

**Two Topics from the Swayambhū Purāṇa:
Who was Dharma-shri-mitra ?
Who was Shāntikara Āchārya ?**

- Hubert Decler

1. The Purāṇa

... the work belongs to a special type of literature which is technically known as "anonymous literature" ...

Brinkhaus, *Textual History*, 64.

The observation has been made that 'The Primordial Account of the 'Spontaneously Arisen' Swayambhū Mahā-chaitya' does not really belong to the Sanskrit literary genre known as 'Purāṇa', since it lacks the five primordial characteristics (Pañcha-lakṣaṇa) thereof. Indeed, it does not deal with the primordial creation of the world, or with vanishing and re-emerging world systems within extremely vast time cycles. It is not about the genealogies of Gods and early heroes, or dynastic histories. Still less is it a treatise about universal geography, nor does it incorporate elaborate theories about society, grammar, music, poetics or philosophy.¹

It is known that the Purāṇa literature further branched into various sub-genres, that included, foremost, the Grand Pilgrimage Itineraries (māhātmya) and the hymns dedicated to a chief deity associated with such an Itinerary, perhaps culminating in the recitation of a thousand divine names (sahasra-nāma). These grand Sanskrit classics often led to regionalized versions, in which ancient stories were localized;² ancient history, within a specific region, was updated to the present; and all of it was recomposed in the local language. The vernacular (no longer Sanskrit) apart, it is not always easy to establish what was an original or oldest version, and what was because of the rarity of the manuscripts, but, on the contrary, because of the extraordinary profusion of them.

"Accretions" of course abound and are of many different kinds.

(1) Some take on the form of *informed* commentarial elaboration. For instance, a sequence of ritual bathing rites at all the confluences of the Valley's rivers (tīrtha-yātrā) is further elaborated with the meditational and ritual instructions according to the Kriyā instructions and pronounce the elaboration as valid.

(2) Or the elaboration can take on the form of an extended pilgrimage itinerary, covering many more spots besides the river confluences and including foundation histories of these sacred places.

• (2a) For some of these foundation histories, the information can be counter-checked by consulting other historical sources, for example when known Paṇḍitas or Siddhas are named, associated with certain transmissions and whose individual biographies are available. Say we get a story in which Ārya Vasubandhu and come across the that states: "

Towards the end of his life he moved to Nepal". The likelihood of the reference's authenticity is enhanced.

When, on the contrary, we hear in a pilgrimage guide about the supposed caves of Tilopa and Nāropa at Pashupati, and counter-check their respective sacred biographies, we find no account of their residence in Nepal. We will tend to conclude that the ascription is doubtful.

- **(2b)** But in many other cases, there is only a pious 'Abjash Paṇḍita' tale instead; 'poetically true' as a parable, but devoid of any historically relevant association.
- (3)** The worst case occurs when the Purana is retold by court poets involved in a lot of cavalier cutting-and-pasting, in the course of which the essence of the original practically evaporates and the collage becomes something akin to the classical Hindu literary genre of a Purāṇa Offshoot meant for local use only.

Very often, the distinctions are not all that clear cut: there is one text of *vaipulya* dimension, with some information historically valid, some only metaphorically true, and some to be dismissed as irrelevant or even plain wrong.

When it came to establishing the most authentic version of the Swayambhū Purāṇa, savants among the Tibetan pilgrims to the Kathmandu Valley faced the same problems as the modern historian.

To start with, contrary to many foreign scholars, they were not fooled by the term 'Purāṇa' in the title. Instead, they seem to have reasoned that, if a Buddhist author were challenged to compose a Purāṇa, this is exactly the kind of work he would've produced.

- There is mention of recurring time cycles, in the course of which the Swayambhū Chaitya, in each of the past and future yuga-s, has gone and will continue to go through the same name changes.

- There is reference to vast world ages of the past, but only to emphasize the continuity of Buddhas appearing in those epochs, and with the future Shākya-muni, in the course of previous lifetimes, continuing his training under each one of them - as he recollects in the course of the long flashback, in his role as the narrator in the framing tale.

- There is sacred geography because the Kathmandu Valley is a specific type of rare practice place (a former lake, surrounded by mountains), with among its many characteristics the extraordinary qualities associated with meditational rites at its river confluences.

- The sole commentary on a social system concerns the absence of any remaining difference among the monastically ordained, whatever their original caste status at birth.

- There is a bit of foreign dynasty history, but it is about a king being tired of royalty and abandoning it in favor of training towards Bajrāchārya level; in further account, a local king goes to consult this primordial Newar Bajrāchārya in times of trouble. In other words, primordial dynasty history is replaced by an account of the origins of Vajrayāna transmission history in the Valley.

- And there is even the equivalent of a sahasra-nāma, a Nāma-saṃgīti of sorts. But far from being a string of bhajan hymns (even though the text is very often recited in the Vihāras), it is, instead, about the major mystery of the Swayambhū Purāṇa, if not of Newar Buddhism itself.

All of this is as authentic as could be. A Secret Mantra expert such as Mahā-ṇḍita the

VIIIth Situ recognized it as such at a glance.

2. Tibetan translations and commentaries to the Swayambhū Purāṇa

From among the Five major versions known, the Tibetan translators opted for the short Sanskrit prose version in eight chapters, known as the *Gośṛṅga-parvat Swayambhū Chaitya-bhattāraka Uddeshā* or *Short treatise on the true sovereign among Stupas, the Seld-originated Chaitya on Mount Oxhorn*.³ It was translated three times; two complete Tibetan translations survive, plus a tiny quotation from an earlier third one.

Scholars of the Snowlands, moreover, also composed two extensive commentaries, in the first place directed against Tibetan pilgrimage guides to Nepal that, according to them, abounded in errors. In these corrective treatises, they established the criteria by means of which to identify authentic Buddhist history and sacred geography, as opposed to local popular stories.⁴ Among the various strategies followed, the first and foremost is consistency with both larger Buddhist transmission history and Buddhist doctrine.

For example: some fifty years ago, one British scholar came across the *Gośṛṅga Vyākaraṇā* or 'Oxhorn Prophecy', in which there is a story, somewhat similar to - but, in other respects, also very different from - the Swayambhū Purāṇa account of Mañjushrī Bodhisattva draining the lake.⁵ He demonstrated (correctly) that this Prophecy really relates to Khotan on the Silk Road; then, by pointing out numerous minor similarities, he concluded that it was somehow, ignorantly, transferred to Nepal. For the last thirty years, this has been the refrain repeated over and over again by other western scholars.⁶ Which is a bit strange: very few people in Nepal, then as now, have ever even heard of Khotan, but somehow they supposedly managed to copy the Khotanese Purāṇa. It all sounds a little far fetched.

As it happens, the same claim (the 'Oxhorn Prophecy' represents the primordial history of the Kathmandu Valley) is also to be found in early Tibetan pilgrimage guides to the Valley - only to be refuted by the authors of those later commentaries. They clearly demonstrated

- that a Mt. Oxhorn ("Gośṛṅga") existed in both Khotan and Nepal, the former the site of a Chaitya named Goma-sala-gandha, the latter the site of a Chaitya named Swayambhū;
- and that, by a wrong deduction, the name of Khotan (Li yul) came to be interpreted as a reference to Nepal.

The Oxhorn Prophecy is an authentic Sūtra, they said, but is not about the Kathmandu Valley. They then tackled the erroneous deduction by referring to what they took to be the trustworthy account and appropriate reference: the Swayambhū Purāṇa, in what they called *the original version* (i.e. the *Gośṛṅga-parvat Swayambhū Chaitya-bhattāraka Uddesha*). Not only did they consider it an authentic Sūtra; but they further viewed it as a genuine discovery, in the sense that that this was a Sūtra missed by the earlier translators and compilers of the Kangyur (= the translated word of the Buddha). Translator Situ Paṅchen, in fact, hoped to include it in the new edition he was just then in the process of revising and showed himself most thankful for the manuscript received from King Jaya Prakāsh Malla's palace librarian, one Samanta-bhadra [Bajracharya]. He completed his own translation that same year. This took place in 1748.⁷

So we have here the strange case of a modern western scholar supposedly discovering a discrepancy in the texts and starting a controversy that was already refuted a good two cen-

turies earlier in the Tibetan commentaries.⁸

In the following I suppose to examine two cases where these commentaries accept the account of the Swayāmbhū Purāṇa in the larger Buddhait-historical and doctrinal perspective. We will examine some of these sources ourselves.

3. Who was Dharma-shrī-mitra?

"After the passing of a long period, by which time living beings lived up to the age of 30,000 years, as the guide of the world there appeared the Tathāgata Arhat Samyak-sambuddha by name of Dharmarāja Kanaka-muni, Golden Sage' ... At that time, in the great vihāra of Vikrama-shīla, there was a great scholar, the monk Dharma-shrī-mitra, who was engaged in providing an excellent explanation to the *Expression of the Names of Mañjushrī* (Mañjushrī-nāma-saṃgīti)."

Swayāmbhū Purāṇa, Chapter VI [39]

Buddha Kanakamuni lived in a previous time period, thousands and thousands of centuries ago; Vikrama-shīla Mahā-vihāra was founded in the 8th century C.E. Accordingly, this passage is clearly not meant to be taken literally; it requires interpretation. We are supposed to understand that Dharma-shrī-mitra is a historical figure with a post-8th century connection with Vikrama-shīla; but also that this is a story carried out under previous Buddhas, kalpas ago; but implication, not different from a similar quest in the present day. The Purāṇa here uses an exaggerated expression of greatness technique, projecting historical events into an antiquity beyond imagination.⁹

In our inquiry about the identity of this Dharma-shrī-mitra, we may look into the transmission history of the Nāma-saṃgīti in particular and, more generally, into the transmission of the group of texts or Tantra cycle (the Māyā-jāla Tantra) to which it belongs. Indeed, the Mañjushrī-nāma-saṃgīti itself (in verse 7) presents itself as equal to or as part of the realisation process of the Net of Illusion (Māyā-jāla-abhisambodhi).¹⁰ Alternatively, we look out for the account about Dharma-shrī-mitra's quest.

Now an almost identical story does indeed occur in one Tibetan historical text, 'The Seven Instruction Lineages' by the celebrated Lama Tārānātha (1575-1634).¹¹ The story is about one Buddha-shrī-jnāna who has studied a lot, yet failed to gain full experiential understanding, and who goes to a spot near Buddhagaya where he practices meditation and then receives instruction from him to go and request Mañjushrī to cut through his doubts. The text then continues:

Mañjushrī is of course known to reside on Mt. Five Peaks in China, so Buddha-shrī-jnāna decided to travel there. He had been walking some ten yojanas in north-eastern direction, when one day at noon he saw, in front of a white house, one old householder monk¹² with robes that were in tatters, and his (ochre colored) religious robes wrapped on his head like a turban. Together with one nasty looking woman he was engaged in plowing a field.¹³ At this site Buddha-shrī-jnāna experienced some lack of faith. Asleep near by was an awful bitch.

By now it was the time of day for begging his meal, so the Master asked for something to eat. The householder monk caught a fish from the irrigation channel, and threw it to the bitch who (ate it, then) vomited it back and came carrying it to master (Buddha-shrī-jnāna). The latter, due to his discursive thought, couldn't take it, wouldn't eat it. Thereupon the

house monk spoke: 'This worldly one is full of discursive thought; [438] fetch some fine foods for him!' and with these words went out.

The woman then brought him some excellent rice pap and yoghurt which he did accept. As he was about to set off again, she told him: 'There is no way you will reach any village today; so come and stay (for the night)!'. Having entered, he started to recite the Esoteric Assembly Tantra. Each time he came across a passage about which he harbored some doubts, the woman would grimace. It dawned on him: 'This woman knows other people's mind' and so he beseeched her to cut through his doubts. 'I don't understand those things,' she replied, 'this householder monk is extremely learned in the Samāja. Have your doubts cleared by him! He should be back later this afternoon.'

Later in the afternoon, as she had predicted, the house monk did return, dead drunk,¹⁴ staggering about. Realising that he was a Mantra practitioner engaged in the 'activity' (of vowed behaviour), Buddha-shrī-jnāna dropped his lack of confidence; bowing down to his feet in salutation, he made the request to have his doubts cut through.

'for that you'll need the initiation', the monk said.

'I already obtained it before, for someone else', he replied.

'for some to teach Dharma, you'll need my personal initiation', the monk said.

The Maṇḍala was laid out within the one room. At dawn the Master was called inside; once in front of the actually manifested maṇḍala of Mañju-vajra as the nineteen gods, the previously miraculously emanated monk, together with the woman and the bitch, again appeared, with the question:

'From whom will you obtain the initiation?'

Even though he knew them to be of one single identity, he felt moved more strongly by his faith towards the maṇḍala and replied:

'I request it from the maṇḍala.'

'Well, get it then!', the monk spoke, and the three of them moved to a small room (next door); whereupon the maṇḍala too became visible.

Greatly saddened, the Master, the next morning offered his supplication with the words (of the prayer, famous ever since):

'you, Father of all sentient beings, ...' and so forth.

The maṇḍala manifested itself like it had before and the monk, after bestowing the initiation, further taught him 'The Oral Instructions of Mañjushrī'¹⁵

Thereupon the Master's wisdom became equal to celestialspace. [439] He achieved profundity in all of the teaching. But because he had shown a lack of faith, (1) first about the fish vomitted by the dog, then (2) towards the householder monk's behavior, and finally (3) towards the old householder monk's appearance [over whom he had preferred the maṇḍala], Buddha-shrī-jnāna did not achieve the rainbow body (in this life). Instead, he gained the supreme realization during the intermediate state.

Contrary to what we decided about the Khotan Purāṇa, this story is sufficiently similar to the one about Dharma-shrī-mitra in the Swayambhū Purāṇa to conjecture that it represents a different version of the same story.

(I) The dominant theme, at first, is that study alone cannot replace experiential learning, which is only gained by the corresponding meditation.¹⁶

(II) The location of the event is vague at best: somewhere north-east of Buddhagaya, only a day's or a few days' journey away from the Vajra Throne. The Kathmandu Valley goes unmentioned. As we all know, the Swayambhū Purāṇa locates the first encounter at Sawa, the second (usually) at Saraswati-sthān, the hill adjacent to Swayambhū. However, the failure to mention the exact location is not necessarily a reason for immediately concluding that the story was 'relocated' for our Valley's greater glory. It may be a question of emphasis on the main themes, one of which is about proper Guru - disciple relationship in Vajrayāna context, with a strong warning against scholarly arrogance. Extra details about the location would here serve as a distraction.

(III) The really important thing to remember is that the story concerns a quest for the Guhya Samāj; and the specific initiation is in the maṇḍala of Mañju-vajra.

- This name can signify the Esoteric Assembly (Guhya Samāja);¹⁷ and the two great meditation systems of the Guhya Samāja are indeed associated with and named after [Buddha-shrī-]Jnāna-pāda and Ārya Nāgārjuna. Not only is the Esoteric Assembly known as the earliest revelation of any Highest Yoga Tantra; it is also *the* model of all Further Tantras.
- Alternatively the name Mañju-vajra may also refer to Mañjushrī in one of his wrathful forms, as derived from the Yamari/Yamāntaka Tantra: the hymns of praise in the latter's meditation scenarios (sādhana) occasionally address him by that name.¹⁸ The relationship with the Guhya Samāj is a very close one: whoever wants to study and practice the Yamari will require the grand theoretical background from the model Tantra just mentioned.

(III,a) This relationship is expressed in a closely similar account by another Tibetan historian, Jamgon Ameg-zhab (1597-1659). Here protagonist Buddha-shrī-jnāna receives both the Guhya Samāj and the Vajra Bhairava (=Mahesha Saṃvara) at the same unlocalized white house. Apart from this minor difference, the account is probably based on the same source as Tārānātha's.

(III,b) A further connection lies in the fact that Buddha-shrī-jnāna, according to Tārānātha, was the person in charge of the consecration of the monastic university of Vikrama-shīla (you will remember that the monastic university of Vikrama-shīla is exactly where Dharmashrī-mitra got stuck while teaching the Nāma Saṃgīti). He is further stated to have been specialized in what looks like a short list of what (in the Nyingma tradition) became known as the Eighteen Tantras of the Mahā-yoga of the Eighteen Tantras of the Vajra-shekhara / Māyā-jāla and which, among others, also includes the Guhya Samāja and the shorter Māyā-jāla itself.¹⁹ You will remember that the Māyā-jāla is the topic of inquiry in the Nāma Saṃgīti.

(III,c) In a third parallel account, finally, included within the History of the Nyingma School by Dudjom Rinpoche (1904-1987), the important difference lies in the fact that student Buddha-shrī-jnāna receives the transmission, not from an anonymous venerable

householderî (who turns out to be a Mañjushrî emanation, Mañju-deva Bajrāchārya, in the Swayambhū Purāṇa), but from one **Mañjushrî-mitra** instead.

Now this Mañjushrî-mitra is actually a very well-known Shri Lanka born Master who who flourished around the middle of the 8th century, and especially remembered for his commentary of the Nāma Saṃgīti is often viewed as a sort of treasure key that made the subsequent revelation of other Tantras possible. Thus, Lalita-vajra, in many sources is stated to have received a first hint about the existence of a Vajra Bhairava Tantra, and about its subsequent revelation by himself in Uḍḍhyāna, through his recitation of certain verses in the Nāma Saṃgīti itself. This too is similar to Dharma-shrî-mitra's predicament, when he gets stuck in his own explanation of the Nāma Saṃgīti.²¹

I think that grosso modo it comes down to this: that the story of Dharma-shrî-mitra in the Swayambhū Purāṇa is essentially about the introduction of Vajrayāna into the Kathmandu Valley, and of the Yoga Tantra and Anuttara Farther Tantra in particular.

4. Who was Shāntikara Āchārya?

Amshu-varman (s place) is Shānta-puri. Within the inner space of All Tree is a passage along which one hundred temple rooms are located. Their Dharma-king Amshu-varman ó himself a Mañju-ghoṣha emanation body - met the incarnate Master Shāntikara Āchārya who attained the body of immortality.

Vāgīndra-vajra from Nelung

In Tārānātha's 'Buddhist Transmission History in India', there occurs an account of the consecration of the three-dimensional Shrî Chakra Saṃvara maṇḍala within Shāntipurā's underground temple at Swayambhū.²² This alone should be sufficient to tentatively identify him as Shāntikara Āchārya, to whom the foundation of the five ĩpura-sî at Swayambhū is ascribed in the Purāṇa. The description comes at the end of the biography of one of the Gate Guardian Scholars at Nālandā and Vikrama-shīla, a Master by name of Vāgīshvara-kīrti:

Once it happened that the king built a Chakra Saṃvara temple at Shāntipuri. To conclude the consecration ceremony he wished to hold a large gaṇa-chakra Circle of the Multitudes rite and for this purpose had numerous Mantra practitioners assembled all around the temple. He sent a messenger to ceremoniously invite the Master to preside over the gaṇa rite. At the entrance to the straw covered hut of the Master stood one beautiful girl and one extremely fierce and nasty looking woman with dark skin. As the messenger inquired: ĩWhere does the Master stay?î, they told him: ĩHe is insideî. So inside he went and announced: ĩI request you to come and preside over the Gaṇa-chakra rite of the kingî. The Master replied: ĩYou better hurry back, I'll come in a momentî. The messenger took leave in a hurry, but at a crossroads in the vicinity of Shāntipuri he found that the Master with his two consorts had arrived there before him. They greeted him with the words: ĩAs you hadn't arrived yet, we've been waiting and waiting for you here!î

After the departure (of the guests to) the extensive Gaṇa-chakra of the actual consecration, there remained inside the temple only the Master together with his two consorts. [287] The Master came to fetch loads of Gaṇa substances, enough for more than sixty people and went (back inside). The king wondered: ĩThere is no one inside except for the three of them.

Why then would he need that amount of Gaṇa food offerings? and he could not refrain from peeping through a slit in the door. There he saw the maṇḍala of Chakra Saṃvara sixty-two deities actually present and enjoying the Gaṇa articles. Right then the Master achieved the rainbow body and (as he dissolved into rainbow light) entered (the maṇḍala). It is known that at present he still resides in that sacred spot.²³

Again, the story of Vāg-īshvara-kīrti is sufficiently close to what we know about Shāntikara Āchārya to conclude that both accounts refer to the same event. If, in relation with Dharma-shrī-mitra we have noted that the Esoteric Assembly is the model Father Tantra, the Saṃvara plays the same role for the Mother Tantras. Moreover, the Newar tradition, like the Kagyü order in the Tibetan tradition, accepts the Chakra Saṃvara Tantra as *the* model Tantra for most major ritual activity. Not surprisingly, the shields on the mukuṭa crown of Swayāmbhū reflect the same: Jalandhara Āchārya, his disciple Krishṇa-charyā and eventually Vāgīshvara-kīrti / Shāntikara Āchārya himself foremost represent Mother Tantra, i.e. the Chakra Saṃvara and Vajra Yoginī lineages.²⁴

5. Conclusion: Newar Buddhism in the vaster perspective of Buddhist transmission history

These few considerations hopefully may be of some assistance towards viewing Newar Buddhism as solidly anchored in the vaster context of Buddhist transmission history; rather than regarding it as an isolated entity with cute and largely unspoilt customs - the anthropologist's delight. Vihāra transmission in the Kathmandu Valley guaranteed authentic, uninterrupted Master - disciple continuity; hence the absence of any need for detailed transmission histories.

The foremost task of the Swayāmbhū Purāṇa, accordingly, was to provide proof for that authenticity *previous* to Vajrayāna's reaching Nepal. As we have noticed in the two instances here discussed, it does so by establishing the source of the the transmission for the chief Vajrayāna lineages of Father Tantra and Mother Tantra, i.e. by pointing in the direction of their common origin: the prestigious Buddhist University of Vikrama-shīla, where both Dharma-shrī-mitra (alias Buddha-shrī-jnāna) and Shāntikara Āchārya (alias Vāgīshvara-kīrti) hail from. Indeed, to anyone with some acquaintance with Vajrayāna history beyond the immediate confines of the Valley, the accounts in the Swayāmbhū Purāṇa would've sounded familiar, to the extent that they could be 'placed' within such a larger context; and, most importantly, provide the sure sign of 'authentic transmission'. This for instance explains why we find someone like Shāntigupta Mahāsiddha on Swayāmbhū mukuṭa, and early 16th c. South Indian teacher whose lineage, via Buddha-gupta, spread far and wide, including the entire Indian subcontinent plus Nepal and Tibet.²⁵ Sponsor Katog Rigzin Tsewang Norbu who in 1751 composed the iconographical program for these shields chose to depict those Masters whose lineages were kept alive in the valley. This, I believe, is the essential message of both our Purāṇa and of the crown ornament on the Mahā-chaitya.

Finally, as hinted in the last paragraphs of the 'Abstract', the Swayāmbhū Purāṇa thereby also points in the direction of a renewed university, both for study and for teaching, beyond isolationism and the 'closed fist'.

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Situ Panchen VIII (transl. Sanskrit - Tibetan)

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RGYA rGya chos ebyung ['ATransmission History of Buddhism in India'], Shinhua: Si khron People's Publishing House 1994. Translation: see Chattopadhyaya 1970.

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Notes

1 Levi (1905) 1986: 209. For a more detailed treatment of the pañcha-lakṣaṇa, see Renou
& Filliozat 1947: I, 413-414. The authors do not entirely agree about the nature of these five
characteristics.

2 The latest, most disagreeable buzzword here being 'domestication'. Disagreeable be-
cause it carries heavy overtones of power games, of ëcheating the populaceí and of ë
forcing the issueí. See Lewis forthcoming: *Passim*.

3 This is the ëI.Aí in the Brinkhaus classification of the textual history of the Purāṇa

(1993: 66); but *īl.bī* in the hand-out during the original conference (Brinkhaus 1990).

4 See bibliography under 'Khamtrul IV' and 'Tragkar Taso Tulku' for these main Tibetan commentaries. They viewed much in the *Purāṇa* more extensive versions as later accretion, but seldom bothered to refute it, except in those cases where erroneous or insignificant stories re-emerged in their own pilgrimage literature. A Sanskrit and Tibetan edition of their 'original' *Swayambhū Purāṇa*, together with a translation after this Tibetan version and of the two Tibetan commentaries are under preparation.

5 Brough 1947; full translation of the 'Oxhorn Prophecy' in Thomas 1935. Related texts in Emmerick 1967.

6 Snellgrove 1957, Slusser 1982, Brinkhaus 1993 among others. I hope to return to this overquoted Brough 1947 article in the near future. [I have never heard of a *Gośṛṅga Vyākaraṇa* in the Newar collections; but of course, one can always claim that they plagiarized it first to concoct their own *Swayambhū Purāṇa*, and later destroyed the original in order not to get caught in the act].

7 SITU, p. 267.

8 Regamey (1971: 430), without providing any specific references [in fact, quoting a resume in Burnouf (1876: 198)], makes the opposite claim that a late version of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, probably composed after the 11th century, in Sanskrit verses, ...plagiarizes entire passages of the *Swayambhū Purāṇa*. In the one copy of the Tibetan translation thereof available to me (the one reproduced within the Thimpu edition of *Maṇi bka' ḥbum*), I could find no evidence thereof, beyond the quote about the *Ādi-Buddha*, named *Swayambhū*, the Naturally Formed, who at the origin of things appeared in the guise of a flame. From there follows the emanation of *Avalokiteśvara* who in turn emanates the Hindu creator gods (as illustrated on the gilt palace relief on Patan's Durbar Square).

As for the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* itself, Vostrikov [(1958) 1970: 54] claims that it was translated into Tibetan from the Chinese, whereas Kapstein (1992: 168, n. 39), like Regamey before him, refers to the existing Sanskrit version.

9 'An exaggerated expression of greatness' is a formula coined by Hopkins 1985: 17. For a full translation of this Chapter VI, see Appendix 1 [= 'Hand-out: Translations of the texts', # (1)].

10 See Davidson 1981: 19.

11 At the start of chapter five [436-439] that deals with the *Instruction Lineage* on the Generation Stage (*Utpatti-krama*) and the enlightened activities associated with it. See translation in Templeman (1983) 1990: 56 ff. See near-complete translation of this account in Appendix 2 [= 'Hand-out: Translations of the texts', # (2)].

12 *Khyim btsun*: a householder (*khyim[pa]*) who somehow is also referred to as a monk (*btsun > btsun pa*), as is suggested by the robes, especially the religious robes. Gyurmed & Kapstein (1991: 494-496), when relating the parallel, in many ways practically identical, account, use the neutral but elegant expression 'the venerable householder'.

13 It was a similar sight that drove Ārya Vasubandhu to not extend his lifespan.

14 *gzi* → *bzi*

15 *ĕjam dpal zhal lung* (Mañjushrī-upadesha?).

16 Hence Buddha-shrī-jñāna puts a seal on his book. We are reminded of a closely related injunction in the 'Retreat Manual' by the Tibetan Master Jamgon Kongtrul (1813-1899), when among the rules he states (Ngawang Zangpo 1994: 119): 'Apart from those few books [related to the meditation program], no study, research or examination of any texts concerning the major or minor subjects of the study of Buddhism is permitted under any circumstances. ... Because one session of valid meditation practice is far more valuable than an entire lifetime devoted to study and reflection, we are here satisfied with wholehearted meditation practice'.

17 See Sonam Gyatso & Tashikawa 1991: 88, # 44, the 19 deity Guhya Samāja Mañjuvajra Maṇḍala.

18 In a different context, the name can even refer to a form of Shrī Chakra Saṃvara, derived from the Abhidhāna Uttara Tantra, as in Sonam Gyatso and Tashikawa 1991: 137, # 76, the 25-deity Mañjuvajra Saṃvara Maṇḍala. It is important always to draw a distinction between the proper name and as such and the specific Vajrayāna context in which the name appears. Thus a deity may appear under the name that includes the word 'Mañjushrī' but actually refer to a deity of the Guhya Samāja system, whereby 'Mañjushrī' is applied as an epithet, without any direct relation to the Bodhisattva of that name. Meisezahl (1976: 193) criticizes de Mallman (1964) for ignoring exactly this point.

19 About which see Eastman, n.d., p. 45; and esp. Eastman 1981. In the Chinese translation of the first of these eighteen, it is quite easy to recognize an abbreviated version of the Tattva-saṃgraha Tantra, in both Newar and Tibetan traditions the compendium par excellence on Yoga Tantra.

20 For Mañjushrī-mitra's dates and works, see Davidson 1981: 5-7; for a short biographical sketch, see Gyurmed & Kapstein (transl.) 1991: 493-494.

21 As to how the confusion of the names occurred, whereby this Buddha-shrī-jñāna came to be called Dharma-shrī-mitra, and his teacher Mañjushrī-mitra instead of Mañju-deva, I have no idea - other than the observation that Vajrayāna history often struggles with in-

stances where one and the same person is born with one name, receives a different ordination name, later becomes known by his abhiṣeka name and often also by a nickname given by friends.

22 RGYA: chapter 33, 'An account of the Period of King Chanaka'. Note that in this passage too, the location is kept vague, with no mention other than that it takes place at 'Shāntipuri'(somewhere in the Kathmandu Valley). Swayāmbhū does unmentioned (and Chattopadhyaya, in his translation and notes, shows no awareness of the exact location!). The account is obviously addressed to 'insiders'.

23 The Chattopadhyaya (1979: 296-299) translation of this passage differs only in minor points with the one given above; except that this last sentence is missing in his version. The Tibetan text of this passage is also reproduced in Khetsun Sangpo, vol. I, pp. 818-822, obviously after Tārānātha, and with several gross errors.

24 Contrary to what I have thought for a long time, the Gate Guardian Scholar Vāgīshvara-kīrti / Shāntikara Āchārya is most likely not identical with one of the four brothers of Pharping, who all were disciples of Nāropā in turn. The occasional confusion arises from the fact that one of the younger Phamthing Brothers (either the third or the fourth) also practiced Mañjushrī Vāgīshvara and also came to be known as Vāgīshvara or even as Vāgīshvara-kīrti - even though he failed to gain the highest or Mahā-vāgīshvaraḥ siddhis. Other sources on their lives, more detailed than the *Blue Annals*, have meanwhile become available.

A preliminary study of the 'shields' of Swayāmbhū's crown occurs in my review of Gutschow 1997 (Decler: forthcoming).

25 Shāntigupta's extensive biography is recorded in the last chapter of Tārānātha's 'Seven Instruction Lineages' [See translation in Templeman (1983) 1990: 82-97]. I am preparing a full translation of Shāntigupta's disciple (and Tārānātha's teacher) Buddha-gupta; so, incidentally, is Templeman.

26 Editor or presumed editor: the title page only has the indication 'A.M.'.