CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF
MANḌALA AND MUDRĀ

Analysis of Two Tibetan Manuscripts in
the Royal Library in Copenhagen

By

ERIK HAARH

While cataloguing the prints and manuscripts in the Tibetan collection of the Royal Library in Copenhagen my attention was drawn to two minor manuscripts, which already by a preliminary inspection indicated that they might deserve some more particular interest, and a further examination proved that a more detailed analysis of their ritual contents might in some respects contribute to a more extended knowledge of some specific features of Buddhist sacred service.

The manuscripts, now catalogued as Münter nr. 76 and Münter nr. 79, were bought in 1924, in some shop near the Drum-tower in Peking, by the late Mr. C. S. Münter of the Great Northern Telegraph Company, and in the following they are quoted as A and B respectively.

Manuscript A contains a rice-manḍala (fig. 1) in which the 37 elements are indicated by their names arranged in their ritual order within the manḍala. This manner of representing a manḍala is in itself rather unique, but the principal value of this representation of the rice-manḍala is to be ascribed to the fact that it supplies us with a conclusive supplement to the descriptive representations of this manḍala, previously given by Waddell, Lessing, and Schubert (cf. below).

Manuscript B contains 123 drawings of mudrās, each of these being accompanied by a mantra, and the whole material consists of three sādhanas with their corresponding series of mudrās, thus permitting us to reconstruct in detail the performance of three ceremonies of manḍala belonging to the Durgati-Parīśodhana
type. While a large number of sādhanas are known, the special knowledge of lithurgic mudrās is fairly limited, and complete series of mudrā-pictures with corresponding sādhanas, as given in the present manuscript, seem unknown in literature dealing with Buddhist ceremonies.

A further importance, however, is to be ascribed to the series of mudrās and mantras of the manuscript, because they refer to those 37 specific elements of meditative practice, to which Asaṅga seems to allude in Mahāyāna-Sūtrālāṃkāra XI. 11—12 and XX—XXI. 161, and which actually constitute, not only the cycle of deities of the Vajradhātu- or Kongō-kai-maṇḍala, but also, and most particularly, the cycle of Kun-rig rNam-par-snaṅ-mdsad or Sarvavid-Vairocana which, as revealed by the recent explorations of Tucci, appears to play an extremely important role in the Yogatantrism of Mahāyāna-Buddhism.

The Ritual Components of Maṇḍala-Ceremonies.

Four ritual components are characteristic of the performance of maṇḍala-ceremonies, the maṇḍala, the mantra, the pūjā, and the mudrā.

The maṇḍala represents the frame, material or imagined, within which the gods concerned are placed or represented. The mantras are the verbal constituents of the ceremony, the sentences through which the officiant addresses the gods. The pūjās are offerings presented to the gods, either prayers or confessions of sin, or sacrifices of flowers, incense, light, perfume, or aliments. The mudrās are the ritual hand-postures accompanying the mantras or the pūjās, establishing the actual contact with the gods. The maṇḍala and the mantra seem obligatory, while a presentation of pūjās seems to depend on the ceremony in question, and the mudrās are omitted by certain sects.

Maṇḍala.—In classic Sanskrit maṇḍala signifies anything cyclic or circular, and in this wide sense the word is applied to numerous subjects. In the terminology of Buddhism, however, it assumed a considerable importance, becoming a term of

1 Ed. Sylvain Lévi, Bibliothèque de l’École des Hautes Études, fasc. 159 et 190, Paris 1907—11.
particular significance which, perhaps, most distinctly appears from the Tibetan translation of the word maṇḍala and its use in the Tibetan language. The Tibetan equivalent or translation is dkyil-hkhor, literally meaning “middle and circumference,” consistent with the sense of maṇḍala in classic Sanskrit. This interpretation may simply be a descriptive term for the principal aspect of the Buddhist maṇḍala, but possibly, while translating, the Tibetans have conceived the word maṇḍala as composed of madhya and tala, Sanskrit vocables very closely corresponding to dkyil and ḡkhor.

In Tantrayāna, maṇḍala or dkyil-hkhor signifies a circular arrangement of deities, mantras arranged in circles, a sacrifice arranged in a circle, a circle or design drawn on the ground or on a disc by means of coloured sand or threads or sacrificial material, etc., but in any case an object or idea narrowly connected with religious service, particularly of sacrificial character, or with Yoga meditation, as will also appear from a few examples of terms derived from dkyil-hkhor or maṇḍala:

dkyl-ḥkhor or maṇḍalavat denotes anything having circular or mystic figure, especially the design of the fancied celestial mansions of deities, hence any Tantric deity placed in a maṇḍala for worship.

dkyil-ḥkhor-gsum or trimaṇḍala, “three cycles (of offerings)”, denotes sacrifices to Bon-gods, contemplative offerings, and maṇḍala-offerings, and maṇḍala-gyi dkyil-hkhor, “the maṇḍala of maṇḍala” is the Buddhist map of the world or a diagraphic representation of the Buddhist conception of the universe, in fact, a microcosmos which at certain occasions is offered to the deities, as f. inst. therice-maṇḍala described in the following.

In its completed form the ritual maṇḍala represents an area circumscribed and limited by a well-defined circumferential line which generally and in principle is a circle, but in particular cases it may be found modified into other shapes, such as the flower of a lotus (various Japanese maṇḍalas), a square (the maṇḍala of Mahendra and numerous permanent maṇḍalas in Buddhist temples), a triangle (m. of the Fire), or an arc (m. of the Wind). The centre of the maṇḍala is marked or distinguished in different ways and carries the figure or symbol of the deity
particularly concerned, and within the area of the maṇḍala a number of figures or elements of various character are disposed according to a certain system, forming zones or circles concentric to the circumference of the maṇḍala. In addition to this arrangement single elements in one or more circles may themselves build the centres of minor circles of elements, in fact, maṇḍalas of inferior order within the maṇḍala itself, the totality of the maṇḍala thus forming a concentric geometrical system or diagram (ṛten), more or less complicated, containing a certain number of elements (brten), arranged according to this diagram.

The elements, which vary considerably in choice and character from one maṇḍala to another and even within one and the same maṇḍala, may be referred to two different groups, one comprising elements of cosmogonic nature, and one comprising elements of apparently most different nature, representing deities, mythic beings or objects, philosophical ideas or symbols, and ritual objects. All the latter elements, however, are so far related that they either themselves represent the divine principle, or they may, according to Buddhist philosophy, in some more or less obvious way be identified with deities, or be divinified themselves.

Each of the places in a maṇḍala is assigned to an element of specific essence, on the other side any such particular element may occur in different maṇḍalas, but the representative medium or symbol of an elemental essence may vary and prove to be of an extremely different apparent quality, according to circumstances. When a maṇḍala is built up materially, the elements generally consist of images, figures, or significant symbols. Thus a deity may be represented by his image, but just as often he is represented by one symbol or other chosen among his attributes or signifying some characteristic quality of the deity. On the other hand, elements which in their ordinary sense are common, palpable objects, while a particular essence is ascribed to them when conceived ritually, may be represented in their common shape, but they may just as well be represented by images or symbols of deities to whom they are somehow related or with whom they may be philosophically identified.

In certain cases, such as the rice-maṇḍala, the maṇḍala is only indirectly built up of its elements, these being substituted
by the sacrifices or quantities of sacrificial material. In the seed-
maṇḍala, especially performed in Japan, each element is
represented by its written mantra.

With regard to structure and content of elements, or with regard
to destination, or the sects or schools using them, the maṇḍalas
as a whole may be referred to such a multitude of types and vari-
eties that any attempt to give a general classification must be
abandoned at present. A view of the tables given by Tucci1,containing some hundred maṇḍalas, may give a sufficient im-
pression of the complexity of the problem. One of the reasons
of the multiplicity of possibilities, which the arrangement of the
maṇḍalas presents, is the fact that a particular series of elements
by no means is bound to be exclusively represented by one
particular arrangement of maṇḍala. The Tantrism, on the con-
trary, makes allowance for a co-ordination of various ways
leading to the same final aim.

The simplest specimen of the maṇḍala, only contains a single
element, such as Dainichī Nyorai (Vairocana) is the Ichiin-
section of the Japanese Kongō-kai-maṇḍala2. A Tibetan maṇḍala
of five elements, Vajrasattva surrounded by the four Lokapālas,
is given by Tucci3, and maṇḍalas of nine elements, a Buddha
surrounded by eight Buddhas or Bodhisattvas, are well-known
in Tibet and Japan4. A somewhat more complicated type, the
Samvara-maṇḍala of about 60 elements, is performed in India,
Tibet, and China5, and as examples of especially complicated
maṇḍalas we may mention the maṇḍala described by Bu-ston,
consisting of 189 elements, partly arranged in five minor maṇḍalas
within the principal maṇḍala6, and the complex of the Japanese

3 G. Tucci: Tibetan Painted Scrolls, Roma 1949, Plate Z.
4 A. Getty: The Gods of Northern Buddhism, 1928, Plate XVI. — G. Tucci:
Tibetan P. S., Pl. Z.
5 Niṣpannayogavāli of Mahāpaṇḍita Abhayākara-gupta, ed. by Benyosho
Bhattacharyya, Gaekwad’s Oriental Series CIX, Baroda 1949, p. 26. — G. Tucci:
p. 132 and plate XXVI; Rep. Scient. Exp. etc. of Dr. Sven Hedin, Publ. 18.
VIII, Ethnogr. I.
Kongō-kai-maṇḍala consisting of nine sections, comprising a total number of elements amounting to 437\(^1\).

The maṇḍala is celebrated at various occasions, e.g. by the invocation of the help and support of a deity, by exorcism, by sacrifices, by the initiation of a monk or priest into different grades of monasterial or sacerdotal dignity, whereto, last but not least, the vast importance of the maṇḍala in the act of meditation is to be added.

Taking the variety of types, of destinations, and of occasions of celebration of maṇḍala into account, some special features, however, seem to be practically common and fundamental to all maṇḍala-rites:

1\(^o\). The maṇḍala is successively built up of its elements during the celebration, notwithstanding, that this building of it may be either of a quite concrete character, the images or symbols of the constituent elements being directly placed, one by one, at their particular positions within the circle or circles of the ritual diagram, or of a semi-abstract character, the elements of a permanently represented maṇḍala being successively visualized by the officiant. Finally it may be of a quite abstract character, a pure mental act, the elements being meditatively imagined.

2\(^o\). First of all, the circumferential line is drawn or established. The frequent cases, where special discs or permanent arrangements are used, only represent modifications, but no exceptions from the ritual principle. Next in the performance, the centre is established by placing at this point the figure of the god, to whom the maṇḍala is addressed, or with whom it is particularly concerned.

3\(^o\). The frame having thus been established, the performing officiant, the sādhaka, takes his first step of approaching the centre of the maṇḍala by entering it from the East, deposing the eastern element of the outmost circle at its appropriate place, and then

4\(^o\). he places, by turns, the rest of the elements, completing at first the outmost circle in the direction East-South-West-North, eventually making more circuits in the same circle to place at first the elements of the primary cardinal directions and then

\(^1\) H. Smail: loc. cit.
the elements of the secondary directions, or to build secondary maṇḍalas in the cardinal directions. In the total procedure of building the maṇḍala, however, the direction of the apparent, daily motion of the universe is maintained.

Contemporarily to the physical performance of the maṇḍala the officiant meditatively performs the celebration in a spiritual plane, so that the building of the material maṇḍala by the successive deposits of its elements corresponds to a spiritual wandering or gradual approach to the god who at the same time is the physical and the spiritual centre of the maṇḍala, and the completion of the material maṇḍala means to its performer the achievement of the purpose of his meditative exertion. The various circles of the maṇḍala, through which this transition from the ordinary and material state of the performer to the supreme and spiritual state of the central divinity takes place, exhibit, as to the significance of their constituent elements, a corresponding graduation of spiritual plane.

In Tantrayāna special maṇḍalas of deities are used, above all in ceremonies having the object of identifying the performing sādhaka with a deity or attaining bodhi or mahābodhi, the state of buddhahood. The god, with whom the identity is desired, resides in the centre of the maṇḍala, and all the other deities in it are mere symbols representing various emanations of the central god, so that by successively identifying himself meditatively with each of these emanations, the sādhaka conceives or adopts the various qualities of the central god, elevating himself to gradually higher mystic planes, finally becoming unified or identified with this central deity.

The state of identity with the divinity thus finally accomplished through the maṇḍala, is samādhi, the final aim of the Yoga, beyond time and space.

Mantra. — The mantra is a word or a sentence, frequently a sentence of some apparent significance combined with one or more bijās or mystic syllables as om, hūṃ, phaṭ etc. Behind the apparent significance of the mantra, the mystic significance of it, in its deepest sense the essence of a deity, is to be conceived. When a mantra is pronounced and addressed to a god, it is the very sound of the pronounced mantra which represents or estab-
lishes that particular mystic plane, in which the spiritual quality of the god may be experienced by the sādhaka.

*Mudrā.* — In its common sense the Sanskrit word mudrā means a sign or seal, or a hand-posture. As a Buddhist religious term in general it most frequently denotes the ritual hand-posture or the hand-posture by religious absorption, expressing a divine essence conceivable to those initiated in its mystic plane. In Mahāyāna, it further signifies the śakti in its abstract sense of the divine potency through which the deity is active, and in Tantrayāna, in Tibet and in Mongolia, it also signifies the bodily śakti, the Yum, embracing the god. In the latter sense mudrā occurs in the initiation rites denoting a young woman who, in the meditative imagination or, under certain circumstances, alive symbolizes the prajñā.

Considering the mudrās in the sense of ritual hand-postures, we have to distinguish between the rather limited number of hand-postures characteristic of the different deities and well-known from the Buddhist iconography, and the far more numerous liturgic hand-postures applied in the various ceremonies and services, especially those prescribed in the Yoga-tantras.

The *iconographic* mudrā indicates a particular essence or quality of the god or deity, to whom it is attributed, and in Tantrism a mudrā may accordingly denote the visible symbol used in a maṇḍala to symbolize a deity, the idea of mudrā thus being inseparable from that of Tantric deity. In the celebration of maṇḍalas particular *liturgic mudrās* are performed, corresponding to each element of the maṇḍala, and in the special maṇḍalas of Yogatantrism, the mudrās this manner become, in a merely apparent and technical sense, the indicators of the single phases of the meditation quite similar, in this sense, to the symbolic figures of the maṇḍala.

The esoteric significance of the mudrā, however, is to be conceived in its relation to the mantra which is pronounced during the exercise of the mudrā. The esoteric significance of the mudrā is that of establishing a potential state of spiritual contact between the sādhaka and the deity concerned, while the mantra is to release their active contact.
The Rice-маnḍala.

The 37 elements of the manḍala in manuscript A, given and commented on p. 90, are the characteristic constituents of the Rice-маnḍala. Taken in their ritual order they form a series of groups showing the following correspondance to the diagraphic arrangement of the manḍala:

Centre: Meru, the centre of the universe. — 1st circle: the four continents and their eight satellite islands. — 2nd circle: the four worldly treasures. — 3rd circle: the eight jewels. — 4th circle: the eight mother-goddesses of Buddhism. — 5th circle: the two celestial bodies sun and moon and the two symbols of secularity and religion.

These elements are the principal constituents of the Buddhist cosmos, and therefore the rice-маnḍala is, in fact, a microgram of the universe. The rice-маnḍala is fairly well known from various works. Waddell\(^1\) gives the names of the elements in dialect, a diagram, a translation of the ritual text, and a number of ceremonial details, all originating from the Kar-gyu sect in Tibet. Lessing\(^2\) gives an account of the different sorts of elements and their ritual arrangement and sequence from informations obtained in the famous temple of Yung-Ho-Kung in Peking. Schubert\(^3\) gives a Tibetan ritual text with translation and copious notes, and Lessing\(^4\) gives additional references to texts together with new material collected in Peking.

Comparing the elements of manuscript A with the series of elements given by Waddell, Lessing, and Schubert, we find a complete correspondance as to the significance of the elements, making due allowance for the uncertainty issuing from our elements nos. 14 and 37 (see notes). The diagrams, however, do not show such a correspondance. While the diagrams given by Lessing and Schubert and by our manuscript have five circles

---

\(^1\) L. A. Waddell: The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism, London 1895, p. 397.
\(^2\) loc. cit. p. 105.
\(^5\) Acta Orientalia, XXIII
of elements around the central area, that given by Waddell shows three zones of elements around the central area of the maṇḍala, obtained by superposing the circle of the worldly treasures upon the circle of the continents, and by including two circles, nrs. 3 and 4 of the other diagrams, in one single zone, though maintaining two concentric circles of elements within this zone. Moreover, our elements nrs. 6 and 7 are situated oppositely to the corresponding elements of the other diagrams, probably due to a mere mistake, and our elements of the worldly treasures, nrs. 14—17, are displaced by 45 degrees from their natural positions. This anomaly may be ascribed to the carrying through of an error once committed in the placing of these elements, on the other hand it may be explained as a mere practical device, as described below.

The rice-maṇḍala is a sacrificial maṇḍala of a quite particular and most interesting type, through the performance of which the officiant creates anew the total universe including the devas and the integrity of wealth. Physically he creates it as the microcosmos of the maṇḍala itself, but mentally he creates it as a psychic reality which he mentally offers to the universal deities as a sacrifice, partially for thanksgiving, partially to procure divine favour for the benefit of all beings. Waddell describes this offering as a daily event in the lamaistic temples, and according to Lessing it is part of many major services, e.g. as a thanksgiving, gtañ-rag, by the khrus-gsol ceremony for the preparation of consecrated water.

With regard to the further description of the rice-maṇḍala, the ritual connected with it and the ceremonial performance we shall refer to the works of Waddell, Lessing, and Schubert cited above. Particular attention ought, however, to be paid to the cosmographic principle of the maṇḍala, to the fact that the pure cosmogonic elements of it represent the common Indian concept of the world with its arrangement of concentric graduation around the central mountain—only the nakṣatra may, perhaps, be considered missing. The circular system of the maṇḍala is nothing but the terraces of Meru as imagined in Indian cosmology, represented in their projection upon a horizontal plane. The diagram given by Waddell corresponds to the offer-stand of three
tiers given on p. 296 of his work, and represents in fact the ancient conception of a Meru having only three terraces, as known from the Atharva-Veda and maintained by several peoples of Central Asia, while the diagrams of Lessing, and Schubert and that of the present manuscript probably represent a later stage of development.

The cosmographic character of the maṇḍala, which not only applies to the rice-maṇḍala, but to maṇḍalas as a whole, is particularly emphasized by two invariable features in the rite of maṇḍalas, the orientation of the maṇḍala, and the strict observance of the direction of the daily motion of the universe. The orientation, no doubt, has originally been a pure astronomical one, but now it has, in most cases, a mere formal nature, following the common ritual rule that East is indicated by the position of the sādhaka. As mentioned above, four elements, nrs. 14—17 of the manuscript, are displaced from the primary to the secondary cardinal directions. According to the correct diagram four heaps of grain are to be placed in the primary directions, while only two heaps are to be placed in the secondary directions, and provided now that under certain conditions spacial difficulties may have arisen as to the realisation of this arrangement, then the problem might simply and practically be solved by displacing the four elements in the way actually shown by the manuscript, and such a displacement would mean no severe violation of the principles of the maṇḍala.

Maṇḍalas are celebrated throughout the Buddhist world, but have attained their highest development in the Tantrayāna. The age of the maṇḍala is unknown to us. The name itself, however, suggests a considerable age, and it may hardly be going too far, when referring the origin of the maṇḍala to the popular religion of a pre-Buddhist period.

Although the purpose of celebrating the maṇḍala may appear far remote from any cosmological significance of the maṇḍala, especially in the schools of Tantrism, yet it remains a fact that features of a pure cosmological nature yield fundamental characteristics to the maṇḍala and its performance, and the cosmologic frame and base of the maṇḍala, may prove less contradictory to its actual purposes and ceremonies, than immediately appearing to us.
First of all, the design of the world presents, on certain stages of religious conception, the natural frame within which the diverse powers or beings, good or evil, are to be invoked, conjured, or exorcised, such as we may presume that the main purpose of the maṇḍala has been in an early age of Buddhism or still earlier, the maṇḍala even nowadays serving the same purpose on a large scale.

Maintaining, during its inner and outer development, the cosmologic principles of the maṇḍala, deeply rooted in the common ideas of the masses, Buddhism, no doubt, has adapted the purposes and the use of the maṇḍala according to the actual doctrines and universal conceptions of its various schools, the elements of the maṇḍala undergoing corresponding transformations.

The idea of a god or active divine principle being independent on the law of action, Karma, and the conception of a spiritual world as developed in the Mahāyāna, brought meditatively a spiritual cosmos into existence, which became a reality in the psychic imagination, parallel to the material reality of cosmos represented as a microgram in the maṇḍala. When thus performing a maṇḍala for the purpose of invoking a god or attaining Nirvāṇa or Saṃādiḥ, the performer physically pervades the universe, in the most primitive sense starting from the outmost border of the world and wandering towards the abode of the divinity in its centre. Realizing, however, the omni-presence of the divine principle, he, in his meditation which advances step by step collaterally to the material performance of the maṇḍala, mentally visualizes the various aspects of the divinity, finally experiencing the universal totality of the supreme being.

Mudrās and Mantras
of Three Durgati-Pariśodhana-Maṇḍalas.

Mudrā and mantra are arcana sacra, only accessible to those duly initiated, and therefore only comparatively little information, especially about the mudrās and the liturgical correspondence between mudrās and mantras, is to be found in literature dealing with Buddhism. A rather extensive series of mudrās has
been published by Horion Toki\(^1\), whereto the valuable informations, given by H. Smidt, loc. cit., are to be added. A sort of handbook of mudrās in Śaktism or Hinduism, the Mudrā-Nīghaṇṭu, was published by Avalon\(^2\), and various, mostly fragmentary material is given by several authors, e. g. by de Visser\(^3\).

The manuscript B contains no arbitrary collection of mudrās and mantras, but a certain inner coherence is obvious. On the other hand, it appears that the material does not constitute one connected whole. Thus two different languages occur in the mantras, the drawings are of two different types, those with Tibetan text being distinguished by broad sleeve-bands (fig. 2) instead of the simple thin lines in the drawings having Sanskrit text, and finally a number of mudrās are occurring twice or more in an apparently systematic way.

The mantras constitute three mutually parallel sequences to be designated by I, II, and III, comprising the pages 35a—55b, 56a—78b, and 79a—97b, respectively. These three sequences of mantras are practically identical in the fundamental significance of the texts. Formally, the Sanskrit series I and II are almost identical, too, though differently abbreviated, while the Tibetan text of III is more explicit than the Sanskrit texts. Regarding the mudrās, we find that I and III represent two almost identical series, while II is quite different from them. Furthermore, the Sanskrit series I and II are invocative, while the Tibetan series III has a referring and explanatory character. All the three sections, however, have the general appearance of liturgic prescriptions or sādhanas, one of them, the Tibetan section, particularly referring to the arrangement of a maṇḍala.

The first 37 mantras of all three series, collaterally refer to one and the same sequence of Tantric deities, while the subsequent few mantras show a less distinct correlation, and therefore it has been found appropriate to deal at first with the three series of 37 mantras, before considering the remaining fragments. The particular sequence of 37 Tantric deities, found in the manu-

---

\(^1\) Si-don-ln-dzou, Annales du Musée Guimet, tom. VIII, Paris 1899.


script, exactly corresponds to the sequence of deities in the cycle of Kun-rig rNam-par-snañ-mdsad, or Sarvavid-Vairocana, given in column IV of table I according to the different canonic and non-canonic sources of this cycle.

The cycle of Kun-rig rNam-par-snañ-mdsad, which has attained a very great importance in various schools of Buddhism as a symbolic base of diverse systems of meditation, probably has as its original source a Sarva-durgati-pariñodhana-sutra known from a Tibetan version in bkah-hgyur (Tōhoku 483) entitled Sarva-durgati-pariñodhana tejo-rājasya Tathāgatasya Arhato Samyakṣambuddhasya kalpa nāma, to which Tsoñ-kha-pa has elaborated two commentations (Tha and Dsa of his complete works). To these sources we may add the important literature originating from the Sarvatathāgatalatativasaṅgraha, to which we shall return a little later, and various Tibetan sources reported by Tucci.

In all this material the cycle of Kun-rig, invariably presents the same sequence of deities as found in table I and in our manuscript. Moreover, it appears that the mantras in the manuscript, corresponding to the 37 deities, are identical with the mantras of the same 37 deities, found in the literary sources of the cycle and the mañḍalas of Kun-rig and given by Tucci, loc. cit. p. 32–36. — In consequence of these statements and of the fact that the very names of Kun-rig rNam-par-snañ-mdsad and of Sarvavid-Vairocana occur in the initiating mantras of the three sections of the manuscript, we may be justified in concluding that the three sections, as far as the 37 first elements are concerned, refer to ceremonies of Vairocana-mañḍalas of the Durgati-Pariñodhana type, cf. notes referring to nr. 3[5] a of table I.

Regarding the remaining fragments of the three sections the fundamental question is whether they are integral constituents of the sections, or they are irrelevant in the present connection, belonging to other series of mantras. In principle, the mantras in a sādhana based on a cycle of 37 deities are not necessarily confined to the number of 37, but it is a conditio sine qua non that all these 37 deities are represented and none more. If the

---
1 Indo-Tibetica III, pt. 1.
fragments are to be considered as coherent with the preceding sequences, symbols such as Vajraśravāga or Vajrapratīṅga must refer to the cycle and particularly to Vairocana. No reference of this kind, however, seems obvious, nor do these symbols occur in the great Vairocana-maṇḍala containing 133 elements. Recognizing all circumstances at hand, including that the manuscript itself is a fragment of a more extensive collection, it may be justifiable to consider the evidently coherent parts of the sections as independent units in themselves, possibly being components of a greater liturgical whole within which a formal or ceremonial coherence between the sādhanas of 37 mantras and the remaining fragments, may exist.

According to Tsos-kha-pa the cycle of Sarvavid-Vairocana represents essential features in the doctrine of Mahāyāna. In fact, it represents a special conception of the 37 bodhipākṣikas or conditions for attaining bodhi, or the 37 sorts of practice, mentioned by Asaṅga. Sarvavid-Vairocana symbolizes the pure and primigenial cognition, and the 36 deities symbolize various emanations of this cognition, being more and more diffuse the further we descend the sequence of the symbolizing deities. Taken in their opposite order, the 37 deities represent the elements of the maṇḍala, and indicate the single phases of the act of meditation which has the final aim to realize psychically, and to attain, this primigenial state of purity and cognition, i.e. identity with the supreme being symbolized by Sarvavid-Vairocana.

The 37 deities are classified in 7 groups of particular esoteric significance, as schematically outlined in the Tibetan section of the manuscript:

1. Sarvavid-Vairocana signifies the pure cognition or dharma-lājñāna. — 2. The 4 principal emanations or Tathāgata represent 4 particular aspects of the pure cognition, the ādāraśajñāna. In the Vajradhātu- and the Kongā-kai-maṇḍala they are conceived as the 4 Bhūmi-Buddhas. — 3. The 4 śaktis represent the 4 aspects of self-vanquishing or vimokṣamukha. In section III they are defined as the "components of the great śakti sphere". — 4. The 16 Bodhisattvas symbolize 16 different insubstantialities or sānyāta of Mahāyāna doctrine, being in III subdivided into

---

4 “mental spheres” of “the East”, “the South”, “the West”, and “the North”. — 5. The 4 goddesses, Lāsyā, Mālā, Gitā, and Nṛtyā signify the four perfections: the gift, the morality, the patience, and the energy. In III they are “goddesses of the inner (spiritual) sacrifice”. — 6. The 4 goddesses, Dhūpā, Puṣpā, Alokā (or Dipā), and Gandhā, in III designated as “goddesses of the inner (spiritual) obliteration”, denote the four remanent perfections, those of meditation, of mystic cognition, of conviction, and of the cognition of the appropriate means. — 7. The 4 doorkeepers signify fidelity, energy, conscious will of cognition, and concentration, being in III characterized as “the great doorkeepers of the inner sphere”.

The arrangement of maṇḍalas of Sarvavid-Vairocana is particularly known from the extensive material given by Tucci in his various works. The cycle of 37 elements, though having a constant doctrinal significance, may, however, be represented by a multitude of maṇḍala-arrangements according to Tantric conception, and the diagrams of the actually known maṇḍalas of this cycle exhibit pronounced divergencies. Thus, maṇḍala of Kun-rig rNam-par-sna-mdgsad is, in reality, the designation of a group of maṇḍalas and not that of one specific arrangement of maṇḍala. Judging from the available material, the maṇḍalas of the Vairocana cycle of 37 deities may be referred to two groups of maṇḍalas, those of Kun-rig., and those of Vajradhātu and the Katsuma-E of the Kongō-kai. The latter group originates from the Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṅgraha-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra¹, and the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala is described in the Tattvasaṅgraha of bsTan- hgyur², commented in Tattvālokari by Ānandagarbha. Further it is found in the Chinese canon³, and a description of the Kongō-kai-maṇḍala of the Singon sect is given by H. Smidt, loc. cit.

Comparing the diagram of the Kun-rig.-maṇḍala of the Sakyapa school⁴ with those of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala⁵ and the

² Tōhoku Index, Tanjur, rgyud ku 2516, 2529, and 2530, and ri 2504.
³ Taishō, vrs. 865, 866, and 882.
⁴ Tucci, 1.-T. III. 1, p. 39.
⁵ ibid. p. 40.
Kongō-kai-manḍala¹, we state a fundamental difference. In the former the 4 principal emanations and the 4 śaktis constitute the inmost circle and the 16 Vajrabodhisattvas form a single, common circle, while in the latter the inmost circle only contains the śaktis, the Dhyāni-Buddhas forming the centres of 4 minor manḍalas, each of them containing 4 Vajrabodhisattvas. Regarding the three sādhanas of the manuscript, both types of diagram may be referred to, but the obvious allusions to a manḍala, given in III, which assign a sort of separate grouping to the śaktis, and distinctly refer the Vajrabodhisattvas to four groups, one for each of the cardinal points, seem to indicate a diagram of the latter type. As the principal emanations, according to their Tibetan names in the Kun-rig-manḍalas, cannot be immediately identified with the Dhyāni-Buddhas, and they furthermore, in some iconographies given by Tucci, seem to be comprised in the central representation of Sarvavid-Vairocana, serious obstacles arise against placing them in the centres of the minor manḍalas, but then, realizing the ritual sequence of the deities, we are compelled to place the four śaktis in these centres. A decisive statement at this point, however, can only be expected, if a more extensive and precise material becomes available, and the present study might possibly involve, that some further attention is paid to hitherto unstudied or unpublished material dealing with Buddhist liturgy.

Description of the Manuscripts.

Manuscript A consists of a single sheet of paper, 48 × 48 cm, showing at its front a manḍala represented by the names of its elements written in a rather negligent Tibetan (dbu-can). The manuscript is reproduced in a reduced scale in fig. 1, and the adjacent transparency provides a numeration of the elements, indicating their ritual sequence. As the text of the manuscript mostly consists of abbreviations, in some cases showing noteworthy peculiarities, the original text of each element according to the above mentioned numeration is given on p. 90, accom-

¹ H. Smidt, loc. cit.
panied by an explicite formulation in connection with some explanatory notes.

Manuscript B consists of 62 sheets, being each of them folded once into the size of 14 × 17 cm, showing on each of its two outside pages the drawing of a hand-posture or mudrā accompanied by one or more explanatory lines of text, or mantras written in Tibetan or in Sanskrit with Tibetan letters (dbu-can). The manuscript shows a close formal resemblance with the Cambridge manuscripts, Add. 1278 and Add. 1320 originating from the collections undertaken by Daniel Wright in Nepal and constituting, according to references, the chapter Ādiyogasamādhi of Sarvadurgati-paripāṭdhana1. The drawings have originally been copied from somewhere else by transferring them, two at a time, to sheets of thin transparent paper, which thereafter were glued to equally large sheets of a thicker sort of paper, and finally, each of these thus combined sheets has been folded once, the drawings being kept on the outward side.

The folded sheets of manuscript B show two different, but roughly corresponding, Chinese numerations written at the front-pages in Chinese fashion, and both of them are somewhat uncorrect, apart from the deficiency of several figures owing to a later cutting into size of the sheets. Besides, the numbered pages of the sheets carry a Chinese stamp in red colour (fig. 2), running: pei² la³ ma² chi² (Giles), or “Composed by Pei Lama”, Pei being a personal name, probably the monastic name of the lama. It signifies “the precious one” and is commonly used as a surname in China. La ma corresponds to Tibetan bLama.

The first important object of the general analysis of manuscript B has been that of stating the correct sequence of the sheets, and a detailed examination of the text has shown that the order, in which the sheets have actually been found, is the correct one. For the purpose of providing a convenient mode of reference, a corrected edition of the most complete Chinese numeration has been elaborated, coinciding with the actual order of the manuscript, but running from nr. 35 to nr. 97. The single pages

are indicated by addition of the letter a or b to the number of the sheet, thus denoting recto or verso in Chinese sense.

All the mudrās are reproduced on the folded plates and the sequences of text resulting from the mantras, are given on p. 97, as well in a direct transcription as in a corrected edition. For the purpose of comparison the mantras of the cycle of Kun-rig rNam-par-snañ-mdsad, given by Tucci (I—T., III. 1, p. 32—6), are quoted on p. 101, and a quasi-translation of the texts of section I and III is given on p. 101 ff, merely to give an impression of the general character of the liturgic texts in question, and an idea of the variety of objects serving the Tantric symbology. In the subsequent notes to the texts references to the iconography of the various deities, given by Clark, loc. cit., are quoted.

To obtain a general view of the material, the three sequences of text, I—III, have been co-ordinated in the following table 1 together with the list of the deities constituting the cycle of Sarvavid-Vairocana, designated by IV.

Manuscript A. Text and Notes.

1. riği gyal po. Correctly, riği rgyal-po, “king of the mountains”, signifying Meru or Sumeru, the central mountain and centre of the Buddhist universe, and the dwelling-place of the devas. In common belief in India and Tibet it is identified with Mount Kailasa in Western Tibet, north of Lake Manasarowar.

2. šar-lus-lphags-po. In Sanskrit purvavideha, “the eastern holy body”, the eastern one of the four universal continents, being white and semi-circular of shape, its inhabitants being mild and tranquil.

3. lhor zad pu gliṅ. Corr. lho-hdsam-bu-gliṅ, “the southern Jambu-continent”, S. jambudvipa, “the continent of the Jambu-fruit” (the fruit of the “wishing tree” or rose-apple tree). The southern continent is our world, it is blue and triangular, and is characterized by riches.

4. nu pa gyañ sbyod. Corr. nub-ba glañ-spyod, S. aparagodāniya, “the cattle-breeding (continent) of the West”. The western continent is red and circular, with powerful inhabitants.

5. pyañ pał mi sñan. Corr. byañ-pa-la sgra-mi-sñan, the
author of the manuscript omitting sgra. It denotes "the (continent of) disagreeable noise in the North", S. uttarakuru, "the northern (continent of) disagreeable noise". This northern continent is green and square of shape, having extremely fierce and noisy inhabitants.

6. lus. S. deha, "body", signifying one of the two satellite islands of the eastern continent, Purvavideha, each of the four continents being accompanied by two satellite islands in the Mahāyāna conception of the world.


8. rña-yab. S. cāmara, "the father of tails", the fabulous country of the Rakṣas, and one of the satellite islands of Jambudvīpa.


10. g'yan ldan. Corr. g'yo-ldan, S. śātha, "deceitfulness", satellite island of Aparagodāniya.

11. lam-mchog-hgro. "Wanderer of the best way", S. most frequently called uttaramantrīna, "follower of the wise". It indicates the second satellite of Aparagodāniya.

12. sgra-mi-sñan. S. kuru, "the disagreeable noise", satellite island of the northern continent Uttarakuru.

13. sgra-mi-sñan-gyi zla-ba. "the moon (of the island) of disagreeable noise", S. kaurava, "(the island) belonging to the continent of Kuru", being the second satellite of Uttarakuru. According to Samghabhadra this island, as well as Deha, Videha, and Kuru, are deserted.

14. ri nag (chag?) ma. The writing is too indistinct to permit a reliable reading or interpretation. Considering its connection with the rest of the text, we should expect, in this place, a designation of the "jewel-mountain", rin-po-cheḥi ri-bo, which so far is confirmed by the text, as ri is the Tibetan word for mountain.

15. dpa-bsam-gyi śīn. Corr. dpag-bsam-gyi śin, S. kalpalatikā, "The wish-granting tree", which is generally placed in the continent of Jambudvīpa. In consequence of this fact, and according to the arrangements of similar mapdglas, we should expect to find this element in the same direction as Jambudvīpa. A cor-
responding anomaly is found as to the positions of the elements 14, 16, and 17. These four elements together, represent the four so-called "worldly treasures".


17. ma-rnos-pahi lo-lo. Corr. ma-rnos-pahi lo-tag, "the unploughed crop", signifying "the crop which grows without being cultivated". This worldly treasure generally belongs to the continent of the North, Uttarākura.

18. ḡkhor-lo rin-po-che. S. cakruratna, "the jewel of the wheel (sc. of law)", being the first of the so-called "Seven Jewels", S. saptaratna, the attributes of the Universal King, Cakravartin-Rāja, also known in Hinayāna (Anguttara-Nikaya 4, p. 89). The present element is the symbol of perfection of the law.

19. nor-bu rin-po-che. S. maṇiratna, "jewel of the jewels", the second of the Jewels, possessing the wealth and prosperity of Cakravartin-Rāja, and being the symbol of the accomplishment of wishes. It is also called amarghamāṇiratna, "the priceless gem", or cintawati, "the wishing-gem".

20. bṣun-mo rin-po-che. Corr. bṣun-mo rin-po-che, "the jewel of the wife", S. striratna. She is the ideal beauty who is fit for being the queen of Cakravartin-Rāja, fanning her lord to sleep, and attending him with the constancy of a slave, which altogether make her the symbol of "the calming caress".

21. blon-po rin-po-che. S. sancaratna, "the jewel of the minister", he who removes poverty, assures the well-being people by his justice, and regulates the business of the empire.

22. glah-po rin-po-che. S. hastaratna, "the jewel of the elephant". In the capacity of bearer of 84000 sacred books it symbolizes the infinite propagation of the religion, while borrowed from the Buddhism by the kings of Burma and Thai it is the symbol of universal sovereignty.

23. rla-mchog rin-po-che. "The jewel of the best horse", S. aśvaratna, "the jewel of the horse", which makes its possessor a wealthy man, and which symbolizes the prompt success in the acquisition of the qualities of the Buddha.

senāpatiratna, "the jewel of the general" who overcomes all
enemies with the sword of wisdom. In Hinayāna, he corresponds
to "the jewel of the husband", pariṇāyakaratna.
25. gter-chen-poṭi bum-pa. "The vase of great treasure". 
Though not belonging to the seven jewels, it has been added to
those by the lamas, to fill up the vacant eighth position in the
circle of the jewels, thus maintaining the symmetry of the man-
dala.
26. sgeg-mo-ma. "The goddess of dancing girls", S. lāsyā,
"the goddess of dance". She is the śakti of Mailreya, the future
fifth Mānuṣi-Buddha and the only Bodhisattva known in Hinayā-
n. Lāsyā is represented white, holding a mirror. She and the
following seven goddesses or Tārās are called the eight sacrificial
goddesses, or the eight mothers of Northern Buddhism.
27. hphra nab ma. Corr. hpren-ba-ma, S. mālā or mālinī,
"the goddess of garlands" being the śakti of Samantabhadra,
Dhyāni-Bodhisattva of Vairocana. She is represented yellow,
carrying a mālā, a rosary or garland.
28. glu-ma. S. gītā, "the goddess of song". glu covers any
kind of song, thus corresponding to S. gīta (neutr.), while in
classic S. gītā (fem.) denotes sacred song or poem. The Tibetan
word, however, makes it most probable that the name of the
goddess has been derived from gīta (neutr.).

   glu-ma or Gitā is the personification of some of the qualities
of the goddess Sarasvatī, the goddess of music and poetry, and
like her, she is the śakti of the Dhyāni-Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī,
the god of the transcendental wisdom, the Prajñāpāramitā. Gitā
is represented red, with a lyre.
29. gar-ma. S. nṛtyā, "the goddess of dance". Nṛtyā denotes
dance in general and pantomime, while lāsyā especially repres-
tsents the dance of entertainment. The former is represented
green, in a dancing attitude.
30. me dog ma. Corr. me-tog-ma, S. puspā, "the goddess of
flowers". She is the śakti of Dhyāni-Bodhisattva Kṣītiṣgarbhā
frequently represented in the initiation ceremonies of the Northern
Buddhist priesthood. The goddess appears white, having a
flower in her hand.
31. bdug spos ma. Corr. bdug-spos-ma, S. dhāpā, "the goddess
of incense”. She is the sakti of Dhyāni-Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha, and is represented yellow, carrying an incense vase.

32. snañ-gsal-ma. S. dipā, “the goddess of lamps”, represented red, her attribute being a lamp.

33. dri cha ma. Corr. dri-chab-ma, “the goddess of scented water”, S. gandhā, “the goddess of perfumes”, who is the sakti of Dhyāni-Bodhisattva Sarvanuvraṇaṇavīśkambhin. Her colour is red, and her attribute is the vase of perfume.

34. ŋi-ma. S. sārya, “the sun”.

35. zla-ba. S. candra, “the moon”.

36. rin po cheg. Corr. rin-po-chehi gdüs (the abbreviation is possibly due to lack of space), S. ratnachaltra, “the jewelled umbrella”, one of the eight auspicious emblems of royalty.

37. gduñ phyoṣa las. See the following element nr. 38.

38. rnam-par. According to the texts published by Schubert and Lessing the two elements nrs. 37 and 38 should be read: gduñ phyoṣa-las rnam-par-rgyal-baḥi rgyal-mtshan, of which gduñ, however, does not occur in the texts concerned. They should be translated by “The victorious banner of the world of passion”.

Therefore the rice-maṇḍala contains only 37 elements, not 38 ones as maintained by Waddell and Schubert and as apparently appearing from our manuscript. The 38th element is represented as “in the middle are the gods” by Waddell, and as “in der Mitte die Götter” by Schubert. It depends, however, on a misinterpretation of the Tibetan text, because the text which follows after rgyal-mtshan in element 37 is merely another way of describing the universe and its content, or the maṇḍala regarded from another point of view.

rNam-par might possibly be the beginning of rnam-par rgyal-baḥi khañ bzañ, “the entirely excellent mansion” designating the abode of the principal deity invoked, or the place of the universe occupied by the gods. The Tibetan texts speak against such an interpretation. On the other hand Waddell (loc. cit. p. 399) defines the 38th element just this way in his diagram, but it does not appear from his translation.

Therefore I am inclined to regard the text appearing as a 38th element as an expression comprising the mandala as a
whole, i.e. the apparent 38th element represents the total sum of the actual elements 1—37.

In the manuscript the word dai is added to the names of the elements 6, 8, 10, and 12. The occurrence of this word, meaning "and" or Latin "cum" (cf. "cumulative"), probably is to be ascribed to the influence of some additional text, or to a verbal representation.

*Manuscript B. Table 1.*

Numbers of the following table, given in *italics*, indicate that the corresponding mantra is written in Tibetan, and figures, given in [], are those reconstructed, owing to defaults or deficiencies of the manuscript, nrs. [54] and [68] excepted, being corrections for 53 bis and 66 of the Chinese numeration.

51 a is omitted, the page being unused. — 50 a—b are omitted, the sheet having the Chinese number 33, not belonging to the present series. Further, the pages carry no text, but only two mudrās given in the total reproduction above. — On page 67 b, two different mudrās are shown, one corresponding to 45 b and 89 b (Vajrakarma), while the other represents the namaskara-mudrā, corresponding to [54] a. The drawing of this mudra shows a quite particular fashion of the sleeves, but the significance of the mudrā at this place is unknown. — 95 a has only a text, but no mudrā. — 96 a—b are missing in the manuscript.

The signatures of the table are to be interpreted in the following way, the comparative signatures of the first four or five numbers of the three sections, though, being rather disputable, owing to great formal divergencies in the corresponding texts:

*indicates that the mudrā only occurs once.

== identical mudrā, mantra, and position in the ritual sequence.

= identical mantra and position, different mudrās.

~ identical mudrā and position, different mantras.

figure) identical index-figures denote identical mudrās having different mantras and positions.

letter) identical index-letters denote identical mudrās and mantras having different positions.
CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF MANḌALA AND MUDRĀ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>II</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>57a²</td>
<td>36a</td>
<td>80a</td>
<td>(3): rGyal-mehog-rin-chen, (S. Ratnasambhava).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57b²</td>
<td>36b</td>
<td>80b</td>
<td>(4): Śākya rīg-dbaṅ, (S. Amitābha).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60a²</td>
<td>38a</td>
<td>82a</td>
<td>(7): Māmakī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60b²</td>
<td>38b</td>
<td>82b</td>
<td>(8): Pāṇḍarā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61a²</td>
<td>39a</td>
<td>83a</td>
<td>(9): Tārā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61b²</td>
<td>39b</td>
<td>83b</td>
<td>(10): Vajrasattva.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64a²</td>
<td>42a</td>
<td>86a</td>
<td>(15): Vajratējaḥ or Vajrāsūrya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64b²</td>
<td>42b</td>
<td>86b</td>
<td>(16): Vajraketu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[65]a²</td>
<td>43a</td>
<td>87a</td>
<td>(17): Vajrāhāsa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[65]b²</td>
<td>43b</td>
<td>87b</td>
<td>(18): Vajradhāma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[68]a²</td>
<td>46a</td>
<td>90a</td>
<td>(23): Vajrarakṣa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[68]b²</td>
<td>46b</td>
<td>90b</td>
<td>(24): Vajrayakṣa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69a²</td>
<td>47a</td>
<td>91a</td>
<td>(25): Vajrasandhi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69b²</td>
<td>47b</td>
<td>91b</td>
<td>(26): Vajralāsyā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70a²</td>
<td>48a</td>
<td>92a</td>
<td>(27): Vajramālā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70b²</td>
<td>48b</td>
<td>92b</td>
<td>(28): Vajrgitā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71a</td>
<td>49a</td>
<td>93a</td>
<td>(29): Vajranṭṭyā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71b²</td>
<td>49b</td>
<td>93b</td>
<td>(30): Vajradhūpā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72a²</td>
<td>50a</td>
<td>94a</td>
<td>(31): Vajrapuṣpā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72b²</td>
<td>50b</td>
<td>94b</td>
<td>(32): Vajrālokā.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6 Acta Orientalia, XXIII
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>II</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>73a* = 51b1* = 95a*</td>
<td>(33): Vajragandhā.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73b* = 52a* = 95b1*</td>
<td>(34): Vajraṅkuśā.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74a* = 52b*</td>
<td>(35): Vajrapaśā.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74b* = 53a6</td>
<td>(36): Vajrasphoṭā.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75a* = 53b7</td>
<td>9[7]a0</td>
<td>(37): Vajraghaṇṭā.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75b6 = [54]a</td>
<td>9[7]b7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7[6]a4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7[6]b5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77a6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77b = [54]b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78a = 55a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78b* = 55b*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(Original text, section I.)*

3(5)a. om śvānhusdhanavajra, dbul gi la baḥi, raṅGIS thu khar, om sarvavid hūm. 3(5)b. thug khar samalastvāṃ, lha tshog re thams cad gyis, ma lus saṃ cad, om vajra amkuśanca, samyastvāṃ, om sarvavid hūm. 36a. om sarvavid phaṭ. 36b. om sarvavid āḥ. 37a. om sarvavid traṭ.

37b. om buddhalocani hūm. 38a. om vajramāmakī trāṃ. 38b. om vajrabāṇṭare tehe. 39a. om vajra tāretutāre.

39b. vajrasatva hūm. 40a. vajrarāja ja. 40b. vajrarāja hoḥ. 41a. vajrasādhu dhus.

41b. vajradna trāṃ. 42a. vajrateja rya. 42b. vajraketu bhri. 43a. vajrahāsa hā.

43b. vajradharmāḥ hṛi. 44a vajratākṣaṇa dhī. 44b. vajrāhetu kruṃ. 45a. vajrābhaṣa bha.

45b. vajrakarmāḥ kaṃ. 46a. vajrarakṣa raṃ. 46b. vajrayakṣa kṣaṃ. 47a. vajrasandhi śaṃ.

47b. vajralasya hūm. 48a. vajramāle trāṃ. 48b. vajrākṛtī hṛi. 49a. vajranyite āḥ.

49b. vajrābhūmpe hūm. 50a. vajra eputṭe trāṃ. 50b. vajra āloki hṛi. 51b. vajragandha āḥ.

52a. vajra amkuśa ja. 52b. vajrapaśa hūm. 53a. vajrassoṭa vaṇ. 53b. vajraghaṇṭa hoḥ.

(54)a. kalpabhadraṇi, om sarva samskarapari. (54)b. vajra šravaga. 5(5)a. vajra pratiṅka. 5(5)b. vajra krodha.
Corrected text of section I:

3(5)a. Om svam buddhajñānayajra, dbul-gyi lha-bahi, raṅ-gis thugs-dkar, om sarvavid hūṃ. 3(5)b. thugs-dkar samalastvaṃ, lha-tshogs-de thams-cad-gyis, ma-lus thams-cad, om vajrāṅku-śanca, samastvaṃ, om sarvavid hūṃ. 36a. om sarvavid phaṭ. 36b. om sarvavid āḥ. 37a. om sarvavid traṭ.
37b. om buddhalocani hūṃ. 38a. om vajramāmaki trāṃ. 38b. om vajrapāṇḍare dehi. 39a. om vajratāretutāre.
39b. vajrasattva hūṃ. 40a. vajrarāja ja. 40b. vajrarāja hoḥ. 41a. vajrasādhu dhus.
41b. vajraratna trāṃ. 42a. vajrateja rya. 42b. vajraketu bhri. 43a. vajrahāsa hā.
43b. vajraddharmāḥ hri. 44a. vajratīkṣṇa dhi. 44b. vajraketu kruṃ. 45a. vajrābhāṣa bha.
45b. vajrakarma kāṃ. 46a. vajrakṣa raṃ. 46b. vajrayakṣa kṣaṃ. 47a. vajrasandhi ślaṃ.
47b. vajrālaḥsya hūṃ. 48a. vajramāle trāṃ. 48b. vajrākrti hri. 49a. vajraṃṭye āḥ.
49b. vajraddhūpe hūṃ. 50a. vajrapuṣpe trāṃ. 50b. vajrāloki hri. 5(1)b. vajragandhe āḥ.
52a. vajrāṅkuśan ja. 52b. vajrapāṣa hūṃ. 53a. vajrasphoṭa vaṃ. 53b. vajraghanja hoḥ.
(54)a. kalpabhadrāṇi, om sarvasaṃskarapati. (54)b. vajra-śravaga. 5(5)a. vajraprajñā. 5(5)b. vajrakrodha.

Original text, section II.

56a. sarvavid. 56b. sarvavid. 57a. sarvavid. 57b. sarvavid. 5(8)a. sarvavid.
5(8)b. buddhalojani. 33a. no text. 33b. no text. 60a. vajramāmaki. 60b. vajrapaṭṭari. 61a. vajratāri.
61b. vajrasatva. 6(2)a. vajrarāja. 6(2)b. vajrakaha. 6(3)a. vajrasadhu.
6(3)b. vajraranā. 64a. vajrateṇa. 64b. vajrakedu. (65)a. vajra ha za.
(65)b. vajra rta rma. 6(6)a. vajradhiṣaṇa, vajradhikṣaṇa. 6(6)b. vajrahita. 6(7)a. vajrapaṣa pā.
6(7)b. vajrakarmakaṃ. (68)a. vajrarakṣa raṃ. (68)b. vajrayakṣa kṣaṃ. 69a. vajrasandhi.
Corrected text of section II:

56a. sarvavid. 56b. sarvavid. 57a. sarvavid. 57b. sarvavid. 5(8)a. sarvavid.
5(8)b. buddhalocani. 60a. vajramāmaki. 60b. vajrapāṇḍare. 61a. vajratāre.
61b. vajrasattva. 6(2)a. vajrarāja. 6(2)b. vajrarāga. 6(3)a. vajrasādhū.
6(3)b. vajraratna. 64a. vajrateja. 64b. vajraketu. 65a. vajraḥāsā.
65b. vajradharma. 6(6)a. vajratikṣa. 6(6)b. vajrahetu.
6(7)a. vajrabhāṣa pā.
6(7)b. vajraśākramāṇ. 68a. vajraśākramāṇ. 68b. vajrayākṣa kṣaṇ. 69a. vajrasandhi.
6(9)b. vajralāśye. 70a. vajramāle. 70b. vajrakīrti. 71a. vajraṁtye.
71b. vajradhūpe. 72a. vajrapuṣpe. 72b. vajrāloki. 73a. vajragandhe.
73b. vajraśūka ca. 74a. vajrapāśa. 74b. vajrasphoṭa. 75a. vajraghaṇḍa.
75b. kalpabhadrā. 76a. kalpabhadrāṇī. 76b. kalpabhadrāṇī. 77a. kalpabhadrāṇī. 77b. vajraśravaga. 78a. vajra-pratīṅga. 78b. vajrakrodha.

Original text, section III.

79a. rgya po kun ri rnam par snaṅ dsa gyi. 79b. sbyoṅ baṅ rgya po daṅ. 80a. rgya cho ren chen daṅ. 80b. sā rgya ri dbaṅ daṅ. 81a. me do cher bya de.
81b. byan ma dañ. 82a. maẖ ma gi dañ. 82b. gos kar mo dañ. 83a. sgrol ma ḏi yun chen po žiṅ gyad.

83b. rdo rje sam pa dañ. 84a. rdo rje pya mo dañ. 84b. rdo rje chags pa dañ. 85a. rdo rje le pa de śar phyo gi sem pa žib gyad.

85b. rdo rje rin chen dañ. 86a. rdo rje gzi ba rjid dañ. 86b. rdo rje rgyal tshen dañ. 87a. rdo rje bزاد pa de lho phyo gi sen pa bźi byad.

87b. rdo rje chos dañ. 88a. rdo rje rnon po dañ. 88b. rdo rje rgyu dañ. 89a. rdo rje smra ba de nu phyo gi sem pa bźi byad.

89b. rdo rje las dañ. 90a. rdo rje sruṅ ba dañ. 90b. rdo rje no byin dañ. 91a. rdo rje khu chur di byaṅ phyo gi sem pa bźi byad.

91b. ge mo dañ. 92a. phren ba dañ. 92b. glu ma dañ. 93a. gar ma de naṅ gi pi lha ma bźi byad.

93b. du po ma dañ. 94a. me do ma dañ. 94a. me do ma dañ. 94b. mar me ma dañ. 95a. dri cho ma daṅ phyiḥi cho pa la mo žib byad.

95b. rdo rje lca kyu dañ. . . . . . 97a. rdo rje be pa de naṅ gi sgo bo chen po bźi byad.

97b. byam pa.

Corrected text of section III:

79a. rgyal-po kun-rig rnam-par-snaṅ-mdsad-gyi. 79b. shyoṅ-bahi rgyal-po dañ. 80a. rgyal-mchog rin-chen dañ. 80b. śākyā rig-dbaṅ daṅ. 81a. me-tog-cher-rgyas bya-de.

81b. spyan-ma dañ. 82a. mā-ma-ki dañ. 82b. gos-dkar-mo dañ. 83a. sgrol-ma-hdi yum-chen-po-žiṅ byad.

83b. rdo-rje sens-dpaṅ dañ. 84a. rdo-rje rgyal-po dañ. 84b. rdo-rje chags-pa dañ. 85a. rdo-rje legs-pa-de śar-phyogs-kyi sens-pa-bźi byad.


Mantras of the cycle of Kun-rig rNam-par-snañ-mdsad, according to G. Tucci:

1. Oṃ sarvavid sarvāvarana viśodhaya hana hūṃ phaṭ.
2. Oṃ sarvavid hūṃ.
3. Oṃ sarvavid phaṭ.
4. Oṃ sarvavid aḥ.
5. Oṃ sarvavid tra tha.
6. Oṃ buddhālocani hūṃ.
7. Oṃ vajramāmakī trāṃ.
8. Oṃ vajrapāṇḍare dehi dehi siddhiṃ bodhiṃ lokitaranī pa svāḥā.
9. Oṃ vajratāre tuṭāre ture hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ sva sva svāḥā.
10. Oṃ vajrasatṭva hūṃ.
11. Oṃ vajrarāja jaḥ.
15. Oṃ vajrāteja rya.
17. Oṃ vajrāhasa ha.
18. Oṃ vajradharma hriṅḥ.
20. Oṃ vajrāhetu kruṃ.
22. Oṃ vajrakarma kaṃ.
23. Oṃ vajrarakṣa ram.
24. Oṃ vajrayakṣa kaṃ.
25. Oṃ vajrasandhi saṃ.
27. Oṃ vajramāla trāṃ.
29. Oṃ vajraṃṭi aḥ.
30. Oṃ vajradhūpe hūṃ.
31. Vajrapuṣpe trāṃ.
32. Oṃ vajrāloke hriṅḥ.
33. Oṃ vajragandhe aḥ.
34. Oṃ vajraṅkuṣa jaḥ.
35. Oṃ vajrapāsa hūṃ.
36. Oṃ vajrasphotra baṃ.
37. Oṃ vajraghaṇṭa ho.

Translation of the Sanskrit text of section 1:

3(5)a. Oṃ! svam! Thou Buddha, whose vajra is knowledge! Oh, divinity of misery with the self like a white heart! Oṃ! all-knowing One, hūṃ! Oh, white heart! Oh, stain! Oh, thou
entire assembly of gods! Oh, every every! Oṃ! vajra of the
elephant goad, ca! Oh, assemblage! Oṃ! all-knowing One, huṃ!
Oṃ! all-knowing One, phaṭ! Oṃ! all-knowing One, äḥ! Oṃ! all-
knowing One, traṭ!
37b. Oṃ! Buddha-Locani, huṃ! Oṃ! Vajra-Māmaki, traṃ!
Oṃ! Vajra-Pāṇḍarā, tehe! Oṃ! Vajra-Tāretutāre!
39b. Hail, Vajrasattva, huṃ! Hail, Vajra king, ja! Hail, Vajra
passion, hoḥ! Hail, Vajra virtue, dhus!
41b. Hail, Vajra gem, traṃ! Hail, Vajra beauty, rya! Hail,
Vajra of the banner, bhrī! Hail, Vajra of laughter, hā!
43b. Hail, Vajra of dharma, hṛ! Hail, Vajra sharpness, dhī
Hail, Vajra cause, kruṃ! Hail, Vajra tale, bha!
45b. Hail, Vajra of karma, kaṃ! Hail, Vajra of rakṣa, raṃ!
Hail, Vajra of yākaṣa, kṣaṃ! Hail, Vajra of joinder, śaṃṭ!
47b. Oh, Vajra of merry dance, huṃ! Oh, Vajra of rosary,
traṃ! Oh, Vajra of utterance, hṛ! Oh, Vajra of dance, äḥ!
49b. Oh, Vajra of incense, huṃ! Oh, Vajra of flowers, traṃ!
Oh, Vajra of beholding, hṛ! Oh, Vajra of perfume, äḥ!
52a. Vajra of the elephant goad, ja! Vajra of the noose, huṃ!
Vajra of splitting, vaṃ! Vajra of the bell, hoḥ!
(54)a. Hail, era of prosperity! Oṃ! Lord of entire notion!
Hail, Vajra of hearkening! Hail, Vajra of approaching! Hail,
Vajra wrath!

Translation of the Tibetan text of section III:

79a. (About) Adressing one's self to the all-knowing king
Vairocana, the king of purification; and the precious good king;
and the śākya possessing power of cognition; and he who mul-
tifies the great flowers.

81b. The goddess of the eye, and Māmaki, and the goddess
with white garment, and the saviouress, those four components
of the great śakti sphere.

83b. The Vajra of intellect, and the Vajra of king, and the
Vajra of passion, and the Vajra of virtue, those four components
of the mental sphere of the East.

85b. The Vajra of gem, and the Vajra of beauty, and the
Vajra of the banner of victory, and the Vajra of laughter, those
four components of the mental sphere of the South.
87b. The Vajra of dharma, and the Vajra of sharpness, and the Vajra of cause, and the Vajra of tale, those four components of the mental sphere of the West.

89b. The Vajra of karma, and the Vajra of guardian, and the Vajra of the bestower of evil, and the Vajra of clenched hands, those four components of the mental sphere of the North.

91b. The goddess of dancing girls, and the goddess of garlands, and the goddess of song, and the goddess of dance, those four goddesses of the inner (spiritual) sacrifice.

93b. The goddess of incense, and the goddess of flowers, and the goddess of lamps, and the goddess of perfume, those four constituent goddesses of the inner (spiritual) obliteration.

95b. The Vajra of the elephant goad, and . . . . , . . . ., the Vajra of the oppressor, those four constituting the great doorkeepers of the inner sphere.

9(?)b. Oh, love! . . .

Notes to the texts.

3[5]a. The text represents a combination of Sanskrit and Tibetan terminology. swatihuddha probably stands for svam buddha, svam being an interjection; jana correspondingly stands for jñāna. Vajra (rdo-rje) in its fundamental significance denotes the thunderbolt of Indra, and hence it signifies the diamond in the sense of hardness and durability. Further, it is the metaphor of the essence, the imperishable, genuine, and divine quality of the idea, conceived by the vocable to which it is attached. Moreover, it signifies the divine energy (śakti) or intelligence (viśṇāna), any divine being representing a vajrasattva, according to the Tantrayāna.

thu khar, corr. thugs-khar, “white heart” expresses the purification or purity. — dba-mgig lha-bahī ravi-gis thugs-khar is to be interpreted as an equivalent to Durgati-Pariśodhana, a quality of that exponent of Vairocana who generally is known by the epithet of Sarvavid or Kuṇ-rig being used in the very text we are dealing with. — (Clark p. 114 and 241).

3[5]b. Combined text as before — samala, adj., “stained” or “soiled”, becomes an abstract noun by the addition of the suffix tvā, which also applies to samya, adj., “meeting”.

37b. Buddhaśocani or Locani is the goddess of enlightening and the śakti of Dhyāni-Buddha Akṣobhya, the latter being always placed in the East of the maṇḍala. The goddess herself is one of the five Dhyāni-Buddha-Śaktis, the rest of whom, with exception of Vajrāhātiśocani, śakti of Vairocana, occur in yrs. 38a—b, and 39a. — (Clark p. 152).

38a. Matakā is the Dhyāni-Buddha-Śakti of Ratnasambhava residing in the South of the maṇḍala. — (Clark p. 151).
Fig. 2.
Manuscript B, page 37a and 86a.
Sequence I

37a  37b  38a  38b

41a  41b  42a  42b  43a

45b  46a  46b  47a  47b

50a  50a  50b  51b  52a

54b  55a  55b

39a. Tāretutāre is part of the mantra of the goddess Tārā: Oṃ! Tāretutāre ture svāhā! (Waddell, I. e. p. 150) or Oṃ vajrātāre tūtāre ture hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ sva sva svāhā (Tucci, Indo-Tibetica, III. I. p. 33). Tārā, “the saviouress”, is the Dhyāni-Buddha-Śakti of Amogasiddha in the northern direction of the maṇḍala. — (Clark p. 60).

39b. Vajrasattvā, I. e. “whose essence is the thunderbolt”, denotes 1) the Ādi-Buddha, comprising in himself the sum of the Dhyāni-Buddhas, 2) the spiritual son of Akṣobhya and as such, the supreme one of the six Dhyāni-Buddhas and of the Yidam, 3) a Vajrabodhisattvā or symbolic object of meditation, in which sense Vajrasattvā is to be adopted in the present case. In the same way, the following fifteen mudrās, urs. 40a—47a, represent Vajrabodhisattvā or objects of meditation of a pure symbolic character. — (Clark p. 129 and 273).

40a. Vajrārāja (Clark p. 128 and 272).
40b. Vajrārāga (Clark p. 120 and 272).
41a. Vajraśāhu (Clark p. 119 and 272).
41b. Vajraśālā (Clark p. 119 and 272).
42a. Vajrautejā (Clark p. 119 and 271).
42b. Vajraukētu (Clark p. 141 and 271).
43a. Vajrābhāsa (Clark p. 141 and 271).
43b. Vajradharma. — Dharmāḥ of the text is a vocative plural of dharma (masc.). — According to Vācyakhyākṣā, cited in Chaos-hūnyu of Bu-ston (Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus, Heft 18, 1931, p. 19), dharma signifies: an element of existence, the Path, Nirvāṇa, a non-sensuous element, virtue, life, the Doctrine, (the quality of) constant becoming, religious vow, and worldly law. — (Clark p. 142 and 271).

44a. Vajraśūla (Clark p. 142 and 270).
44b. Vajraśānu (Clark p. 142 and 270).
45a. Vajrabhāsā (Clark p. 144 and 270).
45b. Vajrabhūmā. — Karmaṅkām is composed of karma and the interjection kam as indicated by a Visarga, while karmanīkāṃ, which occurs in 6[7?b], has been derived from karma by addition of the suffix ka without altering the sense of the word: action, promoting or preventing the transmigration of souls. It is the eleventh Niḍāna or cause of existence, and the fourth one of the Skandhas or five components of human beings. — (Clark p. 144 and 270).

46a. Vajraśāna. — The Raṅgas are fabulous beings, living on the island of Cāmara (cf. p. 91), and are invoked by sorcerers. They attend Vaṭrasana, who embodies Kuvera in his capacity of Dharmapāla. — (Clark p. 144 and 269).


47a. Vajrasandhi. — sandhī originates from samdhi, which in classic Sanskrit means to “place together”. In this sense the Tibetan name khu-ṭshur indicates “clenched hands” and corresponds to Sanskrit Vajramasthi, which is synonymous with Vajrasandhi. — (Clark p. 145 and 269).

47b. Lāśyā, cf. p. 93. — Lāśyā is an irregular vocative form of lāśyā, having
a terminating a instead of e. The same irregularity occurs in a number of cases in the manuscript and is possibly due to an influence of the masculine a-termination in vocative of the a-declension. — (Clark p. 145).


48b. Kirī, “goddess of tale”, is probably related to Gihā, by whom she is found to be substituted in similar circles of goddesses.


52a. Vajrāṅkūṭā, “Vajra Hook”, is one of the four female doorkeepers (devārapālī), who guard the doors of the enclosure of the maṇḍala. She is black and white, having a horsehead. — (Clark p. 64).

52b. Vajrapālā, “Vajra Noose”, is the second doorkeeper, being black and yellow with a boarhead. — (Clark p. 64).

53a. Vajrapatā, “Vajra Splitting”, is the third doorkeeper, being red with a lionhead. — (Clark p. 64).


54a. samkara has various significations in the different parts of the Mahāyāna world, thus, “illusion” in Nepal, “notion” in Tibet, “action” in China, and in Hinayāna it signifies “discrimination”.

55a. ha-la, with low-toned s, is a phonetically founded transcription in Tibetan of the Sanskrit word hāsa. The drawing of the mudrā exhibits the characteristic broad sleeve-bands of the Tibetan series of mudrās (cf. p. 84), and the appearance of such a mudrā at its actual place might be regarded as being erroneous, but its text perfectly fits in with the sequence of text in II, and with the corresponding items of I and III.

55b rta-roma is the Tibetan transcription of dharma. — With regard to the mudrā, cf. 0[5]a.

70b sByōḥ-baḥ ṭrayal-po represents one of the four Tathāgatas or supreme Buddhas, who, together with Sarvavid-Vairocana, constitute the central or primary pentade of the cycle and the maṇḍala of Kun-rig rNam-par-sun-mi-lhasā or Sarvavid-Vairocana. This emanation of Sarvavid-Vairocana corresponds to Dhyāni-Buddha Akṣobhya. The mantra of sByōḥ-baḥ ṭrayal-po is: Oṁ sarvavid hūṃ, according to Tucci (Indo-Tibetica, III. 1. p. 32), cf. the mantra nr. 3[5]b.

80a. rGyal-mchog-rin-chen is the second emanation of Sarvavid-Vairocana, having the mantra: Oṁ sarvavid ṅaḥ, cf. mantra nr. 36a. This emanation corresponds to Dhyāni-Buddha Rūnasambhava.

80b. Šākya rīg-dboṅ is the third emanation of Sarvavid-Vairocana, having the mantra: Oṁ sarvavid ṇaḥ, cf. mantra nr. 36b. This emanation corresponds to Dhyāni-Buddha Aṃtiḥāra.

81a. Me-log-chu-rgyas, the fourth emanation of Sarvavid-Vairocana, has the mantra: Oṁ sarvavid ṇaḥ, cf. mantra nr. 37a. This emanation corresponds to Dhyāni-Buddha Amoghasiddha.
81b. spyan-ma is the Sanskrit goddess Lokanātha.
82b. gos-dkar-mo is the s. g. Pāṇḍarā.
83a. sgröl-mu is the s. g. Tārā.
83b. rDo-rje-sems-dpal is Vajrasattva.
84a. rDo-rje-rgyal-po is Vajrāja.
84b. rDo-rje-chos-pa is Vajrarāga.
85a. rDo-rje-ba-gsags-pa is Vajrasādhu.
85b. rDo-rje-rin-chen is Vajraraṇa.
86a. rDo-rje-gzi-ba-rgyud is Vajrāśeṣa.
86b. rDo-rje-rgyal-mthun is Vajraketu.
87a. rDo-rje-blas-pa is Vajrabhūsa.
87b. rDo-rje-chos is Vajradharma.
88a. rDo-rje-rnyon-po is Vajrakīrtīṣa.
88b. rDo-rje-rgyud is Vajrāhata.
89a. rDo-rje-sgra-ba is Vajrakīrtīṣa.
89b. rDo-rje-las is Vajrakirti.
90a. rDo-rje-sroṅ-ba is Vajraśakṣa.
90b. rDo-rje-gnod-sbyin is Vajrayukṣa.

91a. rDo-rje-khu-tshur is Vajrasaṃdhī. — khu-tshur is interpreted by Chandra Das as “the clenched hand, fist”, which is commented by Jäschke in the following way, “this signification, however, seemed not to be known to the Lamas consulted, who interpreted the word: a religious gesture, the forefinger being raised”. Evidently, the lama hereby referred to the tarjani-mudrā, the mudra of menace.

91b. sMi-skro-ma is the Sanskrit goddess Lāṣyā.
92a. phreṅ-ba-ma is the s. g. Mûlā.
92b. glu-ma is the s. g. Gītā. cf. p. 93.
93a. gar-ma is the s. g. Nṛtyā. — naḥ-gī-pī is probably an abbreviation of naḥ-gī-sbyin-pa.
93b. bDug-spus-ma is the s. g. Dhūpā.
94a. me-log-ma is the s. g. Puṣpā.
94b. ma-ni-ma, “goddess of butter-fire” corresponds to Dipā, “goddess of lamps”, cf. 94.

95a. dri-chab-ma is the s. g. Gandhāra.
95b. rDo-rje-longs-khyi is the doorkeeper Vajrāṅkuṣa.
97a. rDo-rje-be-pa stands for rDo-rje bhebs-pa, s. Vajraveśa. Frequently the fourth doorkeeper is called rDo-rje dril-bu, s. Vajraghaṭṭā.
97b. byams-pa possibly stands for Byams-pa, “the loving one”, with an allusion to Maitreya.