The Life of the Mahāsiddha Tilopa

Mar-pa Chos-kyi bLo-gros
THE LIFE OF THE 
MAHĀSIDDHA TILOPA

by
Mar-pa Chos-kyi bLo-gros

Translated by
Fabrizio Torricelli and
Āchārya Sangye T. Naga

Edited by
Vyvyan Cayley

LIBRARY OF TIBETAN WORKS AND ARCHIVES
Contents

Foreword \hspace{1cm} v
Preface \hspace{1cm} vii
Transliteration of the Tibetan Text \hspace{1cm} 1
Translation of the Tibetan text \hspace{1cm} 25
Notes \hspace{1cm} 61
References \hspace{1cm} 79
Foreword

We are pleased to publish this short work on the life of the Indian mahāsiddha Tilopa, which appears to have been composed in the 11th century by the great Marpa Lotsawa Chos-kyi bLo-gros of Tibet.

This text is an account of the ‘complete liberation’ of the guru of Naropa; as such it will be appreciated not only by disciples of the Kagyud-pa tradition of Tibetan Buddhism, but also by others interested in the lives of the Buddhist saints and masters.

The work has been ably and devotedly translated by Italian scholar Fabrizio Torricelli in collaboration with Sangye Tendar Naga from our own Research and Translation Bureau. We delight in the merit they gain by making this text accessible to the reading public. In addition to the translation, they have provided a transliteration of the original Tibetan script for scholars who wish to read the account in both languages.

May the contents of this book be beneficial for all beings and help to spread the rays of Buddhism throughout the world.

Gyatsho Tshering
Director

January 1995
Preface

The text we present is the earliest biography of the mahāsiddha Tilopa of which we have direct knowledge. In fact, from the dedicatory verses and the colophon, it appears to have been composed by the great dKar-brgyud-pa master Mar-pa Chos-kyi-blo-gros (1012-1097) for the benefit of his son Dar-ma mdos-sde.1

It is a short work included in a collection of texts of the Mar-pa dKar-brgyud-pa tradition: bDe-mchog mkha'-gro snyan-rgyud, vol. kha-brGyud-pa yid-bzhin-nor-bu'i rnam-par thar-pa, fols. 1b-11b. Such texts are connected with the oral tradition (snyan-rgyud) transmitted by the disciple of Mi-la-ras-pa, Ras-chung rDo-rje-grags (1084-1161) and, because of that, they are known as Ras-chung snyan-rgyud. The manuscript, compiled by Shar-kha Ras-chen, Kun-dga'-dar-po and Byang-chub-bzang-po in the first half of the 16th century, is written in a cursive script (dbu-med), which is known as khams-bris, where many short forms are attested.

As to the genre, it belongs to what we could call "Buddhist hagiology", being an account of the 'complete liberation' (Tib. rnam-par thar-pa, Skt. vimokṣa) of the guru of Naropa. These rnam-thar, G. Tucci (1949: 150-151) has written,

... must be considered neither histories nor chronicles. The events they relate with a particular satisfaction are spiritual conquests, visions and ecstasies; they follow the long apprenticeship through which man becomes divine, they give lists of the texts upon which saints trained and
disciplined their minds, for each lama they record the masters who opened up his spirit to serene visions, or caused the ambrosia of supreme revelations to rain down upon him. Human events have nothing to do with these works, [...]. Kings, princes and the great ones of this world have no place there, or they only appear as helpful and pious patrons. Every happening is thus seen in the light of spiritual triumphs.

A contextual reading of other Ti-lo-pa'i rnam-thar which are available has been necessary in order to understand some difficult expressions and puzzling passages in our text: especially because of the so often wrong, or unusual, spelling of many words. The most useful hagiographic sources we sifted through are the following:

—rgyal-thang-pa bDe-chen-rdo-rje (13th cent.), rje-btsun chen-po Tilli-pa'i rnam-par thar-pa, in dKar-brgyud gser-'phreng, fols. 1a-22a. The English 'Preface' to the reproduction of the manuscript has the following observation to make on rGyal-thang-pa: "No biography of this master is immediately available, but it is known that he was a disciple of rGod-tshang-pa mGon-po-rdo-rje (1189-1258), the last guru whose biography appears in this collection." The manuscript, following the 'Brug-pa dKar-brgyud-pa tradition, can be dated to the latter half of the 15th century or the first half of the 16th century and is preserved at Hemis in Ladakh.

—Grub-thob O-rgyan-pa Rin-chen-dpal (1229/30-1309), Te-lo-pa'i rnam-thar, in bkra'-brgyud yid-bzhin-nor-bu-yi 'phreng-ba, fols. 7a-26a. Like rGyal-thang-pa, O-rgyan-pa was a disciple of rGod-tshang-pa. However, he integrated
the teachings of this master with the instruction he received from a dakini in Uddiyana (Tucci 1940; Tucci 1949: 90-91). This collection of hagiographies, following the 'Bri-gung dKar-brgyud-pa tradition, was written between 1295 and 1304 and is conserved in the library of the Kangyur Rimpoché of Darjeeling.

—rDo-rje-mdzes-'od (13th cent.), rJe-Telo-pa'i rnam-thar, in bKa'-brgyud-kyi rnam-thar chen-mo rin-po-che'i gter-mdzod dgos-'dod 'byung-gnas, fols. 27a-43b. The author was a disciple of dPal-lldan Ri-khrod-dbang-phyug, who was a disciple of rJig-rgten mGon-po, the founder of the 'Bri-gung-pa sect. This text has been of particular use during our work because it is the only one which has been translated into English so far (Great Kagyu Masters: 33-54).

—Mon-rtse-pa Kun-dga'-dpal-lldan (1408-1475?), Ti-lo Shes-rab-hzang-po'i rnam-par thar-pa, in dKar-brgyud gser-'phreng, vol. kha, fols. 12a-23b. The manuscript, compiled and calligraphed in the last half of the 15th century and conserved at Takna in Ladakh, brings together a collection of hagiographies following the 'Ba'-ra 'Brug-pa dKar-brgyud-pa tradition.

—gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka Sangs-rgyas-rgyal-mtshan (1452-1507), Ti-lo-pa'i rnam-thar, in bDe-mchog mkha'-'gro snyan-rgyud, vol. ga, fols. 9b-20a. This biography of Tilopa is included in a Ras-chung snyan-rgyud which was compiled at the end of the 15th century. Even if the dating of the manuscript is quite difficult to achieve, "stylistically, a dating to the second half of the 16th century is not unreasonable." This manuscript (Ms. A) is known as the Bya-btang Thrin-las-dpal-bar Manuscript; there is another set of the same bDe-mchog mkha'-'gro snyan-rgyud
(Ms. B), known as the Gra-dkar Rab-'jam-pa Manuscript, but references here are given only from the former.

—'Bri-gung Chos-rje Kun-dga'-rin-chen (1475-1527), rJe-btsun Ti-lo-pa'i rnam-thar dbang-bzhi'i chu-rgyun, in bKa'-rgyud bla-ma-rnams-kyi rnam-thar rin-chen gser-'phreng, fols. 11b-13b (fol. 12 is missing). This concise text was composed in 1508 by the last abbot of 'Bri-gung monastery to follow the pure 'Bri-gung bKa'-brgyud-pa tradition. In fact, after him the rNyin-ma-pa school gradually took over the monastery.

—dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan (16th cent), rJe-btsun Ti-lo'i rnam-par thar-pa, in bKa'-brgyud gser-'phreng rgyas-pa, fols. 1a-45a. This manuscript, preserved in the monastery of rDzong-khul in Zangskar, is the only one (Ms. A) from which we give references. There is however another manuscript, rJe-btsun Ti-lo-pa dang Nā-ro-pa'i rnam-thar rin-po-che (Ms. B fols. 1b-68a), which is a part of the same collection of hagiographies following the 'Brug-pa dKar-brgyud-pa tradition. The author, who was a disciple of gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka, wrote this rnam-thar in 1523 at rDza-ri bSam-gtan Gling.

—IHa-btsun Rin-chen-rnam-rgyal (1473-1557), Sangs-rgyas thams-cad-kyi rnam-'phrul rje-btsun Ti-lo-pa'i rnam-mgur, fols. 1a-38a. One of the closest disciples of gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka, IHa-btsun faithfully follows the teachings and contents of the oral tradition going back to Ras-chung. This text is particularly beautiful and interesting because it is the only rnam-mgur of Tilopa's we have, i.e. a rnam-thar interspersed with esoteric songs (mgur). These songs are by Tilopa himself and belong to two texts which are in the tantric section (rgyud-'grel) of the bsTan-'gyur, the Acintyamahāmudrā⁴ and the Mahāmudropadeśa.⁵
IHa-bstun compiled this *rnam-mgur* and printed it first in 1550 at Brag-dkar-rta-so. Even if there is another available source of the same text (Ms. B fols. 1a-24a), our references are only from the former (Ms. A).

After the edition of the text, the Tibetan original of the poetical passages has been given together with its English version, in order to assist the reader's comprehension of our attempt at translation.

Fabrizio Torricelli and Sangye T. Naga
Transliteration of the Tibetan Text

[1b.1] folio and line number
[xx] emendation of what precedes
(xx) uncertain text
[[xx]] to be deleted

—0—

[1b.1] // Na mo gu ru de ba dā ki ni / sa ma yā ma nu
sma ra / si dhyaṃ tu ye /
spros bral mkha’ khyab gar dgu’i nyams kyi gdul bya
smin byed [1b.2] sku gsum las / mtsho chen mi g.yam
[mi-g.yo] cung zad dangs (dvangs) pa’i sku gsum mkha’
’gro’i rba’ rlabs can // chu skyes bde chen ’bras bu dngos
sprul ’gro’i mgon shes rab bzang po [1b.3] dang / bcu
gnyas bar du dka’ ba rab spyad nā ro’i pañ chen de la
’dud /

/ gang zhig sku gsum nor bu la /
/ gang gis mi shes rgyas gdab¹ pa /
/ mkha’ ’gro’i gsang tshig [2a.1] lde mig gi /
/ rnam gsum nor bu rab tu stan bya’o [bstan-bya’o] /

/ ngo sprod yid bzhin nor bu yis /
/ chos kyi sku la nga sprod [ngo-sprod] bya /
/ rmi lam yid bzhin nor [2a.2] bu yis /
/ longs sku lus la bzhug par bya /
/ brgyud pa yid bzhin nor bu yis /
/ chos sku dngos su stan par bya’o /²

/ mkha’ ’gro’i snyan brgyud nyi ma’i ’od gsal la /
/ lha min sgra khcan [sgra-gcan³] [2a.3] brjod pas rab ’jigs
nas /
/ mdo sde'i don phyir⁴ yi ger bkod pa la /
/ mkha' 'gros bzod gsol byin gyis rloba /

/ snyan brgyud gdam pa [gdams-pa] kun la stan pa min /
/ [2a.4] ltogs kyang pha ma'i sha la bza' ba min /
/ khye [khe] 'ang tsan dug [btsan-dug] sbyar ba 'tshong pa min /
/ gtag mo [litad-mo] che'ang rang gi snying sprul ston pa min //

del ma mkha' 'gro ma'i snyan brgyud [2b.1] ngo mtshar can
la gsum te [ste] / ston byed slob dpon gyi mtshan nyid
dang / stan pa [bstan-pa] slob ma'i mtshan nyid dang /
stan bya [bstan-bya] chos kyi gnas lugs so // dang po ni /
nyams rtogs brgyud pa thugs rje dang Idan pa la [2b.2]
sogs pa'o // gnyis pa ni / rang gi brgyud la tshe gcig lus
gcig la sangs rgyas 'tshol nus pa la sogs pa'o // gsum pa
stan bya [bstan-bya] chos kyi gnas lugs la gsum te [ste] /
phyi sgro 'dogs spyod byed sprul pa sku'i gdam pa
[gdams-pa] / [2b.3] brgyud pa yid bzhin nor bu dang /
nang nyams len longs spyod rdzogs pa sku'i gdam pa
[gdams-pa] smin lam yid bzhin nor bu dang / gsang pa
ngo spro dchos sku'i gdam pa [gdams-pa] grol lam yid
bzhin nor bu'o //
del las 'di sprul pa sku'i [2b.4] gdams pa brgyud pa yid
bzhin nor bu yin no // de la chos sku ye shes mkha' 'gro
ma'i lo rgyus dang / sprul sku grub thob brgyud pa'i lo
rgyus gnyis las / dang po ni / sangs rgyas thams cad sku
gsum du bzhugs pa ltar ye shes kyi [3a.1] mkha' 'gro ma
'di'ang sku gsum du bzhugs te rgyas par 'og tu 'chad par
'gyur ro // gnyis pa sprul sku grub thob brgyud pa'i rnam
thar la thog mar te lo'i rnam thar la bzhi ste / dang po mi
rang rgyud [3a.2] par grags pa dang / bde mchog gi sprul
par grags pa dang / bde mchog dngos su grags pa dang /
sangs rgyas thams cad kyi sku 'dus par grags pa'o //

—1.1—

De las dang po [3a.4] te lo pa ni / rgya gar shar phyogs za hor gyi yul grong khyer dza ko zhes bya ba na / yab bram ze gsal ba / yum bram ze gsal ldan ma / sring mo bram ze gsal ba’i sgron ma gsum yod pa las // sras med par gyur te phyi [3a.5] nang gi rten thams cad la mchod pa phul nas gsol ba btab pas sras gcig btsas par gyur te / de’i tshe rgya gar shar phyogs thams cad ’od kyis khyab par byung pas mtshan gsal ’od du btags / de nas bram ze mtshan mkhan la [3b.1] bris (dris) pas / des smras pa

/ ’di ni lha klu gnod sbyin nam /
/ sangs rgyas gang yin ma ’tshal bas /
/ skyes bu mchog ’di gces par skyongs /

/ zhes zer ba bzhin / de gces par skyong ba’i dus re zhig na yab phyir thal [3b.2] nas yum sras gnyis yod pa dang / hrib ma hrib pa gcig byung nas bltas pas bud med ni sdug pa’i mtshan ma can / kha phus ’debs pa ’theng zhing mkhar ba la rten pa [brien-pa] mang po’i snang pa [snang-ba] byung nas / ma’i bsam pa [3b.3] la ’dre yin nam / bu ’di rang ’chi’am snyam pa las / bud med rnams kyis smras pa
/ gces par skyangs [bskyangs] kyang mi ‘chi ba’i /
/ sa phyogs dag kyang yod ma yin /

/ ces (zhes) zer ro // mas ‘o na thabs ci byas na phan ces (zhes) 3b.4 gris pas [dris-pas] / yang smras pa

/ bu ma he skyong zhing yi ge brlobs [slobs] /
/ mkha’ ’gro ma yi lung bstan ’byung /

/ gsung nas gar song cha med du thal skad // 
de nas cher skyes pa dang de ltar byed du bcug pas / 
[3b.5] yang ma he skyong par sngar gyi bud med de byung nas / khyod kyi yul dang pha ma la sogs pa ’drir byung pa [byung-ba] la khye’u des smras pa /

/ yul ni shar phyogs dza ko yin /
/ ma ni bram ze gsal ba yin /
/ sring mo bram ze gsal sgron yin /
/ nga rang bram ze gsal ’od yin /
/ shing ’di sha ba’i sdong po yin /
/ yi ge rlabs nas [bslabs-nas] dam chos byed /
/ ma he nor phyir skyong pa yin /

/ ces (zhes) byas pas / [4a.2] bud med de rnams khros pa’i tshul gyis bu khyed kyis mi shes par ’dug

/ yul ni nub phyogs u rgyan yin /
/ yab ni bde mchog ’khor lo yin /
/ yum ni rdo rje phag mo yin /
/ sring mo mkha’ ’gro bde ster ma /
/ khyod rang pan tsa pa na yin /
/ [4a.3] dud ’gro ma he ma skyong por (bar) /
/ byang chub shing gi nags khrod du /
/ nyams myong ma he rgyun du skyongs /
/ zhes zer ro // der khye'us smras pa / de ngas skyong mi shes byas pas / sa la bhe ra ha'i [bhe-ha-ra'i] dur khrod du song shig (zhig) bla mas ston par 'gyur ro // [4a.4] zhes lung stan no [lung-bstan-no] //
de yang lho phyogs kyi rgyud nas sa la bhe ha ra⁶ zhes bya ba dbang phyug chen pos byin gyis rlab pa'i dur khrod yod de / der phyi nang gi mkha' 'gro ma nnams kyi tshogs kyi 'khor lo bskor ba'i tshe bram ze'i khye'us byon te / tsarya ba [tsarya-pa] [4a.5] la gdama pa [gdams-pa] 'ang zhus /
slob dpon chen po la wa pas

/ grong khyer chen po'i srang mdo⁷ ru /
/ bcu gnyis bar du gnyid log pas / /
/ phyag rgya chen po'i dngos grub thob /

/ ces pas 'od gsal zhus /
klu sgrub btsal bas dur khrod de na brtul zhugs spyod pa'i [4a.6] rnal 'byor pa ma tang gi spyil po geig na sgom gyin 'dug te / klu sgrub dri za'i rgyal po la chos bshod du song / skyes bu khyed rjes su 'dzin pa la nga btang pa yin gsung (gsungs) / der mandala phul te zhus pas / dpal gsang ba 'dus pa'i [4a.7] dkyil 'khor dngos su sprul nas dbang bskur / brgyud [rgyud] bshad pas sems kyi ngo bo mthong /
der lha khang cig na zhang po'i brgyad stong pa [brgya-stong-pa] cig srog sar / bud med geig byung nas 'di'i don shes sam zer / ma shes byas pas 'o na ngas bshad kyi zer nas [4b.1] de'i don bshad / he badzra dang / 'khor lo sdom pa'i dbang bskur dang rgyud bshad / lu hi pa'i dgongs pa 'di ltar yin pas bsgoms [sgoms] shig zer / zhang pos sgom du mi ster byas pas / brgya stong pa thag pa chod la iha khang gi kha nas chu la dor la / [4b.2] smyo rdzu thob la bsogs shig / ngas byin gyis rlab pas brgya (brgyad) stong pa ci yang mi nyes zer nas de
ltar byas pas / brgya (brgyad) stong pa ci yang ma nyes

/smyo 'dug zer nas lcags bcug / de bde bar gshegs pa'i
thugs gnyis su med pa la gsal bar snang ba'i lam thams
 cad kyi [4b.3] snying pa [snying-po] rim pa gnyis la gom
(goms) par byas so //
de nas lung bstan pa

/shar phyogs bhang ga la'i brgyud /
/ pān tsha pa na'i tshong 'dus na /
/ smad 'tshong bha ri 'khor bcas kyi /
/ de'i [de-yi] zhabs 'breng byas na gsangs [bsang] /
/ spyod mthar thon nas dngos grub thob /

[4b.4] ces pa dang der phyin nas / mtshan bzhin skies pa
'gugs pa dang skyel ba'i las byas // nyin bzhin til 'bru ba'i
las byas pas rgya gar skad du ti lo pa / bod skad du /
til bsrungs zhabs zhes grags so //
de nas dur khrod ke re li zhes bya bar [4b.5] phyin nas
bha ri ma gnyis gsang ba sngags kyi spyod pas mnyes
 te / mthar phyin par mdzad do //
de nas yang tshong 'dus der til 'bru 'phro la phyag rgya
chen po mchog la nye ba'i dngos grub thob par gyur to //
der grong khyer gyi mi rnams mthong [4b.6] tshul tha
dad de 'ga' zhig gis ni me dpung 'bar [pa] bar mthong /
'ga' zhig gis rus rgyan la me 'bar bar mthong ste / mi
rnams kyi gsam pa [gdam-pa] zhus pas / nga'i yid la
skyes pa'i gnyug ma des brjes 'jug [rjes-'jug] khyed kyi
snying la zhus par byos [4b.7] shig / ces brjod pa dang /
de ma thag tu grol bar gyur to //
de nas yul de'i rgyal po 'khor bcas glang po che la zhon
nas snyen bskur (bsnyen bkur) la yongs (yong) pas /
bram ze'i khye'u dang / bha ri ma gnyis kyi sthangs pa'i
sgra chen pos rdo rje'i mgur bzhes pa/
/ [5a.1] gang zhig snying por zhugs pa til gyi mar /  
/ rmongs pas til la yod par shes gyur kyang /  
/ rten cing 'brel 'byung yan lag ma shes na /  
/ til mar snying po 'byung par (bar) mi nus ltar /  
/ lhan cig skyes pa [5a.2] gnyug ma'i ye shes de /  
/ 'gro ba kun gyi snying la yod gyur kyang /  
/ bla mas ma mtshon rtogs par mi nus so /  
/ til brdungs phub ma bsal bar gyur pa las /  
/ til mar snying po byung pa de bzhin du /  
/ bla ma sten pas de bzhin [5a.3] de nyid don /  
/ til mar bzhin du brda' yis bstan par bya /  
/ yul rnams dbyer med ngo bo cig tu 'gyur /  
/ kye ho ring 'gro gting dpag dka' ba'i don /12  
/ da lta nyid du gsal ba ngo mtshar che /  
/ ces (zhes) gsungs pas der 'dus pa thams cad grol bar  
gyur te / [5a.4] mgur de'i don bkrol ba / don la mi 'thun  
pa yang spang du med // gnyen po ye shes skyed du med  
// sa lam bsgrod du med // 'bras bu thob rgyu 'ang med //  
kun rdzob brda' tsam du bla mas stan dgos so // zhes  
pa'o // der khyed kyi bla ma su yin zhes [5a.5] pas  
/ nga la mi'i bla ma yod /  
/ klu sgrub tsarya la ba (wa) pa /  
/ skal ba bzang mo bdag gi ni /  
/ bka' babs bzhi'i bla ma yin /  
/ zhes pas / klu sgrub la sgyu lus / tsarya pa la rmi lam /  
la wa pa la 'od gsal / mkha' 'gro ma la gtum mo zhus te  
snyan [5a.6] brgyud kyi chu bo chen po bzhi zhes grags  
so //  

—1.2—

gNyis pa mkha' 'gro dbang du bs dus nas chos zhus pa ni  
// yang bud med rnams byung nas smras pa /
snyan rgyud yi ge med pa ni /
dri med mkha' 'gro ma la yod /
yid bzhin nor bu rnams gsum [5a.7] long /

zhes gsungs pas / ngas mi lon byas pas / yang bud med
rnams 'di skad du

u rgyan gnas kyi ghando lir [ghando-lar] /
lung stan (bstan) dam tshig ldan pa yis /
skal ba can gyis blangs na lon /

ces (zhes) pas / ji ltar byas na lon byas pas / [5b.1]
[[pas]] shel gyi skras pa dang / rin po che'i zam pa dang /
rtsa byi zung rnams khyer la u rgyan du song ces [zhes]
lung stan no [lung-bstan-no] // de rnams yab kyis tshegs
med par snyed de (brnyes te) khyer nas phyin to //
de yang nub phyogs u rgyan gyi yul ghando la'i gtsug
lag khang na chos [5b.2] sku ye shes kyi mkha' 'gro ma
zhes bya ba de / dmigs pa chad pa med pa'i gnas na
gnyis su med pa'i ngang la / bzhugs pa med pa'i tshul
gyis rgyal mo'[tshul du bzhugs so // de ka'i drung na
long sku [longs-sku] rigs lnga'i mkha' 'gro ma [5b.3] {ma}
bya ba de / rin po che'i pho brang na yid bzhin gyi nor
bu rin po che rnam gsum ni rbas / mi phyed pa'i lcags
kyis bcug ste rgya bdun gyis btab / mkhar dang 'obs
dang lcags ris bskor nas blon po'i tshul du bzhugs so //
de ka'i drung na sprul sku za byed [5b.4] las kyi mkha' 'gro ma de dad pa dang mos pa rnams la dngos sgrub
dngos-grub] ster / ma dad pa dang dam tshig nyams pa
rnams tshar gcod cing za byed14 / sgo ma'i tshul du
bzhugs so // der bram ze'i khye'u des nub phyogs u
rgyan gyi yul ghando li'i [ghando-la'i] gtsug lag khang gi
[5b.5] drung du phyin pa dang / sprul skus [sprul-sku] las
kyi mkha' 'gro ma ni sa chag pa [sa-chag-pa] skad dam
gnam gnam trum pa [gnam-grum-pa?] skad du
nga ni sprul sku las kyi mkha' 'gro ma/
m'i sha la dga' zhing khrag la rngams/
zer nas byung pa dang bram ze'i khye'us
cher 'jigs mkha' [5b.6] 'gro du mas kyang/
nga'i ba spu'i rtse mi 'gul/
zhes gsungs nas / rig pa brtul zhugs kyi spyod pas zil
gyis mnan te / lus mi g.yo ba / ngag mi rdzi ba / sens ma
zhum pa'i lta stangs byas pas mkha' 'gro de rnam srgyal
bar15 [5b.7] gyur to / rgyal ba sangs pa dang smras pa/
kye ma mar mes sbrang ma rlag pa ltar/
khyod zar 'dod pas bdag cag phung/
dam pa bdag ni ci dgar mdzod/
zer ro // der bram ze'i khye'us nga nang du thong byas
pas / mkha' 'gro rnam s kyis [6a.1] smras pa
bdag cag dran [bran] ltar dbang chung pas /
blon mo dag la ma dris na/
bdag cag sha za khrag 'thung mchis/
dam pas nye bar dgongs par mdzod/
des longs sku'i mkha' 'gro ma la gtad do // de rnam na
re / khyed [6a.2] brtul zhugs chungs 'dug pa nged kyis
bsgral gyis yar thong cig gsung nas bram ze'i khye'us
'obs la rin po che'i zam pa btsugs / lcags ri la shel gyi
skras pa btsugs / rtsa byi zungs kyi [kyis] sgo phye nas
nang du phyin pa dang / blon mo rnam na re
'jigs [6a.3] pa'i sku la 'jigs pa'i gsung/
'jigs pa'i mtshon cha thogs nas kyang/
longs sku rigs lnga'i mkha' 'gro ma/
sha la dga' zhing khrag la rngam/
zhes zer ba dang / yang bram ze'i khye'us smras pa
cher 'jigs mkha' 'gro du mas\textsuperscript{16} kyang kho [6a.4] bo'i ba spu'i khung mi g.yo /

/ ces (zhes) brjod nas lta stangs byas pas rgyal bar gyur
to // nga nang du thong byas pas / blon mos smras pa

/ bdag cag blon ltar dbang chung pas /
/ rgyal mo nyid la ma zhus na /
/ bdag cag bka' chad 'chad\textsuperscript{17} [6a.5] pas gcod /
/ dam pas nye bar dgongs par mdzod /

/ zer te / chos sku'i mkha' 'gro la gsol ba btab nas khye'ui
nang du phyin pa dang / chos sku'i ye shes kyi mkh.
'gro la dpa' bo g.yas bral [gral] // dpa' mo g.yon br.
gral la bsam [6a.6] gyis mi khyab pas bskor nas 'dug pa /
bram ze'i khye'us phyag ma byas pas / 'khor de rnam
na re

/ 'di ni sangs rgyas thams cad kyi /
/ yum gyur bcom ldan 'das ma la /
/ ma gus tshul can cis mi gzhom /

/ zer nas 'joms par [6a.7] rtsams pa dang / de'i dus su
chos sku'i mkha' 'gro ma'i zhal nas 'khor rnam pa

/ 'di ni sangs rgyas thams cad kyi /
/ yab gyur bde mchog 'khor lo ste /
/ mkha' las rdo rje'i char phab kyang /
/ 'di tshe choms par ga la gyur /

/ ces (zhes) gsungs\textsuperscript{18} [6b.1] pas / 'khor rnam kyis
rnam pa khye'u bde mchag 'khor lo [bde-mchog-'khor-l]
yin par ma shes pa'i tshul du smras pa / khyod sus btan
/ su yin / ci 'dod zer pas / bram ze'i khye'us smras pa

/ bdag ni pa'n tsa pa na yin /
/ sring mo bde ster ma [6b.2] yis btang /
/ lta spyod 'bras bu dam tshig dang /
/ sku gsum nor bu len du yongs (yong) /

/ byas pas / 'khor de dag gi khrel rgod bco [co] ba byas te
/ mgrin gcig tu smras pa

/ rmu long [dmus-long] bltas pas gzugs mi mthong /
/ 'on pas nyan pas sgra [6b.3] mi thos /
/ ikugs pas smras pas don mi go /
/ bdud kyis bslus la bden pa med /

/ ces zer ba la / yang slob dpon gyis smras pa /

/ nyes pa zad pa rdzun gyi tshig /
/ smra bar mi 'gyur rgyu med phyir /
/ bdud min [6b.4] mkha' 'gro ma ru bden /

/ byas pas de nas ye shes kyi mkha' 'gro mas sku tsa ka li
/ gsung yig 'bru / thugs phyag mtshan / nor bu rin po che'i brda' byung nas bram ze'i khye'us smras pa /

/ snang stong sku'i gsang mdzod nas /
/ mthun19 mongs yid bzhin nor bu zhu /
/ brjod bral gsung gi gsang mdzod nas /
/ dam tshig [6b.5] yid bzhin nor bu zhu /
/ rtog med thugs kyi gsang mdzod nas /
/ gnas lugs yid bzhin nor bu zhu /

/ byas pas / ye shes kyi mkha' 'gro mas smras pa /

/ thun mongs yid bzhin nor bu la /
/ lung bstan nyams kyi lde mig dgos /
/ lung ma bstan [6b.6] pas phyed ['byed] mi 'gyur /
/ dam tshig yid bzhin nor bu la /
/ bkha' rgyud zab mo'i lde mig dgos /
/ gnyen po med pas phyed ['byed] mi 'gyur /
/ gnas lugs yid bzhin nor bu la /
12 The Life of the Mahāśiddha Tilopa

/shes rab zab mo’i lde mig dgos/
/rtogs pa [6b.7] med pas phyed ['byed] mi 'gyur/

ces (zhes) gsungs^20 pa dang / bram ze’i khye’us smras pa

/mkha’ ’gro’i gsang tshig thugs kyi (kyis) sdom /
/ma rig mun sel ye shes sgron /
/rang rig rang byung rang gsal gyi /
/lung bstan nyams kyi lde mig yod /
/gang [7a.1] yang skye ba med pa yi /
/sem s nyid rang gro lchos sku la /
/rang gro phyag rgya chen por shar /
/dam tshig rang gro lde mig yod /
/dmigs pa yid la mi byed cing /
/dran pa rdul tsam ma skyes pa’i /
/sem s nyid [7a.2] chos nyid chos sku la /
/mthong pa nyams kyi lde mig yod /

ces smras pa dang / ye shes kyi mkha’ ‘gro’i longs sprul

/ bdag cag yab gcig bcom ldan ’das /
/[7a.3] te lo sangs rgyas ’gro ba’i mgon /
/’khor lo bde mchog bde ba che /
/yid bzhin nor bu rnam gsum ‘bul /

/gsungs nas rtsa rgyud le’u nga gcig pa bshad rgyud
dang bcas pa dang snyan rgyud gnang ngo // de ye shes
kya mkha’ ‘gro ma’i zhal nas / nga’i [7a.4] sku sgrub par
‘dod na bskyed rims la brtson par gyis shig / gsung
snying po la thugs rdzogs rims phyag rgya chen po la
brtson par gyis shig / gtsug gi nor bu’i dgon par song la /
na ro ri ri ka so ri gsum brjes su [rjes-su] zung shig /
gsungs nas gtso mo [7a.5] mi snang par gyur to // mtshan te lo shes rab bzang por btags so // smras pa

/ kho bos mkha' la bya bzhin du /
/ 'od gsal sms kyi bya 'phur nas /
/ thog med [thogs-med] shes rab bzang po 'gro /

/ byas pas / longs sprul gnyis kyi mkha' 'gros smras pa

/ [7a.6] dam pa khyod ni ji lta bu /
/ bdag cag don du bzhugs par zhu /
/ zhes zhus pas / te los smras pa

/ gtso mo nyid kyi lung bstan ltar /
/ snod ldan don du rnal 'byor bdag /
/ gtisug gi nor bu'i dgon par 'gro /

/ gsungs nas byon pa'i lam [7a.7] du / lus med mkha' 'gro'i chos skor dgu bar snang nas gnang pa ni

/ lus med mkha' 'gro'i rdo rje'i gsung /
/ dri za'i glu dbyangs snyan pa ltar /
/ bar snang stong las 'di ltar thos /

/ smin grol sms kyi rgya mdud bshig /
/ dam tshig rang sms me long ltos /
/ [7b.1] rtsa rlung gra mig 'khor lo bskor /
/ bde chen gsung gi rin chen zung /
/ rig pa ye shes sgron me ltos /
/ rang grol phyag rgya chen po ltos /
/ dam rdzas rtogs pa'i nyi ma lde /
/ spyod pa chu la ral gri rgyob /
/ ro snyoms phyi'i me long ltos /

/ shes (zhes) pa de rnams bar snang las [7b.2] gsan nas /
/ te los smras pa
14  The Life of the Mahāsiddha Tilopa

/ gtso mo ji lta'ī tshul ston te /
/ sgyu ma lus kyi ghan do' lar /
/ lus med mkha' 'gro'i gsang bcug nas /
/ brjod med ngag gis lcags bcug ste /
/ 'od gsal sems kyi bya 'phur 'gro /
/ gsungs nas gtsug gi [7b.3] nar bu'i [gtsug-gi nor-bu'i]
dgon pa a do na'i gcug [gtsug] lag khang di [gtsug-lag-khang-du] gshegs so //

—1.3—
gSum pa mi'i bla ma med pa ni / der mi mang po 'tshog
nas grub pa thob nas ghando la nas chos lon yod gda' b.
/ bla ma su yin zer ba la

/ nga la mi'i bla ma [7b.4] mad [med] /
/ bla ma thams cad mkhyen pa yin /
/ ces (zhes) gsungs pa'o //

—1.4—
bZhi pa sprul pa sna tshogs bstan pa ni / brgyad ste [de]
dang po rnal 'byor pa zil gyis mnan pa dang / mu steq
pa / sgyu ma mkhan / chang 'tshong ma / glu mkhan
bshan pa / las 'bras med [7b.5] par smra ba mthu bo ch
brtul (btul) ba'o //

—1.4.1—
Dang po ni / rgya gar lho phyogs na rgyal po gcig la m
shin tu byams pas ma de gang dgyses pa byed pas / dg
rtsa gang la dga' / dge ba gcig bya yis bka' gsol byas pas
ma na re / pandita dang / [7b.6] grub thob dang / mkha'
'gro ma bsags te rin po che'i dkyil 'khor bar snang l
bzhengs nas dbang bskur chen po dang tshogs kyi 'kho
lo byed na dga’ zer nas / de ltar byed pa’i pandita rnam
la bang chen re btang / grub thob rnam la bang chen
gcig btang [7b.7] nas / pandita dang grub thob rnam
spyan drangs te / panditas sa chog la sogs pa mdzad pas /
’di rnam kyi gang mdzad kyang yong zhes bsgrags /
ku sa li rnam kyi mdun du bud med mi sslug pa’i mstown
ma can gcig ’ongs nas / khyed kyi tshogs [8a.1] [tshogs]
dpon sus byed zer ba la / ’dren zla med pas
[’gran-zla-med-pa] ngas byed gsungs pas / khyod kyi kyi
’long / nga’i ming pos ’long ste byas pas ga na yod zer ba
la dur khorod na yod byas pas / ’o na khug la shog zer
nas / [8a.2] ’gugs su song pas yong par yod kyi zer /
der ’chi mo [phyi-mo] na byon nas khyi gnyis la ’dren zla med
pa [’gran-zla-med-pa]22 dang gcig bzhugs te / sgra dang
don gyi ’grel ston pa’i tshad ma la brtsad pas mnyam
par byung / nam kha’ [mkha’] la dkyil ‘khor ’bri ba dang
[8a.3] char dang rlung gis mi snang par bya ba’i re mos
byas pas snyam par byung [mnyam-par byung] / seng ge la
zhon nya zla’i khar bang btang pas yang mnyam par
byung pa la / te los nya zla thang la dbab / de’i steng du
seng ge zhon / lus phyir bzlog / ba spu nyag re la [8a.4]
dkyil ’khor dur khorod bcas pa re sprul / der shing re sprul
/ shing re la dkyil dkrungs bcas pa rtsed mo byas pas /
’dren zla med [’gran-zla-med] ma byung pas23 / thams
kad ngo mtshar te / e ma ’di lta bu’i rdzu ’phrul ci las
byung

/ ngo mtshar spyod pa ci las byung /

ces (zhes) brjod [8a.5] pas / lan mgur du bzhes pa

/ kye ma ’dug na nam kha’i (mkha’i) dkyil du ’dug /
/ nyal na mdung gi rtse la nyal /
/ lta na nya zla’i dkyil du ltos /
/ don dam rtogs pa'i te lo pa /
/ nga ni 'bad rtsol kun dang bral /
/
/ ces (zhes) pa dang rang bzhin bsam [8a.6] gyis mi khyab pa gsungs pas / thams cad grol bar gyur to // mtshan yang nus ldan blo gros zhes bya bar btags te / da lta yang u rgyan na 'das grongs mi mnga' bar bzhugs so //

—1.4.2—
gNyis pa mu stegs pa btul [8a.7] ba ni / dpal shri na len trar [na-lan-där] / mu stegs pa'i ston pa grub thob gcig yod pa la / phyi nang thams cad rnung [rgyon?] ldang bya dgos ma byas na nus pa dang brtsod pa [brtsad-pa] 'gran dgos pa la / te lo pas ldang ba ma byas pas / khyod nga la nus pa dang brtsod pa [brtsad-pa] [8b.1] bdo' ba [bdo-ba] gcig 'dug pas 'dran ['gran] zer nas / rgyal po dgung la bzhag / phyi nang gi panruta thams cad 'tshogs nas gang rgyal ba'i bstan pa la 'jug par bya ste brtsod pas [brtsad-pas] kyang mu stegs pa pham par byas / nus pa 'dran pas ['gran-pas] kyang te lo pa ma thub nas / [8b.2] mu stegs pas kha nas me phyung nas btang pas
/
/khams gsum kun kyang g.yo byed pa'i /
/ nga yis mi 'jigs su zhig yin /
/
/ zer bas / phar log nas lan mgur du bzhes pa /
/
/ blta na rmu long [dmos-long] mig gis ltos /
/ skom na mig rgyu'i [smig-rgyu'i] [8b.3] chu la 'thung /
/ bying na bum pa rlung gis khengs /
/ 'jigs pa kun bral te lo yin /
/
/ ces (zhes) pa dang / chos nyid bsam gyis mi khyab pa gsungs pas thams cad grol bar gyur to // mtshan yang nag po dge ba zhes btags te / [8b.4] da lta yang sil ba'i tshal na 'das grongs med par bzhugs so //
gSum pa / sgyu ma mkhan btul ba la / sgyu ma mkhan gcig gis sgyu ma'i dmag gis rgyal pa'i yul 'don pa la / bud med mi sdug pa'i mtshan ma can gcig [8b.5] yongs (yong) nas / khyod kyi dmag dpon gang gis byed byas pas 'di dang 'dis byed byas pas / des mi yong nga'i ming pos yong pa yin te byas pas / ming po gang na yod byas pas dur khrod na shing sha ba dpag tshad gcig la rta rnga btags / de la mi ro'i rkang pa rtag [btags] / de'i lag pa la yang rta Inga rtag ste [btags-te]24 / de la [8b.6] 'jus nas gar byed cing yod // zer / rgyal po la snyad pas rgyal po na re / bud med de la mi srid pa'i gsum byung pas de khrid la shog gsung nas dris pas / gong gi kho na zer te / ttar btang pas mo zer ba bzhin 'dug nas / de nas te lo [8b.7] pa spyan drangs te / sgyu mar ma shes te shor la khad pa la sgyu ma bshig / 'ga' zhig bsad sgyu ma mkhan bzung pa las / sgyu ma mkhan na re

/ chos la rten pa'i skyes bu khyod
\[9a.1\] de ltar bsod pa mngag ma (ga la) rigs /
/ zer bas /
/ sgyu ma'i dmag tshogs bsad pa la /
/ sems med phyir na sdig pa med /
/ bsod na sgyu ma'i25 skyes bu bsod /
/ sgom na dbugs bral lta bur bsgoms /
/ smra na Ikugs pa'i lce yis26 [9a.2] smiros /
/ 'dod na yi ge zad par skyol /
/ ces (zhes) pa dang dngos po bsam gyis mi khyab pa gsumgs pas thams cad gral bar gyur to // mtshan yang slu byed bden smra zhes btags te / da lta yang ha ha sgrog pa na 'das grongs med par bzhugs [9a.3] [[bzhugs]] so //
bZhi pa ’chang ’tshong ma btul ba ni / ’chang ’tshong ma gcig ’chang ’tshong pa’i dus su / te los sprul pa’i spre’u dang byi las chang btsags kyin ’thungs pas mos ngus pas / mi rnam s ci nyes zer lo rgyu’s27 snyad [9a.4] pas / mi rnam s na re / rnal ’byor pa de rang la gsol ba thob dang zer bas chang mas ngus te
/bdag gi mtsho [’tsho] ba chad pas na /
/thugs rje (rjes) rjes su bzung du gsol /
/zhes pas / skad gcig (cig) la chang rdza thams cad chang gis gang par byas ste [te] / mgur bzhes [9a.5] pa
/skom na dug chu khol ma ’thung /
/’phro na spre’u ded la sod /
/gnyen po sgom chen byi la rten (bsten) /
/thams cad lhan skyes ro ru bsgyur /
/don dam sprang po te lo pa /
/khyod kyis mthong med rnal ’byor yin /
/ces (zhes) pa dang bsam gyis [9a.6] mi khyab pa’i bde ba chen po gsungs pas thams cad grol bar gyur to // mtshan yang nyi ’od sgron mar btags te / da lta yang so sa gling na ’das ’grongs med par bzhugs so //

—1.4.5—
INga pa glu mkhan btul ba / glu mkhan mkhas [9a.7] pa gcig yod pas / de’i drung du te lo pas bsam glu blangs pas / khyod ’gran nam zer ’gran gyis byas ste [te] slob dpon gyis glu long zhig / de nas nga yis blang gi gsungs pas / khos kyang rdzogs rdzogs blangs nas de nas slob dpon gyis blangs pas / [9b.1] rdzogs pa ma byung pas khos ma thub / kho na re
/ nga ni tshangs pa'i 'jig rten yang
skyong par [skyeng-par] byed pa'i glu mkhan yin /

/ zer bas / lan du mgur bzhes pa

/ skyo na dri za'i grong khyer ltos /
/ nyan na bung ba'i glu la nyon /
/ lta na [9b.2] rmu long [dmus-long] mig gis ltos /
/ thos yul rnams ni drag cha [brag-cha] 'dra /

/ ces (zhes) pa dang rol mo bsam gyis mi khyab pa
gsungs pas / thams cad grol bar gyur to // mtshan yang
dbyangs ldan lkugs pa zhes btags te / da lta yang na ga
ra na 'das [9b.3] 'grongs yod [med] par bzhugs so //

—1.4.6—

Drug pa shan pa btul ba ni / shan pa gcig sens can gyi
bu tsha thams cad bsad nas bu gcig bso ba [gso-ba] / sha
btsos te bu la sbyin snyam nas khog ma kha phy e bas / te
los bu'i rkang lag [9b.4] (rong)yong par sprul pas / kho na
re

/ rang gis byas pa'i sdig pa de /
/ rang la 'khor ram ji ltar yin /

/ zer nas mya ngan gyis gdungs pa la 'o na gzhan\(^{28}\) mi
bsod na khyod rang gi bu yong pa bya yis gsungs pas /
mi [9b.5] bsod [bsad] zer bas / lan mgur du

/ 'byed na mar khu dangs (dvangs) snyings 'byed /
/ sreg na dus mtha' me yis sregs /
/ 'don na rlung sens\(^{29}\) spyi bor thon /
/ 'khrud na sens kyi dri ma khrus /

/ ces (zhes) pa dang bsod pa'i [gsod-pa'i] sbyor ba bsam
gyis mi khyab pa [9b.6] gsungs pas thams cad grol bar
gyur to // mtshan yang bde byed dga' ba zhes btags so //
da lta yang srin po'i gling na 'das 'grongs mi mnga' bar bzhugs so //

—1.4.7—

bDun pa / las 'bras med par 'dod pa btul ba ni / rgyu 'bras la bkur [9b.7] pa 'debs pa'i rgyang phan pa las dge sdig med zer / nang pa sangs rgyas pas yod zer brtsod pa'i [brtsad-pa'i] dpang po slob dpon la bcol bas / slob dpon gyis las rgyu 'bras yod par 'dod pa rgyal ces (zhes) gsungs pas / rgyang phan pa na re / dngos su mthong ba [10a.1] med zer ba la / slob dpon gyis kho khrid de lha dang dmyal ba la sog pa thams cad sprul gyis bstan nas / lha gnas gcig na lha mo zla med gcig 'dug pa la ci yin byas pas / mu stegs pa 'ga' zhig gis dge ba byed pa yod pas / [10a.2] de'i zla rogs byed pa yin zer / yang dmyal bar khrid nas phyin pa dang / zangs re re'i nang na gtsos rgyu re 'dug pa la gcig na mi 'dug nas / 'dir ci 'tshod byas pas mu stegs pa las dge sdig med zer ba kun 'dir 'tshod zer bas bred 'dug skad / [10a.3] khos smras pa

/ las kyis bsags pa'i sdig pa yi /
/ dmyal ba rang gi sems la 'khor /
/ las kyis bsags pa'i dge ba yis /
/ mtho' ris rang gi sems la 'khor /

/ zer bas / lan mgur du

/ chags na dur khrod gling du skyol /
/ rgud na rgyal mtshan [10a.4] rtse la phyogs /
/ rnam par rtog pa sprul sku ste /
/ ngas ni bstan pa ci yang med /

/ ces dang / sna tshogs bsam gyis mi khyab pa gsungs pas thams cad grol bar gyur to // mtshan yang dzi na byang
chub zhes btags te / da lta yang dpal gyi ri [10a.5] la 'das 'grongs med par bzhugs so //
gzhan yang lus kyi bkod pas sdig mkhan la chos bshad / bzo bo gzo mkhas pa [bzo-mkhas-pa] / sgom chen pa grub pa po / de ltar nya pa dang / khyi ra pa (ba) la sogs pa dpag tu med pa bstan pas / [10a.6] de rnams kyis smras pa /

nya pa la sogs pa byed pa
zer bas

/ don dam rtogs pa'i te lo pa /
/ dge sdig zhes bya'i ming yang med /
/ zer nas g dams ngag zhus so //

—1.4.8—
brGyad pa / mthu mkhan btul ba ni / mthu mkhan gcig gis mthu byas nas thams cad [10a.7] bsod pas [bsad-pas] de 'dul ba'i dus la bab par gzigs nas / te lo dang gnyis chad [bsad] 'gran pas mnyam por byas tshad shi ba la te los shi tshad blangs / bud mad [bud-med] la sogs pa 'ga' zhig ma blangs / kho rang kyang (yang) sdong po r'gad po 'dra ba gcig byas [10b.1] nas / da khyod kyi bu mad [bud-med] slongs na mthu mi byed dam gsungs pas / khos ma bsos te smras pa

/ sos pa med pa'i spyod pa 'di /
/ shan pa rang dang khyad med dam /
/ zer bas / lan mgur du bzhes pa

/ ltos cig rang gi sems la bltos /
/ [10b.2] snang pa'i ri bo khyur mid kyis /
/ rgya mtsho chen po hub kyis thob /
/ 'khor ba'i ltos thag chod la zhog /
/ ces pa dang / 'phrin las bsam gyis mi khyab pa gsungs pas / thams cad grol bar gyur to // mtshan yang nyi i mi zhes [10b.3] btags te / da lta yang gnas ki mi tsi ki li na bzhugs so //

—2—


/ btsun gzugs srog chags bsod pa [bsad-pa] khyod /
/ yul dang mkhan slob su zhig yin /
/ces (zhes) dris pas / lan mgur du gsungs pa

/ dgon pa mya ngan med pa yin /
/ [10b.7] mkhan slob ma dang zhang po yin /
/ bdag rang dga slong [dge-slong] te lo yin /
/ nga yis skal pa bye ba ru /
/ zhing khams brgya ru nga yis phyin /
/ klu sgrub arya de wa [arya-de-wa] dang /
/ sangs rgyas rnam dang nga gtam byas /
/ ngas ni sangs rgyas stong yang mthong /
/ [11a.1] ngas ni sens can bsad pa med /
/ ces gsungs pa dang / cha ga rnams sbrid di re 'phur
song skad / thams cad yid ches te bde mchog gi sprul par
grags so //

—3—
gSum pa bde mchog dngos su 'dod pa ni / rgya gar shar
phyogs su [11a.2] bsod snyoms la byon pas / phar la 'gro
tsa na gom pa babs kyis 'dor30 / mig gnya' shing gang
du lta / snyan sngags kyi tshig bcad [tshigs-bcad] 'don /
tshur 'byon tsa na sbyin len gyi shis pa brjod pas / mi
rnams mos nas yod pa la / yul de'i [11a.3] rgyal pos thams
cad spyan drangs te / mnyen bkur nas [bsnyen-bkur-nas]
rgyal pos sgra mkhan rnams kyi sgra dang mi 'gal bar /
de bzhin du tshad ma dang / lung dang / man ngag dang
/ nyams myong dang / rtog pa can rnams kyi rtogs pa
dang mi 'gal ba'i sbyin len [11a.4] gyi tshigs su bcad pa re
thon cig / byas ste [te] thams cad kyis ston pas [bsian-pas]
phyogs re re gnyis gnyis dang mi 'gal bar byung / slob
dpon gyis res la bab nas bton pas / thams cad dang mi
'gal zhing de dang de'i don mthar thug par byung nas
rgyal pos bris pas

/ bdag la [11a.5] pha ma ma mchis te /
/ 'khor lo bde mchog bde ba'i mchog /
/ bdag la mkhan slob ma31 mchis te /
/ bdag ni rang byung sngas rgyas yin /
/ bdag la sgra tshad ma mchis te /
/ gtan tshigs rig pa rang brdol yin /
/ bde mchog [11a.6]SKU gsung thugs dang ni /
/ lus ngag yid gsum dbye ru med /
/ nga ni bde ba chen por 'gro /

/ ces (zhes) gsungs pas bde mchog dngos su grags so //
bZhi pa dus gsum gyi sangs rgyas thams cad kyi sku 'dus par bstan pa ni / [11a.7] rgyal po seng ge zla bas grul thob mang po spyan drangs nas gnyen bskur nas [bsnyen-bskur-nas] dbang bskur Zhu ba la / te lo pas bai snang la rdul tshon gyi dkyil 'khor bzhengs pas mthong snang mi gcig pa la / te los mgur bzhes pa

/ bdag lus kye kye'i [11b.1] rdo rje la / / ngag ni ma hâ ma ya yin / / sens ni bde mchog 'khor lo ste / / phung kham gsang ba 'dus pa la / / yan lag nag po sgra rgyud nyid / / nying lag rdo rje 'jigs byed la / / bas spu [ba-spu] dus gsum sangs rgyas yin /

/ ces (zhes) gsungs pas / [11b.2] te lo pa de sangs rgyas thams cad 'dus pa'i skur grags so //

de lta bu'i mdzad pa tha (mtha') mas shar phyogs za hoi gyi 'gro ba rnams smin grol la32 bkod de / grong khyei 'bum tsho bdun stongs par gyur to //
de nas grub pa thob pas kyang sprul pa'i [11b.3] sku grags pa / rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug33 te lo pa'i lc brgyus [lo-rgyus] / sku che ba'i yon tan de nyid kyi mdzad pa'i gzhung rang mtshan du byas nas mtha' dag pa zhig bstan zin //

dpal grô bo lung gi dgon par / sras mdo [11b.4] sde'i dor du yi ger bkod pa rdzogs so // maň ga laḿ //
Translation of the Tibetan Text

Beyond any formulation, pervading throughout space, with the nine features of dance—three are the Bodies (Tib. sku, Skt. kāya) that ripen the devotee: a vast sea [comes] from them, not even slightly defective, the waves of which are the Đakinīs of the [se] three pure Bodies.

A lotus sprung from [these] waters—the Great Bliss (Tib. bde-chen, Skt. mahāsukha)—is the result of the actual manifestations as Prajñābhadra (Shes-rab-bzang-po), the Protector of beings (Tib. ‘Gro-mngon, Skt. Jagannātha), and as Nāropa mahāpāṇḍita (pan-chen) who endured twelve [years] of hardships: to them I pay homage!

/ gang zhi gsku gsum nor bu la /  
The Gem of the three Bodies:
/ gang gis mi shes rgyas gdab pa /  
[To] those who seal [it] out of ignorance,
/ mkha’ ‘gro’i gsang tshig lde mig gi /  
This key of the Đakinīs’ secret words,
/ nam gsum nor bu rab tu stan bya’o /  
[2a] This threefold Gem, shall be thoroughly shown.

/ ngo sprod yid bzhin nor bu yis /  
Through the Wish-Fulfilling Gem (cintāmaṇī) of the introduction,
/ chos kyi gsku la ngo sprod bya /  
The Dharmakāya is to be introduced;
/ rmi lam yid bzhin nor bu yis /  
Through the Wish-Fulfilling Gem of the dream state,
The Sambhogakāya is to enter the body;
Through the Wish-Fulfilling Gem of the transmission,
The Dharmakāya is to be shown in its actual existence.

At the sunlight of the Ḍākinīs' oral transmission (karnāntra),
Rāhu, the Asura, is terrified by [their] pronunciation; so
In order to compose [it] for [my son] mDo-sde,
May the Ḍākinīs forgive and bless [me]!

The instruction (upadeśa) of the [ir] oral transmission is not a teaching for everybody:
Even if hungry, one will not eat [his] parents' flesh;
Even if profitable, one will not sell a thing mixed with strong poison;
Even if it is a wonderful show, one will not display his own heart.

Now, in the Ḍākinīs' oral transmission, [2b] the wonderful one, there are three [divisions]: (1) the characteristics of the teacher who teaches, (2) the characteristics of the disciple who is to be taught, and (3) the actual being of Dharma (chos) which is to be taught. As for the first one, it is the one who possesses an accomplishe
transmission with compassion and so forth. As for the second one, it is the one who has the potential for attaining the [state of] Buddha (Sangs-rgyas) in this transmission, in one life, one body, and so forth. As for the third one, the actual being of Dharma which is to be taught, it has three [divisions]: the outer one is the Wish-Fulfilling Gem of the transmission, [that is] the instruction of the Nirmānakāya subjugating doubts; the inner one is the Wish-Fulfilling Gem of the Developing Path (Tib. smin-lam, Skt. vipākamārga), [that is] the instruction of the Sambhogakāya concerning the practice; the secret one is the Wish-Fulfilling Gem of the Liberation Path (Tib. grol-lam, Skt. muktimārga), [that is] the instruction of the Dharmakāya [by which] it is introduced.

Out of them, this is the Wish-Fulfilling Gem of transmission of the instruction of the Nirmānakāya. The account of the Jñanadākini (Ye-shes-kyi mkha’-gro-ma) as the Dharmakāya and of the siddhas’ lineage as the Nirmānakāya are both in it. As for the first one, it will be explained in detail later how this [3a] Jñanadākini entering the three Bodies is like all Buddhas entering the three Bodies. As for the second, among the [accounts of the] perfect liberation (rnam-thar) of the siddhas’ lineage of the Nirmānakāya, at the outset, in the perfect liberation of Tilopa, there are four [sections]: his fame (1) as a human being, (2) as a manifestation of Cakrasamvara (bDe-mchog),4 (3) as Cakrasamvara himself, and (4) as the synthesis of the Bodies of all Buddhas (Sangs-rgyas thams-cad-kyi sku ’dus-pa).

—1—

As for the first [section,] the human lineage of this great lord Tilopa has four great qualities. They are, with respect
to the interpretative meaning (Tib. drang-don, Skt. neyār
tha): (1) he was prophesied by the ākini, looked for a
guru and practised until the accomplishment; (2) he
outshone the Ākini and asked [them] for the Dharma
With respect to the definitive meaning (Tib. nges-don, Skt
nirārtha), he showed himself (3) as one without human
gurus, and (4) under several manifestations.

1.1

Here is the first [chapter] concerning Tilopa. The father
was the brahmana gSal-ba, the mother was the brahmanā
gSal-ldan-ma, and the sister was the brahmanā gSal-ba's
gSron-ma. These three lived in a city called Jago, in the
country of Sahor in East India. Since no son had come
yet, they worshipped all the sacred receptacles, both outer
and inner ones, with offerings and prayers. Eventually a
son was born and, at that moment, a light (Tib. 'od, Skt.
prabhā) pervaded East India: because of that, he was given
the name Prabhāśvara (gSal-'od). Then, a brahmanā
sooth-sayer [3b] was sought, and he spoke thus:

/ 'di ni lha klu gnod skyin nam /
As for him, whether a Deva, a Nāga, a Yakṣa, or
/sangs rgyas gang yin ma 'tshal bas /
Whether a Buddha, I do not understand what he is.
/skyes bu mchog 'di gees par skyongs /
Anyhow, protect this supreme being with care!7

Good care was taken care of the boy accordingly. But
once, while [his] father was out and the two, mother and
son, were alone, a glimmering vision appeared. [The
mother] looked at it. Many women had come into view,
bearing the signs of ugliness, blowing from their mouths,
lame and walking with the support of sticks. As the
mother was wondering if they were devils and whether her child would die, those women spoke:

\[/ gces\ par\ bskyangs\ kyang\ mi\ \check{c}hi\ ba'i/ \]
Even if you nourish him with care, a deathless
\[/ sa\ phyogs\ dag\ kyang\ yod\ ma\ yin/ \]
Place does not exist anywhere!8

Then the mother asked: "In that case, what is to be done for [his] benefit?" At that they spoke again: "O child!"

\[/ ma\ he\ skyong\ zhi\ ng\ yi\ ge\ slobs/ \]
Herd buffalo and learn scriptures.
\[/ mkha'\ 'gro\ ma\ yi\ lung\ bstan\ 'byung/ \]
The prophecy of the Ďākīnī will come!9

Having said that, they disappeared.

Then, when he was grown up, he was allowed to act accordingly. While he was herding buffalo, the same women as before appeared [to him] and asked about his country, his parents, and so forth. The boy said to them in reply:

\[/ yul\ ni\ shar\ phyogs\ dza\ ko\ yin/ \]
My country is Jago, in the East,
\[/ pha\ ni\ bram\ ze\ gsal\ ba\ yin/ \]
My father is the brāhmaṇa gSal-ba,
\[/ ma\ ni\ bram\ ze\ gsal\ ldan\ yin/ \]
My mother is the brāhmaṇī [4a] gSal-ladan-ma,
\[/ sring\ mo\ bram\ ze\ gsal\ sgron\ yin/ \]
My sister is the brāhmaṇī gSal-sgron,
\[/ nga\ rang\ bram\ ze\ gsal\ 'od\ yin/ \]
I am the brāhmaṇa Prabhāsvara,
\[/ shing\ 'di\ sha\ ba'i\ sdong\ po\ yin/ \]
This tree is an Aloes-wood.10
The Life of the Mahasiddha Tilopa

/ yi ge bslabs nas dam chos byed /
Having learned the scriptures, I will practise Dharma;
/ ma he nor phyir skyong pa yin /
I herd buffalo to earn my living.11

So he said, and those women, pretending to be angry with him, replied: "O boy, you do not know it!"

/ yul ni nub phyogs u rgyan yin /
Your country is Uḍḍiyāna,12 in the West,
/ yab ni bde mchog 'khor lo yin /
Your father is Cakrasamvara,
/ yum ni rdo rje phag mo yin /
Your mother is Vajravarāhī,13
/ sring mo mkha' 'gro bde ster ma /
Your sister is [me,] Sukhadā,
/ khyod rang pan tsa pa na yin /
You are Pañcapana.
/ 'dud 'gro ma he ma skyong por /
Do not herd buffalo, the animals:
/ byang chub shing gi nags khrod du /
In the forest of the Bodhi-tree (bodhivrksa)
/ nyams myong ma he rgyun du skyongs /
Herd always the buffalo of experience (anubhava)!14

In response, the boy spoke: "I do not know how to do that!" Then he was instructed: "Go to the cemetery of Sālavihāra:15 [there] it will be shown [to you]."

There is a cemetery called Sālavihāra in the South which had been blessed by Maheśvara (dBang-phyu, chen-po). That son of brāhmaṇa arrived there while gaṅacakra (tshogs-kyi 'khor-lo) of outer and inner Đākini was being performed, and received the instructions from Čāryapa (Tsarya-pa).16

The great teacher Lavapa (La-wa-pa)17 sang:
At the street corner of a great town, I had been sleeping for twelve years when I attained the perfection (siddhi) of the Great Seal (mahamudrā)!

[From Lavapa] he received the instruction of the radiant light (Tib. 'od-gsal, Skt. prabhāsvara). Then, in the cemetery, where he was looking for Nāgarjuna (Klu-sgrub), Mātāṅgipa (Ma-tang-gi), a yogin practitioner of ascetic penance (Tib. brtul-zhugs, Skt. vrata), was meditating in a hut: "O boy!" he said. "Nāgarjuna went to explain the Dharma to the king of Gandharvas (dri-za), so he sent me to take care of you." There, he offered manḍalas to him and requested the instruction. [In response] he manifested the actual mandala of Śrīguhya-samāja (dPal-gsang-ba-'dus-pa'i dkyil-'khor dngos-su sprul) and gave the empowerment (Tib. dbang-bskur, Skt. abhiṣeka). Then, by means of the explanation of its tantra, he perceived the reality of thinking activity (Tib. sems-kyi ngo-bo, Skt. cittasvabhāva).

In a temple where his uncle was accustomed to read the Śatasāhasrikā, a woman appeared and asked him, "Do you understand its meaning?" "I do not," he answered. She said, [4b] "Well, I will explain it!" and she explained the meaning of that [text]. Then, she gave him the empowerment of Hevajra (He-badzra) and Cakrasamvara ('Khor-lo-sdom-pa), and explained their tantras. Then she said: "This is the view of Luipa (Lu-hi-pa), you must meditate on it." "But my uncle does not let me meditate," he said. "Fasten the Śatasāhasrikā with a rope, throw it from the door of the temple into the water, act
like a madman: meditate in this way! My blessings will prevent the Śatasāhasrikā from being damaged," she said, and he did as he was told. The Śatasāhasrikā remained undamaged, but he was scolded as a madman and was beaten. He then practised, inseparable with Sugatas' Mind (bDe-bar-gshegs-pa'i thugs gnyis-su-med-pa), the tw Stages.\textsuperscript{24} After some time, he was instructed:

\texttt{/ shar phyogs bhang ga la'i bgyud /}
\texttt{In Bengal, in the East,}
\texttt{/ pan tsha pa na'i tshong 'dus na /}
\texttt{In the market-place of Pañcapana,}
\texttt{/ smad 'tshong bha ri 'khor bcas kyi /}
\texttt{There is the prostitute Bharima and her retinue.}
\texttt{/ de yi zhabs 'breg byas na gsangs /}
\texttt{If you follow it as her servant, you will be purified;}
\texttt{/ spyod mthar thon nas dngos grub thob /}
\texttt{You will pass over the limits of practice and attain perfection!}

He went there according to what she had said. There in the night-time he would do the work of inviting accompanying men [into Bharima's]. During the day, he worked at thrashing sesame grains, and that is why he was known as Tilopa in the language of India\textsuperscript{25} and, in Tibetan, as the Sesame-watcher (Til-bsrungs-zhabs). After that, he and Bharima went to the cemetery called Ke-re-l. There they took delight in the practice of the secret mantra (gsang-ba-sngags) and performed it to its completion.

Once again, while thrashing the remaining sesame grains in a market-place, he attained the perfection close to the sublime Great Seal. At that moment, the people of the town had different visions of him: some saw flame blazing from him, while others saw his ornaments o
bones blazing. The people asked for instruction. At this he said: "O devotees, may this inborn reality in my mind (Tib. yid, Skt. manas) enter your hearts!" Immediately they were liberated.

Then, as the king of that country, surrounded by his retinue, came on an elephant to pay his respects, both that son of brahmana and Bharima raised this adamantine song (Tib. rdo-rje'i mgur, Skt. vajragiti) with a loud Brahma voice:

/gang zhig snying por zhugs pa til gyi mar /
[5a] The sesame oil, which is its essence,
/rmongs pas til la yod par shes gyur kyang /
Although the ignorant know it is in the sesame seed,
/ten cing 'brel byung yan lag ma shes na /
If they do not know how its constituents are combined,26
/til mar snying po 'byung par mi nus ltar /
They cannot extract the sesame oil, that essence. In the same way
/lhan cig skyes pa gnyug ma'i ye shes de /
The co-emergent (sahaja)27 innate awareness (jñāna),
/’gro ba kun gyi snying la yod gyur kyang /
Even if it is present in the hearts of all beings,
/blas ma sten rtohs par mi nus so /
Its intuitive knowledge is impossible unless it is pointed out by a guru.
/til brdungs phub ma bsal bar gyur pa las /
By pounding the sesame and clearing away the husks,
/til mar snying po byung pa de bzhin du /
One can extract the sesame oil, that essence: similarly,
/blas ma sten pas de bzhin de nyid don /
When one is close to the guru, the meaning of suchness (tathatā)
Thus they sang, and all those who were assembled there were liberated. Unfolding the meaning of the song "As for the meaning, there is nothing to be rejected even though there is contradiction. There is no antidote alertness (gnyen-po ye-shes)\(^\text{29}\) to produce; there is no ground (Tib. sa, Skt. bhūmi), no path (Tib. lam, Skt. māryā) to pass, nor is there a fruit (Tib. 'bras-bu, Skt. phala) attain. The guru must show them simply through conventional symbols (Tib. kun-rdzob-brda', Skt. samvṛti saṅketa)." When he was asked who his guru was, answered:

/ nga la mi'i bla ma yod /  
I have [these] human gurus,  
/ klu sgrub tsarya la ba pa /  
Nāgārjuna, Cārīapa, Lavapa,  
/ skal ba bzang mo bdag gi ni /  
Subhagīni,\(^\text{30}\) these are my  
/ bka' babs bzhi'i bla ma yin /  
gurus of the four-fold transmission.\(^\text{31}\)

He received the instruction on the illusory body (Tib. sgyu-lus, Skt. māyākāya) from Nāgārjuna, the dream (Tib. rmi-lam, Skt. svapna) from Cārīapa, the radiant light (Tib.  

---

\(^\text{28}\) Wonderful!

\(^\text{29}\) gyur

\(^\text{30}\) la

\(^\text{31}\) ni
'od-gsal, Skt. prabhāśvara) from Lavapa, the inner heat (Tib. gtum-mo, Skt. candāli) from the Đākini: these are known as the four great rivers of the oral transmission (snyan-brgyud-kyi chu-bo chen-po bzhi).  

—1.2—

Here is the second [chapter where it is told how] he subdued the Đākinis and asked them to give instruction. Once again the women appeared and spoke:

/snyan rgyud yi ge med pa ni/
As for the oral transmission beyond words,  
/dri med mkha’ 'gro ma la yod /
The stainless Đākinis have it:  
/yid bzhin nor bu rnam gsum long /
You have to obtain this three-fold Wish-Fulfilling Gem!

When he said that he would not be able to take it, the women replied with these words:

/u rgyan gnas kyi ghando lar /
In the temple of fragrance (gandhālaya) which is in Uḍḍiśa,  
/lung stan dam tshig ldan pa yis /
One with the prophecy and the commitments (samaya)  
/skal ba can gyis blangs na lon /
Of Bhagavatī can take it!

When he asked how he could do that, they instructed: [5b] "Take a crystal ladder, a jewel bridge, and a stem of burdock (rtsa-byi-zung), then go to Uḍḍiśa!" His father had no difficulty in obtaining those things, so he took them and left.
The Dākinī called Jñānaḍākinī of Dharmakāya (Chosku ye-shes-kyi mkha'-'gro-ma) dwelt in the temple of fragrance in the land of Uḍḍīyāna, in the West, as a queen. She was in uninterrupted concentration in a sphere beyond duality. Near to her there were the Dākinīs called Pañcagotradākinīs of Sambhogakāya (longs-sku rigs-lnga mkha'-'gro-ma). They kept the three-fold Wish-Fulfilling Gem hidden in that jewelled palace. They had locked it with a lock impossible to open, had sealed it with seven seals, and surrounded it with strong walls, a trench, and the castle itself. So they dwelt there as ministers.

Near to them there were the devouring Karma-dākinīs of the Nirmāṇakāya (sprul-sku za-byes las-kyi mkha'-'gro-ma). They grant spiritual perfection to those who have faith and devotion, but they destroy and devour those who have no faith and whose commitments are imperfect. So they stayed there as guards at the door. That son of brāhmaṇa arrived in the western country of Uḍḍīyāna, in front of the temple of fragrance. The Karma-dākinīs of the Nirmāṇakāya, with demonic voices rough, thundering sounds, spoke these words:

/ nga ni sprul sku las kyi mkha'-'gro ma /
We are the Karmaḍākinīs of the Nirmāṇakāya:
/ mi'i sha la dga' zhing khrag la rngams /
We enjoy human flesh and are blood-thirsty!36

Then they went forth. And that son of brāhmaṇa said:

/ cher 'jigs mkha' 'gro du mas kyang /
Despite many frightening Dākinīs,
/ nga'i ba spu'i rtse mi 'gul /
My hairs would not tremble!37
Thus he said, and his ascetic practice of awareness (rig-pa-brtul-zhugs) outshone them. Being firm in body, unopposed in speech and fearless in the mind, he stared at them until they lay senseless. When they recovered from their faint, they spoke:

/kye ma mar mes sbrang ma rlag pa ltar /
Alas, like the moth is lost at the lamp,
/khyod zar 'dod pas bdag cag phung /
We wished to eat you, but we have been destroyed.
/dam pa bdag ni ci dgar mdzod /
Noble one, do whatever you like with us.38

At that, the son of brāhmaṇa said: "Let me go inside!"
But the Dākinīs [6a] replied:

/bdag cag bran ltar dbang chung pas /
We are like servants, with little power.
/blon mo dag la ma dris na /
If we do not ask the ministers,
/bdag cag sha za khra'g 'thung mchis /
They will eat our flesh and drink our blood.
/dam pas nye bar dgongs par mdzod /
Noble one, look upon us with kindness.39

Then they submitted to the authority of the Dākinīs of Sambhogakāya. The latter said: "We will rescue you who have been inferior [to him] in the ascetic practice. So let him come in!" That son of brāhmaṇa put his jewel bridge over the trench, raised his crystal ladder on the wall [and] opened the door with his stem of burdock. Once he was inside, the ministers spoke:

/'jigs pa'i sku la 'jigs pa'i gsung /
With frightening bodies and frightening words,
Holding weapons of fear as well,
[We are] the Pañcagotraḍākinīs of Sambhogakāya:
We enjoy flesh and are blood-thirsty!\(^{40}\)

Thus they spoke, and then the son of brahmāna said:

Despite many frightening ṃākiniś, 
The roots of my hairs would not waver!\(^{41}\)

Then he stared at them till they lay senseless. "Let us go inside!" he said. But the ākiniś replied:

We are like ministers, with little power.
If we do not ask the queen herself,
She will punish us.
Noble one, look upon us with kindness!\(^{42}\)

So, after they had supplicated the Dharmakāyaākini, the son [of brahmāna] went in. There was the Jñānākini of the Dharmakāya and, on her right and left innumerable heroes (dpa'-'bo) and heroines (dpa'-'m) surrounded her. As that son of brahmāna did not pay homage to her, the assembly said:

This [boy, to] the all-Buddhas' 
Mother, to Bhagavati,
Does not show respect. Why we do not subdue him? They were just about to suppress him when the Dharmakāyaākūtīnī uttered these words to her retinue:

This is the all-Buddhas' Father Cakrasamvara. Even if a rain of vajras fell from the sky, How could it subdue him?

[6b] Then the assembly, pretending not to know that man was Cakrasamvara, asked him: "Who sent you? Who are you? What do you want?" That son of brāhmaṇa replied:

I am Paṇcapana, My sister Sukhadā sent me. The view (drṣṭi), the action (caryā), and the result (phala), the commitments, and The Wish-Fulfilling Gem of the three Bodies: I came here to receive them.

Those in the assembly uttered an embarrassing laugh, making fun of him, and spoke in one voice:

A born-blind looks at, but he cannot see the forms;
A deaf man listens to, but he cannot hear the sounds;
An idiot speaks, but he cannot understand the meaning.
No truth is there in those deceived by Mara!47

The master replied to them:

[When] evil is consumed, false words are not spoken: there would be no cause.
No matter of Mara: in a Đâkini is the truth!48

Then the Jñānađâkinī caused these [three] signs appear: the drawing of a sacred image (t{sa-ka-li}) for the Body, a script for the Speech and some sacred attribute (phyag-mtshan) for the Mind.49 That son of brāhma spoke:

From the secret treasure of the Body where appearance and nothingness coalesce (pratibhāsa-sūnya),50
I beg the Wish-Fulfilling Gem, the common one.
From the secret treasure of the Word which is beyond any expression,
I beg the Wish-Fulfilling Gem, the commitments one.
From the secret treasure of the Mind which is beyond cognition,
I beg the Wish-Fulfilling Gem, the reality one.\textsuperscript{51}

At that, Jñānaḍākinī spoke:

As for the common Wish-Fulfilling Gem,
One needs the key of what has been expressed through the prophecy:
Who did not get such a prophecy cannot open.
As for the commitments' Wish-Fulfilling Gem,
One needs the key of the profound oral transmission:
Who has not the antidotes cannot open.
As for the reality Wish-Fulfilling Gem,
One needs the key of the profound discriminating awareness (prajñā):\textsuperscript{52}
Who has no cognition cannot open.\textsuperscript{53}

Thus she spoke, and that son of brahmana replied:

The secret word of the Dakini is the Mind pledge (samanvaya);
What dispels the darkness of nescience (avidya) is the light of transcending awareness (jnāna);
Self-awareness (svasamvitti, svasamvedanā) is self-origin: (svayambhū) and self-irradiating.

I have the key of what has been expressed through prophecy.

When nothing [7a] is conceived any longer,

It is the being as such of thinking (cittatā), the Dhar kāya of self-liberation:

This self-liberation arises in the Great Seal (mudrā).

I have the key of the self-liberation of commitments.

A mind where there is no mental elaboration (amā sikāra),

Where even a particle of dust of recollection (smṛti) do not arise,

This is the being as such of thinking, the Dharmakāya, the being of phenomena (dharmatā).

I have the key to enter the vision.

Thus he spoke, and both the Sambhoga and Nirmānakāya of the Jñānadākinī in one voice joined raise this song:

You are our father, you are Bhagavān!
You are Tilopa Buddha, you are the Protector of beings!
You are Cakrasamvara, the Great Bliss!
We offer you the three-fold Wish-Fulfilling Gem!

After that, they explained the 51st chapter of the root tantra [of Cakrasamvara] and then, together with the tantra, they gave him the oral transmission.

Then Jñānadakirīṇi spoke: "If you want to attain my Body, be assiduous in the Developing Stage; [as to my] Word, [be assiduous in] the heart; [as to my] Mind, be assiduous in the Great Seal of the Fulfilment Stage. Go to the monastery of Śiromaṇi (gTsug-gi nor-bu) and take care of the three, Nāropa, Riripa and Kasoripa!" Then the noblest of ladies disappeared. He was given the name Tilopa Prabhāśadra. He spoke:

I, like a bird in the sky,
A bird of clear light thinking which is flying away,
Without obstacles, Prajñābhadra is going!

And the Dakinis of both Sambhoga and Nirmāṇakāya spoke:
You, noble one, why so?
We beg you to remain for our benefit.

Thus they begged, and Tilopa replied:
As the noblest of ladies herself prophesied,

For the benefit of fitting vessels, as a yogin, I

Am going to the monastery of Śiromaṇī.  

After that, while he was on his way, he received a nine-fold Dharma of the formless Dākinīs from the air element of space:

These are adamantine words of the formless Dākinīs:

Like a melody of the Gandharvas, a heavenly song,

They are heard from the void space!

The ripening and liberation is to loosen the knots of thinking.

The commitments are to examine the mirror of one’s thinking activity.

[C] Circumambulate the wheels (cakra) of the [coiling] energy channels (nāḍī) and winds (vāyu) [through their] eyelets.

The Great Bliss is to hold the jewel of the Word.

The intrinsic awareness (vidyā) is to look at the torch of transcending awareness (jnāna).

The self-liberation is to look at the Great Seal.
The substance of commitments is to be warmed by the sun of a clear cognition.
The action is to strike the water with a sword.
The sameness of taste (samarasa) is in looking at the outer mirror.\(^62\)

Having listened to these [words] from space, Tilopa then spoke:

O noblest of ladies! such a way having been shown,

In the temple of the illusory body

Having put the secret of the formless Dākinis,

With a word beyond expression, I will put a seal on it.

The bird of radiating thinking would fly away!\(^63\)

Then he went to the temple of the monastery of Śiromaṇi.

—1.3—

[Here is the third [chapter where it is told how] he had no human gurus. Many people came to him; they attained perfections and obtained the teaching [he had received] from the temple of fragrance. When he was asked who his guru was, he answered:

I have no human guru.
The Life of the Mahāsiddha Tilopa

/ bla ma thams cad mkyen pa yin /  
My guru is the Omniscient One (Sarvajña).  

—1.4—

As to the fourth [chapter where it is told how] he show himself in various ways, there are eight [episodes]: fir he outshone a yogin, then he subdued a heretic, a maćcian, a barmaid, a singer, a butcher, one who denied the law of cause and effect, and a powerful sorcerer.

—1.4.1—

Here is the first [episode]. In South India there was king who loved his mother dearly. He would do anything to please her. He asked his mother what her preference was with respect to root virtues. When he invited her to propose a virtuous act which he would then perform, she said: "Gather panditas, siddhas and Đākinis. The once a jewelled maṇḍala is raised in the sky, if you have the empowerments and a gaṇacakra performed, I would be happy."

So he did this: he sent a messenger to every pandita and siddha to invite them. The panditas performed the purification of the place and so forth, and the otherdeclared that everything was carried out correctly. But woman bearing the signs of ugliness came before the sages (ku-sa-li) and asked: "Who will lead the gaṇacakra?" 'Dran-za-med-pa (the "Unequalled-one") said "I will do it." She replied: "You cannot do it! My brother will come and lead it." "Where is he?" he asked. "He lives in a cemetery," she answered. "In that case, fetch him!" I ordered. "I will go and fetch him. Wait here for I am coming!" she said. Later they arrived. Then 'Dran-zed-pa and the other (Tilopa) sat on two thrones.
They were a match for each other in the topics of valid cognition (Tib. *tshad-ma*, Skt. *pramāṇa*). Again, when [both] drew a manḍala in the sky that would fade neither in rain nor wind, they matched each other. Then, when [both,] riding on lions, had the sun and moon running a race, [once again] they were evenly matched. However, Tilopa made the sun and moon fall down on the ground, and rode over them on a lion. Then he turned himself inside out and manifested a manḍala with a cemetery for every single hair [of his]; he manifested a tree in each of them and, on every tree, he was sitting cross-legged, in a playful mood, and so forth. As 'Dran-zla-med-pa was not able to match this, he said, "That is wonderful! Where does such a miracle come from?"

/ ngo mtshar spyod pa ci las byung /  
Where does this man causing wonder come from?

[Tilopa] answered with a song:

/ kye ma 'dug na nam kha'i dkyil du 'dug /  
Oh! If sitting, sit in the sky.
/ nyal na mdung gi rtse la nyal /  
If sleeping, sleep on the top of a spear.
/ lta na nyi zla'i dkyil du ltos /  
If looking, look into the sun and the moon.
/ don dam rtogs pa'i te lo pa /  
Having realized the ultimate truth (paramārtha), Tilopa
/ nga ni 'bad rtso! kun dang bral /  
Am I! the one beyond any efforts!

Thus he sang and, as he spoke on the inconceivable presence of the given (Tib. *rang-bzhin*, Skt. *svabhāva*), all were liberated. ['Dran-zla-med-pa] was then named Nus-ldan Blo-gros. And he continues to live in Uḍḍīyāṇa in a deathless state.
Here is the second [paragraph where it is told how] he subdued the heretic. In Śrī-Nālanda there was a siddha of heretical doctrine. All the Buddhists and non-Buddhists had to rise in his presence; if they didn’t, they had to engage in a contest with him either in debate or in magical powers.

Once, when Tilopa did not rise, he said, "So you are keen to debate and exercise your magical powers: [8b] let us contest!" After that, all the Buddhist and non-Buddhist panditas gathered there with the king sitting in the middle. The doctrine of the winner would be accepted; they therefore debated and the heretic was defeated. Even in the competition of powers Tilopa was unmatched. The heretic, shooting flames from his mouth [towards him] asked:

\[ \text{khams gsum kun kyang g.yo byed pa'i} \]
[I am] the shaker of all the three realms;
\[ \text{nga yis mi 'jigs su zhig yin} \]
Who are you whom I have not terrified?

Once [Tilopa] had deflected [the flames], he answered in a song:

\[ \text{blta na dmus long mig gis ltos} \]
When looking, look with blind eyes.
\[ \text{skom na smig rgyu'i chu la 'thung} \]
If thirsty, drink the water of a mirage.
\[ \text{bying na bum pa rlung gis khengs} \]
When sinking down, fill up the vase with winds.
\[ \text{'jigs pa kun bral te lo yin} \]
Beyond any fear, I am Tilopa.
Thus he sang and, as he spoke on the inconceivable being of phenomena, all were liberated. [The heretic] was then named Nag-po dGe-ba. And he continues to live in Sil-ba'i Tshal in a deathless state.

—1.4.3—

Here is the third [paragraph where it is told how] he subdued the magician. There was a king threatened with expulsion from the country by a magician with a magic army. A woman bearing the signs of ugliness came there: "Who will command your army?" she asked the people. When they answered that such a one would do it, the woman replied, "That one will not [be able to] do it. My brother will!" "Where is your brother?" they asked. She said: "One yojana (dpag-tshad) far [from here,] in a cemetery, there is an Aloes tree. [My brother] has fixed the tail of a horse on it; then, he has tied the legs and the hands of a corpse to that [tail]: he is there, hanging on that [corpse] and swinging."

When the king was informed, he said: "That woman related three impossible messages bring her here!" But, when she was interrogated, she repeated what she had said before. He sent [someone] to check, and things were just as she had described. Tilopa was invited [before the king]. As [the army] did not know it was [just] magic, they were about to flee, but [Tilopa] destroyed that magic [army], killed all [the illusory soldiers] and caught the magician. After that, the magician spoke:

/ chos la rten pa'i skyes bu khyod /  
One who relies on the Dharma, you!
/ de ltar bsod pa mngag ma rigs /  
It is not right to kill in this way!
[9a] [Tilopa] answered with a song:

/ sgyu ma'i dmag tshogs bsad pa la /  
Killing magic soldiers
/ sens med phyir na sdig pa med /  
Is no sin, because they are not living beings!
/ bsod na sgyu ma'i skyes bu bsod /  
When killing, I kill illusory creatures.
/ sgom na dbugs bral lta bur bsgoms /  
When meditating, I meditate beyond respiration.
/ smra na lkugs pa'i ice yis smros /  
When speaking, speak with a dumb tongue.
/ 'dod na yi ge zad par skyol /  
When affirming, employ all the letters.

Thus he sang and, when he spoke on the inconceivable substance of what is existent (Tib. dngos-po, Skt vastu, bhava), all were liberated. [The magician] was ther named Slu-byed bDen-smra. And he continues to live in Ha-ha sGrog-pa in a deathless state.

—1.4.4—

Here is the fourth [paragraph where it is told how] he subdued the barmaid.71 She was selling her beer when a monkey and a cat which were emanated by Tilopa sucked and drank the beer. She burst into tears. People asked her what had happened, and she told the story "Ask that yogin!" people said. Weeping, the barmaid said:

/ bdag gi 'tsho ba chad pas na /  
Since I am deprived of my livelihood,
/ thugs rje rjes su bzung du gsol /  
I beg you to look graciously [upon me].
In a moment, all the jugs were again filled with beer. Then [Tilopa] sang a song:

\[
\text{skom na dug chu khol ma 'thung} \\
\text{If thirsty, drink poisonous boiled water.} \\
\text{'phro na spre'u ded la sod} \\
\text{When it has been emanated, chase and kill the monkey.} \\
\text{gnyen po sgom chen byi la rten (bsten)} \\
\text{The antidote is to hold the cat of the great meditation.} \\
\text{thams cad ihan skyes ro ru bsgyur} \\
\text{Everything will take the taste of the simultaneously-arisen.} \\
\text{don dam sprang po te lo pa} \\
\text{Tilopa, the beggar of the ultimate truth,} \\
\text{khyod kyis mthong med rnal 'byor yin} \\
\text{A yogin am I, and you did not see!}
\]

Thus he sang and, when he spoke on the inconceivable Great Bliss, all were liberated. [The barmaid] was then named Nyi-'od sGron-ma. And she continues to live in So-sa-gling in a deathless state.

—1.4.5—

Here is the fifth [paragraph where it is told how] he subdued the singer. There was a skilful singer. Tilopa sang a song before him. "I challenge you," he said, so they went into competition. "Sing a song, then it will be my turn," the master said.

When [the singer] had finished his songs, the master sang unceasingly. [9b] The other had not been able to do the same, so he said:

\[
\text{nga ni tshangs pa'i 'jig rten yang} \\
\text{As for me, even the world of Brahma}
\]
52. The Life of the Mahāsiddha Tilopa

/skyeng par byed pa'i glu mkhan yin /
I can embarrass as a singer!

[Tilopa] answered with a song:

/skyo na dri za'i grong khyer ltos /
If sad, look at the city of Gandharvas,
/nyan na bung bu'i glu la nyon /
When listening, listen to the song of the bees,
/ita na dmos long mig gis ltos /
When looking, look with blind eyes,
/thos yul rnams ni brag cha 'dra /
The sounds you perceive are just like echoes.

Thus he sang and, when he spoke on the inconceivable music, all were liberated. [The singer] was then named Byangs-ladan lKugs-pa. And he continues to live in Na-ga-ra in a deathless state.

—1.4.6—

Here is the sixth [paragraph where it is told how] he subdued the butcher. This butcher used to kill animals' offspring to nourish his son. [Once,] he took the lid off the cooking pot in order to boil some meat and give it to his son, but Tilopa had transformed it into the arms and legs of the boy. He said:

/rang gis byas pa'i saig pa de /
[Is] that bad action of mine
/rang la 'khor ram ji ltar yin /
Coming back to me? How is that?

He was tormented by affliction. "So then!" [Tilopa] said to him. "If you do not kill any longer, your son will be restored." As he had promised, [Tilopa] uttered in a song:
/ 'byed na mar khu dangs snyigs 'byed /  
When separating, one separates the clear fluid from the sediments.

/ sreg na dus mtha' me yis sregs /  
When cooking, one cooks with an endless fire.

/ 'don na rlung sms spyi bor thon /  
When ejecting, one has to eject the vital principle of consciousness through the crown of the head.74

/ 'khrud na sms kyi dri ma khrus /  
When washing, one washes the defilements in one's thinking activity.

Thus he sang and, when he spoke on the inconceivable killing, all were liberated. [The butcher] was then named bDe-byed dGa'-ba. And he continues to live in Srin-po'i Gling in a deathless state.

—1.4.7—

Here is the seventh [paragraph where it is told how] he subdued the one who denied the [law of] cause and effect (Tib. rgyu-'bras, Skt. hetu-phala).75 A Materialist (Tib. rgyang-phan-pa, Skt. lokayata)76 who used to speak against the [law of] cause and effect declared that there is no karma, no virtue, no sin. A Buddhist said that, according to the Buddha, there are these things. They appointed the master [Tilopa] as judge of the debate. The master de-clared that the one affirming the reality of karma, [that is of the law of] cause and effect had won. But the Materia-list said: "I cannot see it properly."

[10a] So the master took him and manifested the heavens and the hells to him. In a heavenly residence there was a goddess who was alone. When [the Materialist] asked why, he was told that she was the consort of a virtuous heretic she was helping [in changing his view].
Then [Tilopa] took him and they went to the hell [many] copper pots were there and, in each of them, human being. But one of them was empty. When [Tilopa Materialist] asked what was cooking there, [Tilopa answered that all heretics denying karma and [the law of cause and effect were cooked there. He was alarmed and said:

/las kyis bsags pa'i sdig pa yi/
Sins accumulated by karma
/dmyal ba rang gi sems la 'khor/
Come back in one's own mind as hell;
/las kyis bsags pa'i dge ba yis/
Virtues accumulated by karma
/mtho ris rang gi sems la 'khor/
Come back in one's own mind as heaven.

[Tilopa] answered with a song:

/chags na dur khrod gling du skyol/
If attached, go to a cemetery.
/rbud na rgyal mtshan rtse la phyogs/
If in trouble, raise the banner.
/rnam par rtog pa sprul sku ste/
A clear notion (vikalpa) is the Nirmāṇakāya.
/ngas ni bstan pa ci yang med/
Actually, I did not show anything [to you].

Thus he sang and, when he spoke on the inconceivable variety and multiplicity (sna-tshogs), all were liberated. [The Materialist] was then named Dzi-n. Byang-chub. He continues to live on Śrīparvata (dPal-gy ri) in a deathless state.

He [Tilopa] took other bodily manifestations and explained the Dharma to sinners. He showed himself in innumerable ways: as an artisan, as a great meditating...
siddha, as a fisherman, as a hunter, and so forth. Those [sinners] said:

/ nya pa la sogs pa byed pa /
[You are the] one who works as a fisherman, and so on...

And, when [Tilopa] replied,

/ don dam rtogs pa'i te lo pa /
Tilopa, the one who has the clear notion of the ultimate truth,
/ dge sdig zhes bya'i ming yang med /
There is no name for what is called virtue or sin!

they asked for instruction.

—1.4.8—

Here is the eighth [paragraph where it is told how] he subdued the powerful sorcerer (mthu-mkhan). There was a powerful sorcerer who used to bewitch people and cause their deaths. When Tilopa saw that the right time for subduing him had come, the two entered into a competition of killing.

Tilopa brought back from death those who had died while in contest with each other, but he did not restore to life some women and others [of the sorcerer’s retinue. He looked at him and] thought, "He also looks like an old tree trunk!" Then he said, "Now, if I return your people to life, will you cease to bewitch [others]?" The [sorcerer], not [yet] recovered, said:

/ sos pa med pa'i spyod pa 'di /
This action for which there is no recovery,
/ shan pa rang dang khyad med dam /
Isn’t it just like that of the butcher?
[Tilopa] answered in a song:

/ itos cig rang gi sems la bltos /
Look! You have to look into your own thinking (svacitta):
/ snang ba'i ri bo khyur mid kyis /
By swallowing the mountain of appearance,
/ rgya mtsho chen po hub kyis thob /
By drinking the great ocean in one draught, you will get it.
/ 'khor ba'i itos thag chod la zhog /
Samsāra bonds are to be severed.

Thus he sang and, when he spoke on the inconceivable virtuous activities ('phrin-las), all were liberated. [The powerful sorcerer] was then named Nyi-i-mi. And he continues to live in Ki-mi-tsi-ki-li.

—2—

Here is the second [section where it is told how] he appeared as a manifestation of Cakrasamvara. In East India, near Nadukata, on the bank of the Khasu river [next to] the cemetery of rMa-sha'i Tshal, there is the Aśoka monastery where Tilopa's uncle and mother—[the latter was, at that time,] a nun—were abbot (upādhyāya) and teacher (ācārya). [Tilopa] embraced the religious life, and was named bikṣu (dge-long) Kalapa. The other [monks] were engaged in the three wheels ('khor-gsum) but he, instead of undergoing the spiritual trainings (chos-spyod), would kill lots of locusts, piling up their heads on one side and their bodies on the other.

All [the monks] became involved in blaming him for that, in particular the monk who was in charge of discipline, who said: "We will have a conference, gathering all those who are in the Dharma, particularly the monks,
and most particularly the monks of the [monastery of] Aśoka." So they did, and the king of that country spoke [to him]:

/ btsun gzugs srog chags bsad pa khyod /  
[How is that] you, apparently a monk, kill insects?  
/ yul dang mkhan slob su zhig yin /  
Where is your place, who are your abbot and teacher?

[Tilopa] answered in a song:

/ dgon pa mya ngan med pa yin /  
The monastery is Aśoka.  
/ mkhan slob ma dang zhang po yin /  
Uncle and mother are abbot and teacher.  
/ bdag rang dge slong te lo yin /  
I am the bikṣu Tilopa.  
/ nga yis skal pa bye ba ru /  
Millions of kalpas ago, I  
/ zhing khams brgya ru nga yis phyin /  
Went to a hundred [Buddha]fields.  
/ klu sgrub ārya de wa dang /  
Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, and  
/ sangs rgyas rnams dang nga gtam byas /  
The Buddhas: with them did I speak!  
/ ngas ni sangs rgyas stong yang mthong /  
I saw the thousand Buddhas as well.  
/ ngas ni sems can bsad pa med /  
I have not killed any sentient being!

Thus having sung, it was said that the locusts began to buzz and flew away. [At that] all believed, and then he was celebrated as a manifestation of Cakrasamvara.
Here is the third [section where] he is asserted to be Cakrasamvara himself.⁸¹ A king of a country, in East India, invited all those who arrived there to beg for alms. They were venerated by the people because, while going out [for alms], they would step in a decent way, their eyes never looking at a distance greater than one yoke and would recite verses agreeable to hear; while coming back, they would pronounce words of blessing for what had been given [to them]. When they paid him respect the king said [to them]: "For what has been given, everyone [of you] has to recite verses of blessing not in contradiction with the words of the grammarians, nor with the arguments of valid cognition, the scriptural tradition (Tib. lung, Skt. āgama), the oral instructions (Tib. man-ngag, Skt. upadeśa), the experiences, and the realizations of those having a clear realization (rtog-pa-can-rnams-kyi rto-gpas-pa)." So all recited [verses], one by one, without contradiction and in harmony with [those of] the other. When it was the turn of the master, [the verses] he recited were [simultaneously] in harmony with all [the others]. When he had finished, the king asked [him] about those [verses] and their meaning.

/bdag la pha ma ma mchis te /
I have neither father nor mother:
/khor lo bde mchog bde ba'i mchog /
[I am] Cakrasamvara, the sublime Bliss.
/bdag la mkhan slob ma mchis te /
I have neither abbot nor teacher:
/bdag ni rang byung sangs rgyas yin /
I am the self-born Buddha.
/bdag la sgra tshad ma mchis te /
I have neither grammar nor arguments of valid cognition:
The science of logic (Tib. gtan-tshigs-rig-pa, Skt. hetuvidyā) came up by itself.

As to the Body, Speech and Mind of Cakrasamvara,

They are one with [my] body, speech and mind.

I go into the Great Bliss!

Thus having sung, he was celebrated as Cakrasamvara himself.

Here is the fourth [section where it is told how] he appeared as the synthesis of the bodies of all the Buddhas of the three times. The king Simhacandra (Seng-ge-zla-ba) invited many siddhas. When he had made offerings [to them], he asked [them] to give the empowerment. In response, Tilopa caused a mandala of coloured powder to appear in space. As he was perceived in different ways [by the others], Tilopa uttered in a song:

I am Hevajra in the body,
Mahāmāyā in the speech,
Cakrasamvara in the mind,
Guhyasamāja in the aggregates (skandha) and elements (dhātu),
Kṛṣṇayamāri in the limbs,
/ nying lag rdo rje 'jigs byed la /
Vajrabhairava in the subtler parts of the body,
/ ba spu dus gsum sangs rgyas yin /
The Buddhas of the three times in the hairs.

Thus having sung, Tilopa was celebrated as the synthesis of the Bodies of all the Buddhas.

When the deeds of such a man were at their end, the living beings of Za-hor in East India led to spiritual ripening and liberation [were so many that] seven towns of one hundred thousand [inhabitants each] were emptied.

After that, [how] he had attained the siddhis, and was also celebrated as a Nirmāṇakāya, the account of the lord of yoga Tilopa—[that is] the text of his great qualities, of the deeds performed by him—[such a text] had been composed separately but in a complete form. [Now.] in the monastery of Gro-bo-lung, I have composed it for [my] son mDo-sde.

Maṅgalam!
Notes

NOTES TO PREFACE

1. Fol. 2a.3: mDo sde'i don phyir yi ger bkod pa; fol. 11b.3: sras mDo sde'i don du yi ger bkod pa.

2. Other hagiographies of Tilopa are available in photostat reproduction. But they have been less useful to us because either they were written too recently to be considered consistent as sources, or they gave help in checking neither the biographical events nor the poetical passages in our text. For example, there is also a very short Ti-lo dang Nā-ro'i rnam-thar by sGam-po-pa bSod-nams-rin-chen (1079-1153), in gSung-bum, vol. ka-bSod-nams-rin-chen-gyi rnam-thar-rgyan, fols. 1a-8b; but the text, even if very ancient and by such an author, is not an actual account of Tilopa’s life, as it mostly concerns Nāropa.

3. English "Foreword" (p. 2) to the photostat reproduction of the text.


NOTES TO TRANSLITERATION OF TIBETAN TEXT

1. rgyas-gdab: gdab, written in dbu-can, has been added below the line.
2. bya’o: the letter 'a, written in dbu-can, has been added below the line, while its na-ro is above it.
3. sgra-khcan: the letter kha has been written below the line.
4. don phyir: a syllable has been written between don and phyir and then deleted.
5. bla-ma-med-par: the syllable ma has been written in dbu-can in place of another one which has been deleted.
6. bhe-ha-ra: the syllable ha, written in dbu-can, has been added below the line with a mark to show where it should be inserted.
7. srang-mdo: the syllable srang, written in dbu-can, has been added below the line.
8. brgya-stong-pa ci-yang mi-nyes: brgya-stong-pa and nyes written in dbu-can, have been added below the line.
9. bang-ga-la’i: the syllable ga, written in dbu-can, has been added below the line.
10. byas-pas rgya-gar-skad-du: byas and skad, written in dbu-can have been added below the line.
11. pas: the letter sa, written in dbu-can, has been added below the line.
12. dka’-ba’i don: the syllable ba’i, written in dbu-can, has been added below the line.
13. There is a long blank space between rgyal and mo.
14. za-byed, written in dbu-can, has been added below the line.
15. rgyal-bar gyur-to: the syllable rgyal, written in dbu-can, has been added below the line.
16. du-mas: the syllable du, written in dbu-can, has been written below the line.
17. ‘chad: the letter ‘a has been added below the line.
18. gsungs: the second sa, written in dbu-can, has been added below the line.
19. This verse and the following one have been added in dbu-can script at the bottom of the page, with a mark at the line where they are to be inserted.
20. gsungs: the second sa, written in dbu-can, has been added below the line.
21. Something has been deleted between tu and mgur.
22. 'dran-zla-med-pa: the syllable zla, written in dbu-can, has been added above the line.
23. ma-byung, written in dbu-can, has been added above the line.
24. de-la mi-ro'i rkang-pa rtag / de'i lag-pa-la yang rta-ringa rtag-sle: these two sentences have been added in dbu-can at the bottom of the page, with a mark at the line where they are to be inserted.
25. sgyu-ma'i: the syllable ma'i, written in dbu-can, has been added above the line.
26. ice-yis: the letter sa has been added in dbu-can below the line.
27. lo-rgyus: the syllable rgyus, written in dbu-can below the line, is apparently in place of the wrong short form lo(-rgyu)s, which should have a zhabs-kyu; the letter sa, for (rgyu)s, has not been deleted.
28. A syllable has been deleted between na and gzhuti.
29. rlung-sens: the syllable sens, written in dbu-can above the line, is apparently in place of the wrong short form rlung (-sens) which should have a 'greng-bu; the letter sa, for (sem)s, has not been deleted.
30. 'dor: the letter 'a has been added below the line.
31. siob-ma: the syllable ma has been added below the line.
32. smin-grol-la: the particle la has been added in dbu-can below the line.
33. dbang-phyug: the syllable phyug, written in dbu-can, has been added below the line.

NOTES TO TRANSLATION OF TIBETAN TEXT

1. The nine features of dance (gar dgu'i nyams) are: charming, heroic, ugly, aggressive, smiling, wrathful, compassionate, frightening, and peaceful (TEDBT, s.v. gar-gyi nyams dgu). The phrase spros-bral mkha'-khyab gar dgu'i nyams seems to allude in a metaphorical way to the three Buddhakāyas: dharmakāya (chos-lkyi sku), sambhogakāya (longs-spyod-rdzogs-pa'i
sku), and nirmānakāya (sprul-pa'i sku). As for the Sanskrit word kāya, it is useful to mention what H. Guenther has so often pointed out, that we have here a name for a dynamic process: a 'structure of experience' (Guenther 1968: 215-216), not a 'thing'. In this perspective, since Tibetan language is more analytic as to meaning than Sanskrit (Guenther 1959-60: 84), it distinguishes between lus, that is the mere 'organismic being' (Guenther 1963/1: 135-136), and sku—here translated as "Body"—which "expresses the idea of existence in an almost Parmenidian sense" (Guenther 1966: 143-144).

2. Prajñābhadra is one of the names of Tilopa; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od (fol. 43b.2) informs us that the other ones are Mahā-sukhavajra (bDe-chen-rdo-rje), Nirvikalpavajra (rTog-med-rdo-rje), Sukhacakra (bDe-ba'i 'khor-lo) and Kālapa (Ka-la-pa).

3. byin-gyis brlobs. The term byin-brlabs is for Skt.adiśthāna, which means 'basis' or 'support'. As such, the spiritual "basis" for successful practice is the grace or blessing of the guru or, as in this case, of the dākini.

4. The Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit Cakrasamvara can be bDe-mchog, 'Khor-lo-sdom-pa, or their contraction bDe-mchog-'Khor-lo. These names call to mind the yoga experience of 'bliss' (bde), the 'supreme one' (mchog). Such an experience comes into existence when the focal points ('khor-lo) of the subtle body are reintegrated into a dynamic synthesis (sdom-pa) (Guenther 1963/2: 4).

5. This distinction between neyārtha and nitārtha which is so common in Buddhist texts "roughly corresponds to the various degrees of the student's intellectual acumen" (Guenther 1958: 61).

6. Jago (Tib. Dza-go, Dza-ko, Dzā-ko, or 'Jha-go) is far from any definite geographical location. According to Tāranātha (bKa'-babs bdun-lidan: 45) Tilopa would have been from Catighābo, or Catigharo, which, as has been suggested by A. Chatto-padhyaya (rGya-gar chos-'byung: 255), could be identified with the modern Chittagong. We do not reach any stronger certainty in locating the Bengali principality of Sahor (Tib.
Za-hor), where Atiśa was also from. Apart from taking the word sahor (or šahor) as a common Indian name of Persian origin for "city" (Chatterji 1926: I, 192 ff.; Chattopadhyaya 1967: 62), it has been observed by S.K. De (1943: I, 33) that "this place Za-hor is conjectured in turns to be Lahore and Jessore in South Bengal (Waddel and Sarat Chandra Das) and Sabhar in East Bengal (H.P. Sastri) [...]. A.H. Francke would probably identify it with Mandi in North-Western India...". G. Roerich (Deb-ther sngon-po: 241), like Shastri, would identify it with Sabhar, presently in Dacca district.

7. Cf. O-rgyan-pa: 7a.4; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 27b.5; Mon-rtse-pa: 12b.3; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 9b.5; Kun-dga'-rin-chen: 11b.5; dBang-phyug-rgyal-ktshan: 7b.2; lHa-btsun: 5b.2.

8. Cf. rGyel-thang-pa: 5b.3; O-rgyan-pa: 7b.1; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 27b.6; Mon-rtse-pa: 12b.7; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 10a.2; Kun-dga'-rin-chen: 11b.6; dBang-phyug-rgyal-ktshan: 8b.4; lHa-btsun: 6a.3.

9. Cf. rGyel-thang-pa: 5b.4; O-rgyan-pa: 7b2; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 28a.1; Mon-rtse-pa: 12b.7; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 10a.6; dBang-phyug-rgyal-ktshan: 9a.4; lHa-btsun: 6b.4.

10. The sha-ba, or sha-pa, is the a-ga-ru or a-ka-ru tree (Bod-rgya s.v. sha-pa), that is the Aloes-wood, or Aquilaria agallochum (M-W s.v. agaru).

11. Cf. rGyel-thang-pa: 6a.1; O-rgyan-pa: 7b.6; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 28a.3; Mon-rtse-pa: 13a.4; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 10b.2; dBang-phyug-rgyal-ktshan: 10a.7; lHa-btsun: 7a.4.

12. Uddiyāna (or Uddiyāna, Oddiyāna, Udyāna, Odyāna; Tib. U-rgyan or O-rgyan), the birth-place of Padmasambhava, is celebrated as the land of dākinis. It is the region of North-West India between Kashmir and the Swat valley (Tucci 1940: 368 ff.).

13. Vajrayārāhi (rDo-rje-phag-mo), called Jñanadākini (Ye-shes-mkha’-gro-ma) in the following pages, or Bhagavati Yogini (bCom-lldan-rnal-byor-ma) and Vajrayogini (rDo-rje-rnal-byor-ma) in other hagiographies, is the consort of Cakra-samvara (De Mallmann 1988: 187-189).
14. Cf. rGyal-thang-pa: 6a.3; O-rgyan-pa: 8a.2; rDo-rje-mdzes-’od: 28a.5; Mon-rtse-pa: 13b.2; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 10b.5; dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan: 10b.2; IHa-btsun: 7b.1.
15. The text has here Sa-la bhe-ra-ha but, in the following line [4a.4], we read bhe-ha-ra (Skt. vihāra).
16. Cāryapa, for which Tsārya-pa or Tsary(-pa) is the Tibetan transliteration and sPyod-pa the translation, is the abbreviation of Kṛṣṇācārya (Nag-po-spyod-pa): the honorific title ācārya forms a compound with Kṛṣṇa (Nag-po), in turn a Sanskrit version of the Apabhramśa Kāṇha or the Prakrit Kāṇupā (Kāñhupada) (Shahidullah 1928: 25; Tagare 1948: 20). Apparently this is not the disciple of Jālandhari (Hadipa) and author of the Dohdkosa, but a spiritual descendant of his who bore the same name and is also referred to as Kṛṣṇācārya "the Young" (rGya-gar chos-'byung, p. 268; bKa'-babs bdun-ladan, p. 44; Life of Kṛṣṇācārya/Kāṇha, pp. 83, 87) and who may well be identified as the ācārya known as Balin, who was active in the first half of the 11th century (Deb-ther sngon-po, pp. 243, 372).
17. Lavapa, alias Kambala (Dowman, 1985: 184), is associated by Tāranātha (rGya-gar-chos-'byung: 246; bKa'-babs bdun-ladan, chap. iv) with Lalitavajra and with Indrabhuti, while 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba gZhon-nu-dpal (Deb-ther sngon-po: 362-363) suggests the possibility of identifying him with Indrabhuti, probably a Indrabhūti II (Snellgrove 1959: I, 12-13).
18. From a merely historical point of view, the Nāgarjuna associated with Tilopa should not be confused with the founder of the Madhyamaka school. In fact, he could be the alchemist of the late 10th century mentioned by al-Birūnī (Tucci 1930: 213; Naudou 1968: 85-86). As we read in rGyal-thang-pa (fol. 12b.4) this alchemist can be identified with Advayavajra (gNyis-med-rdo-rje), and thus probably with Dāmodara and Maitrigupta (Tucci 1930: 210, 214). The fact that he was from Karahanaka, in South India, as testified by rGyal-thang-pa, is confirmed in the Sanskrit biography of Nāgarjuna edited by Tucci (1930: 215, 219).
19. During the empowerment or consecration the disciple, by means of a subtle purification (Skt. abhiśeka < abhi-sic "purify with aspersion of water") is authorized, that is the power (dbang) to proceed deeper into the spiritual path is bestowed (skur) upon him. Such a path is ritually marked by entering the mandala (mandalapraveśa). In Vajrayana literature we usually classify the tantras (rgyud) into four, viz. kriya-, carya-, yoga- and anuttarayoga-tantra. Graded in view of four human types, who are at different levels, both intellectual and emotional, each tantric path leads to spiritual realization in a more radical and quicker way than the one below it. In the anuttarayoga-tantra (mal-'byor-bla-med-kyi rgyud), the starting point of the path is marked by the first of four empowerments, called the Consecration of the Jar (Skt. kalaśābhiseka, Tib. hum-dbang), which comprises some consecrations—generally six—performed in the lower tantras as well. The most essential aspect of the practice, consisting of the progressive dissolution of any residual dualistic attitude, is actualised by the three higher empowerments, viz. the Secret Consecration (Skt. guhyābhiseka, Tib. gsang-ba'i dbang), the Consecration of the Knowledge of the "Prajñā" (Skt. prajñānābhiṣekeya, Tib. shes-ye-shes-kyi dbung), and finally the Fourth Consecration (Skt. caturthaḥbhiṣeka, Tib. bzhi-ba'i dbang).

20. That is the Śriguhyasamājatantra.

21. brGya-stong-pa, short form for She-rab-kyi pha-rul-tu-phrin-pa stong-phrag-brgya-pa, Skt. Śatasahāsrikā-prajñāpāramiti. We will be informed later (chap. 2) that Tilopa's uncle was the abbot of the Aśoka-vihāra in East India.

22. We can detect from what follows that the "woman" is the dakini Subhagini (sKal-ba-bzang-mo).

23. That is the Hevajratantra and the Cakrasamvaratantra.

24. They are the Developing Stage (Tib. bskyed-rim, Skt. utpatti-krama) and the Fulfilment Stage (Tib. rdzogs-rim, Skt. sampanyakrama).

25. From the Sanskrit word tila "sesame".
26. Even from the lexical point of view we have here a clear allusion to Interdependent Origination, \textit{pratityasamutpāda}, whose Tibetan translation is \textit{rten-cing-brel-bar-byung-ba}, or simply \textit{rten-brel}.

27. The term \textit{saḥaja}, literally meaning "born or produced (Skt. -ja, Tib. \textit{skyes-pa}) together or at the same time as (Skt. saha-, Tib. \textit{ihan-ciś})", has been translated by Shahidullah (1928) and Snellgrove (1959) as "the Innate". Dasgupta (1946) left it untranslated. Eliade (1954) interpreted it as "le non-conditionné", Bharati (1965) as "the pure and natural state". Lessing and Wayman (1968) went back to a more literal meaning with "together born". So did Guenther (1969) with "coemergence", and Kvaerne (1977) with "co-emergent" and "simultaneously-arisen". Kvaerne (1977: 62) justifies the latter translation because the term "is basically connected with the tantric ritual of consecration, where it refers to the relation between the ultimate and the preliminary stages of Bliss." In fact, "the Fourth, the Ultimate Bliss in which all duality is abolished—arises simultaneously with the Third Bliss."

28. Cfr. \textit{rDo-rje-mdzes'-od: 35a.6}. Western readers can find two alternative versions of this song in Gyaltsen and Rogers (1986: 58), and in the \textit{Great Kagyu Masters} (p. 45).

29. The reference here is to one of the eight antidotes to prevent the five faults to mental quiescence meditation (Tib. \textit{zhi-gnas}, Skt. \textit{samatha}).

30. The name of Subhagini (\textit{skal-ba-bzang-mo}) is attested in \textit{O-rgyan-pa}, \textit{rDo-rje-mdzes'-od}, \textit{Mon-rtse-pa} and \textit{Kun-dga-rin-chen}, while, in \textit{gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka}, \textit{lHa-btsun} and \textit{dbang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan}, we find Samantabhadri Yogini (\textit{Kun-tu-bzang-mo'i rNal-byor-ma}), or Sumati Samantabhadri Yogini. In the \textit{bsTan'-gyur} (\textit{rGyud-'grel}) there is a work by Tilopa himself in which we can find information about his "human" gurus: \textit{Saddharmopadeśa} (\textit{Chos drug-gi man-ngag}), vol. \textit{pu} fol. 129b.2 of the \textit{sNar-thang} edition, vol. \textit{pu} fol. 134b.2 of the Peking (\textit{Cordier}, vol. LXXIII, no. 27; \textit{TT}, vol. LXXIII, no. 4630, pp. 34-5), vol. \textit{zhi} fol. 270a.7 of the \textit{sDe-dge} (\textit{Tōhoku}, no.
2330), vol. zhi fol. 270a.6 of the Co-ne -271a.2. This text, concerning the so-called Six Yogas of Nāropa, assigns them to four gurus: Ċaryapa, Nāgārjuna, Lavapa and Sukhasiddhi. Mention is made of the "dākini" Sukhasiddhi contemporary with Naropa’s consort Niguma in the Deb-ther sngon-po (p. 731), where she is associated with a Virupa, evidently the Virupa active in the 11th century (Dowman 1985: 52). Moreover, there are good reasons for identifying both, Subhagini and Samantabhadri Yogini, with the Sukhasiddhi attested in the Saddharmopadeśa.

31. Cf. O-rgyan-pa: 11b.2; rDo-rje-mdzes-’od: 35a.4; Mon-rtse-pa: 16b.5; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 13b.5; d głang-phyug-rgyalmtshan: 16b.2; jHa-btsun: 11b.3.

32. Scholars are inevitably faced with the problem of these "transmissions", which is concisely summed up in the English "Introduction" to Mon-rtse-pa (pp. 2-3): "Tradition records that Tilopa received four distinct currents (bka’-babs) which he passed on to Naropa; unfortunately Tibetan sources differ considerably as to the lineage and content of each of these currents". The Saddharmopadeśa assigns instruction to the four gurus thus—Cārāpā: candāli; Nāgārjuna: māyākāya and prabhāsvastra; Lavapa: svapna; Sukhasiddhi: intermediate state (Tib. bar-du, Skt. antarābhava) and transference (Tib. 'pho-ba, Skt. samkrānti). In Mar-pa—Cārāpā: svapna. Nāgārjuna, Matangipa: Guhyasamaja and māyākāya. Lavapa: prabhāsvastra. Subhagini: Heruka, Cakrasamvara, and candāli. rGyal-thang-pa (tols. 9b.7-13b) gives a different account of the four lineages—Vajrapani, Saraha, Lüpa, Dārikapa, Deṅgipa: Catuvatiha and samkrānti. Sumati Samantabhadrī, Thang-lo-pa, Shing-lo-pa, Karnaripa: Mahāmāya, svapna and māyākāya. Ratnamati, Nāgārjuna (alias Advaya-vajra), Matangipa: Cakrasamvara, mahamudrā and yuganaddha. Vajrapani, Dombi Heruka, Lavapa: Heruka, prabhāsvastra and candāli.

If O-rgyan-pa (fol 11b-1) goes no further than mentioning Cārāpā, Nāgārjuna, Lavapa and Subhagini
without associating them with any teaching, rDo-rje-mdzes-
'od (fols. 33b.1-35a) indicates six lines of transmission: two
non-human, four human. The first two are oral instruction
beyond words (snyan-rgyud yi-ge-med-pa) received directly
from the dākini Vajrayogini in Uddiyāna and the various
tantric cycles received from the bodhisattva Vajrapāni. The
four human masters are indicated with relevant teach­
ings—Cāryapa: Cakrasamvara, hetu-mārga-phala and candālī.
Nāgārjuna: Guhyasamāja, māyākāya and prabhāsvara. Lavapa,
Lalitavajra (Rol-pa-rdo-rje): Hevajra, antarābhava and prabhās­
vara. Subhagini: Śrī-Dakārṇava-mahātartrarāja, karmamudrā,
saṃkrānti and antarābhava. Lūipa, Vijayapāda (rNam-par­
rgyal-ba): Cakrasamvara. Saraha, Śavareśvara (Rī-khrod-dbang­
phyug): mahāmudrā.

If Mon-rtse-pa (fol. 16b.3) sets out the information
contained in Mar-pa once again, the apparent intention of
gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka (fol. 13b.3), and of lHa-btsun (fol.
11b.1) who closely complies with his guru, was to complete
and integrate the Saddharmopadeśa and Mar-pa—Cāryapa:
Sumati Samatābhadrī: saṃkrānti and antarābhava. The other
disciple of gTsang-smyon, dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan (fols.
16a.1-16b), seems to reconcile the evident discrepancies we
find in the other rnam-thars, at least in terms of lineages. In
fact, he distinguishes between two lines of transmission: an
ordinary (thun-mongs) and an extra-ordinary (thun-mongs-
ma-yin-pa) one. (1) Thun-mongs-kyi bka'-babs—Vajrapāṇi,
Saraha, Luipa, Dārikāpa, Deṅgipa: mahāmudrā. Ratnamati,
Nāgārjuna, Mātaṇgīpa: pīṭ-tantra. Sumati Samatābhadrī,
Shing-lo-pa, Thang-lo-pa, Karnaripa: mātr-tantra. Virupa
(Bhir-wa-pa), Dombi Heruka, Bhi-na-sa, Lavapa, Indrabhūti:
advaita-tantra and prabhāsvara. (2) Thun-mongs-ma-yin-pa'i
bka'-babs—Cāryapa: candālī and svapna. Nāgārjuna: māyākāya
and pīṭ-tantra. Lavapa: prabhās-vara and advaita-tantra.
Sumati Samatābhadrī: saṃkrānti, antarābhava and mātr-tantra.
33. Cf. O-rgyan-pa: 8a.3; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 28b.1; dBang phyug-rgyal-mtshan: 10b.3.
34. Cf. O-rgyan-pa: 8a.3; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 28b.2; dBang phyug-rgyal-mtshan: 10b.4; lHa-btsun: 10a.1.
35. For this uncommon word, other texts have byi-gzungs, bye-gzungs, or byi-zun-thun.
36. Cf. rGyal-thang-pa: 6b.5; O-rgyan-pa: 9a.1; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 29a.2; Mon-rtse-pa: 14a.5; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 11a.5; dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan: 11a.5; lHa-btsun: 8a.3.
37. Cf. O-rgyan-pa: 9a.1; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 29a.3; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 11a.6; dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan: 11a.7; lHa-btsun: 8a.3.
38. Cf. rGyal-thang-pa: 6b.7; O-rgyan-pa: 9a.3; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 29a.5; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 11a.7; dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan: 11b.1; lHa-btsun: 8a.5.
39. Cf. O-rgyan-pa: 9a.3; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 29a.6; Mon-rtse-pa: 14b.1; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 11a.7; dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan: 11b.2; lHa-btsun: 8a.6.
40. Cf. rGyal-thang-pa: 7a.1; O-rgyan-pa: 9a.4; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 29b.2; Mon-rtse-pa: 14b.4; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 11b.2; dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan: 11b.3; lHa-btsun: 8b.2.
41. Cf. rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 29b.3; dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan: 11b.4; lHa-btsun: 8b.2.
42. Cf. O-rgyan-pa: 9b.2; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 29b.4; dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan: 11b.6; lHa-btsun: 8b.4.
43. Cf. rGyal-thang-pa: 7b.2; O-rgyan-pa: 9b.4; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 30a.1; Mon-rtse-pa: 15a.3; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 11b.6; dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan: 12a.4; lHa-btsun: 9a.1.
44. Cf. rGyal-thang-pa: 7b.4; O-rgyan-pa: 9b.4; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 30a.2; Mon-rtse-pa: 15a.4; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 11b.7; dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan: 12a.6; lHa-btsun: 9a.2.
45. In gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka and lHa-btsun-pa also the meditative evocation (Skt. bhāvanā, Tib. sgom-pa) is mentioned: bila bsgom spyod-pa 'bras-bu'ang. Of these three—drṣṭi, bhāvanā, and caryā—Guenther (1958: 80-81) remarks: "[The] intuitive character of Eastern systems of philosophy is
evident from the very words used for what we designate by philosophy, viz. "seeing, view" (Ita-ba, Skt. drṣṭi, darsana). Philosophy which thus is the Seeing of Reality is not the culmination of one's abilities but the very beginning of the arduous task of achieving spiritual maturity. In this way philosophy in the Eastern sense of the word only serves to clear the way and, quite literally, to open the student's eye: What he sees has to be closely attended to (sgom-pa, Skt. bhāvāna) and must be actually lived (spyod-pa, Skt. caryā)." In another article Guenther (1966-67: 179) stresses that view, evocative meditation, and action are "facets, not parts, of human being. Neither can they be added up nor separated."

46. Cf. O-rgyan-pa: 9b.6; rDo-rje-mdzes-’od: 30a.4; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 12a.3; dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan: 12b.7; lHa-btsun: 9a.5.

47. Cf. O-rgyan-pa: 10b.1; rDo-rje-mdzes-’od: 31b.1; Mon-rtse-pa: 15b.6; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 12b.4; dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan: 13a.6; lHa-btsun: 10a.2.

48. Cf. O-rgyan-pa: 10b.2; rDo-rje-mdzes-’od: 31b.3; Mon-rtse-pa: 16a.2; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 12b.5, 13a.1; lHa-btsun: 10b.2.

49. In gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka (fol. 12a.4), dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan (fol. 12b.4) and lHa-btsun-pa (fol. 9a.6) the three signs are characterized thus:

\[
\]

50. The first term of this dvandva refers to "a complex phenomenon of mental activity and in the widest sense of the word it expresses the ordinary dual mode of cognition involving the perceiving subject which owns the specific perceptual situation (yul-can) and the perceptual situation with its sense-field and sensum therein (yul)." (Guenther 1956: 43)

Cfr. Tilopādāsya Dohākosa, dohā 32 of the Bagchi edition (1938): vanna vi vajjai aki-vihunna / savodāre so sampunna, with its Tibetan version (Do-ha mdzod) in the bsTan-'gyur (rGyur 'grel), vol. tsi fol. 135b.5 of the sNar-thang edition, vol. t
51. Cf. rGyal-thang-pa: 8a.4; O-rgyan-pa: 10a.2; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 30b.6; Mon-rtse-pa: 15b.2; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 12a.6; dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan: 12b.6; IHa-btsun: 9b.2.

52. As H. Guenther (1952: 61 n. 1) observes, "prajñā is a caittā or mental event belonging to the group of five called niyata-visaya "object-determined", and is defined as dharmanām pravīcaya "analysis of entities" emphasizing its selective and appreciative character. Prajñā is a function which developed to its highest point (pāramitā) becomes a "transcending function". The translation of this term by "wisdom" is hardly justified..."

53. Cf. rGyal-thang-pa: 8a.5; O-rgyan-pa: 10a.3; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 31a.2; Mon-rtse-pa: 15b.3; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 12a.7; dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan: 13a.1; IHa-btsun: 9b.4.

54. Cf. Tilopādasya Dohākoṣa, dohā 33: "This mental activity is to be promptly killed; no supports to the thinking activity: such is the mahāmudrā, stainless in three worlds!" (e mana māraha laku citte nimmula / tahi mahāmudda tihu ne nimmala, Skt.: etat manah māraya śīghram citte nimmulam / tasmāt mahā- muddrā tribhuvane nimmalā [bhavati]). The Tibetan version is different: yid ni sod la sems ni rtsa ba med par gyis // sems kyi lhag ma zug rneg thong // 'di ru sku bzhi phyag rgya bzhi // khams gsum ma lus de tshē dag. Anyway, the allusion to the four mudrās connected with the four kāyas is confirmed by the Sanskrit commentary (pañjika) of this dohā.

55. Cf. rGyal-thang-pa: 8a.7; O-rgyan-pa: 10b.2; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 31b.5; Mon-rtse-pa: 15b.7; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 12b.2, 12b.6; dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan: 13b.1; IHa-btsun: 10a.5.
56. Cf. rGyal-thang-pa: 8b.3; O-rgyan-pa: 10b.5; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 32a.4; Mon-rtse-pa: 16a.3; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 13a.2; dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan: 13b.6; lHa-btsun: 10b.3.

57. So it is specified in O-rgyan-pa (fol. 11a.1): de-nas bde'-mchog rtsa-rgyud le'u Inga-bcu-pa-cig.

58. Cf. rGyal-thang-pa: 8b.5; O-rgyan-pa: 11a.1; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 32b.4; Mon-rtse-pa: 16a.4; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 13a.4; Kun-dga'-rin-chen: 13b.5; dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan: 14a.2.

59. Cf. rGyal-thang-pa: 8b.6; O-rgyan-pa: 11a.2; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 32b.5; Mon-rtse-pa: 16a.5; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 13a.5; dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan: 14a.4; lHa-btsun: 11a.1.

60. Cf. rGyal-thang-pa: 9a.1; O-rgyan-pa: 11a.3; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 33a.1; Mon-rtse-pa: 16a.6; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 13a.6; dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan: 14a.4; lHa-btsun: 11a.1.

61. Tilopa transmitted the instructions alluded to in these verses to Nāropa, who passed them to Mar-pa and to the Indian Tiphupa. According to gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka (Mi-la-ras-pa'i mgur-bum: 397-401), Mar-pa passed only four of them to Mi-la-ras-pa, and prophesied that he, or someone else, would go to India to receive the other five. As Mi-la-ras-pa was completely satisfied with the four he had, he never did go to India. It was his disciple Ras-chung-rdo-rje-grags (1084-1161) who accomplished this task. First, he received them in Nepal from a Bharima, maybe the same Bharima connected with Tilopa; then, in India, from Tiphupa himself.

62. Cf. rGyal-thang-pa: 9a.2; O-rgyan-pa: 11a.4; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 33a.2; Mon-rtse-pa: 16a.7; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 13a.7; dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan: 14b.5; lHa-btsun: 11a.3.

63. Cf. rGyal-thang-pa: 9a.4; O-rgyan-pa: 11a.5; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 33a.5; Mon-rtse-pa: 16b.3; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 13b.2; dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan: 15a.1; lHa-btsun: 11a.5.

64. Cf. rGyal-thang-pa: 10a.3; O-rgyan-pa: 11b.2; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 33b.3; Mon-rtse-pa: 16b.4; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 13b.4; dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan: 16a.1; lHa-btsun: 11b.2.
65. Cf. Tilopa's Acintyamahāmudrā (Phyag-rgya-chen-po bsam-gyi-smi-khyab-pa) in the bsTan-'gyur (rgyud-'grel), in which his teachings to these eight, after their conversion, are given (Tōhoku, no. 2305: Phyag-rgya-chen-po bsam-gyi-smi-khyab-pa zhes-bya-ba; no. 2306: mThu-can-la gāms-pa; no. 2307:Glumkhan-la gāms-pa; no. 2308: Mu-stegs-la gāms-pa; no. 2309: Shan-pa-la gāms-pa; no. 2310: Rig-byed-mkhan-la gāms-pa; no. 2311: sGyu-ma-mkhan-la gāms-pa; no. 2312: sMad-'tshong-la gāms-pa).

66. Cf. rGyal-thang-pa: 13b.5; O-rgyan-pa: 11b.3; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 35b.6; Mon-rtse-pa: 17a.1; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 14a.1; Kun-dga'-rin-chen: 13a.1; dBang-phyug-rgyal-rtse-shan: 21a.1; lHa-btsun: 12a.1.

67. The term ku-sa-li (Skt. kuśala), or its corrupt form ku-su-lu (cf. O-rgyan-pa: 11b.5), refers to those sages, either Hindus or Buddhists, who are more devout than learned.

68. Cf. rGyal-thang-pa: 14b.6; O-rgyan-pa: 12b.2; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 37a.2; Mon-rtse-pa: 17b.7; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 14b.6; dBang-phyug-rgyal-rtse-shan: 22a.7; lHa-btsun: 15a.2.

69. We have here an allusion to the pranayāma vase-breathing technique (Tib. bum-pa-can, Skt. kumbhaka).

70. Cf. rGyal-thang-pa: 15a.7; O-rgyan-pa: 13a.4; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 38a.4; Mon-rtse-pa: 18a.7; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 15a.7; dBang-phyug-rgyal-rtse-shan: 23a.7; lHa-btsun: 17a.5.

71. Cf. rGyal-thang-pa: 16a.5; O-rgyan-pa: 14a.4; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 37b.3; Mon-rtse-pa: 19a.5; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 15b.7; dBang-phyug-rgyal-rtse-shan: 24b.1; lHa-btsun: 20a.4.

72. Cf. rGyal-thang-pa: 18b.3; O-rgyan-pa: 17a.3; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 40b.1; Mon-rtse-pa: 21a.4; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 17a.7; dBang-phyug-rgyal-rtse-shan: 28a.1; lHa-btsun: 26b.6.

73. Cf. rGyal-thang-pa: 18a.5; O-rgyan-pa: 16b.2; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 40a.2; Mon-rtse-pa: 20b.5; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 17a.2; dBang-phyug-rgyal-rtse-shan: 27a.6; lHa-btsun: 24b.6.

74. This verse alludes to the yoga technique of transference (Tib. 'pho-ba, Skt. samkrānti).
76. The Life of the Mahāsiddha Tilopa

75. Cf. rGyal-thang-pa: 17a.3; O-rgyan-pa: 35b.3; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 38b.6; Mon-rtse-pa: 20a.1; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 16a.6; dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan: 25b.7; lHa-btsun: 22a.5.

76. A follower of Carvaka, the Indian philosopher whose theories are systematized in the Bṛhaspatyasaūtra. The Lokayatikas, far from being mere hedonists, would deny (Skt. nastika from na-asti "there is not") any empirical basis to the law of karman.

77. Cf. rGyal-thang-pa: 19a.1; O-rgyan-pa: 17b.3; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 40b.6; Mon-rtse-pa: 21b.1; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 17b.4; dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan: 29b.7; lHa-btsun: 29a.1.

78. Cf. rGyal-thang-pa: 19b.3; O-rgyan-pa: 18a.5; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 12a.2; Mon-rtse-pa: 22a.1; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 18a.3; dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan: 32b.3; lHa-btsun: 31a.5.

79. The "three wheels" (khor-lo rnam-gsum) through which a monk practises dharma, viz. (1) the wheel of study through reading, listening and thinking (klog-pa-thos-bsam-gyi khor-lo), (2) the wheel of abandonment through concentration (spong-bsam-gtan-gyi khor-lo), and (3) the wheel of service through activities (bya-ba-las-kyi khor-lo).

80. The ten spiritual trainings of a monk (chos-spyod bcu) are (1) writing (yi-ge 'bri-ba), (2) worshipping (mchod-pa bul-ba), (3) developing generosity (sbyin-pa gton-ba), (4) hearing the dharma (chos nyan-pa), (5) memorizing ('dzin-pa), (6) reading (klog-pa), (7) explaining ('chad-pa), (8) reciting (kha-ton-du bya-ba), (9) thinking over the dharma (chos-kyi don sems-pa), and (10) attending meditatively to it (chos-kyi don sgom-pa).

81. Cf. rGyal-thang-pa: 20a.5; O-rgyan-pa: 25a.3; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 42a.6; Mon-rtse-pa: 22b.5; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 18b.7; dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan: 35b.6; lHa-btsun: 32a.6.

82. Logic (gnas-tshigs-rig-pa) is one of the five fields of study (rig-gnas che-ba lnga), the others being arts and crafts (bzo-rig-pa), medicine (gso-ba-rig-pa), grammar (sgra-rig-pa), and philosophy (nang-don-rig-pa).
83. Cf. rGyal-thang-pa: 20b.4; O-rgyan-pa: 25a.5; rDo-rje-mdzes-'od: 42b.4; Mon-rtse-pa: 23a.6; gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka: 19b.1; dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan: 37b.2; lHa-btsun: 33a.2.
References

dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan:


De, S.K. (1943) in R.C. Majumdar (ed.), History of Bengal, Dacca.


rDo-rje-mdzes-'od Bka' brgyud kyi rnam thar chen mo rin po che'i gter mdzod dgos 'dod 'byun gnas. A collection of lives of the successive masters in the transmission lineage of the 'Bri-guṅ Bka'-brgyud-pa tradition in the Nepal-Tibet borderlands by Rdo-rje-mdzes-'od, reproduced from a rare manuscript from Limi Dzing Pegyeling, n.p., 1985, pp. 53-86.


sGam-po-pa Collected works (gsun 'bum) of Sgam-po-pa Bsod-nams-rin-chen. Reproduced from a manuscript from Bkra-sis-chos-rdzon Monastery in Miyad Lahul by Khasdub Gyatsho Shashin, Delhi, 1975, pp. 1-16.


____ (1963/1) "Indian Buddhist Thought in Tibetan Perspective—Infinite Transcendence versus Finiteness", in History of Religions, vol. III, no. 1, Chicago (then in TBWP).
The Life and Teachings of Nāropa, London.


"Le maître spirituel en Tibet", Hermes, Paris (then in TBWP).

"Tantra and Revelation", in History of Religions, vol. VII, no. 4, Chicago (then in TBWP).

The Royal Song of Saraha. A Study in the History of Buddhist Thought, Seattle.

Tibetan Buddhism in Western Perspective (TBWP). Collected Articles of Herbert V. Guenther, Emeryville.


IHa-btsun:


Ms. B—Bka'-brgyud-pa Hagiographies. A collection of rnam-thar of eminent masters of Tibetan Buddhism.


Tagare, G.V. (1948) Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃśa, Poona (Delhi 1987).


gTang-smyon He-ru-ka:

Ms. A—bDe mchog mkha’ ‘gro snyan rgyud (Ras chung snyan rgyud). Two manuscript collections of texts from the yig cha of Gtsang-smyon He-ru-ka. Reproduced from 16th and 17th century manuscripts belonging to the Venerable


_____ (1940) The Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley, Calcutta (then in Opera minora, Rome 1971).


Ui, H., M. Suzuki, Y. Kanakura & T. Tada (1934) Tôhoku/ A Catalogue-Index of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons (Bkah-hgyur and Bstan-hgyur), Sendai.