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THE LITANY OF NAMES OF MAṆJUŚRĪ
Text and Translation of the MaṆjuśrīnāmasaṅgiti

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Abbreviations:
MM = Nāmasaṅgitiyṛti by MaṆjuśrīmitra. Tō. 2532. Text from PTT vol. 74 pp. 171.1.1-184.4.8.
SV = Ārya-MaṆjuśrīnāmasaṅgitiyārāhakaraṇa-nāma by *Suratīvajra. Tō. 2093. Text from PTT vol. 67 pp. 251.3.4-262.4.3.
Tō. = Hakuyū Ui et al., A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons (Sendai: Tōhoku Imperial University, 1934).

If Vajrayāna may be considered the form of Buddhism most heavily endowed with ritual, the MaṆjuśrīnāmasaṅgitiyasa Paramārtha Nāmasaṅgiti (hereafter NS) is perhaps the most popular canonical ritual text this tradition ever produced. Recited daily by monks and laymen in India and Tibet, it was the object of numerous Sanskrit and Tibetan commentaries, serving as the basis of multiple sādhana and maṇḍala cycles and becoming one of the great stabilizing factors in the transmission of Indo-Tibetan Buddhism. The scope of this introduction is to focus on some of the factors responsible for the rise of this singular text and to

For assistance with this paper I should like to thank Professor B.A. van Nooten, with whom I read the verses of the NS and who was always ready to assist and advise my studies. Moreover I am particularly indebted to bSod nams rgya mtsho (Nor thar rtse mkhan po), a true yogin and scholar who has opened up for me the world of Vajrayāna studies. I would also like to thank my mother, Marie Davidson, a paññīta of the English language who cheerfully provided assistance in making this paper readable.

yāvato kecī daśādāvī loke sarvairiyadivagatā màrasinilāh
śān ahu rāndmi sarvi aśeśān kāyāku vāca maneva prasannah||
Bhadracariprayādhanurāśātra 1:1
give a thumbnail sketch of its history and utilization in India, Tibet, and the Occident.

The NS proclaims itself the ‘process of realization of Illusion’s Net’ (māyājālābhisaṃbodhitkrama, v. 7) extracted from the samādhi chapter of the great Māyājāla, a mahāyogātantra (v. 13 and colophon). If such a work ever existed in sixteen thousand lines, we have no record of it other than obscure references such as these. Nonetheless, there is a distinct morphological similarity between the NS and the samādhi chapter of the Māyājālātantra that is extant (Tō. 466) and to a slightly lesser degree between the NS and the samādhi chapter (chapter 3) of the Ghyasamājatantra. Verse twenty-six of our text begins with the pronunciation of each of the vowels as a distinct syllable. The first, the vowel a, becomes the most important of these syllables for the rest of the text, and in verse twenty-eight, a is identified with Mañjuśrī. Turning to Mañjuśrīmitra’s Upadesa (Appendix to the translation), we observe that this earliest of NS traditions considered the various figures mentioned in the course of the text (vv. 28-157) as proceeding from this syllable a. This “supreme syllable”, then, is the seed syllable (bijamantra) for the entire visualization which accompanies the recitation of the NS. All the deities proceed from a and take their place in the mandala. Approaching the NS thus is precisely in accord with the content of the samādhi chapter in the Māyājālātantra, with the exception that each of the deities in the Māyājālātantra issues from his own bijamantra, there being more than twenty different bijamantras listed.

Moreover, morphologically both this samādhi chapter and the NS may be broken down into an association between two units, a mantra followed by visualization instruction. Moving to the samādhi chapter of the Ghyasamājā, we find the same morphological circumstances, a mantra followed by visualization instruction. The similarity between these three sections is striking, even if in content each of them demonstrates different vicissitudes. In addition their ultimate common inspiration appears to be the abhisambodhitkrama of the Sarvatathā-

gatatattvasaṃgraha, though there were undoubtedly other stages of development intervening. In that text we find the same morphological units obtain, but in a reversed order, the instructions coming before the mantra. The instructions too, are of a slightly different character, discussing the course of events in the spiritual life of the Bodhisatva Sārvarāthisādī, but they nonetheless occur in the form of meditation instruction to the Bodhisatva from the Tathāgatas there assembled.

Certainly the diachronic relationship between the recent two samādhi chapters and the NS is obscure. There is no prima facie case for ordering any one of these units as primary over the others, and they appear to have evolved simultaneously from this common inspiration in their own separate ways. They were perhaps removed from each other through geographic factors, and, heavily influenced by the religious vision of the individual vajrācāryas involved in their separate transmissions, retained something of this vision in their final forms.

In applying these considerations to the problem of the development of the NS, we may probably safely assume that the earliest coherent stratum of the text encompasses verses 26-162. This represents a basic meditative form complete with devotional homage in the final five verses (vv. 158-162). Glancing again at the Upadesa, we find that this is the section of the text actually employed in the māyājālābhisaṃbodhitkrama. The next stratum certainly represents an attempt to display in canonical form what began as the instructions of a vajrācārya. A new section was added in which Vajrapāni is shown asking for the teaching from Śākyamuni, and the Tathāgata responds (vv. 1-24). Mañjuśrīmitra seems to have first obtained the NS in this state of elaboration (vv. 1-62). His commentary shows no concern for the arrangement of the mantra (mantravinyāsa), the discussions on benefits (anuṣāsā), or the final verses (upasampāraṇagātha, vv. 163-7). In his Upadesa, however, Mañjuśrīmitra makes it clear that by this time he had recourse to these items, and the entire text had further been divided into sections based to a large extent on the mandala. Just who the author of these new additions was is unclear, but in all likelihood Mañjuśrīmitra himself had much to do with their formulation.

Definitely a consideration in the development of the NS and a primary concern of the commentators was the burgeoning development of the sixth family (kula) and its eventual relationship with the

1 The NS was translated several times into Chinese, beginning with Dānapāla, who arrived in China in 980 A.D. (Taishō 1187), but the text never seems to have had an impact on Chinese Buddhism. I have been unable to make use of the Chinese translations.

2 Vide Benoytosh Bhattacharya, Ghyasamājā Tantra, GOS 53 (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1967), pp. 14-16. Unfortunately I do not have access to Y. Matsunaga’s better and more recent edition (Osaka, 1978). Before the formation of the initial recension of the Ghyasamājā, individual chapters seem to have been floating and similar forms are found in other works. See Yūkei Matsunaga, “Indian Esoteric Buddhism as Studied in Japan”, Studies in Esoteric Buddhism (Kōyasan, 1965), p. 239 n. 49.

3 Vide PTT vol. 4 pp. 140.3.6-144.3.6.

4 Vide S. Sakai, “Concerning the Pañcābhisaṃbodhi”, (Gosō-jō shin-gan ni tsuite), Studies in Esoteric Buddhism pp. 397-409; consists of the edited Sanskrit text of the pañcābhisaṃbodhitkrama of the Sarvatathāgataatattvasaṃgraha with a Japanese translation.
conceptual framework of the Ādibuddha. The Ādibuddha did not, of course, indicate initially a figure who had any specific association with the early Vajrayāna and its practices involving abhiṣeka, maṇḍalas and so forth. However, with the popular employment in the seventh century of the various maṇḍalas of the Sarvatathāgatagarbhasamudgāra with their divisions into five families, it occurred to yogins utilizing such methods that the unification of all these families and their attendant forms of gnosis (jñāna) would constitute a sixth family. Thus there developed, probably at the turn of the eighth century, the figure of Bodhicittavajra, and his family was occasionally referred to as the mahāmudrākula (VM 239.1.4). Bodhicittavajra obviously represents a stylization of the thought of enlightenment (bodhicitta) as adamant (vajra) following the precedent of the yogin’s body, speech and mind becoming adamantine body, speech, and mind (kāyavāmanamana-vajra)⁶. This transformation of the simple thought of enlightenment also reflects some of the intense philosophical consideration which came to surround the concept of the bodhicitta⁷. I have not found evidence that Bodhicittavajra was ever considered the Ādibuddha; this distinction was reserved for the most important of the Bodhisattvas, such as Mahāyāna, Samantabhadra, and Vajrapāni [in his form of Vajradhāra]. Bodhicittavajra was instead the most important jina, and, as mentioned in the first chapter of the Guhyasamāja, all the other jinas were seen to reside in his heart⁸. His position was temporary, however, and Bodhicittavajra was soon supplanted by the figure of Mahāvajradhāra, who combined within himself the functions of Ādibuddha as well as the jina at the head of the sixth kula.

Even given these factors of formation, attempting to date the NS with any accuracy is certainly a difficult task. To my mind attempts to attach dates to Buddhist tantras without reference to historically localizable commentators or citations by datable authors is premature, at least until the literature has been systematically exploited for such references⁹. Therefore I have utilized the four earliest commentaries for assistance in understanding the NS: those of Mahāyānirmita (MM), Vīlāsavajra (VV), Vimalamitra (VM), and *Suratavajra (SV). Additionally, these four commentators were very influential in the direction that Vajrayāna as a whole was to take after the eighth century, both in India and in Tibet. While our earliest commentator, Mahāyānirmita, provides the terminus ad quem of the NS (middle of the eighth century), the terminus a quo may be perhaps half a century earlier (c. 700 A.D.) for there are minor differences in the recensions of the NS utilized by these acāryas¹⁰.

Earliest of commentators on the NS, Mahāyānirmita flourished in the middle of the eighth century¹¹. Coming originally from Śrī Laṅka, this famous scholar devoted virtually his entire literary career to the study and propagation of the NS. Evidently he wanted to make the NS the center of an entire Vajrayāna system of practice so that every important religious function could be performed by a ritual or cycle of meditation that was in some way tied in to the NS. From the initial act of taking refuge, through the development of the thought of enlightenment, to initiation, Mahāyānirmita created ritual manuals linking every sort of guhyamantra practice then current in Buddhist India to the text of the NS¹². Certainly a great deal of the popularization of our text was due to the focus of this illustrious Buddhist yogin. Nonetheless, in his commentary (hereafter MM) much of Mahāyānirmita’s concern with the NS was to harmonize with Mahāyāna Buddhist tradition certain potentially compromising phrases and conceptual systems which appear quite outside the framework of Buddhist orthodoxy. Usually this presents no problem in interpretation, since much of the difficult terminology (śāśvata, anādi etc.) had already

⁵ The earliest occurrence of the Ādibuddha in Buddhist literature seems to be the reference in the Mahāvīrāvatīrālamkāra IX: 77, where the concept is refuted, there being no buddhashood possible without the accumulations of knowledge and merit (pūrṇapānasaṃbhūra).
⁶ See the translations of chapters six and twelve of the Guhyasamāja by Alex Wayman in The Yoga of the Guhyasamāja (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 1977), pp. 25-36, which are relevant to our discussion.
⁷ See chapter two of the Guhyasamāja (pp. 11-13) and compare Māyājālāntara chapter seven (PTT vol. 4, pp. 149.5.6-150.5).4, where the various jinas discuss bodhicitta. See also note 17 infra.
⁸ Guhyasamāja p. 3.11-14.
⁹ We should certainly wish in any event to avoid the very unhistorical methods demonstrated by B. Bhattacharya in his various works and by Alex Wayman in Yoga, pp. 97-102.
¹⁰ See, for example, the apparatus to verses 122 and 144. I have not, however, systematically exploited the commentaries for variant readings.
¹¹ I suppose him to be the teacher of Vīlāsavajra (infra) and possibly also of Śrī Simha; see G.N. Roerich, The Blue Annals (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 1976), p. 168.
been introduced and justified in the *Ratnagotravibhāga* 14. When, though, new material appears, Mañjuśrimitra at times makes very improbable associations. Thus, in his explanation of the epithet Creator (vidhātṛ, v. 64c) for Mañjuśrī, Mañjuśrimitra elaborates, “Since he has complete cognizance of wholesome and unwholesome karma, he is called vidhātṛ” 15. Doubtless, the attempt is to employ the mathematical usage of *vi/ādāha* meaning to measure, thereby rendering *vidhātṛ* as measurer. This is clearly not the intent of the author. Nevertheless, the pattern of orthodox interpretation for the purpose of rendering a text acceptable to the Vajrayāna monastic communities became the norm for most later commentarial traditions, particularly with the *yoginītantras* 16. Utilization of these texts by the communities of ācāryas was in a real sense dependent on the above kinds of hermeneutic devices. Stranger enough, Mañjuśrimitra’s main and most lasting contribution had nothing to do with the NS but consisted of certain highly original philosophical treatises on the nature of bodhicitta. These retained some degree of popularity among Tibetan savants of the rNin ma pa down to the present 17.

According to one tradition recorded by Bu ston, Mañjuśrimitra was the teacher of Vilāsāvajra, while according to ’Gos lo tsā ba, both these ācāryas instructed Buddhaśrījānā, founder of the *Jñānapāda* school of *Guhyasamājā* exegesis. 18. Vilāsāvajra is in any event localizeatable in time as he worked with rMa rin chen mchog when that famous translator was studying in India, having most likely gone there shortly after his ordination (779) 19. Vilāsāvajra was noted for his seminal commentary on the *Guhyaagarbhatantra* and for his short comment on the *mikāna* to the *Guhyasamājatantra* (Tō. 1910). It was his quite long commentary on the NS (hereafter VV), however, which had the greatest impact on later Buddhist developments and even retained some of its popularity down to the present. This great vajräcārya wave into the structure of VV both an elaborate commentary and a ritual method, having adopted with some minor changes much of the ritual structure first established by Mañjuśrimitra 20. For historical purposes the commentary is magnificent in its citations from a wide range of Buddhist texts, mos, of them important Vajrayāna works. Perhaps the most startling of the citations are several from the *Laghusaṃvaratantra* 21.

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14 *Ratnagotravibhāga* 1: 12 and commentary.

15 MM-dge ba dün mi dge ba'i las yogs su mkhyen pas na bskyed po po'i/ (178:21.6).


17 Tō. 2562 and especially 2591, the *Bya jl chub sbyogs pa rdo la gser zin*, which was quoted by snubs chen sans rgyas ye sles [bSam gsan mig gsal (Lah: 'Khor-gdon Gier-sprul 'Chi-med-rig-'dzin, 1974), pp. 296.1, 313.5] and which is undoubtedly the *Bya chub kyi sbyogs pa* ascribed to Mañjuśrimitra in the 1DeAn-kyer catalogue [Marcelle Lalou, "Les textes bouddhiques au temps du roi Khri-sron-lde-can", *Journal Asiatique* 241 (1953): 334, no. 610]. This same text was included by Koi sprul blo gros mtha’ yas in the 19th century collection of the gDan nas mdrod (Delhi: N.P., 1971) vol. 1, pp. 203-212. Kennard Lipman informs me that Mi pham rnam rgyal (1846-1912) wrote a commentary on this text and that Tō. 2578 is also a commentary. This latter commentary is ascribed to Mañjuśrimitra, but the ascription is doubtful, as Tō. 2578 speaks of Mañjuśrimitra in the third person.

18 Vilāsāvajra has been referred to until now as Līlāvajra, the equivalent first given to the Tibetan sge bu lde' btsan by Palmyr Cordier in his *Catalogue du Fonds Tibetain* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1909), vol. 2 p. 265, although he listed Vilāsāvajra as an alternative form. Roerich and others followed. The name Vilāsāvajra is given for our author in the colophon to his NS commentary in Cambridge. See Cecil Belland, *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1883), p. 204. This is in agreement with Sakaki ed. *Mahāvīryotpatti* (Kyoto, 1916-26) no. 7132, which lists sge bu as the equivalent of līlā. Perhaps we should expect rnam par sge bu, but there appear to be instances of the elimination of *upaṣāra* in the translation of names into Tibetan, especially during the early period (sna 'gsum). I have not been able to find sge bu as the equivalent to *īlā* in any of the various indexes which we now possess. Additionally, names of Vajräcāryas at that time seem to have been drawn from the lists in the *Sarvatathāgatattva-sangāreṇa*, definitely one of the most influential texts in eighth century Buddhist India. So we find Amoghavaijra, Karmavajra, Vajrāhāsa and so forth taken as personal names. Vilāsāvajra occurs in the Sanskrit text of the *Tattva-sangāraṇa*, but I have not been able to locate a līlāvajra. See K. Horouchi, "The Romanized Text of the *Sarva-Tathāgata-saṅgahṛta*", *Mikkyō Bunka* 103 (July 1973): 72. Vilāsāvajra is listed in the same Sanskrit colophon as a resident of Ratnadāvīpa. Could this be the well-known *vīharā* of Ratnagiri in Orissa? Alternatively, the colophon to his commentary on the *Guhyaagarbhatantra* lists Vilāsāvajra as an ācārya from Nālandā; Sanje Dorje, ed., *Commentaries on the Guhyaagarbha Tantra and Other Rare Nyingmapa Texts from the Library of Dudjom Rinpoche* (New Delhi, 1974) p. 222.5. See note 22 infra for a possible solution to this inconsistency. For the relationship between Mañjuśrimitra, Vilāsāvajra, and Buddhaśrījānā, vide *Blue Annals*, pp. 367-9.

19 See the recent edition of the rNin ma rgyud ’bum published by Dingo Chentse Rinpoche (Bhutan, 1973), in which the *Devījālamahākāla-tantra-nāma* (= Tō. 836) is described in its colophon (vol. 15 p. 96.7) and the dkar chos (vol. 36 p. 512.5) as having been translated by Ācārya Vilāsāvajra and rMa rin chen mchog. This is in accord with the colophon of Vilāsāvajra’s commentary on the *Guhyaagarbhatantra* which lists rMa rin chen mchog as the translator. Sanje Dorje, *Commentaries*, p. 222.5. In this colophon we also read a benediction for the long life of Khri sron lde’u btsan, which points to the translation as done in the life of the king. I have taken almost all of my dates for this early period from Giuseppe Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts*, SOR IX.2 (Rome ISMEO, 1958). Tucci’s accun in dting this early material is superb. Most of my other dates are from Dhonghö Rinpoche’s very useful *Important Events in Tibetan History* (Delhi, 1968).

20 Compare Mañjuśrimitra’s *Upadeśa* (Appendix) and Tō. 2543-47 to *VV* 188.4.3-191.2.6.
Vimalamitra, a student of Buddhaguhya’s, was invited to Tibet by Khri sin rdo’i btsan (642-797 or 804), but the precise date and circumstances of his arrival are obscure. Also reputed to be the student of the acārya Śrī Simha, Vimalamitra was considered the principal bearer of an esoteric system of meditation which was eventually referred to as sīṁh thig. The importance of this yogen for early Tibetan Buddhism cannot be ignored, and we find gNubs chen sānas ggyas ye shes (born 772) quoting from Vimalamitra as a vital source for atiyoga.

Moreover, Vimalamitra’s commentary on the NS hypothesis, but we do know similar instances among other nāryācāryas. Vide G. Tucci, “Animadversiones Indicae”, JASB n.s. 26 (1960), p. 130ff. Were this the case, it would not be unusual for such information to find its way into the colophon of a work by Vīlāsāvajra.

23 Buddhaguhya, Vimalamitra’s teacher, is universally considered the student of Buddhāśrījāna; see Blue Annals, p. 372. Our earliest source, the sBa bzhad (R. A. Stein, ed., Šīla ārthānta de Sāman yas: Sābabzad [Paris: Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1961] pp. 64.7-65.8) mentions that Vimalamitra came to Tibet after both the banishment of Vairocana and the death of Kamalāśīla. The Zaṅs dzin ma of Nān röl ni ma’od zer (1124-1192) in The Life of Lady Ye-ses-mtsho-rgyal (Palamur: Sungzph Nyamso Gyugphel Parkhang, 1972) p. 473.1f.), however, contends that Vimalamitra came after Vairocana’s banishment but before Kamalāśīla’s arrival in Tibet. Bu ston (writing in 1322, E. Obermiller, History of Buddhism by Bu-ston, Suzuki Research Foundation Reprint Series 5 [Tokyo: Suzuki Research Foundation, 1964], p. 190) and the rGyal ras gsal ba’i me loṅ (written about 1368, B.I. Kuznetsova, ed., Rgyal Ras Gsال Ba’i Me Long, Scripta Tibetana I [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1966], p. 180.14) both contend that Vimalamitra came before either of these two events. My own supposition is that the sBa bzhad is correct and that the later traditions confused the second Vimalamitra, a Vinaya master living about the time of Rat pa’i Chen (vide Blue Annals, p. 191), with the vajrācārya Vimalamitra who was said to have come from Vīrakrāma viṅgāra (Zaṅs dzin ma, p. 473.5). These later traditions then placed this composite Vimalamitra among the twelve Sarvaśīvādīna monks whom Śāntarakṣita brought from Vikramasīha for the ordination ceremony in 779 A.D. These vinayādharas were doubtless among the opponents of Vairocana when he was exiled (Bai ro’i dgra bag chen mo, Smaranśīrī Shesrig Sponzod 23 [Bai ro’i rgyud ’bum vol. 8] (Leh: S.W. Tashigangpa, 1971), p. 543.8; Minor Buddhist Texts II, p. 43,110-11), and it is very doubtful that Vimalamitra, as a lineage holder and fellow student of Śrī Simha, would have assisted in the banishment of Vairocana. Should we therefore wish to accept the information of the sBa bzhad, Vimalamitra would probably have come about 795 or a little later. This approximate date would follow the interchange of views between the Indian and Chinese parties (erica 192-24) but precede the death of Khri sin rdo’i btsan (970 or 804).

Concerning this interchange see Yoshiro Imaeda, “Documents tibétains de Touen-houang concernant le concile du Tibet”, Journal Asiatique 263 (1975): 125-146. Imaeda’s dating (p. 126) of the sBa bzhad to the 14th century is difficult to reconcile with its utilization by Sa skya Pandita (1181-1252); cf. A.I. Vostrikov, Tibetan Historical Literature, transl. & ed. Bharat Chandra Gangeja, Sorant Inology Series No. 4 (Calcutta: R. K. Maitra, 1970), pp. 244-5. Also Stein’s Introduction to the sBa bzhad, p. viii.

24 Vide Zaṅs dzin ma p. 473.1, which mentions that Vimalamitra received ordination (upaśampāda) from Śrī Simha. Compare, however, Blue Annals p. 191, which lists...

(bDe mchog gi rgyud, Tö. 368) both in VV and in Vīlāsāvajra’s commentary on the Guhyagarbha-tantra; together they certify the existence of yoginītantras in the latter half of the eighth century, well before the earliest datable commentary. The ritual given in VV became the basis of the popular sādhana to Guhūyāpānna (Gsaṅ lidan, Tö. 2579) by Agrabodhi (Byaṅ chub mchog). This line of NS exegesis and practice began by Vīlāsāvajra was eventually transmitted to Tibet in the beginning of the eleventh century by the Pāṇḍita Śrītījānaṃakārtti.
(hereafter VM) is interesting for a number of reasons. It appears to have been the earliest NS commentary translated into Tibetan and was evidently written specifically for the Tibetan sangha, having been requested by Nak tin’dzin bsam po and translated by gNags jiona kunmara. VM eschews virtually all mention of the complex ritual and mandala arrangements elaborated by the earlier commentators, preferring instead to unfold the meaning of the actual text of the NS. It is also a fine piece of translation-Tibetan qua Tibetan. Possibly as a result it is the only canonical commentary on the NS which enjoys the distinction of an extra-canonical edition in modern times.

The most enigmatic of our four early commentators is *Suratavajra (dGa’ rab rdo rje). His life and work became the focus of much debate and attention in Tibet. gNubs chen sain gnyas ye sses offers the earliest citations of *Suratavajra and that from a work now lost to us, while four other works of his are said to have been translated by Vairocana and Sri Simha. There is also a tradition appearing in the comparatively late hagiography (nam thar) probably compiled by B’rom ba bKra’ shis nam rgyal, that Vairocana met both *Suratavajra and Manjuśrimitra when that great translator went to India to work with Sri Simha. An apparently earlier source on Vairocana’s activities, however, the Zais giin ma of Naii ral ni ma’od zer (1124-1192), makes no mention of the event, nor does it ever mention *Suratavajra’s name. *Suratavajra’s commentary on the NS (hereafter SV) was the source of some dispute, and Bu ston, although he

Vimalamitra as a student of the shadowy *Jñānasūtra (Ye sses mdo). See also also gNubs chen sain gnyas ye sses, bSam grub mig sgron, edited by Khor gdon gter sprul chi med rig ’dzin (Leh, 1974), p. 276.4, where there is a citation from the Byi ma la’i kLoi’gre. PTT vol. 67, p. 251.3.4.

Library of Congress Public Law 480 accessions number I (Sik) Tib 1973 901235, “a xylographic print from blocks preserved in Deoral Chorten in Gangtok, Sikkim”. This edition follows exactly the Derge.

The Yon tan bsu, in the bSam grub mig sgron, p. 191.4, 272.1, etc. Peking nos. 5036-5039. These are some among the many rNin ma pa exegetical texts which, so far as I know, are not included in any other bTsan ’gyur than the Peking.

Bai rai’dra’bang chen mo, p. 461.4. I cannot agree with Tucci (Minor Buddhist Texts II, p. 114), who feels that most of these rNin ma pa sources were edited by the “orthodoxy”. The orthodoxy would more often tend to write its own history, such as that of Sum pa mkhan po ye ses dpal ’byor. The real differences in doctrine that Tucci discerns between various rNin ma authors indicate the rich variety and changing circumstances of the different systems of religious sensibility grouped under the loose heading of rNin ma pa.

Vairocana’s story is discussed in chapter 14 (Zais giin ma pp. 448.6–463.4). Manjuśrimitra is listed along with several other acaryas, p. 381.4ff.
sixteen stages (bhūmi) of the bodhisattva-buddha and a system of initiation (abhiṣeka) very different from that of the orthodox traditions. There is, of course, the remote possibility that a Tibetan knowing Sanskrit and willingness to translate (with errors) the NS for himself, utilizing a style of composition that no Tibetan author writing an indigenous work would normally use, wrote SV. Such a proposition, however, would generate a number of problems. Apart from the unusual initiation system already mentioned, for which I can find no acceptance by any Tibetan tradition, there is a complete absence of the term rdzogs chen in SV, an omission no rNiṅ ma pa attempting either to delineate or vindicate his system would commit. Therefore despite the lack of a translator’s colophon, which is often missing in early translation (sūla ’gyur) texts, it is unlikely that SV originated anywhere but India.

Due in great part to the attention of these four illustrious commentators, the NS grew in popularity in India after the eighth century. It was probably in the early tenth century that Maṇjuśrīkirti wrote his enormous commentary delineating a new ritual structure for the NS, called the maṇḍala of Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara (Tō. 2534). This and the previously mentioned system of Guhyāpāṇa retained some degree of popularity into the twentieth century. Maṇjuśrīkirti’s commentary proved to be the last of the great yogatantra systems of exegesis, first initiated by Maṇjuśrīmitra. Later, towards the end of the tenth century, the reputed founder of the Kālacakrā cycle in India, Kālacakrāpāda, wrote a commentary on the discussion of benefits (amuṣanisā, Tō. 1399), no doubt inspired by the references to the Ādibuddha in the NS, for these statements bear a resemblance to the doctrines of the Kālacakrātantra. Kālacakrāpāda’s illustrious student Nārapā (Nādapā), in systematizing the māyāśālābhisaṃbodhikrama into the theoretical framework of the Kālacakrā cycle, preserved for the NS a place among Kālacakrā practitioners. *Sūryaśrījñāna’s exegesis on the NS, the Amṛtakarikā (Tō. 1395), eventually became the standard for students of the Kālacakrātantra. Not to be outdone, Advayavajra (Maitripā), Nārapā’s contemporary and associate, attempted to redefine the practice surrounding the NS into a system of meditation in keeping with the yoginītantras. To this end he attempted on a smaller scale (Tō. 2096-2105) what Maṇjuśrīmitra had done before, but Advayavajra’s efforts did not prove either so fruitful or so popular. After Advayavajra, the spirit of originality which had marked the thought of those concerned with the NS seemed to wane. Commentaries continued to be written, but they followed upon ground already broken by these earlier scholars and yogins.

Although our catalogues of the Tibetan Canon list Rin chen bzaṅ po (958-1051) as the initial translator of the NS into Tibetan, there can be no doubt that the introduction of the NS into Tibet occurred at the time of Khri sros lde’u btsan (742-797) or shortly thereafter. Its entry in the dDan dkar catalogue, the presence of Tun-huang mss. and the existence of at least one commentary translated at this time, a work moreover specifically requested by the early Tibetan saṅgha, all make it nearly certain that an early translation existed. This text may perhaps be the one currently retained in the rNiṅ ma rgyud ’bum which does not give a translator’s colophon and differs in details from the other recensions. If this is indeed the early (sūla dar) translation, then Rin chen bzaṅ po drew heavily on it for his own. Later bLo gros bstan pa (born 1276) revised Rin chen bzaṅ po’s work to such an extent as to constitute virtually a new translation. This last revision was based on the recently popularized Kālacakrā system of exegesis coupled with a concern for a more mechanical translation methodology. bLo gros bstan pa’s revision was the translation of the NS finally included by Bu ston in the Ža lu bka’ ‘gyur, yet curiously enough, I have found no record of anyone actually using it. The text used in the various indigenous commentaries, the extra-canonical editions of the work, and every recitation of the NS that I have heard from a lama have all stemmed from the translation of Rin chen bzaṅ po.

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34 See notes 98 and 101 infra.
35 Mario Carelli, ed., Sekodeśatikā of Naṇapāda, GOS 90 (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1941) p. 6.17f.
37 rNiṅ ma rgyud ’bum, vol. 15 pp. 97-118. Compare, for example, verses 138-39.
The reception given to the NS in Tibet was certainly mixed. As a ritual manual for chanting the names of Mañjuśrī, it became very popular, and it is no exaggeration to say that almost every fully ordained monk in a Tibetan monastery of any size memorized the translated NS. This is not to say that they studied it. Of the three lamas I questioned on this matter, two had memorized the NS, while the third (rGya sprul mdo ma'i rin po che) said that he was supposed to have, but for an unspecified reason he did not. All the monks in his monastery (mDo ma'i), however, memorized it. None of the lamas, though, claimed to have a thorough grasp of the NS, and only one (Nor thar rtse mkhan po) had read a commentary (Tok. 2539) and that on his own, since the NS was never taught at Nor. Likewise remarkably few indigenous commentaries on the NS were produced. I have been able to locate six to date: a commentary by Ron zom chos bzan 39, two by Bo doñ Pan chen phyogs las rnam rgyal (1306-1386?) 40, and the three dGe legs pa commentaries of Dalai Lama II dGe 'dun rgya mtsho (1476-1542, Tok. 5549), Yonis 'dzin ye sges rgyal mtshan (1713-1793, Tok. 6000), and mThubs stobs ni ma of sGo ma' 41.

whereas it is a present verb expressing the sense of ucchabra, a noun of primary (kri) derivation (v. 104d). bLo gros brtan pa's translation of the compound mcbochabro by chen po bshreg is an example of the unsatisfactory mechanical method of his translation. 39
mThabs yain dag par brjod pa'i 'gre' pa rnam gsam bshad pa in Selected Writings of Roñ-zom Chos-kyi-bshad-po (Leh: 'Khro gdoñ Gter-sprul 'Chi-med-rig-'dzin, 1974) pp. 247-332, Ron zom chos bshad is difficult to date, but if we may believe the story (Blue Annals, p. 161) that Atisa met Ron zom when that great pandita came to gTsan, then Ron zom may be assigned to the second half of the 11th century. 40
Phags pa 'jam dpal gyi rgyud bshad in Encyclopaedia Tibetica, vol. 66 pp. 319-486, follows the anuttarayogatantra system of exegesis; mThabs brjod kyi 'gre' pa na mdo rgyud legs in Encyclopaedia Tibetica, vol. 67 pp. 62-507, following the method of Mañjuśrīkirti (vide p. 507.4).

41 The commentary of dGe 'dun rgya mtsho (Tok. 5549) I know of only from the references of mThubs stobs ni ma. Yonis 'dzin ye sges rgyal mtshan's commentary, entitled 'Phags pa 'jam dpal gyi mtshan yain dag par brjod pa'i 'gre' pa rje btsun jam pa'i dbyanis gvi lugs tshaks kyi cha rgyan ni thon du 'brel byes brjod sprin givi gsal bshad, is in vol. 9a fol. 1b-170a.5 (Tok. 6000, Univ. of Calif. East Asiatic Library, 62/2) of his gsal 'bum. It was written in the Potula in the room known as bDe ba bya (Sukhavati) in 1/88 at the behest of the Bhiksu Jam dpal tshe rin. Both of these dGe legs pa commentaries follow the Kālacakra system and were relied on by mThubs stobs ni ma in writing his 'Phags pa 'jam dpal gyi mtshan yain dag par brjod pa'i don rnam par bshad pa rgyud don gsal byed sgron me gsal ba (East Asiatic Lib. Tib. 132/1) which was finished on the 15th day of Sgro zla ba—the date of the Parinirvāna of the Buddha according to the Tibetan tradition—in the year 1824 at the monastery of bDe chen rab rgyas gling. The print is evidently from China (Peking)? and the Chinese characters list the work as the first half of the second volume of mThubs stobs ni ma's collected works. The spelling throughout this print is abominable and gives

the appearance of never having been proofread. I wish to thank Nor thar rtse mkhan rin po che for unearthing mThubs stobs ni ma's commentary for me.

44 Vide Bo Doñi's statement in the 'Phags pa 'jam dpal gyi rgyud bshad (Encyclopaedia Tibetica, vol. 66 p. 320.5) where he refutes the classification of the NS as yogatantra or as brkal pa'i rgyud.
With the rise of Buddhist Studies in nineteenth-century Europe came the study of the NS, and the *editio princeps* was brought out by I.P. Minaev (1840-90) in 1887 along with his first edition of the *Mahāvyutpatti*. This edition is primary in every sense of the word since it remains the only edition to date to publish the complete *amuṣaṃsā*. Minaev had also intended to translate the NS with the help of Vilāsāvajra’s commentary, but due to his untimely death in 1890 no translation appeared. Nonetheless Minaev’s edition spurred on interest, and Louis de La Vallée Poussin studied the text with the assistance of the commentators of Vilāsāvajra and *Sūryaśrijāṇa*, mss. of which are found in Cambridge and in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society. Poussin, although using the NS for his article on “Tantrism” in *Hasting’s Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, reacted badly to the language of the latter commentary. Raghu Vira was the next to attempt editing the text and around 1960 brought out his edition of the verses only, having neither a ms. including the *amuṣaṃsā* nor access to Minaev’s earlier work. Neither Minaev nor Raghu Vira was able to utilize the Tibetan translations for editorial purposes. Soon after Raghu Vira, in 1963, Durga Das Mukherji performed much the same feat and brought out an edition without utilizing either Minaev’s or Raghu Vira’s texts. Mukherji in addition sometimes compounded error by using the Tibetan badly in several places, by incorporating mistakes in Rin chen bzaṅ po’s translation into his text, and by not utilizing any commentaries to try to establish the error in the Tibetan. Mukherji’s ms. containing the *anuṣaṃsā* was incomplete, and he attempted to make up the difference by retranslating from the Tibetan translation of bLo gros brtan pa. Still, Mukherji’s edition is the more useful of the two Indian editions as he faithfully recorded variants and, unlike Raghu Vira, was not so anxious to emend the text without good cause. The most recent contribution is by Keinosuke Mitsuhara in his article, “Concerning the Transmission in the Nāmasaṃgiti.” Mitsuhara briefly examined certain questions surrounding verses 26, 27 and selected sections of the *anuṣaṃsā*. His article is limited, though, by its unfortunate neglect of the vast commentarial traditions; because of this neglect and due to an imperfect text, some of the questions he discusses are false questions. My own interest in the NS stems from a desire to uncover more of the religious and intellectual history of the transmission of Indo-Tibetan Buddhist traditions. The multivalent role played by the NS convinced me that its position was intimately connected with some of the greatest figures in eighth century Indian Vajrayāna. I also suspected that this fact has been obscured by the general decline in the study of this text in Tibet. There certainly are other potentially profitable avenues of exploration, such as the *Vajravīrādānādhārani* (Tō. 750), the *Guhyaagarbhāntrā* (Tō. 832) or other major Vajrayāna works central to the early spread of the Dharma in Tibet. The NS, however, with its strong connections to so many figures dominant in this religious transmission, appeared most promising as a source of information. It has definitely fulfilled my expectations.

In the following pages I have translated the full text of the NS and have included annotations drawn from the four commentaries mentioned above. The translation has had to strike a balance between rigorous attention to the technical terms one would expect of a translation of a Buddhist philosophical text and evocation in felicitous English of the religious sensibilities of the Sanskrit text as literature. I am only too aware of the resultant deficiencies. Following the translated NS there is an appendix consisting of a translation of Manjuśrīmitra’s *Upadesa* which in turn is followed by the edited Sanskrit text of the NS.

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46 Minaev, *Buddhizm* Introduction p. XII. The most comprehensive bibliography of Minaev’s work is that by his niece Alexandra Schneider, “Professor J.P. Minayeff, 1840-90”, *Indian Historical Quarterly* 10 (1934): 811-26. I wish to thank Prof. James Bosson, who translated for me the Russian of the description of ms. and of the critical apparatus.


49 Raghu Vira, *Manjuśrīnāmaṇḍanaṃgaṇī*. The work has the added difficulty of not incorporating in the printed text the readings finally accepted by the editor and given in the *Vaiśeṣic Lectiones* (pp. 13-16). The text of the NS, again without the finally accepted readings, was reprinted in *Kālavaktra-Tantra* and other *Texts*, Part 1, *Satapitaka* Vol. 69. (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1966) pp. 31-34.


Homage to Mañjuśrī who is a True Prince.

Sixteen verses on requesting instruction.

1. Now the glorious Vajrachara, superb in taming those difficult to tame, being victorious over the triple world, a hero, an esoteric ruler, a lord with his weapon.

Vajrāpāni’s various vicissitudes provide an excellent example of a single deity’s potential for multilinear evolution. In a series of texts discussed by Lalou in her “Documents de Touen-houang,” Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques (1946-7): 217-26, the function of the mild deity is fulfilled by Vajrāpāni and his wrathful reflex belongs to the Krodharāja Mahābala. In the first section (adhyeśāna), however, of the NS, the genesis of which is approximately contemporary with Lalou’s texts, the appellation of Mahābala is not given to the wrathful figures in the retinue of Vajrachara-Vajrāpāni, but to Vajrāchāra himself (v. 190) and twice to Mañjuśrī (vv. 37c and 48d). Vajrachāra-Vajrāpāni in the adhyeśāna is supplied with the attributes of the mild form, particularly in v. 26b. The other Vajrāpānis, though, are said to have forms of wrath (krodha) and hostility (vignaha, v. 5). The distinction of iconographic forms seems to be maintained by the use of the name Vajrachāra for the mild image of Vajrāpāni. We find too in the Māvyājālattana the use of Vajrachāra as a name of Vajrāpāni in his office of interlocutor (PTT vol. 4 p. 138.4.1). Again, in the Sūvatathāgataviśvaksamrabha (PTT vol. 4 p. 233.4.4, 239.4.4) Vajrāpāni adopts the form of Vajrachāra. Very shortly, of course, after the composition of these tantras the two figures were to go their own ways. Vajrachāra becoming the Ādi-Buddha in the commentarial traditions of the Guhyasamāja and the yogini-tantras. VV remarks that our interlocutor is called Vajrachāra with reference to initiation, but called Vajrachāra with reference to gnosis. VV kye phyug na rdo rje ’jes pa ni dūn bskur ba’i sgo nas so / rdo rje ’chê ni ye sê kyi sgo nas so / (221.4.3). VM, though, considers these two names as one unit at the time of initiation by the Buddha. VM laṅ na rdo rje rdo rje ’chê / ’jê bsa la sogs pa smog te / de ni beom ldan ’das kyi dūn bskur ba’i min no / (250.3.2). These are very interesting statements, but their precise significance is lost to me. If they refer to a literary episode, I have not yet run across it. Very different, indeed, from the above-mentioned circumstances is the usage in v. 40, where Mañjuśrī is called Mahāvajrachāra and his form is described as wrathful (vātra). The compound is taken oddly by VV, which treats it as if it were to be understood as mahāvajraya dharaḥ and elaborates, “Mahāvajra is the gnosia of Samantabhadra. Since [Mahāvajra] bears this [gnosis] he is called Mahāvajrachāra” (rdo rje chen po ni kun tu bzhin po’i ye sê te / ’zin pas na rdo rje ni chen po ’chên no / (194.2.3). Compare Marcelle Lalou, “Four Notes on Vajrachāra,” Advay Lib. Bull. 20 (1956): 287-93; idem, “A Fifth Note on Vajrachāra,” Advay Lib. Bull. 25 (1961): 242-49; F.D. Lessing, Yusong-Ho-Kung, Sino-Swedish Expedition Publication 18 (Stockholm, 1942), pp. 80-82 and 112; R. Tajima, Étude sur le Mahāvajrachāra-Sūtra (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1936), pp. 50-54, where Vajrachāra is at the head of a retinue of Vajrachāras. Cf. also the Mahāyāna context in E. Lamotte, “Vajrachāra en Inde,” Mélanges de Scolologie offerts à Monsieur Paul Demeyville, Bibliothèque de l’Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises vol. XX, Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1966, pp. 113-159.

The triple world is considered by VV (185.5.1), MM (174.3.3), and VM to consist of the underworld (sa’og gi ’jig rten), the surface of the earth (sa rten gi ’jig rten), and the world far above the earth (sa bla’i ’jig rten). VM has by far the most interesting discussion. “Having tamed the lord of the underworld, Mahādeva, the lord of the surface of the earth, Vīṣṇu, and the lord of the world far above the earth, Brahmā, who are the deities of the [brahmānical] outsiders’ body, speech, and mind, [Vajrachāra] is said to be victorious over the triple world.” sa’og gi ’jig rten po ma bā de ba dūn / sa stevs kyi bdag po khyab ’jug / sa bla’i ’hag po tshun po dan gsum ni phyi rol pa’i sku gsun thugs kyi lha gsun yin la de gsun gtul has ’jig rten gsun las rgyal ba’o / (236.2.1). Cf. A. Wayman Yoga, pp. 67-8 for an alternate interpretation.

54 kulāvēvāra. The weapon of Vajrachāra is of course the vajra, and this epithet is accordingly translated into Tibetan rdo rje dūn phyug.

55 MM elaborates, “Having seen vicious beings, they perform their activity with a body of wrathful form. They are, however, not such by their proper nature, since that proper nature is possessed of great compassion”. sens can gzhag pa rnam gzhig nas khrö bo’i gzhigs kyi las dan dūn par ’me med kyi rta’i ’zhin khor nas ni ma yin gyi / thugs rje chen po dan dūn pa’i no bo ndag yin pa’i phyir ro / (173.3.5).

56 We must distinguish here between the usage of jñānasattva as a title for Mañjuśrī and the function of the jñānasattva in the meditative ritual context. The latter involves the invitation of the jñānasattva from the realm of the sky (skad-dah), after the maṇḍara has visualized himself (bdu gsal bskyed) or maṇḍala (bdu bskyed) as the samejñānasattva. Clearly in this context any deity to whom the sādhanā is addressed is the jñānasattva. V.F. Lessing and A. Wayman, Mklas Gzhag Rje’s Fundamentals of Buddhist Tantras, Indic-Aryan Monographs vol. 8 (The Hague: Mouton, 1968), pp. 162-64. Mañjuśrī, however, comes by this title through being the jñānasattva par excellence. MM explains, “By the jñānasattva is meant the entity whose proper nature is that of gnosia”. ye sê sens sms dpal ’jê bsa ha’i ’di ni ye sê kyi rna’i ’zhin can gyi sms dpal’i yin pas na ye sê sens sms dpal’i ye sê sens sms dpal’i (174.1.1). Moreover, “Differentiating between the two, jñānakāya and jñānasattva, is done with reference to the distinction of the aspects of body or mind”; ye sê sko dza ye sê sens sms dpal’i kyi bya bраг ni lus dan sens sms yin rna’i khväd par ro / (174.1.2). For the Mahāyāna background of Mañjuśrī, see E. Lamotte, “Mañjuśrī”, T’oung Pao 48 (1960), pp. 1-96.
12. “That which was spoken by previous Buddhas will be spoken by the future ones, and that which the completely awakened came in the present recite again and again.”

13. “[That Litany of Names] extolled in the Māyājñānamahātantra by unlimited delight Mahāvajradhārās, bearers of mantra.”

14. “Until deliverance I will preserve it with steadfast intention, since I am, O Protector, the esoteric bearer for all the completely awakened.”

57 This verse discussing the permanence of the NS was to have some effect on the systematizers of Vajrayāna. V. B. Sod nams rtse mo, *Gyud skny spri’i rnam par glog pa* in The Complete Works of the Great Masters of the Sa Skya Sect of Tibetan Buddhism, edited by B. Sod nams rgya mthos (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1968) vol. 2 p. 27.3.2, where he takes this statement as applying to all of the svatāprajāpāta.

58 *Nirvāṇa* is one of those terms which has acquired multiple meanings with the Mahāyāna context. As early as the Abhisamayālaṃkāra we find it divided into eight different headings. “This path of nirvāṇa is to be understood as having the characteristic of eight divisions. There is nirvāṇa with reference to instruction, equality, the benefit of beings, effortlessness, transcendence of extremes, having the characteristic of obtaining, omniscience, and having the range of the path.”

59 *dhārāvyāmāṇa* is referred to in the term in the NS are those of the vehicle (yāna) and final release (vimoksha). Indeed, VV relates “By nirvāṇa we mean here nirvāṇa.” Sc. par’byun zes pa ni mna nam las ’das pa’o / (187:3.7). Compare vv. 51, 131, 158, and 156. For a more complete analysis of the various gradations of nirvāṇa in the Prajñāparamitā context, see Corrado Pensa, L’Abhisamayālaṃkāravēti di Arvata (Frascati: SOR 37 (Rome: ISMEO, 1967), pp. 111-126. Vinikitsena’s analysis represents the traditions current in India at the time of the composition of the NS.

60 *dhāramāṇāya* is referred to in the term in the NS are those of the vehicle (yāna) and final release (vimoksha). Indeed, VV relates “By nirvāṇa we mean here nirvāṇa.” Sc. par’byun zes pa ni mna nam las ’das pa’o / (187:3.7). Compare vv. 51, 131, 158, and 156. For a more complete analysis of the various gradations of nirvāṇa in the Prajñāparamitā context, see Corrado Pensa, L’Abhisamayālaṃkāravēti di Arvata (Frascati: SOR 37 (Rome: ISMEO, 1967), pp. 111-126. Vinikitsena’s analysis represents the traditions current in India at the time of the composition of the NS.

61 The four Māras are the Māra of the five skandhas (skandhāmāra), the Māra of defilements (klesa-māra), the Māra of death (mrtvamāra), and the Māra who is known as Devaputra (devaputanā). For an excellent discussion of the Mahāyāna background and conceptual framework of the four Māras, see Alex Wayman, “Studies in Yama and Māra”, Indo-Iranian Journal 3 (1959): 112-131. Concerning the usage of the four Māras contemporary with our commentators and representing an internalized arrangement, vide A. Wayman, Yoga, p. 224. Finally, there is an outstanding analysis representing the fully developed yoginītantra tradition in Nepal by the Nepali A su [active first quarter of the 12th century] in Herbert Gruenther, The Royal Song of Saraha (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1969), pp. 80-84.

62 vv. 23 and 24 of the NS are certainly the most confused verses of the text with respect to content. None of the commentators agree precisely in their interpretations. MM, however, elaborates, “The great mantra family is the family of the tantras such as Mahāmāya and so forth since it has become the point of origin for all the ritual activity (kriṣṇa), the formal practice (caryā), and ritual arrangements (kalpa). By entire (sukala) is meant without exception. By the mantra-vidyādhara family is meant the family wherein [bearers of these two methods, v. note 67] reside together. The three families mean the Tathāgata, the Vajra, and the Padma families. The worldly family is the family of sentient beings such as ordinary spiritual friends and so forth while the superworldly family is the family of Harkeners (śrāvakas), Private Buddhas, and...
Three verses on the steps in the realization process of Illusion’s Net.

29. “Aspirated, unoriginated, without uttering a sound, he is the foremost cause of all expression, shining forth within all speech.
30. “His great desire is an exalted festival, securing the happiness of all beings; his great anger is an exalted festival, being the great enemy of all defilements.
31. “His great delusion is an exalted festival, subduing the delusion in those with dull wit; his great wrath is an exalted festival, the great enemy of great wrath.
32. “His great avarice is an exalted festival, subduing all avarice; his great desire is the great delight, grand happiness and great pleasure.
33. “Of great form and great body, with great color and grand physique, with exalted name he is very noble, having a grand expansive magnitude.
34. “Bearing the great sword of insight, with a great ankus for defilements, he is foremost, greatly famous, very renowned, with great light and exalted splendor.
35. “Bearing the grand illusion (mahāmāyā), he is wise, accomplishing the object [of beings in] the grand illusion. Delighted with the pleasure of the grand illusion, he is a conjurer of grand illusions.
36. “Highest in being a lord of great giving, foremost in exalted morality, firm through embracing great forbearance, he is zealous with great heroism.
37. “Present in exalted meditation (dhyāna) and concentration (samādhi), bearing the body of great insight, he is the great strength of the gnostic (jñāna), the important (prākara), and the gnostic (jñānasagara).
38. “Unlimited in loving kindness, greatly compassionate and most intelligent, with great insight for great insight, he is great in means with profound performance.
39. “Arrived at great strength and psychic power (rāddhi), very intense and very fast, employing great psychic power and bearing the name ‘Great Lord’, his zeal is in great strength.
40. “Splitter of the vast mountain of existence, being Mahāvajrajadhana he is indestructible. Being very fierce and very terrible, he creates fear in the very ferocious.
41. “Being highest with mahāvidyā, he is the protector; being highest with mahāmantras, he is the guide. Having mounted to the practice of the Great Vehicle, he is highest in the practice of the Great Vehicle.

Bodhisattvas… The Mahāmudrā family is the family of the goddess (devika)… The great family of the Coronal Dome is the family of the unisyllabic coronal dome and so forth. To each of these families there are the various divisions of having a fortune or not, and of becoming a fit vessel or not.”  

22. “And in this way the blessed one, the Buddha [Mañjuśrī], the completely awakened, born from the syllable a, is the syllable a, the foremost of all phonemes, of great meaning, the supreme syllable. [Sākyamuni] pronounced this mystic verse, having six mantraśāraḥs and possessing unarisen characteristics, being non-dual in arising and joined with the vocal lord.”

Fourteen verses on the Vajrāhātu Mahāmāndala.

25. “The Mahāmudrā family is the family of the goddess (devika)… The great family of the Coronal Dome is the family of the unisyllabic coronal dome and so forth. To each of these families there are the various divisions of having a fortune or not, and of becoming a fit vessel or not.”  

26. “a ḍā i i ṭu e a o a o ṭu r ṭu stand in the heart. I am Buddha, the embodied knowledge of the buddhas occurring in the three times. ṢOm homage to you, Embodied Knowledge of Insight, Cutter of Suffering, Sharp as a Vajra. Homage to you, Lord of Speech, Gnostic Body, Arapacana.”

29. “Aspirated, unoriginated, without uttering a sound, he is the foremost cause of all expression, shining forth within all speech.
30. “His great desire is an exalted festival, securing the happiness of all beings; his great anger is an exalted festival, being the great enemy of all defilements.
31. “His great delusion is an exalted festival, subduing the delusion in those with dull wit; his great wrath is an exalted festival, the great enemy of great wrath.
32. “His great avarice is an exalted festival, subduing all avarice; his great desire is the great delight, grand happiness and great pleasure.
33. “Of great form and great body, with great color and grand physique, with exalted name he is very noble, having a grand expansive magnitude.
34. “Bearing the great sword of insight, with a great ankus for defilements, he is foremost, greatly famous, very renowned, with great light and exalted splendor.
35. “Bearing the grand illusion (mahāmāyā), he is wise, accomplishing the object [of beings in] the grand illusion. Delighted with the pleasure of the grand illusion, he is a conjurer of grand illusions.
36. “Highest in being a lord of great giving, foremost in exalted morality, firm through embracing great forbearance, he is zealous with great heroism.
37. “Present in exalted meditation (dhyāna) and concentration (samādhi), bearing the body of great insight, he is the great strength of the gnostic (jñāṇasagara).
38. “Unlimited in loving kindness, greatly compassionate and most intelligent, with great insight for great insight, he is great in means with profound performance.
39. “Arrived at great strength and psychic power (rāddhi), very intense and very fast, employing great psychic power and bearing the name ‘Great Lord’, his zeal is in great strength.
40. “Splitter of the vast mountain of existence, being Mahāvajrajadhana he is indestructible. Being very fierce and very terrible, he creates fear in the very ferocious.
41. “Being highest with mahāvidyā, he is the protector; being highest with mahāmantras, he is the guide. Having mounted to the practice of the Great Vehicle, he is highest in the practice of the Great Vehicle.

29. “Aspirated, unoriginated, without uttering a sound, he is the foremost cause of all expression, shining forth within all speech.
30. “His great desire is an exalted festival, securing the happiness of all beings; his great anger is an exalted festival, being the great enemy of all defilements.
31. “His great delusion is an exalted festival, subduing the delusion in those with dull wit; his great wrath is an exalted festival, the great enemy of great wrath.
32. “His great avarice is an exalted festival, subduing all avarice; his great desire is the great delight, grand happiness and great pleasure.
33. “Of great form and great body, with great color and grand physique, with exalted name he is very noble, having a grand expansive magnitude.
34. “Bearing the great sword of insight, with a great ankus for defilements, he is foremost, greatly famous, very renowned, with great light and exalted splendor.
35. “Bearing the grand illusion (mahāmāyā), he is wise, accomplishing the object [of beings in] the grand illusion. Delighted with the pleasure of the grand illusion, he is a conjurer of grand illusions.
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40. “Splitter of the vast mountain of existence, being Mahāvajrajadhana he is indestructible. Being very fierce and very terrible, he creates fear in the very ferocious.
41. “Being highest with mahāvidyā, he is the protector; being highest with mahāmantras, he is the guide. Having mounted to the practice of the Great Vehicle, he is highest in the practice of the Great Vehicle.
Twenty-five verses, less a quarter, on the very pure dharmadhātu gnosia.

42. "Being Mahāvairocana, he is Buddha; he is a great sage with profounderspection, and as he is produced by the great practice of mantras, by nature he is the great practice of mantras.

43. "Having obtained the ten perfections (daśāpāramitā), he is the basis (āśraya) for the ten perfections. Being the purity of the ten perfections, he is the practice of the ten perfections.

44. "Being the lord of the ten stages (daśaśāhāna), he is the protector established on the ten stages. Himself pure with the ten knowledges, he is the pure bearer of the ten knowledges.

45. "Having ten aspects, his purpose being the ten referents, he is the leader of sages, a Ten-powered One, an overlord. Performing all and every sort of purpose, he is great, with control in ten aspects.


* The daśāśāhāna are knowledge of dharmas (dharmajñāna), successive knowledge (anavajñāna), knowledge of worldly usage (lokasatyajñāna), of others' minds (paracitajñāna), of suffering (adhikājakñāna), of its arising (samudrayajñāna), of its extinction (nirudhajñāna), of the path (mārgajñāna), of final destruction (kṣaṇajñāna), and of no future arising (anutpādajñāna).


* daśāśāhāna daśāśāhārtha. All commentators offer different opinions as to what these two groups of ten might be, but all assume that they are related. MM (176.1.7) identifies the ten aspects as a list of ten truths: provisional truth (kun rdzob kyi bden pa), absolute truth (don dam pa'i bden pa), truth of characteristics (mshun bīd bden pa), truth of distinction (mam par phyre ba'i bden pa), truth of correct identification and realization (nes par phyre sre riogs pa'i bden pa), truth of existents (thos pa'i bden pa), truth of renunciation (thub tshul 'bya ba'i bden pa), truth of knowledge of extinction and no further arising (sad pa'i mnyen bskye ba'as pa'i bden pa), truth of knowledge of entrance into the path (lam ba'og pa'i bden pa), and the truth of the perfect arising of the gnosia of the Tathāgata (de'zin giegs pa'yi rgyud bstan par 'bya ba'i bden pa). Further on MM elaborates, "Since he has for his purpose the motivation of teaching the words and meanings of these ten truths, it is stated that his purpose is the ten referents", bden pa btsun po de'i stshig don gni yin pa de ston pa'i 'igogs pa'i don yod nas na don bcu'i don no / (176.2.8). WV, on the other hand, states (196.5.5) that the ten aspects are really the ten graspings of the self listed in Madhyāntavibhāga I:15-16ab and the ten referents are the ten antinomies in Madhyāntavibhāga I:17-22. This leaves WV with the logical difficulty of ascribing to Mahāyāna the worst kinds of ignorance known to Mahāyāna. WV justifies this by saying, "The significance of the passage is that the Bhagavān himself in proper nature is to be understood as being all the undesirable elements as well as their antinomies": mi thun pa'i phyogs dbyen po'i phyogs thams cad kyi ran bzin da bcom lu't sras de' srid rig par bya'os pa'yi don to / (197.2.1).

46. "Beginningless and by nature without diffusion (nsiprapaṇa), naturally pure and in nature suchness (tathatā), exclaiming just how it is, and, as he says, so does he without any other speech.

47. "Non-dual and proclaiming nonduality, he stands just at the limit of actuality (bhātakotā). With his lion's roar of egolessness (nairṛtya), he frightens the deer that is the evil heretic.

48. "Penetrating everywhere, his path is fruitful (anagha), with a speed like the Tathāgata's thought, he is a victor (jina) whose enemies are conquered, and a conqueror, a universal ruler with great strength (mahābala).

49. "At the head of hosts, a preceptor (ācārya) of hosts, a lord of hosts (gajñāna), and a commander of hosts with power, he is foremost through great sustaining power (anabhāva) and with an excellent practice, not to be guided by others.

50. "As the lord of speech, the commander of speech possessed of eloquence, he is the master of speech unending in fluency, and with true speech he speaks the truth, teaching the four truths.

51. "Not turning back and not seeking rebirth (amāgāmin), he is like a rhinoceros, a leader of the self-enlightened (pratyeka); having been delivered by various kinds of deliverance (nirvāṇa), he is the unique cause of the great elements (mahābhūta).

52. "An Arhan, a bhikṣu with his impurities (ārava) exhausted, is separated from passion, his senses subdued. He has obtained ease and fearlessness, becoming cool and limpid.

53. "Completed in wisdom and good conduct (vidyācarana), he is well-gone (sugata), the best as witan of the world. Without a sense of an 'I' and 'Mine', he is established in the practice of the two truths.

54. "Standing at the uttermost limit of sansāra, he rests on this terrace, his duty emanations, concentrations, and meditative attainments (dhīyaṇānimokṣasamādhikṣāpatti), of the degree of faculties of other beings (indriyaśāpatāpatti), of the diverse interests of beings (ādhibhūmikṣā), of the diverse dispositions of beings (nādābhūtā), of the ways passing into every sort of circumstance (saratāgāminipratipādī), of previous lives (pāramitāṅgā), of the deaths and rebirths of beings (caryāpuppanī), and the power consisting in the knowledge of the final destruction of the impurities (āravakāśāyākṣāna-bala). See La Vallée Poussin, L’Abhādharmakāśa, Tibetan Sanskrit Texts Series vol. 7 (Darbhanga: Mithila Institute, 1967).

*7 At the eighth bhūmi (acalā) the Bodhisattva acquires these ten kinds of control: control over life (dāyus), over mind (cetas), necessities (paripāra), [the maturation of] activity (karma), birth (upapatti), interest (adikṣā), aspiration (prajñāpāra), power (dhiḥ), Dharma, and control over knowledge (dhyāna). Vide P.L. Vidyāya, ed., Daśaśāhānākāśa, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts vol. 7 (Darbhanga: Mithila Institute, 1967).

*6 Our commentators offer various ingenious explanations for this somewhat curious phrase. Given the general drift of the text, VM is perhaps the most convincing in declaring, "Even having appeared as the five great elements he performs benefit, as their [the mahābhūtā]'s unique cause is nondual gnosia": 'bya ba chen po bhi sannas kyi kan don mchad de / de dag ri'gyis ni gis su med pa'i rgyud bten so / (241.2.2). SV (255.1.1) hints at the same standard approach, that of identifying the five great elements with the five jinas and making Mahāyāna the cause of the five jinas; cf. bSmi sdan mig sgron, p. 213.

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done. Having rejected isolatory knowledge (kaivalya-jñāna), he is the cleaving sword of insight.

55. “With True Dharma, a king of Dharma, shining, he is supreme as luminary of the world. A lord of Dharma, a king of Dharma, he is the instructor in the path towards well-being.

56. “His aim accomplished and thought (sankalpa) accomplished, he has abandoned thought. Devoid of mentation, his sphere is indestructible, the dharmadāhi, supreme, imperishable.

57. “Possessed of merit (puṇyaśvan), with accumulated merit, he is knowledge and the great source of knowledge. Possessed of knowledge in knowing the real and unreal, he has accumulated the two accumulations.

58. “Eternal (sāsvata), a universal ruler, a yogin, he is meditation and to be reflected upon, the lord of the intelligent. He is to be personally realized (pratyārāmavedeva), truly unshakable (avala), primeval (paramādya), bearing the triple body.

59. “A Buddha in his nature of five bodies, an overlord by his nature of five types of gnosis, wearing a diadem whose nature is five Buddhas, having five eyes he maintains dissociation (asaṅga).

60. “The progenitor of all Buddhas, he is Buddha’s son, supreme, the best. Arisen from existence in insight, he is sourceless; his source is the Dharma while he puts an end to existence.

61. “His unique essence impenetrable, himself a vajra, immediately arisen he is the lord of the world; arisen from the sky and self-arisen, he is the exalted fire of insightful gnosis.

62. “Vairocana, the great lumen, the light of gnosis, he is the illuminator: the lamp of the world, the torch of gnosis, with great splendor he is radiant light.

63. “Vidyārāja, the lord of excellent mantras, he is mantrarāja performing the great goal. As the exalted Coronal Dome (mahāgiri), the marvellous Coronal Dome, he teaches in every sort of way, the lord of space.

64. “Foremost, as he is the physical presence of all Buddhas, with his eyes bringing happiness to the world; with manifold form he is the creator (vidhār), a great sage to be worshipped and honored.

73 MM as usual provides the most orthodox explanation when he identifies (177.5.2) the pañca-kāya as the svabhāvikākāya, sambhogakāya, nirvāṇakāya, dharmakāya, and ākāśakāya.

74 See the division titles for this and the following four divisions.

75 The well known pañcajina: Vairocana, Aksobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, and Amoghasiddhi.

76 The five eyes are the corporeal eye (mānasacaksus), the heavenly eye (divyacaksus), the eye of insight (prajñācaksus), the eye of the Dharma (dharmacaksus), and the eye of the Buddha (budhacaksus).

77 Existence in insight is defined by VV as the five pure skandhas, vide note 107. VV les vaid sahīd pa ni dog pa'i phyin po lha ste / (201.4.1).


65. “Bearing the three families, he is a possessor of mantras, bearing up mantras and the great vow: he is best in bearing up the triple gem and the highest teacher of the triple vehicle.

66. “Being Amoghapāsa, he is victorious; as Vajrapāsa he is a great grabber; he is Vajrānūsā with a great noose."

Ten verses, plus a quarter, on the mirror-like gnosis.

“The great terror-bearing Vajrabhairava.

“King of furies, six-headed and terrible, six-eyed and six-armed and strong: he is a skeleton barring its fangs, hunger-headed, Halāhala."

“Yamāntaka, the king of obstructions, with the force of a vajra, the creator of fear, his is the famous vajra, with a vajra in his heart, having the illusory vajra and a great belly.

“A lord with his weapon, whose source is vajra, with the essence of vajra he is like the sky, and having a unique, unmoving multitude of tufts of hair, he is wet in bearing the elephant-skin garment.

“With great terror, saying Há Há, and creating fear saying Hi Hi, with a terrible laugh, a great laugh, he is Vajrahaśa, the great clamar.

“Vajrasattva, the great being, and Vajrārāja with great bliss. Indestructively violent with great delight, he performs the Hūṃ of the Vajrāhūṃkāra."


81 Halāhala is a form of Avalokiteśvara. See B. Bhattacharyya, Sādhunāmolā, GOS 26 (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1968) nos. 27-9. VV (203.2.7) maintains that Halāhala is from the Amogha-pāśākāraparājñā-nāma, T8.686.

82 VV (203.2.8ff) seems to want to make separate figures of all the epithets which include vajra: a moot point at best since I can trace no instance of anyone actually using most of these figures in any system.

83 Vajrārāja also belongs to the vajrāhūṃ mandala: v. Raghu Vira, Mandālas, p. 38; Tajima, “Seating Positions”, p. 100; Bhattacharyya, Nippannyogavali, Intro. p. 57, text p. 45.

84 For Vajrārāja see Raghu Vira, Mandālas, p. 38; Tajima, “Seating Positions”, pp. 100 and 107; Bhattacharyya, Nippannyogavali, Intro. p. 56, text p. 44.

85 Vajrāhūṃkāra is a practice of meditating on the pronunciation of the adamanthe Hūṃ, to be said four times in a row according to VV (204.1.1), which claims the practice to be drawn from the Sarvataḥākārataṭaśaṃgraha. The practice is mentioned in the Māyākārate (PTT vol. 4 p. 149.3.3 and in the Ghulpasamājatantra, p. 116.18. As an abstract type the mantra performing the Vajrāhūṃkāra was to be generated into a mandala. V. Bhattacharyya, Nippannyogavali, Intro. pp. 44-46, text pp. 24-5.
72. “Taking as a weapon the arrow of vajra, with the sword of vajra he slashes. Holding the crossed vajra (viśvavajra), a possessor of vajra, with the unique vajra he is victorious in battle.”

73. “Having terrible eyes blazing like a vajra (vajrajālā) and with hair blazing like a vajra, he is Vajrāś sculptures, in exalted possession, with a hundred eyes, eyes of vajra.

74. “His body hairs bristling like vajras, a unique body with vajra-hairs, the origin of his nails in the tips of vajras, he has skin which is impenetrable in and essence vajra.

75. “Glorious in bearing a rosary of vajras and ornamented by ornaments of vajra, his is the great noise and the terrible laugh Hā Hā, and the six syllables with noise like a vajra.”

76. “Gentle-voiced (Mañjuśrī), with a great roar, he is great with the sound unique in the world. He is sonance as far as the end of the sphere of space and the best of those possessed of sound.

40-two verses on the gnosis of individual inspection.

77. “Being suchness, actual egolessness, the limit of actuality, and devoid of syllables, he is a bull among the speakers of emptiness with a roar both deep and high.

78. “As the conch of the Dharma he has great sound, and as the gong of the Dharma he has great noise; by his nonlocalized (apratisśita) nirvāṇa he is the drum of the Dharma in the ten directions.

79. “Without form and with form he is the foremost, with various forms made from thought (naunomaya). Being the majesty in the shining of all form, he hears the reflected images in their totality.

80. “Invincible, distinguished, the lord over the triplesphere, being well advanced on the noble path he is the crest ornament of the Dharma with great sovereignty.

81. His body uniquely youthful in the triple world, he is an elder, old, the lord of creatures (prajāpati). Bearing the thirty-two marks [of the Mahāpurusa] he is charming and handsome in the triple world.”

82. “A preceptor (dīkṣāra) of the qualities and knowledge of the world, with confidence he is the preceptor to the world. He is protector, preserver, trustworthy in the triple world, a refuge and the highest defender.

83. “His active experience (sambhoga) the extension of space, he is the ocean of the Omniscient’s gnosis. He splits the shell around the egg of ignorance and tears the net of existence.

84. “With the general defilements (samkleśa) totally pacified, he has gone to the far shore of sansāra’s ocean. Wearing the diadem of the gnostic consecration, he has for his ornament the perfectly awakened.

85. “Easing the distress of the three kinds of suffering and bringing the three to an end, he is endless, passed to the triple liberation; released from all veils, he has passed [to the state of] equality (samatā) like space.

86. “Beyond the filth of all defilements, he thoroughly comprehends the three times and timelessness; he is the great snake (mahānāga) for all beings, the crown of those crowned with qualities.

87. “Released from all residues he is well established in the track of space; bearing the great wish-fulfilling gem, he is the highest of all jewels, the overlord.

88. “He is the wide wishing tree and the best of great good vases; an agent acting for the sake of beings, he desires their benefit, with affection towards beings.

89. “Knowing the skillful and the destructive (śubhāśūra) and aware of timing, he understands the occasion and, possessing his vow, is the overlord. Knowing the faculties of beings and the correct opportunity, he is skilled in the triple release.

90. “Possessed of qualities, knowing qualities and knowing Dharma, he is auspicious, arises from the auspicious. The auspiciousness of all that is auspicious, he is fame and fortune, renown and goodness.

91. “Being the great festival, the great respite (mahāśāvāsa), the grand happiness

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87. rununīkha. There is a pun here since in the Buddhist usage rununīkha may mean either victorious in battle or abandoning impurities; v. BHSD p. 450.

88. I consider it hardly likely that such a minor figure as Vajrajālā is really meant, but rather the overtones of the epithet “Blazing like a bolt of lightning”. This is definitely the sense of the term in the Gohatsamājaśṭantra, p. 15 lines 2 and 14. Vajrajālā occurs as a minor figure in the svaraardhatapatsūridhovā mandala, for which v. Bhattacharyya, Nīpattanyayogāvalī, Intro. p. 70, text p. 69.

89. Vajrāś sculptures, like Vajrāś sculptures and Vajrapāśa, is one of the door guardians for the vajradhātu mandala as well as for the sarvadurgati mandala and others. V. Bhattacharyya, Nīpattanyayogāvalī, Intro. pp. 56, 61, and 69, text pp. 46, 55, and 67; Tajima, “Seating Positions”, pp. 101 and 108; Raghu Vira, Mandala, pp. 38, 41, and 46.

90. Presumably the six syllables are the well known arapacanadā. MM (179,1.4), however, does not list just what the six syllables are. Neither does VV (204,3.4) in his comment on this verse, but in reference to v. 1441, he gives the six syllables as Om Vajrasya Mu (219,1.5). SV (256,4.3) offers the mantra Vajrayan praticehu Hūm “Receive the Vajra, Hūm”, which is six syllables but has little to do with Mañjuśrī. Smṛtiśāntakaśi in his commentary on the NS (Tō. 2538, PTT vol. 75 p. 47,5.7) gives the six syllables as Arapacanadāya te namah, but this is nine syllables.


92. These are the suffering of misery (adhikhadhikātā), the suffering of change (viparītadhadhikātā), and the suffering of conditioned existence (samskāradhikātā). See La Vallée Poussin, L’Abhīsāmaśvegādīkṣā, vol. 4 p. 126 (= Kösa VI: 3).

93. That is, the liberations of the Śrāvakas, Pratyekabuddhas, and the final liberation of the Sambuddha. See MM 179,4.5.

94. MM declares, “He is called the Mahānāga for all beings since he satisfies the mental continuum of beings with the rain of nectar of the true Dharma”. dom pa ’i chos kyi ’bud rtsi’i char gyis sems can gyi rgyud tshim par mchod pa’i phyir sems can kun gyi klu chen po’i (179,4.8). Alternatively, Edgerton notes that Mahānāga is an epithet of Śrāvakas, in this case meaning a great elephant, vide BHSD p. 423. Finally Tucci notes Haribhadra’s definition of a Mahānāga as one who attends a samgiti, a recitation of the scriptures. G. Tucci, “Animadversiones Indicae”, Journal Asiatic Soc. of Bengal n.s. 26 (1930), p. 140.
and the great pleasure, he is a considerate reception, hospitality, prosperity, real joy, glory and the lord of renown.

92. "Possessed of excellence, the best benefactor, giving refuge he is the highest refuge. Best among the enemies of great fear, he destroys without exception all fear.

93. "With a tuft of hair, with a crest of hair, an ascetic with braided hair and twisted locks, he has a shaven head and diadem. Having five faces and five hair knots, his flowered crown is of five knots of hair."93

94. "Holding on to the great vow of austerity, he wears the ascetic's grass girdle, his practice pure and highest in his austere vow. Having great penance and having gone to the fulfillment of asceticism, he has taken his ritual bath to be the foremost Gautama.

95. "A divine brahma, knower of brahma, he is Braham having obtained brahmāna"94. He is release, liberation, his body true liberation; he is true release, peacefulness, and final blessedness.

96. "He is nirvāṇa, cessation, peace, well-being, deliverance and termination. Ending pleasure and pain, he is the utter conclusion (niṣṭhā), renunciation, with residues destroyed.

97. "Unconquered, incomparable, indistinct, invisible and spotless, he is partless, with total access, all-pervading, yet subtle, a seed (bijā) without impurities.

98. "Without dirt, dustless, stainless, with faults expelled, and free from disease, he is wide awake, himself awakened, omniscient, universally knowing and supreme.

99. "Gone beyond the conditionality of consciousness, he is gnosis, bearing the form of nonduality. Devoid of mentation (nirvikalpa), spontaneous, he performs the duty of the Buddhas of the three times.

100. "Without beginning or end, he is Buddha, Ādībuddha without causal connection."95 Stainless with his unique eye of gnosis, he is embodied, the Tathāgata.

93 pāṭheśvara. Some discussion has surrounded the term pāṭheśvara. Marcelle Lalou, Iconographie des êtôfes peints dans le Mahāśrīmurālapalika, Buddhaica 6 (Paris: Geuthner, 1930), pp. 66-70, has considered the possibility of the term referring to either five locks of hair or the five-peaked crown usually shown in iconographic representations of the Bodhisattva. Edgerton, however, in BHD p. 231 has objected that the term can only refer to the five locks of hair. Our commentators in general agree with Edgerton. MM states, "Hearing his hair locks in the manner of a youth, he is called pāṭheśvara". gūn na u kṣati gūsāya phud mūn ahas na gūsāya phud bha dān dāna pavo / (180.2.5). VV (208.3.3 and 214.5.3, both of which refer back to 189.4.7) considers that the term pāṭheśvara (or saccra) refers to the five-headed iconographic form of Mahāšrī as the Ādībuddha. The only dissenting opinion comes with SV's statement (259.4.5) that the saccra of v. 126 (but not pāṭheśvara) equals the five-peaked crown (mukuta).94

94 Fitting use of this interesting term which seems to first occur in the Bhagavadgītā II: 72. For specifically Buddhist associations surrounding brahma- in other compounds, see Paul Mus, Barabudur, Esquisse d'une histoire du Bouddhisme fondée sur la critique archéologique des textes, BEFEO 34 (1934), p. 715.

95 nirvāṇa. The usual meaning of this term is to be without association, but all commentators gloss the term specifically as devoid of causation, perhaps due to the context of the Ādībuddha discussion. Likewise the Tibetan translators render it rgyu med, causeless. The significance seems to be that, as Ādībuddha, Mahāšrī is to be considered quite outside the realm of causal association.

101. "Lord of speech, the great expounder, the king of speakers, the chief of speakers, he is supreme in being the most excellent among those speaking, the invincible lion of elucidators.

102. "Seen in all directions, elation itself, with a garland of splendor, handsome, the beloved of Śrī, radiant, illuminating, he is light, with the splendor of the illuminator.

103. "Being the best of great physicians, he is superb, and as a surgeon, the finest. As the tree of every sort of medicine, he is the great enemy of the sickness of defilement (kleśa).

104. "In being the tilaka mark of the triple world, he is pleasing and glorious, with a mystic circle of the lunar mansions. Extending as far as the sky in the ten directions, he raises high the banner of the Dharma.

105. "Being the unique vast umbrella for the world, his is the mystic circle of loving kindness and compassion. As Padmanārśvara96 he is glorious, variegated like a jewel, the great overlord.

106. "Being an exalted king among all Buddhas, he bears the body (ātmabhāva) of all Buddhas; as the mahāyoga97 of all Buddhas, he is the unique teaching of all Buddhas.

107. "Glorious with the consecration of Vajratraṁ98, he is lord among all jewel monarchs. Being lord over all Lokesvaras, he is the monarch over all Vajradharas.

108. "As the great mind of all Buddhas, he is present in the mind of all Buddhas"99. Having the exalted body of all Buddhas, he is the Sarvasatī of all Buddhas.

96 A form of Avalokiteśvara, Padmanārśvara is the subject of the sādhānas nos. 30-32 in Sādhānamālā, vol. 1 pp. 75-7.

97 For Mahāyoga as a system in the method of Nāgārjuna (phags lugs) v. A. Wayman, Yoga, pp. 157-58. For the rNin ma pa, however, Mahāyoga encompassed Māhāyāna, since that tantra was considered upāyantastra; see bSam gnas mig sgron, p. 186ff. This seems the earlier tradition, though the dates of Nāgārjuna remain unfixed.

98 Vajraṭraṇa occurs as a figure in the vajradhātu mandala, v. Bhattacharyya, Niṣpannaṁyogavārī, Intro. p. 55, text p. 45; Tajima, "Seating Positions", p. 107; Vira, Mahākalas, p. 38. I am, however, uncertain as to what this fact has to do with his placement in this verse and what his consecration (abhiseka) might be. Commenting on this line, SV demonstrates the development of abhisekha in his tradition. He declares, "That which is referred to by 'Glorious with the consecration of Vajraṭraṇa', is the Consecration of the Ability of Wisdom. In addition to that and the external consecrations, the Vase and the Jewel-like Sprout, the internal consecrations, the Seal (mudrā) as the Sign of the Victor and the Five Bodies of Insightful Wisdom, and the esoteric consecrations are all known as Reality. Moreover, if they are demonstrated, the explanation is in letters of jewel-like sound: rdo rje rin chen dbang po dpal 'dus pa / rig pa rdzis gyi dbaṅ po'i 'bri ma / rin po che myu gyi dbang po / ma rgyal rtags phag yas dbang po'i / las bah ri phag pa'i 'sku sgya'i dbang po / gyur ba'i dbang po / drug na 'gro sbya'o / dbang ma thron ma rin po che sgra'i ye gsal pa'o / (258.4.3).

99 manogā. All commentators (MM 181.2.5, VV 211.5.2, VM 245.5.3, SV 258.4.6) define the term as manogā, present in the mind. Doubtless this reflects a Buddhist usage of the word. Following the commentators, the Tibetan translators rendered it thugs la gnas.
109. “The vajra-like sun, the great light, with the stainless brilliance of the vajra-like moon, and having the great desire of renunciation and so forth, his is the blazing light in every sort of color.

110. “Maintaining the cross-legged position of the completely awakened, he preserves the Dharma discussed by the Buddhas. Arisen from the lotus of the Buddha, he is glorious, wearing the treasury of the omniscient’s gnosis.

111. “Bearing every sort of illusion, he is king, and as the holder of the incantations (vidvadhara) of the Buddhas, he is exalted. Vajratīkṣṇa with a great sword, he is pure with the highest syllable

112. “Whose great weapon is the Vajradharma of the Great Vehicle which cuts off suffering, he conquers the victors and, deep as a vajra, with vajra-like intellect, knows objects just as they are.

113. “Fulfilling all the perfections, he wears as ornaments all the levels, as the egolessness of the pure Dharma, his light in his heart is from the moon of perfect gnosis.

114. “With the great perseverance of the Māyājāla, becoming the monarch of all tantras, he is supreme. Maintaining every cross-legged position, he bears every gnostic body.

115. “As Samantabhadra the very intelligent, being Kṣitigarbha supporting the world, as the great womb of all Buddhas, he bears the wheel of every sort of transformation.

116. “Foremost as the proper nature (svabhāva) of all existents, he maintains the proper nature of all existents. By nature unarisen, yet with every sort of referent, he bears the proper nature of all dharmas.

117. “Having great insight in one instant, he maintains the internal comprehension of all dharmas. With his realization toward all dharmas, and as the sage at the end of actuality, he is very sharp.

118. “Motionless, himself very clear, he bears the enlightenment of the perfect completely awakened, face to face with all Buddhas, having fire-tongues of gnosis and radiant light.

Twenty-four verses on the gnosis of equality.

119. “As the accomplisher of the desired object, supreme, purifying all evil existences, being the highest of beings, he is the protector, the liberator of all beings.

120. “Alone the hero in the battle with defilements, he kills the pride of the enemy ‘unknowing’. He is intelligence and glorious, maintaining an amorous manner (śrīgāra), yet he bears a form heroic and fearsome.

121. “Shaking a hundred hand-held clubs, dancing with the placing of the feet, with the extension of a hundred glorious arms, he dances the full expanse of space.

122. “Standing on the surface at the summit of the earth which is being overcome by the bottom of one foot, he stands on the nail of the foot’s big toe, overcoming the peak of the egg of Brahmat.

123. “Being the one goal in the ultimate sense of the non-dual Dharma, he is absolute truth, imperishable. While his sense objects are in the forms of various representations, he is uninterrupted in mind and consciousness.

124. “With pleasure towards every existent object and with pleasure in emptiness, he has the foremost intellect. Having gone beyond the desire and so forth within existence, his great pleasure is toward the three kinds of existence.

125. “White like a pure, radiant cloud and shining like the beams of the autumn moon, with the beauty of the mystic circle of the newly risen sun, the light from his nails is intensely red.

126. “His fine hair locks (sacīra) with points of sapphire and bearing in his hair crest a great sapphire, glorious with the lustre of great jewels, his ornaments are transformations of the Buddha.

127. “Shaking hundreds of world spheres, he strides wide with the ‘feet of psychic power’. Bearing the great recollection, he is reality, the king over the concentration of the four recollections.

128. “The egg of Brahmat (brahmāṇḍa) is the entire universe as envisioned in Indian mythology.

129. “VV (214.4.6) identifies these three kinds of existence as the standard kāmadhātu, rūpdhātu, and āryapīdha.

130. “A pun on pāda in the four bases of psychic power (rūdpāda). They consist in the basis of psychic power accompanied by the mental dharma of exertion in concentration on interest (chandasmādhiprāhānasamsāramānasamvāgatam rūdpādam), on thought (cittasamādhi), on strenuous effort (vīrya), and on investigation (mimāṁsā). See La Vallée Poussin, L’Abhisambutaka, vol. 4 pp. 285-86 (= Koša VI: 69c) and particularly p. 286 n. 1 for an interesting discussion on the rūdpādams.

131. “Catuṣkṣṛṇī refers to the four smṛtyupasthāna: the application of recollection on the
128. "Fragrant from the blossoms of the limbs of enlightenment\(^{106}\), being the ocean of qualities of the Tathāgata, in knowing the practice of the eight-limbed path, he knows the path of the perfect completely awakened.

129. "Greatly adhering to all beings, he adheres to nothing, like the sky; arisen from the mind of all beings, he has the speed of the minds of all beings.

130. "Knowing the value of the faculties of all beings, he captures the hearts of all beings; knowing the reality of the meaning in the five skandhas, he is the pure bearer of the five skandhas.\(^{107}\)

131. "Established at the limit of all modes of deliverance, he is skilled in all modes of deliverance; established on the path of all modes of deliverance, he is the teacher of all modes of deliverance.

132. "Rooting out existence in its twelve limbs\(^{108}\), he is the pure bearer of twelve aspects\(^{109}\); with the aspect of the practice of the four truths, he maintains the realization of the eight knowledges.\(^{110}\)

133. "His referent truth in twelve aspects\(^{111}\), knowing the sixteen aspects of reality\(^{112}\), he is totally enlightened to the twenty aspects\(^{113}\), awake, omniscient and supreme.

body (kāyuṣṭramātropasthāna), on the feelings (vedāna), on thought (citta), and on dharmas (dharmasūryavasthānā). See La Vallec Poussin, L’Abhidharmakosā, vol. 4, p. 158 ff. (= Kosā I: 14-19).

\(^{106}\) VV (215.2.3) identifies these as the well-known list of the seven limbs of enlightenment: recollection (ṣārīra), discriminating comprehension of dharmas (dharmapratīcayā), strenuous effort (ṣūrya), joy (prīti), calming (prajñābudi), concentration (samādhi), and equanimity (upekṣā). See Har Duyal, The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 1975) pp. 149-55.

\(^{107}\) VV (215.5.3) identifies the first set of skandhas as the five psycho-physical constituents, whereas the second set refers to the five pure skandhas: ethical conduct (sīla), concentration (samādhi), insight (prajñā), liberation (vimukti), and the vision of the knowledge of liberation (vimuktiśītavimukti). See La Vallec Poussin, L’Abhidharmakosā, vol. 1, p. 48 (= Kosā I: 1-27).

\(^{108}\) Viz. the twelve-fold dependent origination (pratītyasamutpāda).

\(^{109}\) MM (182.4.6) maintains that by rooting out the pratītyasamutpāda, one becomes the pure bearer of twelve aspects, but does not list just what these twelve aspects are. VM (247.4.2) declares that these twelve pure aspects are the twelve purified senses and sense-fields (avātanā) of Mañjuśrī.

\(^{110}\) The eight knowledges are the knowledges of the elements of the four noble truths (dharmasūryā) and the knowledges of the succeeding moments of the four truths in the kāmahatā while the second are the four knowledges from the same realization in the rūpa and arūpaḥatā. See La Vallec Poussin, L’Abhidharmakosā, vol. 4 pp. 183-5, 273 and vol. 5 p. 5. (= Kosā VI: 26, 52c-53b and VII: 3-4b).

\(^{111}\) MM explains, "Endowed with the characteristic of the twelve aspects of the senses and sense-fields (avātanās), he has those twelve aspects which are the twelve aspects of provisional truth (samāvṛttasattā), skye med hetu ghis kyi rnam pa'i mtham rim can kham rabs kyi bden pa'i don rnam pa hetu ghis grol rnam no ('182.5.1).

\(^{112}\) MM (182.5.2) equates these sixteen aspects of reality with the sixteen kinds of emptiness. For an exhaustive discussion of the emptinesses, see Étienne Lamotte, Le Traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna (Louvain : Institut Orientaliste, 1976), vol. 4 pp. 1995-2151.

\(^{113}\) MM elaborates, "Adding to the aspects of the sixteen knowledges of reality [i.e. the sixteen kinds of emptiness] the four aspects of the mirror-like [ghosos], the [ghosos] of equality, the [ghosos] of individual inspection, and the situationally effective [ghosos], the total gives the twenty aspects". de kho na thid kyi ye šes bru drug gi rnam pa la gzhan yas me lho lha ba dan / nhum pa thid dani s su rin po ch bra ba grub pa ste / rnam pa bzhis thon m ni rnam pa thu sru rnam pa / '182.5.3.3).

\(^{114}\) The term vīhāraka is used by our author in two distinctly different senses, sending forth (eg. v. 134b) and considering, reflecting on (eg. v. 135b).


\(^{116}\) The floods (vṛgha) and adhesions (vyāga) are each applied to the four categories of desire (kāma), existence (bhava), view (dhyāna), and ignorance (avāda), which are but labels for kinds of latent defilements (umāyan) operating in the various realms of existence. For more information on this rather involved system, see La Vallec Poussin, L’Abhidharmakosā, vol. 4 pp. 73-77 (= Kosā V: 348).

\(^{117}\) MM (183.2.7) defines the three referents as acceptance (bha ba), rejection (spaś ba), and equanimity (bha la), whereas MM (218.1.6) lists the three times.

\(^{118}\) MM (183.2.8) equates the three guṇas with the three doors of liberation (trīṇi vimokṣyākāṇā): emptiness (śūnyātā), signlessness (ānīmitta), and aspirationlessness (upānīhita).
Fifteen verses on the situationally effective gnosia.

143. “To be realized by all Buddhas, as the enlightenment of the Buddha, he is supreme; devoid of syllables, his source is in mantra; he is the triad of the great mantra families.

144. “The progenitor of the significance of all mantras, he is the great bindu, devoid of syllables; with five syllables and greatly void, he is voidness in the bindu, with one hundred syllables.

145. “Having all aspects, having no aspects, he bears four bindus; partless, beyond enumeration, he sustains the limit at the level of the fourth meditation.

146. “Directly knowing all the branches of meditation, knowing the lineages and families of concentration, with a body of concentration, the foremost of bodies, he is the king of all saṁbhogakāyas.

147. “With an emanating body, the foremost of bodies, bearing the lineage of the Buddha’s emanations, he emanates forth in every one of the ten directions, acting for the needs of the world just as they are.

148. “The deity beyond gods, the leader of gods, the leader of heavenly beings, he is the lord of demigods, leader of immortals, the guide of heavenly beings, a churner and the lord of churners.

149. “Crossed over the wilderness of existence, he is unique, the teacher, the guide of the world, celebrated, and being the donor of Dharma to the world in its ten directions, he is great.

Certainly a strange verse, there is no consensus on it among our commentators. I feel that VM (248.4.1) is probably the correct first in defining the first half of the verse as referring to the meditation of production (upādīkrama) and dissolution (niśpadākrama). Everyone gives his own five syllables. MM—a ra pa ca no (183.4.2). VV—ah om han krim ah (219.1.4). VM—om am han svā hā (248.4.2), while no one identifies the hundred syllables. Perhaps it is reference to the visualization practice outlined in chapters 20-21 in R. Tajima, Étude sur le Mahāvairocana-Sūtra (Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1936), pp. 130-1.

120 bindu here means bijamnitra, as all the commentators but SV agree. VM, however, is the only one to supply the bijamnitrás, in this case a a an ē (248.4.5) which are a variant on those from the mantraśravaṇa.

121 Caturthadhyāna. A reference to the system of the four dhvānas and samāññattis; see Har Dayal, Bodhisattva Doctrine, p. 230ff.

122 VV elaborates, “He is called the leader of gods because he has the nature of Viṣṇu. He is called the deity beyond gods since he has the nature of Brahmā. Likewise, the leader of demigods because he has the nature of the leisurely Vairocana (3), the lord of demigods since he has the nature of the planet Rāhu, the leader of immortals since he has the nature of *Parabhit, the guide of heavenly beings since he has the nature of the planet Bṛhaspati, the chanter since he has the nature of Ganeśa, and he is called the lord of churners because he has the nature of Maheśvara”. de la lha’i dbang po ni khrab ’jug gi ran lha’i ndi kyi phyr ro la lha’i lai ni phags pa’i dbang ēd kyi phyr ro la lha min dbang po ni rms m par smi byed bo le’i gongs kyi so la lha min dbang ni gsa’ ra hu la lha’i ran lha’i ndi kyi phyr ro / chi med dbang po ni gron kyier ji g gi gongs ēd kyi phyr ro / la lha’i la ni gsa’ phur ba’i gongs ēd kyi phyr ro / joms byed dbang po ni mnyo too la lha’i ran lha’i ndi kyi phyr ro / (219.5.2). Note that Vilāsavajra seems to have read devendo *sundrodro for v. 148ab.

123 The three-faceted, four-armed form of Maṇjuśrī which became developed in the later NS based sādhanas doubtless grew out of V. 150c. See VV’s instructions on this verse and note especially the comment, “The specific instruction is this: [Maṇjuśrī] is to be conceived of as having a red color and four arms: man iug ni ddi’i / mdog dmor pa dam phyag bcu par sras par bya’ / (220.2.6). Concerning this form see Mallmann, Étude iconographique, pp. 52-56. For the pun in ramamāla see note 55 supra.

124 This verse is interesting in its allusion to the tension between the Buddhist and Brahmanical spheres of technical terms. The Pāli canon knows of two kinds of tīrīyāda, the three Vedas for the Brāhmans and the last three of the six abhiṣheka (vide following note) for the Arhans; see the Tikaṇṇasutta in Bhikkhu J. Kashyap, ed. The Aṅgutara Nikāya (Nālandā: Pāli Publication Board, 1960) vol. 1, pp. 150-53. MM (184.1.4) follows the early Buddhist system but applies it to the Bodhisattva.

The sadabhūja are the subtle perceptions consisting in the realization of the knowledge of the object of concentration (ekāhārasaṃśuhāvīśvaravīśhāhāh), of the knowledge of divine hearing (devaśāraśīhāhāh), of the knowledge of the gradations of others’ minds (cetojaśvānāsvādadhāhāh), of the knowledge of the memory of previous existences (pāṃjāvāsāsāsvādadhāhāh), of the knowledge of the arising and passing away of beings (vyāpasamāsaśīhāhāh), sometimes also referred to as the knowledge of divine vision, devaśāraśīhāhāh, and the subtle perception consisting in the realization of the knowledge of the utter destruction of impurities (āsāvāsāsvāsāsvādadhāhāh). See La Vallée Poussin, L’Abhidharmakosa, vol. 5 pp. 97-100 (= Kośa VII: 421-c).

The śaḍānusmṛti are the practices of recollecting the Buddha (buddhānusmṛti), the Dharma (dharmaṇusmṛti), the Sangha (sāṅghānusmṛti), one’s own discipline (śīlānusmṛti), one’s own renunciation (tyāgānusmṛti), and one’s chosen divinity (devaḥānusmṛti). Vide BHS p. 36.
158. ‘Being the donor of the Dharma, he is best, the teacher of the meaning of the four mudrās; he is the best of the venerable ones of the world who travel by the triple deliverance.

159. ‘Glorious and purified through absolute truth (paramārthā), great with the fortune in the triple world, glorious in making all success, Mañjuśrī is supreme among those possessed of glory.

Five verses on the gnosia of the five Tathāgatas.

158. ‘Reverence to you, the giver of the best, the foremost vajra. Homage to you, the limit of actuality. Reverence to you, whose womb is emptiness. Homage to you, the enlightenment of the Buddha.

159. ‘Reverence to you, the desire of the Buddha. Homage to you, the passion of the Buddha. Reverence to you, the joy of the Buddha. Homage to you, the delight of the Buddha.

160. ‘Reverence to you, the Buddha’s smile. Homage to you, the Buddha’s laugh. Reverence to you, the Buddha’s speech. Homage to you, the Buddha’s internal reality.

161. ‘Reverence to you, arisen from nonexistence. Homage to you, the arising of Buddhas. Reverence to you, arisen from the sky. Homage to you, the arising of gnosia.

162. ‘Reverence to you, Illusion’s Net. Homage to you, the Buddha’s dancer. Reverence to you, the all for all. Homage to you, the gnostic body.

127 The individual theories of our various commentators on this important topic may be summarized in the following table (VV not reporting):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mudrā</th>
<th>MM (184.2.7)</th>
<th>VM (249.5.6)</th>
<th>SV (261.4.3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mahāmudrā</td>
<td>saññihogakāya</td>
<td>devatākāya</td>
<td>dharmakāya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanātamanudrā</td>
<td>dharmakāya</td>
<td>devatākāya</td>
<td>saññihogakāya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dharmamudrā</td>
<td>vikāravikāra</td>
<td>phānakāya</td>
<td>phānakāya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karmamudrā</td>
<td>nirmānakāya</td>
<td>the emanation (phra) and reabsorption (du) of the devatākāya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The striking fact about this table is that, besides there being no mention of the phānakāyas by any of the commentators, the systems involved all invoke the kāya doctrine. Moreover, as a whole they represent an entirely different approach from the later vajrayan traditions, for which see Per Kverne, “On the Concept of Sahajia in Indian Buddhist Tantric Literature”, Temenos 11 (1975): 88-135 and especially pp. 115-124.

Eleven observations in the first round of [discussion on] benefits (anuṣṭāṇā). “This, then, O Vajrayāni, Vajradhara, is that Litany of Names which is pure and unique to the gnostic entity Mañjuśrī, the blessed one, embodied gnosis, the gnostic body of all Tathāgatas. For the sake of producing in you the highest pleasure, certainty and great rapture, for the sake of the esoteric purity of your body, speech and mind, for the purity and completion of those stages, perfections, and accumulations, both of knowledge and of merit, which may yet be impure and incomplete, for the realization of the yet unrealized highest goal, for the obtaining of what is yet unobtained, and moreover for the sake of preserving the practice of the True Dharma of all Tathāgatas, this Litany of Names was taught, brought to light, uncovered, detailed, proclaimed, and then established in your mental stream, O Vajrayāni, Vajradhara, by me through the transforming influence natural to all mantras.

Fifty-two observations in the second round of [discussion on] benefits. “Moreover, O Vajrayāni, Vajradhara, this Litany of Names is the real secret of the gnosia, body, speech, and mind of the very clean and perfectly purified omniscient. It is the awakened enlightenment of all Tathāgatas and the method of realization (abhisamaya) of the complete and perfect Buddhas. It is that which is highest in all Tathāgatas and the realization of the dharmadhātu for all the Sagatas. It is the overcoming of the strength of all Māras for all the Victors and contains the power in the ten powers of the Ten-powered. It is the omniscience for every kind of gnosia of the omniscient. It is the traditional scripture for the Dharma of all Buddhas and the attainment of all Buddhas. It is the completion of the stainless and pure collections of knowledge and merit for all great Bodhisattvas, and is the birthplace of all Hearkeners (śrāvakas) and Private Buddhas. It is the field of excellence for all gods and men and the abode of the Mahāyāna. It is the source of the Bodhisattva’s activity and the culminating point of the perfect noble path. It is the touchstone of liberation and the arising of the path of deliverance. It is the continuity of the Tathāgata’s lineage and the growth of the family and lineage of the great Bodhisattvas. It is the suppression of disputants of all rival doctrines and the ruin of all heretics. It is the overcoming of the forces and army and power of the four Māras and the attracting [to the Dharma] of all beings. It is the maturation on the noble path for all those traveling to deliverance, and concentration for those dwelling in the four divine states. It is the meditation of those with one-pointed minds.

128 sarvamamatradharmatādihiṣṭānam. Adhiśthāna is a difficult key term, especially for Vajrayāni. Although VV (222.1.5; 222.5.8) consistently glosses the word by “making firm” (bhrat par bhed pa), the wider significance of power or blessing seems to fit the context. Cf. H.G.A. van Zeyst, “Adhiśthāna”, Encyclopedia of Buddhism (Colombo: Government of Ceylon, 1963), vol. 1 pp. 207-08; BHSID pp. 15-16; Smellgrove, The Hevajra Tantra, vol. 1 p. 133.

129 The standard four activities of attraction are given by VV (224.4.3): liberality (dana), pleasant speech (puṇṇavāda), acting for the welfare of others (ārthacarī), and consistency in words and action (samānaśrāvita).

130 The four divine states, also known as the four unlimited states (caturāy
and the yoga of those intent on body, speech and mind. It is the dissociation of all fetters, the removal of all defilements and associate defilements. It is the stilling of all veils and the liberation of all bondage. It is freedom from all residues and peace for all mental afflictions. It is the rich source of all wealth and the loss of all misfortune. It is the closing of the doors to all evil existences, the true path to the city of liberation. It is the disengagement of the wheel of samsāra and the turning of the Wheel of the Dharma. It is upraised parasols, banners of victory and flags of the Tathāgata’s doctrine and the transforming power of instruction on all dharmas. It is the quick success of those Bodhisattvas implementing their practice by means of mantras, and the realization in contemplation for those intent on the perfection of insight. It is the penetration into emptiness for those intent on the contemplation of non-dual penetration. It is accomplishment in the accumulation of all perfections, and purity in completion of all stages and perfections. It is the penetration of the perfect four noble truths and the penetration into all dharmas with one-pointed mind in the four applications of mindfulness. This Litany of Names is even as much as final completion of the qualities of all Buddhas.

Fifty-two observations in the third round of [discussion on] benefits.

Moreover, O Vajrapāni, Vajradhara, this Litany of Names quiets every sort of evil in the physical, vocal and mental conduct of all beings. It purifies all the evil existences for all beings and prevents all lower births. Cutting through the veils of all karma, it suppresses the arising of all the eight untimely existences, Pacifying the eight great terrors, it eliminates all evil dreams. Removing all

133 samyojana. Both VV (222.4.7) and VM identify the samyojana as affection (anujaya), aversion (pratigha), arrogance (nuna), unknowing (avijnana), view (dyasti), clinging (paridrṣṭa), doubt (vicikṣiṇa), jealousy (irṣyā), and avarice (māśāsraya). See also La Vallée Poussin, L. Abhidharmakosā, vol. 4 pp. 81-7 (= Kota V: 41-44). This same list, with the deletion of (irṣyā), is found in VM in the Derge bsTan ’gyur rgyad vol Tshi fol. 36.5 and in the Gangtok edition fol. 82b.4, but dropped from the Peking, where it should occur 250.3.4. Doubtless the absence in the Peking and the deletion in the Derge and Gangtok editions represents textual corruption of this very standard list.

134 usūkṣana. The eight untimely existences were considered those in which the practice of Dharma is especially difficult. They consist of birth in hell (nara), among the animals (tīrāk), among hungry ghosts (preta), among the gods possessed of long life (dhīgha-vārya), in a border country where there is no sun (pratyoṣaschandra), with defective faculties (aivāsayaśvāsya), possessing perverted views (mithyādārśana), or in birth in a time when no Buddha has come (tattvāvataṃ uputpāda).

135 asyaṃdhānavya. According to VM the eight great terrors are the terror of lions, tigers, rousing elephants, snakes, punishment by kings, fire, water, and demons. ‘jigs pa chen po brgyad ni sṛṇa ge dagn / stag dagn / glaṅ po che snyon po dagn / spral dagn / rgyal po’i chad pa dagn / mc dagn / i chu dagn / sa zai’ jigs pa chen po brgyad do’; (250.3.6).

There are in reality several lists of the “eight great terrors”, and none of them totally agree. Moreover, these lists seem to be primarily connected with the supplication to Tārā. See Stephan Beyer, The Cult of Tārā (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 229-32 and note that none of the lists agree with VM.

evil omens, it pacifies all bad signs and obstacles. Quelling all the activities of the enemy Māras, it causes increase in all roots of goodness and merit. Fashioning the nonorigination of mental fixation on the incessant, it strikes down mental inflation, arrogance, conceit, and self-importance. Causing the nonorigination of all suffering and depression, it is the real heart of all Tathāgatas. The real mystery of all Bodhisattvas, it is the true secret of all Hearkeners and Private Buddhas. It is all mādhis and all mantras. It is the producer of recollection (sunnā) and clarity (samprajñanen) for those asserting the inexpressible character of all dharmas. Creating the highest insight and mental vigor, it produces health and strength, dominion and wealth. Producing an increase in glory, virtue, peace, and wholesomeness, it brings to light fame, renown, notoriety, and praise; while quelling all disease and the great terrors. It is the purest of the purest, the very best method of purification among the best methods of purification, the best fortune of best fortunes, and the very best auspiciousness of all that is auspicious. It is a refuge for those desiring a refuge, a place of rest for those desiring a place of rest, a haven for those wishing a haven, and final relief for those without final relief. It is the true island of those needing an island, the highest resource of those who are resourceless, and the true ship of those traveling to the other shore of existence. It is the true great king of medicines for the elimination of all disease, real insight for the discrimination of elements to be abandoned and accepted, and the very light of gnosis for the dispensing of all darkness, obscurity and unwholesome views. It is the real wish-granting gem for the fulfilling of the aims of all beings just as they each intend. It is the omniscience’s true gnosis for obtaining the gnostic body of Mañjuśrī and the real vision of pure gnosis for obtaining the five eyes. It is the true completing of the six perfections through the giving of possessions, of fearlesseness, and of the gift of the Dharma. It is true attainment of the ten stages through the completion of sādāhi and the accumulations of knowledge and merit. It is nondual natural reality (advaya-dharmata) since it is separated from all characteristics of duality. It is the actual fact of suchness (tathatā) and not other than natural reality since it is separated from all false assertions. It is the actual fact of the limit of actuality (bhiññakoti) by being the proper nature of the pure Tathāgata’s gnostic body. It is in every respect the actual fact of the great emptiness through destroying without the slightest residue the path through the dense forest of unwholesome views. This Litany of Names, with the inexpressible form of all dharmas, may be said to be thus since it brings to light the preservation of [Mañjuśrī’s] names for the sake of [entrance into] nondual natural reality.

Nineteen observations in the fourth round of [discussion on] benefits.

Moreover, O Vajrapāni, Vajradhara, whatever son or daughter of good family implementing his practice by means of mantras will—without interruption three times every day, with just these verses, words, and syllables—support, proclaim, master, and apply his mind to the essentials of this nondual crestd jewel of names possessed of absolute truth, this totally complete, neither fragmentary nor deficient Litany of Names of the blessed one, the gnostic entity Mañjuśrī, who is embodied gnosis, the gnostic body of all Tathāgatas, and [whatever son or

134 Vide note 76 supra.
daughter of good family] will teach [the text] in full suitably to others, or even one or another of the many names individually. [that son or daughter] making the gnostic body of Mañjuśrī his object of meditation (ālambana) will become mentally one-pointed. Dwelling in the state of “facing everywhere” (samantamukha) through intense interest (adhinukṣī) and the application of his mind on reality, he will be endowed with supreme clear faith, pierced through with insight and intent on all dharmas. To him all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas from all the three times and timeless ness, having approached and assembled, will display all the means of the Dharma. In addition, they will demonstrate their physical presence (ātmabhūta). Moreover, the Great Wrathful Kings (mahākrodhāra) beginning with Mahāvajradhāra, the tamers of those who are difficult to tame and who are the very preservation of the Dharma, will demonstrate the strength of vitality (ojas), splendor, inviolability, and all mātrās, mantras, and mandalas of the various methods of realization (abhisamaṇaya) through their visible forms (rūpakāya) performing every sort of transformation. So too, the Maṇavidyārājīs without exception and all the destroyers of obstacles, the enemies of Māra, Mahāpratyāṅgirā 135 and Mahāprāṇjī 136 will every instant, day and night, guard, protect, and defend [that son or daughter] in all the four sorts of circumspect behavior 137. They will produce the transforming influence of all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and, with all their bodies, voices and minds, will perfectly establish it in his mental stream. They will confer kindness through the kindness of all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. They will also induce in him toward all dharmas fearlessness and its eloquence. They will demonstrate to him the physical presence with the affective intentionality (āśrayā) in the Noble Dharma, even from all Arhats, Hearkener, and Private Buddhas. Moreover, Brahmā, Indra, Upeṇdra, Rudra, Nārāyaṇa, Sanatkumāra, Maheśvara, Kārttikeya, Mahākāla, Nandikēśvara, Yama, Varuna, Kuvera, Hārīti, and the guardians of the world in its ten directions will supernally guard, protect, and defend him continually day and night, whether going or standing, lying or sitting, dreaming or waking, in peak experience (samāhita) or not, in solitude or in a crowd of people, even through town and city, in metropolis and district, through kingdom and citadel, on the threshold to the capital or the open highway, on main street or at the city gate, on lane or crossroads, at an intersection or strange city, in the common market or private shop, even as far as in fast solitude and the mountain cave. Whether he is approaching a river or wood or dense forest, whether personally defiled or not, whether insane or heedless, [they will protect him] always, in every way, with every means. Day and night they will confer on him supreme success. Still other gods and māgās, yaksas and gandharvas, demigods and garudas, kināras and mahoragas, humans and nonhumans, and other planets and lunar mansions, divine mothers and lords of hosts, as well as the Seven Divine Mothers 136, yaksinīs, rākṣasīs, and pīśācīs, all united and harmonious, with armies and attendants, will guard, protect and defend him. Still more they will infuse in his body vitality and strength, and they will induce in him the strength of health and the extension of life.

Fifty-one observations of the fifth round of [discussion on] benefits.

“Moreover, O Vajrapāṇi, Vajrādhara, [whatever son or daughter of good family], out of this unbroken undertaking, will recite thrice daily this crescent jewel of names, this Litany of Names, or will set about reciting it inscribed in a book—and in making his object of meditation the form of the blessed one, the gnostic entity Mañjuśrī, while reflecting and meditating on that form, and employing the discipline of the Dharma—even before very long [that son or daughter] will see [Mañjuśrī’s] form in its visible manifestation (rūpakāya). Further he will see accompanying it all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas with visible forms (rūpakāya) performing every sort of transformation in the vault of space. Never will that great being at any time or in any way fall into an evil existence or lower birth. Neither will he be born into a low family, nor in a border country. Neither will he take birth in a family holding false views, nor will he be born in buddhafields devoid of Buddhas. Never for him will there be the invisibility [of a path due to the] lack of the arising of a Buddha and the Dharma taught by such a one. Never will he be born among the gods foul of long life. Neither will he take birth in intermediate aeons characterized by famine, disease and weapons 139, nor will he be born in times of the five degradations 140. Neither for him will there be fear of kings, enemies, and thieves, nor fear of any kind of deficiency or poverty. Never will he suffer ill repute, slander, censure, or disgrace. He will be of fine class, family, and lineage. Always having form and color attractive in every way, he will be beloved, charming, pleasant to be with, and pleasing to the sight of the world. He will be splendid, with good fortune, and felicitous in speech. In whichever places he will take birth, in each of them he will remember his previous births. With great enjoyment and vast retinue, he will remain undiminished in both enjoyment and retinue. Foremost among all beings, he will be accompanied with the highest qualities. Naturally he will be accompanied with the qualities of the six perfections while dwelling in the four divine states (brahmavihāra). Accompanied by recollection, clarity, means, strength, aspiration, and gnosis, he will be eloquent with fearlessness toward all scholastic works (śāstra). With clear speech, not foolish, he will be clever, sagacious, energetic, satisfied, with an exalted goal,

135 Šrivátstra Mātrāra is a variant of the common Śrivátstra Mātrāra, for which see T.A. Gopaṭhan Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography (New York: Paragon, 1960), vol. 1, pp. 379-89.
136 According to the Adbhudharmakośaṭhārasya these three conditions characterize the end of an antarakaṇṭha, tribhir antarakaṇṭhaya niyānām bhavati / jaśtiṇa rūpena durbhikṣyena ca / (Bhāṣya on Kośa III: 99ab). This is not quite made clear in Poussin’s translation, L’Abhidharma, vol. 2, p. 207.
140 pāñçakaṇṭhaḥ. The five degradations are the degradations of life (aṅgat), aeon (kalpa), defilement (kleśa), view (dṛṣṭi), and beings (satva). Vide Poussin, L’Abhidharma, vol. 2, pp. 193-94.
free from grasping. He will have the supreme trust of all beings and the respect of preceptors (ācārya), masters (upādhyāyā), and guides (guru). Scholastic works on gnosis, sublime perception (abhirūḍha), and the arts and crafts, though not previously heard by him, will all be realized according to the words and meaning, as if clear reflected images. He will act with very pure discipline, livelihood, and manner of conduct; he will be well gone forth and well ordained. He will remain undistracted in omniscience with the exalted mind of enlightenment (mahābodhiścitta), while never passing through the entrance to the certain fixation of the Hearkeners, Arhats, and Private Buddhas.

Unlimited observations in the sixth round of [discussion on] benefits.

"Thus, O Vajrapāṇi, Vajradhara, that [son or daughter of good family] in implementing his practice by means of mantra will be accompanied by other innumerable masses of qualities of the same kind and with the same nature [as those enumerated above]. Just before very long, O Vajrapāṇi, Vajradhara, that bull among men, the preserver of this Litany of Names which has absolute truth, having well collected the collections of merit and knowledge, and having gathered to perfection the qualities of the Buddha, will most quickly and thoroughly awaken to utter complete perfect enlightenment. The highest teacher of Dharma to all beings, his Dharma the vast wholesale final nirvāṇa, he is empowered (adhisthitā) as Dharmarāja, his drum of the true Dharma sounding in the ten directions.

The arrangement of the mantra (mantravinyāsa).

Oṃ, O pure vajra whose proper nature is the nonexistence of all dharmas, a ā am āh—that is to say, employing the purity of Mañjuśrī, the gnostic body of all Tathāgatas, a āh, bear up, bear up the heart of all Tathāgatas—Oṃ Hūṃ Hriḥ. O blessed one, O Lord of Speech who is embodied gnostic, with great speech, O embryo of the gnostic of the dharmadhātu, being very pure and stainless like the spatial field of all dharmas—āh”.

Five verses as an epilogue.

163. Then the glorious Vajradhara, joyful and glad, with his hands folded in homage, bowed to the protector, the completely awakened, the blessed one, the Tathāgata.
164. And with many other kinds of Vajrapānī, all of them esoteric leaders, protectors, and kings of wrath, he loudly replied,
165. “We rejoice, O protector, it is good, it is fine, it is well said. Great benefit is done for us in causing us to obtain perfect enlightenment.
166. “And also for this unprotected world desiring the fruit of liberation, this purified path to well-being is proclaimed as the practice of Illusion’s Net.
167. “It is deep, lofty, and extensive, with great meaning, performing the aims of the world; indeed, this object of knowledge of the Buddhas has been taught by the perfect completely awakened”.

Proclaimed by the blessed one, the Tathāgata Śākyamuni in the Net of Samādhi chapter occurring in the mahāyogasara, the Āryamāyāgāla in sixteen thousand lines, this Litany of Names of the blessed one, the gnostic entity Mañjuśrī, possessing absolute validity is hereby complete.

Appendix

Mañjuśrimitra’s Upadeśa

First thinking, “I will obtain Buddhahood for the sake of all beings”, then through saying, “a ā i i u u e a o au an an āh”, rays of light, being the light of one’s own mind from the proper nature of emptiness and considered as the vowels (āh) and consonants (kāli), construct the basic manḍala. In the center of that manḍala, [the mantri] visualizes a lion throne on a manḍala of the sun. Then with the words, “sthitohirdhi pāramārtha ahaḥ buddhānam trianghamavartanī”, (v. 26) he visualizes [on the throne] Mahāvairocana “Samantamukha (kun tu zā). Visualizing in [Mahāvairocana’s] heart the Ādībuddha [Mañjuśrī], in the heart of the Ādībuddha [the mantri] contemplates the Wheel of Insight (prajñāakrā). While saying the mantras, “Oṃ Vajradityaḥ te namah. Oṃ Lokānāthaḥ dharmatāte te namah. Oṃ Śrīkamalaḥ te namah. Oṃ Śrīkamalaḥ te namah. Oṃ Śrīkamalaḥ te namah. Oṃ Śrīkamalaḥ te namah.” (v. 27) he visualizes the six spokes on the Wheel of Insight. Above that wheel [the mantri] contemplates the gnostic entity (pāramārtha [as the syllable] a on a moon. He imagines the light rays of the a entering himself [in the form of] the six gnostic (pāramārtha) manḍalas. He then recites the Litany of Names, beginning with the manḍala of Bodhicittavajra. So beginning with “And in this way the blessed one”, (v. 28) up to “he is highest in the practice of the Great Vehicle”, (v. 41) through the recitation of these fourteen verses, the visual words corresponding to the names recited (mātram dhan) arise from the gnostic entity, the syllable a. These then turn into the group of deities belonging to the manḍala of the blessed Bodhicittavajra. Having gone forth, they work for the sake of beings;
returning, they assemble again in the mandala. [The mantra] visualizes them taking their place surrounding Mahāvairocana.

Then beginning with “Being Mahāvairocana, he is Buddha”. (v. 42) up to “he is Vajrākūśa with a great noose”, (v. 66) through the recitation of these twenty-five verses, less a quarter, the one hundred and eighty-one syllables of the visual words corresponding to the names recited proceed forth from the gnostic entity a in the heart [of the Ādībuddha]. They turn into the deities belonging to the mandala of Vairocana, and having worked for the sake of beings, they return to become the immediate retinue of Mahāvairocana.

Again, beginning with “The great terror-bearing Vajrahrāirava”. (v. 66d) up to “the best of those possessed of sound”. (v. 76) through the recitation of these ten verses, plus a quarter, the syllables of the visual words corresponding to the names recited arise from the gnostic entity a in the heart [of the Ādībuddha]. They become transformed into the mandala of the Buddha Akṣobhya.”

Proceeding forth, they tame the noxious beings of the world; then [the mantra] visualizes them returning to occupy their position in the eastern portion of the great mandala.

Once again, beginning with “Being suchness, actual egolessness”, (v. 77) up to “having fire-tongues of gnosis and radiant light”, (v. 118) through the recitation of these forty-two verses, the two hundred thirty-five syllables of the visual words corresponding to the names recited arise from the gnostic entity a in the heart [of the Ādībuddha]. [The mantra] visualizes them proceeding forth, and, transformed into the mandala of the Buddha Amitābha, they work for the benefit of beings, finally returning to occupy their position in the western portion of the great mandala.

Then beginning with “As the accomplisher of the desired object, supreme”. (v. 119) up to “he is Ratnaketu, the great gem”. (v. 142) through the recitation of these twenty-four verses, the one hundred twenty-four syllables of the visual words corresponding to the names recited proceed forth from the gnostic entity a in the heart [of the Ādībuddha]. [The mantra] visualizes them transformed into the mandala of the Buddha Ratnasambhava, and having worked for the benefit of beings, they return to occupy their position in the southern portion of the great mandala.

Finally beginning with “To be realized by all Buddhas”, (v. 143) up to “Mahājñā is supreme among those possessed of glory”, (v. 157) through the recitation of these fifteen verses, the ninety-nine syllables of the visual words corresponding to the names recited proceed forth from the gnostic entity a in the heart [of the Ādībuddha]. [The mantra] visualizes them transformed into the mandala of the Buddha Amoghasiddhi, and, having accomplished the thought of beings, they return to assemble and occupy their position in the northern portion of the great mandala.

Thus based on these six mandalas, [the mantra] recites from “And in this way the blessed one”. (v. 28) up to “Mahājñā is supreme among those possessed of glory”. (v. 157) while thinking of praise and offering. Then directed generally to the whole great mandala, he praises it with the twenty praises (vv. 158-162). Following that praise, he prays for whatever object may be desired and then transfers this root of virtue for the supreme enlightenment [of all beings].

With the mantra “Om Svabhāva” and so forth, he stainlessly and perfectly contemplates that all dharmas, being naturally pure and without diffusion (niṣprapañca), are the proper nature of Mahājñā, such as the sky. Thereupon he may perform other ritual activity (kriyā) in this path of practice. In this manner, by virtue of the families (kula) being gathered in this assembly and in this Litany of Names, there are said to be two hundred and sixty-two verses. Of them one hundred and fifty belong to the section on benefits (anuṣāsā). Therefore, this is the Litany of Names of the Buddha including the section on benefits. This Specific Instruction (upadeśa) on the Litany of Names of Mahājñā written by the Ācārya Mahājñāsmitra is hereby complete.

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144 Doubtless Mahājñāsmitra had in mind his dGe ba’i rtsa ba bsin ba (Tö. 2556), the very short transfer of merit that he wrote to fit his system.

145 These other ritual activities might include a hom avātī (Tö. 2569) or bhāvanā (Tö. 2551) or ritual ablations (Tö. 2548) and so forth.

146 The temptation is to ascribe this set of numbers to the loose textual tradition and assert that they are a corruption of the more standard description found in VV 185.2.6, i.e., that the verses account for one hundred sixty-two šlokas while the anuṣāsā in totality is the equivalent of one hundred fifty verses. This is certainly the figure behind the ascription of three hundred šlokas to the NS (i.e. with anuṣāsā) in the Idan-kur catalogue no. 438, see M. Lalou, "Les Textes", p. 329. Compare also Bu ston’s total of three hundred twenty verses and two pādās in his large rGyud sde spyan rim glog in the Collected Works of Bu-ston, vol. 15 p. 347.1. The whole question of numbers, however, is confused, especially with respect to the anuṣāsā. By most accounts the anuṣāsā, together with the five upasamudra verses and the mantra dratvā, was considered a numerically rounded-off mass of material, constituting one hundred fifty verses. That this material was somehow thought to be generically different from the earlier verses of the NS by the tradition stemming from the time of Mahājñāsmitra, further supports our hypothesis that it arose as a unit apart from the earlier verses.
The Sanskrit text of the *Mañjuśrīnamāsattvaśāstra*

Paramārtha Nāmasaṅgitiḥ

Initially my intention was to merely translate the NS, utilizing one of the three critical editions mentioned above and giving in the notes the necessary variants from the other two to justify the reading of the translator. Very quickly, however, I saw that this would only be possible with Minaev’s edition as it has the only complete *ānumiṣṭāṇa*. Matters were complicated by the fact that Minaev’s text, being an Imperial Russian publication, is very scarce and neither Vira nor Mukherji had access to it. Moreover, I wished to utilize the various Tibetan translations and commentaries for the resolution of difficult or obscure passages. Eventually I was forced to the conclusion that the most advantageous course would be to provide a new edition of the NS through the collation of the three existing editions in comparison with the Tibetan versions and the commentators’ texts.

I have no doubt that the text provided here can be improved upon, particularly the *ānumiṣṭāṇa*. There are many mss. available in Cambridge and Tokyo which could be used for an improved edition, but the sources in India seem to have been exhausted with the two Indian editions. It is my intention to facilitate any future editions of the NS by listing all the variants given by the three editors and, where necessary, including readings from the Tibetan materials. I have exploited fully the Tibetan (bLo gros brtan pa) for variants only in the case of the *ānumiṣṭāṇa* due to the dearth of readings for that section of the NS. Elsewhere I have appealed to the Tibetan translations only where I felt that they provided the best readings. In this sense my methodology has been that outlined by Snellgrove in his edition of the *Hevajra Tantra*, and despite the objections of Tsuda this still appears to be fair and away the best procedure in dealing with Vajrayāna material.

For the general nature of the language, versification and so forth of Guhyamantrayāna texts, I would refer the reader to the previous observations of Snellgrove, Tsuda, and George. Suffice to say that the NS is no exception, and at times the meter, declensions, and *samhāra* are very irregular. Some of the most bizarre occurrences appear to be connected with the various transformations of the term *rāja* (ed. cf. vv. 25, 55, 63, and 164). Most of the *samhāra* readings have been taken from Minaev since there appears to have been some effort on the part of Vira and Mukherji to regularize the text. Moreover, minor differences in *samhāra* between the three editions have not been listed in the apparatus.

Abbreviations used in the apparatus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Mukherji’s ms. B which is A.S.B. no. 56, ibid p. 59.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>Ms. of VV in the possession of the St. Petersburg Imperial Library when utilized by Minaev, p. (xii); cf. Bendall, <em>Catalogue</em>, p. 203 and <em>JRAS</em> n.s. 8 (1876), p. 25.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minaev</td>
<td>Text of the NS as printed by Minaev.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukherji</td>
<td>Text of the NS as printed by Mukherji.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne</td>
<td>Vira’s Newari-Sanskrit printed edition, see Vira p. (10).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quad</td>
<td>Quadrilingual xylographic edition of Altan Khan, dated 1501 A.D. Vira no. c, see Vira p. (12) for remarks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vira</td>
<td>Text of the NS as printed by Vira, including the readings finally accepted by the editor and given in the <em>Variae Lectiones</em> pp. (13)-(16).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Minaev ms. Y, Imperial Library of St. Petersburg Univ. no. 25419, one of a bundle of works rather like P.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\text{namo mañjuśrīkumārabhūtāya} // \\
\text{atha vajradharā śrīmān dūrdāntadamaṁka paraṁ} // \\
\text{trilokavijayā viṁś guhyantar kuliśavaraḥ} // (1) \\
\text{vibuddhapuṇḍarikākṣaṁ} protphullakamaḷaṇanāḥ // \\
\text{pṛollālayaṁ vajравaram svākāraṇa mūhur mūhuḥ} // (2) \\
\text{bhṛktarāngapramukhaṁ} anantā vajrapāṇibhiḥ // \\
\text{dūrdāntadamaṁkaṁ vairā virāvībhiḥ} // (3) \\
\text{uḷḷālayadibhiḥ} svakāraṁ prasphuravadvraṅkoṭibhiḥ // \\
\text{prajñopāyamahākarunājagadārthakaraṁ paraṁ} // (4) \\
\text{ḥṛṣṭaṭaṣṭaṣayair} muditaṁ krodhaviṃghaḥprabhībhiḥ // \\
\text{buddhakṛtyakair ānāthaṁ śārdham prāṇatavṛghaḥ} // (5) \\
\]

Homage: M Om namah śrīmaṇjanāthāya. Minaev. A Om namo Mahājunāthāya. 

v. 1: M, A. Ne trailokya-. Y viloka-. 

v. 2: Quad vibuddhaḥ. Ne prphullaka-. A pṛollālayavajraṇa. Ne prollālayavajraṇa. 

v. 3: A -aramga-, -damako viro. Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) vibhasatsa-. Mukherji vibhāṭsa-. 

v. 4: A uḷḷālayabhiḥ. B prphullaka-. 

v. 5: A -tstāsayi, prananta-. 

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trilokam āprüfayantyā brāhmyā madhurayā girā / 
pratyabhūṣata guhyendram vajrapāṇīṁ mahābalāṁ // (19)
sādhu vajradharāḥ śrīmāṁ sādhu te vajrapāṇīye / 
yas tvam jagaddhisthātāya mahākāraṇayānityā // (20)
mahārthāṁ nāmasamgītīṁ pavitrāṁ ughanāśāṁ / 
maṅjūśrījñānakāṣyapa mattaṁ śrotum sumudāyaḥ // (21)
tat sādhu desāyāṁ esa ahaṁ te guhyakādhipah / 
śrūṇ tvam ekāgreamanāṁ tat sādhu bhagavann iti // (22)
pratvacaṇagāthāḥ sat //

atha śākyamunibhāgavāṁ savakalam mantrakulam mahat / 
mantravidyādharaṇam vyavalokaḥ kulatraṇam // (23)
lokalokottarakulam lokalokakulam mahat / 
maṁmadrukulam cārgyaṁ mahosūṣakulam mahat // (24)
śatukalavakalaganāthe dve //
imāṁ saṅmantrarañjanaṁ samyuktam advayodayaṁ / 
anupādaḥdarmanīṁ gāthāṁ bhāṣate sma girām pateḥ // (25)
a a ā i u ē a e i o a u am ah sbhito ṣhri / 
jañamūrtir aham buddho buddhānm bhūvavartīnaṁ // (26)
om vajratrskaduḥkhacchedaprajñājañamūrtaye / 
jañakāyāvagīsvarāraapacaṇāya te namah // (27)
māyājālābhīsambdhikramagāthās tirsah //
tadāyahā bhagavāṁ buddhaḥ sambuddho 'kārasambhavah / 
ākāraḥ sarvavānāygryo mahārthāṁ paramakārsah // (28)


v. 20: Vira, Ne, M., Minaev vajradhara. Vira (emendation) śrīman. Note the use of the nom. for voc. Implied and listed as v. 1. (māṇavaḥ), but not stated by Edgerton, BhSd p. 50 (8.27-28). Mukherji jagaddhisthāya.


v. 22: Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) bhagavān (deletes it). A bhagavānmi. Miss.


Division title: Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) -'kulaścakrā-. 

v. 25: Minaev -'rajasamāyra'-. Mukherji, Bi rājaṇah. Bi, Mukherji, Ne bhāṣante (our reading verified by MM 174.5.5).

v. 26: Minaev v. 1. (? from which ms.) hṛdayaṇahambuddho.

v. 27: Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) arapacanaya. A arapacanāyā. Although our reading is highly irregular, the commentators agree that the second part of the mantra in 27d is to be taken as one compound in the dative sing. just as the preceding part of the mantra. cf. MM 174.5.5, VM 239.1.2 and 238.4.4, and VV 190.4.6ff. the Tibetan trans of the mantra, Mukherji p. 18, and Maṅjūśrīmitra's Upadēṣa (Appendix). Doubtless the form was accepted due to its similarity to other BHS compounds of the same variety, eg. maḥārddhī.

Division title: A -'sambodhī cakrapaṇā-. 

v. 28: A sambuddhākālasam-, akālaḥ. Bi mohārthāḥ.
daśabhūmiśvaro nātha daśabhūmipratisthitāḥ /
daśajñānavisuddhāttam daśajñānavisuddhabhadhṛk // (44)
daśākāro daśārthārtho munindro daśabalo vihūḥ /
asēsavīrāthakaro daśākāravasi mahān // (45)
anaṅdir nisprapācīcitāṃ suḍhāttām tathāttātmakah /
bhūtvādī yathāvādī tathākāri ananyavāk // (46)
advaya ṃdvayāvādi ca bhūtakotijyavasthitāḥ /
naiṛtāmyasimhanirnādāḥ kutirīyamagabhikāraḥ // (47)
savatrango 'nogahagatis tathāgatamanojayaḥ /
jino jītarī vijaya cakravartī mahābālahal // (48)
ganamukhyo ganacāryo ganeteo ganapatīr vaśi /
maḥunabhāvo dhureyō 'nanyeneyo mahānayā // (49)
vāgīso vāpakārī vāgmi vācaspatīr anantagī /
satyavāk satyavādi ca cauṭhāsatyopadeśaikāḥ // (50)
avaiśhartiko hy anāgāmi khadgā prateykanāyakah /
naṇāniryanirnirṇāto maḥābhūtaikāraṇāḥ // (51)
' arhan kṣiṇārasavo bhiksūr vitarāgo jītenrīyāḥ /
keśamapṛāṣṭo 'bhayapṛāṣṭāḥ śīthbūto hy anāvīlāḥ // (52)
vityācaraṃsāpanam sugga lokavit parah /
nirnma nirahamkārāḥ satyadvayanyate sthitāḥ // (53)
samsāraparākṣotisthāḥ kṛtṛkṛtyaḥ sthale sthitāḥ /
kaivalyajñanaṁśtyūtāḥ prajñāśastro vidāraṇāḥ // (54)
saddharo dharmarād bhāsāṃ lokālokakaraṇaḥ parah /
dhammaśvaro dharmarājaś śreyomāgopadeśaikāḥ // (55)
siddhārthāḥ siddhasamkalpaḥ sarvasamkalpavarjātāḥ /
nirvikalpa 'ksayo dhūtur dharmaidhātuḥ paro 'vayāḥ // (56)
punyavān punyasamśābhāvo jñānam jñānākarāmaḥ mahat /
janāvān sadasajñānāṃ sambhāravasamsbhātāḥ // (57)

v. 51: Minae -niyesto (51c).
v. 52: A -āraṇo.
v. 53: A vityācaraṇa-. A. Ne -nayusthitāḥ.
v. 56: Bi, Quaḍ. Mukherji dharmaidhātuparo.
vajrabûnâyudhadharo vajrakhadgo nikrntanah /
viśavajradharo vajrî ekavajri ranamahâ / // (72)
vajraîvalkârakalâkso vajraîvâlâsîrottuhâ /
vajrâvseo mahâvesâh satâkso vajralocanah // (73)
vajraomânkuratanur vajrâmaîkavigrahâ /
vajraotnakârâmbho vajrasâraghanuccâvah // (74)
vajramâlîdharah srîmâm vajrábharanâbhusîtah /
hâhâtâhâso nirghosho vajrâhosañ sadakasarâ / (75)
âñûjghosho mahâhânasâ trilokayâkaravo mahân /
âkâsadâhutaparyanto ghosho ghâvatâtam varah // (76)
âdârâjânâganâthâ pâdonasârddhadasa //
tathatâbhiñâtanirâtmyam bhûtakotîr anâkaranah /
śûyatâvâdiârvabho gambhirâdagarîghanah // (77)
dharmaâshko mahâsabdo dharmagandhi mahurahan /
âpratiyâhitanîrâvâo dâsaidgharmadundubhîh // (78)
ârûpo rûpavân agryo nânârûpo manomayañ /
sarvârâvâbhasâsîr asasâpratîbimbadhâr // (79)
aprahrîsyo mahâsikhyas trairâhutkamahesvâravo /
smucchritâyamârgastho dharmaketu mahodayâh // (80)
trilokayakakumârâñgâh ahtiro vrdhâh prâjapatiñ /
vâtrîmâllakkasânadharah kântas trilokayasundarâ // (81)
lakajâñagnunâcârya lokâcâryo višâradhâ /
nâthas trâtâ trilokâpahî sâranâm tâyî niruttarañ // (82)
gaganâbhogasambhogah sarvâhajânasâgârah /
avidyândakośasambhettâ bhavanaîmaradârânañ // (83)
sâmitâsasamskleâsâm sâmârânaparâgah /
âjânâbhisekamuktañ sarvâsambuddhabhûsañah // (84)
triduhkhaduhkhâsamanas tryañto 'nantas trimuktigâh /
sarvâvâranîmîrûkta âkâsasmatântmgatañ // (85)

v. 58: Minaev śâsvato A viśvaro. Bi (Mukhejri alone reporting) paramâdyañ-.

v. 59: Y, Quad muktah.

v. 60: Bi buddhaputraparo. Minaev yonir. Bi (Mukhejri alone reporting) bhavantakrâ.

v. 61: Y sadyâyâto. Mukhejri -odbhavasañ-.

v. 62: A jhânâjotîlaka (for jhânâkko). 

v. 63: Vira. Mukhejri mantrarañjô. Minaev mahâsîmâsâsîdhwî-.

v. 64: A -rocanah (for -locanañ). Ne viśvarûpo.

v. 65: Bi mantramahâ- Y ratnatrayâdhârañ.

v. 66: Minaev. A place 66d before the division title.

Division title: Minaev. A omit pâdonan-.

v. 67: Ne hâlahalâ. Quad hâlahala-.


v. 69: Quud acalo hy ekajatâtopo.

v. 70: Bi, Mukhejri hîhikârâbhâyânânakah. Minaev attâhâsyo.
anādinidhano buddha ā dibuddho niranyayah /
jhānakacaksur amalo jhānamūrtis tathāgatah // (100)
vāgīśvaro mahāvāνa vādirād vādipumgavah /
vadātām varo varīṣho vādisimho 'parājitah // (101)
samantadarśī prāmodyas tejomāli sudarṣanah /
śrīvatasah suprabhō dipīr bhā hāśurakaradityutih // (102)
mahābhrāyaṇaḥ śrīṣthah śalyahārtah nīruttarah /
aśeṣaḥ bhāṣaṣyataḥ ca śvāyādhyāhārīpiḥ // (103)
trailokyatilakahāṃ kātāḥ śrīmāṃ naksatramandalāḥ /
daśadīgyomaparyanto dharmadhvajamahocchrayah // (104)
jagacchātraśāvanāpi maitrikarunāmāndalāḥ /
pudmanarttāva 'bh śrīmāṃ ratnacchatto mahāviṁbhūḥ // (105)
sarvabuddhamahārāja sarvakamahāhārāvadhrk /
sarvabuddhamahāhāyogah sarvadhākaśasānāḥ // (106)
vajratarṇabhrīṣikārīḥ sarvaratnādhteśvarah //
sarvalokeśvarapatiḥ sarvajravardhārāhīpaḥ // (107)
sarvakarunāmāndalāḥ sarvakarunāmāndalāḥ /
sarvakarunāmāndalāḥ sarvakarunāmāndalāḥ // (108)
vajrasūryo mahālokā vajreṇuviṃalaprabhāb /
virāgīdihamārāgo vīśvavarmojalaprabhāb // (109)
sambuddhavajraparyanko buddhasamgītīharmadhrk /
buddhahappadbhavah śrīmāṃ sarvajñānānakosadhrk // (110)
vīśvāmyādaro rājā buddhavasīdharah mahān /
vajrakṣao mahākāndagho viśuddhaḥ puramākṣaraḥ // (111)
duḥkhacchedamahāyāno vajradharmamahāyuddhaḥ /
jinajīg vajragambhīryo vajrabuddhir yathārthavat // (112)
sarvāparāmātāpūri sarvabhūmivibhūṣanah /
viśuddhārmanairātmyam samayānānenduḥprabhaḥ // (113)

v. 100: Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) nirandhayaḥ.

v. 101: A vādirājāvādi-, vārīṣṭhah (for vārīṣṭho).

v. 102: Vira, Mukherji pramodyas. Maṇe, A bhābhasvāra-


v. 105: Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) -karunā-. Vira, B-karuna-


v. 107: Vira -ādiḥpāsvarah (misprint).


v. 109: Maṇe -vār-al, Bih. kha dog sna iṣhogs 'bar ba’ i od.

v. 110: Mukherji, Vira, M -jhānakotadhrk.

v. 112: Maṇe, Vira, Bi -mahāyāna-, division of pādas confirmed by MM, VM, SV but VV reads with Bi et al. A, B -gambhīraya-. Bi (Mukherji alone reporting) gambhīryo.

v. 113: Vira (emodation) -nairātmyah. Mukherji, Bi, Quad, Ne -nairātmyasanyag-. Mukherji -jhānenuh- (misprint).
bodhyamgakusumāmodas tatthāgatagunodahīhī
ştāngamārganayavīt samyak-sambuddhamārgavī // (128)
sarvasattvamahāśaṅgō niḥsangō gaganopamāhī
sarvasattvamanοjāhī sarvasattvamanovāhī // (129)
sarvasattvendriyārthiḥjāhī sarvasattvamahārāhī
pañcaskandhārthātattvavajāhī pañcaskandhaviśuddhadhīh // (130)
sarvangyānakotijāhī sarvangyānakāvāhī
ganctaśalmānāgasthā sarvangyānikāsākāh // (131)
dvāḍaśāṅgabhaṅgotāhī dvāḍaśāṅkāsāuddhadhīh
cauḥasīvyākārō astaṭjānāvabhadhāh // (132)
dvāḍaśāṅkāsāttyarthāh śoḍaśāṅkāśatattvatvī
vinimāyākāśamadhīhi vibuddhāh sarvīt parah // (133)
ameyabuddhānirmanākāyakotivibhāvākāh
sarvasanābhīsamayāh sarvacchakānārītavī // (134)
nānāyānanayopāyajagadarthivibhāvākāh
yānātiratyanārītā ekāyānaphal sthitāh // (135)
klesadhatuvibhātāmī karmadhautikṣayamkāhāh
oghodhānīsamuttiṁyo yogakāṁtrināṅstah // (136)
klesopaklesaśubrahmāvibhavānā<bramhājagadarthakṛt // (137)
sarvasanājāpraṇīthārtho vijñānārtho nirodhaḥ
sarvasattvamanovījaṁ sarvasattvamanogāthā // (138)
sarvasattvamanaṁsthas taccittasamātānāhā<bravacchkaṇān residency // (139)
siddhānto vibhrāmāpetāh sarvabhāntivavijānāhā
niḥsandigdhamahīs thrityarthāh sarvītāh thrityāṅnāmākh // (140)
paṅcaskandhārthās tiskālāh sarvaksanaviḥbhāvākāh<brakṣaṇābhisambuddhāh sarvabuddhabhavāḥbhavāḥ // (141)
anangakāyāh kīyāgryāh kāyakotiṣṭhībhyāh
aśeṣarūpaśamsārīsī ratnagurū mahāmānī // (142)

v. 116: A, B, Minae - dharmavīśvārahī.
v. 117: Muka - vesānaṇājī. - B dvāśecatavī. - B (Muka) alone reporting - agrāhī.

Division title: Vira, Muka - vesānaṇājī. - B dvāśecatavī. - B (Muka) alone reporting - agrāhī.


samataññāṇagāthās caturvimśāti //
sarvasambuddhahoddhavyo buddhahoddrhi anuttarahe / anakṣuro mantrayonir mahāmantrakulatrayah // (143)
sarvanantarāhjanahe mahābinda anakṣarahe / pucčikṣuro mahāsūnyo hindusūnyah sātāksarahe // (144)
sarvakāro nirākārā śoḍaśārdhādhibindudræ / akalahe kalanāṭītae caturthadhyānākatokitā // (145)
sarvadhānakañcabhjīhae samādhihukulagotravit / samādhikāyoe kāyāgoey sarvasambhokāyārā // (146)
nirmānakāyo kāyāgoey buddhanirmānaveṃsādhræ / dāsaḍigīvaviṃnāmo yathāvajadadartakæ // (147)
dēvātidevo devendrae sūrendro dāṇavādhipahe / amarendrahe suraguruhe pramathath pramatheśvaræ // (148)
uttirṇāhanavāntāra ekehe śāstā jagadguruhe / prakhyāto dasāḍiglokaḍharmadānapatir mahē // (149)
maitrīsamāhasamnaddhe karunāvarmayavirmithe / prajñākāhagadhāmurbāāhe kleṣājñānaṃaranāmahæ // (150)
mārārī mārajīd vīrae caturmārābhīyāntakæ / sarvamāraṃacumētae sambuddhe lokeṃayahe // (151)
vandhyā puṣyo bhāvāyās ca mānānyas ca nityāyeh / arcāīyatamhe mānyo namsaheṣh paramo guruhe // (152)
trailokyaikakramagatir vyomaparyantavikramah / trailiviḥ śrotiṣyaḥ pūṭah śadabhiṣheḥ śadanaṃsṛthiḥ // (153)

v. 143: Y -bodhyagryo. Quad -bodhyagryo.
v. 144: Mīnaeva, Mukherjī, Vira, DD Saḍakṣara. A, Quad are the basis for our reading, verified by the Tib. of Rin chen bza'i po, the sañ dar, MM, VM, and SV. yi ge brgya.
v. 147: Mīnaeva, Mukherjī, Vira nirmānakāyačīga. Tib. sprul pa'i sku ste sku yi meho. Reading verified by MM, VM, VM, SV. cf. v. 142a.

v. 153: Mīnaeva vyomāparayanta-. which agrees with all Tib. mkha' ltar mtha' med and which is supported by DD and VM. MM and SV, though, verify our reading. cf. v. 105c.

bodhisatutto mahāsattvo lokātito mahārddhiḥka / praṇāhāpraṃitānīṣheḥ praṇāhatattvatvam agaṭhe // (154)
ātmavīh parvitaḥ sarvāo sarvīyo hag agrapudgalahe / sarvopamām atikṛanto jheeṣyō jhāṇadhipheḥ parahe // (155)
dharmadānaptiḥ śreṣṭhaḥ caturmudrārthadeśakah / paryupāśayatamo jagatīṃ nīrānratrayāyānim // (156)
paramārthatvīśuddhahṛis śailokyasubhaghe mahān / sarvasamākarahe śrimiṃ maṇjuṣriḥ śrimatāṃ varhe // (157)
kṛtyānuṣṭhaṇānaṃgāthāhe paṇcadaśe //
namas te varāda vajrāgya bhūtakoti mamo 'stu te / namas te śūnyatāgarbhē buddhabodhī mamo 'stu te // (158)
buddharāga namas te 'stu buddhakhāma namo namah / buddhapriṭi namas tuḥbyhe buddhamoda namo namah // (159)
buddhamsita namas tuḥbyhe buddhāhāsa namo namah / buddhāvāca namas te 'stu buddhabhāva namo namah // (160)
abhaṇḍobhava namas te 'stu namas te buddhasambhava / gaganobhava namas tuḥbyhe namas te jhāṇasambhava // (161)
māyājale namas tuḥbyhe namas te buddhānātaka / namas te sarva tuḥbyhe jhāṇakāya namo 'stu te // (162)
itī paṇcataṭhāgaṭaṇṇaṃstutigāthāhe paṇcæ //
iyam asau vajraṇāpe vajrādhara bhagavato jhāṇātmṛteḥ 1 sarvatathāgaṭaṇṇaṃstutigāthā kāyasu maṇjuṣri jhāṇasaṭṭhasvayasyevapiśarpūṣāt dhānamāṃgūthi 2 tvāṇuttaraprittisādhamahahadbhīsamajjanārtham 2 kāyavāmananamgoṇyaparipūṣāt dhūtayā 3 apariṇāparipūṣāt dhāmahadbhūmiṇipāramitāpūṣyājñānamahadbhūmapariṇāparipūṣāt dhūtayā 4 anadhīgatāntuttartārthasyādhaṃgāmaṇā / apraptasya prāptayā / yāvat sarvatathāgaṭasaddharmanetrisamādharanārtham 5 ca mayā desīta samprakāśita ca viśṛṛtae 6 viśhajōṭitaṇṇikṛta adhiṣṭhitā ceyam 7 mayāvajraṇāpe vajrādhara tava samtāne samvānanadhatūtādhiṣṭhānene eṭthe //

v. 154: Vira mahārddhikāhe.
v. 155: Bi sārīyo. Mukherjī agrapudgalahe (misprint).
Division title: Bi (Vira alone reporting) kṛtyanue.-
v. 158: Quad. Mīnaeva vajraḥra.-
v. 159: Ne. Mīnaeva buddhakāya for -kāma.-
v. 161: Y. A abhaṇḍev.- Ne namas tuḥbyhe (161a).
First cakra:
1 Mukherjī jhāṇamūrtteh.
2 Mukherjī -pramodhe (for -prasādae). P -mahauvigna. (for -mahadhūlae).
3 A -guhyadharaparīe.
4 Mīnaeva -parimita (misprint?).  P omits -pariṇāṣudhyai.
5 Mukherjī -naye (for -netrei).
6 P viśṛṛte.
7 Mukherjī iyam.
prathamācakrasye yam anusamsā tatpadāny ekādasa //

punar aparām vajrapāne vajradhara iyam nāmasamgiti suvisuddhaśāra
duttisvarajñānākahāyāvānanamohuhbhyatāt 2 / sarvatathāgatānām buddha
dhīḥ / samyaksambuddhānām abhirasmahay / sarvatathāgatānām anuttāraah 1 /
dharmadhātugati sarvasugatānām 4 / sarvamārabalaparajayo jñānānām / dasā
dhulabātitā 5 sarvadassūlānām / sarvajñata śarvajñaya jñānānām 6 / āgaham sarvabuddhahāraṇānām 5 / samudāgamaah 8 sarvabuddhānām / vimalasparisuddhpunjayānānāsamsthāraprābhīrī 9 sarvamahābhodhitvānām 10 / prasūti śī sarvāśrāvakapratyekabuddhaḥ 11 / kṣetram sarvadevamunyasampattee 12 /
pratīṣṭha mahāyānasya / sambhavo bodhissattvacaryayāḥ / niṣṭhā śamayagirya
mārgasya / nikāsa 13 vinuktīnām 14 / utpattir nīryānāmārgasya 15 / ānicchā
tathāgatavāṁsāya / pravṛddhir mahābodhissattvavakulaṅgrotasaya 16 / nirghaśa
sarvaparapravāṇām 17 / vidvahasamān sarvavitthīkānām / pārājaya ca tathāmārū
cābalumācūnenānām 17 / samṛtadānām sarvāvāntvānām / āryaṁgaraprapīkāh sarvani
dīnānām / saṁdhis ca tathābhotamaṁharavīharānām 17 / dhīnām ekāgra
ctitānām / yogah kāyāvāmano bhūhiyānām / visumyogah sarvasamo
janānām / prathānām sarvakleśopakleśānām / upasāmam 19 sarvāravānanānām
/ vimukti sarvabandhanānām / moksā śarvopadhanānām 20 / śānti śarvacitto
pravāhānām / ākaṇa śarvasampttīnām / parāhīnā śarvapattīnām 21 /

Second cakrā:

1. Mukherji omits bud. 1
3. A. Minaeva anuttaradharma. Tāb. bhā na med pa'o. For anuttara as a masc. noun vide BHSD p. 27.
4. A. Minaeva omits sarva. Tāb. bde bar gṣeg pa thams cad.
5. Mukherji emends to dasabahubhita from the Tāb. stobs bceu stobs su gur pa'o.
7. Tāb. omits buddha- chos thams cad, but VV (222.2.5) includes it, sanis rgyas kyi chos.
8. Mukherji emends to samavagama due to misunderstanding the Tāb. yān dag par kun chub pa. vide BHSD p. 572.
10. Tāb. reads sarvabhodhisattvamahāsattvānām, byaḥ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po thams cad kyi, but VV (222.2.7) verifies our reading.
11. P.-bhuddhasampatteh.
13. Mukherji parikṣā. Tāb. brtug pa, but VV (222.3.5) describes a touchstone.
15. P. omits.
17. Minaeva -senāyah, but Tāb. sde rams kyi.
18. Minaeva caturbhrāmahvāhānām.
20. A sarvapadānām. Not understanding the distorted ms. Mukherji's conjecture was sarvāvāisesānām based on the Tāb.
The Litany of Names of Mañjuśrī

1. so with Tib. and VV skye bar mi 'gyur, but Minae, P upapadye.
2. After this Minae, P add lokānām.
3. K omits manaipa.-
5. Tib. reads as agrapanidhiñānasam., bhog tu 'gyur pa'i sman lam dan ye 'shes dan yan dag par... doubleless an interpolation from the same phrase infra.
6. In this Minae adds from P anyaś caśāmāyānair evamprakāra guṇanāna samanvātō bhavāyasi. Does not occur in K, Tib. or VV and is undoubtedly an interpolation from the beginning of the sixth cakra.
7. P prakṛtiñānāhī (Minae's apparatus unclear). Tib. and VV read with Minae which we follow.
8. So K, Minae from P samanvāyāsta.
9. Minae mahāhravāyirnyas, but Tib. and VV (225.2.8) don che ba dan sand pa med par 'gyur /.
10. P sampanno. Tib. and VV (225.3.1) read as 'cāryarūnasammatō bhavāyasi, slob dpon dan ba ma brsuk bar bya bar 'gyur ro /.
11. P Tib. omits 'abhiñāha- but VV retains.
12. VV (225.3.2) omits prabhāṣā.
13. Minae āgacchanī, but Tib. and VV (225.3.2) understand 'śāstrī in accusative.
15. Minae sarvasampannas Mārṣāyasampannas. Tib. and VV (225.3.3) legs par bshen par rdzogs pa. vase Māhāvyutpatti, 1093, and BHS p. 143.
16. Omitted by K.
17. Minae -niyama-, but Tib. and VV (225.3.6) nes pa. vase Māhāvyutpatti, 6501, BHS p. 298.
pañca-maṇḍakrasyaṁ anuṣaṁsā tatpadāny ekapāṇeṣa "//

evam vajrapāṇe vajraḍhara aprameyagunaṁsaṁvanvātō "sau' 1 mantramukha-
caryācāri2 bhavisyati / anyais ca prameyair evamprakārāir evamjñātīyaṁ 1 gu-
naṅgāṁśi saṁvanvātō bhavisyati / acidd eva vajrapāṇe vajraḍhara para-
mārthaṁ anuṣaṁsānām sāmāhām hitā ca dīhīyāṁ purusārthaṁ prabhā-
hrū ṣeṣāṁ prataraṁ bhudhagūṇāṁ saṁuddānīyāntarām samyaksambodhīm 5
abhisambhōtaye / analpākalyānapaniṁvanaṁdharhāṁ sarvasattvāṁ anuttara-
radharmadesako "dīhīyāṁ dasadīkasuddharudambudhī dharmarāja iti /

saṁścārakrasyaṁsaṁsaṁvat padāny aprameyāṁī "//

om sarvadharmaṁbhāvasahāvāvāviv śuddhaṁvajra 1 a ā 2 am ah / prakṛti-pariśuddhaṁ
sarvadharmā yaṁ uta sarvataṁtathā gataṁ nākāyaśaṁjñāṇaṁ pariśuddhīṁ 3 upādā-
yāti 4 a ah 5 sarvataṁtathā gataṁ sūraḥ / hara hara / om hūṁ hūṁ bhagavan 6
jñānānūrūtī vāvīvaraśa 7 mahāvāca 8 sarvadharmaṁ ganaṁmalasupariśuddhā-
mandhātūḥ nānagnaṁbha 9 aḥ /

mantravyāśaṁ 10 //

atha vajraḍharaḥ śrīmāṁ hṛṣṭatūṣṭah krtaṁjalaḥ /
praṇamya nāthaṁ saṁbuddhaṁ bhagavantāṁ tathāgataṁ // (163)
anvaiśa ca bahuviḍhī vāṁ gurupravāpinibhaḥ /
sa śarīraṁ krodhārājānaṁ pravāco cair idam vacaḥ // (164)

21 K (= VV) omits this division title and at the end of the sixth cakra refers to the
combined fifth and sixth cakras as the fifth cakra.
Sixth cakra:
1 P omits.
2 P and Tib. omit but reading verified by K and VV.
3 Minaev -paramārthaṁāma-. Tib. don dam pa'i mtshan... Minaev -dhārakah, but P
reads in samāsa as does Tib. yañ dag par 'dzin pa'i skyes bu gai zag.
4 K susambhaga-.
5 Minaev samyakasam-. (misprint).
6 Minaev -nishāna-. (misprint).
7 Vide fifth cakra note 19 supra.

Mantravyāśa:
1. Vira, Mukherji -vajra.
2. Tib. (b.l.o gros btaa pa) aḥ.
4. B sarvapraṇamātātāhāta-, Vira -mahājñānānapariśuddhi lām. Tib. mahājñānā-
napariṣuddhi-.
5. M upādāyati.
7. Minaev, Tib., B -hrdayā.
8. Bi, Mukherji, Tib. bhagavān.
11. Tib. sarvadharmā-.


anumodāmahe nātha sādhu sādhu subhāṣitaṁ /
kṛto 'mākaṁ mahān arthaṁ samyak-sambhodhiprāpaṁ // (165)

jagataḥ ca pāṇi anāthaṁ vaṁso pahākaṁkṣaṁ /
śreyomārgo visuddho 'yam māyājālayoditaṁ // (166)

gambhirāravā-pulāvo mahārhaḥ jagadarthakṛt /

buddhiṁ vimānaṁ saṁsārād dharmadānaṁ yādharāja iti /

ity upasamhāragāthāḥ paṁca //

āryamāyaṁ jātiḥ padaśaṅsaṁhārikan mahāyogatantṛantārhatpaṁsādhipalapatālād
bhagavattathāgataśākyamuniṁbhāṣitaḥ bhagavato mahājñānānasattvasya para-
mārthaṁ nāmasaṁgītiḥ pariṣamāpta //

v. 165: Ne subhāṣitaḥ.

v. 166: Mukherji, Bi cāṣyānāthasya.

-vipurū. Minaev, Ne -buddhabhāṣitaḥ.

Division title: Y omits.

Colophon: Minaev -māyājāla-. B -jālalippatalād. Mukherji bhagavān (for bhagavat-).
Ne, B bhagavān (for bhagavat-). Ne -śūlaśyamunīṁ bhāṣitaḥ. B -śūlaśyamunīṁ.
B adhavadhipārtha. Following the colophon Minaev gives the mantras (vV. 26-27) once
more and then another prose section which is but an extracted summary of the six cakras
of the anuṣamsā and is entitled anuṣamsāsūtthuḥ. This section was apparently developed
in a ms. tradition which omitted the longer discussion of benefits. It is found at the
end of Minaev ms. Y and Matsunami's Catalogue, ms. no. 212.
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