Minor Vajray"na texts V: The *Ganacakravidhi* attributed to Ratn"kara%nti

PŽter-D‡niel Sz‡nt—

Overview

There are very few studies on the *gaṇacakra*, a ritualised communal feast as celebrated by followers of the Vajray"na, i.e., Tantric Buddhist communities. LALOUÕ preliminary study (1965) is still useful, and it was only recently followed up. The only monograph on the subject, which I was unable to consult in its entirety, is in Japanese by SHIZUKA (2007), who has before and since authored several articles on the topic, including a very useful English summary of his research (2008). Shizuka mostly worked with Tibetan canonical translations, however, as I will demonstrate below, a relatively small amount of material does survive in the original Sanskrit.

The main point of this article is to present a *ganacakra* manual in Sanskrit. First, I will say a few general points on the rite for the non-specialist reader. I will then give a rough overview of the earliest (eighth to ninth centuries CE) sources for this rite in Buddhist literature, followed by a brief discussion of later (tenth to thirteenth centuries CE) sources and Sanskrit manuals, or fragments thereof, specifically devoted to it. I will then turn to announce a fortunate discovery of one such manual in the original. After some introductory notes, in the next section I will provide a diplomatic edition of the text accompanied by philological notes and a tentative translation. The final section contains a diplomatic edition of a short and incomplete gloss that was found together with the manual.

The non-specialist reader will probably be baffled by the amount of philological groundwork required to clarify sometimes even very basic points as well as by the amount of unpublished and/or unstudied/untranslated literature provided in the references. Alas, such is the state of our field.

General introduction

The main points of a ganacakra (or ganamandala), lit. Qussembly circle,Ó essentially a ritualised communal feast, are as follows: The ritual should be observed periodically, at least once a year, but preferably more often. It is not a public affair, as participation is limited to initiates of a particular Tantric cult, ideally both male and female. They are headed by their master who is seated in the middle, usually accompanied by his consort, and officiates during the key points of the rite. Lesser duties are delegated to an assistant. The resources are provided by a sponsor, who is also present. The chief aim of the rite is to consume the so-called samava (Òvow,ÓòledgeÓ substances Dbodily fluids and meats Din a communal fashion. These are placed in a vessel (usually a skull bowl) filled with liquor and are consecrated by the main officiant. The vessel is then passed around, usually accompanied by verses in Apabhra5 %, a kind of literary Middle Indic, with everyone obliged to partake. This is followed by a feast with food, drink, song, and dance. Some descriptions specify that participants should communicate using secret signs and secret codewords (both called *chommā*). It is usually assumed that intercourse also takes place, and we do indeed find allusions to this in some of our manuals, e.g. the one discussed here, but this is not the main point. The ritual usually takes place at night and can last until daybreak. Thereupon the participants are dismissed respectfully.

The ritual manuals explain the rationale behind celebrating a *ganacakra* in various ways. Most relevant authors will state that the primary reason is to gather the equipments of merit and knowledge (*punya*; and *jñānasambhāra*), which are obligatory requisites for one \tilde{G} spiritual career. Abhay"karagupta, a highly influential East Indian author from the late eleventh and early twelfth century, claims (T, h. 2491, 243b) that it is a transgression not to perform it, while his disciple Ratnarak' ita lists as aims (T, h. 2494, 249a) restoring transgressed Tantric vows, gaining victory over enemies, achieving all objects of desire, pleasing the deity, and ultimately obtaining the accomplishment of the highest state of consciousness, the *mahāmudrā*. However, there are also dangers: at least one author, the somewhat obscure *Bhavya, warns (T, h. 2176, 31bE2a) that participants will be killed by *dākas* (or *dākinīs*), either malevolent spirits or possibly the deities themselves, if the rules of the feast are not observed correctly.

Modern anthropological theory would no doubt find such manuals a rich resource for topics such as celebrating and maintaining identity, testing communal loyalty, distribution of resources, ritual etiquette, transgressive behaviour and control thereof.

The earliest textual sources for the ganacakra ritual

While I am fully aware that the Buddhist *gaṇacakra/¡maṇdala* probably imitates a ! aiva ritual (note that *gaṇa* primarily means an attendant of the god ! iva), I will ignore this point in my brief historical overview (for more on this topic, see SANDERSON 2009: 154).

To the best of my knowledge, the earliest reference in Buddhist literature to a *gaṇacakra* or *gaṇamaṇḍala* dates to the early eighth century or possibly slightly earlier.¹ This is in a nebulous but incredibly important text, the so-called *Longer Paramādya* (T, h. 488, 238a):

The *vajra*-holder (i.e., the initiate) together with (i.e., holding) his *vajra*-sceptre should place in the middle of the assembly (*tshogs* = *gana) great (i.e., human) blood together with camphor (i.e., semen) and sandalwood (i.e., faeces) mixed with [menstrual] blood. [In the state of] the best of *yogas* (i.e., meditative identification) with *Sarv"k"% (i.e., the deity?), he should taste [the mixture] as if it were Soma,² [lifting a bit from the vessel] with the [joined] tips of his ring finger and thumb; [by this] he shall obtain eternal accomplishment.³

³ T, h. 488, 238a: | khrag chen ga bur dang bcas pa | | tsandan dmar dang sbyar ba ni |

¹ This dating is based first and foremost on the fact that the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogadākinījālašamvara* (on which see GRIFFITHS & SZç NTî 2015), which borrows extensively from the *Longer Paramādya*, was already extant in the first half of the eighth century. SHIZUKA (2008, 188) proposes that the *ganacakra/ganamandala* is a historic outgrowth of *guhyamandalas* taught in the *Tattvasamgraha* (ca. early 7th c.). This may be accurate, but one significant difference is that the pivotal moment of consuming the antinomian substances is missing in the description of the *guhyamandala*.

² Here the intended sense is more akin to Qlrink of immortality, Órather than a reference to the drink usually consumed in Vedic ritual.

[|] tshogs kyi nang du rab zhugs nas | | rdo rje dang bcas rdo rje 'dzin |

srin lag m
the bo rtse mo yis $| \ |$ nam mkha' thams cad s
by
or mchog ldan |

[|] zla ba'i btung ba bzhin myangs na | | rtag pa'i dngos grub thob par 'gyur |.

This crucial passage is reproduced with two changes (marked here in bold and irrelevant for our present discussion) in a dependent text, the famous *Sarvabuddhasamāyogadākinījālaśamvara* (ms. fol. 14r):

mahāraktam sakarpūram raktacandanayojitam | gaņamadhye pratistham **śrīsarvocchistarasāyanam** ||⁴ anāmāngusthavaktrābhyām **svādhidevātmayogavān** | somapānavad āsvādya siddhim āpnoti śāśvatīm ||⁵

The Longer Paramādya does not actually use an equivalent of the Sanskrit term ganamandala, but it is not unlikely that the word *tshogs* (Skt. *gana) and the use of gana in ganamadhve in the Sarvabuddhasamāvogadākinī*iālaśamvara* are simply abbreviations with the same meaning. On the other hand, in another passage the Sarvabuddhasamāvogadākinījālaśamvara already uses the term ganamandala (ms. fol. 13v: kalpayed ganamandalam) and gives a more detailed but still rather obscure description. It seems to me that the point here is to recreate a *diveOversion* of the deities, in other words, an enactment or re-enactment of the mandala. The participants wear costumes, and if their number does not match the number of entities in the mandala, simulacra made of wood or metal are used. There are very few restrictions imposed and possession ($\bar{a}vesa$) plays a major part. This stands in contrast with later, more standardised descriptions, where behaviour is controlled and dignified: for example, singing and dancing is to be performed only with the officiant \tilde{Q} permission, and alcohol is to be consumed with moderation.

Most of the relevant verses from the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogadākinījālaśamvara* are rehashed and expanded in what may be regarded the classical description of the *ganacakra*, namely,) ryadevaÕ *Sūtaka*, chapter 9. This work dates from the ninth century and played a major part in establishing one of the two major schools of exegesis of the *Guhyasamājatantra*, one of the most (if not the most) influential Tantric Buddhist scriptures. An English translation has been published by WEDEMEYER (cf. 2008: 291ff. for the relevant part), which is, however, in need of revision.

The next important scriptural source is the *Catuspīthatantra* (ca. mid or late ninth century), which does not explicitly mention the standard term

⁴ The word *pratistham* should be interpreted as a present participle. The reading *jocchista*; is my emendation, the ms. has *jontistha*;.

⁵ The manuscript reads *ādmoti*, which I have corrected to *āpnoti*.

PfTER-Dç NIEL SZç NTî

gaṇacakra or *gaṇamaṇḍala*, but it does have *yogayoginīmaṇḍala*, which in the strange language of this text means Òhe circle of *yogins* and *yoginīs*.ÓIt does not give a precise description of what the rite consisted of, however, it does teach several features which later became standard, most notably the Apabhra5 % songs intoned when gaining entry in the assembly and when passing around the vessel with the transgressive substances as well as the *mantras* to purify them (cf. SZç NTî 2012: I: 330ff. & 357ff.).

Later sources

Some of the later scriptures from the so-called Yogin*tantras are also noteworthy: the *Hevajratantra* (ca. 900 CE) passages are quite well-known (II.vii.5ĐI3 in SNELLGROVE 1959; there are some other details scattered throughout this text), as is the eighth chapter of the *Samvarodayatantra*, most likely a relatively late (eleventh to twelfth centuries?) Nepalese composition-compilation, one among the selected chapters published by TSUDA (1974). The commentaries on these passages are also very rewarding to consult (e.g. *Padminī* ms. fols. 15rDl7r). Perhaps less well-known is a chapter entirely dedicated to the subject, the twenty-third of the unpublished *Mahāmudrātilaka* (ms. fol. 47r ff.), a scripture probably compiled in the late eleventh century. This is almost entirely a copy of the sixty-second chapter of the *Vajramālābhidhāna*, a *Guhyasamāja* explanatory scripture (T, h. 445, 267a ff.; KITTAY 2011: 728Đ736), one of the many parallels between the two texts.⁶

Further material in Sanskrit can be gathered from ritual compendia. The *Vajrāvalī* of Abhay"karagupta does not teach the *gaṇacakra*, but the author wrote a separate manual that survives only in Tibetan translation (T, h. 2491). Kuladatta \tilde{Q} version of the *gaṇacakra* ritual, which is heavily dependent on the text we examine here, constitutes the final chapter of his *Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā* (edited by SAKURAI 2001). Dating this author is a tricky matter: he must precede 1216 CE, the date of the oldest manuscript of his compendium, but he could be as early as the middle of the eleventh century (TANEMURA 2004: 5ĐI0). Jagaddarpa\$a, a Nepalese author from ca. the thirteenth century who was heavily influenced by Abhay"karagupta, describes a number of

⁶ The historical aetiology of the *Vajramālābhidhāna* is very obscure, I will therefore refrain from assigning it a date. Some parts must date from as early as the ninth century.

Ga\$avidhis in his *Kriyāsamuccaya*, which probably demonstrates a local diversification among Newar Buddhists (ms. fol. 22v ff.⁷).

Some shorter but still noteworthy witnesses are the second half of the ninth section (and various details elsewhere) in the initiation manual *Samvarodayā nāma maņdalopāyikā* (ms. fol. 38v ff.) of Bh(v"c"rya, an author active before 1054 CE at Ratnagiri in present Odisha, and the fourth chapter of the anonymous and undatable *Śisyānugrahavidhi* (ms. A fols. 18vĐl9v, ms. B fols. 3vĐsr), a short compendium on various subjects related to the worship of the deity Cakrasa5 vara.

Ganacakra manuals

Besides the present text, the only other complete and self-standing manual surviving in Sanskrit is to be found in the so-called Ngor Hevajras"dhana collection as its last item (see ISAACSON 2009: \approx 45). The manuscript is now said to be in China, and the only way to access it for the time being is through copies of R"hula S"#k&y"yana@ photographs taken in Tibet (ms. fols. 264v£271v). Appropriately for the collection, this text describes a *gaṇacakra* for Hevajra initiates, although the influence of the *Catuspīţhatantra* is substantial. The work is anonymous, has no identifiable Tibetan translation, and has not been edited yet.

The manuscript NAK 1-1679 = NGMPP B 24/13, catalogued under the misleading title $\bigotimes am\bar{a}jatath\bar{a}nus\bar{a}rin\bar{i}$ Q contains two fragments of one folio each from works related to the *ganacakra*. The first fragment, penned in the so-called hook-topped Nepalese script, is very corrupt, but from the statement of purpose it can be made out that it is a manual based on the *Guhyasamājatantra*. The available text amounts to a little more than ten verses and contains descriptions of the ideal officiant ($\bar{a}c\bar{a}rya$), his empowering of the assistant (*karmavajrin*), and some preliminary purificatory acts. The most striking feature of this text is its very existence.) ryadeva openly admits that the *Guhyasamājatantra* does not contain injunctions concerning the *ganacakra* (which he equates with \bigotimes pratices with elaboration, *Saprapañcacaryā*), which is why he supplies the description from the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogadākinījālaśamvara* (cf. WEDEMEYER 2008: 291). From this manual, as well as the *Vajramālābhidhāna* description mentioned

⁷ Note that the Tibetan translation in the Derge Canon omits a significant part, as the parallel ceases after T, h. 3305, 216a4, which is probably unintentional.

above, it would seem that followers of the *Guhyasamāja* thought they were lagging behind and needed to update their ritual repertoire.

The second fragment from the same bundle (NAK 1-1679 = NGMPP B 24/13) is penned in a rather different, bolder, hook-topped script. Here we have not the first, but the final page of a work styling itself a Gaacakravidhi. About seven verses survive in this fragment, but none deal with the rite proper. The penultimate verse, which is rather corrupt, describes either the author or the patron as the ruler of Dhavalapura,⁸ named either Sumati or Udayacandra. The colophon also contains a date falling within the reign of Abhayamalla, which can be converted to Friday, November 24, 1217 CE.

Another fragment, in this case of two folios, can be found in NAK 1-1679 = NGMPP B 24/24, catalogued as $\dot{O}Mah\bar{a}pratisar\bar{a}dh\bar{a}rin\bar{n}\dot{O}$ Unfortunately, most of the fragment is badly effaced. From what remains legible, it can be determined that the work once described a *ganacakra* of the Catu' p*ha cycle, or that at the very least it was heavily influenced by that ritual system. There are several parallel phrasings with works of that cycle, the meats usually styled *pradīpa* (ÒampsÓ are here called *ankuśas* (ÒnooksÓ, and the *mantras* used to empower them (*śrim*, *hūm*, *ghrum*, *jrim*, *saḥ*) are hallmarks of the *Catuspīțhatantra* as well (Szc NTî 2012: I: 359£860).

A newly discovered manuscript

About half a decade ago, the aforementioned Shizuka, who can without doubt be called the world \tilde{Q} foremost expert of Buddhist Ga\$acakra manuals, published a study of a canonical Tibetan text that is titled **Vajrabhairavagaṇacakra* (T, h. 1995) and attributed in the translators \tilde{O} colophon to Ratn"kara%nti, one of the most famous and influential Buddhist thinkers from East India (floruit ca. late tenth to early eleventh century). In the English summary of his study, SHIZUKA (2011) stated the following: \tilde{O} n the Sde-dge edition this manual amounts to only two and a half folios, and a Sanskrit manuscript has not yet been reported.OI am happy to announce that I have identified a Sanskrit witness of the manual (according to my notes, in 2013), which is the main subject of this paper. Since ignorance of Japanese is one among my many shortcomings, I may reproduce some of

⁸ Converted into Modern Indo-Aryan, this would sound something like Dholpur. This is a fairly common toponym, but I do not find it impossible that here we have a variant of Dhavalasrotas, for which see PANT & SHARMA 1977: 22£24.

ShizukaÕ findings and claim them my own. Should this indeed occur, I apologise profusely.

The witness in question is a manuscript kept at the National Archives in Kathmandu under call number 5-7871. I had no opportunity to perform an autopsy of the manuscript, but I was able to consult it from digital images of the microfilm prepared by the Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project, reel no. B 104/10. I cannot tell how long the original manuscript was; here we have only three initial folios, which contain the complete text of the *Ganacakravidhi* and the beginning of a gloss calling or describing itself as (a) *Samksiptā Pañjikā*, that is to say, \dot{O} short commentary on difficult points. \dot{O}

The script is a rather unusual, headless *devanāgarī*, employed throughout, except for the first two lines of fol. 2r and a single *akṣara* on fol. 3v. This hand, or a very similar one, can also be seen in other manuscripts from Nepal, both in the main text and in paratextual notes. A thorough palaeographical analysis would perhaps be aided by a hypothesis I wish to advance here: I think that this is the hand of a famous Nepalese scholar active in the first half of the nineteenth century, a man called Sundar"nanda. Sundar"nanda was not only an author and avid collector of manuscripts on various subjects,⁹ but he also maintained a scriptorium¹⁰ and occasionally copied manuscripts himself.¹¹

From ShizukaÕ wording in the aforementioned summary it seems to me that he accepted the attribution to the great eleventh-century East Indian scholar and perhaps even accepted the suggestion of the Tibetan title that this work forms part of the *Vajrabhairava* corpus, i.e. the group of works, both scriptural and exegetical, centred on the cult of the eponymous deity, a Buddhicised form of ! iva-Bhairava. I would disagree on both counts. First, it is quite impossible that Ratn"kara%nti, whose Sanskrit is beyond re-

⁹ His signature or ownership mark can be seen on the final folio of the only Sanskrit witness of Kaly"\$avarmanÕ *Catuspīthapañjikā* (ms. fol. 45v), dated Nep"la Samvat 132 = 1012 CE; see SZç NTî 2012: I:116. In my thesis (ibid. and p. 85, n. 24), I suggested that this may be Hara Pras"d ! "str*Õ handwriting. I now wish to withdraw that statement.

¹⁰ I thank Iain Sinclair for this information as well as for making me aware of Sundar"nanda@ importance and influence in the first place in personal communications (e-mail, JuneĐJuly 2013).

¹¹ For example a manuscript of the *Śālihotra* of Indrasena, a treatise on hippology Đ further testimony for his wide-ranging cultural interests Đ with a Nepali translation and commentary, dated ! aka Samvat 1765, Nep"la Samvat 963, that is to say, 1843 CE.

proach, would have perpetrated any of the ÒbarbarismsÓ (*mlecchita*, *mlecchabhāṣā*) in diction I will point out in my notes. Second, there is not a single word about the deity Vajrabhairava in the text or even the slightest allusion in wording, or otherwise, to texts of that cycle. I suspect that the work was grouped thus on account of its Tibetan translator, who identifies himself in the colophon as Òhe monk rDo rje grags.ÓThis is none other than the famous and infamous translator of the Rwa clan, the foremost propagator of Vajrabhairava teachings in the Land of Snows.¹²

Indeed, the text does not seem to affiliate itself to any Tantric cycle. On the contrary, it seeks to stay as general as possible, allowing for particular customisations according to the liturgy of whichever cycle the participants followed. The strongest scriptural influence I could detect is that of the Catuspīthatantra. However, this scripture, which I tentatively date to the middle or second half of the ninth century, cannot be accepted as the lowest terminus post quem, since the present text also alludes to a *cakra* in the navel, a feature completely missing from the *Catuspīthatantra* along with all other paraphernalia of so-called subtle body practices. The terminus ante quem is also slightly difficult to determine. As I will point out in the notes, the textÕ influence on KuladattaÕ description of the ganacakra in the final chapter of his Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā is very clear, but Kuladatta@ dates are not fixed with certainty. The date and authorship of the gloss is impossible to determine. I find it very unlikely that the author was the scribe (Sundar"nanda, if my hypothesis is correct), since the gloss uses lemmata which sometimes differ from the main text. It is also too corrupt for an autograph.

A few words about how I wish to proceed in presenting these two texts. In September 2013, in the idyllic setting of the island of Procida in the Bay of Naples during the Third Manuscripta Buddhica Workshop I had the good fortune of submitting my preliminary draft to what may be described without exaggeration as the most competent panel of experts of Tantric texts in the world. During our reading, my understanding of the texts grew considerably, but so did my despair. A host of new problems were pointed out and some passages were declared beyond redemption. Our verdict was unanimous that this is not the work of Ratn"kara%nti. Several emendations were proposed, but in the heat of the moment I stupidly forgot to record each and every person**G** name who came to the rescue. Alexis Sanderson and Harunaga Isaacson will stand behind most emendations and conjec-

¹² For the life of Rwa lo, see CUEVAS 2015, a recent English translation of his biography.

tures, but I also recall excellent suggestions by Kazuo Kano and Kenichi Kuranishi. I wish to apologise to anyone who might feel left out. I also wish to thank the editors of the present volume for their excellent suggestions and gentle persuasion to include a translation, something I was initially reluctant to do. In spite of all this remarkable learning that came to my aid and for which I feel forever grateful, I still think that a definitive edition and precise translation cannot be attempted at this stage. I will therefore give the text as it stands in the manuscript, accompanied by a highly tentative translation (where this is possible) and a running commentary, which may point the reader in the right direction. Needless to say, all errors are my own.

Annotated diplomatic edition and tentative translation

[1r] namo Vajrasatvāya || ||

Obeisance to Vajrasattva!

This is the scribal obeisance and does not form part of the text, although most editions of Buddhist texts ignore this point. Vajrasattva is a kind of undifferentiated main deity of Tantric Buddhism, portrayed with two arms holding a *vajra*-sceptre (a symbol of means, $up\bar{a}ya$) and a bell (a symbol of wisdom, $praj\tilde{n}\bar{a}$), which are also the two chief implements of Tantric Buddhist initiates. Most exegetes would agree that other Tantric deities (e.g. Hevajra, Cakrasa5 vara) are, roughly speaking, ÒmanationsÓ or forms of Vajrasattva.

[1] Vajrasatvam pranamyādau bhāvābhāvātmakam vibhum || sarvakāmapradam devam vaksye ham ganamandalam ||

After having first bowed to Vajrasattva, the pervading Lord, embodying both existence and non-existence (i.e., conventional and ultimate reality or transmigration and liberation), the god bestowing all objects of desire (or: the absolute object of desire), I shall teach the *ganamandala*.

This is the customary *mangala* (obeisance, auspicious utterance) and *pratijñā* (statement of purpose). Both $\bar{a}dau$ and [']*haṃ* are superfluous: the meaning of the first is already implicit in the absolutive *pranamya*, whereas

the meaning of the second can be gathered from the finite verb *vakṣye*. The object of *vakṣye* Đunless we understand it to mean À shall describeÓĐis a *bhīmavat* compound for *gaṇamaṇḍalavidhim*. The description *bhāvābhāvātmakaṃ* is understood by the glossator as À mbodying [both] conventional/superficial and ultimate truth,Ówhereas *sarvakāma*; is interpreted as the absolute object of desire, i.e., great bliss (in this literature a synonym of Buddhahood), and not Àll objects of desire.Ó

[2] nirvikalpaparo mamtrī sarvakālasamāhitah | sarvatamtrānusārajño daśatatvavidām varah ||

The *mantra*-practitioner (here: the chief officiant), whose aim is the non-discursive [state], who is composed at all times, who knows the intent of all Tantras, who is a great expert in the ten fundamentals,

This verse describes the qualifications of the chief officiant. Here he is simply called *mantrin*, but later (v. 10) more appropriately *gaṇanāyaka*. *anusāra*; is best understood as a synonym of *abhiprāya*. There are several lists for the ten *tattvas* (see KLEIN-SCHWIND 2012: 28 ff., she translates *tattva* as ÀundamentalsÓ, essentially types of rituals a *vajrācārya* (i.e., a Tantric Buddhist officiant, master) is expected to know, but none match the one given by the glossator (see p. 307), which is most likely an ad hoc creation and not something supported by scriptural or exegetical authority. Note his variants: *nityakāla*; for *sarvakāla*; and ;*vidhānavit* for ;*vidām varah*.

[3] gambhīrodāradharmyarbhyā sārdravībhūtamānasaih || nirābhimānaih sacchişyaih śuśrūṣaṇaviśāradaih ||

with true disciples, whose minds are ... in the profound and vast doctrine, who are free from pride, who are obedient [and] skilled,

This verse describes the disciples accompanying the chief officiant. The second quarter must have begun with a $cv\bar{i}$ formation, otherwise the first line is beyond repair. Perhaps the point is that the disciples should have faith in or be versed in the profound and vast doctrine (i.e., the Buddhist *dharma*). The ungrammatical lengthening in *nirābhimānai*h seeks to avoid the metrical fault of having both second and third syllables short.

[4] devatāgaņasamkīrņe pamcakāmaphalaprade || vivikte ramyagehe smin nijapūjām samārabhet ||

should undertake self-worship [as taught] in this [system] in a secluded, lovely house, which is scattered with groups of deities and which bestows the five objects of desire (i.e., the five sensory objects).

The exact meaning of the first quarter is obscure. The glossator would want the deities to mean Qoung women passionate about reality, O but this is doubtful, unless he means yoginis incarnated into young women. However, in that case the author would have surely used that word, which is metrically equivalent. Perhaps the first line does not necessarily describe the house, but the larger polity where the rite is to take place. In that case, $devat\bar{a}$ might refer to local deities with a friendly disposition towards Buddhism. Should the compound refer to the house after all, perhaps it means that the consecrated ritual space was adorned by images of deities on scroll paintings or sculpted. Privacy was crucial to the rite; Indrabh(tiQ manual (T, h. 1672, 196a) mentions two appointed door guardians.) ryadevaõ Sūtaka mentions both elaborate, three-storied brick palaces and more humble cottages as suitable locations (WEDEMEYER 2008: 294D295). Other manuals (e.g. T, h. 1231, 43a; T, h. 1439, 238b; T, h. 2491, 243b) list the usual places for practice (a cremation ground, the top of a mountain, a thicket, a grove, banks of a river, etc.), but most stress that they should be isolated. The glossator $\tilde{\mathbf{Q}}$ explanation is somewhat opaque: $\tilde{\mathbf{Q}}$ where there are no bad people [or] peopleÓor perhaps Òwhere there are no people, who are bad people.ÓBad peopleÓin this kind of literature are opponents of (Tantric) Buddhism. It is perhaps not out of the question that the author used the pronominal locative ending, thus *gehesmin*. The glossator, however, interprets [']smin as an equivalent of *iha*, meaning asmin tantre, On this scripture.OThe collocation nijapūjā is unattested elsewhere, but nija; is sometimes mentioned in the sense of the chosen deity @ mantra, e.g. hum. The deity and its mantra are not separate, and one is supposed to visualise oneself as a deity, therefore we are probably not far from capturing the intended meaning: Ovorshipping oneself as the deity, who is the same as its *mantra*.Ó

[5] jyesthānukramayogena vamdanā pūjanā smrtā || atha guņamāhātmyād ātitheyatvagauravāt ||

Homage and worship are taught [to take place] according to the rule of seniority; alternatively, according to the greatness of virtues or out of respect for a guest.

This verse explains the rule of seniority, which was observed not only in the order in which the participants are greeted and honoured, but also in the order of entry and seating. For an elaboration on *jyeşthānukrama* by Kuladatta, see SAKURAI 2001: 18Đ19. Five kinds of seniority are listed there: according to initiation (*abhişeka*), according to observance (*vrata*), according to knowledge (*jñāna*), according to birth (*janma*), and according to learning (*vidyā*). Our glossator acknowledges only the first. For *atha* we should adopt the glossator**ũ** *atha vā*, otherwise the line would be hypometrical. The formation *ātitheyatva*; is excessive for *ātitheya*; or *atithitva*; the irregularity, however, allows for a metrical verse quarter. This last rule is especially noteworthy, because it suggests that the list of participants was not stable, but it could also include foreigners to the land, as the glossator suggests, provided of course that they are initiates. The glossator**ũ** variants are *matā* for *smṛtā* and *atitheyatva*; for *ātitheyatva*;, provided that this latter is genuine.

[6] snānam gamdham ca vastram ca mālābharanalepanam || argham dhūpam yathāśaktyā ganamandalam ārabhet ||

[After having gathered] according to one $\tilde{\mathbf{O}}$ means [articles for] bathing, scented powders, cloths, garlands, ornaments, ointments, the guest water, incense, one should begin the *ganamandala* [ritual].

This verse lists the articles of worship. Although not mentioned separately here, later on (see v. 7) a sponsor (indeed, sponsors) is mentioned, so it stands to reason that these are charged to him and that it is his duty to prepare them. We should probably see an invisible absolutive meaning \hat{O} after having gathered/prepared \hat{O} for the accusatives. Note the glossator \hat{O} variants $m\bar{a}lyam$ ca vastr \bar{a}_i for vastram ca m $\bar{a}l\bar{a}_i$.

[7] samāhitāya karaņī proktaisā karmavajriņī || karņe kṛtvāṇŋjaliṃ mūrddhni dātā cāsṭāṃgato namet || The gesture calling to order is taught to be this: the female chief assistant, after having placed the folded palms on the ears [she should place them] on the head. As for the sponsor, he should perform a prostration of the eight parts [of the body].

Understand *samāhitāya* as *samāhitatvāya*. It is slightly unusual that the absolutive and the finite verb have different subjects, but otherwise the verse does not seem to make sense. It is also somewhat unusual that the chief assistant (elsewhere, as in the Tibetan translation, *karmavajrin*) is female, but this reading as well as its interpretation as instrumental is reinforced by the glossator. The point of her gesture (*karaņī*) is to call the participants to attention. This feature is not paralleled in any other manual known to me.

[8] balim ratnādibhāndastham datvā lokottarān jinān || laukikān mamtradevāms ca pūjayet tatvatatparah ||

After having given the food offering, which is [to be] placed in a vessel [made of some kind of] precious material [such as gold and silver] or something else [such as clay], the one intent on reality (i.e., the chief officiant) should worship the supramundane Victors, the mundane [gods], and the *mantra* gods.

The absolutive should probably be understood as a present participle. Alternatively, offering the *bali* and worshipping the three groups are distinct. The compound *tattvatatpara*h may suggest that the worshipper should be aware of the ultimate nature of the mentioned deities. The last group, namely the *mantradevas*, is interpreted by the glossator as genii locorum. The word *ratna* is frequently translated as Qewel,Óbut the actual meaning is simply Qprecious material,Óincluding some metals.

[9] mamtrābhiprāyayogena padmabhānde mahāmrtam || daśāmkuśam ca samjapya sarvās tān paritosayet ||

He should [then] satisfy all [participants] with the great nectar and the ten hooks [which are placed] in a skull bowl and empowered by recitation according to the intent of the Tantra.

The transgressive substances, normally referred to as *samavas*, here called great (or ÒpecialÓ nectars (mahāmrta) and hooks (ankuśa) Đboth collective singulars D are placed in a skull cup (padmabhanda), empowered by recitation, and distributed. Although not mentioned here, it is usually understood that the substances are provided in small quantities (usually fashioned into a pellet) and dissolved in liquor (cf. SZc NTî 2012: I: 327 ff.; SAKURAI 2001: 19). Correct sarvās to sarvāms. The recipients are not described clearly; they could be the three groups mentioned above or, as the glossator would have it and what seems more likely, the participants themselves. We should accept the Tibetan reading and emend to tantrā*bhiprāya*; the glossator $\tilde{\mathbf{Q}}$ reading *tattvābhiprāya*; seems to be a corruption of this. The substances are alluded to below by their acronyms (see v. 16). Two points are noteworthy here. The first is that the meats are usually called *pradīpas* (ÒampsÓ, *ankuśa* is a somewhat less used term and inextricably linked to the Catuspīthatantra (SZc NTî 2012: I: 315, 348£849). The influence of that text is observable also in v. 17, which features the odd word *chidinga*. The second interesting point is that here, as well as in v. 18, the hooks are said to number ten, but in fact this is the total number of the nectars and the meats (see commentary on v. 16). The glossator discreetly ignores this problem.

[10] sarvāh sādhāranāh pūjāh sarvaguhyottarottarāh || mahāsukhapade sthitvā varteta gaņanāyakah ||

All common acts of worships and all [acts of worship which are] utterly and ultimately secret should be performed by the leader of the assembly [after having] established [himself] in the state of great bliss.

Perhaps it would make the verse more elegant to emend to *sarvā guhyo*;. The medial optative *varteta* is a barbaric form, understand *vartayeta*.

[11] vinayanibhṛtanārī namravaktrāravimdā vipulaguṇaviśālā tatvatas tatvayogyā | hṛdi vigatavikalpā sarvanepathyayuktā pṛthumtarakucayugmā sandade kāntibhāndam ||

The vessel with the charming [substances] should be presented by a shy woman, whose lotus-face is bent, who is rich in extensive virtues, who is truly suitable for truth, in whose heart discursiveness has disappeared, who is wearing all kinds of makeup, and who has a pair of exceedingly large breasts.

This verse in the *mālinī* metre picks up the ninth stanza. The vessel with the consecrated transgressive substances is presented (understand: distributed?) to the assembly. The usage kanti for the amrtas and ankusas in the vessel is unknown to me from elsewhere, but this is what it must mean (see also v. 33). It is not clear who this attractive young woman is, perhaps the same as the karmavajrini mentioned above (v. 7) or the officiant $\tilde{\mathbf{Q}}$ consort. We must emend *prthumtara*; to *prthutara*;. The form *sandade* probably stands for samdadet, another barbaric optative for samdadvāt. Kuladatta paraphrases the verse thus (SAKURAI 2001: 20): *īsannamramukhapadmā* (I conjecture this reading for *īsattāmra*; against Sakurai, his mss., and the Tibetan translation) ghananirantaratungastanayugalā (I prefer this, the mss. Q reading, over Sakurai Q ghananirantarā tumgastanavugalā) sarvābharaņavibhūsitā ativistaraguņayuktā manovikalparahitā savinayā yosid [É]; À woman, whose lotus-face is slightly bent, who has a pair of breasts which are firm, with no space in-between and very prominent, who is decorated with various kinds of ornaments, who is endowed with extensive virtues, who is free from mental conceptualisations, who is shy, [...]ÓThere she is also to recite a verse. Note that Kuladatta does not render the most obscure of her descriptions, *tattvatas tattvayogyā* (the point is perhaps that she must be suitable for nondual, antinomian practice), at the same time, there is a striking parallel between his paraphrase and the glossator \tilde{Q} text, which breaks off at this point.

[12] kāyemdhanam samujvālya jñānasaptārcisā svayam || tatvahomāya vaktrādau pātaye[**1v**]d rasādikam ||

After having kindled at will the firewood (here: constituents) of the body (or: $one\tilde{Q}$ person) with the fire of gnosis, one should drop the juice etc. in the mouth etc. in order [to achieve] the fire sacrifice of reality.

We should either emend to $p\bar{a}tayeta$ to fix the metre or read $p\bar{a}tayed$ with a slight pause after it. Also, *samujvālya* should be corrected to *samujjvālya*. Juice (*rasa*) must mean the nectars (*amṛta*), in which case $\bar{a}di$ stands for the meats. The meaning of *jādau* is beyond my understanding; perhaps we have a double *sandhi*, that is to say, we must understand *vaktre ādau*, where the word \hat{O} irst \hat{O} is picked up by *tato* in the next verse. Alternatively,

 $\bar{a}dau$ stands for the other points in the body which are reached by nectars. Otherwise the general import of this and of the next two verses is fairly clear: the tasting of the transgressive substances (normally *amrtāsvāda/na*) is framed here as an internalised fire sacrifice (*tattvahoma*), where the fuel is the body, the fire is knowledge, and the oblation the aforementioned substances. The word *svayam* is also slightly difficult, perhaps it does not mean more than àpontaneouslyóor àt will.óThere are some similarities with what the commentator Bhavabha+a calls *guhyahoma* in the *Catuspīthatantra* (see SZç NTî 2012: I: 452£453).

[13] tato hrccamdramadhyastham bimdudevam mahāvibhum || athavā svestadevādim cakrābharanabhūsitam ||

Thereafter, the deity [in form of a] drop, the great pervasive Lord located on a moon-disk in the heart, or one $\tilde{\mathbf{Q}}$ chosen deity, etc. adorned with the retinue

The worshipped recipient of this internal *homa* is said to be the deity either in an aniconic or iconic form. The former is in the shape of a drop (*bindu*) atop a moon-disk in the heart. The latter appears in the fully visualised form adorned either with a discus or, more likely (also cf. Kuladatta@ paraphrase, $m\bar{a}ndaleya_i$, below), his retinue (*cakra*). Kuladatta seems to conflate the two, since he writes (SAKURAI 2001: 21): *tato mano-Õtargatasūkṣmabudbudākārapratimam* (I conjecture this reading against Sakurai@ *ibuddhabuddhākārapratimam* inspired by the reading of the Cambridge ms., not consulted by the Japanese editor, which is itself corrupt but more revealing: *ibudbuddhākārai*) *mahāprabhum* (I disagree with Sakurai@ *mahāprabhui*) *māndaleyadevatāsahitam* [É] *snāpayet*; ÕThereafter, he should bathe the great pervasive Lord accompanied by the deities of the *mandala* (i.e., his retinue) in the shape of a subtle bubble within his heart.Ó*budbuda*, Òbubble,Óseems to paraphrase the word *bindu*.

[14] anāmāmgusthabimdvagrais tritatvonmathitabhāsuraih || svalpajihvāgrasannyastaih sudhādhārāmbubhih snapet ||

should be bathed by oozing streams of nectar [emitted from the substances blazing with] rays [owing to their] having been agitated by the three realities (i.e., three *mantras*) placed on the tip of the tongue in a small quantity by the [joined] tips of the ring finger and the thumb. Taking the substances with the joined ring finger and thumb is a standard and old feature, compare the section on the earliest textual sources above. The reading ; *bimdv*; is very problematic, a (somewhat diagnostic) conjecture ; baddha; would solve the problem. The three tattvas must mean three mantras, which purify (again?) the substances. The Catuspīthatantra teaches the triad ha, ho/hoh, and hrī/hrīh (SZc NTî 2013: I: 331, 440), which removes the disagreeable colour, smell, and potency respectively. Kuladatta (SAKURAI 2001: 19) seems to teach *am/a*, *hah*, and *hoh* to purify the liquor holding the nectars and meats and the standard om, ah, hum to empower it. He also uses the root *math* in the same context, but there it is taken literally to mean mixing in with the ring finger and the thumb. We should probably emend svalpajihvāgra; to svalpam jihvāgra; and understand the irregular simplex to stand for the causative *snāpavet*. The description is elliptical. but perhaps we are not very far from the point: the substances are first placed in a small quantity on the tongue, and as they are swallowed, they turn into streams of nectar which then bathe the deity.

[15] nābhicakrotthitair nādair ākṛṣyākṛṣya tadrasam || puṭikātrayataḥ pītvā mahāyogī sukham vaset ||

Gradually drawing in that nectar with subtle sounds (or: channels) arising from the discus in the navel, after having taken three sips, the great *yogin*[s] should rest at ease.

The first line of this verse seems to describe this gradual journey aided by subtle sounds ($n\bar{a}da$) or perhaps channels (if we emend to $n\bar{a}la$) issuing from the *cakra* in the navel. Kuladatta (SAKURAI 2001: 21) has vital energies to correspond to this element: *tato nābhimaņdalagatāyāmavāyubhis tadrasam ākrṣya* [É]; ÒThen, after having drawn in that nectar by means of the restraining[-type] of vital energies located in the discus of the navel [...].ÓThe word *puțikā* in this sense is unattested elsewhere (our standard dictionaries give ÒbagÓor ÒvesselÓ, save KuladattaÕ text as transmitted in the Cambridge ms.; Sakurai accepted *ghuțikā*; (ibid.). I am also inclined to emend *puțikā*; to *ghuțikā*; especially after having consulted TURNERÕ entry on *ghuți*, Ògulp, swallowÓ (1962ĐI966: 242), a word ultimately of Dravidian origin. The two letters *pa* and *gha* look very similar in Old Newar and other East Indian scripts. The subject, *mahāyogī*, should be understood as a collective singular.

Pfter-Dç niel Szç ntî

[16] vimūmaraśu _ _ d anyac ca dahanagokupamcakam || tamtratamtrāmtare proktam anyac cāpi mahāmṛtam ||

[The substances are:] faeces, urine, meat, [menstrual] blood, semen as well as [the meats of] a horse, an elephant, a human being, a cow, and a dog. But there are other [such lists of] great nectars taught in various Tantras.

This is a description of the transgressive substances by their acronyms. The nectars are *vi* [faeces (*viş*)], $m\bar{u}$ [urine ($m\bar{u}tra$)], $m\bar{a}$ [meat ($m\bar{a}msa$)], *ra* [menstrual blood (*rakta*)], and *śu* [semen (*śukra*)]. The hooks are *da* [horse or elephant (*damya/dantin*)], *ha* [elephant or horse (*hastin/haya*)], *na* [human (*nara*)], *go* [cow (*go*)], and *ku* [dog (*kukkura*)]. The second line seems to state that there are other possible lists for the nectars. By this perhaps the following is meant: the duplication of meat is usually taken for granted, but there is another list, which incidentally tallies better with the ! aiva tradition, where $m\bar{a}msa$ is replaced by phlegm (*kheta*), see, e.g., SZç NTî 2012: I: 358£B59. It is not entirely clear why the scribe signals two lost/illegible syllables in the first quarter. With lengthening $|m\bar{a}|$ (for $m\bar{a}msa$), the quarter should read *vimūmāraśum anyac ca*.

[17] chidimgam sarvato dadyād amtarīksasthitāya tat || vīro vīrāya devāya sarvadevīgaņāya ca ||

The hero should offer sprinklings [of] that [mixture of substances] in all directions to the hero (i.e., the chief officiant), to the gods, and to the assembly of various goddesses [visualised] in the sky.

After tasting the substances, they should be offered to the officiant, the deity, and the goddesses. It is only the latter two who should be visualised in the sky, as the officiant is present. This happens through sprinkling, which is the meaning of the odd and specifically Catu' p*ha word *chidinga*, also spelt *chidringa* (SZ₅ NTî 2012: I: 334).

[18] tatvam daśāmkuśam prāpya dātīmām cittaśuddhaye || pratipāta _ sākalyam bāhyadevāya dhaukayet || After having obtained the ten hooks, reality, in order to purify the minds of the sponsors ... should be offered to the external gods.

This verse is corrupt, but perhaps the point is that some of the aforementioned offering is extended to outer gods, so that the minds of the sponsors (note the plural) are purified. The connection between the two is not readily apparent.

[19] bhūtānām sarvabuddhatvam siddhaye karunābalaih || vajraghantānvitaih stotraiś cakravartī tam arcayet ||

The one strong in compassion should propitiate the universal ruler (i.e., the deity) with praises accompanied by [shaking] the *vajra*-sceptre and [sounding] the bell, so that all beings may achieve absolute buddhahood.

For *bhūtānām* the Tibetan has *sems can rnams la*, which may suggest a variant **sattvānām*. Emend ;*buddhatvam* to ;*buddhatva*;. Since we are lacking a subject and because the adjective is not apposite to *stotra*, we must emend *karunābalaih* to *karunābalah* to describe the officiant. We would have a subject in the final quarter, however, here there is nothing to pick up the pronoun *tam*, therefore we are constrained to emend to *cakravartinam*, meaning the deity, the object of the finite verb. Understand *vajraghantānvitaih* as an elliptical compound meaning Òaccompanied by shaking the *vajra*-sceptre and sounding the bell,Óalternatively, Òaccompanied by sounding the *vajra*-bell,Óso called because the bell is topped by a half-*vajra*.

[20] śrmgārābhinayenaivam datvā naivedyabhājanam || pratyekam sarvam ekam vā śuddhyaśuddhaviparyayaih ||

After having offered thus (?), with an (or: with the same?) erotic gesture, a vessel [containing] food, either one each or the same to all, overturning [the concepts of] pure and impure,

This verse is also puzzling. We should probably understand that the *nai-vedya* vessel presented here is not the *padmabhānda* with the transgressive substances, but a new vessel with food. The third quarter seems to evoke two scenarios: there is only one vessel and everyone eats from that (which is of course highly impure by Indic standards) or there are as many vessels

as participants. At any rate, the text enjoins that conventional values of purity-impurity should be suspended, indeed, overturned (we should emend to *śuddhāśuddha*; or *śuddhyaśuddhi*;). The first quarter describes the gesture with which the vessel is presented. This is elsewhere (e.g. in the *Kriyā-saṃgrahapañjikā*, see SAKURAI 2001: 20; SZç NTî 2012: I: 327) called the *kamalāvarttamudrā*, an elegant gesture with which the vessel containing the *samayas* is received and passed on. If we emend *evaṃ* to *eva*, this would mean that the *naivedya* vessel is to be handled in the same way. However, the gesture was not mentioned before.

[21] yathestham bhojanaih pānair nānāpūjākadambakaih || yathāsukham yathestam ca vaded dātā ca vajriņī ||

[a vessel accompanied] with food and drink, as much as desired, [as well as] a multitude of offerings, the sponsor should say to the initiates das you pleaseOor das you wish.O

The first line should probably be construed with *naivedyabhājanam* from the previous verse (while correcting *yathestham* to *yathestam*). Then, the sponsor should utter the words Δa you please $O \circ \Delta a$ you wishO(emend the first *ca* to *vā* or understand it to have that meaning). We should also emend *vajrinī* to *vajrinām*, i.e., the initiates addressed by him. The point of this utterance seems to be that the strictly formalised part of the rite is over, and the feasting can begin. This is a standard feature of the rite (e.g. the *Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā*, see SAKURAI 2001: 21), although the older, scriptural injunction does not make it clear who says the words (cf. SZç NTî 2012: I: 341).

[22] iti vigatavikalpah simhavan nirvisamko bhavasamapadasamsthas tatvasadbhāvayuktah || svahrdayasamaprajñah kaisikādīn pragāyan sakalajinaganaughān pūjayen nrtyato 'pi ||

Thus, [the officiant,] uninhibited like a lion [roaming at will], in whom conceptualisation has waned, who is [equally situated] in transmigration and liberation, who is merged with the true essence of reality, accompanied by the consort pleasing to his heart, should worship the mass of all Victors singing [in various musical scales] beginning with the *kaiśika*, and also with dance.

There follows a session of song and dance as acts of worship. This part is opened by the officiant accompanied by his consort ($praj\tilde{n}\bar{a}$). kaišika is a kind of musical scale ($r\bar{a}ga$).

[23] yasya haste patet pātram kramaśah karavartanaih || bhaven mohād avajñair vā tiraskārī sa daņdabhāk ||

Should the vessel drop from one $\tilde{\mathbf{O}}$ hand [during] the gradual activity of the arms (i.e., passing the vessel around) because of lack of attention or disgust, that person is an offender liable for punishment.

The next two verses address the issue of fines or punishments meted out in case of slight misdemeanours such as dropping the vessel or lack of decorum. Emend *haste* to *hastāt*.

[24] kasyacid avinayotpanne manovākkāyakarmabhiķ || yuktam tasya prakalpeta daņda gaņdādiśāmtaye || [Gloss in lower margin:] kapardakapalacatustayam

Should one commit indecorous thoughts, speech, or deeds, it is fitting to mete out punishment in order to counteract [karmic retribution] such as boils. [Gloss: four weights of cowrie shells]

Emend *i otpanne* to *i otpannaih* and *daṇda* to *daṇdaṃ*. The idea that one will become infected with boils (*gaṇda*) as karmic retribution for indecorous thoughts, speech, or deeds is otherwise unknown to me. The Tibetan omits rendering this word. The gloss is a rather interesting detail: to my knowledge, this is the only case in this kind of literature where a well-defined penalty is mentioned. The amount, four *palas* of cowrie shells (on the monetary use of which see GOPAL ²1989: 213£214), seems rather meagre. Unbecoming acts, according to, e.g., the *Mahāmudrātilaka* (ms. fol. 47v, the passage is copied from the *Vajramālābhidhāna*, T, h. 445, 267b), include chatting, quarrelling, expectorating, laughing, stretching the limbs, getting up again and again, and singing or dancing without permission from the officiant. Quarrelling during the *gaṇacakra* is singled out as a gross trespass in several works containing lists thereof (e.g. LfVI 1929: 268: *gaṇacakre vivādakāriṇaḥ* [É] *sthūlāpattir bhavati*), but it is not made clear what the subject of such a quarrel may be.

296

[25] hastadvayena mudrābhir vidhivat tatvatām varah || anyonyatarpa[**2r**]nam kṛtvā kelikrīdārasotsavaih ||

That best of experts, after having mutually propitiated [his consort] with displays of gestures with the two hands [and] nectar[-like] merriments of amorous sport and play, as prescribed,

For *vidhivat tatvatām varah* there are several possible emendations: *vidhivat tadvidām varah*, *vidhitattvavidām varah*, less likely *vidhivat tattvatatparah*, since we have the same compound following the predicate in the next verse.

[26] gambhīrodārasāmkathyaiḥ pūjayet tatvatatparaḥ || gītavādyādibhir nṛtyaiḥ prajñopāyaratottamaiḥ ||

the one intent on reality should worship with conversations on the profound and vast [doctrine], with dance accompanied by singing, music, etc., and most exquisite amorous acts [in which] Wisdom and Means [unite].

The last quarter is an explicit mention of intercourse, since $praj\tilde{n}a$ and $up\bar{a}ya$ are codewords for the female and male initiates.

[27] samādareņa cānyonyam samaśuśrūṣayā bhṛśam || daśapāramitāyogair yajeta yajñavad vratī ||

The observer of the vow, who is an expert in propitiatory sacrifice, should, with mutual respect and mutual reverence, sacrifice intensively with meditation practices [embodying] the ten perfections.

Emend *yajñavad* to *yajñavid*. The precise meaning of the third quarter escapes me. An exegete, Mah"sukhavajra, states in his commentary to the *Caṇdamahāroṣaṇatantra (Padmāvatī* ms. fol. 30r): *suratayoga evaikasmin ṣaṭ pāramitāḥ pūritā bhavanti* |; ÒThe six perfections become fulfilled in a single place, the *yoga* of intercourse.ÓThe list of six is older, but in later literature both are used interchangeably. Achieving the perfections (of giving etc.) occurs through arduous and lengthy practice in the non-Tantric Mah"y"na; the Tantric mode of practice has the same aim, but it offers a òthortcut.Ó

[28] kṣamitvā gaṃtukāmo pi sāmjaliṃ saṃmukhaṃ gataḥ || kāryaṃ kṛtvāgato dhīmān praviśet praṇato nataḥ ||

As for a person wishing to leave [the assembly temporarily], he should, after having excused himself, depart with folded hands, facing [the officiant]. Having finished his business, the wise one should return and enter bowing dutifully.

This verse contains the rule for excusing oneself to leave the assembly temporarily. Emend *sāñjalim* to *sāñjalih*, and *pranato natah* to *prayato natah* or *pranato* **(b)***hitah*.

[29] sadā yogātmako bhūtvā sadā tatvaparāyaṇaḥ || sadā vinayasampannaḥ sadā cakraṃ samācaret ||

One should consistently perform the [gaṇa]cakra, [and he should do so] always intent on yoga, always dedicated to reality, and always with due decorum.

A general injunction. The final $sad\bar{a}$ is perhaps superfluous, unless we are to understand it as a call to celebrate the ritual periodically.

[30] pakvānnam iva vīrāņām mudrā sādhāranā smṛtā || tasmān niḥśeṣakāmena svam parāmś caiva pūjayeta ||

Just like (the?) cooked food, the $mudr\bar{a}[s]$ (consort[s]? hand gesture[s]?) [are] taught to be common to [all] heroes (i.e., the male initiates). One should therefore worship one \tilde{Q} private [$mudr\bar{a}$], but also those of others, with all objects of desire.

Understand the second quarter as collective singulars; alternatively, emend to *mudrā h sādhāraņā h smṛtā h*. I am forced to emend *svam parāmś* to *svām parāš*, and we must correct the predicate to *pūjayet* metri causa. The overall meaning is somewhat obscure. The cooked food perhaps refers back to the communal *naivedya* vessel. The verse might suggest that the female participants must yield sexually to all.

[31] yāvat svechā sadānamdam līlayā tatvalīlayā || tāvat tatvanijām pūjām kartavyam prajñayānayā ||

The worship of reality as oneself (!?) should be performed together with this (?) consort (wisdom?) until one so desires, with true bliss, with grace, with the grace of reality (?).

We should correct to *svecchā* and emend to *tattvanijā pūjā kartavyā*. The strange *sadānandam* seems to be adverbial. The overall meaning is obscure: the act of self-worship together with the consort (*prajñā*) should be continued while it causes pleasure?

[32] cakșurādim mahopāyai rūpādi lalānāgaṇaiḥ || vijñānena mahānandam bāhye nityam pravartayet ||

[After having empowered] the eyes etc. (i.e., the sense faculties) and form etc. (i.e., the respective objects of the sense faculties) [as] the host of [divine] women together with their consorts, with this awareness (?) one should constantly activate great bliss in the external [world].

This verse, too, is obscure. I conjecture that it may be an injunction to empower the senses (eyes etc.) as the goddesses (emend to $|lalan\bar{a}|$), e.g. R(pavajr" etc., together with their male consorts (in which case we must emend to *sahopāyai*) and thus, with this knowledge, one should experience great bliss with respect to external sensory objects during ordinary activities, i.e., outside meditation sessions. At least this accords with general Tantric practice.

[33] kuliśakamalakāmtim camdraśubhram suśubhram ghrņivisarajinaughān niḥsvabhāvān svabhāvān || atitararatiramyām prajñayā sājñayā ca vihati mukhaśuddhyā sarvasatvam susatvaḥ ||

This verse is beyond my comprehension.

[34] atha visarjane prāpte mamgalāgītistotratah || stavitvā sarvadevānām cakrāņām ca samakṣatah || Next, once the time for dismissal has arrived, after having chanted praises with hymns of auspicious songs, in the presence of all deities and [the participants of] the assembly,

This is the last section proper of the rite, the dismissal of deities and the participants. Understand *mangalagītistotraih*: the irregular lengthening is required by the metre (but note that the very same rule is broken in the first quarter), whereas the suffix *tah* stands for a plural instrumental. *stavitvā* means *stutvā*. *cakrānām* must mean the participants of the *cakra*.

[35] dātṛṇābhyukṣarā śiṣyā saṃyojya jinasaṃvaraṃ || sarvabuddhāni buddhatve cānusaṃśya niruttare ||

[the officiant] should besprinkle the sponsors, then [re]appoint [his] good disciples to the vow[s] of the Victors (i.e., buddhas), then praise (i.e., foretell? pray for?) all beings [to reach] unsurpassed buddhahood,

I conjecture $d\bar{a}t\bar{r}n abhyukşya sacchişyān [É]; saṃvare | sarvabhūtāni [É]$ cānuśaṃsya. For the plural Òsponsors, Ócf. v. 18 above. The Tibetan suggests placing a flower on the head of the sponsor. The accusative; saṃvaraṃ is perhaps original; note, however, that the Tibetan doesnot mirror disciples, but has another absolutive meaning Òhaving utteredauspicious words. ÓThe second line is more obscure: note the irregular accusative neuter; the Tibetan also suggests plural °bhūtān.

[36] ucchistadevān samtusya samāsrjya mahābalim || dharmajñānātmako bhūtvā yumjīta matimān śubham ||

then propitiate the deities of the leftovers [by] having dispersed a great food offering. Then the clever one should perform [this] auspicious [practice] after having developed in himself the gnosis of the doctrine:

Understand or correct *saṃtuṣya* as/to *saṃtoṣya*. *śubhaṃ* should perhaps be emended to *śubhe* with the meaning *śubhāya*, in which case the translation would be: One clever one should perform [the following] yogic exercise for the sake of auspiciousness. OFor this practice (vv. 36cdE89), we once again have a parallel with the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapaňjikā* (SAKURAI 2001: 21): *tadanu nairātmyajňānātmako buddhimān svaśirasa* (although widely attested, I cannot make sense of *svasvaśirasa*, which I have corrected) *ūrdhvaṃ vi*- *tastimātropari sravadaparyantajñānāmṛtadhāram* (Sakurai reproduces the present participle outside the compound) *candramandalam vibhāvya* | *tad-madhye svasvadevatābījāni* [|] *sthire sati hṛdantaḥsuṣirasthacandra-mandalopari* (Sakurai reads *hṛdantaḥsvaśirastha*;, which does not make sense to me) *svasvadevatācihnāni yavaphalapramānāni vibhāvya prīṇayet* ||; ÒThereafter, the wise one, who has interiorised the gnosis of selflessness, should visualise one span above his head a moon-disk oozing boundless streams of gnosis-nectar. Then, in the middle of that [he should visualise] each deity@ seed[-syllable]. When this [visualisation] has become stable, he should visualise on a moon-disk situated within the subtle space in his heart each deity@ implement measuring a barleycorn [each]. Then he should propitiate [himself as the deity].Ó According to Kuladatta@ paraphrase, *dharmajñānātmakaḥ* means *nairātmyajñānātmakaḥ*.

[37] kişkumātropari sūkşmam dhyātvā dharmālayam jinam || anantāmṛtavat tasmāt skravamtam cimtayet svake ||

After having visualised one cubit above [his head] a subtle abode of the doctrine, that of the Victors (i.e., a moon-disk), containing endless [amounts of] nectar, he should think that [streams of nectar] ooze from that onto his head.

Again judging from Kuladatta $\tilde{\mathbf{O}}$ paraphrase quoted above, the *dharmālayam jinam anantāmṛtavat* must be a moon-disk oozing nectar. The author could not write *jainam* for metrical reasons, but this is the meaning. Emend *skravamtam* to *sravantam*. Note that *kişkumātropari* [É] *svake* was somewhat reformulated in Kuladatta $\tilde{\mathbf{O}}$ paraphrase. It may be significant that this distance is twice as much as the *dvādaśānta* of the ! aiva tradition, note, however, that Kuladatta $\tilde{\mathbf{O}}$ *vitasti* could be equal to that length.

[38] siddhārthamātra[**2v**]sūkṣmaṃ tat cihnaṃ vā vajriṇaṃ svakaṃ || vajrāgre nāsikāgre vā dhyātvā sphārayate sthire ||

Or, after having visualised either the holder of the *vajra* (i.e., the deity) himself or his [chief] implement (i.e., a *vajra*-sceptre), small in size like a mustard seed, on the tip of the *vajra* (i.e., the penis) or the tip of his nose. Once [the visualisation is] stable, he should emit [the nectar].

This verse is somewhat obscure. It seems to present alternatives for the moon-disk visualised above the head. If this is correct, then Kuladatta reinterpreted the passage freely, since there is no mention of the insignia of the deity (*tat cihnam* should then be corrected to *taccihnam*) or the deity himself (understand *svakam* as *svayam*) as a suitable variant, nor does he give alternatives for the locus of visualisation (alternatively, *svakam* is perhaps a corruption of *svake*, On his head,O but that would be a repetition). For *sphārayate*, we should probably understand *sphārayet*. We should also read *sthire* as a locative absolute as in Kuladatta. Of course, there is a variety of further ways in which one could emend the text, but this is the one that seems most likely to me.

[39] hṛdayāmbaramadhyesminn akhaṇḍaśaśimaṇḍalaṃ || tatra dharmasamālīnaṃ sūkṣmavajraṃ sadā smaret || yavaphalapramāṇaṃ ca _ _ vajraṃ bhāvayet ||

In the middle of the subtle space in his heart, he should imagine a disk [in the shape of a] full moon, and on that, joined with [that abode of] the doctrine, [he should] always [visualise] a small *vajra*-sceptre ... measuring a barley corn ...

This stanza too is obscure and corrupt. The compound *dharmasamālīnam* is somewhat puzzling (but we had *dharmālaya* in v. 37 describing the moondisk), as is the sixth verse quarter. The word *sadā* is a mere verse-filler.

[40] karuņādirasopetam trivimoksam manomayam || sarvākārārthasamyuktam nirvikāramahāsukham ||

Endowed with the essence of foremost compassion, [having the nature of] the three liberations, consisting of mind, endowed with \dots all aspects, unchangeable great bliss \mathfrak{D}

Here we have another parallel with the *Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā* (SAKURAI 2001: 21Đ2): *tato yogatatparo yogī prajňopāyasvabhāvo mahākaruņā-rasasamyuktam vimokṣatrayasvabhāvam sarvavastusamśuddham avikāra-paramārthasukham sarvakarmasu sarvaprakāreņānantatathāgataparama-rūpam vicintayet* ||; ÒThen, the *yogin*, dedicated to *yoga*, having the nature of wisdom of and means, should contemplate [the resolve of enlighten-ment] as being joined with the essence of great compassion, having the

nature of the three liberations, pure regarding all things (?), [equal to] the unchangeable bliss of absolute truth, having the supreme form of endless Tath" gatas, in all rituals, in all aspects. ÓIf Kuladatta@ reading is correct, beginning with v. 40 we have a new topic, a general injunction concerning all rituals undertaken subsequently by the vogin. I suspect that KuladattaÕ text is missing the actual object of contemplation, which is the resolve of enlightenment, which is also semen in the Tantric tradition (bodhicitta), as we have it here (41c). My interpretation of *karunādi*; is somewhat unusual (not à compassion etc. \acute{O} , but it is inspired by Kuladatta \widetilde{O} mahākarunā;. The point is that this is not common compassion, but the compassion felt by the Buddhist practitioner in spite of his/her knowledge that all beings and existents are ultimately empty (lacking an inherent nature). The three liberations, also often called gateways thereof, are *śūnyatā* (emptiness), animitta (causelessness), and apranihita (desirelessness). KuladattaÕ sarvavastusamśuddham seems to mirror manomayam, but I do not quite see how. Alternatively, it mirrors sarvākārārthasamvuktam, an opaque expression. Emptiness is frequently described as sarvākāravaropetam, dendowed with all best aspects. ÓPerhaps ; *artha*; is a corruption for a synonym of ; *vara*;. Kuladatta O °anantatathāgataparamarūpam does not seem to have an equivalent in our text, unless this is the way in which he intended to say bodhicitta, which is not impossible.

[41] prajñopāyātmako yogī sarvakarmaņi sarvathā || sambodhicittasadrūpam cimtayet tatvatatparah ||

[thus] should the *yogin*, who [unites] within himself wisdom and means [and] is dedicated to reality, contemplate the true nature of the resolve of perfect enlightenment in all [subsequent] rituals, at all times.

[42] prāņamamtrāksarair japtam bimdu prakrtibhāsvaram || dharmādharmair vinirmuktam tatvatah paribhāvayet ||

He should contemplate the *bindu*, luminous by its very nature, recited with the syllables of the *mantras* of the vital energies (?), as utterly free of both *dharma* and *adharma* (?).

Emend to *bindum*. Judging from KuladattaÕ paraphrase, this verse and the next one do not form part of the practice previously described. What exactly the first quarter refers to is beyond my comprehension, since the *bindu*,

that is to say, the *anusvāra* crowning *mantra*-syllables, is not recited on its own. In any case, we are assured in the next verse that this practice, whatever it may be, or practice in general, is conducive to liberation.

[43] tatkāle sarvakāle vā moksodyamaparāyaṇaḥ || kṛtvābhyāsaṃ sadākālaṃ sa labhen moksasaṃpadaṃ ||

Whether at that time (i.e., the *ganacakra*) or any other time, if the one dedicated to the effort [which brings about] liberation performs the practice consistently, he will obtain the accomplishment of liberation.

[44] sampūjyam jagatām manorathaparam sarveņa dānādinā pistvā sarvavikalpamohanagaram nairātmyavajrādinā || yaś cakram prativartate jinaguror jñānodayam mokṣadam tasyāryasya kṛpāparasya mahato nityam bhṛśam śreyase ||

The supreme wish of people should be honoured with everything, giving etc. He, who after having destroyed with [weapons] beginning with the *vajra*-sceptre of selflessness the city of delusion [founded on] various conceptualisations, celebrates the knowledge-raising, liberation-giving assembly of the Victor-Guru, for such a great, noble man, intent on compassion, there will always be great success.

This somewhat obscure verse in the $\dot{sardulavikridita}$ metre, which I have translated rather freely, describes the benefits of the practice (*phalaśruti*). Before *jagatām*, the scribe first wrote *sarva*_i, but then realised his mistake and deleted it. Understand *prativartate* as simply *vartayati* or emend to *parivartate*. The compound *jinaguror* is unusual and unparalleled. It is also somewhat unclear who the intended beneficiary is. Perhaps it is the sponsor(s), but it is equally possible that all the participants are meant.

[45] gaṇāya gaṃbhīraguṇopayuktaye vikalpakalpājitakleśahāriṇe || savāsanāvāsavimuktamuktaye vibhāvabhāvāya namo stu yogine ||

Homage to the *yogin*[s], [members of] the assembly, endowed with profound virtues, [they] who remove the obscurations acquired due to conceptualisations [entertained] through the aeons, [they] who possess liberation free from the abode of latent imprints, [they] who [are beyond both] liberation and bound existence.

The work concludes with four verses of praise, and it is perhaps here that the author \tilde{Q} idiosyncratic usage is most visible. Apparently, he strives to achieve poetic effect through alliterative *yamakas* (*vikalpakalpa*_i, *savāsanāvāsa*_i, *vibhāvabhāvāya* in the first verse) and by using somewhat more sophisticated metres (*vamśastha*, *upajāti*, *vamśastha*, and *svāgatā* respectively), much to the detriment of lucidity. We should most likely understand ¡*upayuktaye* as simply ¡*yuktāya*. Emend ¡*ājita*_i to ¡*ārjita*_i or ¡*ācita*_i and understand the first members of the compound in reverse, that is to say, *kalpārjitavikalpa*_i or *kalpācitavikalpa*_i. It is helpful to go into \tilde{Q} oft focus \tilde{Q} while interpreting the third quarter. *vibhāva* probably stands for *abhāva*, that is to say, *nirvāna*. The object of obeisance in this verse is most likely the group of male participants (in which case we take *ganāya* literally and understand *yogine* as a collective singular; this interpretation is supported by the next verse) or, perhaps less likely, the officiant (in which case we understand *yogine* literally and *ganāya* as *gaṇanāyakāya*).

[46] vibhūşaņair bhūşitayāmgayastyā cakrāmbare camdrakaleva dhāmnā || karoti yā kṛtyakalāpakāya namo stu tāyai lalanāgaņāyai ||

Homage to that assembly of ladies, whose slender bodies are adorned with ornaments, who resemble the digit of the moon because of their lustre as they move through the sky that is the assembly, performing all duties.

This somewhat freely translated verse describes and pays obeisance to the female participants. The datives are at the very least irregular, note especially *tāyai* for *tasyai*.

[47] salaukikam lokagurum sacakrinam vibhāvya bhāvyam jagatām vimuktaye || hitāśayā yo nukaroti mandalam namo stu tasmai ganacakravartine || Homage to the leader (lit. universal monarch) of the assembly, who, after having visualised [all] that needs to be visualised Đthe teacher of the world (i.e., the Buddha or Vajrasattva) together with the worldly deities and the retinue Đ with the intention of [bringing spiritual] benefit [for beings], imitates the *mandala* for the liberation of the world.

This verse pays obeisance to the leader of the assembly. Understand *sacakrinam* as *sacakram* and *hitāśayā* as *hitāśayena*. For *anukaroti*, the Tibetan reads **atra karoti* (SHIZUKA 2011: 69). In this case, we should translate: Owho performs the *mandala*[-rite] ... in this world.O

[48] sarvasatva[**3r**]gatinirmalabhāvabhāvanodbhavamahāsukhapiņḍaṃ || piņḍitottamaparārtham udāraṃ dārayā saha name kṛtasarvam ||

I pay homage to him, together with [his/my] consort, who has performed all, who [possesses] a heap of great bliss born from meditation on the spotless nature of [he] who is the refuge of all beings (i.e., the deity), who has distilled the supreme benefit for others, the lofty one.

The obscure final verse also eulogises the chief officiant. Alternatively, the object of homage is in the first line, i.e., great bliss, in which case the obeisance is performed by the author together with his consort, which is perhaps what the Tibetan translation suggests (SHIZUKA 2011: 69). Understand *¡gati;* as *śaranam*, alternatively emend to *¡gata;* following the Tibetan. The reading $d\bar{a}ray\bar{a}$ is guaranteed by the metre; ironically, the correct form would be $d\bar{a}raih$.

|| gaṇacakravidhiḥ samāptaḥ ||

The Ritual Procedure for the Ganacakra is completed.

Diplomatic edition of the fragmentary gloss

|| namo buddhāya || ||

tamtreşv abhişiktānām caryāyatayennānām gaņacakravidhānam amtareņa siddhir na bhavatīti krtvā vighnotsāraņāya mahate siddhaye prāpanārtham | svestadevamahāvajramdharanamaskārapūrvakagaņacakravidhānasya samksiptā pamjikeyam || ||

[ad 1] tatrādau tāvat || **vajrasatvam** iti || abhedyāyuktaparamārthasatvam **bhāvābhāvātmakam** iti || samvṛtiparamārtharūpe | **vibhuṃ** prabhuṃ | sabodhipakṣayogāt sarvakāma iti, mahāsukhakāmaṃ taṃ pradadātīti **sarvakāmapradaṃ**, **devam** iti divyatīti devas taṃ **praṇamyādau ahaṃ gaṇamaṇḍalaṃ**, yogayoginī<|dva|>dvayamaṇḍalaṃ **vakṣye** vadiṣyāmi ||

[ad 2] nirvikalpaparaḥ || nirvikalpasvabhāvaḥ | mamtram asyāstīti mamtrī | nityakālasamāhitaḥ | niṣadyaca||karmayānaśayanāsanamaithunādiṣu tatsvarūpeṇa samāhitaḥ, sarvatamtrānusārajñaḥ, niravaśeṣatamtrānugataḥ | daśatatvavidhānavit | daśatatvam iti | bāhyaguhyābhiṣekī 1 nirvikalpaviśuddhī 2 bāhyaguhyamaṇḍalajñaḥ 3 vivekasamādhikovidaḥ 4 paramārthacaryābhirataḥ 5 mudrādisarvagamanāgamane sarvakarmānusārajñaḥ 6 japahomapūjāpravartakaḥ 7 sarvatṛṣṇāvinirmuktaḥ 8 yathāyathāgocaradharmadeśakaḥ 9 advayasamatāvidhijñaḥ 10 iti || evamvidho yogī gaṇamaṇḍalam ārabhed (= 6c) iti sambamdhaḥ ||

[ad 4] *devatāgaņasamkīrņaḥ* | *tatvasadbhāvānuraktayuvatījanākule*, *rūpādipamcavisayānuyukte vivikte*, *asajjanajanarahite*, *ramye gehe*, *manojñe*, *asmims* tamtre *nije pūjyāḥ* | *para*[**3v**]*mārthapūjām samārabhet* || *kuryād ity arthaḥ* |

[ad 5] jyeşţhānukramayogena vamdanā pūjanā matā || abhişekadīkşājyeşţhānukrameņa vamdanāpūjanādikam kartavyam | atha vā guņamāhātmyam guņaprakarşāc ca, atitheyatvagauravāt, deśāmtaragato Õithitvagauravāt || [ad 6] snānam gamdham ca mālyam ca vastrābharanalepanam || artha dhūpam yathāśaktyā ganamandalam ārabhet || yathāśaktyā kubjamvo(?)payuktena ganacakram kartavyam || śeṣam sugamam ||

[ad 7] samāhitāya karaņī prokteşā karmavajriņī || karņe krtāmjalim mūrddhnā kāyavākcittaviksepārtham yogakaranīm karmavajriņyā gaņānām pratyekamūrddhni amjalim krtvā karņe kartavyam || paścād dātā cāstārgena cakram pranāmyate ||

[ad 8] balim ratnādibhāndastham khādyādikam ratnābhānde sthāpayitvā lokottarān jinān tathāgatādīn ādau datvā paścāl laukikān hariharahiranyagarbhādīn mamtradevāmś ca ksetrādipratibamdhān pūjayet tatvatatparah || arcayet tatvavidhānajñah ||

[ad 9] *tatvābhiprāyayogena* samāyātitamtrakrameņa *padmabhāņģe mahāmṛtaṃ* || kapālādibhānde pamcāmṛtādikam **amkuśaś cā**dau samayakuśam ca **samjapya** mamtrapūtam kṛtvā **sarvān tān** gaṇān **paritoṣayet** || pradātavyam ||

[ad 10] sarvāh sādhāraņāh pūjyā sakalajagatsukhāvāptakāraņāh sarvaguhyogurottarā niravaśesaparamārtharahasyānām rahasyatarā || mahāsukhapade sthitvā prajñopāyasamarase sthitvā vartanta gaņanāyakah || taccakravartī

[ad 11] vineyanibhṛtanārī savinayā yoşit namravaktrāravimdā īṣannamramukhapadmā vipulaguņaviśālā, ativistaraguņayuktā tatvā tatvayogyā paramārthatah paramārthaguņayuktā, hṛdi viga [explicit ms.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscripts¹³

Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā

Ms. (one of many) Cambridge University Library, Add. 1697.12. *Kriyāsamuccaya* of Jagaddarpa\$a

Ms. (one of many) Kyoto University Library no. 7.

¹³ NAK = National Archives, Kathmandu. NGMPP = Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project microfilms.

```
Ganacakravidhi & Samksiptā Pañjikā
  Ms. NAK 5-7871 = NGMPP B 104/10.
Catuspīthapañjikā of Kaly"$avarman
  Ms. NAK 3-360 = NGMPP B 30/37.
Padmāvatī of Mah"sukhavajra
  Ms. NAK 3-402 = NGMPP B 31/7.
Padminī of Ratnarak' ita
  Ms. Buddhist Library Nagoya, Takaoka CA 17.
"Mahāpratisarādhārinī"
  Ms. NAK 1-1679 = NGMPP B 24/24.
Mahāmudrātilaka
  Ms. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preu§ischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung
  Hs. or. 8711.
Śālihotra of Indrasena
  Ms. NAK 4-1640 = NGMPP A 47/3.
Śisvānugrahavidhi
  Ms. A six folios in Kaiser Library 139 = NGMPP C 14/16; ms. B nine
  folios in NAK 1-1697 = NGMPP A 936/1.
"Samāiatathānusārinī"
  Ms. NAK 1-1679 = NGMPP B 24/13.
Samvarodayā nāma mandalopāyikā of Bh(v"c"rya
  Ms. Tokyo University Library no. 450.
Sarvabuddhasamāyogadākinījālaśamvara
  Ms. Coll•ge de France, Institut dÕ tudes indiennes, LŽvi no. 48.
Hevajrasādhana collection of various authors
  Ms. photographic copy in NiedersŠchsische Staats- und UniversitŠtsbib-
  liothek, Gšttingen Xc 14/39.
```

Editions, translation, and studies

- CUEVAS, B.J. 2015. Ra Yeshé Sengé ĐThe All-pervading Melodious Drumbeat. The Life of Ra Lotsawa. New York: Penguin Books.
- GOPAL, L. ²1989. *The Economic Life of Northern India, c. A.D. 700–1200*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers.
- GRIFFITHS, A. & SZç NTî, P.-D. 2015. Sarvabuddhasam"yoga/"kin* j"la%a5 vara. In: J. Silk, V. Eltschinger, O. von HinŸber (eds.), Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism. Volume I: Literature and Languages. Leiden: Brill, pp. 367£872.

- ISAACSON, H. 2009. A collection of *Hevajrasādhanas* and related works in Sanskrit. In: Ernst Steinkellner in cooperation with Duan Qing and Helmut Krasser (eds.), *Sanskrit Manuscripts in China: Proceedings of a panel at the 2008 Beijing Seminar on Tibetan Studies October 13 to 17*. Beijing: China Tibetology Publishing House, pp. 89ĐI36.
- KITTAY, D.R. 2011. Interpreting the Vajra Rosary: Truth and Method Meets Wisdom and Method. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Columbia University.
- KLEIN-SCHWIND, S.G. 2012. The Compendium of the Ten Fundamentals. Daśatattvasamgraha of pandita Kşitigarbha. Critical Edition of the Sanskrit Text with Introduction and Annotated English Translation. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Hamburg.
- LALOU, M. 1965. PrŽiminaires dÕne Žiude des ga\$acakra. In: Studies of Esoteric Buddhism and Tantrism. Koyasan: Koyasan University, pp. 41Đ46.
- Lf VI, S. 1929. Autour dÕA% agho' a. Journal Asiatique 215, pp. 255£285.
- PANT, M.R. & SHARMA, A.D. 1977. *The Two Earliest Copper-plate Inscriptions from Nepal*. Kathmandu: Nepal Research Centre.
- SAKURAI, M. 2001. Kriy"sa5 graha shosetsu no ganachyakura girei [Kriy"sa5 graha 所説のカ゛ナチャクラ儀礼]. *Chisan Gakuho* [智山学報] 50, pp. 17Đ40.
- SANDERSON 2009. The ! aiva Age: An Explanation of the Rise and Dominance of ! aivism during the Early Medieval Period. In: Sh. Einoo (ed.), *Genesis and Development of Tantrism*. Tokyo: Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo, pp. 41E849.
- SHIZUKA, H. 2007. *Ganachyakura no kenkyu: Indo koki mikkyo ga kaita chihei* [ガナチャクラの研究: インド後期密教が開いた地平]. Tokyo: Sankibo Busshorin.
- 2008. An Interim Report on the Study of Ga\$acakra: Vajray"na@ New Horizon in Indian Buddhism. In: Editorial Boards ICEBS (eds.), *Esoter-ic Buddhist Studies: Identity in Diversity*. Koyasan: Koyasan University, pp. 185Đ198.
- 2011. Ratn"kara%nti no ganachyakura giki [ラトナーカラシャーン-ティのガナチャクラ儀軌]. *Mikkyo Bunka* [密教文化] 224, pp. 51(78)Đ 83(46).
- SNELLGROVE, D.L. 1959. *The Hevajra Tantra: A Critical Study, Part 2: Sanskrit and Tibetans Texts*. London: Oxford University Press.
- SZç NTî, P.-D. 2012. *Selected Chapters from the Catuspīțhatantra*. 2 vols. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Oxford.

- TANEMURA, R. 2004. Kuladatta's Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā. A critical edition and annotated translation of selected sections. Groningen: Egbert Forsten.
- T, h. Tibetan canonical material in the Derge (Sde dge) print according to Ui Hakuju, Suzuki Munetada, Kanakura Yensh, , Tada T, kan. A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons (Bkah-hgyur and Bstan-hgyur). Sendai: T, hoku Imperial University, 1934.
- TSUDA, Sh. 1974. *The Samvarodaya-tantra: Selected Chapters*. Tokyo: The Hokuseido Press.
- TURNER, R.L. 1962Ð1966. A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages. London: Oxford University Press, including three supplements published between 1969Đ1985. Online version: http://dsal.uchicago.edu/dictionaries/soas/ (accessed July 4, 2018).
- WEDEMEYER, Ch.K. 2008. Āryadeva's Lamp That Integrates the Practices (Caryāmelāpakapradīpa). The Gradual Path of Vajrayāna Buddhism According to the Esoteric Community Noble Tradition. New York: Columbia University Press.

K. 6010 रक्ष पर्क्ष संस्थ में 2/2 X X 60 ועטוטה Ĉ. E dinila L'ulia 100

張う

893 D A. 60120 TAT