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*THE ATTAINMENT OF IMMORTALITY: FROM NĀTHAS IN INDIA
TO BUDDHISTS IN TIBET*

A number of Indian religious traditions have passed to Tibet that cannot be comfortably classified as either Buddhist or non-Buddhist. Such traditions challenge assumptions about the variety of religious complexes that passed from the Indic plains to the Tibetan highlands, and about what can be defined as “Buddhist” in Tibet. The teachings known as *Amṛtasiddhi*, or the *Attainment of Immortality*, are one instance of this. They have been claimed at times by Buddhists and at times by Nāthas, foremost proponents of *haṭha* or “forceful” yoga, and stand as witnesses to a long period of variegated and multi-traditional trans-Himalayan cultural exchange. That Buddhists and Nāthas participated in shared religious practices in India from as early the twelfth century onward has been well known for some time, and more recently scholars have begun to investigate the travels and teachings of Indian Nāthas in Tibet.¹ The *Attainment of Immortality* teachings played no small role in this process of transmission, but have, as it were, been lurking in the corner, in footnotes or untraceable quotations.² We are now in a position to begin to integrate them into our discussion of the relations between these two religious groups and the history of religion in Tibet.

Recently a unique bilingual manuscript was located containing a work entitled *Amṛtasiddhi*.³ The work was authored by one Avadhūtacandra, a name known elsewhere only from one single-folio work on the *maṇḍala* ritual for permission to practice the *Amṛtasiddhi* teachings, which exists only in Tibetan translation.⁴ This manuscript of the *Amṛtasiddhi* raises several issues: First, the manuscript is worthy of study in and of itself for what it can begin to show about the development of reading, writing and translation practices in Tibet, for it is a rare example of a bilingual Sanskrit and Tibetan text in two scripts, Newārī and Tibetan. Secondly, Avadhūtacandra’s work can be located within a larger corpus of works devoted to *Amṛtasiddhi*, all part of a religious tradition that traces itself back to one Virūpākṣanātha. Avadhūtacandra’s work is part of a hybrid tradition of yogic theory and practice. It shares its vocabulary primarily with the *haṭhayoga* teachings of the Nātha Siddhas, and yet it is presented in its Tibetan manifestation as a teaching of Buddhist origins. The work thus embodies the shared traditions of praxis and teaching

that occurred between these two groups, and as such can provide a focal point for developing a history of Buddhist-Nātha interaction in India, Nepal, and Tibet. Finally, in doctrinal terms, Avadhūtacandra's work promotes a vision of spiritual liberation rarely found within Buddhist works, namely the notion of *jivanmukti*, or "living liberation", in which the fully realized yogin transforms into the Ādinātha, the primordial lord of the Nātha yogins, Śiva himself. In what follows I would like to briefly elaborate on these three points, codicological, historical, and philosophical.

The most striking aspect of this manuscript is that it is bilingual, containing a Sanskrit text in Newārī script, a transliteration of the text in the Tibetan hand-printing (*dbu can*) script, and a translation in Tibetan cursive script (*dbu med*). Bilingual and multi-lingual texts are not unknown in Tibet, but are employed almost exclusively for lexicons, dictionaries, and other works in which the comparison of two or more languages is in fact the main point. Further, it is rare indeed that such texts employ scripts such as Newārī to render Sanskrit, preferring instead to use Tibetan transliteration. The *Amṛtasiddhi* is, I believe, an as yet unique example of a bi-lingual Sanskrit-Tibetan text in two scripts for which language comparison is ancillary to the content of the work.⁵

A variety of important graphic aids complement this bi-lingual format, making the relation between the Sanskrit and the Tibetan verses visually explicit. These tools, which gear the manuscript toward visual reading, stand in contrast to the formatting of the majority of Tibetan manuscripts and block prints, as well as most Sanskrit Newārī manuscripts, where the lack of spacing between verse-lines, a minimum of word division or punctuation and so forth may promote a more orally active reading. In the manuscript the three parallel versions of the text are arranged vertically, with Sanskrit on top, Tibetan transliteration directly under that, and translation at the bottom. Three of these tri-partite lines are arranged on each page. Each Sanskrit *śloka* is graphically separated into its four *pādas*, with the corresponding Tibetan verse-line placed underneath. This stacked and quartered arrangement reflects the fact that the Sanskrit *śloka* was ordinarily translated into a four-line Tibetan verse in which each line is demarcated by a double slash. It thus appears that the four-fold graphic division of the *śloka* is carried out in deference to the standard arrangement of the Tibetan verse, in order to make it absolutely clear which *pāda* corresponds to which Tibetan verse-line.

If the Sanskrit *pādas* were translated into verse-lines out of order, the scribe employed several different means to indicate which *pāda*

matched which Tibetan verse-line. Toward the beginning of the text a verse occurs in which each Sanskrit *pāda* is numbered in Tibetan, and each Tibetan verse-line given a matching number.⁶ Analogously, in the next verse matching clusters of dots are used (albeit rather unsuccessfully), and in the following verse the first four letters of the Tibetan alphabet are used.⁷ After this initial experimentation, the scribe settles down and connects *pāda* to verse-line by dotted lines for the remainder of the work.

The transliteration, in addition to being separated by *pāda*, is also graphically divided into individual words, so that the Tibetan reader could pronounce and distinguish each Sanskrit word without having to know the Newāri script, and could also learn the Newāri through the transliteration. I suggest that all of these visual features are geared toward a bilingual reading in which the format of the Sanskrit text in both Newāri and transliteration are graphically subordinate to the Tibetan verse. Thus, as an initial answer to the question of why this manuscript was so created, I would offer that it is a pedagogical work, specifically designed to be read from a Tibetan standpoint as an aid in learning and understanding the Sanskrit text.

The manuscript owes its existence to a Tibetan scholar named Bya ban de Pad ma 'od zer, a man who was at once scribe, editor, and translator. In the Tibetan colophon of the text he claims to have translated all of the works entitled *Amṛtasiddhi* in strict accordance with their Indic manuscripts, and to have annotated and vertically aligned the tri-partite text.⁸ He also states that because he noticed several small inconsistencies between the translation and the Indic text, he made changes as he saw fit.⁹ Pad ma 'od zer's name is not found elsewhere, save for as the name of one of the junior translators under the late eleventh-century scholar Gyi jo Lo tsā ba Zla ba'i 'od zer, whose team was the first to translate the *Kālacakratantra* into Tibetan.¹⁰ If this figure, whose full name is 'Phrom Lo tsā ba Pad ma 'od zer, and our translator are indeed one and the same person, then this would roughly date the creation of the manuscript to the beginning of the twelfth century. This early date is corroborated by two other factors: First, the Newāri script in which it is written can be roughly dated to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries.¹¹ Secondly, the conclusion of the work contains a date upon which it was completed, which *may* read 1159 C.E., but which is so corrupt as to be far from certain. The dating of the manuscript and the composition or compilation of the work remains in the end an open question.

How and when did this inter-traditional teaching of yogic practice develop, and what role did the *Attainment of Immortality* teachings

play in the transmission of Nātha teachings to Tibet? Though I can only begin to answer these questions here, the following sketch of the people involved in developing these teachings and bringing them to Tibet can be offered. The *Attainment of Immortality* teachings are traditionally traced to the Indian adept Virūpākṣanātha, otherwise known as Virūpanātha, or simply as Virūpa. It is to this master that our author Avadhūtacandra pays homage at the opening of his own work, and it is also this master to whom several other works also titled *Amṛtasiddhi* are attributed. We know almost nothing of this teacher, neither when nor where he lived.¹² Our earliest datable mention of Virūpa's name in connection with the *Amṛtasiddhi* occurs in the catalogue of Tibetan canonical works compiled by the great scholar Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364) in 1322 as an addendum to his history of Buddhism,¹³ by which time it must have been considered a text of good Buddhist provenance in Tibet to be included by Bu ston in the canon.

It is likely, however, that Virūpākṣa was initially part of the Nātha tradition for several reasons. Numerous Indic works clearly count the work of Virūpākṣa as a Nātha teaching. Several unpublished witnesses of a work entitled *Amṛtasiddhiyoga* are credited to Virūpākṣa, all of which are contained in larger manuscript anthologies comprised of other texts from the Nātha tradition, indicating that the *Amṛtasiddhiyoga* was circulated and read in a Nātha context.¹⁴ Furthermore, Virūpākṣa appears in the opening invocational verse of an unpublished version of the well-known Nātha work, the *Haṭhapradīpikā*,¹⁵ also contained in one of the aforementioned anthologies. Here we find his name among a unique lineage of Nātha masters, placed directly after the Ādinātha Śiva, and just before Matsyendra, traditionally held to be the human founder of the Nāthas.¹⁶ This is certainly a variation on the lineage found in the published edition of Svātmārāma's *Haṭhayogapradīpikā*, where we find Virūpākṣa listed eighth in the lineage of haṭhayoga masters, just after Gorakṣanātha.¹⁷ We also find Virūpākṣa listed eighth in a list from Andhra Pradesh dated to the fourteenth century.¹⁸ In general it appears that he was occasionally included under the popular grouping of the "Nine Nāthas."

Virūpa's teachings on the *Attainment of Immortality* flourished for centuries in India within the Nātha tradition, as is attested by the presence of at least seventy-five verses from the *Amṛtasiddhiyoga* cited in both Śivānanda's *Yogacintāmaṇi*, an encyclopedic work on yogic practice which has been roughly dated to anywhere between the mid-sixteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries.¹⁹ Major sections of these citations correspond precisely to passages in Avadhūtacandra's work,

while occasionally one finds a passage dealing with a similar subject in which the verses are identical and yet their arrangement is quite different. Verses from the *Amṛtasiddhi* also figure prominently in Brahmānanda's nineteenth-century commentary on the *Hathayogapradīpikā*, the *Jyotsnā*. Given that I have found no mention of Avadhūtacandra's name in Nātha literature while Virūpākṣa figures prominently, I suggest that the *Amṛtasiddhiyoga* texts of Virūpākṣa form a common ancestral corpus from which Avadhūtacandra compiled his work, and from which the lengthy quotations in the *Yogacintāmaṇi* are drawn.

Of Avadhūtacandra we know as little as we do about Virūpākṣa, save that he placed himself in the latter's lineage, and characterized himself as an impartial teacher of tantric yoga.²⁰ His work is both the longest and most comprehensive within the *Amṛtasiddhi* corpus, as well as the most difficult to pin down historically. Several factors suggest that it was created in the mid-twelfth century (see above), though this still bears much critical scrutiny, and we may find that doctrinally perhaps the work cannot be dated this early.

The *Amṛtasiddhi* of Avadhūtacandra is affiliated with several other works of similar name extant in Sanskrit, edited portions of which I have found so far only in two descriptive manuscript catalogues from Madras.²¹ Both works are entitled *Amṛtasiddhiyoga* and are attributed to Virūpākṣa. The first catalogue entry from 1910 provides the first and last nine verses of the text, which can all be matched with verses in the opening and closing chapters of Avadhūtacandra's *Amṛtasiddhi*.²² Minor variations occur, the most significant of which being the substitution of the name Avadhūtacandra for Virūpākṣa in our bilingual manuscript.²³ The second catalogue entry from 1922 provides an edition of two additional opening verses from another manuscript, verses that also begin our bilingual text.²⁴ Verse two contains an homage prayer to Virūpākṣa and the lineage holders of his tradition, suggesting that this verse was a later addition.

The presence of shared verses in both Virūpa's and Avadhūtacandra's works suggests that the later was more strictly a compiler than an author, incorporating major portions of Virūpa's earlier work into his own. Nearly eighty out of the 284 verses of Avadhūta's work match verses found in either the anthologized works of Virūpākṣa or the *Yogacintāmaṇi*. Heavily reworked passages roughly parallel with both Virūpākṣa's and Avadhūtacandra's Sanskrit texts can also be found in other versions of Virūpa's *Amṛtasiddhi* translated into Tibetan.²⁵ This variation in length, verse-order, translation and authorial attribution points to a dense history of textual transmission and doctrinal adaptation.²⁶

Amṛtasiddhi teachings were transmitted to Tibet on no less than five separate occasions, from as early as the twelfth century and at least into the sixteenth century. By the early part of the thirteenth century *Amṛtasiddhi* was well-known enough for Sa skya Paṇḍita (1182–1251) to mention them in the closing lines of his *Analysis of the Three Vows*.²⁷ The earliest roughly datable mention of any *Amṛtasiddhi* teaching (though not explicitly associated with Virūpa) is found in the autobiography of the Tibetan master Gnyan Ston Chos kyi shes rab (1175–1255) of the Shangs pa Bka' brgyud lineage.²⁸ Gnyan ston received teachings in the middle of the twelfth century on the *yantras* or symbolic tools of *Amṛtasiddhi* ('*chi med kyi 'phrul 'khor*) from a master who had traveled to Tibet from western India, whose Indian master in turn was given the Tibetan name Dur khrod pa.²⁹ It is Gnyan ston's successor, Sangs rgyas ston pa Brtson 'grus seng ge (1207–1278)³⁰ who codified these *yantras* in a work that draws heavily from Virūpa's *Amṛtasiddhi*.³¹ It is possible that the Dur khrod pa of Gnyan ston's account is in fact the Indian yogin *Eṇadeva,³² who translated a number of *Amṛtasiddhi* texts, for Eṇadeva is given the epithet Dur khrod pa in the colophons to two translations of works by Virūpa.³³ Sangs rgyas ston pa also lists a Dur khrod pa in an *Amṛtasiddhi* lineage after Virūpa and Gnyan ston.³⁴ Even this brief sketch indicates a complex relationship between teachings by Indian travelers in Tibet, translated Indic works appearing in a Tibetan canon, and indigenous Tibetan redactions of these teachings.

Glimpses of these teachings appear in Tibetan biographies of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as well. The Indian teacher Śāriputra taught *Amṛtasiddhi* teachings to Śākya mchog ldan (1428–1507) in 1452.³⁵ In the middle of the sixteenth century teachings on *Amṛtasiddhi* which bear a strong doctrinal relation to the works of Avadhūtacandra and Virūpa, but which are traditionally traced back to the enigmatic yogin Jahābhīr, were brought to Tibet by Maṇikanātha, who is said to have met with the Zhwa lu pa master 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang phyug in 1539.³⁶ These names are exemplary rather than exhaustive, for it now appears that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Tibet was host to a number of *Amṛtasiddhiyogins*, 'yogic adepts of immortality' from India.³⁷

The Peking redaction of the Bstan 'gyur contains a substantial cycle of some twenty-one works dealing with *Amṛtasiddhi*, all claiming to be translations of Indic works. Three of these small works are attributed to Virūpa, seventeen are commentaries, glosses, and instructions upon Virūpa's work by an unidentifiable figure named Amoghavajra, and one is a short work describing the ritual of initiation into the

practice of *Amṛtasiddhi* by our author, Avadhūtacandra. The Indian masters Amoghavajra³⁸ and Eṇadeva worked in Tibet, translating several versions of Virūpa's *Amṛtasiddhi*, two of which share verses with Avadhūtacandra's work.³⁹ This work they carried out by themselves, without the aid of Tibetan co-translators, suggesting that they each spent a period of years in Tibet regions sufficient enough to learn Tibetan. With the exception of the work by Avadhūtacandra, Amoghavajra is the translator of nearly all of these works, and is said in most of the colophons to have conducted his work in Tibet itself, without the assistance of a Tibetan scholar. The dating of this figure will therefore form an essential part of the history of the *Amṛtasiddhi*'s transmission to Tibet.

With this historical sketch in mind I would now like to turn briefly to the system of yogic practice and theory developed in Avadhūtacandra's *Attainment of Immortality*. It is a familiar one, in which the energies of a subtle anatomy are controlled through both physical and mental exercises. Using terms strongly reminiscent of the *haṭhayoga* work known as the *Śiva Samhitā*,⁴⁰ Avadhūtacandra enumerates the macrocosmic symbols of the subtle body. The human body is centered around Mount Meru, the spinal axis. Working out from Mount Meru, the seven islands of the world, the oceans, mountains, stars, sun and moon, clouds, wind, fire, and water all are located in the body, all symbols providing the vocabulary with which Avadhūtacandra develops a picture of embodiment that can then be utilized in the practices explained throughout the central chapters of the work.

One major theoretical feature of Avadhūtacandra's work seems particularly worthy of mention in this short essay, namely the notion of *jivanmukti* (*srog thar*), or living liberation. For the adept of *haṭhayoga*, spiritual success is a physical accomplishment in which body and mind are transformed into an enlightened, omniscient, and omnipotent state – a state that is nevertheless in no way separate from the elements out of which it was wrought. Thus the goal of the *haṭhayogin* is a perfect body – a body made of enlightened awareness and equal to that of Śiva, but a physical body nevertheless! Avadhūtacandra's version of the *Amṛtasiddhi* contains a separate chapter on living liberation in which this notion of psychophysical realization is described. Indeed it is one of the central themes of the entire work. Curiously, this is the only work in the corpus of teachings heralding the *Attainment of Immortality* that mentions the topic: It is even missing from the three works attributed in the Tibetan canon to Virūpa. Avadhūtacandra's work is, in fact, the

only work transmitted to Tibet that I yet know of which develops this characteristically un-Buddhist notion of liberation.

Coming at the close of a long discussion on the actual practices of *Amṛtasiddhiyoga*, the chapter on *jivanmukti* opens:

When Rudra's knot has been severed,
The wind flows to all places.
Mind, luminescent by nature,
Is instantly adorned with [the qualities of] fruition. (30.1)⁴¹

This is the moment when the yogin has mastered the movement of the subtle *vāyu* or wind (also referred to as *prāṇa* or life-force in the Avadhūtacandra's work) through the body, and when the last of three knots which block the passage of the life-force upward through the central artery of the subtle body has been severed through the techniques of forceful yoga. It is at this point that the yogin achieves *jivanmukti*. Avadhūtacandra writes:

When the attainments of
Body, speech, and mind are manifest,
The great attainment, the bestowal of the fruit of living liberation
Is to be known. (30.3)⁴²

Living liberation is here a physical state of embodied wisdom, in which the yogic attainments, or *siddhis*, transform all aspects of human existence. The realized yogin is renewed cognitively, physically, and socially. Avadhūtacandra continues:

The yogin is blissful.
Omniscient, he has vision.
He makes an offering of all elements,
Pledged to the three worlds. (30.5)

He is not burned by fire,
Nor does he sink in water.
The master of yoga is invincible,
He has cast off the things of the world. (30.8)

Such a yogin is made of everything,
Composed of all elements,
Always dwelling in omniscience:
He has the respect of the entire world. (30.9)

Delighted, he liberates the world,
Wrathful, a destroyer of attainments.
Accomplished in wisdom, the master of yoga
Makes even the gods fearful. (30.10)⁴³

Living liberation is also intimately connected with the idea of *Amṛtasiddhi* itself, from which the teaching as a whole takes its name. Following the Tibetan ('*chi med grub pa* as opposed to *bdud rtsi grub*

pa), I have translated this as the “attainment of immortality,” though as is known from other yogic teachings the term *amṛta* connotes several meanings equally. Avadhūtacandra spells out the polyvalence of the term clearly in the conclusion to his work. He writes:

The “immortality” of which I speak is that of the seminal drop,
As well as that of living and of liberation.
The “attainment” referred to is of these three,
And is called the Attainment of Immortality. (Conclusion, v. 6)⁴⁴

Amṛta thus has multiple references, including the seminal nectar that the yogin strives to channel up the central artery of the subtle body, as well as the state of embodied liberation. The Tibetan translator of Avadhūtacandra’s work, Pad ma ‘od zer, highlights this polyvalent meaning by rendering the two occurrences of the term *amṛta* in two different ways; the first by seminal drop (*bdud rtsi thig le*), and the second by deathlessness or immortality (*‘chi med*).

It is in this state that the yogin has in fact become no different than Śiva himself, for in Avadhūtacandra’s work to be liberated in life *is* to be Śiva. He writes:

Endowed with all the qualities of Śiva,
With limitless all-pervading wisdom,
The yogin, following the great adepts,
Is the locus of all accomplishments. (30.7)

So do these beings live,
Beheld replete with spiritual attainments,
Those adepts who possess the body of Śiva,
Are known as the Living Liberated. (30.14)⁴⁵

And finally, in the small chapter entitled *Nirvāṇa*, Avadhūtacandra once again makes this explicit:

Thus the blissful yogin [achieves]
A wisdom body, magnificent,
Indestructible, unchanging, and pervasive.
All-encompassing, omnipresent, [he is] Śiva. (35.1)⁴⁶

Avadhūtacandra’s equation of Śiva with the ultimate yogic experience stands in contrast to the other Tibetan manifestations of the *Attainment of Immortality* teachings: The words of Jahābhīr given written form by Mkhjen brtse’i dbang phyug take *Samantabhadra* as the deific form to which one must aspire,⁴⁷ while neither Edeva’s nor Amoghavajra’s versions of Virūpa’s teaching mention any deity at all with which the fully realized yogin is identified. Now, to be sure, Śiva’s presence is strong, especially in iconographic terms, throughout Buddhist Tantra in both India and Tibet.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, as a Buddhist quest for Śiva-hood

in which Śiva is *the* symbol used to connote a divinized human state of liberation, Avadhūtacandra's teachings appear to be unique. What sort of reception did this strong presence of religious imagery not normally associated with Buddhism have in Tibet? Apparently for some there was no problem with this at all, for in a sub-colophon, written either by our translator Pad ma 'od zer or some other transmitter of the text, the teachings are unequivocally stated to be the words of the Tathāgata, the Buddha himself.⁴⁹ Perhaps, however, we can read this as a seal of approval attesting more to the practice's perceived liberative efficacy than its doctrinal or sectarian affiliations. Avadhūtacandra himself appears less concerned with nominal distinctions than with the collection and presentation of meaningful practices. He gives a glimpse of his motives in the conclusion to the *Amṛtasiddhi*, where he writes:

Like clarified butter from a plentiful cow,
I have distilled an extract
Of all tantras,
Impartial to all views. (Conclusion, v. 1)⁵⁰

The perceived efficacy of the teachings seems to have been paramount as well in the case of the transmission of Jahābhīr's teachings to Tibet, and the quick results yielded from the practice was a major focal point of Mkhjen brtse'i dbang phyug's summary. To conclude I would therefore like to quote his very personal testament to spiritual successes attained from these teachings. He writes:

If one meditates through these steps,
For six months,
He will be called an *amṛtasiddha*, an adept of immortality.

My master from Western [India],
Meditated just so for six months,
And thereupon achieved an excellent magical body,
Which was impervious to fire and water.

I myself, of feeble mind and little diligence,
Practiced for just seven days,
And thereupon many wonderful signs arose, and I had faith.⁵¹

It was this faith, perhaps, that led to the embrace of the *Amṛtasiddhi* teachings in Tibet, to the birth of a Tibetan Buddhist Śiva, immortal and living liberated in the Himalayas.

Though it is probably far less unusual than normally thought, the *Amṛtasiddhi* presents an intriguing case of inter-traditional appropriation. A corpus which has had a healthy life in India as a Nātha teaching up to the nineteenth century has in Tibet fared well under the guise of Buddhist origins at least into the eighteenth century, when works

from it where printed in the Peking canon in 1724. The generalization made above that the work of Avadhūtacandra appears to be Buddhist almost by definition alone must not, however, deter more detailed study. Where, when, and how this transformation occurred are not at all clear at the moment, and a continuing historical and literary investigation of this process will add to our developing picture of Indian and Tibetan religious interaction in the early part of the last millennium.

The names and textual passages upon which this study is based are but weak imprints of what must have been fascinating lives of difficult travel throughout the Himalayan region, and multi-lingual, cross-cultural religious instruction and learning. How can we flesh out the dry bones of this outline? In broad terms, perhaps the study of doctrinally slippery instances of Indian and Tibetan religious practice and thought such as this can contribute to the current shift away from talk of “Buddhism” as a reified and neatly definable object of study from which we can exclude certain ideas, practices, or people based on a rigid taxonomy of identifying features, and toward a focus upon specific instances of groups defining themselves as Buddhists – groups whose notions of religious identity were based upon regionally and temporally localized practices, literatures, and personal encounters – as well as their strategies of definition, delimitation, and inclusion. Thus for Pad ma ‘od zer and other readers of Avadhūtacandra’s work, to be a Buddhist was, among other things (and perhaps only in the context of this practice in particular), to strive to be Śiva, lord of yogins.

APPENDIX

Section Titles (viveka/dben pa) of Avadhūtacandra’s Amṛtasiddhi

| Section Title | Folio; No. of verses. |
|--|-----------------------|
| 1) Śārīra/Lus: Body | 1b.1–4a.3; 22vv. |
| 2) Madhyamā/Dbu ma: Middle | 4a.3–5a.3; 8vv. |
| 3) Candra/Zla ba: Moon | 5a.3–5b.3; 4vv. |
| 4) Sūrya/Nyi ma: Sun | 5b.3–7a.3; 12vv. |
| 5) Vahni/Me: Fire | 7a.3–7b.3; 4vv. |
| 6) Prāṇa/Rlung: Wind | 7b.3–10a.2; 21vv. |
| 7) Bindutattva/Thig le’i de kho na nyid: Suchness of the Vital Points | 10a.2–13a.2; 26vv. |
| 8) Citta/Sems: Mind | 13a.2–15b.1; 21vv. |
| 9) Prakṛti/Rang bzhin: Creatrix | 15b.1–17a.1; 14vv. |
| 10) Guṇa/Yon tan: Quality | 17a.2–18a.3; 11vv. |

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| 11) Mahāmudrā/Phyag rgya chen po: Great Seal | 18a.3–19b.2; 11vv. |
| 12) Banda/‘Ching ba: Binding | 19b.2–21b.1; 16vv. |
| 13) Tr̥ṭya/Gsum: Third | 21b.1–23b.1; 17vv. |
| 14) Abhyāsa/Goms: Practice | 23b.1–25b.2; 19vv. |
| 15) Mr̥dusattva/Sems can chung ngu: Slight Beings | 25b.2–26a.1; 4vv. |
| 16) Madhya/‘Bring: Middlings | 26a.2–26b.1; 3vv. |
| 17) Adhimātra/Chen po: Great Ones | 26b.1–26b.3; 3vv. |
| 18) Adhimātratarasattva/Sems chen che ba: Supreme Beings | 26b.3–27b.1; 5vv. |
| 19) Prathamāvasthānaniṣpatti/Gnas skabs dang po nges par ‘gyur ba: Ascertaining the First State | 27b.1–29b.1; 18vv. |
| 20) Ghaṭāvasthā/Bum can gyi gnas skabs: Vase State | 29b.1–30b.3; 8vv. |
| 21) Ānandakāla/Dga’ ba’i dus: Time of Bliss | 30b.1–3; 3vv. |
| 22) Mahānanda/Dga’ ba chen po: Great Joy | 30b.3–31a.2; 3vv. |
| 23) Prakṛtiḡuṇa/Rang bzhin yon tan: Qualities of the Creatrix | 31a.2–31b.1; 2vv. |
| 24) Kāyasiddhi/Lus kyi dngos grub: Bodily Perfection | 31b.1–3; 2vv. |
| 25) Vāyusiddhi/ Rlung gi dngos grub: Wind Perfection | 31b.3–32a.3; 4vv. |
| 26) Samādhi/Ting nge ‘dzin: Ecstasy | 32a.3–32b.1; 2vv. |
| 27) Siddhacitta/Grub pa’i sems: Perfected Mind | 32b.1–2; 1v. |
| 28) Kāyasiddhilakṣaṇa/Lus kyi dngos grub: Qualities of the Perfect Body | 32b.2–3; 1v. |
| 29) Tr̥ṭyāvasthā/Gnas skabs gsum pa: Third State | 32b.3–33a.3; 5vv. |
| 30) Jīvanmuktilakṣaṇa/Srog thar pa’i mtshan nyid: Characteristics of Liberation in Life | 33b–35a.1; 14vv. |
| 31) Mahāmudrā/Phyag rgya chen po: Great Seal | 35a.1–3; 3vv. |
| 32) Asiddhakāyalakṣaṇa/Mi grub pa’i lus kyi mtshan nyid: Qualities of the Imperfect Body | 35b.1–3; 4vv. |
| 33) Asiddhavāyulakṣaṇa/Mi grub pa’i rlung gi mtshan nyid: Qualities of Imperfect Wind | 35b.3–36a.1; 1v. |
| 34) Mahābhūtapariṇāma/‘Byung ba chen po yongs su ‘gyur pa: Transformation of the Great Elements | 36a.1–36b.1; 4vv. |
| 35) Nirvāṇa/Mya ngan las ‘das pa: Liberation from Suffering | 36b.1–2; 2vv. |
| (Conclusion) | 36b.2–37b.3; 10vv. |
| (Author’s Colophon) | 38a.1–2; 2vv. |
| (Translator’s Colophon) | 38a.3 |

NOTES

¹ For recent studies on specific encounters between Buddhists and Nāthas, see Ehrhard (1994), pp. 25, 32, nn. 6–9; Templeman (1997); van der Kuijp (forthcoming), Walter (1992), and Walter (1996). On Nāthas more generally see Briggs (1938), Dasgupta (1969), pp. 191–255, and most recently White (1996).

² More than a dozen verses from an *Amṛtasiddhi* are quoted in the *Jyotsnā* commentary on the *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* (Burnier 1972: 111, 181, 183). One of these has been briefly noted in Nowotny (1976), p. 140. See more generally Gode (1954); Bouy (1994), pp. 78, 115; Feuerstein (1997), p. 21.

³ Microfilms of four *Amṛtasiddhi* manuscripts are preserved in the Nepal National Archives, two of which are attributed to Avadhūtacandra, alias Madhavacandra: NGMPP H68/7, f. 16; H233/6, f. 18b. Space does not allow me to properly discuss these manuscripts here, though in general they all share common chapter titles and verses with the bilingual manuscript of Avadhūtacandra under consideration presently. See the bibliographic entries under Avadhūtacandra.

⁴ Avadhūtacandra, '*Chi med grub pa'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga*, p. 161.4.2: *zhig smin byed dbang bzhi chu bo'i rgyun ll mgon po bir was ji ltar gsung bzhin du ll dbu ma zla bas yang dag 'dir brjod bya ll*. The Tibetan name Dbu ma zla ba is incorrectly rendered Madhyamakacandra by the editors of the Peking *Bstan 'gyur* in their catalogue.

⁵ See Study Group of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Tibetan *dBu med* Script (2001), for recent developments in the study of Indic manuscripts preserved in Tibet.

⁶ AAS f. 2a.1.

⁷ AAS f. 2a.2–3.

⁸ AAS f. 38.3: *ll 'chi med grub pa zhes bya ba mtha' dag pa'i gzhung l rgya dpe ji lta ba bzhin las bsgyur nas l lo tsha ba bya ban de pad ma 'od zer gyis ji ltar bsgyur ba bzhin chan btab ste thad kar drangs pa'o ll rgya dpe dang mthun mi mthun cung zad mthongs lags te l mkhas pas? don gyis bsgyur bas bdag 'dra bas bcos bar dag\dga'? l bla ma'i thugs dgongs rdzogs par gyur cig ll*.

⁹ AAS f. 38a.

¹⁰ See Rin chen grub, *Bla*, p. 90.

¹¹ See George (1974) and Rajbanshi (1974).

¹² I have found nothing yet which would link this Virūpa to the Virūpa of *Lam 'bras* fame, nor to the Virūpa associated with either the *cārya* songs of Bengal or the songs and stories of the *Life Stories of the Eighty-Four Siddhas* corpus.

¹³ Nishioka (1983), no. 2714: *bir ba pa'i mdzad pa'i 'chi med grub pa*.

¹⁴ See Sastri (1922), pp. 4067–4085; Raṅgācārya and Bahadur (1910), p. 3217.

¹⁵ Sastri (1922), p. 4069.

¹⁶ Briggs (1938), pp. 76–77. This unique lineage can now be added to those collected by Briggs, Dasgupta (1969), pp. 206–209, and more recently White (1996), pp. 92–93.

¹⁷ Burnier (1972), p. 6; ch. 1, v. 5.

¹⁸ White (1996), pp. 92–93, 396, n. 65.

¹⁹ Gode (1954), pp. 24–25; Vidyāvāgīśa (n. d.).

²⁰ AAS, f. 36b.2.

²¹ Raṅgācārya and Bahadur (1910); Sastri (1922).

²² Raṅgācārya and Bahadur (1910), v. 9, pp. 3222–3224. Ms #4341.

²³ p. 3223, Ms #4341, verse 2. AAS f.36b.2.

²⁴ Sastri (1922), v. 3.1, p. 4077. Ms #2931n.

²⁵ P3133, p. 135.2.3; Ms #2831n, verse 1, in Sastri (1922), p. 4077; AAS f. 1b.1. See also P5026 and P5051.

²⁶ As a precursor to a comprehensive comparison of all *Amṛtasiddhi* works, the lists of *viveka* in the various *Amṛtasiddhi* works bear comparison: In Amoghavajra's works (P5068–P5075) we find: 1. lus (śarīra); 2. rtsa (nāḍī); 3. thig le (bindu); 4. rlung (prāṇa); 5. sems (citta); 6. zla ba (candra); 7. nyi ma (sūrya); 8. bye brag (viśeṣa?). The six *viveka* in Virūpa's *G.yung drung grub pa'i 'grel pa* (P5026) are: 1. lus; 2. rtsa dbu ma; 3. zla ba; 4. nyi ma; 5. me; 6. rlung. The incomplete list of nine chapters in the *Amṛtasiddhiyogaḥ* manuscript listed in Sastri (1922) includes: 1. śarīra; 2. sāmānya; 3. vahni; 4. vāyu; 5. bindu; 6. citta; 7. prakṛti; 8. guṇa; 9. mahāmudrā. A manuscript scribed in Nepal in 1945/46 contains almost exactly the same thirty-five *viveka* as Avadhūtacandra's *Amṛtasiddhi*.

²⁷ Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, *Sdom*, p. 479.2: 'chi med grub pa'i gdams ngag. Go rams pa Bsod nams seng ge (1429–1489) connects the name Virūpa to 'Chi med grub pa in his commentary on Sa skya Paṇḍita's *Sdom gsum rab dbye* [Bsod nams seng ge, *Sdom*, p. 318.5].

²⁸ See Kapstein (1980); Smith (2001), chapter 4; Ko shul, *Grags*, p. 1737, from which the dates are taken.

²⁹ Gnyan ston Ri gong pa Chos kyi shes rab, *Bla*, Lhasa (ed.), pp. 190–191. See Roerich (1988), p. 743. See also Gnyan ston Ri gong pa Chos kyi shes rab, *Bla*, Lhasa (ed.), pp. 282, 310, 337, 367, 406–407, 411.

³⁰ See Ko shul, *Grags*, pp. 1738–1739.

³¹ Compare, for instance, Brtson grus seng ge, 'Chi, p. 294.4–.5 with Virūpa, *Bdud*, p. 135.2.3.

³² Spelled variously as: E na de ba [P3133]; E da ba [P5026]; I ti ba [P5079].

³³ See P3133 and P5026 where he is referred to as Dur khrod Edeva.

³⁴ See his 'Chi med grub pa'i 'khrul 'khor, especially p. 294.1–.2 where he gives a lineage beginning with Virūpa and including Dur khrod nag po and Gnyan ston.

³⁵ Kun dga' grol mchog, *Paṇḍita*, p. 6.6–.7: *Paṇḍita shā ri'i pu tro bya ba dgung lo brgya tsam lon nges yin zer l' phral ni dgung lo lnga bcu nga bgrang tsam 'gro ba'i tshod cig 'dug l' khong kun la 'chi med grub pa bya ba'i gdams pa bzhus zer na'ang l.*

³⁶ See, for instance, Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Zab*, v. 2, p. 427. Three short works fall under the general heading of *Grub pa'i dbang phyug dza hā bhi ra'i gdams pa thun mongs ma yin pa* in the *Sgrub thabs kun btus*: 'Jam dbyangs Mkhyen brtse'i dbang phyug, *Grub*; Dbang phyug rab brtan, *Grub*; Ngag dbang phun tshogs, *Dza*.

³⁷ See van der Kuijp (forthcoming). Appended to Dbang phyug rab brtan, *Grub* is a lineage list [p. 119.3–.5]: Padmasambhava; Mahāsiddha Jahābhīr; Brahmanātha; Maṇikanātha; 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang phyug. Walter (1992: 427) has noted that the presence of Padmasambhava is problematic (for us, we should say), and that his name compromises the historical value of the list: Might it also be possible that this name authorizes the lineage as a Rnying ma teaching (treating Padmasambhava as a sort Ādinātha for the Rnying ma pa), and that the list from Jahābhīr to 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang phyug represents a historical lineage? This list would then suggest that Jahābhīr lived several generations before Mkhyen brtse'i dbang phyug, perhaps in the mid-fifteenth century.

³⁸ See the colophons to P5051–5059 and P5068–5078, for instance P5051: *rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug a mo gha ba dzras ll bod yul du rang 'gyur du mdzad cing gsungs pa'o ll*: "Translated alone and taught in Tibet by the master of yoga Amoghavajra." I have not yet been able to link the *Amṛtasiddhi* with the Amoghavajras mentioned in such works as the *Blue Annals* (Roerich 1988: 1042) or the *Seven Instruction Lineages* (Templeman 1983: 66).

³⁹ Compare, for instance the first verses in Virūpa, 'Chi med grub pa (P5051 [p. 129.3.7–129.4.2]) as well as those in Virūpa, *Bdud rtsi grub pa* (P3133 [p. 135.2.2]) with the opening verses at AS 1b.1.

⁴⁰ Vasu (1981), pp. 16–17; Chapter 2, verses 1–12.

⁴¹ AAS ch. 30 v. 1: *rudragranthin tadā bhītvā pavanaḥ sarvapīthagah l' prabhāsvaramayam cittam vipākakṣaṇabhūṣitam ll. drag po'i mdud pa cher? bas ll ji srid gnas ni kun tu 'gro ll 'od gsal ba'i rang bzhin sems ll rnam par smin pa'i skad cig brgyan ll. cf Hathayogapradīpikā 4.76. This and the following transcriptions of Sanskrit and Tibetan passages seek to represent the readings of AAS, and thus alternate or unusual spellings have been retained.*

⁴² AAS ch. 30, v. 3: *trayānāṅca yadā siddhiḥ kāyavācittasambhavet l' mahāsiddhis tadā jñeyā jīvanmuktīphalaprādā ll. gang du dngos grub gsum rnam gyi ll lus ngag*

sems pa? yang dag 'byung ll dngos grub chen po de yis shes ll srog gi thar pa'i
'bras rab bster ll.

⁴³ AAS ch. 30, v. 5: *tadānandamayo yogi sarvajñāḥ sadarśanaḥ / sabandhaḥ* [34a] *sarvabhūtānām pūjyaścaiva trilokataḥ* ll. 'di ni rnal 'byor kun dga'i bdag ll thams cad mkhyen pa rnam par mthong ll bsrangs? [34a] du 'byung po thams cad kyi ll 'jig rten gsum du mchod byed cing ll. AAS ch. 30, vv. 8: *na dahatyagnitah cāsau na majjati jalād api / avadhyaḥ sarvalokānām yogindro gunavarjitah* ll. *de rang mi shes sgra ni 'joms? ll chu'i?* kyang ni 'gyur med bskyed ll 'jig rten gzhan kyi nad kun med ll rnal 'byor dbang po yon tan spang ll. AAS ch. 30, v. 9: *tasmād sarvamayo yogī sarvabhūtamayo pi saḥ / sarvajñānāśrayo nityam sarvalokaprapū* [34b] *jitaḥ* ll. 'byung po kun kyang bdag nyid kyang ll rnal 'byor pa de lta kun bdag ll rtag tu thams cad mkhyen par gnas ll 'jig rten thams cad rnam par ?ngs ll. AAS ch. 30, v. 10: *santustas tārayel lokān kruddhaḥ siddhivināśakah / jñānasiddho hi yogindro devānām vai bhayaṁkaraḥ* ll [34b] 'jig rten yang dag 'gu? par bsgrol ll 'khrug med zhes sdang rnam par bcos ll rnal 'byor dbang po ye shes 'grub ll 'khor ba'i 'khor lo 'khor ba'i ll.

⁴⁴ AAS, f. 37a.3: *sukrasyāmṛtaṁ vācyam mokṣasya jivitasya ca / trayānām kathitāsiddhir amṛtasiddhir ihocyate* ll. *bdud rtsi thig le nyid kyi ngag / thar pa'i srog ldan de nyid kyiis ll dngos grub gsum du gang gsungs pa ll 'chi med grub pa 'di smras so ll.*

⁴⁵ AAS ch. 30, v. 7: *sarvaiśvaryaguṇopeto anantajñānāśrayo vibhuḥ / mahāsiddhānvito yogi sarvasiddheḥ samāśrayaḥ* ll. *yon tan dbang phyug kun dang ldan ll khyab bdag mtha' yas ye shes dang ll rnal 'byor grub pa chen por ldan ll grub pa kun la yang dag gnas ll.* AAS ch. 30, v. 14: *evam bhūtās ca tiṣṭanti dṛṣante kā* [35a] *ryaśālinah / jivanmuktās ca te jñeyā ye siddhā jinarupinah* ll. *de ltar 'gyur par gnas nas kyang ll dbus kyi ?* [35a] *pa snang par byed ll srog ni grol bar rang gis shes ll de ni grub kun zhi ba'i gzugs ll.*

⁴⁶ AAS ch. 35, v. 1: *tadānandama* [translit: -mayo yogi] *yogi jñānakāyaḥ mahodayaḥ / avyayaṁśkalo vyapi shivaḥ sarvagato vibhuḥ* ll. *de nas rnal 'byor kun dga'i bdag ll ye shes lus te cher 'byung pa ll mi sad 'gyur med khyab pa'o ll khyab bdag zhi ba thams cad rtogs ll.*

⁴⁷ See the *Grub pa'i dbang phyug dza hā bhu ra'i gdams pa thun mongs ma yin pa*, p. 113.2: *rang nyid kun tu bzang por bsgom ll*, and p. 115.1: *kun tu bzang po mngon gyur shog l.*

⁴⁸ See Snellgrove (1987), pp. 128–129, 136–141, and 153–157 for brief discussions of the varying roles of Śiva in, respectively, the *Guhyasamāja*, the *Tattvasaṁgraha*, and *Cakrasaṁvara* traditions. See Davidson (1991) on myths of Śiva/Rudra in Tibet.

⁴⁹ AAS f. 38a.1–2.

⁵⁰ AAS f. ll *niryāsam sarvatantrānam sarvadarśanasammatam / ghṛtam iva bahukṣīrāt uddhṛtam yatnato mayā* ll. *nges 'byung rgyud rnam thams cad kyi ll thams cad yang dag 'thong pa'i gzhung ll 'di yang mang las ? ll gang zhig mar bzhin bdag gis byas ll.*

⁵¹ 'Jam dbyangs Mkhyen brtse'i dbang phyug, *Grub*, p. 114.3–4: *de nas rim gyis zla ba drug / bsgoms na 'chi med 'grub po gsungs ll kho bo'i bla ma nub phyogs pa ll 'di nyid zla ba drug bsgoms pas ll me dang chu yis mi gnod pa'i ll rdzu 'phrul mchog la mnga' brnyes gyur ll kho bo blo zhan brtson 'grus dman ll 'on kyang zhag bdun nyams blangs pas ll yi ches ngo mtshar mang du byung ll.* See Walter (1996) for a translation of this entire work, and in particular pp. 154 and 158 for these verses.

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