>71</sup> [Maitrīpa] was born as their son. He was handsome, excellent, liked by all, and naturally endowed with qualities such as insight and endeavour. When he was eleven years old, he rejoiced in the system of Brahmin with a single staff, and became well learned in the entire heretical textual tradition including the four great Vedas.<sup>72</sup>

In particular, at a place [called] Bha-rin-te (?), he studied the Paninian grammar of Liṅgadeva for one year. Next, he debated with the venerable Nāropa at the Northern gate of Nālandā. Nāropa won, so [Maitrīpa] followed Nāropa and thoroughly learned Madhyamaka, Pramāṇa, and Prajñāpāramitā. He was given an empowerment of the secret Mantra[naya] and the secret name Rāgavajra. He studied the tantras and pith instructions.<sup>73</sup>

Afterwards he studied for one year and mastered the tenets of the Mind Only School under Ratnākaraśānti, who protected the Eastern gate of Nālandā. Moreover he studied both non-Buddhist and Buddhist Dharma under Jñānaśrīmitra. Then he requested the teacher Śāntipa (i.e.,

<sup>70</sup> For Na-bu (see next footnote).

<sup>71</sup> For Tse-dhe? In the Sanskrit life story edited by Tucci (1971:219<sub>16-17</sub>) the father's name is Trivikrama and the mother is called Sāvitrī (*brāhmaṇasya kule janma pitā cāsya trivikramah | mātā sāvitrī nāmāsya vyākṛtādaparam matam ||*). Further down (221<sub>17-18</sub>) we find: ...*brāhmaṇajātirnānūkā nāma brāhmaṇī ca sāvitrī nāma prativasati sma |*

<sup>72</sup> 'Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod, vol. ka, 175a<sub>3-4</sub>: *de yang yul ni dbus kyi grong khyer dza ka ni ka (=Jhātakaraṇī) zhes bya bar || yab bram ze na bu zhes bya ba dang | yum tse dhe zhes bya gnyis kyi sras su sku 'khrungs || de yang gzugs bzang shing mdzes pa kun gyis yid du 'ong ba || shes rab dang brtson 'grus la sogs pa rang bzhi gyis yon tan dang ldan pa dgung lo bcu cig lon pa bram ze dbyu gu cig pa zhes bya ba'i dpyod pa la mgu (text: dgu) mdzad cing || rig byed chen po bzhi la sogs pa mu stegs gzhung lugs thams cad la mkhas par sbyangs |*

<sup>73</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. ka, 175a<sub>4-6</sub>: *| khyad par du bha rin te'i yul du ling ga de (text: dhe) wa zhes bya ba'i sgra pa ni pa (text: sgras ni ka) ni ka zhes bya ba lo cig la gsan | de nas na len tra'i byang sgor dpal na ro pa'i spyang sngar rtsod pa byas pas | nā ro pa rgyal bas na ro pa'i rjes su zhugs || dbu tshad dang phar phyin la mkhas par bslabs || gsang sngags kyi dbang bskur || gsang mtshan 'dod chags rdo rje zhes bya bar btags | rgyud dang man ngag rnam kyang gsan |*

Ratnākaraśānti) [to function] as the preceptor, took higher ordination, and studied the *Vinayapiṭaka* for six years.<sup>74</sup>

Thus he became a great and fully accomplished paṇḍita. Inclined to [teachings of] what is essential, he had internalized neither the *Pañcakrama*, which is a [commentary on] the father tantras, nor the *Caturmudrā[nvaya]* which is a [commentary] on the mother tantras, (both were composed by the [tantric] Nāgārjuna),<sup>75</sup> [Maitrīpa] recited the ten-syllable-mantra of Khasarpaṇa (i.e., a form of Avalokiteśvara), who has the essence of liberation;<sup>76</sup> he circumambulated [the statue of Khasarpaṇa], and made a prayer. Thereupon Avalokiteśvara prophesied to him in a dream:

<sup>74</sup> *Op. cit.*, 175a<sub>6</sub>-b<sub>1</sub>: | *de nas na len dra'i shar sgo'i sgo srungs rad na a ka ra* (=Ratnākaraśānti) *la sems tsam gyi grub mtha' lo cig gsan pas mkhas par gyur* || *gzhan yang pa ṇḍi ta dznya na shri* (=Jñānaśrīmitra) *la phyi nang gnyis kyi chos la gnyis gsan* | | *de nas slob dpon sha nti pa la mkhan po zhus nas bsnyen rdzogs mdzad nas* || 'dul ba'i sde snod lo drug gsan |

According to the Sanskrit manuscript, Maitrīpa surprisingly took full ordination only at Vikramapura<sup>a</sup> in the Saṃmatīya order receiving the name Maitrīgupta. (see Tucci 1971:222<sub>2-4</sub>: *paścād vikramaśīlaṃ gatvā ... tato vikramapuram gatvā saṃmatīyanikāye maitrīguptanāma bhikṣur babhuva* |)

<sup>a</sup> According to this account, he went from Nālandā to Vikramalaśīla and from there to Vikramapura.

<sup>75</sup> It should be noted that according to the Sanskrit life story, Maitrīpa had studied for five years under the tantric master Rāgavajra before studying Nirākāravāda under Ratnākaraśānti (at Nālandā) for one year. (see Tucci 1971:221<sub>23-24</sub>: *tad anu mantranayaśāstrajñena rāgavajreṇa sahāvasthitaḥ pañcavarṣaparyantam* | *paścāt mahāpaṇḍitaratnākaraśāntigurubhaṭṭārapādānāṃ pārśve nirākāravayavasthām śrutvā varṣam ekaṃ yāvat*). It is possible, however, that at the time of Maitrīpa, the Highest Yoga Tantras were not taught at monastic establishments.

<sup>76</sup> Brunnhölzl (2007:126) reports on the basis of the Sanskrit manuscript, however, that Maitrīpa “practiced the meditation and recitation of Tārā. Finally at the age fifty, he was told by Tārā in a dream to go east in order to receive a prophecy from Avalokiteśvara at Khasarpaṇa. Accordingly, he quit Vikramapura and stayed in Khasarpaṇa for one year. Then, again in a dream, Avalokiteśvara encouraged him to proceed to the southern twin mountains Manobhaṅga and Cittaviśrama.” In a footnote, Brunnhölzl (2007:511) remarks that no Tibetan source speaks about Vikramapura. Rather, all (except the one in the ‘*Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod*) say that Maitrīpa was expelled from Vikramaśīla for being involved with alcohol and women during tantric practice.

Hey paṇḍita, you do not have a peaceful, [but] wrathful nature. Go to the South, to Śrī Parvata! You will be looked after by the glorious Śavareśvara (i.e., Śavaripa), and [your] doubts of confusion will be dispelled.<sup>77</sup>

Having met Sāgara on the way, they travelled [together]. In the land of Udradeśa<sup>78</sup> they searched for half a month, but did not find [Śavaripa]. [Having stayed] for a year at a *stūpa* called Dhānyakaṭaka, they were told by Tārā:

Go from here for five days in the Northwestern direction! The guru you are looking for will be there.

They went [there] and searched for ten days while living on fruits. Thinking that they do not meet this noble being, because they had not abandoned food, they stayed on a flat stone and fasted for seven days.<sup>79</sup> Even though he met him in a dream, he searched but did not find [him]. He despaired and thought:

I will meet him in the next life. What is the use of this present existence?

<sup>77</sup> 'Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod, vol. ka, 175b<sub>1-3</sub>: | de nas yongs su rdzogs pa'i pa ṇḍi ta (text: pa nti) chen por gyur kyang || snying po'i don la lhag par mos pa la || klu sgrub (text: grub) kyis mdzad pa'i pha rgyud rim lnga dang || ma rgyud phyag rgya bzhi'i don thugs su ma (delete ma?) chud pas || kha sar pa ni sgrol ba'i snying po yi ge bcu pa bye ba cig bzlas shing phyag dang bskor ba byas nas gsol ba gdab pas rmi lam du spyen ras gzigs kyis lung bstan pas || kyai pa ṇḍi ta khyod sha nti pa'i rigs ma yin pas || lho dar ba'i rigs yin pas lho dpal (text: bal) gyi ri la song cig || dpal sha ba ri dbang phyug gis rjes su bzung nas 'khrul pa'i the tshom (text: tsom) mchod par 'gyur ro |

<sup>78</sup> For O-te-sha? See Tucci 1971:222<sub>12-13</sub>: paścād gate sati sāgareṇa militaḥ | **udradeśa-** paryantena manobhaṅgacittaviśrāmayor vārttām na śrutavān |

<sup>79</sup> 'Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod, vol. ka, 175b<sub>3-5</sub>: | de nas lam du rgyal bu sa ka ra (=Sāgara) dang phrad nas song song ba las | o te sha'i yul du zla ba phyed btsal bas ma rnyed || pu ṭi na na tra (=Dhānyakaṭaka?) zhes bya ba'i mchod rten lo cig la sgrol (text: bsgrol) mas 'di nas nub byang 'tshams su zhag lnga song shig dang || khyod 'dod pa'i bla ma yod zer ro || de nas phyin dang zhag bcu shing thog za zhing btsal bas ma rnyed | | skyes bu de dang ma phrad pa ni kha zas dang ma bral bas lan snyam nas || rdo leb cig gi rteng du zhag bdun bsnyung bar gnas so |

When he was about to jump off [a cliff] engulfed by clouds, he was held [back] by the prince [Śāgara]:

You are not a heretic; committing [suicide] is wrong.

They went in search of [him again] and met him face to face at the place of encounter. [Śavaripa] said the following:

Seeing [me], you will be liberated. Even if you do not see me, you will be liberated. Seeing me, you will be bound [in *saṃsāra*]. Even if you do not see me, you will be bound. Do not be obsessed by [the desire] to see [me]. Even if you see me, don't think you have.

Then he disappeared.<sup>80</sup>

Then he searched again. At the place of symbolic teaching there was a yoginī killing lice. The yoginī shot an arrow at a pig which came out of a thick forest, killed [the pig] and ate [its] flesh. The yoginī sang the following song:

From the thick forest which is the *saṃsāra* of the three realms  
 Came the wild pig of ignorance.  
 I shot the arrow of clear insight and killed the wild pig of ignorance.  
 I devoured the flesh [in an experience of] non-duality,  
 And experienced its taste as great bliss.  
 I did not see any real flesh.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>80</sup> *Op. cit.*, 175b<sub>5</sub>-176a<sub>2</sub>: *de rmi lam btang pas mjal ba zhig rmi kyang || btsal bas ni ma rnyes yi chad nas tshe phyi ma la mjal bar bya | srog gi dbang po 'dis dgos pa ci yod snyam nas sprin phung nas lceb bar brtsams pa la rgyal bus (text: pos) bzung nas || khyed mu stegs pa ni ma lags de ltar mdzad pa 'chug (text: cug) lags zer ro || der tshol du phyin pa dang zhal mjal ba'i gling du mngon sum du zhal mjal ste || 'di skad gsungs | mthong ba ni grol gyur te || nga ma mthong bas kyang grol bar 'gyur || nga mthong ba ni 'ching 'gyur te || nga ma mthong kyang 'ching bar 'gyur || mthong yang mthong snyam ma sems cig || zhes gsungs nas mi snang bar gyur to |*

<sup>81</sup> This *vajra*-song is normally attributed to Śavaripa himself (Mathes 2008b:247).



Then she killed a deer and sang:<sup>82</sup>

Born in the forest, which is the *saṃsāra* of the three realms,  
The deer of subject-object duality roams.  
I shot the arrow of *mahāmudrā*  
And killed the deer of ignorance.

[Then the yoginī] disappeared. Still not convinced, Śavaripa sang the following song:

What has never been born  
Will not die;  
Nobody is bound by existence  
Or liberated [from it].

The novice monk Sāgarasiṃha was without doubt and became a Buddha without remainder. Śavaripa disappeared.<sup>83</sup> Again he searched for [the guru] and at the place of [testing] the basis [he found] a yoginī giving [Śavaripa] a foot massage. Maitrīpa became jealous, and Śavaripa said:

I have the Buddha's intention, which is like the sky, and I will teach it to you.

The yoginī said:

<sup>82</sup> 'Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod, vol. ka, 176a<sub>2-4</sub>: | de nas yang btsal bas brda bstan pa'i gling du rnal 'byor ma cig shig srog gsod cing 'dug || rnal 'byor ma cig gis nags seb nas phag cig byung ba la mda' rgyab te bsad nas sha zos pa dang || rnal 'byor mas 'gur bzhengs pa khams gsum 'khor ba'i nags tshal 'thibs po nas || ma rig pa'i phag rgod rgyu ba la || shes rab gsal ba'i mda' cig brgyab || ma rig phag rgod ngas bsad do || sha ni (text: na) gnyis su med par zos || ro ni bde ba chen por myong || sha'i dngos po ngas ma mthong ces pa dang | yang sha ba bsad nas 'gur bzhengs pa ||

<sup>83</sup> Op. cit., 176a<sub>4-6</sub>: | khams gsum 'khor ba'i nags tshal skyed na || bzung 'dzin ri dwags sha ba rgyu ba la || phyag rgya chen po'i mda' cig rgyab || ma rig sha ba ngas bsad do | log 'das (text: 'des) so || des kyang yid ma ches pa la ri khrod pas 'gur bzhengs pa || gang yang mi skye gang yang mi 'chi ste || gang yang srid pas bcings dang grol ba med | ces gsungs pas || dge tshul a ka ra sid te the tshom med par phung po lhag med du sangs rgyas so || ri khrod pa yang mi snang bar gyur to ||

Sir, I am not sure whether he is a proper recipient. Do not teach [him] yet!

She hit Maitrīpa's head, pressed him down, and [Śavaripa] disappeared.<sup>84</sup> Then, at the place of giving empowerment, [Śavaripa] held a golden vase in his hand and gave [Maitrīpa] an empowerment. Bal po [Asu]<sup>85</sup> said that after the empowerment, [Śavaripa] gave instructions on the four seals, [but] according to Ti pu [pa]<sup>86</sup> [Śavaripa] sang [the following] song [of] commitment (*samaya*):

When the natural mind has been purified,  
 The guru's qualities enter your heart.  
 Realizing this, Saraha sang this song  
 Though he had not seen a single tantra, a single mantra.  
 When the guru's words have entered your heart,  
 It is like seeing a treasure on the palm of your hand.<sup>87</sup>  
 On the path of non-conceptual realization (*amanasikāra*)—  
*mahāmudrā*—  
 Do not entertain any hopes for any fruition whatsoever.  
 If you realize the true nature of mind by yourself, this is  
*mahāmudrā*.  
 What appears in this way is nothing outside your own mind.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>84</sup> *Op. cit.*, 176a<sub>6</sub>–b<sub>1</sub>: || yang btsal bas gzhi'i gling du rnal 'byor ma cig gis (text: gi) zhabs la sku mnye byed cing 'dug pa la || mai tris phrag dog byas pas || ri khrod pa'i zhal nas nga la sangs rgyas kyi dgongs pa nam mkha' 'dra cig yod khyod la bstan par bya'o gsungs pa la || rnal 'byor ma cig na re rje btsun 'di snod ldan yin nam ma yin cha med pas da rung ma bstan (text: ba .. na) cig gsungs nas mai tri pa'i mgo 'o rdog pas mnan nas mi snang bar gyur |

<sup>85</sup> Bal po Asu was a Nepalese disciple of Vajrapāṇi. See Schaeffer 2005:63.

<sup>86</sup> Ti pu pa was a direct disciple of both Nāropa and Maitrīpa (Roerich 1949-1953:437).

<sup>87</sup> The first six verses are identical with Saraha's *Dohākośagīti* (Shahidullah 1928:139<sub>o</sub>-12): *ñiamaṇa sabbe sohia jabbê gurugūṇa hiyae pāisai tabbê | eba amane muṇi sarahê gāhiu tanta manta ṇaii ekka bi cāhiu ||*; and *ibid.*, 131<sub>26-27</sub>: *jai gurubuttabo hiahi pāisai ṇihia hatthattḥia bia u dīsai*.

<sup>88</sup> It should be noted that Śavaripa's song is fully in line with the tradition of Saraha's *dohās*. In fact, the first six verses are found in Saraha's *Dohākośagīti*, while the verses no. 7 and 8 are nearly identical with the following passage in Saraha's \**Mahāmudropadeśa* (DKMU 79b<sub>1</sub>):

The empowerment having been bestowed in such a way, Maitrīpa did not believe [in it] and harboured doubts. Sāgarasimha believed immediately and sang the following song:<sup>89</sup>

The victorious Śavaripa, who abides on Śrī Parvata,  
The bow, the deer and the pig are not [real], but emanations.  
Like the full moon, they are beautiful in [eyes of] the world.  
I rejoice in all [these] beings in the form of emanations.  
With regard to what is wholesome and what are misdeeds,

---

As to [the path on which] you should not become mentally engaged—  
*mahāmudrā*—

Do not entertain any hopes for any fruition whatsoever.

(*yid la byar med phyag rgya chen po ni || 'bras bu gang du'ang re bar ma byed cig*).

Saraha continues (*Ibid.*, fol. 79b<sub>1-2</sub>):

A mental state of hope has never arisen,

What is the use then of things abandoned and attained?

If there was something to be attained through anything—

Enough of [these] four seals on which [yogins] depend!

(*re ba'i sems ni gdod nas ma skyes pas || spang dang thob pa'i dngos po ci zhig yod || gal te gang gis thob pa'i dngos yod na || bsten pa'i phyag rgya rnam bzhis ci zhig byed |*)

While Bal po Asu's version of the story requires a more tantric context, Ti pu pa's account suggests that in his empowerment, Śavaripa merely pointed out the true nature of mind. This depends on the guru's qualities and the purity of the disciple's mind and not necessarily on the four seals. The fact that two contradictory versions of Śavaripa's empowerment are reported in the History of the Twenty-Five Texts of the *Amanasikāra* Cycle convincingly suggests that in India, there was already a *mahāmudrā* tradition that was not specifically tantric (first published in Mathes 2014:375).

<sup>89</sup> 'Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod, vol. ka, 176b<sub>1-4</sub>: *de nas dbang bskur ba'i gling du gser gyi bum pa phyag du bsnams (text: snams) nas || dbang bskur ste de yang bal po'i bzhed pas dbang bskur ba'i rjes la phyag rgya bzhi'i gdams ngag bstan zer || ti (text: te) pu'i bzhed pas dam tshig mgur (text: 'gur) du bzhengs pa || gnyug ma'i sems ni gang tshe thams cad sbyang gyur pa'i || de tshe bla ma'i yon tan snying la 'jug par 'gyur || 'di ltar rtogs nas mda' bsnun glu len te || sngags dang rgyu gnyis kyang ma mthong ngo || bla mas smras pa gang gi snying zhugs pas || lag pa'i mthil (text: 'thil) du gnas pa'i gter mthong 'dra || yid la mi byed phyag rgya chen po'i lam || 'bras bu gang la yang re ba ma byed cig | rang gis sems nyid rtogs na phyag rgya chen po ste || 'di ltar snang ba 'di yang rang gi sems las logs na med || ces dbang bskur bas mai tri pas yid ma ches ste the tshom (text: tsom) skyes pa dang | a ka ra si ngha glo (text: blo) bur du byung nas 'gur bzhengs pa |*

Do not rely on [notions such as] remedy and what is opposed [to remedy].

[Your] wisdom of self-awareness is [powerful] like a lion.<sup>90</sup>

Still, Maitrīpa did not believe, and at the place for explaining the Dharma [Śavaripa] explained [to him] the Dharma. He spoke a few words about the *Anāvilatantra*, which is like the sky, the *Guhyasamājatantra*, which is like the ocean, the *Hevajratantra*, which is like wisdom, and the *Cakrasamvaratantra*, which is like a blessing. [Then] he explained the Dharma of the *dohās* and so forth, and said:

Since you do not believe me and harbour doubts, you will not be a Buddha in this life. You will be a Buddha in accordance with a [future] prophecy by Vajrayoginī.<sup>91</sup>

Maitrīpa then left the three mountains, went for a mile, got tired, and fell asleep at the base of a rock. As a consequence of this he did not remember anything [of what had happened at Śrī Parvata] and prepared himself to commit suicide. Śavaripa came in the sky in front of him and asked:

Maitrīpa, what is wrong?

[He answered:]

I forgot everything and thought of committing suicide.

[Śavaripa] said:

<sup>90</sup> *Op. cit.*, 176b<sub>4-6</sub>: *ri'i mchog la bzhugs pa'i rgyal ba ri khrod pa || gzhu dang ri dwags phag pa ma yin sprul pa ste | zla ba gang ba bzhin du 'jig rten na ni mchog tu mdzes || sprul pa'i gzugs kyi skye bo thams cad mgu byed pa || dge dang sdig pa gang la yang || mi mthun gnyen po khyod ma brten || rang rig ye shes seng ge bzhin |*

<sup>91</sup> *Op. cit.*, 176b<sub>6</sub>-177a<sub>2</sub>: *zhes pas kyang yid ma ches pa la || chos bshad pa'i gling du chos bshad pa la nam mkha' lta bu'i rgyud rnyog pa med pa || rgya mtsho lta bu'i rgyud gsang ba 'dus pa dang || ye shes lta bu'i rgyud gyes pa rdo rje dang || byin brlabs lta bu'i rgyud 'khor lo sdom pa rnam tshig cig dang gnyis su bka' stsal || do ha la sogs pa'i chos bshad nas khyod nga la ma dad cing the tshom (text: tsom) skyes pas tshe 'di nyid la sangs mi rgya bar rdo rje nal 'byor mas lung bstan nas sangs rgya'o gsungs ||*

Advayavajra, Avadhūtīpa,  
 how is it possible to forget  
 things which have not arisen?  
 How is it possible to forget  
 Things which have not passed out of existence?  
 The primordial liberation of the three realms  
 Is obstructed by ignorance.  
 [Ultimate] Cakrasaṃvara, great bliss,  
 Is the nature of non-arising.

Thus Maitrīpa found realization.<sup>92</sup> He reached an understanding of all outer and inner phenomena including the three mountains, and described his view [to the guru for his assessment]:

All phenomena are empty.  
 Emptiness and compassion  
 Are not two, and this is the teacher.  
 Appearances of relative truth are the teacher.  
 Having investigated the meaning of the yoginī[‘s symbolic instructions]  
 I will be liberated in any case.

Moreover, he said:

I realize that [the true state] is natural, without mental engagement,  
 Without even a speck of recollection.  
 Now, I will not ask anybody anymore.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>92</sup> *Op. cit.*, 177a<sub>2,4</sub>: *de nas mai tri ri gsum dang bral nas dpag tshad phyin pa dang chad nas brag rtsa* (text: *tsa*) *cig du gnyid log pas chos thams cad dung phyis pa bzhin du brjes nas lceb pa* (text: *lce bar*) *bzo ba dang || ri khrod pa mdun gyi* (text: *gyis*) *nam mkha' la byon nas mai tri pa khyod ci nyes gsung chos brjed pas lcebs par* (text: *lce bas bas*) *mno byas pa || gnyis med rdo rje a ba 'du ti pa (=Avadhūtīpa) | ma skyes pa'i chos rnams la || brjed ces bya ba ga la srid || ma 'gags pa'i chos rnams la || brjed ces bya ba ga la srid || khams gsum ye nas grol ba la || ma rig pas* (text: *pa'i*) *bsgrib pa yin | 'khor lo bde mchog bde ba'i mchog || ma skyes pa'i rang bzhin nyid || ces gsungs pas || mai tri pas rtogs pa mnyed de |*

Then he returned home and his fame spread everywhere, and he became known as the teacher Maitrīpa who went to Śrī Parvata in the south, met the glorious Śavaripa, and is [now] in possession of an amazing tenet [based] on non-abiding as view [and] non-conceptual realization as meditation.<sup>94</sup>

At this time there was a heterodox teacher called Ma-tra-ru-dra who was surrounded by a following of great heterodox teachers and two thousand heterodox [disciples]. He defeated Buddhist paṇḍitas, one after the other, and took over their monasteries, and having come to Nālandā, he said to Maitrīpa:

If it is true that you have met Śavaripa, I will not prevail and [so shall] embrace your teaching. If I win, you shall not claim to have met Śavare[śvara], and together with your following you must bow to me.<sup>95</sup>

For each of them a huge throne was erected. On each side, there were thirteen [men] holding parasols. A great assembly [consisting of] the king, ministers and the people gathered to [witness] the spectacle. To the non-Buddhist and Buddhist paṇḍitas who served as witness, Maitrīpa presented four great propositions. Even though each of [the great

<sup>93</sup> *Op. cit.*, 177a<sub>4-6</sub>: | *ri gsum dang bcas pa phyi nang chos thams cad kyi go ba rnyed nas lta ba phul ba | chos rnams thams cad stong pa nyid | stong pa nyid dang rnying rje nyid | | gnyis su med pa slob dpon yin | | kun rdzob snang ba slob dpon yin | | rnal 'byor ma'i don la rnam dpyad nas | | gang ltar byas kyang grol bar 'gyur | zhes pa dang | bcos ma yin pa | | yid la mi byed pa | dran pa rdul tsam yang med pa ngas rtogs | | da su la yang dri bar mi byed ces zer ro |*

<sup>94</sup> *Op. cit.*, 177a<sub>6</sub>-b<sub>1</sub>: | *de nas yul du phyin pas slob dpon mai tri pa lho dpal gyi ri la byon nas dpal sha wa ri dbang phyug dang mjal | | lta ba rab tu mi (text om. mi) gnas pa dang | | bsgom pa yid la mi byed pa la sogs grub mtha' ngo mtshar can 'dug go zhes bsnyan pa'i grags pa phyogs thams cad du khyab bo |*

<sup>95</sup> *Op. cit.*, 177b<sub>1-3</sub>: | *de'i tshe mu stegs gi (text: gis) ston pa ma tra ru tra bya ba cig 'khor mu stegs gi ston pa chen po rnams dang | | mu stegs nyis stong yongs su bskor nas | | nang pa sangs rgyas pa'i pa ṇḍi ta rnams rims kyis (text: kyi) pham par byas nas gtsug lag khang rnams phog nas na len tra 'ongs nas mai tri pa la khyod sha ba ri dbang phyug (text: ri phug) dang mjal ba bden na ngas mi thub pas nga yang khyod kyis bstan pa la 'jug | | nga rgyal na khyod sha ba ri dang mjal ma zer cig | | khyod 'khor dang bcas pa yang nga la 'dud dgos zer nas |*

teachers] who were headed by the heterodox teacher Na-ti-ka-pa ( \*Sahajavajra?)<sup>96</sup> challenged him, they found no way to confute him. The heterodox teachers were fully convinced [by Maitrīpa] and said:

You may think the Buddha [was great], but [Maitrīpa] here definitely is.

The heterodox Na-ti-ka-pa offered up his retinue of two thousand [followers] including [those holding] parasols and [all of them] followed Maitrīpa.<sup>97</sup>

Then, at the time of the anniversary commemoration of the Buddha, Śāntipa posted an announcement of a disagreement [with Maitrīpa]. Thinking that it was not appropriate to have a dispute with [his former] teacher [Śāntipa], [Maitrīpa] did not debate, and many rumours spread that the tenet of Śavari[pa] did not match the reasoning of Śāntipa. The following day [Maitrīpa thought] he would be allowed to debate and [so] posted an announcement stating that he (i.e., Śāntipa) should come [to debate]. Everybody discussed [this] and thrones were erected. Even though invited thirteen times, [Śāntipa] did not turn up. Everybody said that Maitrīpa was the winner, and half of the offering to Bodhgayā was given to him. Thus he became known as a sovereign master.<sup>98</sup> At this

<sup>96</sup> For Na-te-ka-ra? In his Blue Annals 'Gos Lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal reports, that one of Maitrīpa's four great disciples named \*Sahajavajra first was the heretic Na-te-ka-ra. (Roerich 1949-53:842). Brunnhölzl (2007:130) refers to this former heretic as Naticara.

<sup>97</sup> 'Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod, vol. ka, 177b<sub>3-5</sub>: khri chen po re so sor brtsigs || gdugs bcu gsum bcu gsum phan tshun du bzung || rgyal po dang blon po skye bo'i tshogs chen po ltad mo la 'dus || phyi pa dang nang pa'i pa ṅdi ta rnams kyi dpang po byed pa la mai tri pas dam bca' chen po bzhi bzhag pa la || mu stegs kyi ston pa na ti (text: ting) ka pas gtso byas rnams kyi re re nas brtsad kyang | glags ma rnyed de || mu stegs kyi ston pa rnams shin tu dad nas sangs rgyas byas kyang 'di ka yin zer nas || mu stegs na ti ka pa 'khor nyi stong gdugs dang bcas pa phul nas rje mai tri pa'i rjes su 'brang ngo |

<sup>98</sup> Op. cit., 177b<sub>5</sub>-178a<sub>1</sub>: | yang sangs rgyas kyi dus mchod la || shan ti pas brtsod pa'i sgo yig sbyar bas || slob dpon rtsod pas mi 'ong snyam nas ma brtsad pas || sha ba ri grub mtha' shan ti pa'i rigs pas mi thub pa yin zer ba'i gtam chen po byung || sang de rtsod pas chog gis || byon cig byas pa'i sgo yig sbyar bas thams cad bsgros ste khri bshams nas || gdan 'dren len bcu gsum btang ma byung nas thams cad kyis (text: kyi) mai tri pas rgyal ba yin<sup>a</sup> zer nas rdo rje gdan gyi mchod pa phyed phul nas mnga' bdag du grags || <sup>a</sup> The text reads *ma yin* instead of *yin*

time the students requested the teacher, whose view was that of Apratiṣṭhāna-Madhyamaka, to [compose] a treatise which teach the special subtleties of [his] tenet, which is at the peak of all tenets. Thereupon he composed the *[Tattva]ratnāvalī*.<sup>99</sup>

Then, in a similar way, [Maitrīpa] enjoyed without obstruction the infinite sky of knowable objects. Surrounded by a hundred thousand sun-rays of scripture and reasoning, he drove the owls of bad views far away, and at this time the sun of the teaching alone was shining. It rose on the snow mountain of omniscient mind. Realization, wisdom and energy—[all] three—were complete in [his] body. He spread the roar of essencelessness [and] emptiness in the ten directions. This is what the supreme lion of speech taught:

The lion who conquers the elephant of  
Knowledge that arises through causes—this is my treatise.

The answer to the question of the reason for that is self-evident.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>99</sup> *Op. cit.*, 178a<sub>1-2</sub>: | *de'i tshe slob ma rnams kyis slob dpon lta ba dbu ma rab tu mi gnas pas* || *grub mtha' thams cad kyi rtser gyur pa grub mtha'i khyad par phra mo ston pa'i gzhung cig zhus pas rin chen phreng ba 'di mdzad do* |

<sup>100</sup> *Op. cit.*, 178a<sub>2-4</sub>: | *de yang 'di ltar rab 'byam shes bya'i mkha' la thogs med spyod* || *lung rigs tsha zer 'bum gyis yongs su bskor* | *lta ngan 'byung po'i bya tshogs ring du bskrang* || *bstan* (text: *bsten*) *pa'i nyi ma cig pu dus der shar* || *kun mkhyen dgongs pa'i gangs kyi ri la skyes* || *rtogs pa ye shes rtsal gsum lus la rdzogs* || *bdag med stong pa'i nga ro phyogs bcur sgrog* || *smra ba'i seng ge mchog des 'di skad lo* || *rgyus skyes ye shes glang po che* (text: *ches*) || *'joms byed seng ge bdag gi* (text: *gis*) *gzhung zhes gsungs* || *de'i rgyu mtshan zhus pa'i lan rang grol yod de* |