CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF MAṆḌALA 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-maṇḍala* (fig. 1) in which the 37 elements are indicated by their names arranged in their ritual order within the maṇḍala. This manner of representing a maṇḍala is in itself rather unique, but the principal value of this representation of the rice-maṇḍala is to be ascribed to the fact that it supplies us with a conclusive supplement to the descriptive representations of this maṇḍala, 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 *sādhana*s with their corresponding series of *mudrās*, thus permitting us to reconstruct in detail the performance of three ceremonies of maṇḍala belonging to the *Durgati-Pariśodhana*

type. While a large number of *sādhana*s are known, the special knowledge of lithurgic *mudrā*s is fairly limited, and complete series of *mudrā*-pictures with corresponding *sādhana*s, 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 *mudrā*s and *mantras* of the manuscript, because they refer to those 37 specific elements of meditative practice, to which Asaṅga seems to allude in *Mahāyāna-Sūtrālamkāra* 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-snañ-*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. Sylvaïn 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 *hkhor*.

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:

dkyil-hkhor 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-hkhor-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. the rice-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 (*rten*), 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 characteristical 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 varieties 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 impression 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 contrary, 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 Dainichi Nyorai (Vairocana) is the Ichin-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

¹ G. Tucci: *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. IV, pt. 1, Roma 1941.

² H. Smidt: *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, VI—VII, 1917—18.

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 *Niṣpannayogāvali* of Mahāpaṇḍita Abhayākara-gupta, ed. by Benyotosh Bhattacharyya, Gaekwad's Oriental Series CIX, Baroda 1949, p. 26. — G. Tucci: *Tibetan P. S.*, Pl. 220. — F. D. Lessing: *Yung-Ho-Kung*, Stockholm 1942, vol. I, p. 132 and plate XXVI; *Rep. Scient. Exp. etc. of Dr. Sven Hedin*, Publ. 18, VIII, Ethnogr. 1.

⁶ G. Tucci: *I.-T.*, vol. IV, 1, p. 270.

Kongō-kai-maṇḍala consisting of nine sections, comprising a total number of elements amounting to 437¹.

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°. 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°. 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°. 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, depositing the eastern element of the outmost circle at its appropriate place, and then

4°. 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. Smidt: 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 ceremonials having the object of identifying the performing sādḥaka 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 sādḥaka 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 *bījās* or mystic syllables as om, hūṃ, phaḥ 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 sādḥaka.

Mudra. — 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 lithurgic hand-postures applied in the various ceremonies and services, especially those prescribed in the Yogatantras.

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 *lithurgic mudrās* are performed, corresponding to each element of the maṇḍala, and in the special maṇḍalas of Yogatantrism, the *mudrās* in 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 sādḥaka and the deity concerned, while the mantra is to release their active contact.

The Rice-maṇḍala.

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

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-maṇḍala is, in fact, a *microgram of the universe*. The rice-maṇḍala is fairly well known from various works. Waddell¹ 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. Lessing² 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. Schubert³ gives a Tibetan ritual text with translation and copious notes, and Lessing⁴ 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 nrs. 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.

³ J. Schubert: *Das Reis-Maṇḍala*. *Asiatica*. Festschrift Friedrich Weller. Leipzig 1954, p. 584.

⁴ F. D. Lessing: *Misc. Lamaist Notes*. I, Notes on the Thanksgiving Offering. *Central Asiatic Journal* II, 1956, p. 58.

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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 emphasised 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 sādḥaka. 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 Samādhi, 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 lithurgic 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 Toki¹, 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-Nighaṇṭu*, was published by Avalon², and various, mostly fragmentary material is given by several authors, e. g. by de Visser³.

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 *sādhana*s, 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-in-dzou, *Annales du Musée Guimet*, tom. VIII, Paris 1899.

² *Tantrik Texts*, ed. by Arthur Avalon, vol. I, Calcutta-London 1913.

³ M. W. de Visser: *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, I—II, *Buddhica*, 1. sér., tom. III—IV, Paris 1928—35.

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 *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanasūtra* known from a Tibetan version in *bKah-hgyur* (Tōhoku 483) entitled *Sarva-durgati-pariśodhana tejorājasya 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 *Sarvatathāgatataṭṭvasaṅgraha*, to which we shall return a little later, and various Tibetan sources reported by Tucci¹.

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 maṇḍalas 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-maṇḍalas* of the *Durgati-Pariśodhana* 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 Vajraśravaga or Vajrapratiṅga 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 elements¹. 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 liturgic whole within which a formal or ceremonial coherence between the sādhanas of 37 mantras and the remaining fragments, may exist.

According to Tsoṅ-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 *bodhipāṅśikas* 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-tājñāna*. — 2. The 4 principal emanations or Tathāgata represent 4 particular aspects of the pure cognition, the *ādarśajñāna*. In the Vajradhātu- and the Kongō-kai-maṇḍala they are conceived as the 4 Dhyāni-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 *śūnyatā* of Mahāyāna doctrine, being in III subdivided into

¹ Clark: Two Lamaistic Pantheons, Cambridge, Mass., 1937, p. 114—147.

4 "mental spheres" of "the East", "the South", "the West", and "the North". — 5. The 4 goddesses, Lāsyā, Mālā, Gītā, 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 doctrinary 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-snañ-ndsad 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 Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha-nāma-mahāyānasūtra¹, and the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala is described in the *Tattvasaṃgraha* of *bsTan-hgyur*², commented in *Tattvālokarī* 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 Sa-skya-pa school⁴ with those of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala⁵ and the

¹ H. Beckh: Die Handschr.-Verzeichn. d. Kgl. Bibl. zu Berlin, 8. Bd., Berlin 1914, Abt. Kanjur, rGyud na.

² Tōhoku Index, Tanjur, rgyud ku 2516, 2529, and 2530, and ri 2504.

³ Taishō, nrs. 865, 866, and 882.

⁴ Tucci, I.-T. III. 1, p. 39.

⁵ ibid. p. 40.

Kongō-kai-maṇḍala¹, 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 maṇḍalas, 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 maṇḍala, 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.-maṇḍalas, 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 maṇḍalas, 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 lithurgy.

Description of the Manuscripts.

Manuscript A consists of a single sheet of paper, 48 × 48 cm, showing at its front a maṇḍala 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 *Ādiyogasamādhī* of *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana*¹. 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 incorrect, 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: pei⁴ la³ ma² chih⁴ (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 hLama.

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

¹ C. Bendall: *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge 1883*. — La Vallée Poussin: *Buddhism, Études et Matériaux*, London 1898, p. 182—3.

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 lithurgic 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. *rihi gyal po*. Correctly, *rihi 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. *śar-lus-hphags-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 gliñ*. Corr. *lho-hdsam-bu-gliñ*, “the southern Jambu-continent”, S. *jambudvīpa*, “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. *aparago-dānīya*, “the cattle-breeding (continent) of the West”. The western continent is red and circular, with powerful inhabitants.

5. *pyaṇ pal 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.

7. *lus-hphag*. Corr. *lus-hphags-pa*, *S. videha*, "the holy body", which is the second satellite island of *Purvavideha*.

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

9. *ḥa yab žag*. Corr. *rña-yab gžan*, *S. aparacāmara*, "the other father of tails", the second satellite of *Jambudvīpa*.

10. *g'yan ldan*. Corr. *g'yo-ldan*, *S. śāṭha*, "deceitfulness", satellite island of *Aparagodānīya*.

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

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-chehi ri-bo*, which so far is confirmed by the text, as *ri* is the Tibetan word for mountain.

15. *dpa-bsam-gyi śiñ*. Corr. *dpag-bsam-gyi śiñ*, *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 *maṇḍalas*, 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*".

16. *hdod-hjod-pa*. Corr. *hdod-hjo-ba*, S. *kāmadhenu*, "the wish-granting cow", commonly situated in the western continent Aparagodānīya.

17. *ma-rmos-paḥi lo-to*. Corr. *ma-rmos-paḥi lo-tog*, "the unploughed crop", signifying "the crop which grows without being cultivated". This worldly treasure generally belongs to the continent of the North, Uttarakuru.

18. *hkhor-lo rin-po-che*. S. *cakraratna*, "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 *amarghamaṇiratna*, "the priceless gem", or *cintamaṇi*, "the wishing-gem".

20. *btshun-mo rin-po-che*. Corr. *btsum-mo rin-po-che*, "the jewel of the wife", S. *strīratna*. 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. *sacivaratna*, "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. *glan-po rin-po-che*. S. *hastiratna*, "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. *rta-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.

24. *dmag-pon rin-po-che*. Corr. *dmag-dpon rin-po-che*, S.

senāpatiratna, "the jewel of the general" who overcomes all enemies with the sword of wisdom. In Hīnayāna, he corresponds to "the jewel of the husband", *pariṇāyakaratna*.

25. *gter-chen-poḥi 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 maṇḍala.

26. *sgeg-mo-ma*. "The goddess of dancing girls", S. *lāsyā*, "the goddess of dance". She is the śakti of *Maitreya*, the future fifth Mānuṣi-Buddha and the only Bodhisattva known in Hīnayāna. *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. *hphren-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 *Gītā* 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*. *Gītā* is represented red, with a lyre.

29. *gar-ma*. S. *nṛtyā*, "the goddess of dance". *Nṛtya* denotes dance in general and pantomime, while *lāsyā* especially represents the dance of entertainment. The former is represented green, in a dancing attitude.

30. *me dog ma*. Corr. *me-tog-ma*, S. *puṣpā*, "the goddess of flowers". She is the śakti of Dhyāni-Bodhisattva *Kṣitigarbha* frequently represented in the initiation ceremonies of the Northern Buddhist priesthood. The goddess appears white, having a flower in her hand.

31. *hdug spos ma*. Corr. *bdug-spos-ma*, S. *dhūpā*, "the goddess

of incense". She is the śakti of Dhyāni-Bodhisattva *Ākāśagarbha*, and is represented yellow, carrying an incense vase.

32. *snañ-gsal-ma*. S. *dīpā*, "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 śakti of Dhyāni-Bodhisattva *Sarvanīvaraṇaviṣkambhin*. Her colour is red, and her attribute is the vase of perfume.

34. *ñi-ma*. S. *sūrya*, "the sun".

35. *zla-ba*. S. *candra*, "the moon".

36. *rin po cheg*. Corr. *rin-po-chehi gdugs* (the abbreviation is possibly due to lack of space), S. *ratnachattrā*, "the jewelled umbrella", one of the eight auspicious emblems of royalty.

37. *gduñ phyogs 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 phyogs-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 *dañ* is added to the names of the elements 6, 8, 10, and 12. The occurrence of this word, meaning "and" or Latin "cum" (cf. "cumtative"), probably is to be ascribed to the influence of some additional text, or to a verbal representation.

Manuscript B. Table I.

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, mss. [54] and [68] excepted, being corrections for 53 bis and 66 of the Chinese numeration.

51 a is omitted, the page being unused. — 59 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.

Table I.

II	I	III	IV
56a ^a) = 3[5]a ~ 79a*			(1): Kun-rig rNam-par-snañ mdsad, S. Sarvavid-Vairocana.
56b* = 3[5]b ~ 79b			(2): sByoñ-baḥi rgyal-po, (S. Akṣobhya).
57a ^b) = 36a ~ 80a			(3): rGyal-mchog-rin-chen, (S. Ratnasambhava).
57b ^a) = 36b ~ 80b			(4): Śākya rig-dbañ, (S. Amitābha).
5[8]a ^b) = 37a ~ 81a			(5): Me-tog-cher-rgyas, (S. Amoghasiddha).
5[8]b ²) = 37b ≡ 81b			(6): Locanā.
60a* = 38a ≡ 8[2]a			(7): Māmakī.
60b* = 38b ≡ 8[2]b			(8): Pāṇḍarā.
61a ²) = 39a ≡ 83a			(9): Tārā.
61b* = 39b ≡ 83b			(10): Vajrasattva.
6[2]a* = 40a ≡ 84a			(11): Vajrarāja.
6[2]b* = 40b ≡ 84b			(12): Vajrarāga.
6[3]a* = 41a ≡ 85a			(13): Vajrasādhū.
6[3]b ⁴) = 41b ≡ 85b			(14): Vajraratna.
64a* = 42a ≡ 86a			(15): Vajratejaḥ or Vajrasūrya.
64b ³) = 42b ≡ 86b			(16): Vajraketu.
[65]a ³) = 43a ≡ 87a			(17): Vajrahāsa.
[65]b ⁵) = 43b ≡ 87b			(18): Vajradharma.
6[6]a* = 44a ≡ 88a			(19): Vajratikṣṇa.
6[6]b* = 44b ≡ 88b			(20): Vajrahetu.
6[7]a* = 45a ≡ 89a			(21): Vajrabhāṣa.
6[7]b ≡ 45b ≡ 89b			(22): Vajrakarma.
[68]a* = 46a ≡ 90a			(23): Vajrarakṣa.
[68]b* = 46b ≡ 90b			(24): Vajrayakṣa.
69a* = 47a ≡ 91a			(25): Vajrasandhi.
69b* = 47b ¹) ≡ 91b			(26): Vajralāsyā.
70a* = 48a ≡ 92a			(27): Vajramālā.
70b* = 48b ≡ 92b			(28): Vajragītā.
71a = 49a ≡ 93a			(29): Vajranṛtyā.
71b* = 49b ≡ 93b			(30): Vajradhūpā.
72a* = 50a ≡ 94a			(31): Vajrapuṣpā.
72b* = 50b ≡ 94b			(32): Vajrālokā.

II	I	III	IV
73 a*	= 5[1]b ¹⁾	= 95 a*	(33): Vajragandhā.
73 b*	= 52 a*	= 95 b ¹⁾	(34): Vajrāṅkuṣā.
74 a*	= 52 b*		(35): Vajrapaśā.
74 b*	= 53 a ⁶⁾		(36): Vajrasphoṭā.
75 a*	= 53 b ⁷⁾	9[7]a ⁶⁾	(37): Vajraghaṇṭā.
75 b ⁶⁾	= [54]a	9[7]b ⁷⁾	
7[6]a ⁴⁾			
7[6]b ⁵⁾			
77 a ³⁾			
77 b	≡ [54]b		
78 a	≡ 5[5]a		
78 b*	= 5[5]b*		

Original text, section I.

3(5)a. om śvañhudhajanavajra, dbul gyi lha baḥi, rañ gis thu khar, om sarvavid hūṃ. 3(5)b. thug khar samalastvaṃ, lha tshog re thams cad gyis, ma lus sam cad, om vajra āṃkuśanca, samyastvaṃ, om sarvavid hūṃ. 36a. om sarvavid phaṭ. 36b. om sarvavid āḥ. 37a. om sarvavid traṭ.

37b. om buddhalocani hūṃ. 38a. om vajramāmakī trāṃ. 38b. om vajrabhaṇṭare tehe. 39a. om vajra tāretutāre.

39b. vajrasatva hūṃ. 40a. vajrarāja ja. 40b. vajrarāga hoḥ. 41a. vajrasādhū dhus.

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

43b. vajradharmāḥ hrī. 44a. vajratākṣṇa dhī. 44b. vajrahetu kṛuṃ. 45a. vajrabhaṣa bha.

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

47b. vajralasya hūṃ. 48a. vajramāle trāṃ. 48b. vajrakīrti hrī. 49a. vajranyīte āḥ.

49b. vajrahūṃpe hūṃ. 50a. vajra eputpe trāṃ. 50b. vajra āloki hrī. 5(1)b. vajragandhe āḥ.

52a. vajra āṃkuśa ja. 52b. vajrapaśa hūṃ. 53a. vajrasoṭa vaṃ. 53b. vajraghaṇṭa hoḥ.

(54)a. kalpabhadrāṇi, om sarva saṃskarapari. (54)b. vajra śravaga. 5(5)a. vajra pratiṅka. 5(5)b. vajra krodha.

Corrected text of section I:

3(5)a. Ōṃ svam buddhajñānavajra, dbul-gyi lha-baḥi, raṅ-
gis thugs-dkar, ŋṃ sarvavid hūṃ. 3(5)b. thugs-dkar samalastvaṃ,
lha-tshogs-de thams-cad-gyis, ma-lus thams-cad, ŋṃ vajrāṅku-
śanca, samyastvaṃ, ŋṃ sarvavid hūṃ. 36a. ŋṃ sarvavid phaṭ.
36b. ŋṃ sarvavid āḥ. 37a. ŋṃ sarvavid traṭ.
37b. ŋṃ buddhalocani hūṃ. 38a. ŋṃ vajramāmaki trāṃ.
38b. ŋṃ vajrapāṇḍare dehi. 39a. ŋṃ vajratāretutāre.
39b. vajrasattva hūṃ. 40a. vajrarāja ja. 40b. vajrarāga hoḥ.
41a. vajrasādhū dhus.
41b. vajraratna trāṃ. 42a. vajrateja rya. 42b. vajraketu bhri.
43a. vajrahāsa hā.
43b. vajradharmāḥ hrī. 44a. vajratikṣṇa dhi. 44b. vajrahetu
krum. 45a. vajrabhāṣa bha.
45b. vajrakarma kaṃ. 46a. vajrarakṣa raṃ. 46b. vajrayakṣa
kṣaṃ. 47a. vajrasandhi ṣṭaṃ.
47b. vajralāsyā hūṃ. 48a. vajramāle trāṃ. 48b. vajrakīrti
hrī. 49a. vajraṇṭye āḥ.
49b. vajradhūpe hūṃ. 50a. vajrapuṣpe trāṃ. 50b. vajrāloki
hrī. 5(1)b. vajragandhe āḥ.
52a. vajrāṅkuśan ja. 52b. vajrapāśa hūṃ. 53a. vajrasphoṇa
vaṃ. 53b. vajraghaṇṭa hoḥ.
(54)a. kalpabhadraṇi, ŋṃ sarvasaṃskarapati. (54)b. vajra-
śravaga. 5(5)a. vajrapratīṅga. 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. vajra-
māmaki. 60b. vajrapaṇṭari. 61a. vajratāri.
61b. vajrasatva. 6(2)a. vajraraja. 6(2)b. vajrarakha. 6(3)a.
vajrasadhu.
6(3)b. vajraranā. 64a. vajratenja. 64b. vajrakedu. (65)a.
vajra ha za.
(65)b. vajra rta rma. 6(6)a. vajradhiṣaṇa, vajradhikṣṇa.
6(6)b. vajrahitu. 6(7)a. vajrapāṣa pā.
6(7)b. vajrakarmakaṃ. (68)a. vajrarakṣa raṃ. (68)b.
vajrayakṣa kṣṭaṃ. 69a. vajrasandhi.

69b. vajralasyi. 70a. vajramalu. 70b. vajra kerdi. 71a. vajranite.

71b. vajradhubi. 72a. vajrapuṣpe. 72b. vajra āḥlogi. 73a. vajragandhe.

73b. vajra āḥkuśanca. 74a. vajrapraśa. 74b. vajrasphoṭa. 75a. vajraganḥa.

75b. kalpabhaṭa. 7(6)a. kalpabhadraḥi. 7(6)b. kalpabhadraḥi. 77a. kalpabhadraḥi. 77b. vajra śravaga. 78a. vajra pratiṅga. 78b. vajra krodhā.

Corrected text of section II:

56a. sarvavid. 56b. sarvavid. 57a. sarvavid. 57b. sarvavid. 5(8)a. sarvavid.

5(8)b. buddhalocani. 60a. vajramāmakī. 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. (65)a. vajrahāsa.

(65)b. vajradharma. 6(6)a. vajratikṣṇa. 6(6)b. vajrahetu. 6(7)a. vajrabhāṣa pā.

6(7)b. vajrakarmakam. (68)a. vajrarakṣa raṃ. (68)b. vajrayakṣa kṣṭam. 69a. vajrasandhi.

6(9)b. vajralāsyē. 70a. vajramāle. 70b. vajrakīrti. 71a. vajranṛtye.

71b. vajradhūpe. 72a. vajrapuṣpe. 72b. vajrālōki. 73a. vajragandhe.

73b. vajrāṅkuśa ca. 74a. vajrapāśa. 74b. vajrasphoṭa. 75a. vajraghaṇṭa.

75b. kalpabhadra. 7(6)a. kalpabhadraṇi. 7(6)b. kalpabhadraṇi. 77a. kalpabhadraṇi. 77b. vajraśravaga. 78a. vajra-pratiṅga. 78b. vajrakrodha.

Original text, section III.

79a. rgya po kun ri rnam par snañ dsa gyi. 79b. sbyoñ baḥi rgya po dañ. 80a. rgya cho ren chen dañ. 80b. śā rgya ri dbaṅ dañ. 81a. me do cher bya de.

81b. byan ma dañ. 8(2)a. mah ma gi dañ. 8(2)b. gos kar mo dañ. 83a. sgrol ma di yum chen po žiñ 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 bžad pa de lho phyo gi sen pa bži 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 bži byad.

89b. rdo rje las dañ. 90a. rdo rje sruñ ba dañ. 90b. rdo rje no byin dañ. 91a. rdo rje khu chur di byañ phyo gi sem pa bži byad.

91b. ge mo dañ. 92a. phreñ ba dañ. 92b. glu ma dañ. 93a. gar ma de nañ gi pi lha ma bži 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 dañ phyiñ cho pa la mo žib byad.

95b. rdo rje lea kyu dañ. 9(7)a. rdo rje be pa de nañ gi sgo bo chen po bži byad.

9(7)b. byam pa.

Corrected text of section III:

79a. rgyal-po kun-rig rnam-par-snañ-mdsad-gyi. 79b. sbyoñ-bahi rgyal-po dañ. 80a. rgyal-mchog rin-chen dañ. 80b. śākya rig-dbañ dañ. 81a. me-tog-cher-rgyas bya-de.

81b. spyān-ma dañ. 8(2)a. mā-ma-ki dañ. 8(2)b. gos-dkar-mo dañ. 83a. sgrol-ma-hdi yum-chen-po-žiñ byad.

83b. rdo-rje sems-dpah dañ. 84a. rdo-rje rgyal-po dañ. 84b. rdo-rje chags-pa dañ. 85a. rdo-rje legs-pa-de śar-phyogs-kyi sems-pa-bži-ba byad.

85b. rdo-rje rin-chen dañ. 86a. rdo-rje gzi-ba-rjid dañ. 86b. rdo-rje rgyal-mtshan dañ. 87a. rdo-rje bžad-pa-de lho-phyogs-kyi sems-pa-bži byad.

87b. rdo-rje chos dañ. 88a. rdo-rje rnon-po dañ. 88b. rdo-rje rgyu dañ. 89a. rdo-rje smra-ba-de nub-phyogs-kyi sems-pa-bži byad.

89b. rdo-rje las dañ. 90a. rdo-rje sruñ-ba dañ. 90b. rdo-rje gnod-sbyin dañ. 91a. rdo-rje khu-tshur-hdi byañ-phyogs-kyi sems-pa-bži byad.

91b. sgeg-mo-ma dañ. 92a. hphreñ-ba-ma dañ. 92b. glu-ma dañ. 93a. gar-ma-de nañ-gi sbyin-pa lha-mo-bži byad.

93b. bdug-spos-ma dañ. 94a. me-tog-ma dañ. 94b. mar-me-ma dañ. 95a. dri-chab-ma-de nañ-phyihi chod-pa lha-mo-bži-ba byad.

95b. rdo-rje lcags-kyu dañ. 9(7)a. rdo-rje hbebs-pa-de nañ-gi sgo-bo chen-po-bži byad.

9(7)b. byams-pa.

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

1. Om sarvavid sarvāvarana viśodhaya hana hūṃ phaḥ.
2. Om sarvavid hūṃ. 3. Om sarvavid phaḥ. 4. Om sarvavid aḥ.
5. Om sarvavid tra tha.
6. Om buddhalocani hūṃ. 7. Om vajramāmaki trāṃ. 8. Om vajrapāṇḍare dehi dehi siddhiṃ bodhiṃ lokitaraṃ pa svāhā.
9. Om vajratāre tutāre ture hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ sva sva svāhā.
10. Om vajrasattva hūṃ. 11. Om vajrarāja jaḥ. 12. Om vajrarāga ho. 13. Om vajrasādhu dhu.
14. Om vajraratna trāṃ. 15. Om vajrateja rya. 16. Om vajraketu bhriḥ. 17. Om vajrahāsa ha.
18. Om vajradharma hriḥ. 19. Om vajratikṣṇa dhriḥ. 20. Om vajrahetu kṛṇṇ. 21. Om vajrabhāsa bha.
22. Om vajrakarma kaṃ. 23. Om vajrarakṣa ram. 24. Om vajrayakṣa kṣaṃ. 25. Om vajrasandhi saṃ.
26. Om vajralāsyē hūṃ. 27. Om vajramālā trāṃ. 28. Om vajragīte hriḥ. 29. Om vajranṛti aḥ.
30. Om vajradhūpe hūṃ. 31. vajrapuṣpe trāṃ. 32. Om vajrāloke hriḥ. 33. Om vajragandhe aḥ.
34. Om vajrāṅkuśa jaḥ. 35. Om vajrapāśa hūṃ. 36. Om vajrasphotra baṃ. 37. Om vajraghaṇṭa ho.

Translation of the Sanskrit text of section I:

3(5)a. Om! svam! Thou Buddha, whose vajra is knowledge!
Oh, divinity of misery with the self like a white heart! Om!
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, hūṃ! Oṃ! all-knowing One, phaṭ! Oṃ! all-knowing One, āḥ! Oṃ! all-knowing One, traṭ!

37b. Oṃ! Buddha-Loṇaṇī, hūṃ! Oṃ! Vajra-Māmakī, trāṃ! Oṃ! Vajra-Pāṇḍarā, tehe! Oṃ! Vajra-Tāretutāre!

39b. Hail, Vajrasattva, hūṃ! Hail, Vajra king, ja! Hail, Vajra passion, hoḥ! Hail, Vajra virtue, dhus!

41b. Hail, Vajra gem, trāṃ! Hail, Vajra beauty, rya! Hail, Vajra of the banner, bhri! Hail, Vajra of laughter, hā!

43b. Hail, Vajra of dharma, hrī! Hail, Vajra sharpness, dhi! Hail, Vajra cause, krum! Hail, Vajra tale, bha!

45b. Hail, Vajra of karma, kaṃ! Hail, Vajra of rakṣa, raṃ! Hail, Vajra of yakṣa, kṣaṃ! Hail, Vajra of joinder, ṣṭaṃ!

47b. Oh, Vajra of merry dance, hūṃ! Oh, Vajra of rosary, trāṃ! Oh, Vajra of utterance, hrī! Oh, Vajra of dance, āḥ!

49b. Oh, Vajra of incense, hūṃ! Oh, Vajra of flowers, trāṃ! Oh, Vajra of beholding, hrī! Oh, Vajra of perfume, āḥ!

52a. Vajra of the elephant goad, ja! Vajra of the noose, hūṃ! 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) Addressing 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 multiplies the great flowers.

81b. The goddess of the eye, and Māmakī, 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 door-keepers of the inner sphere.

9(7)b. Oh, love! . . .

Notes to the texts.

3[5]a. The text represents a combination of Sanskrit and Tibetan terminology. *svañhuda* 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 (*viññāna*), any divine being representing a *vajrasattva*, according to the Tantrayāna.

thu khar, corr. *thugs-dkar*, "white heart" expresses the purification or purity. — *dbul-gyi lha-baḥṭi rañ-gis thugs-dkar* 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 Kun-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 *tva*, which also applies to *samya*, adj., "meeting".

37b. *Buddhalocani* 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 *Vajradhātviśvarī*, *śakti* of Vairocana, occur in nrs. 38a—b, and 39a. — (Clark p. 152).

38a. *Māmaki* is the Dhyāni-Buddha-Śakti of *Ratnasambhava* residing in the South of the maṇḍala. — (Clark p. 151).

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Fig. 1.
Manuscript A.

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五十七

Fig. 2.
Manuscript B, page 57 a and 86 a.

SEQUENCE I

37a

37b

38a

38b

41a

41b

42a

42b

43a

45b

46a

46b

47a

47b

50a

50a

50b

51b

52a

54b

55a

55b

SEQUENCE II

5/8/b

33a

33b

60a

60b

6/3/b

64a

64b

165/a

165/b

168/b

69a

69b

70a

70b

73b

74a

74b

75a

75b

78b

SEQUENCE III

81a

81b

8(2)a

8(2)b

85a

85b

86a

86b

87a

90b

90a

90b

91a

93a

93b

94a

94a

94b

38b. *Pāṇḍarā*, "goddess with white garment", is the Dhyāni-Buddha-Śakti of *Amitābha* in the West. — (Clark p. 152).

39a. *Tāretutāre* is part of the mantra of the goddess *Tārā*: Om! Tāretutāre ture svāhā! (Waddell, l. c. p. 150) or Om vajratāre tutāre ture hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ sva sva svāhā (Tucci, Indo-Tibetica, III. 1. p. 33). *Tārā*, "the saviouress", is the Dhyāni-Buddha-Śakti of *Amogāsiddha* in the northern direction of the maṇḍala. — (Clark p. 60).

39b. *Vajrasattva*, 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 *Vajrabodhisattva* or symbolic object of meditation, in which sense *Vajrasattva* is to be adopted in the present case. In the same way, the following fifteen mudrās, mrs. 40a—47a, represent *Vajrabodhisattvas* or objects of meditation of a pure symbolic character. — (Clark p. 129 and 273).

40a. *Vajrarāja* (Clark p. 128 and 272).

40b. *Vajrarāga* (Clark p. 120 and 272).

41a. *Vajrasādhu* (Clark p. 119 and 272).

41b. *Vajraratna* (Clark p. 119 and 272).

42a. *Vajratejaḥ* (Clark p. 119 and 271).

42b. *Vajraketu* (Clark p. 141 and 271).

43a. *Vajrahāsa* (Clark p. 141 and 271).

43b. *Vajradharma*. — dharmāḥ of the text is a vocative plural of dharma (masc.). — According to *Vyakhyayukti*, cited in *Chos-hbyung 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. *Vajratikṣṇa* (Clark p. 142 and 270).

44b. *Vajrahetu* (Clark p. 142 and 270).

45a. *Vajrabhāṣa* (Clark p. 144 and 270).

45b. *Vajrakarma*. — karmakāṃ is composed of karma and the interjection kam as indicated by a Visarga, while karmakam, 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 *Nidāna* or cause of existence, and the fourth one of the *Skandhas* or five components of human beings. — (Clark p. 144 and 270).

46a. *Vajrarakṣa*. — The Rakṣas are fabulous beings, living on the island of Cāmarā (cf. p. 91), and are invoked by sorcerers. They attend *Vaiṣṇava*, who embodies Kuvera in his capacity of Dharmapāla. — (Clark p. 144 and 269).

46b. *Vajrayakṣa*. — The Yakṣas, "ghosts", especially haunt the mountain passes. Their king is Kuvera. — (Clark p. 145 and 269).

47a. *Vajrasandhi*. — sandhi originates from saṃdhi, which in classic Sanskrit means to "place together". In this sense the Tibetan name *khu-tshur* indicates "clenched hands" and corresponds to Sanskrit *Vajramuṣṭi*, which is synonymous with *Vajrasandhi*. — (Clark p. 145 and 269).

47b. *Lāsyā*, cf. p. 93. — lāsyā is an irregular vocative form of lāsyā, 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-declination. — (Clark p. 145).

48a. *Mālā*, cf. p. 93. — (Clark p. 145).

48b. *Kīrti*, "goddess of tale", is probably related to Gītā, by whom she is found to be substituted in similar circles of goddesses.

49a. *Nṛtyā*, cf. p. 93. — (Clark p. 143).

49b. *Dhūpā*, cf. p. 93. — (Clark p. 91).

50a. *Puṣpā*, cf. p. 93. — (Clark p. 94).

50b. *Āloki*, "goddess of beholding", replacing Dipā, "goddess of lamps", cf. 48b.

51b. *Gandhā*, cf. p. 94. — (Clark p. 68).

52a. *Vajrāṅkuṣā*, "Vajra Hook", is one of the four female doorkeepers (*dvārapālī*), who guard the doors of the enclosure of the maṇḍala. She is black and white, having a horsehead. — (Clark p. 64).

52b. *Vajrapāśā*, "Vajra Noose", is the second doorkeeper, being black and yellow with a boarhead. — (Clark p. 64).

53a. *Vajrasphoṭā*, "Vajra Splitting", is the third doorkeeper, being red with a lionhead. — (Clark p. 64).

53b. *Vajraghaṇṭhā*, "Vajra Bell", is the fourth doorkeeper, who is green with a wolfhead. cf. 9[7]a. — (Clark p. 65).

[54]a. *saṃskara* has various significations in the different parts of the Mahāyāna world, thus, "illusion" in Nepal, "notion" in Tibet, "action" in China, and in Hīnayāna it signifies "discrimination".

[65]a. *ha-za*, 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.

[65]b *ṛta-rma* is the Tibetan transcription of dharma. — With regard to the mudrā, cf. [65]a.

79b *sByoṅ-baḥi rgyal-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-snaṅ-mdsad or Sarvavid-Vairocana. This emanation of Sarvavid-Vairocana corresponds to Dhyāni-Buddha Akṣobhya. The mantra of *sByoṅ-baḥi rgyal-po* is: *Oṃ 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: *Oṃ sarvavid phaṭ*, cf. mantra nr. 36a. This emanation corresponds to Dhyāni-Buddha Ratnasambhava.

80b. *Śākya rig-dbañ* is the third emanation of Sarvavid-Vairocana, having the mantra: *Oṃ sarvavid āḥ*, cf. mantra nr. 36b. This emanation corresponds to Dhyāni-Buddha Amitābha.

81a. *Me-log-cher-rgyas*, the fourth emanation of Sarvavid-Vairocana, has the mantra: *Oṃ sarvavid traṭ*, cf. mantra nr. 37a. This emanation corresponds to Dhyāni-Buddha Amoghasiddha.

81b. *sPyan-ma* is the Sanskrit goddess Locanī.

8[2]b. *Gos-dkar-mo* is the S. g. Pāṇḍarā.

83a. *sGrol-ma* is the S. g. Tārā.

83b. *rDo-rje-sems-dpañ* is Vajrasattva.

84a. *rDo-rje-rgyal-po* is Vajrarāja.

84b. *rDo-rje-chags-pa* is Vajrarāga.

85a. *rDo-rje-legs-pa* is Vajrasādhū.

85b. *rDo-rje-rin-chen* is Vajraratna.

86a. *rDo-rje-gzi-ba-rjid* is Vajratejañ.

86b. *rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan* is Vajraketu.

87a. *rDo-rje-bñad-pa* is Vajrahāsa.

87b. *rDo-rje-chos* is Vajradharma.

88a. *rDo-rje-rnon-po* lt Vajratikṣṇa.

88b. *rDo-rje-rgyu* is Vajrahetu.

89a. *rDo-rje-smra-ba* is Vajrabhāṣa.

89b. *rDo-rje-las* is Vajrakarma.

90a. *rDo-rje-sruñ-ba* is Vajarakṣa.

90b. *rDo-rje-gnod-sbyin* is Vajrayakṣa.

91a. *rDo-rje-khu-tshur* is Vajrasandhī. — *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 lamas hereby referred to the tarjanī-mudrā, the mudra of menace.

91b. *sGeg-mo-ma* is the Sanskrit goddess Lāsyā.

92a. *hPhren-ba-ma* is the S. g. Mālā.

92b. *Glu-ma* is the S. g. Gītā, cf. p. 93.

93a. *Gar-ma* is the S. g. Nrtyā. — *nañ-gi-pi* is probably an abbreviation of *nañ-gi sbyin-pa*.

93b. *bDug-spos-ma* is the S. g. Dhūpā.

94a. *Me-tog-ma* is the S. g. Puṣpā.

94b. *Mar-me-ma*, "goddess of butter-fire" corresponds to Dipā, "goddess of lamps", cf. 94.

95a. *Dri-chab-ma* is the S. g. Gandhā.

95b. *rDo-rje-lcags-kyu* is the doorkeeper Vajrāñkuṣā.

9[7]a. *rDo-rje-be-pa* stands for *rDo-rje hbebs-pa*, S. Vajrāveśā. Frequently the fourth doorkeeper is called *rDo-rje drill-bu*, S. Vajraghañṭā.

9[7]b. *byam-pu* possibly stands for *Byams-pa*, "the loving one", with an allusion to Maitreya.