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KĀLACAKRA STUDIES I
MANICHAËISM, CHRISTIANITY, AND ISLAM
IN THE KĀLACAKRA TANTRA

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sajjanasakhibhyo diyate krtir iyam/ apare tu piśunavādabhūyi-
 śthāḥ kālacakrakrodhadevatānām vaśam gacchantu //

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The “*Kālacakra* Studies” of which the present essay is the mere beginning will submit to the connoisseur in a free and informal series of smaller or bigger treatises informations about the numerous aspects and problems connected with the *Kālacakra Tantra* and related works in Sanskrit as well as in Tibetan. A very short and rather superficial survey of the present study has been given by the author already during the IXth. International Congress for the History of Religions at Tokyo 1958, and a short abstract of the contents of that paper can be found in the *Proceedings* of that Congress (Tokyo, 1960), pp. 96–99. In this article the whole textual material will be displayed for the learned reader who, of course, never will rest content with mere translations, especially if due to lack of space the arguments for the translations could not be printed. The later essays of this series will probably deal with the eschatology and initiation rituals of the *Kālacakra* system. For general information about the *Kālacakra* and its ambiente the reader might provisionally find references in the author’s article, “Das *Kālacakra*, die letzte Phase des Buddhismus in Indien”, *Saeculum*, XV (1964), pp. 125–131.

I

The problem of western influences on the Indian culture and especially on the Buddhist religion has been rather neglected until now, although important details, studied by eminent scholars like Sylvain Lévi,¹ Jean Przyluski,² M.-Th. de Mallmann,³ Giuseppe Tucci⁴ and

¹ Especially “Maitreya le consolateur”, *Mélanges Raymonde Linossier* (Paris, 1932), p. 355.

others are known since a considerable time. We do not mention the books of A. Grünwedel, because his works pay too much tribute to prepossessed views. In our days the book on the introduction of Iranian Mihira worship by H. von Stietencron⁵ represents a noticeable progress, and some hints have been given already also by the author of this article elsewhere. Special attention in this respect should be paid to the late Buddhist *Kālacakra Tantra*, which according to its own tradition has been brought to India from a northern or north-western country, called Śambhala, with which country the author of this article will deal in a later part of the “*Kālacakra* Studies”. Anyway the *Kālacakra* did not originate in India herself but was introduced about A. D. 967 from a country where Indian civilization had to struggle with the religions and the way of life peculiar to barbarian peoples (Mleccha), perhaps of Iranian or Central Asiatic stock. The religions Buddhism could contact there can be styled as Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, Christianity and Islam.

In the first book of the *Kālacakra Tantra* (*lokadhātupaṭala* or “chapter on cosmology”) we meet with one of the Sragdharā verses in which the whole work has been composed which is of considerable interest for our problem (I, 152). But due to the close systematical connection we have to consider that verse together with the preceding one (I, 151). The Sanskrit text has been established with the help of three manuscripts: (1) L, belonging to the library of the Royal Asiatic Society at London, (2) C, which is in the possession of the University Library of Cambridge and (3) N, a rather modern manuscript the writer of this article purchased himself at Kathmandu, Nepal. The Sanskrit version is accompanied by the Tibetan translation, done by Somanātha of Kashmir about sixty years after the introduction of the *Kālacakra* in India; this translation may therefore be of utmost importance and it represents, so to say, actually the oldest version of the text which is available. The text is rendered here as it is printed in the Collected Works (*gsun ’bum*)

² “Un dieu iranien dans l’Inde”, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*. VII (1929/30), p. 1.

³ “Introduction a l’étude d’Avalokiteśvara”, *Annales du Musée Guimet*, 57 (Paris 1948).

⁴ “Some Glosses upon the Guhyasamāja”, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, III (1934/35), p. 339; *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 3 Vols., *passim*.

⁵ *Indische Sonnenpriester. Śamba und die Śākadvīpiya-Brāhmaṇa* (Wiesbaden, 1966).

of the "omniscient" Bu-ston (1290–1364), Vol ka,⁶ together with the detailed inserted notes of Bu-ston (given here in brackets), whose tradition of the system was a very authentic one. The edition of Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra⁷ (RL) is far from being critical and does not, notwithstanding it gives besides the Sanskrit text the Tibetan and Mongolian translations, try at all to make use of this important Tibetan version (the Mongolian depends only on the Tibetan), for textual criticism.

I, 151

*saptārcīṃṣy⁸ adrivārā munaya iha tathā sāttvikā divyayonir
matsyaḥ kūrmo varāho naraharisahito vāmano yāmadagnih⁹ |
rāmah kṛṣṇas tathāṣṭau danukulabhayadā rājasā bhūṭayonir
dvātriṃśadvīṣṭarānte bhavati danuripuṣ cakrapāṇih⁹ śatāyuh ||*

The "seven rays" (= seven *ṛṣis*) and the seven gods of the planets, (those) sages are here thus belonging to the quality of goodness (*sattva*) and of divine origin.

The fish, the tortoise, the boar together with the man-lion, the dwarf, the son of Yamadagni (= Paraśurāma),

Rāma, Kṛṣṇa: thus eight who cause fear to the race of the Danus, belong to the quality of passion (*rajas*) and are of demon-like origin.

At the end of the thirty-second reign (literally: throne) will be the enemy of the Danus with the cakra-weapon in his hand whose life will endure hundred (years).

*'od (mu stegs gdul ba'i don du de nmams kyi bsam pa dan mt'un par
sprul pa bstan pa ni) zer (drañ sron) bdun dan ri gza' (ste gza' bdun
dan) t'ub (pa bdun) nmams 'dir ni de bzīn sñiñ stobs ldan pa (dge ba'i
rañ bzīn du gyur pa) lha yi (rigs kyi) skye gnas te |
(k'yab 'jug gi 'jug pa dan miñ mc'unis pa sañs rgyas kyi sprul par
gyur pa'i) ña dan rus sbal (dan) p'ag pa (dan) mi yi señ ge dan bčas
mi'u t'un dan ya mad ag ni ('i bu rā ma dgra sta 'jin) dan |*

⁶ A Catalogue of the Tōhoku University Collection of Tibetan Works on Buddhism, by H. Hadano, Y. Kanakura, R. Yamada, T. Tada (Sendai, 1953), p. 1, no. 5001.

⁷ Kālacakra Tantra and other Texts, Vol. I (New Delhi, 1966). Our verses are to be found on p. 338, column 3 below.

⁸ L *saptābhdhyakṣudri*⁹, C and RL *saptābhdhyakṣudri*⁹.

⁹ L, N ja⁹

*rā ma (dan) nag po (ste) de ltar brgyad ni lha min (kla klo'i) rigs la
'jigs (pa) ster (bar byed pa dge mi dge 'dres pa'i bsam pa) rdul gyis
(bskyed pa) 'byuñ po'i (lha ma yin gyi) skye gnas so |
sum (byaṅ sems dan k'ro bo'i rgyal po) ču rca gñis gdan gyi mt'ar
ni lha min (kla klo'i) dgra bo ('jam dpal gyi sprul pa) c'e lo brgya pa
p'yag na 'k'or lor (čan du) 'gyur || (te des kla klo 'joms | rva pa ltar
na p'yi rol pa'i ston pa 'byuñ c'ul la ma ri ce la sogs pa'i ston pa
bdun gza' bdun te t'ub pa bču bzi po lha'i skye gnas ña la sogs pa brgya
'byuñ skyes te ñi šu rca gñis kyi mt'ar c'e lo brgya pa'i dus su p'yag
na 'k'or lo čan k'yab 'jug 'byuñ bar 'č'ad do ||).*

The verse translated above is a very characteristic example of the exceedingly syncretistic nature of this late Buddhism of the Kālacakra school. Some holy personages of the Hindu religion are adapted into this system, a tendency which, for instance, caused the Buddhists to include Śiva under the name of Mahākāla into their pantheon.¹⁰ It should be remarked, that this has been done by a classifying according to their higher or lower esteem, arranged by adjudging to them one of the three qualities (*guṇa*) of the Sāṃkhya system (*sattva*, *rajas*, *tamas*).

The most estimated group of *sattva* character are two categories of old Munis: (1) the *saptārcīṃṣi* who are identical with the "seven *ṛṣis*" of the constellation Ursa major viz. Marīci, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and Vasiṣṭha. Bu-ston characterizes them expressly as *drañ-sron* (*ṛṣi*), who "disciplining the Tirthikas (mestegs-pa) cause emanations suitable for the thinking of those (Tirthikas)". The other group of holy men belonging to the *sattva* quality are the seven gods of the planets who rule over a special day of the week (*adrivārāḥ*). Adri, literally "mountain", is a symbolical number for "seven", one of those symbolical numbers in which the Kālacakra abounds. Adri means "seven" on account of the seven *cakravāla* or "ring mountains" which encircle the world according to Buddhist cosmology.

Less estimated and connected with the *guṇa* *Rajas* are eight incarnations (*avatāra*) of the god Viṣṇu who under his solar aspect in general plays a rather important rôle in the Kālacakra. Buddha and Kalkin, of course, could not be included in this list, since Buddha is believed to stand above all *guṇas* of the *prakṛti*, and the Kalkins

¹⁰ See author's *Symbolik der tibetischen Religionen und des Schamanismus* (Stuttgart, 1967), p. 25 seq.

have become in late Buddhism the kings of Śambhala, the holy land where the *Kālacakra* doctrine was preserved since the time of king Sucandra to whom according the official lore Buddha had preached that *Tantra*. And one of them, here named Cakrapāṇih (generally Rudra Cakrin) will be victorious against the Danus, identified by Bu-ston as usual with the Mleccha peoples. His reign like that of all Kalkins will last hundred years (*śatāyuh*). The task of Viṣṇu's eight *avatāras*, declared by Bu-ston to be incarnations of the Buddha (*saṅs rgyas kyi sprul par gyur pa*), is to be *danukulabhaya-dāh*, where Bu-ston expressly identifies the Danu-demons with the Muslims (kla-klo).

Now we shall find reserved the *guṇa Tamas* "darkness" to the teachers of the barbarians (Mleccha) who do not follow the *dharma* of the Indian civilization.

I, 152

ārdho 'nogho varāhi¹¹ danubhujagakule tāmasānye 'pi pañca
muṣṣau¹² śvetavastrī madhumatī¹³ mathanīyo 'ṣṭamaḥ so'ndhakaḥ
syāt |
saṃbhūtiḥ saptamasya sphuṭa makhaviṣaye bāgadādaḥ nagaryāṃ
yasyāṃ loke 'surāṅgo¹⁴ nivasati balavān nirdayo mlecchamurtiḥ ||
ā (kla klo'i č'os dar bar byed pa'i ston pa 'byuñ c'ul ni) dra (p'yed
zer) a no (šid po nad med) gha dan (rlabs min zer) p'ag ldan (te gsum
po ni) lha min (gyi rigs so) lag 'gro'i (klu) rigs la mun pa (las skyes
pa) čan ni (de las) gzan yañ (rnam pa) lña (ste) |
byi ba (dan) dbaṅ po (dan) gos dkar čan dan sbrañ rc'i'i blo gros (dan)
'joms byed (ni) brgyad pa (ste lña po) gañ (yin pa) de (rnams) mun
pa (yi skye gnas las skyes pa) čan (no) ||
gsal bar (te nes par) ma k'a'i (ste sog po) yul gyi bā ga da (ste nag
sbyin pa) sogs (pa'i) groñ k'yer du ni (kla klo de rnams kyi) bdun pa
(pad ma čan gos dkar čan la 'č'ad kyañ 'dir sbrañ rc'i'i blo gros) yañ
dag (par) skyes pa ste (des kla klo'i č'os dar bar byed do ||)
gañ (blo gros de'i yul ni yul) du 'fig rten (na) lha min yan lag (bdud
p'yogs) stobs dan ldan par gnas šiñ (sems čan la) brce ba med pa kla
klo'i gzugs (te rnam pa'am rañ bzin no) ||.

¹¹ L, C ārdho 'nogho anādi, RL adromoghoranādi.

¹² C, RL mleccho 'sau, L śaṣṭo 'sau.

¹³ MSS madhupati.

¹⁴ C °surāṣi, L -sūrāṣinī.

'Ārdha, Anogha, Varāhi (are to be located) in the race of Danu snakes, and also five other who belong to (the quality) of darkness,

Mūsa and Īsa, the man with white garment, Madhumati, and Mathaniya will be the eighth. He will be dark.

The birth of the seventh (will take place) certainly in the realm of Makha, in the city of Bāgadādi,

Where in the world dwells the powerful division of the Asuras, the pitiless, whose manifestation are the Mlecchas.'

Since all existing Sanskrit manuscripts are very corrupt and their reading partly produces nothing else than unintelligible nonsense, we have to rely on the old Tibetan translation and Bu-ston's comments. After giving in the first line of the verse three names of heretics it is stated that there are five more who belong to the *guṇa Tamas*, and we have to find them in the second line. Therefore the readings *mleccho 'sau* and *śaṣṭo* (sic!) must be corrupt. In their place we should find two more names which I have restored according to the Tibetan translation and the comments of Bu-ston. Then follow Śvetavastrī (6) and Madhumati (7). The reading *Madhupati* is wrong on account of the Tibetan translation Sbrañ-rc'i'i blo-gros "Honey-intellect", the usual name of the prophet Mohammed in late Buddhist books. We have only to realize, that the text is written in "Hybrid Sanskrit", and the monks have read the books in Middle Indian pronunciation like* *Mahumati*, a very good adaptation of Mohammed's name. At least there is stated that the eighth heretic (*aṣṭamaḥ*) will be¹⁵ Mathanīya, a gerundive, which means "he who will be churned or crushed".

If we go back from Madhumati to Śvetavastrin, "the man with white garment", we have to make the statement, that this is supposed to be only a surname. Here Bu-ston, too, succumbed to an error,¹⁶ because he identified this personality with Mohammed with the result that we do not find in the text the necessary eight heretics. Śvetavastrin therefore ought to be a separate personality. When we have got a general view of the whole list, it will prove very probable, that Śvetavastrin means Mani, the founder of Manichaeism, with whose doctrine the Buddhists of the North-west certainly had some communication. And taking into consideration, that this whole list of eight heretic teachers include only Mlecchas from outside of

¹⁵ *syāt*: optative used for future, as it occurs very often in this literature.

¹⁶ Line 3: "even if here is spoken about Pad-ma-čan Gos-dkar-čan (the one who possesses a lotus and a white garment) Madhumati is meant".

India, an allusion to the Śvetāmbara Jains and to Mahāvīra seems highly improbable. During the tenth century Manichaeism played an important rôle in Western and Eastern Turkestan. If we look at the representations of Manichees on Central Asiatic paintings they always wear white clothing and caps.¹⁷ Only in this identification of Śvetavastrin with Mani I agree with A. Grünwedel, who has given a very inadequate translation of our verse,¹⁸ but, of course, I have to reject his rather crazy conclusions, derived from our verse. We shall see below (p. 67) that also in ancient Tibetan historiography there is to be found a remote echo of Mani's memory.

The corrupt *akṣaras* before *Śvetavastrī* I have restored with the help of the Tibetan translation as a dual *dvandva*, *Mūṣeṣau*, which reading seems to me completely certain. The Tibetan text gives for the first part of the *dvandva* *byi-ba* "mouse" (in Sanskrit it would be *Mūṣa*), for the second one *dbaṅ-po* "Lord", the usual equivalent of *Īśa*. So we are here confronted with the names of Moses and Jesus in their Arabian-Muslim form, although Jesus is holy to the Manichees, too.¹⁹ With other Indian traditions about Jesus we shall deal *infra* p. 69 *segg*.

Now we pass to the third name of our list, *Varāhī*, which is translated into Tibetan by *P'ag-ldan* "he who possesses a boar". *Varāhī* or *Barāhī*, also borrowed from Muslim tradition, is nothing else than a retrograde derivation from an accusative case *Barāhīm*. I owe to my colleague A. Spitaler²⁰ the following communication which confirms the identity of *Barāhīm* and *Ibrāhīm*, the usual Arabian form of the name *Abraham*:

Der Anlaut *bara-* statt *ibra-* verdankt seine Entstehung einer allgemeinsprachlichen und auch im Semitischen – denn um einen semitischen Namen handelt es sich ja hier – sehr verbreiteten Erscheinung. Es handelt sich um die Frage der Beseitigung anlautender Doppelkonsonanz. Die alttestamentliche Form *Abrāhām* erfährt im Arabischen – und Entlehnung aus dieser Sprache liegt ja hier vor – in Anlehnung an *Ismā'īl* (die arabi-

¹⁷ A. v. LeCoq, *Chotscho* (Berlin, 1913), plate 1; see also the same author's *Manichäische Miniaturen* (Berlin, 1923), pl. 1, 2, 8B.

¹⁸ *Alt-Kutscha* (Berlin, 1920), p. I, 50.

¹⁹ E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus* (= *Abh. d. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1926) (Berlin, 1926); L. J. R. Ort, *Mani* (Leiden, 1967), p. 119 *seq.*

²⁰ For a full discussion of the problem of retrograde derivations in Arabian but also in other languages see the important article of A. Spitaler, "Materialien zur Erklärung von Fremdwörtern im Arabischen durch retrograde Ableitung", *Corolla Linguistica, Festschrift F. Sommer* (Wiesbaden, 1955), p. 211 *seqq.*

sche Erscheinungsform von *Ismael*) eine Umgestaltung zu *Ibrāhīm*. *Ismā'īl*, *Ibrāhīm* ist den Anschauungen der arabischen Nationalgrammatik entsprechend nach dem Abstraktschema (Strukturtypus) *igtālīl* gebildet.

Der Anlaut *ibra-* kann nun als das dialektisch bedingte Ergebnis einer Beseitigung einer Vorform **bra-* durch Anaptyxe aufgefaßt werden. Andererseits kann **bra-* dialektisch bedingte Reduktion eines *bara-* sein bzw. so interpretiert werden. Anders ausgedrückt: Die Doppelkonsonanz eines **Brāhīm* kann entweder durch Anaptyxe mit dem Ergebnis *Ibrāhīm*, oder durch Svarabhakti mit dem Ergebnis *Barāhīm* beseitigt werden. Nach welcher Richtung die Entscheidung fällt, läßt sich nicht ohne weiteres voraussagen. Vor die Entscheidung als solche wird die Sprache am ehesten bei der Entlehnung von Wörtern aus Sprachen gestellt, die Doppelkonsonanz im Anlaut nicht vermeiden. Da aber natürlich auch Wörter entlehnt werden können, deren Anlaut einen funktionellen, nicht nur anaptyktischen Vokal vor der Doppelkonsonanz hat, wird das Sprachgefühl leicht irregeführt, d. h. ein funktioneller Vokal der gebenden Sprache kann in der entlehnenden Sprache als anaptyktisch behandelt, weggelassen und die nunmehr vorhandene Doppelkonsonanz im Anlaut durch Svarabhakti beseitigt werden. Also: *Ibrāhīm* > *Brāhīm* > *Barāhīm*.

The second name of the list, *Anogha*, is given in the Tibetan literal translation as *rlabs-min* "without wave". But, besides, Bu-ston has the material interpretation *śid-po-nad-med*, that means "without mortal illness". *Anogha* should therefore be interpreted as Indian adaptation of the name of the prophet Henoch whom already the *Genesis* mentions and about whom there is a tradition that he never died.²¹ He was a holy man for the Muslims as well as for the Manichees.²²

Now we have to deal only with the first name of the list, *Ārddho*, translated by the Tibetan version as *p'yed* "half". Like in the case of *Madhumati* we have to realize for better understanding the Middle Indian pronunciation of this name, viz. **Addho*. This **Addho* is again a retrograde derivation like *Barāhī*, and the accusative case **Addham* is a very good reproduction of the name *Adam* who was a holy prophet again for Muslims as well as for the Manichees.

Considering now the list of western heretics (Adam, Henoch, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Mani and Mohammed) we must grant, that the *Kālacakra* Buddhists had a good knowledge of the religious

²¹ H. Gunkel, *Genesis*, I (Göttingen, 1909), p. 50 *seqq.*; G. Scholem, *Zur Kabbala und ihrer Symbolik* (Darmstadt, 1965), p. 177.

²² W. Henning, "Ein manichäisches Henochbuch", *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1934, p. 28. Auch in uigurischen manichäischen Texten ist Henoch als Qonuq Burqan belegt: W. Bang, *Le Muséon*, XLIV (1931), p. 14 *seq.*, where he erroneously thinks Qonuq to be Mani himself.

heroes of western Asia. The names are partly derived with all certainty from Muslim sources (Barāhī, Mūṣa, Madhumati), other may go back to Muslim or Manichaeen sources (Ārddha, Anogha, Īśa). The special articulation of the sibilant does not give hints to the language from which the respective word has been taken. The Indians had a predilection for adaptations which gave to the name a meaning also in the Sanskrit language (Mūṣa "mouse", Īśa "Lord", Madhumati "Honey-intellect").

II

What concerns *Kālacakra Tantra* I, 152 there has been left only for consideration the second half which gives some data about the origin of the seventh teacher viz. Madhumati. His birth, as we have learned, took place in the kingdom of Ma-k'a (Mekka), but his city in that kingdom is called Bāgadādi viz. Baghdād. This confusion which makes Ma-k'a a country and Bāgadādi a city within it is due to the fact that Baghdād at the time of the origin of the *Kālacakra Tantra* in Central Asia, where there were hostile contacts between Buddhists and Muslims, was known to the former as center of the Islam and capital of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate. The name of the city of Baghdād is erroneously interpreted to be *Bāgada* (also found in secondary literature – as we shall see soon), and therefore the locative case *bāgadādau* is separated by the Tibetan translator into *bāgada* + *ādau* "Baghdād etc.". The problem of the future heretic Mathaniya who will be the leader of the Muslim armed forces in the eschatological battle at the end of the Kali Yuga and will be defeated by the already mentioned Kalkin Rudra Cakrin (p. 56) will be discussed in a following part of these "*Kālacakra Studies*".

It is now interesting to see that *Kālacakra Tantra* I, 152 has left its traces in some original Tibetan works of the type of Č'os-'byuñ "History of Buddhism", and we can see clearly that all those data on the heretic teachers have been derived from that verse mentioned above. At first we find some legendary matter about the origin of the Mleccha-Muslims in the famous *rGya-gar Č'os-'byuñ* compiled by Tāranātha Kun-dga' sñin-po in A. D. 1608.²³

²³ cp. the edition of Anton Schiefner, *Tāranāthae de doctrinae Buddhicae in India propagatione narratio* (Petropoli, 1868), p. 63 seqq. German translation of the same scholar: *Tāranātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien* (St. Petersburg, 1869), p. 79 seq.

dus de cam na kla klo'i č'os dan por byuñ ba'añ yin te | k'a čig k'a
č'e'i yul du bcun pa dpal len 'das pa'i dus su byuñ žes zer la | 'ga'
žig bcun pa ku nā la'i slob ma yin yañ zer te | mdo sde 'jin pa mañ
du t'os pa yin yañ dad pa med pa gzon nu sde zes bya ba žig byuñ
ste | de bslab pa 'č'al ba dge 'dun gyis gnas dbyuñ byas pas č'er 'k'rugs
te | sañs rgyas kyī bstan pa la 'gran par nus pa'i č'os rcom mo žes t'o
gar gyi yul gyi rgyab šu li ka žes bya ba'i yul du soñs | miñ mā ma
t'ar žes par spos | č'a lugs bsgyur nas 'c'e ba č'os su smra ba'i kla
klo'i č'os brcams te | lha min gyi rigs kyī gnod č'en po bi šlim li'i
gnas su sbas šin gtad do || bdud kyis byin gyis brlabs te | g-yul las
rgyal ba la sogs pa'i rig sñags mañ po'añ grub bo ||

de'i c'e k'o ra sā na'i yul na bram ze'i rigs kyī bu mo žig nñin rer
me tog mañ po 't'us te p'un por byas nas | lha la yañ mč'od | gzaž la
yañ 'c'oñ ba las | lan čig me tog gi p'un po'i dbus nas byi la žig byuñ
ste | lus la t'im pa dan sbrum mar gyur | lo dus su k'ye'u stobs dan
ldan pa čig bcas te | č'er skyes pa na byis pa na mñam t'ams čad la
brdeg čin srog č'ags t'ams čad gsod do || der yul dpon gyis nags c'al
du bskrad | der yañ skye bo byuñ c'ad btags te | 'ga' žig rañ gi g-yog
tu byas | nags kyī gčan gzan dan srog č'ags sna c'ogs pa dag bsad
de | ša rus pags pa dag skye bo dag la sbyin par byed do || de nas rgyal
pos c'or te | de nñid la brtags šin dris pas | bdag ni bram ze ma yin |
rgyal rigs dan | rje rigs dan | dmanis rigs kyañ ma yin pas bdag la
rigs kyī č'os sbyin pa po ma byuñ ste | de'i p'yir k'ro bas brdeg pa
yin no || gal te rigs kyī č'os sbyin pa čig yod na de'i bya ba bya'o ||
zer ba las | k'yod la rigs kyī č'os byin pa po su yin dris pas k'o bo
nñid kyis bcal bar bya'o žes zer |

de'i rmi lam du bdud kyis luñ bstan te | sñar sbas pa'i glegs bam
rñed do || de bklags pas de la mos nas 'di lta bu su žig gis ston par
'gyur sñam pa na | bdud kyis luñ bstan te mā ma t'ar nñid dan 'p'rad
de luñ mnos so || de cam gyis rig sñags rnams kyañ grub ste | de nñid
'k'or ston dan bčas pa pai k'am pa čes bya ba kla klo'i drañ sroñ du
gyur ro || de ma k'a'i groñ k'yer dan ñe ba'i yul du soñ nas | bram
ze dan rgyal rigs rnams la č'os log bstan pas sai tā dan tu ruška'i
rgyal po'i rigs rnams byuñ nō || ston pa de ni ardho zes grags la | kla
klo'i č'os lugs byuñ c'ul gyi dan po ni de yin no ||

About that time²⁴ also the religion of the Mlecchas (= Islām) had its origin. Whilst some authors say, it happened at the time after the death

²⁴ Tāranātha is here the victim of a considerable confusion of the chronology. The facts now recorded are credited to have taken place during the time,

of a monk Śrī(kumāra)lāta, others are of the opinion it took place at the time of a disciple of the reverend Kuṇāla.²⁵ (According to Tāranātha himself) then lived a monk who, notwithstanding he was a Sautrāntika (or) Bahuśrutiya, had no faith (in the doctrine), called by the name of Kumārasena. He violated the doctrine and was deprived of his clerical degree by the Saṃgha. Therefore he was disturbed very much, and with the intention to create a religion which would be able to vie with Buddha's teaching he went to a country called Śu-li-ka (Kāshgar) situated at the back of the T'o-gar²⁶ country. He changed his name to be Mā-ma-t'ar.²⁷ After having altered his costume he created the Mleccha religion (Islām) which preaches violence (*himsā*) and deposited secretly (those teachings) at the place of the very harmful Bi-šlim-li,²⁸ who is of the race of the Asuras (Titans). Having been blessed by Māra he was accomplished with the performance of magic formulas (*vidyā*) for being victorious in battles etc.

At that time in the country of Khorāsān a girl of the Brahmin caste every day collected many flowers. She accumulated them to a heap, worshipped by them partly the gods, partly she sold them to other people. Once there came out of the flower heap a cat and was absorbed into her body. She became pregnant and within a year she gave birth to a strong boy. After he had grown up he beat all boys of the same age and killed all animals. Then the local magistrate expelled him into the forest. There, too, he fettered the men who had come out (to him) and let some of them be his servants. He killed various beasts of prey and (other) animals of the

when Nāgārjuna took care of the Buddhist religion. This is due to an old tradition, that the first persecutions of the Buddhist doctrine occurred five hundred years after Buddhas's Nirvāṇa (Schiefer, translation, p. 305 seq.).

²⁵ Kuṇāla was a son of the Emperor Aśoka.

²⁶ Here we have to state a certain amount of uncertainty in locating the T'o-gar country. The expression *t'o gar gyi yul gyi rgyab* implies some want of clearness, since it means only "behind the back mountains which separate Śu-li-ka (generally Śu-lig) from the T'o-gar country" which could be identified with the old Tokhar kingdom of the Kučā oasis as well as with the later Tokhāristān in North-eastern Iran. A mentioning of the T'o-dkar in Chinese Turkestan is to be found even in so late a book like the 'Jam-glin' rgyas-bśad, cp. Turrell V. Wylie, *The Geography of Tibet according to the 'Dzangling-rgyas-bśad* (Roma, 1962), p. 58: "As for the river Si-ta (i. e. Tarim, H. H.) . . . it flows into the lake called Tsha-mtsho (Lob-nor) which is in the Thurphan region of Tho-dkar (Tokhara)."

²⁷ *Mā-ma-t'ar* seems here to denote Mohammed. But compare below p. 64 the different writings *Mā-t'ur* and *Mā-t'a-ra* in the *dPag-bsam ljon-bzan*. But if we take into consideration the quotations given by Schiefner (translation, p. 306) this name might be borrowed from an older tradition about heretics, referred to in Chinese sources. According to them a Tīrthika (Hindu) Mamutho who together with a certain Tu-lo-tche in the disguise of Buddhist monks during the time of the Yüeh-chih (Kuṣāṇa) violated the women in the harem of the king of Kaśmīra. In consequence of that the Kaśmīra king started a persecution of Buddhism.

²⁸ Concerning Bi-šlim-li compare infra p. 65.

forest and used to give the meat, bones and hide to (other) men. Afterwards, when the king heard of it, he examined and questioned him about those (events). He answered: "I am neither a Brahmin, nor a Kṣatriya, Vaiśya or Śūdra. Nobody has taught me the Dharma of a caste, and therefore I am angry and beat (the living beings). If there would be one to give me the caste Dharma, I would perform the duties of it." (When the king) asked: "Who will be the one who gives to you the Dharma of the caste?", he answered: "I have to look for him myself."

In a dream of his he became instructed by Māra and found the book concealed before. He read it, took pleasure in it and thought: "Who will teach me something like this?". By instruction of Māra he met Mā-ma-t'ar himself and received instruction. By such (advice) he became accomplished in the charms (*vidyā*) and, followed by a retinue of thousand men, became a sage of the Mlecchas (Muslims), who are called *pai-k'am-pa*²⁹ or prophets. He went to the country which is near to the city of Ma-k'a and taught to the Brahmins and Kṣatriyas the heretical religion. (On account of that) there arose the royal lineages of the Sai-tā³⁰ and Turuška (Turks). This teacher became famous by the name Ardho, and this was the beginning of the Mleccha religion.

Based on the same tradition is the shorter account of Sum-pa mk'an-po in his *dPag-bsam ljon-bzan*:³¹

dus de cam. na kla klo'i č'os kyi t'og ma byuñ ste | de yañ k'a č'e gžon nu sde žes bya ba sdom pa ŋams pa žig dge 'dun gyis gnas dbyuñ byas pa la 'k'rugs nas bdud kyi brlabs te t'o kar gyi rgyab šu li ka žes pa'i yul du soñ nas miñ mā t'ur žes par spos te č'a lugs bsgyur nas 'c'e ba smra ba'i kla klo'i č'os brams nas bišli mił žes pa'i lha miñ gdon bišli mił la gtad de de'i gnas su sbas la | de'i c'e k'o (Druck: p'o) rā sā na'i yul gyi bram ze mo žig gis me tog 't'u žiñ mč'od pa dañ 'c'oñ ba las byi la žig byuñ bas p'yis su bu žig byuñ ste č'er skyes nas sdig spyod la dga' ba yul dpon gyis nags su bskrad pas gter gyi č'os log de rñed nas mā t'a ras gyis luñ p'og ste bai k'am pa žes pa'i kla klo'i drañ sroñ a ra dho ha žes pa 'k'or stoñ dañ bčas par gyur č'iñ | de ma k'a'i groñ k'yer dañ ñe bar soñ nas č'os log bstan pas sai dā du ška'i rgyal rigs kyañ de dus byuñ ño ||

²⁹ According to a communication of Professor A. Spitaler *pai-k'am-pa* is a corruption of New Persian *paigam-bar* "bearer of a message, prophet". Cp. P. Horn, *Grundriß der Neupersischen Etymologie* (Strassburg, 1893), Nr. 348.

³⁰ *Saitā* seems to be a corruption of the name of the Indian Muslim dynasty of Delhi, the Sayyids, which was founded 1414 by Khizr Khan (H. Goetz, *Geschichte Indiens*, Stuttgart, 1962, p. 129).

³¹ This work was written A. D. 1704. Cp. the edition of Sarat Chandra Das, *Pag Sam Jon Zang* (Calcutta, 1908), p. 80, line 17 seqq.

About that time there was the beginning of the Mleccha (Muslim) religion. There was a (monk), Kumārasena of Kashmir by name, who had violated his vow and had been deprived of his clerical degree by the Saṅgha. He was mentally disturbed and after having been blessed by Māra he went to the country Śu-li-ka situated at the back of T'o-kar and changed his name to be Mā-t'ur. Then he altered his costume and created the religion of the Mlecchas which preaches violence (*himsā*) and handed it over to the Asura demon called Biṣli-mil³² and concealed it at the place of that demon. At that time a Brahmin woman of the Khorāsān country collected flowers and offered them (partly) to the gods and (partly) sold them.

At one time out of the heap of flowers there came a cat and was absorbed (into her body). Later on there was born a boy. When he grew older he took pleasure in wicked deeds and was expelled by the local magistrate into the forest. He found the hidden bad doctrines, got the instruction of Mā-t'a-ra and became one of the Mleccha sages who are styled Bai-k'am-pa, under the name of A-ra-dho-ha and got a retinue of thousand men. He went to the vicinity of the city of Ma-k'a, preached the bad doctrine, and on account of that the royal lineages of the Sai-dā-du-ṣka (i. e. Sayyid and Turuṣka) arose at that time.

The comparison of Tāranātha's story with that of Sum-pa mk'an-po shows strikingly that they are based on the same tradition, the version of the later author only being abridged and disfigured by mistakes and bad writings especially of the foreign names, viz. A-ra-dho-ha for *Ardho* and Sai-dā du-ṣka for *Sai-tā dan Turuṣka*. The name of the Mleccha god or demon *Bi-ṣlim-li* has been created (instead of *Allah*) by misinterpretation of the most important commentary of the *Kālacakra Tantra*, the *Ṭikā Vimala-prabhā*.³³

*mlecchadevatābiṣimillā*³⁴-*māmtreṇa kartikayā*³⁵ *grivāyām paśu*³⁶ *hatvā*
/ *tatas teṣāṃ svadevatāmāmtreṇāhatānām māṃsaṃ bhakṣayisyāmti* //

(28 b 6) *kla klo'i bi ṣi milla'i śnags kyis p'yugs kyī ske gri gug gis*
bčad de / de nas lha'i śnags kyis bsad pa'i p'yugs de rnams kyī ṣa

³² cp. Tāranātha's *Bi-ṣlim-li*. The rather bad edition of Sarat Chandra Das gives the name *Biṣli-mil* twice. Perhaps *gdon* should be read 'don' 'what doctrine B. had preached'.

³³ The Sanskrit text of this passage has been reproduced according to the manuscript preserved in the Collection Sylvain Lévi, Institut des Hautes Études Indiennes at Paris, fol. 14 b 8), the Tibetan version according to the *Derge Tanjur*.

³⁴ Ms. *viṣavilyā*, text reconstructed according to the Tibetan translation.

³⁵ Hybrid Sanskrit form for *karttikayā*.

³⁶ Hybrid Sanskrit acc. sing. without ending, cp. F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar* (New Haven, 1953), § 12. 22.

za bar byed čin rañ gi las kyis ṣi ba rnams kyī (7) ṣa za bar mi byed
par 'gyur ro //

After they have killed an animal by a knife at the throat with the help of the charm of the Mleccha god Biṣimillā, then they will eat the meat (of those animals) killed by the charm of their god.

Here we find a clear allusion to the Muslim custom to pronounce whilst killing an animal the formula "in the name of God" (*Bi-millāh*).³⁷ This formula has been taken, as we have seen, to be the name of the Mleccha god himself. Bu-ston in his commentary of the *Vimalaprabhā*³⁸ gives also another name for the Mleccha god which is only a surname of Allāh:

(91 a 2) *sbrañ rc'i'i blo gros te / ra hma ṇa'i 'jug pa kla klo'i ston pa*
po kla klo stag gzig rnams kyī bla dan rje bo'o //

What concerns Madhumati, he is the teacher of the Mlecchas, compelled by Ra-hma-ṇa, the priest and Lord of the Mleccha-Persians.

Here we see the surname *al-Raḥmān* "the Merciful"³⁹ has been substituted for the word *Allāh*. About the abominable practices of the Mlecchas there is found additional information in the following verse of the *Kālacakra Tantra* I, 153, which mentions besides all kinds of meat, especially cow-meat, quick-silver to be the food of the Mlecchas, or, as they are styled here, the Asuras. The quick-silver might be a hint to alchemistic practices.

I, 153

*uṣṭrāśvau gāś ca hatvā*⁴⁰ *sarudhirapiṣitaṃ śuddhapakkaṃ hi kiñcit*
gomāṃsaṃ sūtatoṃ ghṛtakatukasamaṃ taṇḍulam sākamiśram /
*ekatvaṃ*⁴¹ *vahnipakkaṃ vanaphalasahitaṃ yatra bhojyaṃ narāṇāṃ*
pāṇaṃ cāṇḍaṃ khagāṇāṃ bhavati narapate tatpadaṃ cāsuraṇāṃ //

³⁷ Rudi Paret, *Symbolik des Islam* (Stuttgart, 1958), p. 31.

³⁸ *Tohoku Catalogue* (see note 6), p. 1, No. 5002 ('*ṣig rten k'ams kyī le'u'i 'grel bšad*).

³⁹ A. J. Wensinck and J. H. Kramers, *Handwörterbuch des Islam* (Leiden, 1941), p. 41.

⁴⁰ C, L *gām suhatva*.

⁴¹ Paris Ms. *ekasmin*; right reading probably *ekatrā*, the long *ā* being metrical licence of the Hybrid Sanskrit.

(21 a 4) (*yul de'i mi rnams kyi spyod pa ni*) *rña mo (dañ) rta dañ ba lañ bsad nas k'rag dañ bčas pa'i ša ni čuñ zad bcos pa 'ba' žig dañ / ba lañ (gi) ša dañ (rña č'u?) dñul c'u (dañ) č'u dañ mar* (5) *dañ c'a ba mñam pa 'bras dañ lo ma bsres pa ni / gčig tu me la bcos pa (dañ) nags kyi 'bras bu dag dañ bčas pa gañ du mi rnams dag gi zas (yin la) / btuñ ba bya rnams dag gi sgo ñar ('i k'u ba) 'gyur ro mi yi bdag po (kye yul) de ni lha min* (6) *rnams kyi gnas (so) ||*

After having killed camels, horses and cows, the meat together with the blood is only cooked simply a little, (after having added) together cow-meat with quick-silver, ghee together with sharp plants and rice mixed with vegetables, where that, cooked on the fire together with fruits of the forest, is the food of men, and their drink is the egg of birds, o king, that place is the abode of Asuras.

The whole story of the origin of the Mleccha religion in both versions represents that kind of literary activity which my revered teacher H. H. Schaeder, speaking about the calumnies against the Manichees found in the *Acta Archelai*,⁴² once styled to be a "Lügenroman" trying to depreciate a hostile religion.

It is now interesting to give an analysis of an older version which also wishes to elucidate *Kālacakra Tantra* I, 152 and which is quite independent from the source Tāranātha and Sum-pa mk'an-po have used. It is to be found in the *Č'os-'byuñ* of dPa'-bo gcug-lag 'p'reñ-ba (also called *Lho-brag č'os-'byuñ*), a work of the Karma-pa school, written in 1564.⁴³

*bsdus rgyud mjad nas lo brgyad brgya na kla klo 'i sbrañ rci'i blo gros 'byuñ bar luñ bstan te de yañ šambha la'i lho p'yogs kla klo stag gzig pa'i yul du stag gzig pa'i rgyal po ardho žes pas ma na'i*⁴⁴ *'jug pa'i log č'os brcams / kla klo'i ston pa a no gha la sogs pa byuñ / k'yad par du sog po'i yul tri ti čes pa groñ bye ba yod par bā ga da'i groñ du sbrañ rci'i blo gros byuñ ste nañ pa'i gcug lag k'añ drug bču rca*

⁴² *Acta Archelai*, ed. C. H. Beeson (Leipzig, 1906).

⁴³ G. Tucci, *The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings* (Roma, 1950), p. 76, note 21. I reproduce the text according to the original block-print, vol. ca, fol. 31 b 4 seq. The edition of Lokesh Chandra, *Mkhas pañi dgañ ston*, Part 3, p. 842, line 5 seqq., is nothing more than a copying of the original block-print, the distinctive marks of which are only the mistakes of the copyist. This edition will be quoted as L.

⁴⁴ L *dha ma na'i*.

*brgyad bšig / mu stegs p'al č'er yañ kla klor gyur to || kla klo ardho*⁴⁵ *byuñ ba rigs ldan k'yab 'jug sbas pa'i lo ña gčig pa de kla klo 'i lo ston brgyad brgya'i t'og ma yin par č'ag lo gsum pa'i dus 'k'or č'os byuñ na snañ no ||*

After (the Kalkin of Šambhala, Puṇḍarika) had composed the *Laghutantra*⁴⁶ he prophesied, that after eight hundred years Madhumati of the Mlecchas would appear. Then also Ardho, the king of the Persians in the Mleccha kingdom of Persia in the south of Šambhala created the false religion constituted by Maṇa. Then came the Mleccha teachers Anogha etc. Particularly there appeared Madhumati in the city of Baghdād in the country Tri-ti,⁴⁷ a land of the Sog-po (here to be understood like often elsewhere as Muslims) which has ten thousand towns, and he destroyed sixty-eight temples (*viḥāra*) of the Buddhists. The Tīrthikas (Hindus) became for the greatest part Mlecchas. The appearing of Ardho took place during the fifty-first year of the Kalkin Viṣṇugupta.⁴⁸

Our text the tradition of which seems to be older than that of Tāranātha disagrees with that author by calling Ardho a king (*rgyal-po*). Besides, that king is credited to have favoured a false religion constituted by a certain Maṇa. This Maṇa⁴⁹ (in the genetive case *Maṇa'i* what perhaps should be read *Ma ñi'i*, one *gi-gu* having been dropped) can hardly be another personage than Mani who in the list of heretics in *Kālacakra Tantra* I, 152 appears under the nickname *Svetavastrin*. As a whole the interpretation of dPa'-bo gcug-lag 'p'reñ ba furnishes us with a confusion of traditions of two Mleccha religions viz. Manichaeism and Islam. Later, of course, the Muslims became more important, and Mani was forgotten and the data about him succumbed to an erroneous interpretation. Judging from our text, Ardho (better Ārdho), as we have seen in the Tantra

⁴⁵ L *argho*.

⁴⁶ The "Abridged Tantra" (*Laghutantra*) is the only version of the *Kālacakra Tantra*, existing still in its Sanskrit original. The *Mūlatantra* of 100000 ślokas, preached by Buddha to king Sucandra, has been lost with the exception of a few meagre quotations.

⁴⁷ This name of a western country I cannot identify.

⁴⁸ Viṣṇugupta is the seventh Kalkin of Šambhala, reigning according the doctrine hundred years like all Kalkins do. The time of his reign is given traditionally as 527–627, when he was succeeded by Ņi-ma grags. The chronological speculation given here seems to be a somewhat inaccurate attempt to harmonize the Kalkin's date with the Hidjra (A. D. 622).

⁴⁹ The reading *Dha ma na* in L does not make any sense at all and is supposed to be a mistake of the copyist like the second mentioning of Ardho written in this case wrongly *Argho*.

to be identified with Adam, might have been understood in earlier times to be king Ardašir of Persia (died A. D. 242), but the real sponsor of Mani was Šāpūr I (ca. 242–272).

III

It seems to me now to be interesting to compare the data of the *Kālacakra* literature about the Mlecchas with those of the Hindu writings, where we find some important material in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*⁵⁰ III, 3, 3, 5–6; 10–11:

etasmīnn antare mleccha ācāryyeṇa samanvitaḥ /
Mahāmada iti khyātaḥ śiṣyaśākhāsamanvitaḥ ||5
nṛpaś caiva mahādevaṃ marusthalanivāsinaṃ /
gaṅgājalaś ca saṃsnāpya pañcagavyasamanvitaḥ /
candanādibhir abhyarcya tuṣṭāva manasā haram ||6

mlecchais sudūṣitā bhūmir vāhikā⁵¹ nāma viśrutā /
āryyadharmo hi naivātra vāhike⁵² deśadāruṇe ||10
babhūvātra mahāmāyī yo 'sau dagdho⁵³ mayā purā /
tripuro balidaityaena preṣitaḥ punar āgataḥ ||11
ayoniḥ sa varo mattaḥ prāptavān daityavardhanaḥ /
mahāmada iti khyātaḥ paśācākṛtitaṭparaḥ ||12

Meanwhile a Mleccha together with a teacher and accompanied by a group of disciples, called Mahāmada, and also the king (Bhojarāja) honoured Mahādeva, dwelling at Marusthala, giving to him ablutions by water from the Gaṅgā, mixed with the five products of the cow⁵⁴ and also with sandal etc. He (i. e. the king) glorified Hara by his heart.

(Śiva speaks:) There is a place very corrupted by the Mlecchas, known by the name Bāhlikā (Balkh, Bactria). For the law of the Aryans is not to be found in the terrible region of Bāhlikā. There lived a great juggler who was formerly burnt by me (in the form) of the "Three Cities" (Tripura),⁵⁵ but sent by the demon Bali he came back. He, being a mad lib-

⁵⁰ For that Purāṇa see the abstract of the main contents by A. Hohenberger, *Das Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* (Wiesbaden, 1967), especially p. 18.

⁵¹ Read *bāhlikā*.

⁵² Read *bāhlike*.

⁵³ Printed *dagdhau*.

⁵⁴ I. e. milk, curds, ghee, urine, and cowdung.

⁵⁵ Tripura are the three cities of gold, silver and iron in the sky, air and on the earth built by demons for Māyā. Those cities were burnt down,

ertine of unknown family, came as a furtherer of the Daitya-demons, known by the name Mahāmada, one, exclusively devoted to demoniacal practice.

The verses of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* translated above furnishes us with a transcription of the name *Mohammed* which is independent from the *Kālacakra* tradition. *Mahāmada*, "he, whose madness is great", is also a very able rendering of the name which was hated by all Indians, Buddhists and Hindus. Mahāmada is spoken of as a great juggler who is also accompanied by an *ācārya* and by disciples, and those facts would fit very well to the great Muslim prophet. But, on the other hand, this Mahāmada seems to be confounded with the Muslim conqueror Maḥmūd of Ghazni (997–1030), whose time is also near to the beginnings of the *Kālacakra* school. Hohenberger's abstract of a verse, not translated here, gives the information, that Maḥmūd went as far as to the banks of the river Indus.⁵⁶ Very strange and incredible seems the fact recorded in śloka 6, that Mahāmada together with Bhojarāja of Dhārā, who was Maḥmūd's enemy, worshipped the Hindu god Śiva.

IV

Also about Īśa whom we could identify (p. 58) with Jesus (arab. 'Isā) there is to be found interesting material in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*.⁵⁷ The verse quoted in the note runs like that: "(The barbarians) are adhering to the doctrine of Īśaputra and their highest inclination is devoted to the vow of truth, by which desire is defeated, which is without anger and for which the sun is the highest object." That strange-looking statement will become clearer, after we have realized the data given by another passage of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* (III, 3, 2, 21–33):

ekadā tu śakādhīśo himatūṅgaṃ samāyayaḥ ||21
hūṇadeśasya madhye vai giristhaṃ puruṣaṃ śubhaṃ /
dadarśa balavān rājā gaurāṅgaṃ śvetavastrakam ||22

along the demons inhabiting them, by Śiva at the request of the gods. Cp. also V. R. R. Dikshitar, *The Purāṇa Index*, II (Madras, 1952), p. 46. Bali was a demon killed by Viṣṇu in his Avatāra as Vāmana (Dikshitar, *l. c.*, II, p. 46.

⁵⁶ Hohenberger, *l. c.*, p. 18.

⁵⁷ cp. my translations and comments on *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* III, 4, 22, 73; Hohenberger, *l. c.*, "Introductory remarks", p. IX.

ko bhavān iti tam prāha sa hovāca mudānviṭaḥ |
 īsaputraṃ ca māṃ viddhi kumārīgarbhasambhavam ||23
 mleccadharmasya vaktāraṃ satyavrataparāyaṇam |
 iti śrutva nṛpaḥ prāha dharmah ko bhavato mataḥ ||24
 śrutvovāca mahārāja prāpte satyasya saṃkṣaye |
 nirmalyāde mleccadeśe masīho 'haṃ samāgataḥ ||25
 īsamasi ca dasyūnāṃ prādurbhutā bhayaṃkarī |
 tām ahaṃ mleccataḥ prāpya masīhatvam upāgataḥ ||26
 mlecccheṣu sthāpito dharmo mayā tac chr̥ṇu bhūpate |
 mānasam nirmalam kṛtvā malam dehe śubhāśubham ||27
 naigamaṃ japam āsthāya japeta nirmalam param |
 nyāyena satyavacasā manasaikyena mānavah ||28
 dhyānena pujayed īsam sūryamaṇḍalasamsthitam |
 acalo 'yaṃ prabhuh sākṣāt tathā sūryo 'calaḥ sadā ||29
 tattvānāṃ calabhutānāṃ karṣaṇaḥ sa samantataḥ |
 iti kṛtyena bhūpāla masīhā vilayaṃ gatā ||30
 īsamūrtir hṛdi prāptā nityaśuddhā śivaṃkarī |
 īsamasiha iti ca mama nāma pratiṣṭhitam ||31
 iti śrutvā sa bhūpālo natvā tam mleccapūjakaṃ |
 sthāpayāmāsa tam tatra mleccasthāne hi dāruṇe ||32
 svarājyaṃ prāptavān rājā hayamedham acikarat |
 rājyaṃ kṛtvā ṣaṣṭyabdam svargalokaṃ upāyayan ||33

III, 3, 32.

barbare tuṣadeśe ca dvīpe nānāvidhe tathā |
 īsamasihādharmās ca surai rājñaiḥ samsthitāḥ ||32

Once the Lord of the Śaka went to the summit of a snow mountain (21). In the midst of the Hūṇa country the mighty king saw a shining man standing on the mountain with a white body and with white garments (22). He questioned him: "Who are you?". And (that white man) answered filled with joy: "Know that I am Īsaputra who has been born from the womb of a virgin (23), who preaches the religious law of the Mlecchas, which is devoted to the vow of truth." After the king heard that, he spoke: "How is the nature of your religious law?" (24). After having heard that the man answered: "Oh great king, after the downfall of the Golden Age has come, I went to the boundless country of the Mlecchas as Masiha.⁵⁸ Also Īsamasi, the terrible, became manifest to the Dasyus. After I

⁵⁸ *Masiha* is, of course, an equivalent of *Messiah* (Aramaic *M. šihāh*,

got her from the Mlecchas I gained the Messiahship (26). And the religious law has been fixed by me with the Mlecchas. Listen to that, o king! After having made the mind stainless the man may likewise make clean the impurity clean in the body, might it be well or woe (27). Practising a traditional spell, the stainless and highest, he should mutter it by a method with true word and concentrated mind (28). By meditation he should worship Īsa, who is standing in the disc of the sun. Imperishable am I, the Lord in person here, and likewise the sun is imperishable for ever (29). The (god of the sun) is he who drags to himself the perishable principles (*tattva*). By this cause, o king, Masihā went to death (30). Having the form of Īsa she went into the heart (of mine), being eternally clean and conferring happiness. (Therefore) my name is established to be Īsamasiha (31). After the king had heard that he bowed down before that man worshipped by the Mlecchas and placed him in the frightful Mleccha place (32). Then the king went to his own kingdom and caused the horse sacrifice to be carried out. After a reign of sixty years he went to heaven (33).

(III, 3, 32) In the Barbara⁵⁹ and Tuṣa⁶⁰ country and likewise in different (other) world continents the laws of Īsamasiha were established by the gods and by the king.

Considering the data given by the text above the attention of the reader ought to be drawn at first to the fact that the meeting with Īsaputra in the mountains is narrated as an experience of a Śaka king. The Śakas in India as well as in Iran were partly worshippers of Mihira (Mithra), the Iranian sun god, whose cult had been introduced by the so-called Śakadvīpiyabrāhmaṇas into India.⁶¹ Then we have to registrate the strange fact that the "white man" is called sometimes Īsa but also Īsaputra. L. Alsdorf has recently recalled to the memory of scholars that *-putra* very often denotes only "die Gruppen- oder Standeszugehörigkeit"⁶² like in the case of

Arab. *al-Masiḥ*: Wensinck-Kramers, *l. c.*, p. 464). In the Aramaic orthography the title appears also in a Manichaean Parthian hymn (*mšyh'*), see W. Henning, "Mitteliranische Manichaica III", *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1934, pp. 23, line 8 of the text.

⁵⁹ The Barbara, "barbarians", are, for instance, enumerated along with the Darada and Kāmboja, frontier peoples in the North-west (W. Kirfel, *Bhārata varṣa*, p. 4). *Barbara* means "stammering" and so does the synonym *Mleccha*. It seems to me the most probable explanation, that *Barbara* has been adapted from the Greeks (as proposed already by Fick, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1894, p. 232), notwithstanding the criticism of Max Müller, *KZ*, 16, p. 453. Cp. also M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, s.v.

⁶⁰ *Tuṣa* seems to be a mutilation of *Tuṣāra*, the country of Tokhāristān.

⁶¹ See for that subject H. v. Stietencron, *Indische Sonnenpriester* (Wiesbaden, 1966), *passim*.

⁶² *ZDMG*, 100 (1950), pp. 357-360.

rājaputra (= Rājput). But that cannot be the case here, for that translation does not fit at all to a personage who is denoted in verse 23 as "born from the womb of a virgin", what can be only a statement valid for Jesus Christ himself.

On the other hand, his close connection with the sun is very striking, since in III, 4, 22, 73 his doctrine is called one "which has the sun for his highest object", and III, 3, 2, 29 Īśa is described as one "who is standing in the disc of the sun". From those statements we can only deduce that our fragment of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* is the product of a syncretistic Śaka religion, strongly influenced by Iranian Mihira creeds.

But the most striking fact is the strange introduction of a feminine of Īśamasīha, a female Īśamasī, who appeared in the country of the Dasyus (26) and finally (31) "she went into (Īśa's) heart, being eternally clean and conferring happiness". This looks actually as if this female deity were of the type of the Gnostic Sophia, and her union with Īśa means the "Hieros Gamos", known in the mystery religions of the western world, but not exclusively there, if we remember the *prajñā-upāya* lore of later Buddhism. Especially the situation reminds us of the pair Simon Magus and Helena.⁶³ This consideration might hint to the general "flair" of our document.

But furthermore we have to realize Jesus to be also an important figure in Manichaeism, and remembering the Śvetavastrin of *Kālacakra* I, 152 we have to state that the Śaka king perceives Īśa Masiha, "Jesus the Messiah" as a man "with a white body and with white garments" (22). Moreover, already F. C. Baur in his even to-day valuable book on Manichaeism⁶⁴ draws the attention to the close connection of the Manichaean Jesus to the sun and his relationship with the likewise solar Mithra in the Manichaean myth. Besides, a mythological figure in the Manichaean doctrine who displays himself male as well as female is the "Tertius Legatus" who in the myth of the seduction of the evil Archonts is seen by the female demons as male and by the male ones as female.⁶⁵ And since Mani "declared that he was the Paraclete promised by the Messiah",⁶⁶ Īśaputra should mean really "the spiritual son of Jesus"

and the white man of our text is a somewhat disfigured form of Mani. That according to III, 3, 3, 32 this kind of religion is credited to flourish in countries in the North-west of India (Barbara and Tuṣāra) fits well to the interpretation of our *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* fragment as a part of that text which clearly dates back to pre-Muslim times and gives a vivid picture of the manifold ingredients of western syncretism which intruded into the Hindu literature, too, as it did, like we have seen above, into the Buddhist *Kālacakra*.

⁶³ H. Leisegang, *Die Gnosis* (Stuttgart, 1941), p. 82.

⁶⁴ F. C. Baur, *Das manichäische Religionssystem*, New edition (1928), p. 407 note 10 and p. 442.

⁶⁵ G. Widengren, *Mani und der Manichäismus* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 60.

⁶⁶ L. J. R. Ort, *Mani* (Leiden, 1967), p. 29.

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KĀLACAKRA STUDIES I ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

by

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(Compare CAJ XIII (1969), pp. 52–73)

a. Misprints

- p. 55, line 8: read *b̄zi* instead of *bzi*
 56, line 17: read *m̄ūṣeṣau* instead of *mūṣeṣau*
 56, line 20: read °*m̄ūrtiḥ* instead of °*murtiḥ*
 56, line 34: read *b̄zin* instead of *bzin*
 57, line 24: read *last* instead of *least*
 58, line 19: read *seqq.* instead of *segg.*
 60, line 34: read *s̄ñiñ-po* instead of *s̄ñin-po*
 62, line 11: read *secretly* instead of *secretely*
 63, line 21: read *l̄jon-bzan* instead of *l̄jon-bzan*
 70, line 35: read *had* instead of *has*.

b. Addenda

p. 67, line 15: Here has been left out inadvertently the end of the translation of the Lho-brag č'os-'byuñ quotation: "This is to be found in the *History of the Kālacakra which contains three sections* by Č'ag lo-cā-ba". Unfortunately this work of Č'ag lo-cā-ba's is not known until now. The author, also called Č'ag Č'os-rje-dpal (1197–1265), is several times connected with activities in the Kālacakra field (George N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals* II, Calcutta 1953, pp. 699, 727, 757, 1047). His biography has also been translated by George Roerich (*Biography of Dharmasvāmin*, Patna 1959). In the passage translated above č'ag lo gsum pa'i dus 'k'or č'os 'byuñ might mean theoretically also "The History of Kālacakra by the third

Č'ag lo-cā-ba", but we do not know about three personages of that name; we could adduce only Č'ag lo-cā-ba dGra-bčom (1153–1216), the uncle and teacher of Č'os-rje-dpal (Biography, p. 48, note 6), but we do not know about a third Č'ag lo-cā-ba.

pp. 69–73: Concerning Jesus the Splendour, the Ísamasiha of the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa especially clear remarks are found in the pamphlet of the pagan philosopher Alexander of Lycopolis, cp. H. H. Schaefer, *Urform und Fortbildungen des manichäischen Systems*, *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg* IV, *Vorträge* 1924/25, Leipzig 1927, p. 58: "Es sei auch in der Sonne ein Bild, so wie die Gestalt des Menschen ist, sichtbar geworden, und die Hyle sei ihm gegenüber von dem Ehrgeiz ergriffen worden, aus sich selber den Menschen gemäß der sie ganz durchdringenden Vermischung mit jener Kraft zu bilden, so daß also auch er einen Teil der Seele erhielt. Seine Gestalt habe aber sehr dazu beigetragen, daß der Mensch an der göttlichen Kraft größeren Anteil erhielt als die übrigen sterblichen Lebewesen: sei er doch selber ein Bild der göttlichen Kraft. Christus aber sei der Geist (νοῦς)".

The original Greek text is now of easy access in Alfred Adam: *Texte zum Manichäismus*, Berlin 1969, p. 56: καὶ εἰκόνα δὲ ἐν ἡλίῳ ἐωρᾶσθαι τοιαύτην, οἷόν ἐστι τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἶδος, καὶ ἀντιφιλοτιμησασθαι τὴν ὕλην ποιῆσαι τὸν ἀνθρώπον ἐξ αὐτῆς κατὰ τὴν διὰ πάσης αὐτῆς | τῆς δυνάμεως μῖξιν, ἔχοντα καὶ αὐτόν τι τῆς ψυχῆς· πολλοὶ μέντοι συμβεβλησθαι τὸ εἶδος εἰς τὸ πλεῖόν τι παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα θνητὰ ζῶα τῆς δυνάμεως τῆς θείας τὸν ἀνθρώπον μετασχεῖν, ὑπάρχειν γὰρ αὐτὸν θείας δυνάμεως εἰκόνα. τὸν δὲ χριστὸν εἶναι νοῦν.

Already F. C. Baur was aware of that Manichean doctrine (Die christliche Gnosis, Tübingen 1835, photomechanical reprint Darmstadt 1967, p. 438: "am wenigsten bezog sich ihre Naturfeindschaft auf die Sonne, die ihnen vielmehr der Siz und das Symbol des Lichtgeistes Christus war (wesswegen in den zuvor angeführten Formeln Zaradas, Budas, Christus, Manichäos und die Sonne ein und dasselbe genannt werden)").

Besides there is a very important note in Hans Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist* I, Göttingen 1964, p. 311 note 4: "Da einerseits 'Christus', nämlich der ideelle, mit der Sonne gleichgesetzt wurde (Theodoret, *Haeret. fabul. compendium* I, 26, Migne PG 83, col. 378 B), mit derselben aber auch die vier geschichtlichen Propheten wie diese miteinander (Migne PG I, 1465), wobei das Mittelglied eben die Erlösungsfunktion der Sonne ist (s. w. u.), so ist die Identi-

tät Lichtjesus — geschichtliche Verkünder streng belegt. Die Sonne ist nun wiederum der Sitz des "Dritten Gesandten", des vorweltlichen und übergeordneten Prinzips der Lichtbefreiung: also ist der Lichtjesus die auf die Menschheit bezogene Hypostase desselben, deren irdische Inkarnationen dann die Propheten sind".

Also Ísamasī, the female figure of the Manichean fragments of the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, the "Maiden of Light" (kaniṣrōšn), is a manifestation of the Tertius Legatus (cp. G. Widengren, *Mani und der Manichäismus*, Stuttgart 1961, p. 60). It was H. H. Schaeder who dealt with the problem of the Tertius Legatus in full already in "Urform und Fortbildungen" (l. c., pp. 102/03): "Während nämlich die übrigen Göttergestalten des Mythos stabil sind, ist die des Dritten Gesandten, des Gesandten κατ' ἐξοχήν gewissermaßen auswechselbar. Er ist der ideelle Träger des Erlösungswerkes im allgemeinsten Sinne und erscheint daher in allen makrokosmischen Kräften und in allen Personen, die das Werk der Lichtbefreiung fördern. So ist er einerseits der Geist, der in den beiden mächtigsten Werkzeugen der Lichtbefreiung: in Sonne und Mond, waltet und zugleich der beatus pater, d. h. der Inbegriff der zwölf Lichtjungfrauen, die den Zodiakalzeichen entsprechen. Daß er mit ihnen und sie mit ihm als wesenseins gedacht werden, geht daraus hervor, daß das Erscheinen vor den Dämonen in wechselnder, bald männlicher, bald weiblicher Gestalt von *Mani selbst* bald auf den Gesandten (so bei Theodor bar Kōnai, s. *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus*, S. 345), bald auf die Lichtjungfrauen (so in dem Zitat aus dem Thesaurus, s. o. S. 82 A. 2) bezogen wurde. Ebendieser proteushafte Gestaltwandel ist die wichtigste Eigentümlichkeit des Gesandten. So erklärt es sich, daß die neben ihm stehende Lichtjungfrau — die, wie ich hier nicht ausführen kann, die sublimierte manichäische Vertreterin der Helena, der Barbelo und der Sophia der älteren gnostischen Systeme ist (sie ist ja die im Monde residierende Weisheit!) — zugleich mit ihm wesenseins ist; sie ist der weibliche Aspekt seines Wesens, mit ihrer Einführung gewann Mani die Möglichkeit, die weiblichen Erlösergestalten älterer Traditionen in neuer Deutung seinem System einzuordnen".

Intentionally I gave here the full wording of the quotations above to make quite sure that there is no doubt as to the Manichaeian character of Ísamasīha-Jesus, a manifestation of the Tertius Legatus. Therefore, the respective fragments of the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa should be dated between the third and seventh century A. D. when

the taking over of Manichaeian traditions may be called probable in India. Moreover, the Manichaeian fragments stress the fact that H. Humbach is wrong when taking all data furnished by the Purāṇa on foreign (i. e. Iranian, Manichaeian and Christian) religions to be falsifications (cp. *Iranische Sonnenpriester in Indien*, ZDMG, Supplementa I, XVII. Deutscher Orientalistentag, Vorträge Teil 3, Wiesbaden 1969, p. 882—884). That author's dealing with the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa and especially with H. von Stietencron's "Indische Sonnenpriester" (Wiesbaden 1966) is as "monstrously unfair" as his review of B. Schlerath's helpful "Index locorum zur Sekundärliteratur des Awesta" (Wiesbaden 1968) has been called by Oswald Szemerényi in ZDMG 120 (1970), p. *3*.

Humbach does not realize, too, the special kind of growth which is characteristic for Indian Purāṇa texts. In my "Einleitende Bemerkungen in "Das Bhaviṣya Purāṇa" by A. Hohenberger, Wiesbaden 1967, pp. VII seqq.) I have shown that the Purāṇa contains old portions along with quite recent ones. The notions of "falsification" and "plagiarism" make no sense if we realize the typical character of Indian literary tradition. One may just speak in some cases about "interpolation". Maybe the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa in its present shape has been compiled during the time of the Mogul Emperor Akbar — that has yet to be proved in full — but the Manichaeian fragments cannot have been "falsified" during that period because at that time there was no interest in and knowledge of Manichaeism in India. As for the general approach of H. Humbach to problems of cultural and religious history compare the striking and fair words of B. Schlerath in "Zarathustra", *Wege der Forschung* CLXIX, Darmstadt 1970, pp. 346—383 and especially p. 351 ("Fragen dieser Art sind Humbach überhaupt fremd").