The Lost Kālacakra Mūla Tantra on the Kings of Śambhala

by David Reigle

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Prefatory Note

The following article was written as a result of work done on preparing a critical edition in the original Sanskrit of the great Kālacakra commentary entitled Vimalaprabhā. The Vimalaprabhā is the single major source work on Kālacakra available to us, being an extensive commentary on the Laghu Kālacakra Tantra. As may be seen from reading this article, until the Vimalaprabhā is critically edited in Sanskrit (and accurately printed), Kālacakra studies will remain on uncertain ground, even with the help of competent Tibetan authorities.
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by David Reigle, 1985

Though the Kālacakra Mūla Tantra is lost to us, it has been quoted at length in the great Kālacakra commentary entitled Vimalaprabhā. One such quotation is the original source on the seven and twenty-five Kings of Śambhala, whose names have been much repeated in Tibetan writings. The importance of this quotation for establishing the true Sanskrit names of the Kings of Śambhala requires no comment. The Vimalaprabhā, however, has not yet been edited or published in its original Sanskrit, and our only access to it is by way of a small number of manuscripts.

Before proceeding to adduce the 21½ verse Mūla Tantra quotation on the Kings of Śambhala, edited from eight manuscripts, it will be useful to review briefly some already known information.

According to the literature, the Kālacakra teachings were requested from Gautama Buddha by King Sucandra of Śambhala, who traveled miraculously to the great Stūpa of Dhānyakaṭaka in southern India to receive them. The teaching occurred inside that Stūpa, whose interior was for that purpose transformed into the entire Dharmadhātu, or Sphere of Primordial Reality. After returning to Śambhala, King Sucandra wrote down the teachings in 12,000 ślokas. This text, which is now lost, became known as the Kālacakra Mūla Tantra. As may be seen from quotations, its proper name is the Paramādibuddha, the “Supreme Ādibuddha.” King Sucandra wrote a commentary on this in 60,000 verses, which is also lost.

Six hundred years later the seventh King after Sucandra, named Yaśas, came to the throne of Śambhala. He prepared a condensation of the Mūla Tantra, which he taught to the Brahma-Rishis of Śambhala. In contradistinction to the Mūla, or Root Tantra, it is called the Laghu, or Short Kālacakra Tantra, consisting of a little over 1,000 verses. For doing this teaching, which unified the four castes of Śambhala into a single Vajra caste, Yaśas became known as “Kalki,” translated by the Tibetans as “Possessor of the Caste” (Rigs-ldan, pronounced Rigden). This title was retained also by the successors to the throne of Śambhala.

His immediate successor, the Kalki King named Puṇḍarika, wrote a commentary on the Laghu Kālacakra Tantra entitled Vimalaprabhā, “Stainless Light.” This text, as noted above, includes Mūla Tantra quotations in its explanations of the Laghu Tantra. Both the Laghu Kālacakra Tantra and the Vimalaprabhā were brought from Śambhala to India about 967 A.D., and from there to Tibet sixty years later in 1027 A.D. Both are still extant in their original Sanskrit and in Tibetan translations. So when the Kālacakra Tantra and its commentary are spoken
of, it is normally these shorter extant versions that are meant.

The Mantryāna or Vajrayāna in general, and in particular the Kālacakra system, is considered by modern investigators to be a late addition to Buddhism. As just seen, the Kālacakra teachings first appear in India only many centuries after the time of Gautama Buddha. Of course, even though the Kālacakra texts we possess may have been redacted in the Tenth century A.D., it does not necessarily follow that the teachings contained in this formulation must be of the same date. It has earlier been seen how the tradition traces them back to Gautama Buddha. But this tradition goes further.

In a significant passage from the Kālacakra Mūla Tantra which has so far not received the attention of researchers, these teachings are traced back to the previous Buddha, Dipaṅkara. It is found among the 58½ verses of the Mūla Tantra which are quoted in the Sekoddeṣāṭikā, a commentary by Nāropa on what is purported to be a section of the Mūla Tantra itself, the Sekoddeṣa. A Sanskrit edition of the Sekoddeṣāṭikā, based on a single palm-leaf manuscript and comparison with a Tibetan translation, was published in 1941, though it has not yet been translated into English. The passage in question consists of two slokas which are part of a longer Mūla Tantra quotation found in that book: 2

“The teaching of the Mantryāna which was formerly given to us by Dipaṅkara is now to be given by the virtuous Gautama. Therefore from the place called Śambhala an emanation of Vajrapāṇi, King Sucandra, came by his magical power to the Dharmadhātu.” Buddhist tradition then, attributes a very high antiquity to the Kālacakra teachings.

As Gautama is the Buddha for our age, it is he who is represented as giving these teachings to King Sucandra, a Nirmāṇakāya of the Master of Secrets, Vajrapāṇi. This being the case, any event later than the time of Gautama Buddha spoken of in the Kālacakra Tantra is necessarily put in the form of prophecies. One of these prophecies concerns the Kings of Śambhala who will successively reign after Sucandra.

Six Kings follow Sucandra making seven Dharmarājas, then the line of twenty-five Kalkī Kings beginning with Yaśas. Each of these seven and twenty-five Kings reigns for exactly one hundred years. As Helmut Hoffmann remarks, “The neatness of this arrangement makes it quite clear that behind the formality of these figures there must be some definite astrological symbolism which we are not yet in a position to unravel.” 3

Already in 1914 a Tibetan text including this list of Kings, the Third Pañchen Lama’s Śambhala’i Lam-yig, was translated into German by Albert Grünwedel as Der Weg nach Śambhala. 4 Rather than retaining the names of the Kings in Tibetan, Grünwedel attempted to reconstruct their Sanskrit originals for use in his translation.

In 1949 Giuseppe Tucci translated into
English an excerpt from Bu-ston’s Dus ’khor chos ’byun rgyud sde’i zab don sgo ’byed rin chen gces pa’i lde mig including the list of Kings, and published it in his monumental *Tibetan Painted Scrolls.* He left the names in Tibetan. This excerpt was quoted without change in Lokesh Chandra’s 1966 English preface to his Sanskrit-Tibetan-Mongolian edition of the Laghu Kālacakra Tantra.

It should be noted that Grünwedel wrongly divided the name of the twenty-fourth Kalki King of the Pañchen Lama’s text, mTha’-yas-mam-rgyal, in two: Ananta (mTha’-yas) and Vijaya (rNam-rgyal). Tucci wrongly compounded the names of several Kings of Bu-ston’s text, and also wrongly divided the twenty-fourth Kalki as Grünwedel had. These errors were due to the fact that it is often impossible to tell where one name ends and another begins in Tibetan writing.

It is clear, however, that the Third Pañchen Lama and Bu-ston are in agreement with each other, and with the many Tibetan sources available today, that the list of the Kings of Šambhala as understood in Tibetan tradition should read as follows:

The Seven Dharma-rājas (Chos-rgyal) according to Tibetan Tradition

1. Zla-ba (-bzan-po)
2. Lha-dbaṅ
3. gZi-brjig-can
4. Zla-bas-byin
5. Lha-dbaṅ-phyug
6. sNa-tshogs-gzugs
7. Lha-dbaṅ-ldan

The Twenty-five Kalkīs (Rigs-ldan) according to Tibetan Tradition

1. Grags-pa
2. Padma-dkar
3. bZaṅ-po
4. rNam-rgyal
5. bŚes-gñen-bzaṅ-po
6. Phyag-dmar
7. Khyab’-jug-sbas-pa
8. Ši-ma-grags
9. Šin-tu-bzan
10. rGya-mtsho-rnam-rgyal
11. rGyal-dka’
12. Ši-ma
13. sNa-tshogs-gzugs
14. Zla-ba’-’od
15. mTha’-yas
16. Sa-skyoṅ
17. dPal-skyoṅ
18. Seṅ-ge
19. rNam-par-gnon
20. sTobs-po-che
21. Ma’-gag(s)-pa
22. Mi-yi-seṅ-ge
23. dBaṅ-phyug-che
24. mTha’-yas-rnam-rgyal
25. Drag-po

Most information of this nature found in Tibetan tradition ultimately derives from an Indian source, i.e., an original Sanskrit work which was translated into Tibetan to form part of the Canon, the Kangyur and Tengyur. Therefore comparison of any number of later Tibetan writings for ascertaining such information is superfluous when the canonical source can be traced.

Unlike other Sūtras and Tantras, which may have several major commentaries apiece written by Indian
masters and found in the Canon, the Kālacakra Tantra has only one, the Vimalaprabhā. This is because its authorship is not ascribed to an Indian master, but to a King of Śambhala, Puṇḍarīka, an emanation of Avalokiteśvara. For who would presume to write another commentary in face of this? (Of course, many smaller exegetical works on Kālacakra were written by Indian masters, about fifty of which were translated into Tibetan and are now found in the Canon.) The Vimalaprabhā then, is the major source of information on Kālacakra and Śambhala, which virtually all later Tibetan writings drew upon, whether directly or indirectly.

As we have seen, Puṇḍarīka actually had access to the Kālacakra Mūla Tantra and quoted it in his Vimalaprabhā, which was translated into Tibetan nearly a thousand years ago. Tibetan writers who obviously did not have access to the Mūla Tantra quoted these quotations, simply indicating them as being from the Mūla Tantra, without reference to the Vimalaprabhā. Later Tibetan writers then quoted these quotations from earlier Tibetan writers, again indicating only that they are from the Mūla Tantra. Some of these later Tibetan writings have in turn been quoted or published in full by Europeans. Thus 11½ of the 21½ Mūla Tantra verses which we are concerned with in this article have been published in Tibetan and translated into German or English,⁹ but without knowledge of their source in the Vimalaprabhā.

The significance of knowing that their source is the Vimalaprabhā, of course, is that the Vimalaprabhā is available in the original Sanskrit, though in manuscript form. Brian Hodgson made known in 1828 the existence of Sanskrit manuscripts of Buddhist scriptures in Nepal. This discovery was to revolutionize Buddhist studies. Through his efforts many of the most important Buddhist texts became available in their original Sanskrit. Yet it was not until the 1970's that hundreds more of these Sanskrit texts, presumed to be lost, were microfilmed in Nepal by the Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions and by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, and thus made available.

Two palm-leaf manuscripts of the Vimalaprabhā were described in Hara Prasad Shāstri's 1917 catalogue of Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts held by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.¹⁰ One of these in old Newārī script is incomplete, going only through verse 31 of the first chapter. The other in old Bengāli script is complete except for five missing folios, and includes the end of the first chapter and the entire fifth and last chapter, which are missing in later paper manuscripts. This manuscript is dated around 1100 A.D., near the time the Vimalaprabhā was translated into Tibetan.

Six more Sanskrit manuscripts of the Vimalaprabhā became available from Nepal in the 1970's as described above.¹¹ Two of these are palm-leaf in old Newārī scripts, and four are paper, three in Devanāgarī script and one in modern Newārī script. Both of the palm-leaf manuscripts are incomplete at the end, so lack colophons from which to date them. Normally the Tibetan translations, made nearly a millenium ago, represent the
oldest readings of a text, and are thus of primary value for editing it. Here however, we have a palm-leaf Sanskrit manuscript of the same period as the Tibetan translations, and three others within the next few centuries.

The 21½ verse Mūla Tantra quotation on the Kings of Śambhala is found in the introductory portion of the Vimalaprabhā, before the actual verse commentary begins. It is therefore found in all four palm-leaf manuscripts, here designated A-D, as well as in the four paper manuscripts, here designated E-H. It is here edited from these eight manuscripts and comparison with three Tibetan editions, the canonical translation in the Peking and Der-ge blockprints, and Bu-ston’s revision of same. I have arbitrarily numbered the ślokas from 1 to 21 for convenience of reference.
पतलैः पञ्चभ्रमः पूण्य वादिरादृ देशायिष्यति।
संगीतिकारकसचायं टीकाकरः सिताब्धेषुकः। ॥ ९० ॥
तन्ने श्रीमणु ऋषिपुरुषोदयम् बुद्धमार्गप्रकाशकः।
चन्द्रः सूरोश्वरस्तेजी सोमदत्तः सूरोश्वरः। ॥ ९१ ॥
विश्वमूर्तिः सूरोश्वनो यशः पुण्डरीकः क्रमात्।
सूर्यप्रभो रत्नो राजा विधनशास्त्रः सन्मिति। ॥ ९२ ॥
बलीपरमः सुचन्द्रस्तं ध्वनिःशास्त्रो यमान्तकः।
सर्वनिर्वरणविषयं जम्भको मानकः क्रमात्। ॥ ९३ ॥
खगभरः मन्नजुधृष्णस्च लोकनाथो यथाक्रमात्।
यमायादशस्त्रादृश्या बोधिसत्त्वस्तदन्ते। ॥ ९४ ॥
कल्किगते भविष्यति त्रयोदशान्ये क्रमेन ते।
यशः कल्की च गोत्रं च कल्की पुण्डरीकस्ततः। ॥ ९५ ॥
भद्रकल्की तृतीयश्च चतुर्थो विजयस्तथा।
मुभागश्रो रत्नपरिश्रच विश्वुगुप्तश्च सप्तमः। ॥ ९६ ॥
अर्द्धकेशिः सुभद्रश्च समुद्रविजयो उज।
कल्की द्वादशमः सूर्यो विश्वरूपः शशिप्रभः। ॥ ९७ ॥
अन्तर्भाच महीपलः श्रीपालो हरिवर्धः।
महाबलो अनुरुद्धश्र नरसिंहो महेश्वरः। ॥ ९८ ॥
अन्तर्भाजयः कल्की यशः कल्की ततः पुनः।
तत्त्व पुनो महाकल्की रौद्रकल्की भविष्यति। ॥ ९९ ॥
म्लेच्छधर्ममल्लकृद्गामी परमाशवसमाधिना।
येन सूर्यरथादीनां वार्मी शास्त्रां भविष्यति। ॥ २० ॥
सुचन्द्र मूलतन्त्रे त्वं तेन संगीतिकारकः।
टीकाकारस्तवबेयात्र सत्त्वानां परिपाचकः। ॥ २१ ॥
लघुतन्त्रे मन्नजुधृष्णस्च टीकाकारो ज्ञाध्यृक्क स्वयम्।
The first thing to be noticed about this quotation is that, even though it is metrical, the names of the Kings are all individually declined; that is, none of them are found undeclined within a dvandva (dual, or conjunctive) compound. However, when we reach the eighteenth, and according to Tibetan nineteenth Kalkī in the line we have designated 18a, we have the single name “Harivikramaḥ.” In order to break it into the two Kalkī Seṅ-ge (Hari) and rNam-par-gnon (Vikrama) of Tibetan tradition we would have to read “Harir-vikramaḥ,” where the first name would be declined as well as the second. But none of the manuscripts attest that reading; on the contrary they are unanimous in giving the former reading.

It is not possible to understand this as a dvandva compound, for besides the fact that none of the other names in the entire quotation are within dvandva compounds, we would have the further anomaly of wrong declension: it is declined in the masculine singular. May we recall that of the two kinds of dvandvas, the itaretara dvandva takes the gender of its final member and its number must be either dual or plural according to the quantity of objects stated or intended, while the samāhāra dvandva by convention always takes the neuter gender and singular number because it expresses by means of its two or more words a single idea. A compound listing two names would of course have to be an itaretara dvandva, and would require declension in the dual number, not the singular number which we have. Even if one assumed a samāhāra dvandva here, which is taking things to the point of absurdity, the singular declension would have to be neuter rather than masculine. To attribute these excessive anomalies to Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit in face of perfectly regular declensions for the rest of the names in the quotation would be highly unrealistic.

We know that there must be twenty-five Kalkīs in this list; we cannot afford to lose one. We know also that Tibetan tradition has the advantages of a direct oral transmission of the text and of proximity in time, so cannot be taken lightly. Despite this, as history shows repeatedly, no tradition is infallible. It is noteworthy that from the Tibetan translation alone of this line, “dpal skyon seṅ ge rnam par gnon,” there is no way to tell where the names break up. There is nothing here to indicate how the actual translators of this text understood these names. Their division was accomplished by other means, and possibly at a later date.

However, the dilemma of the missing King is solved by reading further, for line 19a can hardly be understood any other way than “Anantavijaya Kalkī, Yaśas Kalkī then again,” placing Yaśas between the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth Kalkīs of the Tibetan list, mTha’-yas-rnam-rgyal and Drag-po. Indeed, Bu-ston in his annotated edition of the Vimalaprabhā took pains to note that in the next line, 19b, “his son will be the Great Cakri Raudra Kalkī,” the “his” refers back to mTha’-yas-rnam-rgyal rather than to the intervening and obvious Yaśas. It was apparently difficult to accept the same name twice in the list, as Yaśas is, of course, the name of the first Kalkī. Yet among the seven Dharmarājas,
Sureśvara is the name of the second and also the name of the fifth, both given in the same line, 11b. There are no variant readings. The Tibetan obscures this identity of names by translating the second as Lha-dbañ and the fifth as Lha-dbañ phyug.

Based on this unanimous manuscript evidence from the Sanskrit, and until the early Tibetan traditions can be further researched, we are obliged to list Harivikrama (Sen-ge-rnam-par-gnon) as the eighteenth Kalki, thus eliminating the nineteenth Kalki of the Tibetan list (rNam-par-gnon) as a separate King, and to restore Yaśas as the twenty-fourth Kalki between mTha’-yas-rnam-rgyal and Drag-po of the Tibetan list. The implications of this are rather far-reaching, for not only would a thousand years of Tibetan tradition representing the Kings in paintings, in writings, in chronological calculations, etc., require modification, but also comparative studies on the relationship between the Buddhist tradition of Śambhala and the Hindu tradition of the Kalki Avatāra of Viṣṇu will acquire an important new piece of data.

In approximately half of the Hindu Purāṇa and epic sources on the Kalki Avatāra of Viṣṇu, he is stated to be Viṣṇu-Yaśas himself. The Tibetan tradition apparently does not count Yaśas a second time in this list of the Kings of Śambhala because Raudra is considered to be a reincarnation of Yaśas, i.e., Mañjuśrī. Thus the occurrence of the name Yaśas immediately preceding Raudra in the list is explained by this tradition: Raudra is here considered to be Mañjuśrī-Yaśas himself, reborn.

The dual Hindu tradition, then, of the Kalki Avatāra of Viṣṇu being either the son of Viṣṇu-Yaśas, or Viṣṇu-Yaśas himself, is paralleled by the Buddhist tradition of the Kalki Raudra, who is either the son of Yaśas and an emanation of Mañjuśrī, or is Mañjuśrī-Yaśas himself. In either case, the Buddhist Kalki Raudra is an emanation of Mañjuśrī, just as the Hindu Kalki is an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

Each of the Kings of Śambhala is an emanation of a particular Bodhisattva or of a particular Krodharāja (“Wrathful King”—a Protector). Ten are named in lines 12b-14a of the Mūla Tantra quotation, indicating which Kings are their emanations. These ten are: Vighnaśatru, Vajrapāni, Kṣitigarbha, Yamāntaka, Sarvanivaraṇavīśkambhi, Jambhaka, Mānaka, Khagarbha, Mañjughoṣa, and Lokanātha. Yaśas as the first Kalki is an emanation of Mañjughoṣa, or Mañjuśrī, and is often referred to as Mañjuśrī-Yaśas, frequently wrongly Sanskritized as Mañjuśrī-kirti. Note the similarity between Mañjuśrī-Yaśas of the Buddhist tradition and Viṣṇu-Yaśas of the Hindu tradition.
There are in the Purāṇas, connected with the Kali-Yuga and Kalkī Avatāra prophecies, computations utilizing the cycle of the Great Bear, or Big Dipper.¹⁷ The Great Bear, or as it is known in Sanskrit, the Seven Rishis (Saptarshi), are said to revolve around the circle of the twenty-seven asterisms (nakṣatra-s), staying in each of them for one hundred years. Each asterism is 13° 20' in extent. This cycle is considered to be mythological, since astronomically the fixed stars do not have any such movement. At best they can be considered to move at the rate of the precession of the equinoxes, approximately one degree in seventy-two years. This unusual cycle is strikingly reminiscent of the one hundred year reigns of the seven Dharmarājas and twenty-five Kalkis of Śambhala.

Before proceeding to the list of these Kings, there yet remains a problem with the eleventh Kalkī. From the Tibetan translation, rGyal-dka, we would expect Ajaya, “Unconquered.” However, all eight manuscripts read Aja, “Unborn,” for which we would have to have something like “Ma-skyes-pa” in Tibetan. The meter is faulty here and lacks a syllable, making a perfect setting for restoring Ajaya. But as may be noticed in this whole quotation, the meter is often faulty, and it is clear that the author didn’t mind being a syllable off, plus or minus. Indeed, Puṇḍarīka informs us that his own text was purposely written with little regard for rules of grammar, in order to destroy the pride of those attached to perfected form rather than to the meaning.¹⁸ So again, for the moment we are obliged to retain Aja as the eleventh Kalkī rather than the Ajaya indicated by the Tibetan rGyal-dka.

Here, then, is the list of the true Sanskrit names of the Kings of Śambhala, taken from the lost Kālacakra Mūla Tantra, the Paramādi-buddha, as quoted in the Vimalaprabhā, and provisional renditions of same into English, now made accessible for the first time:

The Seven Dharma-rājas
according to Sanskrit manuscripts

1. (Su)candra—The (Auspicious) Moon
2. Sureśvara—Lord of the Gods
3. Tejī—Possessor of Splendor
4. Somadatta—Given by the Moon
5. Sureśvara—Lord of the Gods
6. Viśvamūrti—He Whose Form is the All, i.e., the Universe
7. Sureśāna—Ruler of the Gods

The Twenty-five Kalkīs
according to Sanskrit manuscripts

1. Yaśas—Renown
2. Puṇḍarīka—White Lotus
3. Bhadra—Auspicious
4. Vijaya—Victory
5. Sumitra—Good Friend
6. Raktapāṇi—He Whose Hand is Red
7. Viṣṇugupta—Hidden by Viṣṇu
8. Arkakīrti—He Whose Fame is like the Sun
9. Subhadra—Very Auspicious
10. Samudravijaya—He Whose Victory is like the Ocean
11. Aja—Unborn (Tib.—Unconquered)
12. Sūrya—The Sun
13. Viśvarūpa—He Whose Body is the
All, i.e., the Universe
14. Śaśīprabha—The Light of the Moon
15. Ananta—Infinite
16. Mahīpāla—Protector of the Earth
17. Śrīpāla—Protector of Fortune
18. Harivikrama—He Whose Courage is like a Lion’s
19. Mahābala—Great Strength
20. Aniruddha—Unobstructed
21. Narasimha—Man-Lion
22. Maheśvara—Great Lord
23. Anantavijaya—Endless Victory
24. Yaśas—Renown
25. Raudra—Fierce

NOTES

1. From a Theosophical perspective names such as these are considered to be composed of logograms. See The Secret Doctrine, by H. P. Blavatsky, London: 1888, vol. 2, p. 335.
4. published in Abhandlungen der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 29, no. 3, Munchen: 1915, see pp. 74-78.
10. A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanscrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection, under the care of The Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. 1, Buddhist Manuscripts, by Hara Prasad Shāstri, Calcutta: 1917, pp. 73-82.
   ms. no. 4727, palm-leaf, old Newārī script, incomplete, goes through verse 31 of first paṭāla only.
   ms. no. 10766, palm-leaf, old Bengāli script, complete except five missing folios near beginning.
11. Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions:
   ms. no. MBB I-24, paper, Devanāgāri script, first paṭāla goes through verse 92 only, lacks fifth paṭāla, otherwise complete.

Kalki Purāṇa 2.12  
Viṣṇu Purāṇa 4.24.98  
Bhāgavata Purāṇa 12.2.18  
Matsya Purāṇa 47.248  
Agni Purāṇa 16.8

15. Edwin Bernbaum, loc. cit.:  
Mahābhārata (crit. ed.) 3.188.89  
Harivaṃśa 31.148  
Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa 2.3.73.104  
Vāyu Purāṇa (ref. omitted)

16. see addenda.


18. Vimalaprabhā, ms. D, fol. 21B-22A, ms. E, fol. 17B:

तेषां च सुशाब्दवादिनां सुशाब्दग्रहविनाशाय अर्थशरणतामाधिरत्या । . . . . . . एवं टीकायामपि सुशाब्दप्रभुमाननाशाय लिखितव्यं मयार्थशरण- 

tamādhīrati ।।
VARIANT READINGS

In editing these verses I have taken no account of orthographic provincialisms, such as the doubling of consonants after “r”, the spelling “satva” for “sattva”, or the interchange of “ś” (dental) for “ṣ” (palatal), nor have I recorded them in the variant readings except incidentally. Neither have I taken account of or recorded the use of anusvāra for the five nasals and vice versa. However, it should be noted that all manuscripts spell Śambhala with the dental sibilant: Sambhala. On names, I have not retained the spellings Arkākīrtti (mss. D,F: Arkkakīrtti), Viśvamūrtti, Śūryya, etc., for the same reason that I have not retained sarvva, dharma, pūrṇa, etc. I have also disregarded obvious omissions and repetitions of letters, which are frequent in mss. C and D.

1a C चतुर्वेणेक्कोण ब्राह्मकुलेन क न ।
   A ब्राह्मकुलेन × । E ब्राह्मकुलेन च ।

1b G प्रकृतः

1c C अजकीर्ति: । D सुमुद्रविजयो

1d G षाजः: ।

4b G लब्धे ष्ठाणे

5b C,E देशाना ।

6a H योगि ।

6b D लब्धे ष्ठाणे
   E लब्धे ष्ठाणे
   F लब्धे ष्ठाणे

7b H तोत्सि ।

9a F लथुसाराय ।

9b G श्रीस्म्रवतरा । H विच्छेदः ।

10b C कारकाशाय । F सिताङ्गुङ्गात ।

11b G तेजा ।

12a F यशपुष्परिकः
   G यसपुष्परिकः ।

12b E,F,G,H विच्छेदः ।

13a C ब्रजपाणिसुक्रुन्दस्वं ।

13b C मानवकः ।

15a A,C कल्कीः H अवीदशान्यः

15b G कल्कीरोधः

16b B,E,F,H सुभन्नः
    G सुभन्नः व्यमपाणिशः

17a C अजकीर्ति: । D सुमुद्रविजयो

17b G गिश्वः ।

18b F महामलो ।

19a C अनिन्त्यिन्यकल्कीः

20a G परमार्शसमाधिनीः ।

20b E,F शास्त्रः

21a C omits त्व

22a F,G,H मण्डुङ्गोश्वः
    E मण्डुङ्गोः टीकाः
    H टीकाकाराब्जुङ्ग्युः
ADDENDA

I sent a draft copy of this article to John Newman, presently in India, who has been researching the early Tibetan Kālacakra traditions as reported by Bu-ston (1290-1364 A.D.) and mKhas-grub (1385-1438) in connection with translating the first portion of the Kālacakra Tantra and Vimalaprabhā. He kindly sent me a long reply containing much new information, which I summarize below:

There was considerable controversy over this list of Kings among early Tibetan scholars. There was some question as to whether Raudra should be included in the group of twenty-five Kalkī; i.e., whether he was the twenty-fifth Kalkī, or whether he came after the twenty-five Kalkīs, making him the twenty-sixth Kalkī. It is reported by both mKhas-grub (Dus 'khor tik chen, in Yab sras gsun 'bum, mKhas-grub, vol. kha, fol. 150, line 6, and fol. 437, line 6) and Bu-ston (Rin chen gces pa'i lde mig, in The Collected Works of Bu-ston, Part 4, vol. 55, line 5) that “some” “former lamas” (un-named) held that the twenty-fourth name, Anantavijaya, should be two Kalkīs, Ananta and Vijaya, and that there were twenty-six Kalkīs altogether.

It is also reported that of the two main Kālacakra transmission lineages into Tibet, Rwa and 'Bro, the Rwa tradition counted Śrīpāla and Harivikrama as two Kalkīs, and the 'Bro tradition counted Śrīpālaharivikrama as one Kalkī (Tik chen, 438/2-3; Bu-ston's annotations, Collected Works, Part 1, 353/3-4). Concerning this, Bu-ston says (lDe mig, 59/5-6), “Making the Kalkīs Śrīpāla, Hari, and Vikrama as one Kalkī is unacceptable. Since Śrīpāla, and Hari, and Vikrama are said to have different case endings in the Indian manuscript(s), they should be accepted as different.”

Bu-ston also reports the views of the Pañdit Vibhūticandra (lDe mig, 56/1; see also mKhas-grub’s Tik chen, 151/3): “Vibhūticandra says Harivikrama is one, and Anantavijaya is one. Then, differentiating Yaśas and Raudra, he asserts twenty-five (Kalkīs). This should be scrutinized.” (bi bhū ti tsandra na re/ seŋ ge rnam gnon gcig/ mtha' yas rnam rgyal gcig tu byas nas/ de nas grags pa dañ drag po thad du byas nas fi sùrtsa lhaṅ 'dod de/ brtag go). Thus it would appear that Vibhūticandra’s position is in agreement with the findings of the foregoing paper.

Bu-ston and later Tibetan tradition did not agree with differentiating Yaśas (the second) and Raudra, apparently because of a prophecy in the Tantrottara (Toh. no. 363, Pek. no. 5) in which Yaśas (the first) says he will return in eighteen hundred years to destroy the barbarians. mKhas-grub understands this as meaning that Raudra is the “return” (slar byon pa), i.e., the reincarnation of Yaśas. The relevant half-verse of the Tantrottara is
cited by mKhas-grub from a different translation than that found in the Peking edition of the Kangyur. mKhas-grub cites (Tik chen, 152/3-4): “de la bco brgyad lo yis rgya phrag bsgyur te brgya yis ’phags pa’i yul gyi ma kha la sogs par// kla klo nams kyi grags pa gan dan gan zig mun can gyur pa de nams bdag gis dru'n phyu'n ste.” The corresponding half-verse is found in the Peking edition, Japanese reprint, volume 1, page 180, folio 3, lines 6-7.

Moving on to some other points, in connection with the above-mentioned prophecy mKhas-grub thinks that the reigns of two of the Kalkis must be longer than one hundred years (Tik chen, 153). He adds 82 years to the reign of Samudravijaya, making 182 years, and adds 121 years to the reign of Aja, making 221 years. These two reigns together add up to 403 years, a number forming the basis of chronological calculations, found in chapter 1, verse 27, of the Laghu Kalacakra Tantra. Bu-ston, however, thought that Samudravijaya and Aja each reign for one hundred years (lDe mig, 55/3).

On Aja versus Ajaya, the form Aja is confirmed by its use in the prose commentary on chapter 1, verse 27, of the Laghu Kalacakra Tantra. Yet the meaning “unconquered” is also confirmed, by an alternate Tibetan translation from the Rwa tradition, “ma-pham-pa” (Bu-ston’s annotations, Collected Works, Part 1, 353/3).

On the date of the introduction of the Kalacakra teachings into India, there is evidence that this did not occur until the beginning of the 11th century A.D., rather than the more widely accepted date of circa 967 A.D. See The Wheel of Time: the Kalachakra in Context, by Geshe Sopa, Roger Jackson, and John Newman, Deer Park Books, Madison, Wisconsin, 1985, page 65 and notes.

Finally, on Sureśvara as the second Dharmarāja being translated Lha-dbaṅ, and as the fifth, Lha-dbaṅ-phyug: It is possible that the Lha-dbaṅ of the first instance was chosen as an abbreviation of Lha-yi-dbaṅ-po, the translation of Sureśa in chapter 1, verse 156, of the Laghu Kālacakra Tantra, where Sureśa is the form used for Sucandra’s son, Sureśvara, the second Dharmarāja. Or again, it could simply have been due to the strict exigencies of Tibetan meter. (For whatever reason it was done, it still does obscure the fact that the names being translated are identical in the Sanskrit.)
They who do not know the *Paramādibuddha* [the Kālacakra Mūla Tantra] do not know the *[Mañjuśrī-] Nāmasaṃgiti.*

They who do not know the *Nāmasaṃgiti* do not know the Wisdom-Body of Vajradhara. They who do not know the Wisdom-Body of Vajradhara do not know the Mantra Vehicle. They who do not know the Mantra Vehicle are all in and of samsāra, separated from the path of Bhagavān Vajradhara.

Thus the *Paramādibuddha* should be listened to by true disciples striving for liberation, and should be taught by the true teacher.