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REMARKS ON TWO TRANSLATED PASSAGES FROM THE BUDDHIST TANTRIC LITERATURE

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The publication by SNELLGROVE in 1959 of an annotated edition and translation of the Hevajratantra inaugurated a new period in the study of the Buddhist tantric and tantristic literature. Similarly, the publication some twenty-five years later by SKORUPSKI (1983) of the Sanskrit text of one of the two known recensions of the Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra together with a copiously annotated translation has to some extant already enabled a deeper if preliminary understanding of the *yogatantra* class of texts. In both cases, while one may argue about the methodology of redaction and the accuracy of translation, students will for the foreseeable future be greatly indebted to the efforts of these two scholars.

Nevertheless, the present effort proposes, in accordance with academic tradition, to quibble. This is not because our understanding of Buddhist tantricism has been endangered by the two above-mentioned works. It is precisely their publication which has cleared the way to a better comprehension of detail, an understanding which remained practically impossible in the absence of the publication of the texts. The two details of translation and understanding which the present article proposes to treat are: 1) the rendering of the term *vidarbhya* in Skorupski's translation of Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-B – a somewhat jejune detail which will prove easily correctable by reference to the secondary literature on the Hindu tantric traditions – and 2) Snellgrove's translation and understanding of a passage on a rite of magic from the Hevajratantra commentary named the Yogaratnamālā, the publication of the Sanskrit text of which was provided in his edition of the tantra. A rectification will be attempted via consideration of a few passages from the Āyurveda and Dharmaśāstra literature.

I. Vidarbhya in the Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra

In Skorupski's exemplary study of the Sarvadurgatiparisodhanatantra, consisting of a Sanskrit edition of recension B of this text and provided with

an English translation, we find, in chapter 3, a lengthy passage treating of the rites for the dead which is also found in recension A in chapter 1.1 Within this section of the tantra dealing with various rites for the dead, we find three times the phrase $tann\bar{a}ma$ ca $vidarbhya^2$ and once $n\bar{a}ma$ $vidarbhya^3$. In a footnote to the first occurrence, SKORUPSKI states:⁴

Tib translations help us in establishing the meaning of vidarbha. Tib. A renders it as min nas smos nas or min nas brjod nas. Tib B rather inconsistent has either min dan spel ba'i snags or min dan spel nas; min nas brjod pa or smos ba usually means to call by name or to call upon one's name. We render it as 'calling the name', understanding by it an intention to recall one's presence in order to act for his benefit.

The Sanskrit text of this first passage (242.29-244.3), its Tibetan translation (243.36-245.4), the Tibetan of the parallel passage of Sarvadurgatipari-sodhana-A (319.37-320.2)⁶ and the translation of SKORUPSKI (p. 82) are:⁷

- 1 SKORUPSKI 1983 has been somewhat unjustifiably criticized in a review article by VAN DER KUIJP 1992. The same author has also incorrectly retranslated a passage from SNELLGROVE's edition of the Hevajratantra (cf. VAN DER KUIJP 1985 and note 29 in NIHOM, "On the Attraction of Women and Tantric Initiation: Tilottamā and Hevajratantra II.v.38-47 and I.vii.8-9", to appear in Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, vol. 58/3.
- 2 SDP-B 242.29, 244.5, and 244.8. 244.5: tannāma ca vidarbhya yathoktamantram sahasram japet //, (B) de yi min dan spel nas ni // ji ltar gsuns pa'i snags ston bzlas //, (A, 320.3) de nas min nas brjod nas ni // ji skad gsuns pai snags bzla źin //; 244.8: tannāma vidarbhya kuśalo lakṣaśatam vā yāvac chatasahasram //, (B) de yi min nas spel ba yi // mkhas pas 'bum phrag brgya 'am ni //, (A, 320.6) de yi min nas brjod nas kyan // mkhas pas 'bum phrag brgya'am ni //
- 3 248.22 nāma vidarbhyābhimantrya, (B) min spel snags ni mnon btab nas, (A, 322.4) ran gi min smos snags btab nas.
- 4 SKORUPSKI 1983: 82 note 20.
- 5 Cf. JÄSCHKE (1881: 415) ad min: min nas rjod pa or smo ba, "to call by name, also to call upon the name of".
- 6 No Sanskrit version is available for recension A. This is unfortunate since all the Tibetan commentaries are on this version of the tantra.
- 7 The text as furnished in Vajravarman's Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-A commentary is (136-2-6f.): de yi min nas smos nas ni // gur gum bzan po'i snags bris la // sdig can sdig ni zad bya'i phyir // rims kyis 'bum mam bye ba yis // gran ni rab tu tshan bar du // mchod rten las ni rab tu bya // de ni nes par dmyal gnas las // 'dis byas pa yis grol bar 'gyur //

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tannāma ca vidarbhya mantram kumkumena likhitvā //
caityakarma kuryād yāval lakṣam paripūrṇam //
mahāpāpinaḥ pāpakṣayāya koṭim api pūrayet //
evaṃkṛte te 'vaśyam narakād muktā bhavanti //
tathā tiryagbhyaś ca muktā devanikāyeṣūtpadyante //
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de yi min dan spel ba'i snags || gur gum bzan pos bris nas ni ||
'bum ni yons su rdzogs par bya || mchod rten las ni rab tu bya ||
sdig chen sdig ni yad bya'i phyir || bye ba yan ni rdzogs par bya ||
de ltar byas na de nes par || dmyal ba las ni grol bar 'gyur ||
de bźin⁸ yi dags byol son las || grol te lha rigs rnams su skyes ||

de yi min yan smos nas ni || gur gum bzan po snags bris la ||
rim gyis 'bum ni tshan tsam du || mchod rten las ni rab tu bya ||
sdig can sidg ni zad bya'i phyir || bye ba sñed ni tshan bar bya ||
de ltar byas na nes par ni || dmyal ba las ni grol bar 'gyur ||
yi dags byol son sdug bsnal las || grol te lha yi gnas su skye ||

⁹Calling the name (of the deceased) and writing the mantra with saffron, he should perform the *caitya*-rite up to one hundred thousand times. In order to pacify the sins of a great sinner, he should do it ten million times. By this action they are certainly freed from hell. Likewise in the same way they are freed from an animal state and are born among the assemblies of gods.¹⁰

This selection is by no means the only one in the Buddhist tantric literature with *vi-darbh*. It is to be found in the Hevajratantra and in its commentary called Yogaratnamālā in the chapter dealing with mantras. Hevajratantra I.ii.4 and Yogaratnamālā 111.12-15 (Tib. 132-4-7/8):

sarvamantrapadāh / omkārādisvāhāntā hūmphatkāravidarbhitāh

snags thams cad kyi rkan par dan por om gyi rnam pa dan | mthar ni svāhā dan | hūm phaṭ kyi rnam pa ni nan du gźug go |

sarvety ādi hevajrāṇāṃ jāpyamantrapadāḥ oṃkārādi hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ kāravidarbhitāḥ svāhāntāveditavyāḥ / anyatra gurūpadeśād yathāyogaṃ vidarbhaṇaṃ veditavyaṃ

sňags thams cad ces bya ba ni dgyes pa'i rdo rje'i bzlas pa'i sňags kyi tshig ste / yi ge om daň por sbyar źiň hūm hūm hūm phat ces bya bas brgyan ciň svāhā mthar dbye bar bya'o // gźan dag ni bla ma'i man ňag gis ci rigs par dbye bar bya'o //

- 8 For printed bzin.
- 9 See also Vajravarman 136-2-7ff, translated by Skorupski 1983: 82 note 21.
- 10 Tib. B lha rigs rnams su implies *devakulesu, "in the families of the gods".

The rendering brgyan is a literal translation from the Sanskrit, 'adorn'. However, from the Tibetan rendering of -vidarbhitāḥ, nan du gźug, which may be rendered "placed between", it is clear that vi-darbh may be translated in this context by "intertwine".

[The Hevajratantra passage] beginning with 'all'¹¹: ['] the words of the mantra ['] are to be recited to the Hevajras. ¹² [These words] are to be known ¹³ as ['] starting with the syllable $h\bar{u}m$, intertwined (adorned) with the syllables $h\bar{u}m$ $h\bar{u}m$ $h\bar{u}m$ $h\bar{u}m$ and ending with $sv\bar{a}h\bar{a}$.['] In other cases the intercalation (adornment) which is fitting is to be known through the instructions of the guru.

From this perspective it is evident that the Tibetan Sarvadurgatiparisodhana-B renderings min dan spel ba'i snags and min dan spel nas are not, in truth, "inconsistent", inasmuch as they may be rendered, respectively, "the mantra mixed (spel ba) with the name (of the deceased) [is written]" and "[the mantra is written] having been mixed with the name (of the deceased)". This yields:

Having drawn the mantra with saffron having intertwined¹⁵ it (the mantra) with the name of him (the deceased), one should perform the *caitya*-rite up to a full one hundred thousand times. For the destruction of the sins of a great sinner, one should complete ten million [repetitions]. Upon having done thusly, they surely become released from Hell. Likewise, from the animal state they are released and are born among the assemblies of gods.

A minor but interesting point is that, despite appearances, it is evident that the readings of Sarvadurgatiparisodhana B and the lost Sanskrit of A were identical at this particular juncture, since the phrases min nas smos nas or min nas brjod nas can easily be made to refer to the feature of vidarbhana. In particular, the term vidarbhana with as Tibetan smos pa is found in a list of terms referring to ritual in the Mahāvyutpatti (no. 4351). While EDGERTON 16 proposes "speaking or naming... Perh[aps] some verbal ritual act, recitation,

- 11 Tibetan reconstructs to sarvamantreti.
- 12 The "Hevajras" must refer to the initiated and successful disciples. The Tibetan, here also assuming a genitivus pro dativo, yields "to Hevajra."
- 13 Tib. *dbye bar bya*, "to be divided". This brings up the possibility that one might read Skt. *āvedhitavya*-, 'to be cut open', that is, 'to be broken apart'.
- 14 The Hevajratantra has but one $h\bar{u}m$.
- 15 JÄSCHKE 1975: 331: spel ba (4) "to join, put together, mix".
- 16 EDGERTON 1970: 489.

invocation", this is clearly a specialized submeaning of vi-darbh in cases, as in the Sarvadurgatipariśodhana, where the intercalated words are a name. The Tibetan translations of Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-A are therefore an interpretation of the Sanskrit meaning of vidarbhya as "having intertwined". Significantly, such a translation as smos pa is avoided in the Hevajratantra and the Yogaratnamālā where it would be palpably inappropriate. 17

The proposition of Skorupski cited above that the rite in question entails "calling the name" of the deceased, after which the mantra is written, may hence be slightly revised. In this case, ¹⁸ one 'calls the name' of the deceased by utilization of the mantra into which the name of the deceased who is to profit from the rite has been placed. Hence, the rite in question (which Skorupski has termed the 'caitya sādhana') does not require recitation of the mantra at all, but rather only the deposition of the inscribed mantra containing the name of the dead in a caitya. ¹⁹ This recalls Schopen's study in which he noted that dhāraṇīs such as the Vimaloṣṇīṣa were deposited in stūpas in Bengal, Bihar and Gilgit between the 6th and 10th centuries. ²⁰

Now the real reason for this much ado about very little is a methodological point relating to the procedure of study engaged in by Buddhologists. *Vidarbha* and related derivations of *vi-darbh* are, in fact, a well known technical term of *mantraśāstra*. As long ago as 1925, Bhattacarya, in his introduction to the second volume of the Sādhanamālā, stated:²¹ "*vidarbha* consists in writing the letters of the name of the medium, between the letters of the *Mantra* used mostly in Vaśīkaraṇa or bewitching." A similar meaning of intertwining additional material between parts of a mantra was furnished by EDGERTON for *vidarbhayati* some decades later.²² Moreover, approximately a half a century after Bhattacarya first observed

- 17 Several other occurrences of *vi-darbh* are furnished by Samvarodayatantra 10.10, 13, 16, 20, 27, 37, 45, and 47. The Tibetan translations employ *spel ba*, which again is more appropriate than *smos* or *brjod* would be.
- 18 In the two other instances with *vidarbhya* in the Sarvadurgatipariśodhana the mantra **is** evidently recited.
- 19 SKORUPSKI 1983: 82 note 21.
- 20 SCHOPEN 1985: 145. This *dhāraṇī* has features which recall aspects of the Sarvadurgati-pariśodhanatantra. See Nihom 1994: 163-168.
- 21 Bhattacarya 1968: lxxvii.
- 22 EDGERTON 1970: 487.

the technical nature of the term, vidarbha was the object of a detailed study by PADOUX who, basing himself mostly on Hindu sources, noted that the meaning of the separation [of the parts of a mantra] may be retrieved from Sanskrit lexicographic sources: "... c'est dont certainement sur l'explication donnée du mot darbha par la lexicographie traditionnelle que repose le sens technique de ce term."²³ In a subsequent study by this savant on the rite of mantra recitation or japa, he notes that vidarbha refers to "opérations où les mots ou les syllabes du mantra sont accouplés, invertis, emboîtés les uns dans les autres ou au contraire séparés" and that "on y a recours surtout dans les usages "magiques" du japa, notamment dans les satkarmāni. On les trouve en contexte bouddhique aussi bien qu'hindou."²⁴ Hence, there are at least three methodological points to be made here. First, that traditional lexicography is of prime importance in the understanding of technical terms of the tantric literature, a perspective of PADOUX to which the present writer can not subscribe strongly enough; secondly, that, especially in the study of tantra, it is necessary that one at least attempts an acquaintanceship with both the Buddhist and Hindu primary and secondary literature: lastly, that, temptation notwithstanding, in the presence of a Sanskrit text, Tibetan renderings should not be given precedence over the original.²⁵

II Yogaratnamālā 112.17-23

In the course of writing the above, a further instance of *vidarbhya* was found in the Yogaratnamālā. The meaning of *vidarbhya* here is not different from the one above. The passage in question, however, reveals itself to have been misunderstood by SNELLGROVE. Yogaratnamālā 112.17-22 (on Hevajra-

- 23 PADOUX 1977: 349.
- 24 PADOUX 1987: 129. See also p. 128 note 49. The Buddhist loci provided above from the Hevajratantra, Yogaratnamālā and Sarvadurgatipariśodhana are not mentioned by PADOUX.
- 25 A cogent discussion of the difficulties associated with this unjustifiable overemphasis on Tibetan translations of the Buddhist tantric literature is found in Tsuda 1974: 6-16.

tantra I.ii.16)²⁶, its Tibetan translation (133-1-8/2-3), and the translation of SNELLGROVE (1959: I.55 note 1):

tathaiva amkāraniṣpannām nairātmyām vikrtarūpām kapālakhaṭvāṅgakartr-dharām vicintya hrtsūrye nīlabumkāram drṣṭvā pūrvasevām krtvā brahmakapāle viṣarājikāravaṇarudhireṇa²⁷ ṣaṭkoṇam cakram abhilikhya koneṣu hūmkāram vilikhya madhye om bum amukam jvaraya hūm anyatamopadraveṣu nāma vidarbhya tuṣāgnau tau tāpayet

de bźin yi ge a las yońs su rdzogs pa'i bdag med ma'i gzugs su gyur pa thod pa dań khatvāṃga daṅ gri gug 'dzin pa rnam par bsams la shin gar ñi ma las yi ge bruṃ (sic) shon po blta źin shon du bsñen pa byas la bram ze'i thod pa la dug daṅ skye²⁸ tshe daṅ tsha daṅ khrag rnams kyi 'khor lo rtsibs drug pa bris la | zur rnams su hūṃ bri żin | dkyil du oṃ bruṃ (sic) ce ge mo dza ra ya hūṃ żes bya ba'am | gnod pa gźan dag gis sbyor bar 'dod na yan de'i min gis brgyan żin bsnun pa'i me la gduns pa las thams cad bya'o ||

One must imagine Nairātmyā, who becomes manifest from the syllable am. Her appearance is fearful and she holds the skull, $khatv\bar{a}nga$ and knife. On a solar disk at the heart one sees the syllable bum, dark blue in colour, and having performed the prescribed worship, one should draw a six-sided mandala in a brahma-skull with a mixture of poisonous mustard and blood. In the six corners one must inscribe the syllable $h\bar{u}m$ and in the centre om bum Burn him h $\bar{u}m$. For any intended misfortunes one should write his name and burn it in a chaff-fire (passage corrupt). 29

We start with a detail. The translation "her appearance is fearful" for $vikrtar\bar{u}p\bar{a}$ - is superficially reasonable, but the meaning 'fearful' is not attested for vikrta. Better is perhaps 'malformed' or 'having a foul appearance'. Further, Tibetan ... gzugs su gyur pa seems merely to refer to the form taken on by the goddess, that is, with her iconographic specifications, this phrase being in apposition to ... dzin pa which is the object of rnam pa bsams la = vicintya. Instead of "one must imagine" or 'having imagined', vicintya itself should be understood as "having meditated upon", since at Hevajratantra I.v.20 we find vicintana rendered by bsam gtan. SNELLGROVE himself observes that "S[araha] says that cintana is ordinary thought, that vicintana refers to thought in terms of its absolute nature, and that this is

- 26 Hevajratantra I.ii.16: abhicārukam / om bum svāhā /
- 27 After SNELLGROVE. See infra.
- 28 SNELLGROVE (1959: II. 112 note 6), citing the Narthang Tenjur, reads ske.
- 29 This is the comment of SNELLGROVE.
- 30 Cf. EDGERTON 1970: 481.

dhyāna."31 This high opinion of vicintana here is also held by the Yogaratnamālā.32

More interesting is "with a mixture of poisonous mustard and blood" for the proposed reading *viṣarājikāravaṇarudhireṇa*, ms. *rājikārṇavaṇarudhireṇa*. The Tibetan has a series of four items:

- 1) dug, that is, poison, whence *visa.
- 2) skye tsha (Peking) or ske tsha (Narthang), both of which may represent $r\bar{a}jik\bar{a}$, black mustard.³³ The rendering "poisonous black mustard", does not appear likely since Tibetan construes the compound with a series of $da\dot{n}$, 'and, together with'.
- 3) tsha. Lokesh Chandra³⁴ provides the Sanskrit equivalents ātapa and uṣṇa, 'heat', which do not make much sense. On the other hand, the item tshwa is recorded representing cukra and śuluka.³⁵ Cukra (= Mahā-vyutpatti 5712) "is said to mean only salt; no such meaning is otherwise recorded for cukra; the preceding word is amlaḥ, which goes much better with the regular Skt. mg. of cukra; ... cf. śulakaḥ, defined in the same way".³⁶ 'Salt' does not seem untoward, since one might then propose either a) [viṣa]rājikālavaṇarudhireṇa, assuming one does not want to admit an (elsewhere unattested) orthographic variant of ravaṇa for lavaṇa, 'salt', or b) [viṣa]rājikārṇavarudhireṇa, if one should wish to propose a derivative meaning of 'salt-water' for arṇava, the sea. Since, in a rite of māraṇa,
- 31 SNELLGROVE 1959: I.63 note 2. The Tibetan of Saraha (ibid.): sems par byed pas bsams pa ste | de kho na ñid kyi tshul du rnam par sems par byed pa ste | de ñid bsam gtan no | Hevajratantra I.v.20cd: tad dheyam cintitam yac ca dhyeyam yasmād vicintanam ||
- 32 Yogaratnamālā 118.34-36: tad dheyam ityādi / tad iti yac cintitam sakalena tattvapaṭalenānutpādalakṣaṇam tad dhyātavyam yasmāt kāraṇāt paramasārataram tad
 vicintanam yasya prabhāsvaralakṣaṇasya vicintanam atas tad eva dhyātavyam, 1355-7/136-1-1: gan bsams de ni żes bya ba la sogs pa la / de ni żes bya ba ni de kho na
 ñid kyi le'u gan du bsams pa ma lus pa skye ba med pa'i mtshan ñid can bsgom par
 bya ba ste / de lta bas na gan gi phyir mchog tu sñin po 'gyur ba de rnam par bsam
 par bya'o / 'od gsal ba'i mtshan ñid de ñid rnam par bsam bya ba yin pas de'i phyir
 de ñid bsam par bya ba'o //
- 33 LOKESH CHANDRA 1976: 136, 163.
- 34 LOKESH CHANDRA 1976: 1923.
- 35 ibid.
- 36 EDGERTON 1970: 231.

Samvarodayatantra 10.35-6 mentions poison (viṣa), blood (rakta) and the dvandva compound rājikālavaṇa-, reading a) is to be preferred.

4) khrags, rudhira, 'blood', which is unproblematic.

I therefore propose the translation "with poison, black mustard, salt and blood" for the Tibetan and the same, minus 'poison', for Sanskrit.³⁷

The second half of the selection clearly exercised the translator more, for in his philological notes to the Yogaratnamālā, SNELLGROVE states:³⁸

T. gnod pa gźan dag gis sbyor bar 'dod na yan de'i min gis brgyan źin bsnun pa'i * me la gduns pa las thams cad bya'o. 'If one wishes to afflict (him) with other harms, then by burning in fire a -* which has been adorned with his name and pierced, all will be done'. [some word is required where marked *.] In the Sanskrit version tau may refer to two things, one inscribed, one pierced, or the idea of a pair may be taken erroneously from the previous hate-causing ritual.

Giving the verdict first, I am of the opinion that the passage in Sanskrit is not corrupt and that both translations, from the Sanskrit and from the Tibetan, may be improved upon. Access to what will be a fairly complex semantic argument is provided by the rendering "burn" for *jvaraya*. This is somewhat curious since the root jvar + causative does not mean 'burn' as such, that is, it is not identical to jval-, but rather means 'make feverish'.³⁹ Note that this notion of causing illness to the victim is supported by the Tibetan $gnod\ pa$ which as a verb may mean 'injure, cause illness'⁴⁰ and here represents the noun upadrava.⁴¹ The mantra is therefore: $om\ bum$ Make so and so feverish! $h\bar{u}m$.

With this interpretation of the mantra, we may re-examine anyatamo-padrava-. upadrava, in addition to 'misfortune, harm, calamity' etc., also means, in the Suśrutasamhitā, "a supervenient disease or one brought on whilst a person labours under another". 42 But what, under these circum-

- 37 Compare Vīņašikhatantra 155 (this text is the sole surviving representative of the vāmasrotas): athābhicārakam kuryāt samidhānām tathāsthibhiḥ / rājikāviṣaraktam śmaśāne homam ārabhet // Note that both the Hevajratantra (I.ii.16) and this passage refer to a rite of abhicāruka.
- 38 SNELLGROVE 1959: II.112 note 6.
- 39 MONIER-WILLIAMS 1899: 428.
- 40 Cf. Das 1903: 723.
- 41 See infra.
- 42 MONIER-WILLIAMS 1899: 199. This lexicographer does not specify a text passage,

stances then is the primary disease of the Yogaratnamālā passage? It is fever (jvara), "leader and king of all diseases", 43 of which Vāgbhaṭa in his Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā (III.2.1-2) states: "Das Fieber, der Fürst der Krankheiten, das Unheil, der Tod, der Verzehrer der Lebenskraft, der Beendiger, der Zorn, der Dakṣa's Opfer vernichtete und aus Rudra's oberem [d.h. Stirn-] Auge entsprang, [das Fieber], das in Bewusstlosigkeit bei Beginn und Ende besteht, glutartig ist und durch Verfehlung ensteht, — unter den mannigfachsten Namen weilt das grausame bei den verschiedenen Gattungen [der Lebewesen]."44 Therefore, the phrase anyatopadraveṣu nāma vidarbhya may be considered to enjoin the intercalation of the name of the supervenient disease within the mantra oṃ buṃ ... in those instances when such a malady is wished upon the victim in addition to fever.

Before turning to consideration of *tuṣāgni*, it is worthwhile noting that the Sarvadurgatipariśodhana provides another locus supporting the co-occurrence of death (scil. fever) and supervenient diseases. In the coda of chapter 2, the text rhapsodizes on the benefits which accrue to him who enters cities etc. having practiced the King of Procedures (*kalparāja*) enjoined by the tantra. Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-B 226.11f., its Tibetan translation and the parallel Tibetan of recension A (356.20f.):

yaś cedam kalparājam śrāddho dhvājāgrāvaropitam krtvā ... sarvamrtyūpadravam ca naśyati /

gan zig brtag pa'i rgyal po'di la dad pas rgyal mtshan gyi rtse mo la brtags te ... dus ma yin par'chi ba dan | ñe ba'tshe thams cad zi bar'gyur ro ||

but see Suśrutasamhitā sūtrasthāna 33.3: upadravaiḥ tu ye juṣṭā vyādhayo yāntyavāryatām / rasāyanāddhinā vatsa tān śṛṇv ekamanā mama //, on which Dalhaṇa states: upadravair iti yaḥ pūrvotpannam vyādhim jaghanyakālajāto vyādhir upasṛjati sa tanmūla evopadravasamjñaḥ... Likewise on verse 4a vātavyādhiḥ pramehaśca, we find prathamam mūlavyādhayo bhavanti paścād upadravā iti...

- 43 Monier-Williams (1899: 428) refers here to the Suśrutasamhitā. I have not found the locus in question. However, see Arunadatta's Sarvāngasundarā commentary to Aṣṭāngahṛdayasamhitā III.2.1: rogeṣu ca jvaraḥ pradhānaḥ /
- 44 HILGENBERG und KIRFEL 1941: 215. Astängahrdayasamhita III.1-2:

jvaro rogapatiḥ pāpmā mṛtyurojośano 'ntakaḥ | krodho dakṣādhvaradhvaṃsī rudrordhvanayanodbhavaḥ || janmāntayor mohamayaḥ santāpātmā 'pacārakaḥ | vividhair nāmabhiḥ krūro nānāyoniṣu vartate || brtag pa'i rgyal po 'di dad pas | rgyal mtshan gyi rtse mo la brtags te | ... nad dan gnod pa thams cad ma mchis par 'gyur la|

While, as we shall see, the Tibetan translator of the Yogaratnamālā understood its Sanskrit very well, the Tibetan renderings of the Sanskrit of the Sarvadurgatipariśodhana leave some things to be desired. In particular, the Tibetan of B understands mṛtyu as 'untimely death', *akālamṛtyu. Recension A sees mṛtyu of Skt. B as 'disease'. It may be noted, however, that nad occasionally represents Sanskrit jvara, fever, 45 even as both ñe ba 'tshe and gnod pa may be held to reflect upadrava. 46 As noted above, in Āyurveda fever is also known as 'death' (mṛtyu). Hence, despite the Tibetan translations of B, Skt. sarvamṛtyūpadrava may be rendered 'all fevers and supervenient diseases'. We may observe that from the perspective of the Sanskrit original this makes more sense than holding that the engagement of the practitioner with the tantra vanquishes all deaths and calamities.

It is, moreover, of some general consequence that in Āyurveda *kalpa* may mean "treatment of the sick, doctrine of poisons and antidotes".⁴⁷ Indeed, the *kalparāja* which the Sarvadurgatipariśodhana is deemed to be is promulgated by the Buddha as a reaction to the fall of the god Vimalamaniprabha from heaven and his susceptibility to skin diseases. In this respect it is worth hypothesizing that the meaning of *kalpa*, which is a term found with reference to other Buddhist tantras as well,⁴⁸ may well have been derived from this Āyurvedic meaning of *kalpa*, and should, in general, be rendered accordingly as 'procedure' or 'protocol' when part of a title of a text. These translations, of course, would raise some practical difficulties when applied to *kalpa* understood as a section of a tantra, since describing

- 45 Cf. Lokesh Chandra 1976: 1342.
- 46 Cf. Lokesh Chandra 1976: 1979, 1376.
- 47 MONIER-WILLIAMS 1899: 262.
- 48 For example, the sarvatathāgatakāyavākcittarahasyo guhyasamāja nāma mahākalparāja (Tibetan translation of the Derge edition, MATSUNAGA 1978: 4 note 1). Three examples where kalpa has usually been taken to be a term for a 'section' of a text are: the Hevajratantra, formally termed the dvātriṃśatkalpoddhrtaḥ kalpadvayātmako śrīhevajraḍākinījālasaṃvaramahātantrarājā (SNELLGROVE 1959: I.xiii, see also Hevajratantra I.i.xi.12); from the yogatantra class, the śrīparamādyamantrakalpakhaṇḍa; lastly, the names of the sections of the mūlatantra of the yogatantra class, the Tattvasaṃgraha, e. g. sarvatathāgatavajrasamaya nāma mahākalparāja.

the Hevajratantra, for example, as consisting of two protocols would be a good instance of Indobabble. Nevertheless, this need not mean that Āyurvedic connotations for the term would have been unappreciated at the time of the composition of the tantra in India itself.

⁴⁹He with faith having performed the King of Procedures (the Sarvadurgatipari-sodhana) which he has cast on the very top of his banner, ... all fevers and supervenient diseases come to naught.

Returning to the Yogaratnamālā, there remains the difficult item tuṣāgni. SNELLGROVE considers the Tibetan here - bsnun pa'i me - corrupt. As we shall see, this may be inaccurate. MONIER-WILLIAMS' dictionary supplies two meanings for the term tusānala which, anala being synonymous with agni, will help: 1) a chaff-fire and 2) "a capital punishment consisting in twisting dry straw round a criminal's limbs and setting it on fire, W."50 This meaning is not found in the Petersburg dictionary. The abbreviation 'W.' means that this definition derives from of the author of the dictionary who, unfortunately, does not specify the text in which it may be found. However, this meaning for tusānala is clearly identical, for all practical purposes, with the capital punishment called katāgni: "straw placed round a criminal (acc. to Kull[ata] the straw is wound round his neck and then kindled)".51 This is a punishment prescribed for various crimes⁵² including adultery with a brahmin woman by a kṣatriya, vaiśya or śūdra (Vāśiṣthadharmaśāstra xxi 1-5),⁵³ incest (Vrddhahāritadharmaśāstra vii.220-1)⁵⁴ and arson or adultery with the queen (Yājñavalkyadharmaśāstra ii.282).55

- 49 SKORUPSKI's (1983: 72) rendering of Skt. B: "Should a believer in the *kalparāja* put it on the top of the royal banner ... all deadly calamities will be eliminated." Note that '*mṛtyu*', however, is not an adjective. Śrāddha, despite the Tibetan of A (...la) requires the locative, not an accusative. Lastly, *naśyati* is an intransitive verb.
- 50 MONIER-WILLIAMS 1899: 452.
- 51 MONIER-WILLIAMS 1899: 242.
- 52 Cf. Kane 1976: 401-2. The entry of Monier-Williams also refers to the Mahā-bhārata, but I have been unable to determine which passage.
- Vāśiṣṭhadharmasāśtra does not record the word *kaṭāgni* as such, but does extensively describe this procedure.
- 54 The reference is from KANE 1973: 401. I have, however, been unable to locate this in the one edition of the Vrddhahārita available to me.
- 55 kṣetraveśmavanagrāmavivītakhaladāhakāḥ / rājapatnyabhigāmī ca dagdhavyāstu kaṭāgninā //

Returning to the Tibetan, SNELLGROVE understands bsnun pa as meaning "pierced". This is indeed the primary meaning from the root snun pa.⁵⁶ However, Lokesh Chandra and Das both note that snun pa byed represents Sanskrit grathayati, which the latter renders "puts together".⁵⁷ Grathita, however, may mean 'tied or strung together, wound': from here it is not very far at all to the meaning 'tied up, wound around' for bsnun pa. bsnun pa'i me would then mean "fire which is (has been) wound around [something or someone]". This is quite acceptable as a semantic translation of the penalty tuṣāgni as "a capital punishment consisting in twisting dry straw round a criminal's limbs and setting it on fire." Therefore, in contradiction to Snellgrove, no word needs to be seen to be missing in the Tibetan translation of the Yogaratnamālā passage.

Consequently, the term *tuṣāgni* may be seen either as a type of capital punishment as such or, which is more likely in the present context, in a more general sense as a locus of fire where one has ignited straw which has been wound around something. This last, unwieldy definition may be easily reduced, in German, to *tuṣāgni*, 'ein Wickelfeuer'. As to what is enveloped, this is clearly the *brahma*-skull and the maṇḍala drawn on it. Hence, Skt. *tau*, 'the two' may be seen to refer to these two items taken separately. The Tibetan, instead, evidently did not regard *tau* as referring to these as separate and has translated this *tau* by *thams cad*, 'all, everything'.

Lastly, if one inquires why *tuṣāgni* as a mode of capital punishment has been generalized in this particular rite of magic which speaks not of death but of disease, the answer would seem to be that the magical rite of causing illness (*vyādhikaraṇa*) is widely considered to be a variation of the rite of killing *māraṇa*.⁵⁹ Consequently, the use of the method of *tuṣāgni* in this Yogaratnamālā selection is not unbecoming.

Moreover, having meditated on her who bears a skull, a *khaṭvānga* and a knife, Nairātmyā, originated from a syllable *aṃ* [and] malformed, having seen a blueblack syllable *bum* on the sun in [one's] heart, having performed the preliminary

⁵⁶ Cf. JÄSCHKE 1881: 319, where *snun pa* is defined as 1) to stick or prick into, 2) to suckle. Similarly, DAS 1902: 770.

⁵⁷ LOKESH CHANDRA 1976: 1440, DAS 1902: 770.

⁵⁸ For this neologism I am indebted to Dr. M. Torsten Much (Vienna).

⁵⁹ GOUDRIAAN 1978: 379 (with text references).

service, 60 having drawn a six-cornered [']circle['] with poison, black mustard, salt and blood on a *brahma*-skull, one draws a syllable $h\bar{u}m$ on the corners [of the 'circle']. In other cases of [where one intends] other supervenient diseases [in addition to fever] having [also] intertwined in the middle [of the mantra] the name [of the supervenient disease] with the mantra om bum make feverish so and so!, one burns the two (brahma-skull and inscribed maṇḍala) in a fire [ignited] in the straw [wound around these two].

In conclusion, although expenditure of this much academic time and space on a relatively unimportant rite in a commentary is perforce questionable, such is perhaps to be motivated by way of yet another methodological point. Namely, that in the study of Buddhist tantra and tantristic literature the understanding of particulars cannot rest solely on the 'religious' literature as such, whether Buddhist or Hindu. Instead, and this is of course the reason why such items as the above are interesting in themselves, the researcher is forced to cast his net much more widely. Although in the present instance this was only a shallow fling into the Āyurveda and Dharmaśāstra literature, there is good reason to suppose that a grand cultural approach will be necessary if we hope, in due course, to harvest a detailed understanding of the tantras at all.

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