

THE NAMES OF WISDOM.
A CRITICAL EDITION AND ANNOTATED
TRANSLATION
OF CHAPTERS 1–5 OF VILĀSAVAJRA’S COMMENTARY ON THE
NĀMASAṂGĪTĪ,
WITH INTRODUCTION AND TEXTUAL NOTES.

Thesis submitted
for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Faculty of Oriental Studies
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Michaelmas 1994





Figure of Nāmasaṃgīti (Svayambhunath, Kathmandu)

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Abstract

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The Names of Wisdom. A Critical
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mentary on the *Nāmasaṃgīti*, with
Introduction and Textual Notes.

D. Phil. Degree
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The *Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī* (‘An Explanation of the Meaning of the Name-mantras’) is an early, and major, commentary on the *Nāmasaṃgīti* (‘The Chanting of Names’). Written by the eighth century Indian *ācārya* Vilāsavajra, it survives in the original Sanskrit and in Tibetan translation.

The *Nāmasaṃgīti* enumerates the ‘Names’ of Mañjuśrī, the Mahāyāna figure embodying wisdom, and it exerted a strong influence on liturgy, ritual and meditation in the later phase of Buddhism in India (750–1200 CE). Vilāsavajra’s commentary is written from a Yogācāra perspective and interprets the ‘Names’ within an elaborate ritual framework which consists in a *maṇḍala* that has Mañjuśrī as its central deity.

The central part of the thesis comprises a critical edition and annotated translation of the Sanskrit text of the first five chapters of Vilāsavajra’s commentary, approximately a quarter of the whole. The critical edition is based on eight Nepalese manuscripts for which a *stemma codicum* is established. Two blockprint editions of the Tibetan translation are consulted at cruxes in the Sanskrit. Their readings, treated as those of any other witness, are incorporated into the apparatus as appropriate. The edition is followed by textual notes.

Introductory material is divided into two parts. Matters relating to the Sanskrit and Tibetan materials are discussed in a section placed before the edition. These include a description of the manuscripts, discussion of the method of editing, establishment of the *stemma codicum* and an assessment of the Tibetan translation.

An introduction to the contents precedes the translation and is primarily concerned with an outline of the ritual structure of the commentary, giving particular attention to chapters 1–5. Evidence concerning the life and date of Vilāsavajra is considered, suggesting he should be placed in the latter part of the eighth century. Assessing the work’s significance for the study of Buddhism, I suggest that it is of historical importance in that it throws light on the process by which Tantric methods were being related to soteriology in this period; and that it contains material, especially in the *sādhana* of chapter 4, that contributes to an understanding of the development of Tantric forms of Buddhist meditation. The work is also the only known instance of a commentary of a Yogatantra type that survives in Sanskrit.

Acknowledgements

A number of people and institutions have aided and encouraged the present work:

In Oxford, Drs Paul Harrison and Jim Benson shed light respectively on problems of Tibetan and of Sanskrit grammar; Dr David Gellner searched the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project catalogue in Berlin for manuscript titles on my behalf and also greatly assisted my researches in Nepal; Mr Haru Isaacson and Mr K. Tanaka helped me with Japanese material; Dr Michael Aris improved my Tibetan; Dr Gillian Evison, Librarian of the Indian Institute, and Adrian Hale, Librarian of Wolfson College, gave more than generously of their time when faced with bibliographical queries. To all of these, my thanks.

Mr B. D. Dangol, Mr B. R. Citrarkar and Dharmaratna Bajrācārya smoothed my path through the National Archives in Kathmandu. Others in Nepal to whom I am grateful include Bijay Shakya of Nag Bahal, Dibyabajra Bajrācārya and Min Bahadur Shakya. Chinia Tamrakar, of the Department of Archaeology at the Ministry of Education and Culture, generously and unexpectedly sent me the photograph of the Malla period figure of Nāmasaṃgiti from the museum at Swayambhunath which I have used for the frontispiece.

Drs Paul Williams and Steven Collins taught me as an undergraduate at the University of Bristol and first encouraged me to pursue Buddhological research. I remain very grateful both to them and to Richard Gombrich, Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, who showed a continual interest in and encouragement of my work.

I am indebted to my partner, Linda Moody, for her kindness and forbearance as well as for her pertinent observations on my prose style.

Above all I must thank my supervisor, Professor Alexis Sanderson, for the constant and detailed interest he took in my research and for the generosity with which he gave his time throughout its course. The extent to which I have benefited from his scholarship and understanding is inestimable.

Financial support from the British Academy and the Boden Fund, Oxford, made this research possible. A grant from the Boden Fund also enabled me to undertake a research visit to Nepal from November 1991 to January 1992.

ABBREVIATIONS

Texts

AA	<i>Aṣṭādhyāyī</i> of Pāṇini. Ed. and tr. S. C. Vasu, 1891. Reprinted MBS, 1962.
AAĀ	<i>Abhisamayālaṃkāṛāloka</i> of Haribhadra. Ed. P. L. Vaidya in <i>Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā</i> , with Haribhadra's commentary called <i>Āloka</i> . BST No. 4, 1960.
AK	<i>Abhidharmakośa</i> of Vasubandhu. Ed. Swāmi Dwārikādās Śāstri. See AKBh.
AKBh	<i>Abhidharmakośabhāṣya</i> of Vasubandhu. Ed. Swāmi Dwārikādās Śāstri, Bauddha Bharati Series 5–7, 9, Varanasi, 1987. (Includes the <i>Abhidharmakośavyākhyā Sphuṭārtha</i> of Yaśomitra.)
AKBh.Pou.	<i>L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu, traduit et annoté</i> . Louis de La Vallée Poussin's French translation of the AKBh. Six volumes. Paris-Louvain, 1923-31. Reprinted as MCB, Vol. 16 (1971).
AKBh.Pru.	<i>Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam</i> by Louis de La Vallée Poussin. Leo M. Pruden's English translation of AKBh.Pou. Four volumes. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1988.
AKBhVyā	<i>Abhidharmakośabhāṣyavyākhyā</i> of Yaśomitra. Ed. Swāmi Dwārikādās Śāstri. Included in AKBh.
AbhayaP	<i>Abhayapaddhati</i> of Abhayākaragupta. A commentary on the <i>Buddhakaṭāvatāna</i> (Tōh. 1654). Unedited MS, National Archives, Kathmandu MS No. 5–10 (NGMPP A 48/2).
AdVaSam	<i>Advayavajrasaṃgraha</i> of Advayavajra. Ed. Haraprasad Shastri, Baroda, 1927. GOS 40.
ASPP	<i>Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā</i> . Ed. P. L. Vaidya, BST No. 4, 1960.
KriySam	<i>Kriyāsamuccaya</i> of Jagaddarpaṇācārya. Ed. Lokesh Chandra. A photographically reproduced manuscript. Śatapiṭaka Series No. 237. Delhi, 1977.
GuSamā	<i>Guhyasamājatantra</i> . Ed. Yūkei Matsunaga. Osaka, 1978.
GūḍhPa	<i>Āryanāmasaṃgītiṭīkā Gūḍhapadā</i> . MS in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society, London. Hodgson Collection, No. 34 (Cowell & Egging, 25–26).
CSViv	<i>Cakrasaṃvaravivṛti</i> of Bhavabhaṭṭa. A commentary on the <i>Cakrasaṃvaratantra</i> (<i>Laghusaṃvara</i>). Unedited MS. IASWR microfilm No. MBB-1971-33.
rNyingGB	<i>rNying ma rgyud'bum</i> . Ed. Jamyang Khyentse Rimpoche, Thimphu, 1973.
Trīṃś	<i>Trīṃśikā</i> of Vasubandhu.
DBS	<i>Daśabhūmikasūtra</i> . Ed. P. L. Vaidya, BST No.7, 1967.
DhP	<i>Dhātupāṭhaḥ</i> . See Otto Böhtlingk, <i>Pāṇini's Grammatik</i> . Part II, pp. 61–64. Leipzig, 1887.

DhSaṃ	<i>Dharmasaṃgraha</i> . Ed. Max Müller, Oxford, 1885. Reprinted in MSūSaṃ 329–339.
NiṣpYĀ	<i>Niṣpannayogāvalī</i> of Abhayākaragupta. Ed. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, Baroda, 1949. GOS 109.
NMAA	<i>Āryanāmasaṃgītītikā Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī</i> of Vilāsavajra.
NS	<i>Mañjuśrījñānasattvasya Paramārthā Nāmasaṃgīti</i> . Ed. R. M. Davidson, MCB No. 20, Vol. 1, pp. 1–69, 1981.
PañcKr	<i>Pañcakrama</i> of Nāgārjuna. Ed. Louis de La Vallée Poussin, Gand, 1896.
PañcKrṬi	<i>Pañcakramatippanī</i> of Parahitarakṣita. Ed. with PañcKr.
PPA	<i>Prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārtha</i> of Dignāga. Ed. G. Tucci, <i>JRAS</i> 1947, p. 534ff. Reprinted with ASPP in BST No. 4, 1960 (ed. P. L. Vaidya).
BuBhūŚ	<i>Buddhabhūmiśāstra</i> .
BoBh	<i>Bodhisattvabhūmi</i> . Ed. Unrai Wogihara, Tokyo, 1930–36.
BCA	<i>Bodhicaryāvatāra</i> of Śāntideva. Ed. Louis de La Vallée Poussin. See BCAP
BCAP	<i>Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā</i> of Prajñākaramati. Ed. Louis de La Vallée Poussin, Calcutta, 1904–14.
<i>Blue Annals</i>	See Roerich, Bibliography.
MadhyŚ	<i>Madhyamakaśāstra</i> . Ed. P. L. Vaidya, Darbhanga, 1960 (BST No.10). This contains Candrakīrti's commentary on Nāgārjuna's <i>Mūlamadhyamakakārika</i> (MMK), the <i>Prasannapadā</i> , and also fragments of his <i>Ratnāvalī</i> .
MAVibh	<i>Madhyāntavibhāga</i> of Maitreya.
MAVibhBh	<i>Madhyāntavibhāgabhāṣya</i> of Vasubandhu. Ed. G. M. Nagao, Tokyo, 1964.
MMK	<i>Mūlamadhyamakakārika</i> of Nāgārjuna. Ed. P. L. Vaidya (in MadhyŚ), BST No.10, 1960.
MV	<i>Mahāvastu</i> . Ed. E. Senart, Paris, 1882–97.
MVy	<i>Mahāvvyutpatti</i> . Ed. Ryōzaburō Sakaki, Kyoto, 1916.
MSaṃ	<i>Mahāyānasamgraha</i> of Asaṅga. Tr. Etienne Lamotte, Louvain, 1938 (contains Tibetan and Chinese texts). (Reprinted 1973.)
MSūSaṃ	<i>Mahāyānasūtrasamgraha</i> . Part 1. Ed. P. L. Vaidya, Darbhanga, BST No. 17, 1961.
YRM	<i>Yogaratanmālā</i> of Kāṇha. Ed. D. Snellgrove in HVT II, 103ff.
VajĀv	<i>Vajrāvalī</i> of Abhayākaragupta. Ed. Lokesh Chandra. A photographically reproduced manuscript. Śatapīṭaka Series No. 239. Delhi, 1977.
VijñMāSi	<i>Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi</i> of Xuanzang. Tr. Louis de La Vallée Poussin, Paris, 1928–9.
Sāmā	<i>Sāadhanamālā</i> . Ed. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, Baroda, 1925 and 1928. GOS 26, 41.
SekUdṬi	<i>Sekoddeśatīkā</i> of Nāropa. Ed. Mario E. Carelli, Baroda, 1941. GOS 90.
STTS	<i>Sarvatathāgatatattvasamgraha</i> . Ed. Isshi Yamada, Śatapīṭaka Series, 262, New Delhi, 1981.

SDPS	<i>Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra</i> . Ed. and tr. Tadeusz Skorupski, MBS, 1983.
SpPr	<i>Spandapradīpikā</i> of Utpalabhāgavata. Ed. Gopinath Kavraj, <i>Tantrasamgraha</i> pt.1 (Yogatantragranthamāla 3). Varanasi, 1970.
SBSYDJS	<i>Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasamvaratantra</i> . (Tōh 366–367.)
HBI	<i>History of Buddhism in India</i> [rGya gar chos 'byung] of Tāranātha (1608). Tr. Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya, 1970. (For edition of Tibetan see A. Schiefner, 1868.)
HVT	<i>Hevajratantra</i> . Ed. and tr. D. L. Snellgrove. Two volumes, London, 1959.

Catalogues

Baroda	Raghavan Nambiyar (1950) <i>An Alphabetical List of the Manuscripts in the Oriental Institute, Baroda</i> . Vol. 2 (= GOS 114), Baroda, pp. 1458–1467, “Bauddha-śāstra”.
Bendall	Bendall, Cecil (1883) <i>Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge</i> . Cambridge.
Bir	Sanskrit Seminar of Taisho University (1954): <i>Buddhist Manuscripts of Bir Library</i> , pp. 1-30.
BSP	<i>ŚrīNepālarājakīyavīrapustakālayasthapustakānām Brhatsūcīpatram, Bauddhaviśayakah saptamo bhāgaḥ, khaṇḍa 1-3</i> (Purātatvapra-kāśanamālā 29, 38, 39), Kathmandu (1964-66).
Cordier	Cordier, P. (1909 and 1915) <i>Catalogue du Fonds Tibetain de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Parts II & III</i> . Paris.
Cowell & Egging	Cowell, E. B. and Egging, J. (1876) ‘Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society (Hodgson collection)’ <i>JRAS</i> pp. 5–50.
Dhīh	<i>Dhīh, Durlabhabauddhagranthaśodhanapatrikā</i> (Review of rare Buddhist Texts). (1986–1993) 16 Vols. Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath.
Goshima & Noguchi	Goshima, K. and Noguchi (1983) <i>A Succinct Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the possession of the Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University</i> . Kyoto.
IASWR list	<i>Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts: A Title List of the Microfilm Collection of the Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions</i> . New York. (1975)
IASWR	Bajracharya, M. B. & George, C. S. <i>A Descriptive Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Microfilm Collection of the Institute for the Advanced Study of World Religions</i> . Part 1. (six microfiches).

Kaneko	Kaneko, Eiichi. (1982) (ed.) <i>Kotantora zenshu kai mokuroku</i> [A complete cat. of the rNyingGB] Tokyo: Kokusho Kangyokai.
Mironov	Mironov, N. D. (1914) <i>Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Indicorum qui in Academiae Imperialis Scientiarum Petropolitanae Museo Asiatico asservantur</i> . Fasc. I, Petropoli.
Takaoka	Takaoka, Hidenobu (1981) <i>A Microfilm Catalogue of the Buddhist Manuscripts in Nepal, Vol. 1</i> . Nagoya: Buddhist Library.
Tōh	Hakuju Ui et al. (1934) <i>A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons</i> . Sendai: Tōhoku Imperial University.
Tsukamoto	Tsukamoto, K., Matsunaga, Y. and Isoda, H. (1989) (eds.) <i>Bongo Butten no Kenkyū IV, Mikkyō Kyōten Hen / A Descriptive Bibliography of The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature. Vol. IV: The Buddhist Tantra</i> . Kyoto.
Yoshizaki	Yoshizaki, Kazumi. (1991) <i>A Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Newari Manuscripts in Asha Archives (Asha Saphu Kuthi), Cwasa Pasa, Kathmandu, Nepal</i> . Kurokami Library, Japan.
Winternitz & Keith	Winternitz, M. and Keith, Arthur B. (1905) <i>Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library</i> , Vol. II. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Other Abbreviations

annot.	annotated
BST	Buddhist Sanskrit Texts. Mithila Institute, Darbhanga, Bihar.
BHSD	<i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary</i> . Franklin Edgerton. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953.
BHSG	<i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar</i> . Franklin Edgerton. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953.
ed.	edited
<i>ERE</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics</i> . Ed. James Hastings. Edinburgh & New York, 1908.
Fol. / fol.	Folio(s)
ff.	following
GOS	Gaekwad's Oriental Series. Oriental Institute, Baroda.
IASWR	The Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions, New York.
IsMEO	Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Rome.
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal Asiatique</i> .
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> , London.
MBS	Motilal Banarsidass, New Delhi.
MCB	Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques, Brussels.

MS / MSS	manuscript / manuscripts
MW	<i>Sanskrit-English Dictionary</i> . Sir Monier Monier-Williams. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899.
NGMPP	Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project.
OUP	Oxford University Press.
PTSD	<i>The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary</i> . London: The Pali Text Society, 1921–25.
SUNY	State University of New York Press, Albany.
<i>Text</i>	Used to refer to the present edition of the NMAA. Followed by chapter and line number, eg. <i>Text</i> 4.52.
tr.	translated

Phoneticizations of Tibetan words

Kanjur	bKa' 'gyur
Tanjur	bsTan 'gyur
Derge	sDe dge
Narthang	sNar thang

INTRODUCTION

1. Opening Remarks

Vilāsavajra's *Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī* (NMAA) – 'An Explanation of the Meaning of the Name-mantras' – in fourteen chapters is one of the first major commentaries on the *Nāmasaṃgīti* (NS), 'The Chanting of Names', and the only early NS commentary known to survive in Sanskrit. It is a fairly long work, equivalent to approximately 3000 *anuṣṭubh* verses, written in chaste Sanskrit.¹ That its author is both learned and widely read is witnessed by his reference to classical grammarians and by the range of sources cited in the course of the exegesis. The commentary interprets the NS within an elaborate framework of ritualised meditation, interweaving a Vijñānavāda doctrinal perspective. Another NS commentator, Smṛtijñānakīrti, translated the NMAA into Tibetan in the early eleventh century. After revision it was incorporated into the xylograph editions of the Tanjur (bsTan 'gyur) where it takes up somewhat over 100 folios (Tōh 2533) in the Peking edition.

The NS itself is a short verse text (167 *anuṣṭubh* verses) accompanied by a prose section describing the qualities of the NS and the benefits accruing to the person who recites and meditates on it. The core verses consist of the 'Names' of Mañjuśrī, considered as the embodiment of wisdom. The extensive secondary literature stimulated by the NS shows that its admixture of doctrinal, devotional and tantric elements exerted a strong influence on the Buddhist Mahāyāna tradition (largely in its Tantric form) for more than four centuries in India (750–1200 CE).² Vilāsavajra's NMAA initiated a distinctive tradition of NS exegesis.

The central part of the present work comprises a critical edition and annotated translation of the Sanskrit text of chapters 1–5 of the NMAA, approximately a

¹The colophon states that the text is equivalent to 2500 verses, an underestimate according to my calculations (see Appendix III for the Skt. and Tibetan text).

²Other early commentators on the NS included Mañjuśrīmitra and Vimalamitra. See Appendix IV for a list of NS commentaries surviving in Skt. or Tibetan translation.

quarter of the whole. The edition is based on eight Nepalese manuscripts and two blockprint editions of the Tibetan translation and is followed by textual notes. Matters relating to the Skt. and Tibetan materials – description of the MSS, method of editing, *stemma codicum* etc. – are discussed in the *Introduction to the Text* placed immediately before the edition.

2. The NMAA & Modern Scholarship

The NMAA has been neither edited nor translated in its entirety. In 1988 Munenobu Sakurai published an edition of chapters 3 and 4 of the Sanskrit text, accompanied by the Tibetan translation.³ To my knowledge no other chapters have been edited and there is no published translation of any part of the work. Nonetheless, Vilāsavajra's commentary has been familiar to modern scholarship since the late nineteenth century. In 1883 Bendall described a palm-leaf manuscript of the NMAA held by the University of Cambridge⁴ and I. P. Minaev consulted another manuscript in the preparation of his edition of the NS published in Russia in 1887.⁵ Minaev also cited the NMAA in an essay published in the same year.⁶ In the present century Louis de La Vallée Poussin quoted from the NMAA in the annotations to his translations of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* and Xuanzang's

³Sakurai, Munenobu. (1988) 'A Study on the Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī (1) – A Critical Text of Its Chapters III & IV.' *Bunka* (Culture) 51, No. 3/4, pp. 323–354. I am grateful to H. Isaacson for bringing Sakurai's work on the NMAA to my attention and providing me with a copy of his edition of chapters 3–4. Sakurai bases his edition on five Skt. MSS, including the Cambridge palm-leaf MS, and two Tibetan xylograph editions. However, of his five MSS one is an apograph and four descend from a single hyparchetype (my δ) that is often corrupt; he also has a tendency to misread the script of the Cambridge MS, often on occasions when it provides the best reading. (For further remarks on Sakurai's edition see Appendix VI.)

⁴Bendall, C. (1883) *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge*. Cambridge, pp. 203–4. This remains the oldest known MS of the NMAA (= MS A in the present edition).

⁵Minaev, I. P. (1887) *Buddhizm. Izledovaniya i Materialui*. St. Petersburg. Vol. II, pp. 137–159 (for the description of the NMAA manuscript see p. xii). Davidson (1981, 49) states that Minaev had intended to translate the *Nāmasaṃgīti* using Vilāsavajra's commentary.

⁶*Buddhizm. Izledovaniya i Materialui*. Vol. I, p. 226. Minaev cites a verse from Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* that is quoted in chapter 6 of the NMAA (comm. to NS 50). *Buddhizm. Izledovaniya i Materialui*. Vol. I was translated into French in 1894 by R. H. Assier de Pompignan and published under the title *Recherches sur le Bouddhisme*.

Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi, as well as referring to it in his article on the Ādibuddha in Hasting's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.⁷ More recently, Ronald Davidson used the Tibetan translation of the NMAA as one of the four NS commentaries forming the basis for the annotations to his translation of the NS published in 1981.⁸ In 1987, the year before his edition of chapters 3 and 4 of the NMAA, Sakurai published two papers that, describing themselves as studies of the 'Jam dpal gsang ldan School, examine some aspects of these two chapters.⁹

3. Significance of the NMAA for the Study of Buddhism

As stated above, the NMAA is one of the first major commentaries on the NS. It is the only Yoga Tantra commentary known to survive in the original Sanskrit and it may also be the earliest Buddhist Tantric exegetical work of any type surviving in the original.¹⁰

⁷Although de La Vallée Poussin cites the NMAA on a number of occasions he never gives a title or author, but refers to it as the 'Nāmasaṃgīti commentaire' (VijñMāSi 616, note 2) or even 'Le commentaire, non tantrique, de Nāmasaṃgīti' (VijñMāSi 802, vi.).

⁸Davidson, Ronald M. (1981) 'The Litany of Names of Mañjuśrī.' in *Tantric & Taoist Studies in honour of Professor R. A. Stein, Vol. 1*. MCB No. 20, pp. 1-69. As well as the translation of the NS this contains a valuable introduction as well as an edition of the Sanskrit text of the NS that is a compilation of the editions of Minaev (1887), Vira (1960) and Mukherji (1963).

⁹Sakurai, Munenobu. (1987) 'A Study of the hJam-dpal-gsañ-ldan School mainly based upon the Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī (1).' *Mikkyōgaku Kenkyū* (*The Journal of Esoteric Buddhist Study*) 19, pp. 87-109. Sakurai, Munenobu. (1987) 'A Study of the hJam-dpal-gsañ-ldan School mainly based upon the Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī (2).' *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* (*Indogaku Buddhōgaku Kenkyū*) 36.1, pp. 342-5. These two papers (in Japanese) are concerned with NMAA chapters 4 and 3 respectively. I am grateful to Mr K. Tanaka for writing on my behalf to Mr Sakurai who was generous enough to send copies of the above two articles.

¹⁰Unfortunately all the major commentaries on the fundamental Yoga Tantra, the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṃgraha* (STTS) – Ānandagarbha's *Tattvāloka* (Tōh 2510), Śākyamitra's *Kosalālamkāra* (Tōh 2503), Buddhaguhya's *Tantrārthāvatāra* (Tōh 250) – survive only in Tibetan translation. The description of the NMAA as a 'Yoga Tantra commentary' is based on its ritual content being centred on Mahāvairocana and the Vajradhātumaṇḍala, though it also contains elements characteristic of works that came to be designated as Mahāyoga or Yogottara (see below). In the Tanjur it is classified as a Yoga Tantra commentary (Tōh 2533).

The NS itself is classified as a Mahāyoga Tantra in the rNyingGB (see Kaneko, 1982, No. 196) and the Skt. colophon of the NS states that is part of the Mahāyoga Tantra, the *Māyājāla* (Tōh 466). Bu ston classified the NS as a Non-dual Tantra, due to its association with the *Kālacakratānta*, but the majority of the NS commentaries in the Tanjur are in the Yoga Tantra section, although others are found in the Mother Tantra or Father Tantra divisions of the Anuttara Tantras.

Other possible contenders for the position of earliest surviving work of Buddhist Tantric exegesis are Indrabhūti's *Jñānasiddhi* and Anaṅgavajra's *Prajñopāyavinīścayasiddhi* (*Two Vajrayāna Works*,

I believe the NMAA can be dated to the latter part of the eighth century with a degree of certainty (see the section below). If this is so, it was written at a time of important transition in the development of Buddhist Tantrism. Tantric methods – the use of mantras, maṇḍalas, rites of consecration – were being related to soteriological rather than purely instrumental goals. The notion that enlightenment itself could be achieved through such means is first clearly articulated in the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgrahasūtra* (STTS), a work that despite being termed a *sūtra* came to be seen as the fundamental Yoga Tantra. The first commentaries on the STTS and related Yoga Tantra works were produced in the eighth century and like the NMAA they were concerned to elaborate the liberative potential of the Tantric approach. Vilāsavajra's work thus falls into a period where for the first time there was a considerable literary output that sought to encode and interpret Tantric ritual in Mahāyānist doctrinal terms, and his NS commentary strikingly exemplifies this process. The NMAA demonstrates not only how ritual structures can encode doctrinal positions but also illustrates how doctrinal categories may be modified to accommodate them to ritual structures.

The NMAA falls at another point of transition in the development of Tantra in Buddhism, that of the appearance of the Yogottara Tantras, as they came to be called by later Indian Buddhist commentators. In these Tantras the Tathāgata Akṣobhya and

ed. B. Bhattacharyya, 1929) though the dates of neither author are at all certain. Bhattacharyya's dating of Anaṅgavajra and Indrabhūti to the first quarter of the eighth century seems much too early. It is based on a teacher-disciple lineage (*guruparamparā*) given in the *dKar chag* (index) volume of the Peking edition of the Tanjur (see Cordier XLVI 2–8) in which Anaṅgavajra is said to be the teacher of an Indrabhūti. Bhattacharyya takes this Indrabhūti to be Indrabhūti the Great rather than one of the later ones. It is more likely that the Indrabhūti (III) being referred to is the brother of Lakṣmīṃkarā (given next in the *paramparā*), who was living in the late ninth century. Assuming one can rely on the Tibetan *dKar chag guruparamparā* (which is by no means certain: see the final note in Appendix II) this would give a date of the ninth century for Anaṅgavajra. This certainly accords with the Yoganiruttaratāntra content of the *Prajñopāyavinīścayasiddhi*. Indrabhūti III may well also be the author of the *Jñānasiddhi* since it is not clear that either Indrabhūti the Great (teacher of Padmasambhava) or Indrabhūti (II) of Zahor were authors, although they were of importance in Tantric lineages (see Dowman 1985, 232–234).

deities associated with him come to stand as the central embodiment of enlightenment. The deities of Akṣobhya's *vajra* family are often wrathful in appearance and thus in many of the Yogottara Tantras the status of these figures is greatly enhanced. Though they are not yet depicted in terms of the cremation-ground (*kāpālīka*) symbolism that came to dominate the later (*yoganiruttara*-) Tantras and the final period of Indian Buddhist Tantrism, they can embody enlightenment rather than be a servant and protector of it, or the medium for the acquisition of mundane (*laukika*) attainments.¹¹

In the NMAA the central deity in Vilāsavajra's ritual structure, Mañjuśrī-jñānasattva, is peaceful in form; yet the wrathful forms are portrayed as embodiments of his wisdom and in this respect the NMAA can be seen, like the Yogottara Tantras, as standing midway between the perspectives of the Yoga and Yoganiruttara Tantras. Though Vilāsavajra distinguishes only three categories of Tantra – Yoga, Caryā and Kriyā – he cites a number of Yogottara works such as the *[Guhya]samājatantra*, the *Vajrabhairavatantra* and the *Māyājālatantra*, particularly in chapter eight, which is concerned with the Mirror-like Awareness (*ādarśajñāna*) of Akṣobhya. Study of the NMAA should shed more light on this phase in the development of Buddhist Tantra, which is as yet poorly understood.

One of the most important genres of Tantric literature is the *sādhana*, descriptions of the methods by which the Tantric practitioner (*sādhaka*) achieves the goal of either Liberation or some lesser attainment (*siddhi*). The central feature of a

¹¹See A. Sanderson, *Vajrayāna: Origin and Function*, note 1, for a description of the main divisions of Buddhist Tantras and their distinguishing features. I do not employ the commonly used classification of 'Anuttarayoga Tantra'. Sanderson has pointed out elsewhere – see *The Dependence of the Herukatantras on the Śaiva Tantra of the Vidyāpīṭha* – that the expression *anuttarayogatantra* is not found in any of the surviving Skt. enumerations of the different classes of Tantras. The term *yoganiruttaratantra*, however, is found (see note 47 below for examples); it is likely that *anuttarayogatantra* is thus an incorrect back-formation from the Tibetan *rnal 'byor bla med kyi rgyud*. 'Yoganiruttara' denotes Tantras of the Mother (*ma rgyud*) sub-division of Bu ston's Anuttara class (*bla med kyi rgyud*), whereas Yogottara denotes those of the Father (*pha rgyud*) sub-division. 'Anuttarayoga Tantra' is often (mis)used to describe both of these.

sādhana is typically an evocation of a deity through visualisation and mantra recitation. Around the evocation are described ritual preliminaries that function to orient the *sādhaka*'s state of mind and post-evocatory and concluding acts. Over time *sādhanas* came increasingly to follow a set pattern, with variety consisting mainly in the appearance and mantras peculiar to the evoked deity.¹² This standardisation was partly encouraged by the commentarial application of a number of interpretative categories to the various phases of the *sādhana*, leading to writing that conformed to exegetical expectations.

The fourth chapter of the NMAA consists of a lengthy *sādhana* that forms the basis of the ritual aspect of Vilāsavajra's commentary. The material in this chapter illustrates the interaction and mutual influence of ritual and doctrine mentioned previously, but the *sādhana* is also valuable as an early example of the genre in the original Sanskrit.¹³ Study of its structure and terminology should further understanding of *sādhanas* of the Yoga Tantra type as well as of the development of *sādhana* literature as a whole. I touch briefly on this later in the introduction, summarising the organisation of the NMAA *sādhana* and examining the use of one of Vilāsavajra's structuring categories, the Five Realisations (pañcābhisambodhayah).

Central to the NMAA is the figure of Mañjuśrī. In Mahāyāna Sūtra literature Mañjuśrī is familiar as the Bodhisattva pre-eminently associated with wisdom where he often functions as the major interlocutor¹⁴ as well as spiritual friend (kalyāṇa-

¹²One consequence of this was that parts of *sādhanas* could be written in abbreviated form with no more than an allusion to some phases.

¹³The STTS and SDPS, the two Yoga Tantras known to survive in the original Skt., contain descriptions of maṇḍalas and their production as well as accounts of consecrations (abhiṣeka) but do not contain *sādhanas*. It may therefore be the case that the NMAA *sādhana* is the earliest surviving in the original.

¹⁴Mañjuśrī's role as Śākyamuni's interlocutor (eg. the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* chapters 12 & 14) shades into that of becoming his chief spokesman (eg. the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, the *Saptaśatikā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, and the *Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetragaṇavyūha Sūtra*).

mitra),¹⁵ a convertor of beings to the Buddhist Dharma¹⁶ and an object of devotion and meditation.¹⁷ His status is usually that of a Bodhisattva of the tenth *bhūmi*, though in some texts he is described as the teacher of Buddhas and even as a fully enlightened Buddha.¹⁸

In the NMAA Mañjuśrī, as Mañjuśrījñānasattva, is equated by Vilāsavajra with the non-dual wisdom (advayajñāna) that is productive of the enlightenment of the Buddhas. He is therefore at the heart of all the Tathāgatas both metaphorically and in terms of the visualisation of the *sādhana* of chapter 4. In NS 100 Mañjuśrī is named as the Ādibuddha and consistent with his interpretation of Mañjuśrī's nature Vilāsavajra takes it that the Ādibuddha is one of Mañjuśrī's aspects or forms (ie. the Ādibuddha has Mañjuśrījñānasattva as his nature).

The depiction of Mañjuśrī as underlying wisdom, which is present in the NS, although unelaborated doctrinally and ritually, comes into its own only in the Tantric phase of the Mahāyāna. Although his role and status here have been little explored, Mañjuśrī continued to be an important figure throughout the period of the Tantras. The NS and the NMAA provide material for a fuller account of Mañjuśrī's portrayal in this literature.¹⁹

¹⁵The *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* is probably the most important source for showing Mañjuśrī in this role. Other sources are the *Ajātaśatruṛāja Sūtra* which describes him as the spiritual friend of the Bodhisattvas, and the *Drumakimnaranarājaparipṛcchā Sūtra* in which Ajātaśatru is told he has the great advantage of having Mañjuśrī as a spiritual friend (Lamotte 1960, 95).

¹⁶In chapter 12 of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* Mañjuśrī is said to have converted innumerable beings to the Dharma after visiting the underwater palace of Sāgara, king of the *nāgas*. The *Ratnakāraṇḍavyūha Sūtra* describes how Mañjuśrī converts some of the followers of the Jain teacher Satyaka Nirgranthaputra (Lamotte 1960, 39).

¹⁷Two important sources for this role are the *Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetrāgunavyūha Sūtra* and the *Mañjuśrīparinirvāṇa Sūtra*. Mañjuśrī's origins are obscure: unlike Vajrapāṇi, for example, he does not appear in non-Mahāyāna literature, though Marcelle Lalou (1930, 66–70) has suggested that the Gandharva Pañcaśikha may be his antecedent.

¹⁸According to Lamotte (1960, 29), in the *Angulimālīya Sūtra* Mañjuśrī is said to be a Buddha of the present, though not of our universe. He is the Buddha of a universe named Nityapramuditā ('Always Happy').

¹⁹While Mañjuśrī's portrayal in the Sūtranaya has been examined by Lamotte in his monograph *Mañjuśrī* (T'oung Pao 48, 1960, 1–96) his role in Tantric literature has received little attention. The observations of Lalou (1930) and MacDonald (1962) (part of their work on the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*) and Raoul Birnbaum's excellent monograph on Mañjuśrī in China (*Studies on the Mysteries of*

The NMAA also contains a number of citations of other Buddhist texts, some of which survive otherwise only in Tibetan or Chinese translation. Vilāsavajra cites a wide range of Tantric sources – some twenty-eight different works – and there are quotations from Prajñāpāramitā and Cittamātra scriptures as well as from authors such as Nāgārjuna, Candrakīrti and Vasubandhu (for the list of works and authors cited in the NMAA see Appendix I).²⁰

Mañjuśrī, 1983) are exceptions. Mañjuśrī retained an importance in later Tantras as well as in Kriyā and Yoga Tantras. As Mañjuvajra he is one of the central deities of the *Guhyasamājatantra* and in wrathful form is identified as Vajrabhairava and the Black and Red Yamāris. (Could the *sādhana* of the NMAA – Mañjuśrījñānasattva being at the heart of all the Buddha-families – have paved the way to interpreting Mañjuśrī as being, in the form of Mañjuvajra, the essence of the *vajra* family? The connection is not implausible, especially since Vilāsavajra is said to have been the teacher of Jñānapāda, the founder of one of the major schools of *Guhyasamāja* exegesis.) Forms of Mañjuvajra are also found in the Yoganiruttara Tantras. In the 7th paṭala of the *Abhidhānottaratantra* he appears out of Vajrasattva as the consort of Vajravārāhī, saffron-coloured, six-faced and twelve-armed (I am grateful to Prof. A. Sanderson for this reference).

²⁰Among the citations of Tantras a number are attributed to a *Samvara[tantra]* and elsewhere a *Cakrasamvara[tantra]* and *Ṣaṭprajñānayasamvaratantra* are referred to, though not quoted from. Davidson (1981, 7–8) takes these to be citations of the *Laghutamvaratantra* (Tōh 368) and as therefore demonstrating that the Yoginītantras (ie. Yoganiruttaratantras) existed in the latter half of the eighth century, well before the earliest dateable commentary. Prof. A. Sanderson informs me, however, that he has been unable to find any of these citations in the surviving Sanskrit of the *Laghutamvaratantra*. Mr K. Tanaka has examined four of the *Samvara* citations and has identified them as coming from the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinijālasamvaratantra* (SBSYDJS; Tōh 366-7) (see Appendix I for details). This Tantra, with two six-family maṇḍalas, one centring on the figure of Heruka, functioned as the exemplar for the maṇḍala of the *Hevajatantra* and can be regarded as the original Yoginītantra (Yoritomi 1990, 693–716: English summary). It must have been composed no later than the early eighth century since at some point between 746 and 774 CE it was summarised by Amoghavajra in his *Jin-gang-ding-jing-yu-jia-shi-ba-hui-zhi-gui* (Taisho No. 869), a work on an enumeration of eighteen Tantras regarded as forming an enlarged version of the *Kon-gō-chō-kyō* (the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*) in which the SBSYDJS is placed ninth (see K. Tanaka 1992, 276). Also, according to the rNying ma pa tradition it is one of the eighteen Tantras of the Mahāyoga cycle translated into Tibetan during the first propagation (sNga dar) of Buddhism in Tibet.

Vilāsavajra was aware, therefore, of at least one Tantra of the Yoginītantra class, though not the *Laghutamvara*; nonetheless these ‘*Samvaratantra*’ citations are consistent with the view that all the citations in the NMAA are of works known or thought to be available in the latter part of the eighth century.

A citation from the *Mahāvairocanābhisaṃbodhitāntra* in chapter 6 has been edited by M. Sakurai and published as an appendix to K. Tsukamoto et al. (ed.) *Bongo Butten no Kenkyū IV, Mikkyō Kyōten Hen / A Descriptive Bibliography of The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature. Vol. IV: The Buddhist Tantra*. Kyoto, 1989.

4. The NMAA: Author and Date

A number of rather complicated issues surrounding the question of Vilāsavajra's name should be considered before examining the evidence concerning his life and date. Three of the ten manuscripts of the NMAA (MSS ABH) used for the present edition give the author's name as Ācārya Vilāsavajra in their colophon. According to the *stemma codicum* (see the *Introduction to the Text*) the name has descended from the archetype (Ω) since it is present in MSS A and B.²¹ The Tibetan translation of the NMAA gives the author's name – in translation only – as sGeg pa'i rdo rje, who is described in the *Blue Annals* as the teacher of Buddhajñāna (8th century). (Buddhajñāna, also known as Jñānapāda, was a pupil of Haribhadra and founder of the eponymous Jñānapāda tradition of *Guhyasamājatantra* exegesis.)

In his catalogue of the Peking xylograph edition of the Tanjur, Cordier gave 'Lilāvajra' as the Skt. of sGeg pa'i rdo rje under the entry for the Tibetan translation of the NMAA, with 'Vilāsavajra' as an alternative name.²² Since then sGeg pa'i rdo rje has been referred to as Lilāvajra by a number of writers.²³ Roerich, in his translation of the *Blue Annals* has 'Lilāvajra' for two of the three references to sGeg

²¹H is contaminated at this point. Its reading, *kr̥tir iyam ācāryavilāsavajrasya* (H.77v7), is an addition in a second hand placed at the end of the original manuscript.

²²Cordier 1909, 265. It is not clear from where Cordier derived the reconstruction 'Lilāvajra' since none of the works attributed to sGeg pa'i rdo rje gives a transliterated Skt. form. 'Lilavajra' (sic), given in transcription, is found as the name of a translator on two occasions (XXII 35, XLII 5) and 'Lilavajra', again in transcription, is given in the index volume (dkar chag) as the name of the author in two works ascribed to Lalitavajra (also in transcription) in their colophons (XLIII 4, 5) but none of these have sGeg pa'i rdo rje as the Tibetan translation. Lalou, in her index to Cordier's catalogue inherits Cordier's identification of sGeg pa'i rdo rje and Lilāvajra (*Répertoire du Tanjur*, 162). Cordier also gives 'Viśvarūpa' and 'Varabodhi' as different names of sGeg pa'i rdo rje, reconstructing them from the Tibetan translation's colophon to the NMAA. A possible source for 'Lilāvajra' may be Schiefner's 1869 translation of Tāranātha's *rGya gar chos 'byung* where (p. 214) he gives 'Lilāvajra' as a reconstruction for sGeg pa'i rdo rje. The names Viśvarūpa and Varabodhi (= Agrabodhi) are discussed later in this section.

²³Eg. Roerich, *Blue Annals* (see following note); HBI 271–272; Wayman 1977, pp. 56–57, 94, 107; Dowman 1985, pp. 42, 185, 203, 370, 392. However, Ronald Davidson who consults the NMAA for his translation of the NS uses the name Vilāsavajra, following the colophon of the Cambridge manuscript described by Bendall. In his valuable introduction Davidson discusses the name and identity of Vilāsavajra in some detail (Davidson 1981, 6–8).

pa'i rdo rje but uses 'Lalitavajra' for the third.²⁴ I take 'Lalitavajra' here to be a slip on Roerich's part since elsewhere he gives 'Lalitavajra' for Rol pa'i rdo rje, who is not the same figure as sGeg pa'i rdo rje in the *Blue Annals*, being elsewhere referred to as a disciple of both Maitrīpa, the 11th century contemporary of Nāropa²⁵, and Nāropa's teacher Tillipa (= Tilopa).²⁶ This might help account for 'Lalitavajra' being also found as a Skt. reconstruction for sGeg pa'i rdo rje in more recent writing.²⁷

However, it may be that the disciple of Tilopa is not the only Lalitavajra. The colophon to the Tibetan translation of the *Vajrabhairavatantra* states that it was revealed "by the Ācārya (slob dpon) Śrī Lalitavajra (the Tibetan transcribes the name) from ... Urgyan".²⁸ Since the NMAA cites the *Vajrabhairavatantra* composition of the former must post-date the latter. Assuming that the NMAA precedes Tilopa and Nāropa, the revealer of the *Vajrabhairavatantra* cannot be the disciple of Tilopa.

Could the Lalitavajra of the *Vajrabhairavatantra* be the author of the NMAA? According to Tāranātha the two are different. He describes the legends associated with sGeg pa'i rdo rje separately from those of Lalitavajra, stating that the latter had a disciple called Līlavajra (sic, name given in transcription) who was distinct from "Līlavajra the great" (also in transcription).²⁹ Leaving aside the complicating factor of these Līlavajras, Tāranātha's account is given general support by the titles of the works ascribed to Lalitavajra (Rol pa'i rdo rje) in the Tanjur, which mostly refer to

²⁴ 'Līlavajra' for sGeg pa'i rdo rje: *Blue Annals* I 204, II 869; 'Lalitavajra' for sGeg pa'i rdo rje: *Blue Annals* I 367.

²⁵ *Blue Annals* II 843.

²⁶ *ibid.* II 1030.

²⁷ Eg. Tarthang Tulku 1977, 202–204; Martin Willson 1986, pp. 189 & 271. However, Willson recognises that there is confusion surrounding the names Lalitavajra and Līlavajra and the individuals they refer to (p. 399, note 56).

²⁸ dpal u rgyan gyi gnas chen po nas dpal 'jam dpal gyi rgyud las phyung (*em. to* byung) ba rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po // dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed chen po zhes bya ba bla ma dam pa'i dkyil 'khor chen po'i slob dpon dpal la li ta badzras bton nas mdzad pa rdzogs s.ho (*em. to* so) // "The end of [this tantra] revealed from the great and glorious land of Urgyan by the glorious Lalitavajra, the master of the maṇḍala of the holy gurus called the glorious Vajramahābhairava, the great king of tantras arising from the Mañjuśrī-tantra." Siklós 1990, 249–250; 123 respectively. Siklós fails to translate *slob dpon*.

²⁹ Text: Schiefner 1868, 146, 9–10. Translation: Schiefner 1869, 191 (German); HBI 242–244 (English).

Vajrabhairava and have different concerns to those attributed to sGeg pa'i rdo rje.³⁰ Lacking any further evidence to the contrary I shall assume that the names Lalitavajra and Vilāsavajra denote (at least two) different individuals.

sGeg pa'i rdo rje is a satisfactory translation of Vilāsavajra. The *Mahāvyutpatti* has no equivalent for *vilāsa* but gives *sgeg pa* for *lāsyā* (MVy 7132), a synonym of *lāsa* and deriving from the same root ($\sqrt{\text{las}}$). The *upasarga* (vi-) is not translated – one might expect 'rNam par sgeg pa'i rdo rje' – but Davidson points out that there are other instances of dropped *upasargas* in the translation of names into Tibetan.³¹ Although *lilā* and *lalita* are synonyms of *vilāsa* and could equally well be translated by *sgeg pa* (and there would be no omission of an *upasarga* to explain in either case), I have not found it used as an equivalent for either. The *Mahāvyutpatti* distinguishes *lalita* ($\sqrt{\text{lal}}$) from *lāsyā* giving *rol pa* as its equivalent,³² which is thus in accord with the translation of the name Lalitavajra by Rol pa'i rdo rje; and though there is no entry for *lilā* MVy 7342 gives 'jo bag can or 'chos pa for the adjective *salīla*. Given the above and given that 'Līlāvajra' is not found in transcription as the Sanskrit name of any of the works attributed to sGeg pa'i rdo rje in the Tanjur, I shall proceed on the assumption that sGeg pa'i rdo rje is the translation of the name Vilāsavajra, witnessed by the Sanskrit NMAA transmission.

In both the Sanskrit and Tibetan translation the colophon to the NMAA states that Vilāsavajra ('sGeg pa'i rdo rje' in the Tibetan) was known by a number of different names. I discuss these below, together with the fact that Tāranātha's account of sGeg pa'i rdo rje largely centres on these names. Neither 'Līlāvajra' nor 'Lalita-

³⁰See Appendix II for a list of works attributed to sGeg pa'i rdo rje in the Tanjur. Of the nineteen works attributed to Lalitavajra (listed in HBI 411) eleven have the names Vajrabhairava, Bhairava, or Kṛṣṇayamāri in their titles. These names do not appear in any of the works attributed to sGeg pa'i rdo rje and although he has a work on Yamāntaka, it is a commentary (most of Lalitavajra's works are *sādhana* and *maṇḍalavidhi* texts) whose title – *Śrīyamāntakamūlamantrārthavajraprabheda* (Tōh 2014) – bears a resemblance to that of the NMAA.

³¹Davidson 1981, p. 6 note 18.

³²*lalitavistara*; *rgya cher rol pa* (MVy 1331, 7954).

vajra' (or 'Rol pa'i rdo rje') are included in the list of different names and Tāranātha states that the name 'sGeg pa'i rdo rje' is a Tantric name.³³ 'Vilāsavajra' is highly probable as a name bestowed during Tantric consecration (abhiṣeka). It contains the key Tantric term *vajra* and is found in the Yoga Tantra, the *Sarvatathāgatatattva-saṃgraha* (STTS) from which Tantric names would have been drawn;³⁴ it is also in the list of names that may be given during the *nāmābhiṣeka* found in Abhayākara-gupta's *Vajrāvalī* and also in the *Kriyāsamuccaya* of Jagaddarpaṇācārya. Vilāsavajra is one of the names in the Akṣobhyakula as are both Līlāvajra and Lalitavajra.³⁵ The presence of the three names in these lists suggests that they all were likely to be fairly common. Add to this their near identity of meaning and it is little wonder that there is confusion both in the Tibetan histories and in subsequent western scholarship.

Sources of information concerning the life and date of Vilāsavajra include entries in the work of the Tibetan historians (on sGeg pa'i rdo rje) and statements contained in a number of colophons, including that of the NMAA. Examination of other works attributed to him as well as the internal evidence of the NMAA itself cast further light on Vilāsavajra's date.

The Tibetan author Tāranātha in his *History of Buddhism in India* (*rGya gar chos 'byung*) written in 1608, states that Vilāsavajra (ie. sGeg pa'i rdo rje) lived during the reigns of the Pāla kings Devapāla and his son Rāsapāla.³⁶ This would put Vilāsavajra in the mid-ninth century, King Devapāla's reign usually being placed

³³HBI 272

³⁴I take this information from Davidson (1981, 6, note 18) who adds that he was unable to find a Līlāvajra in the STTS. See K. Horiuchi, 'The Romanized Text of the *Sarva-Tathāgata-saṃgraha*.' *Mikkyō Bunka* 103 (July 1973): 72.

³⁵For the lists see VajĀv 203.2–205.1, KriySam 345.2–346.7. Vilāsavajra, Līlāvajra and Lalitavajra are mentioned as names at VajĀv 203.6 & KriySam 345.6 (at KriySam 345.6 read *lalita-svayambhū* for *lalisvayambhū*). I am grateful to Prof. A. Sanderson for these references.

³⁶"King Devapāla ruled for forty-eight years. After him, his son Rāsapāla ruled for twelve years. ... During this period sGeg pa'i rdo rje ... spent ten years in Śrī Nalendra (HBI 271)." It is not clear from this whether Vilāsavajra is said to have been at Nālandā during the reign of Rāsapāla or in a period straddling the reigns of both kings.

c. 810–850, following that of his father King Dharmapāla (c. 770–810). However, Tāranātha’s attempt at providing a matrix of dates using the reigns of Indian kings is not always reliable and his dating should be treated with considerable caution.

The *Blue Annals* of ’Gos lo tsā ba, composed between 1476 and 1478, discussing the life of Jñānapāda (alias Buddhajñāna), state that after studying with Hari-
bhadrā in Takṣaśīla he visited Uḍḍiyāna (the Swat Valley) where “in the presence of
the Ācārya sGeg pa rdo rje who was born in Nor-bu gliñ (Ratnadvīpa) he heard
many Kriyā and Yoga Tantras, and studied them thoroughly”.³⁷ Jñānapāda is also
said to have been a pupil of Mañjuśrīmitra (*Blue Annals* I 369–370) who according
to a tradition reported by Bu ston also taught Vilāsavajra.³⁸

Mañjuśrīmitra and Jñānapāda are usually dated to the second part of the eighth
century.³⁹ In support of such a date for Vilāsavajra there is evidence, reported by
Davidson, that links him with the translator rMa Rin chen mchog, known to be one
of the first six or seven Tibetans ordained at bSam yas by Śāntarakṣita (779 CE).⁴⁰
The colophon of the *Devijālamahāmāyātantra nāma* (Tōh 836) in the *rNying ma*
rgyud ’bum (rNyingGB) states that it was translated by Ācārya sGeg pa’i rdo rje and
rMa Rin chen mchog, and the same information is repeated in the *dkar chag*
volume.⁴¹ The colophon to the translation of the commentary on the *Guhyagarbha-*

³⁷This is a slightly emended version of Roerich’s translation (*Blue Annals* I 367). He gives
‘Lalitavajra’ for ‘sGeg pa’i rdo rje’ and has ‘Mañdvīpa’ as a retranslation of ‘Nor-bu gliñ’. The
Sanskrit colophon of the NMAA – *kṛtir ācāryavilāsavajrasya ratnadvīpanivāsinaḥ* (see Appendix
III) – indicates that ‘Nor-bu gliñ’ is likely to have translated ‘Ratnadvīpa’. The *Blue Annals* elsewhere
(I 204) implies that sGeg pa’i rdo rje was responsible for initiating a tradition of NS exegesis: “At a
later date, he [Smṛtijñānakīrti] prepared in Khams numerous translations of the Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṅgīti
according to the method of the Saint Līlāvajra (sGeg-pa rdo-rje)”.

³⁸Davidson (1981, 6) refers to this tradition reported by Bu ston but gives no source. I have not
been able to trace it in his *Chos ’byung* (*History of Buddhism*).

³⁹Jñānapāda can be dated by his disciple Buddhaghūya, the great Yoga Tantra commentator
whose letter to the Tibetan king Khri Srong lde btsan is preserved in the Tanjur (PTT vol. 129,
284.1.4–286.2.2). For a partial translation and discussion, see Snellgrove, 1987, 446–449.

⁴⁰For the date of the first ordinations in Tibet and the names of the ordinees see Tucci, *Minor
Buddhist Texts*, II: p.12ff. For discussion of the list of ordinees in Bu-ston’s *Chos ’byung* see
Obermiller 1932, 190.

⁴¹Colophon: rNyingGB vol. 15, 96.7; dkar chag: rNyingGB vol. 36, 512.5. The Derge Kanjur
edition of the *Devijālamahāmāyātantra* does not identify its translator(s). See also Kaneko’s *Kotant-*

tantra (*gSang ba'i snying po rgyud*)⁴² attributed to Vilāsavajra (*sGeg pa'i rdo rje*) also gives rMa Rin chen mchog as the translator.⁴³ A third connection between the two figures, unnoted by Davidson, is recorded in the colophon to the *Cittabindūpadeśa*, stating that it was written by Sangs rgyas gsang ba (= Buddhaguhya), Vimalamitra and sGeg pa'i rdo rje, and translated by rMa Rin chen mchog.⁴⁴ Davidson suggests that Vilāsavajra and rMa Rin chen mchog may have worked together when the latter was staying in India. Though it is not certain that these colophons are free from corruption and that the sGeg pa'i rdo rje of the NMAA is the same as the sGeg pa'i rdo rje of the other works, at the same time there are no substantial reasons for doubt. The external evidence on the whole points towards the latter part of the eighth century as a date for Vilāsavajra.

Such a supposition is in harmony with the internal evidence from the NMAA. As has been stated previously Vilāsavajra cites a wide range of both Tantric and non-Tantric sources in the NMAA (see Appendix I). The citation of Tantras includes those known to have been composed by or before the early eighth century, such as

ora zenshu kai mokuroku. [A complete catalogue of the rNyingGB] p.241, No. 195, for the title and translators of the rNyingGB translation of this work, which opens the Mahāyoga division of the collection. (The following work – Kaneko No. 196 – is a translation of the NS.)

⁴²*Guhyagarbhatantra*. The title of this work is problematic. It is a key text of the Tibetan rNying ma tradition (classified as the root Tantra in a set of eighteen Mahāyoga Tantras) and is preserved in Tibetan translation in the Kanjur as well as in the rNyingGB but to my knowledge it is not referred to by name or cited in the extant Skt. literature including Vilāsavajra's NMAA. This is surprising given its supposed importance. However, the title *Śrīguhyagarbhatattvaviniścaya* is found in transcription in the colophon of a text in the volume of rNying ma works added at the end of the *rgyud* section of the Narthang Kanjur (Korös, 1836, 548, text 2) and for the commentary attributed to sGeg pa'i rdo rje Cordier has '*Mahārājatantraśrīguyagarbhanāmatika*' as the 'mutilated' Skt. title given in the colophon to the version in the (Peking) edition of the Tanjur (LXXV 3). He notes that a *dkar chag* volume held in St. Petersburg reads, '*Mahā ... śrīguhya ... ṭika*'.

⁴³Sanje Dorje (ed.) *Commentaries on the Guhyagarbha Tantra and Other Rare Nyingmapa Texts from the Library of Dudjom Rinpoche*, New Delhi, 1974, 222.5. This same colophon states that sGeg pa'i rdo rje was an Ācārya from Nālandā and contains a benediction for the longevity of Khri Srong lde tsan.

⁴⁴Cordier LXXV 23. The *Cittabindūpadeśa* does not appear to have been included in the Derge edition of the Tanjur. Vimalamitra, the disciple of Buddhaguhya, visited Tibet during the reign of Khri Srong lde tsan, though precisely when is a matter of some controversy. Davidson suggests a date of about 795 or a little later (Davidson, *op. cit.*, note 23, p.9).

the *Susiddhikara*, the *Subāhu*, the *Mahāvairocana* and the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, but also includes some that were becoming more widely known towards the middle of the eighth century, such as the *Guhyasamāja*, the *Vajrabhairava*, and the *Māyājāla*.⁴⁵ Nothing thought to be later than the eighth century is cited. It is possible, though unlikely, that the NMAA was written later than the eighth century with no contemporary works cited; but authors like to be up-to-date.

It is significant that Vilāsavajra lists just three categories of Tantras, Yoga, Caryā and Kriyā.⁴⁶ This suggests that classifications where the number of categories is expanded to four, then five, by the addition in turn of classes referred to as Yogottaratantra and Yoganiruttaratantra were not current when he was writing,⁴⁷ and the suggestion gains strength since Vilāsavajra nonetheless cites Tantras that did come to be classified as Yogottara and Yoganiruttara. Again, a date of the latter part of the eighth century is indicated, a period when Tantras such as the *Guhyasamāja* and *Vajrabhairava* were gaining influence but were not yet seen as belonging to a special category.

The doctrinal and ritual structure of the NMAA also accords with what would be expected of this period. The *sādhana* of chapter 4 is based on the Vajradhātumaṇḍala of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*; it contains no division into generation (utpattikrama) and completion (niṣpannakrama) stages, and no distinction between Pledge (samaya-) and Knowledge (jñāna-) deities (-sattva). The Vijñānavāda doctrine, underpinned by references to Prajñāpāramitā literature is again characteristic of the

⁴⁵See note 20 above for discussion of citations from the SBSYDJS, referred to as the *Samvara-tantra*.

⁴⁶yogacaryākriyātantram tathā pāramitānāyamaṃ (NMAA 1.3); nāmāni yogakriyācaryātantrapra-vacanasūtrāntābhidharmavinayalaukikalokottarāṇi (NMAA 1.58–59).

⁴⁷An example of the fourfold classification of Tantras is found in Parahitarakṣita's *Ṭippanī* on Nāgārjuna's *Pañcakrama*, a commentary on the completion stage of the *Guhyasamājatāntra*: caturvidhaṃ tantram kriyācaryāyogayogottaratantram (PañcKrṭi 39). For the fivefold see Kāṇha, *Yogaratanmālā* on the HVT II viii 10: sarvamantranāyamaṃ iti pañcavidhaṃ kriyācaryāyogayogottarayoganiruttarabhedaṃ (Snellgrove 1959, p.156). The NS commentary *Gūḍhapadā* gives the same list: vajraṃ pañcācāryānātmakam / iha pañcācāryānāśabdena kriyācaryāyogayogottarayoganiruttarāś ca tantrāṇy ucyante (GūḍhPa fol. 5r6–7).

time, as witnessed most notably in the more philosophically systematic work of Śāntarakṣita, Kamalaśīla and Haribhadra.⁴⁸

Most of Vilāsavajra's Śāstric sources are authors who unquestionably predate him, such as Nāgārjuna, Candrakīrti, Dignāga and Vasubandhu. Two citations, however, may be contemporary. There is a single citation attributed to Jñānapāda who as stated above is described as a pupil of Vilāsavajra in the *Blue Annals*.⁴⁹ How likely would it be for a teacher to cite the work of a pupil? It is perhaps not out of the question here if we assume that Jñānapāda was already distinguished as a non-Tantric scholar before studying with Vilāsavajra. The other citation is one attributed to Kamalācārya.⁵⁰ Though I have not found it elsewhere this seems a likely alternative name for Kamalaśīla.

Another consideration in assessing Vilāsavajra's date is whether the other works attributed to him (see Appendix II) could also have been written in this period, with the associated issue as to whether their content suggests they were written by the author of the NMAA. Since full examination of these questions is beyond the scope of the present work the following comments are merely preliminary.⁵¹

Apart from his NS commentary, Vilāsavajra (as sGeg pa'i rdo rje) is best known in Tibetan Buddhism as the author of a short work, the *Guhyasamājatantranidāna-gurūpadeśabhāṣya* (Tōh 1910), on the *nidāna* of the *Guhyasamājatantra* and, particularly in the rNying ma school, for a commentary on the *Guhyagarbhatantra*.

⁴⁸It is probable that the doctrinal position of the NMAA should be described as Yogācāra rather than Yogācāra-Svātantrika-Madhyamaka (a term applied retrospectively by the Tibetans to the doctrinal position of eighth-century writers such as Śāntarakṣita). A full account would require study of the remaining chapters of the NMAA, especially chapters 6 and 8.

⁴⁹NMAA 8 (B.58r9, D.133r2) – on the 'Name' *sarvadharmasvabhāvadhrk* (NS 116): tathā cokaṭaṃ jñānapādaiḥ / saṃbodhicittam utpādya mahāmaitrīṃ prayogataḥ / sarvadharmā nirātmāna iti jñātvā vimucyata iti //

⁵⁰NMAA 8 (B.50r4, D.113v3) – on the 'Name' *mokṣaḥ* (NS 95): kamalācāryeṇāpy uktam / rāgādimalinaṃ cittam saṃsāras tadvimuktatā / saṃkṣepāt kathito mokṣaḥ prahīṇāvaraṇair jinair iti //

⁵¹Problems of attribution complicate using a writer's works to determine his chronology. Only after an author's date has been established can it be decided on chronological grounds that a work has been falsely attributed. If a work does appear 'late' it may be because the author lived later than had been initially supposed rather than it being falsely attributed.

A number of other works in the Tanjur are attributed to him, all just a few folios in length with the exception of two other commentaries, the *Yamāntakamūla-mantrārthavajraprabheda* (Tōh 2014), 83 folios long in the Peking blockprint edition, and the *Piṇḍikramaṭippanī* (24 folios), a work found in the *Guhyasamāja* section of the Derge Tanjur.

That Vilāsavajra should have written a commentary on the *Guhyasamājatantra* presents no obstacle to assigning him a date in the latter part of the eighth century. It accords with the tradition that he taught Jñānapāda, whose school of *Guhyasamājatantra* exegesis is characterised by Wayman as contrasting with the Ārya school in being more literary, in the sense of citing scripture as its authority, with particular fondness for citations from the Yoga Tantras.⁵² The Jñānapāda school also employs Vijñānavāda terminology, something which Candrakīrti of the Ārya school, like his Mādhyamika predecessor, is careful to avoid in his *Pradīpoddyotana* commentary on the *Guhyasamājatantra*.⁵³ Such an approach to exegesis certainly chimes with that of the NMAA, and it is not therefore surprising that Smṛtijñānakīrti, who translated the NMAA into Tibetan, also commented on the *Guhyasamājatantra* from the perspective of the Jñānapāda school.⁵⁴

While study of the contents of other works attributed to Vilāsavajra remains a desideratum,⁵⁵ the evidence of their titles in general suggests it is not mistaken to

⁵²Wayman, 1973, 16.

⁵³Wayman (1977, 94–5) writes, “This school [the Jñānapāda], at least as far as its literary products are concerned, does not bother with the topics of three lights and the Clear Light so prevalent in the works of the ‘Ārya’ school. If the Jñānapāda school comes across a term in the *Guhyasamājatantra* like ‘*prakṛtiprabhāsvara*’, it would be prone to explain it just as in non-tantric Buddhism, to wit ‘intrinsically clear’ (said of the pure consciousness); while a writer of the Ārya school would be likely to say it means (in what is called the ‘pregnant sense’) ‘the Clear Light along with the (80) *prakṛtis* (of the three lights)’.” The Jñānapāda approach as described here is that of the NMAA. Wayman also notes (1977, 94) that sGeg pa’i rdo rje’s *Guhyasamājatantra* commentary does not appear to distinguish generation and completion stages. As stated earlier, the NMAA contains no such distinction.

⁵⁴Smṛtijñānakīrti was the author of a *Śrīguhyasamājatantrarājavṛtti* (PTT vol. 66). See Wayman, 1977, 91–101.

⁵⁵Wayman refers to a passage from the *Guhyagarbhatantra* commentary where the word *guhya* of the Tantra’s title is discussed (1977, 56–57). In the course of his discussion sGeg pa’i rdo rje cites a

ascribe them to the author of the NMAA or to a period later than the late eighth century. Two possible exceptions are, firstly, the *Mahātilakakrama* (Tōh 1290), which is placed in the *Hevajratantra* section of the Tanjur and described by Dudjom Rinpoche (1991, 464) as being concerned with completion stage practices, and secondly, a Vajravārāhī *sādhana* attributed to a ‘Mahāpaṇḍitācārya Vilāsavajra’ that survives in the original Sanskrit.⁵⁶ Both of these, if composed by the author of the NMAA would indicate a date for him later than the latter part of the eighth century.

Two remaining sources of evidence concerning the life of Vilāsavajra are the colophon of the NMAA itself and the entry on sGeg pa'i rdo rje in Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism in India* (*rGya gar chos 'byung*). The two appear to be related. The NMAA concludes with a short colophon stating the name of the author together with a small amount of biographical detail. Unfortunately the complete colophon is preserved only in a single manuscript (the Cambridge palm-leaf, MS A)⁵⁷ which is in poor condition, making a number of syllables illegible. However, it is present in the Tibetan translation, in a somewhat expanded form, and the Tibetan is useful in suggesting a restored form of the Sanskrit (see Appendix III for discussion of the colophon text).

verse that mentions an ‘utmost secret’: Wayman writes, “In summary of his commentary on this verse, it turns out that the utmost secret is the non-dual, self-originated Wisdom (jñāna), an effortless fount of good qualities while its own aspect is incognizable”. This parallels the position in the NMAA where the purpose of the NS is said to be attainment of non-dual Wisdom (*prayojanaṃ ca ... advaya-jñānapratilambhaḥ*: NMAA 1.63–65).

⁵⁶This is the *Samkṣiptavajravārāhīsādhana*, found in the *Guhyasamayasamgraha*, a collection of forty-seven works, mainly *sādhana*s, concerning Vajrayoginī and Vajravārāhī. It is one folio long (fol. 101r1–101v6) in the palm leaf MS in the possession of the Bodleian library, Oxford (see Winternitz & Keith No. 1455, p.264–5, where the work is titled *Sādhanamālā Tantra*). The colophon of the *sādhana* attributed to Vilāsavajra reads: *saṃkṣiptavajravārāhīsādhanam samāptam kṛtir iyaṃ mahāpaṇḍitācāryavilāsavajra...*(the rest of the colophon is missing as fol.102 is lost).

⁵⁷Of the remaining manuscripts, BH² have the name of the author and the rest have nothing.

The Sanskrit (as emended) and Tibetan of the colophon may be respectively translated as follows:

[Here ends] the work of Ācārya Vilāsavajra, inhabitant of Ratnadvīpa, son of the sister (-bhāgineya) of Śrī Agrabodhi⁵⁸ [and] whose name is [also] known as Śrī Viśvarūpa.

[The work] called “An Explanation of the Meaning of the Name-Mantras”, a commentary on the *Āryanāmasaṃgīti* – composed by the Indian *paṇḍita* Vilāsavajra, dweller on the jewel island, ‘Endowed with sun’, *Śrīmadagrabodhibhāgin, whose name is [also] celebrated as Śrī Viśvarūpa – is complete.⁵⁹

A number of observations arise from comparison of the two versions of the colophon. Firstly, though the name Viśvarūpa is partly restored from the Tibetan, it is clear that both Sanskrit and Tibetan agree in giving this as an alternative name for Vilāsavajra. Secondly, the Skt. has nothing corresponding to *nyi ma can* (‘Endowed with sun’), which could be taken as a description (‘sunny Ratnadvīpa’!) as well as a name.⁶⁰ Thirdly, the Sanskrit gives a useful piece of biographical information, namely that Vilāsavajra’s maternal uncle is called Agrabodhi, presumably the Agrabodhi to whom four works on the NS are attributed in the Tanjur.⁶¹ The Tibetan, however, misconstrues the Sanskrit, reading *-bhāgineyasya* as two words, *-bhāgine yasya* (*skal ba dang ldan pa gang gi*), and taking *dpal ldan byang chub mchog gi skal ba dang ldan pa* (‘Śrīmadagrabodhibhāgin’) to be in apposition to *sgeg pa’i rdo rje* (Vilāsavajra), leaving little alternative but to understand the expression as another name of Vilāsavajra. This mistranslation may well be the source of the identification of Vilāsavajra with Agrabodhi accepted by Bu ston and

⁵⁸*śrīmadagrabodhibhāgineyasya*. I am indebted to Prof. A. Sanderson for my understanding of this compound. He also pointed out that the relation between a child and his mother’s brother is more intimate than that between a child and his father in Indian society.

⁵⁹*kṛtīr ācāryavilāsavajrasya ratnadvīpanivāsinah śrīmadagrabodhibhāgineyasya prasiddhaśrī-viśvarūpābhīdhānasya conj.* (A 114v6); ‘phags pa mtshan yang dag par brjod pa’i rgya cher ’grel pa mtshan gsang sngags kyi don du rnam par lta ba zhes bya ba rgya gar gyi mkhan po sgeg pa’i rdo rje nyi ma can gyi rin po che gling na bzhugs pa dpal ldan byang chub mchog gi skal ba dang ldan pa gang gi mtshan dpal sna tshogs gzugs can du grags pa des mdzad pa rdzogs so (*Tib.*[226.1.6–8]).

⁶⁰This expression is discussed below, following the citation of Tāranātha’s description of sGeg pa’i rdo rje.

⁶¹Tōh 2579–2582

Tāranātha.⁶² Lastly, the Tibetan refers to Vilāsavajra as a *paṇḍita* (mkhan po) rather than an *ācārya* (slob dpon) as in the Sanskrit.

Comparison of the Sanskrit and Tibetan colophons of the NMAA with Tāranātha's description of the life of sGeg pa'i rdo rje is revealing. Tāranātha's account is as follows:⁶³

King Devapāla ruled for forty-eight years.

After him, his son Rāsapāla ruled for twelve years. Since he did practically nothing new for the Buddhist Teaching, he is not counted among the seven Pālas.

During this period sGeg pa'i rdo rje (Vilāsavajra), the *ācārya* of Urgyan, spent ten years in Śrī Nālandā, gave many explanations concerning the Mantrayāna and composed the commentary on the *Nāmasaṃgīti*.

(1½ lines of text omitted.)

Among them, now about the *ācārya* sGeg pa'i rdo rje (Vilāsavajra).

He was born in a place called Śaṃśa, was ordained in Urgyan and was a follower of the Vijñānamadhyamaka (rnam rig dbu ma pa) philosophy.

⁶²Sakurai (1987a, 88) states that Bu ston refers to 'Five *dharma*s of sGeg pa'i rdo rje' (sGeg pa'i rdo rje'i chos lnga), comprising the NMAA and the four works of Agrabodhi (*rNal 'byor rgyud kyi rgya mtshor 'jug pa'i gru gzings*, fol. 89b4 in *The Collected Works of Bu ston* pt. 11, Tōh 5104). Though Sakurai accepts the identification of Agrabodhi with Vilāsavajra, referring to the latter as the founder of the 'Jam dpal gsang ldan (Mañjuśrī Guhyāpanna) school, which takes its name from Agrabodhi's *sādhana* to Guhyāpanna (*Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgītisādhana*, Tōh 2579), he comments that Agrabodhi's works all explain the *Māyājālābhisaṃbodhikrama* (dealt with in NMAA 4) in terms of the three *saṃādhis*, an exegetical category not found in the NMAA (Sakurai *ibid.* p.89). That the contents of works attributed to Agrabodhi and Vilāsavajra significantly differ is supported by Davidson (1981, 8), who states that the Guhyāpanna *sādhana* contains none of the concerns found in other works attributed to Vilāsavajra. Davidson, however, speculates that Agrabodhi was later than Vilāsavajra, and takes Agrabodhi's ritual approach to be based upon that of the NMAA. The Sanskrit colophon to the NMAA suggests that the reverse might be the case, ie. that Vilāsavajra may have adopted elements in his ritual structure from the work of his uncle.

According to their colophons the four works on the NS by Agrabodhi were translated into Tibetan by Smṛtijñānakīrti, the translator of the NMAA. The existence of an Agrabodhi who wrote on the NS from broadly the same ritual perspective as Vilāsavajra, combined with the presence of the name Agrabodhi in the NMAA colophon, makes the identification of the two in the Tibetan more understandable. The mistranslation upon which it rests, however, is not one that a *paṇḍita* such as Smṛtijñānakīrti is likely to have made and this, along with other mistranslations contained in the Tibetan translation of the NMAA (see *Introduction to the Text*, section 5), raise a question over the level of involvement he had in the translation. Perhaps the bulk of the translation was the work of his Tibetan disciples. Alternatively, the present translation could be the product of the revision of the Tibetan.

⁶³This is a modified version of Chimpa & Chattopadhyaya's translation (HBI 271–272). For the Tibetan text see Schiefner (1868), *Tāranātha's rGya-gar-chos-'byun*. St. Petersburg, 163. 22–164.19.

After becoming learned in all the branches of knowledge, he meditated on *Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* in a small island called Madhima in Urgyan. When he was about to attain the *siddhi* of Ārya Mañjuśrī, the face of the picture of Mañjuśrī radiated bright light and kept the island illuminated for many days. Hence he was called Nyi ma dang 'dra ba ('Sun-Like'). A certain heretic felt the need for the five sense-organs of a Buddhist *paṇḍita* as materials for his rituals. He came to kill this *ācārya*. He [Vilāsavajra] went on changing his own form into that of an elephant (glang po), horse, girl and boy. So he could not spot him and went away. Hence he was called sNa tshogs kyi gzugs (Viśvarūpa, 'Possessing Various Forms').

During the latter part of his life, he extensively worked for the welfare of the living beings in Urgyan. After this, he attained the rainbow body, [ie.] the Vajra-body (rdo rje'i sku).

His ordained name was dPal ldan byang chub mchog gi skal ba dang ldan pa (*Śrīmadagrabodhibhāgin). His secret [ie. Tantric] name was sGeg pa'i rdo rje (Vilāsavajra). Thus, the name of the author of the works composed by him, is differently mentioned as sGeg pa'i rdo rje (Vilāsavajra), Nyi ma dang 'dra ba (*Sūryasadrśa), sNa tshogs kyi gzugs (Viśvarūpa) [and] dPal ldan byang chub mchog gi skal ba dang ldan pa (*Śrīmadagrabodhibhāgin).

The list of alternative names attributed to Vilāsavajra by Tāranātha is, with the addition of Nyi ma dang 'dra ba ('Sun-Like'), that of the Tibetan translation of the NMAA colophon. If it were not for the occurrence of Nyi ma dang 'dra ba in the concluding list of Vilāsavajra's names, this name makes more sense in the context of the story given to explain it, as one subsequently given to the island rather than to Vilāsavajra. In the Tibetan translation of the NMAA colophon the parallel phrase, *nyi ma can*, is descriptive of the island Ratnadvīpa (it is in apposition to *rin po che gling*, not to *sgeg pa'i rdo rje*).

Comparison with the Skt. colophon shows a progression from the Skt.'s "who dwells in Ratnadvīpa" (ratnadvīpanivāsinah) to the Tibetan translation's "dweller on the jewel island, 'Endowed-with-sun'" (nyi ma can gyi rin po che gling na bzhugs pa), then to Tāranātha's description of sGeg pa'i rdo rje meditating on an island called Madhima, after which he became known as 'Sun-like'. These differences could be variously accounted for. The Tibetan translation of the colophon could, with *nyi ma can*, be preserving a word lost in the Skt. or it could be an addition, its source perhaps being a version of the story current at the time of the translation of the

NMAA into Tibetan (or at the time of its revision) later reported by Tāranātha. The place-name Ratnadvīpa is lost in Tāranātha's *rGya gar chos 'byung*, where the island is called Madhima, and 'Sun-like' has become a name of Vilāsavajra. Tāranātha may have received a confused version of an early legend surrounding the description *ratnadvīpanivāsinah* or the legend could be one that took as its source the Tibetan translation of the colophon.

This latter explanation seems most persuasive in the case of the name *Śrīmadagrabodhibhāgin, which Tāranātha states was Vilāsavajra's monastic name. The Tibetan for the name is identical with that in the translation of the NMAA colophon, which as has been seen is based on a misconstrual of the Sanskrit. Thus Tāranātha is offering – or transmitting – an account of a name of Vilāsavajra that only exists as a product of mistranslation.

However, Tāranātha may provide a partial solution to a separate problem, namely where Vilāsavajra lived. Both Tāranātha and the *Blue Annals* describe him as living in Uḍḍiyāna (Urgyan)⁶⁴ but this conflicts with the statement in the colophon to the commentary on the *Guhyagarbhatantra* that he was an *ācārya* from Nālandā⁶⁵ as well as with the colophon to the NMAA, which has him as an inhabitant of Ratnadvīpa.⁶⁶ Tāranātha's statement that Vilāsavajra spent ten years at Nālandā

⁶⁴Tāranātha's HBI does not contain the account of Buddhajñāna being a pupil of Vilāsavajra's in Uḍḍiyāna.

⁶⁵Reported by Davidson, 1981, 7, note 18. Sanje Dorje (ed.) *Commentaries on the Guhyagarbha Tantra and Other Rare Nyingmapa Texts from the Library of Dudjom Rinpoche*, New Delhi, 1974, 222.5.

⁶⁶Bu ston (*Blue Annals* I 367) gives Ratnadvīpa (nor bu gling) as the birth place of sGeg pa'i rdo rje, whereas Tāranātha has *śaṃ ṣa* (Schiefer 1868, p.164.6). Chimpa and Chattopadhyaya, however, read *Ṣiṣa* (HBI 272); and *Dhīḥ* (Vol. 3, 118–119), in an account of the life of Vilāsavajra that is in part a retelling of Tāranātha, has *Ṣaṃṣar* village for his birth-place, which with no supporting argument is equated with Khamkhar, present day Kāṃgaḍā.

The geographical location of Ratnadvīpa is uncertain. Davidson wonders whether it may be the *viḥāra* of Ratnagiri in Orissa and, taking the NMAA colophon to identify Agrabodhi and Vilāsavajra (following the Tibetan), suggests that the conflict between the alternative locations of Ratnadvīpa and Nālandā could be the product of confusion in the NMAA colophon resulting from a later *ācārya* called Agrabodhi from Ratnadvīpa considering himself, or being considered, as an incarnation of the Nālandā scholar Vilāsavajra, ie. he suggests that the NMAA colophon gives information about Agrabodhi

during which time he wrote the NS commentary is not improbable, at least in general terms. Teachers and scholars of this period often moved around from place to place and it would not be unlikely for someone of Vilāsavajra's standing to spend a lengthy time at an important centre such as Nālandā and then (perhaps) return to his home territory, whether Uḍḍiyāna or Ratnadvīpa.

Both the internal and external evidence concerning Vilāsavajra point to ascribing him a date of the latter part of the eighth century. Counter indications are Tāranātha – if his dating is followed Vilāsavajra would have to be placed at least half a century later – and the two texts attributed to him dealing with Hevajra and Vajravārāhī. If the link between Vilāsavajra and rMa Rin chen mchog is accepted, it is possible to give a more definite date for the time that he was active, ie. c. 779 CE. As for so many of the figures of this period the bulk of the evidence remains circumstantial, making precise chronology almost impossible.

rather than Vilāsavajra. This explanation is not sustainable given that the Skt. NMAA colophon does not identify Agrabodhi with Vilāsavajra.

A Ratnadvīpa occurs in ch. 7 of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* where it is the goal of the journey through the forest in the parable of the conjured city.

5. Structure and Contents of the NMAA

5.1 Introduction

The NMAA comprises fourteen chapters,⁶⁷ one on each section of the NS as enumerated by Vilāsavajra after the opening stanzas of NMAA chapter one:

- Ch. 1 On ‘The Request for Instruction’ (adhyeṣaṇā).
- Ch. 2 On ‘The Reply’ (prativacanam).
- Ch. 3 On ‘The Survey of the Six Families’ (ṣaṭkulāvalokanam).
- Ch. 4 On ‘The Method of Awakening according to the *Māyājāla*’ (māyājālābhi-sambodhikramah).
- Ch. 5 On ‘The Vajradhātu-Mahāmaṇḍala of Bodhicittavajra’ (bodhicittavajrasya vajradhātumahāmaṇḍalam).
- Ch. 6 On ‘The Praise [of the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī] via the Perfectly Pure Awareness of the Dharmadhātu’ (suviśuddhadharmadhātujñānasvabhāvena stutiḥ).⁶⁸
- Ch. 7 On ‘The Praise [of the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī] via the Mirror-like Awareness’ (ādarśajñānasvabhāvena stutiḥ).
- Ch. 8 On ‘The Praise [of the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī] via the Discriminating Awareness’ (pratyavekṣaṇājñānamukhena stutiḥ).
- Ch. 9 On ‘The Praise [of the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī] via the Awareness of Equality’ (samatājñānasvabhāvena stutiḥ).
- Ch. 10 On ‘The Praise [of the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī] via the Awareness of the Performance of Action’ (kṛtyānuṣṭhānajñānadvāreṇa stutiḥ).
- Ch. 11 On ‘The Praise [of the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī that is of the nature] of the Five Awarenesses via the five Tathāgatas’ (pañcatathāgatamukhena pañcajñānastutiḥ).⁶⁹

⁶⁷The titles are taken from the individual chapter colophons, the bracketed additions being justified by other material from the NMAA, as described in the following two notes (for the Skt. chapter colophons see Appendix III).

⁶⁸It becomes clear that the ‘Praise’ (stuti) is praise ‘of the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī’ in the opening lines of chapters 7–10. Thus: *idānīm pratyavekṣaṇājñānamukhena bhagavataḥ sarvatathā-gatajñānakāyasya mañjuśrījñānasattvasya stutim āha* (chapter 8); and, *idānīm samatājñānamukhena bhagavataḥ sarvatathāgatajñānakāyasya mañjuśrījñānasattvasya stutim adhikṛtyāha* (chapter 9).

⁶⁹The colophon to chapter 11 reads, “Here ends the chapter on ‘The Concluding Praise’, the eleventh in the commentary on the *Āryanāmasaṃgīti* [called] ‘An Explanation of the Meaning of the Name-Mantras’.” (āryanāmasaṃgītikāyām nāmamantrārthāvalokinyām upasaṃhārastutyadhikāra ekādaśamaḥ parisamāptaḥ) and the Skt. is supported by the Tibetan translation (*Tib.* [221.3.8]). It is not clear whether this should be regarded as corrupt, influenced by the colophon of chapter 14 (āryanāmasaṃgītikāyām nāmamantrārthāvalokinyām upasaṃhārādhikāraś caturdaśamaḥ samāptaḥ) or whether Vilāsavajra is stating that these five NS verses of homage are to be regarded as concluding the NS proper. In order to preserve a distinction between chapters 11 & 14 I have followed the NS title given in the introductory section of chapter 1, namely, *pañcatathāgatamukhena pañcajñānastutiḥ* (Text 1.39) with the additional, ‘of the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī that is of the nature’, following the opening of chapter eleven itself: “Now, the five Tathāgatas, Mahāvairocana etc., praised the Fortunate

- Ch. 12 On ‘The Benefit’ (*anuśamsā*).
 Ch. 13 On ‘The Arrangement of Mantras of the Wisdom-Wheel’ (*prajñācakramantravinyāsaḥ*).⁷⁰
 Ch. 14 On ‘The Conclusion’ (*upasamhāraḥ*).

The NMAA generally proceeds by commenting on the NS word by word, from the beginning and through to the end of each chapter. Exceptions are an introductory section at the beginning of the first chapter, which consists of opening stanzas, the division of the NS into topics and sections, and a statement of the NS’s subject matter and purpose; and chapter 4, which consists of a *sādhana* built around two key verses of the NS (26–7) and which lays down the central structure of the NMAA’s ritual content, the Vajradhātumaṇḍala.

Chapters 4–10 are concerned in varying degrees with the elaboration of this ritual structure, which with the doctrinal context provide the unifying factors for the whole text. Apart from some initial statements in chapter one’s introductory section, the doctrinal content is developed piece-meal, material being introduced when a word from the NS provides an opportunity. The NMAA is also something of a general Buddhist hand-book in that it gives glosses, explanations and etymological analyses (*nirvacana*) of words and terms familiar to Mainstream and Mahāyāna Buddhism. These features make it hard to summarise the contents of chapters individually. A further consequence of the nature of the NMAA’s composition is that its doctrine and ritual organisation are not immediately apparent. This is not to say that Vilāsa-

One – the Embodiment of Knowledge, who dwells in the Vajradhātumahāmaṇḍala – with five verses whose nature is Awareness.” (*adhunā mahāvairocanādayaḥ pañca tathāgatāḥ pañcabhir jñānātmikābhir gāthābhir bhagavantaṃ jñānamūrtiṃ vajradhātumahāmaṇḍalāntarvartinaṃ saṃstuvanti sma*).

⁷⁰The title given to the 13th section of the NS in chapter one – *mantradvāreṇa stutiḥ*, “The Praise via Mantras” (*Text* 1.42) – differs from that implied in the colophon of chapter 13, namely *prajñācakramantravinyāsaḥ*. The latter is an amplification of the topic of the section, *mantravinyāsaḥ*, given earlier in chapter one (*Text* 1.17–18), the meaning of which is not very clear as it stands.

NS sections 12–14, like 6–11, are all called ‘praises’ (*stutiḥ*) – presumably of Mañjuśrījñānasattva – in their enumeration in chapter one. In the corresponding chapter colophons the word *stuti* is not used, leaving just the chapters concerned with the Five Awarenesses (ch. 6–10) and the ‘concluding’ homage (ch. 11) as ‘praises’.

vajra is not explicit or transparent in his exegesis. To the contrary, increasing familiarity with the NMAA shows a writer with a grasp of his subject and the ability to convey it clearly and economically. It is, rather, that the style of the genre prevents very much systematic development of material.

My aim in what follows is twofold: to give an outline of the NMAA's ritual categories and overall framework together with some comment on the doctrinal perspective; and to introduce the contents of chapters 1–5. To an extent these concerns overlap, since by the end of chapter 5 the ritual framework of the NMAA is established, and thus to give an account of it also goes some way towards introducing the contents of the first five chapters.⁷¹

Some preliminary comment is required on the nature of the NS and how Vilāsavajra divides it into sections.

5.2 The *Nāmasaṃgīti* and its divisions

As stated before, the NS itself is a short work. It consists of 162 verses in *anuṣṭubh* metre followed by a prose section describing the qualities of the NS and the benefits accruing to the person who recites and meditates on it (*anuśamsā*). There is then a short passage containing mantras, followed by five concluding verses (*upasaṃhārah*). The first 25 verses act as an introduction to the main part of the text, giving it the appearance of scripture: Vajradhara accompanied by a retinue of fierce Vajrapāṇis asks the Buddha Śākyamuni to teach the *Nāmasaṃgīti*.⁷² Śākyamuni replies and, being pleased with Vajradhara's words, agrees to his request. The core verses (26–162) consist for the most part of a series of predicates in the nominative

⁷¹A full study of the contents of chapters 1–5 is beyond the scope of the present work, as is exploration of the extensive NS literature available in Tibetan translation.

⁷²The NS does not open with the usual *evaṃ mayā śrutam* ... ("Thus have I heard ...") of Buddhist Sūtras and Tantras. However, among Tantras at least, this opening is not invariable. The *Vajrabhairavatantra*, like the NS, starts simply with *atha* (see Siklós, 1990). In the 14th century Bu ston classified the NS as a Tantra (Tōh 360) placing it at the head of the *rgyud* (tantra) section of the Tanjur immediately preceding the *Kālacakratantra*. Bu ston's designation of the NS and *Kālacakratantra* as Non-dual Tantras was not accepted by Tsong kha pa who, not admitting the category, took them as Mother Tantras of the Anuttara class.

case whose unstated subject is assumed to be Mañjuśrī. These are the ‘Names’ of the *Nāmasaṃgīti*. The concluding verses depict Vajradhara and his retinue rejoicing in what they have heard and further praising the NS.

In many, though not all, of the extant Skt. MSS the NS is divided into the sections enumerated in the NMAA, some of which came to circulate independently in collections of *stutis* and *stotras*. The following table indicates the relation of the structure of the NS to the NS sections enumerated in the NMAA.

Structure of the Nāmasaṃgīti		Divisions in NS MSS & NMAA
Frame Text: (1–25)	Opening Verses:	
	a) Vajradhara’s request (1–16)	Adhyeṣaṇā (1–16)
	b) Śākyamuni’s reply (17–22)	Prativacanam (17–22)
	c) Introduction to core text (23–25)	Ṣaṭkulāvalokanam (23–24)
Core Text: (26–162)	a) Initial <i>gāthā</i> & homage (26–27)	Māyājālābhisambodhikramaḥ (25–27)
		Vajradhātumahāmaṇḍalam (28–41)
		Suviśuddhadharmadhātujñānam (42–66c)
		Ādarśajñānam (66d–76)
	b) The ‘Names’ (28–157)	Pratyavekṣaṇājñānam (77–118)
		Samatājñānam (119–142)
		Kṛtyānuṣṭhānajñānam (143–157)
		Pañcatathāgatajñānastutiḥ (158–162)
Frame Text:	Concluding Sections:	Anuśamsā (in 6 parts)
	a) Praise & Benefits of the NS	
	b) Mantras	Mantravinyāsaḥ
	c) Concluding verses (163–167)	Upasaṃhāraḥ (163–167)
	d) Colophon	

Table 1. The NS and its Divisions in NS Manuscripts and the NMAA.⁷³

⁷³NS verse numbers are given in brackets. Section titles are those of the NS MSS, taken from *NS.Dav.*, allowing comparison with those of chapter 1 of the NMAA. They have been slightly modified, however. The NS gives the title compounding it with the number of verses of each section. Thus ‘*prativacanagāthāḥ ṣaṭ*’ (*NS.Dav.* 51, 9) is here ‘*prativacanam*’.

It is not clear at what point this division of the NS into sections was made.⁷⁴ That it had in part to do with the influence of exegesis is suggested by the names of many of the sections as well as the unusual transition between sections 6 and 7, which falls at the end of the third *pāda* of a verse (NS 66c). It is not impossible that the division is Vilāsavajra's.⁷⁵

Vilāsavajra's summary of the NS differentiates NS 1–162 from the rest, stating that the NS consists of 162 verses plus 150 verse-equivalents for the *anūsamsā*

⁷⁴As usual with Buddhist scripture there is the question of whether it is possible to isolate different strata in its composition. Davidson argues that the 'frame text', that is, the opening and closing verses along with the prose section on the benefits of the NS and the section of mantras, probably represent a later stratum in the development of the text. Thus the core verses (26–162) constitute its initial form. He sees these verses as representing, "a basic meditative form complete with devotional homage in the final five verses (158–162)" and as being, "the instructions of a *vajrācārya*" (Davidson 1981, 3). Given the nature of the core verses I find this interpretation puzzling. They contain no instructions as such but are descriptions of different embodiments and functions of wisdom; and it is not immediately apparent that they can be described as 'a basic meditative form' unless this points to their potential for contemplative recitation.

Early commentators on the NS such as Vilāsavajra and Mañjuśrīmitra developed visualisation *sādhana*s centred on the NS verses but these are works of exegesis. The core text possesses a unity of style and organisation of content that distinguishes it from the rest of the work, but it does not necessarily follow that it represents a different stratum of textual composition. Analysis of the content of the NS should be considered before any conclusions are drawn.

⁷⁵Except for 'Request', 'Reply', 'Benefit' and 'Conclusion' none of the NS division titles found in the Skt. MSS make immediate sense in relation to their content. The section called "The Arrangement of Mantras" (*mantravinyāsaḥ*), for example, is puzzling since although it contains mantras, they are not arranged in any way. An expanded title, "The Arrangement of Mantras on the Wisdom-wheel" (*prajñācakramantravinyāsaḥ*), in the colophon of NMAA chapter 13 makes good sense within the context of the NMAA's *sādhana* where the mantras are visualised on a *prajñācakra* in the heart of the Ādibuddha. Again, section 4, entitled "The Method of Awakening According to the Māyājāla" contains nothing that could be described as a 'method' (*krama*). A commentary such as NMAA 4 offers this.

Though the points of the text divisions found in the NS MSS are identical with those given by Vilāsavajra there are some minor differences in the two sets of titles. One is that sections 6–10 are not called 'praises' (*stuti*) in the NS MSS so, for example, instead of 'The Praise via the Awareness of Equality' the NS has 'Twenty-four verses via the Awareness of Equality' (*samatājñānagāthās caturviṃśatiḥ*). As seen above, the title for section 13 (*mantravinyāsaḥ*) is expanded in the NMAA.

Despite these differences it is possible that the present section divisions of the NS derive from Vilāsavajra's NMAA enumeration. Another possibility is that they originated with Mañjuśrīmitra, but it is unlikely that the titles, at least, are his. Vilāsavajra and the NS MSS give NS 23–4 the title 'The Survey of the Six Families' and the NMAA duly itemises six families, whereas Mañjuśrīmitra enumerates at least nine families in his *Nāmasaṃgītiṣṭi* (see Davidson, 1981, 21–22, note 62, where the passage is partly translated). If the present title was accepted at the time Mañjuśrīmitra wrote his *Ṭṛti* it is unlikely that he would not comment in accord with it. However, on this issue of the origin of the NS divisions and their titles further study of other early NS commentaries extant in Tibetan translation is needed.

section.⁷⁶ He is not unaware that the mantra passage and the concluding verses follow the *anuśaṃsā* since he has just enumerated them as the final two sections of the NS, and the NMAA devotes a separate chapter to each. In assigning 150 verses to the *anuśaṃsā* Vilāsavajra must be referring to the whole of what follows verses 1–162.⁷⁷

The NS is in several ways a puzzling text. It is not immediately clear, for instance, who or what the Names of the NS name; the ‘core text’ (NS 26–162) refers to Mañjuśrī just once (NS 157d); the identity of the speaker of the pivotal verses 26 and 27 is unclear and their sense obscure, as is that of *tad yathā*, which opens the following verse (NS 28) that introduces the Names. Also the relation of the NS to the *Māyājālatantra* of which it claims to be a part is not apparent. Full discussion of these problems lies beyond the scope of this introduction, although Vilāsavajra’s solution to some of them will become clear in what follows.⁷⁸ The NMAA’s

⁷⁶*tad ekatra dvāṣaṣṭyuttaraśatagāthābhir adhyardhaśatenānuśaṃsāgranthena stutiḥ samagrā* (Text 1.43–4); “So [al]together, the entire praise [of the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī] has [a total of] one hundred and sixty-two verses, [plus the equivalent of a further] one hundred and fifty verses for the [prose] Benefit [Section].”

⁷⁷Differentiation of the *anuśaṃsā*, *mantravinyāsa* and *upasaṃhāra* from what precedes is also found in Mañjuśrīmitra’s NS recitation *sādhana* (‘*Jam-dpal-gyi mtshan gdon-pa’i man-ngag*; **Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgītyupadeśā*: Tōh 2555), translated from the Tibetan by Davidson (1981, 45–7). He states that there are a total of 262 verses in the NS of which 150 belong to the *anuśaṃsā*. Though the arithmetic does not work out, the figure of 262 for the total again suggests a division of the NS into 162 verses plus the remainder (which could either be 100 verse-equivalents, keeping Mañjuśrīmitra’s total or 150 verse-equivalents, keeping his figure for the *anuśaṃsā*, but giving a total of 312 verses for the whole NS).

Davidson argues (1981, 47, note 149) that since Mañjuśrīmitra and Vilāsavajra treat the *anuśaṃsā*, *mantravinyāsa* and *upasaṃhāra* sections as being different from the remainder of the NS, this suggests that they arose as a unit, later than the earlier verses, supporting his hypothesis concerning the stratification and development of the text. However, his hypothesis is that NS 26–162 form the earliest strata, not NS 1–162.

In present-day Nepal, the whole text of the NS including the colophon, but excepting the *anuśaṃsā*, is chanted. Bajrācārya Dibyabajra informed me (Jan. 1992) that the *anuśaṃsā* used to be chanted (though it was not clear whether this was within his lifetime) but more recently it was felt that there was no need, as the *anuśaṃsā* described the benefits of chanting the NS and was thus not strictly part of it. The full benefits could still be obtained without chanting the *anuśaṃsā*. Indeed, modern Nepalese editions of the NS omit it.

⁷⁸My paper, ‘Mañjuśrī and ‘The Chanting of Names’ (*Nāmasaṃgīti*): Wisdom and its Embodiment in an Indian Mahāyāna Buddhist Text.’ given at the *The Eighteenth Symposium on Indian Religions*, Oxford, 1993, examines some of these problems.

interpretation frequently coincides with what independent study might suggest; it appears that Vilāsavajra is indeed bringing out what is implicit in the NS rather than imposing a pre-existing point of view.

5.3 Mañjuśrījñānasattva and the letter A

Commenting on the term *mañjuśrījñānasattva* in NS 10, the NMAA reads,

He is [described as] *jñānasattva* since he dwells in the heart, [that is, the consciousness] of all the Tathāgatas. The Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī is not the Bodhisattva who is the master of the ten stages (bhūmi). Rather, he is Non-dual Awareness, the Perfection of Wisdom itself.⁷⁹

Identified thus as the Non-dual Awareness (*advayajñāna*) that constitutes enlightenment, the figure of Mañjuśrījñānasattva is central to Vilāsavajra's NS exegesis. Since *advayajñāna* is that which makes one a Buddha, Mañjuśrījñānasattva can be described as being at the heart of all the Tathāgatas. This understanding has as its ritual reflex the placing of Mañjuśrījñānasattva at the heart of Mahāvairocana, the Buddha at the centre of the Vajradhātumaṇḍala, the NMAA's principal ritual structure.⁸⁰ Mañjuśrījñānasattva therefore has these twin aspects: as Non-dual Awareness; and as deity, that Awareness embodied. Although Vilāsavajra does not analyse the word *jñānasattva* it should probably be taken as a *karmadhāraya* ('a being who is Awareness') and this analysis of *jñānasattva* referring to something that is both 'Awareness' and 'a being', makes it easier to see how the term is used sometimes to denote wisdom and sometimes that wisdom's embodiment.

The prominence Vilāsavajra gives to Mañjuśrījñānasattva takes its basis in the NS which in its opening verses, *anuśamsā* and colophon refers to itself as, "the *Nāmasaṃgīti* of Mañjuśrījñānasattva".⁸¹ Mañjuśrījñānasattva's identification with

⁷⁹*jñānasattva* iti / sarvatathāgatahṛdayavihāritvāt /... nāyaṃ daśabhūmīśvaro bodhisattvaḥ kiṃ tarhy advaya jñānaṃ prajñāpāramitā saiva mañjuśrījñānasattvaḥ // (Text 1.215–218)

⁸⁰The actual arrangement in the *sādhana* of NMAA 4 is even more complex (see section 5.8 below) since Mañjuśrījñānasattva is at the hub of the Wisdom-wheel at the heart of the Ādibuddha who is at the heart of Mahāvairocana. Nevertheless, Mañjuśrījñānasattva can still be described as in the heart of Mahāvairocana.

⁸¹bhagavan...mañjuśrījñānasattvasya...nāmasaṃgītim...dhārayiṣyāmy (NS 10–14); sarvatathāgatajñānakāyasya mañjuśrījñānasattvasyāveṇīkapariśuddhā nāmasaṃgītiḥ (*anuśamsā*: NS.Dav. 61,

jñāna is made in the opening verses where he is described as ‘the Knowledge-Body’ (*jñānakāya*) and ‘the Embodiment of Knowledge’ (*jñānamūrti*),⁸² as well as in the *anūsamsā* where he is twice qualified as ‘the Knowledge-Body of all the Tathāgatas (*sarvatathāgatajñānakāya*)’. For his ritual function, there is a recommendation in the *anūsamsā* that the practitioner should meditate on Mañjuśrījñānasattva’s form.⁸³

Vilāsavajra uses these NS references in the NMAA. At the end of the visualisation of oneself as Mañjuśrījñānasattva in chapter 4 the *anūsamsā* recommendation to meditate on his form is cited (see *Text* 4.193 ff.); the colophon is incorporated at the beginning of NMAA on NS 1 (*Text* 1.72–74); and at the beginning of chapter 4 one of the two *anūsamsā* passages that refer to Mañjuśrījñānasattva as ‘the Knowledge-Body of all the Tathāgatas’ is incorporated into the text (*NS.Dav.* 65, 3–4; *Text* 4.2–4). This last passage provides unequivocal textual support for Vilāsavajra’s identification of Mañjuśrījñānasattva with *jñāna*. If the term *jñānakāya* (‘Knowledge-Body’), which must surely be understood, as it is by Vilāsavajra,⁸⁴ to be a karmadhāraya, if, that is, it is taken to mean ‘the body that is Knowledge’, then to say that Mañjuśrī is the *jñānakāya* of all the Tathāgatas is to say that he is the Knowledge or Awareness that underlies or lies within all Tathāgatas.

Passages from the NS *anūsamsā* are used here, as elsewhere,⁸⁵ to legitimate key notions and structures in the NMAA. The same function is performed by citation of

21–22); bhagavato mañjuśrījñānasattvasya sarvatathāgatajñānakāyasya jñānamūrter advayaparamārtham nāmasaṃgītiṃ (*anūsamsā*: *NS.Dav.* 65, 3–4); bhagavato mañjuśrījñāna sattvasya paramārthā nāmasaṃgītiḥ (colophon: *NS.Dav.* 69, 9–10; see *Text* 1.73–4 for the NS colophon incorporated into the NMAA). There is just one further reference to Mañjuśrījñānasattva by name in the NS (see note 83) making a total of five.

⁸²In NS 10: bhagavan jñānakāyasya mahosṇīṣasya gīṣpateḥ / mañjuśrījñānasattvasya jñānamūrteḥ svayaṃbhavaḥ.

⁸³bhagavato mañjuśrījñānasattvasya rūpam ālambayann (*anūsamsā*; *NS.Dav.* 66, 23; and see *Text* 4.193 for its citation by the NMAA).

⁸⁴kimviśiṣṭasya jñānakāyasyeti jñānam eva kāyo jñānakāyas tasya (*Text* 1.203–204).

⁸⁵It is cited, for instance, in the discussion of the NS’s subject matter (*Text* 1.56) and as part of the description of its purpose an *anūsamsā* passage is incorporated (*Text* 1.63–5).

other scriptures or authoritative *śāstra*. After identifying Mañjuśrījñānasattva with the Non-dual Awareness at the hearts of all the Tathāgatas, for instance, the NMAA continues, “It is for this reason that Dignāga said, “The Tathāgata is the Perfection of Wisdom, that is to say, Non-dual Awareness””⁸⁶

In NMAA on NS 10 Mañjuśrījñānasattva is said to be of the nature of the five Awarenesses (pañca jñānāni) through a correlation with the five epithets given to him in the verse.⁸⁷ The five Awarenesses constitute another key interpretative category in Vilāsavajra’s NS exegesis, ranging in application from the overall structuring of the NS (as in the titles given to the NS sections) to the interpretation of individual Names. These Awarenesses can be seen as aspects or functions of Non-dual Awareness.⁸⁸

The NMAA later glosses NS 25’s ‘the verse of the Lord of Speech’ (gātham ... girām pateḥ) as the verse of Mañjuśrījñānasattva (*Text* 3.5–6). This is the pivotal verse NS 26, “A Ā I Ī U Ū E AI O AU AṂ AḤ. I, the Awakened One, the Embodiment of Knowledge, am in the heart of the Buddhas of the three times”.⁸⁹ Vilāsavajra therefore takes the ‘I’ of this verse to be Mañjuśrījñānasattva; this interpretation makes good sense of the NS and is consistent with the identification of Mañjuśrījñānasattva with the Non-dual Awareness definitive of Buddhahood.

As described previously, chapter 4 of the NMAA, which comprises the commentary on the verse just cited (NS 26) and the two verses enclosing it (NS 25 & NS 27), is a *sādhana* that has Mañjuśrījñānasattva as its central figure. His form and appearance is described in some detail (*Text* 4.172–180): he is six-faced and two armed; in each hand he holds the stem of a lotus and on each of the lotus flowers

⁸⁶ata evāha dignāgapādaḥ / prajñāpāramitā jñānam advayaṃ sā tathāgataḥ / iti // (*Text* 1.218–220)

⁸⁷pañcajñānātmako bhagavān mañjuśrījñānasattvaḥ (*Text* 1.214).

⁸⁸For discussion of their role in the NMAA see section 5.6 below.

⁸⁹a ā i ī u ū e ai o au aṃ aḥ sthito hṛdi / jñānamūrtir ahaṃ buddho buddhānāṃ tryadhvavartinām // (NS 26; *Text* 4.127–8)

there rests a volume of the Perfection of Wisdom; at his heart is a moon-disc on which is a letter A.

In the language of ritual whatever is placed at the heart of a deity symbolises its nature or the source of its identity. Mañjuśrījñānasattva is at the heart of the Tathāgatas and the letter A is at Mañjuśrījñānasattva's heart. The NMAA takes the NS 28's 'born from the letter A' (akārasambhavaḥ) as qualifying Mañjuśrījñānasattva,⁹⁰ suggesting it should be understood as symbolising his source or origin. Commenting on the same verse Vilāsavajra states that the letter A stands for 'The Limit of Reality' (bhūtakoti),⁹¹ a synonym for *śūnyatā* ('Emptiness'), the ultimate nature of things. So the letter A represents reality, in the sense of the truth about things, and Mañjuśrījñānasattva represents awareness of that reality at the purest and most basic level. He depends on the letter A – is 'born' from it – since awareness of reality depends on that reality. In the mechanics of visualisation the deity is transformed out of its seed syllable (bījākṣara). Hence, this is a transformation or, better, a transposition, from truth ('A') to realisation of truth and its embodiment (Mañjuśrījñānasattva).

In a longer passage in chapter 4 the ‘A’ at Mañjuśrījñānasattva’s heart is described as, “the essence of the Perfection of Wisdom (prajñāpāramitā), the cause of the arising of the Awareness of the Omniscient Ones, the origin of all Śrāvakas and

⁹⁰That *akārasambhavaḥ* does qualify ‘Mañjuśrījñānasattva’ is made clear at the end of chapter five (see *Text* 269–272).

Earlier in the chapter Vilāsavajra comments on the epithet as follows: “He is ‘born from the letter A’ (akārasaṃbhavaḥ > akārajanitaḥ) because the Fortunate One, the Knowledge-Being [Mañjuśrī] has as his nature the pure Knowledge-Body of the Tathāgatas.” (akārasaṃbhava iti akārajanitaḥ / bhagavato jñānasattvasya pariśuddhatathāgatajñānakāyasvabhāvatvāt *Text* 5.5–6). That the *jñānakāya* is the nature of the *jñānasattva* can be taken as a reiteration of the identification of Mañjuśrījñānasattva with ‘the Knowledge-Body of all the Tathāgatas’ of the *anuśaṃsā*. There is also the implication that the *jñānakāya* is in some sense more basic than the *jñānasattva*, perhaps because it is in a sense less embodied.

⁹¹paramākṣara ity ... na kṣaratīty akṣarah / bhūtakoṭirūpenāvicālitatvāt / paramaś cāśāv akṣaraś ceti paramākṣara iti // (Text 5.10–12). “It [ie. the letter A] is “the supreme syllable”. The word ‘syllable’ means ‘that which does not perish’. This is because it is without movement as a result of having the Limit of Reality as its nature. [Hence the word] ‘paramākṣarah’ means ‘the supreme syllable’, [that is to say, ‘the supreme imperishable reality’].”

Pratyekabuddhas, the Provisions of Merit and Wisdom of all the Mahābodhisattvas, the letter of ultimate reality, the cause of all letters”;⁹² elsewhere the letter A is said to be of the nature of the Dharma-Sphere (dharmadhātu).⁹³ This confirms the view that Vilāsavajra saw it as standing for the true nature of things whose realisation Mañjuśrījñānasattva embodies and also suggests that this nature is understood from a Vijñānavāda perspective; *dharmadhātu* is a Vijñānavāda term, as is *bhūtakoti*. Though the letter A is identified as ‘the essence of the Perfection of Wisdom’, Perfection of Wisdom is here interpreted in Vijñānavāda terms as is illustrated by the citation, quoted above, of the Vijñānavāda commentator Dignāga, who identifies it with Non-dual Awareness.

5.4 The ‘Names’ of the *Nāmasaṃgīti*

In the introductory section of chapter 1 Vilāsavajra discusses the NS in general terms under a set of four headings: connection (sambandha), subject matter (abhidheya), purpose (prayojana) and the purpose underlying that purpose (tatprayojana).⁹⁴ The NS’s subject matter is said to be Non-dual Awareness (advayajñāna), its purpose the attainment of Non-dual Awareness and the purpose of this attainment is to become a Tathāgata. Under the heading of ‘subject matter’ the title *Nāmasaṃgīti* is discussed. ‘Names’ (nāma-) are explained as twofold; as texts and as “all things moving and unmoving”. As texts they can be mundane, that is, non-Buddhist or supramundane, that is, Buddhist in which case they are the “Yoga, Kriyā and Caryā Tantras, the [twelve] categories of sacred utterance (pravacana), the Sūtrānta, the Abhidharma and the Vinaya”.⁹⁵

⁹²prajñāpāramitāsvabhāvaṃ sarvajñajñānodayakāraṇaṃ sarvaśrāvaka-pratyekabuddhānāṃ utpatti-bhūtaṃ sarvamahābodhisattvānāṃ puṇyajñānasambhārabhūtaṃ paramārthākṣaraṃ sarvākṣarāṇāṃ kāraṇabhūtaṃ [akāraṃ vinyaset] (Text 4.177–180)

⁹³tatra mahāprāṇo hy akāraḥ sa cānutpādasvabhāvas tasya dharmadhātusvabhāvatvād (Text 5.23–24). “Here ‘the great breath’ is the sound A; and that [sound A] has ‘non-production’ as its nature. [This is] because it has the Dharmadhātu as its nature.”

⁹⁴See Text 1.47–67.

⁹⁵nāmāni yogakriyācaryātantrapravacanasūtrāntābhidharmavinayalaukikalokottarāṇi sarvasthā varajaṅgamāni ca (Text 1.58–60). That *nāmāni*, when qualified as *-laukikalokottarāṇi*, should be under-

This analysis is such that between them the two categories of Names cover all objects of experience. How would the chanting (*saṃgīti*) of such Names serve the purpose of the attaining of Non-dual Awareness; are they not Mañjuśrī's Names? Vilāsavajra's statement should be interpreted in the light of two further comments he makes. The first follows the initial definition of the Names:

The 'Chanting' is of those Names metaphorically, that is, not as they ultimately are, but conventionally, in accordance with the principle that all this is mere names until [one has reached] the upper limit of existence, [that is, Enlightenment].⁹⁶

The second, found at the end of chapter 5, makes it clear that the Names are in fact those of Mañjuśrī, at least those of Mañjuśrī understood as Mañjuśrījñānasattva:

It should be understood that 'Mañjuśrī, the best of the glorious', the Knowledge-Being who dwells in the heart of all the Tathāgatas, is qualified [in the *Nāmasaṃgīti*] by phrases, whose words are Name-mantras ..., the first of which is "That is to say, [he is] the Fortunate One, the Awakened One, the Fully Awakened One, born from the letter A".⁹⁷

The Names of the NS are therefore both those of Mañjuśrījñānasattva and of all objects of experience whether mundane or supramundane.⁹⁸ The distinction between a conventional (*saṃvṛti*) and ultimate (*paramārtha*) understanding of Names may help elucidate Vilāsavajra's interpretation. According to the Yogācāra perspective all objects of experience are the result of an erroneous partition of consciousness, which is by nature non-dual. Consciousness that has realised its true (non-dual) nature possesses Non-dual Awareness hypostasised as Mañjuśrījñānasattva. From the

stood as meaning '[collections of] words', ie. 'texts', is not only suggested by the context but follows Vasubandhu's reading of *nāma* as 'word' in his discussion of *nāmakāya* ("the collection of words") as a *cittaviprayuktadharma* (see AKBh.Pru. I: 250ff). It is likely that Vilāsavajra had this in mind since he was familiar with the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* as evidenced by the citations from it in chapter 6 of the NMAA.

⁹⁶teṣāṃ nāmnāṃ saṃgītir iti / gaṇyā sthityā na paramāṛthataḥ saṃvṛtyā tu / nāmamātram idaṃ sarvaṃ ā bhavāgraparicchedam iti nyāyāt // (Text 1.60–61)

⁹⁷tad yathā bhagavān buddhaḥ saṃbuddho 'kārasaṃbhava ity evamādibhir nāmamantrākṣara-padair ... viśeṣyo jñānasattvaḥ sarvatathāgatahṛdayavihārī mañjuśrīḥ śrīmatām vara iti draṣṭavyaḥ (Text 5.269–272).

⁹⁸What is meant by describing the 'Names' as 'Name-mantras' is discussed below (see section 5.5).

perspective of ultimate truth everything that can be named can be said to be a name of Mañjuśrījñānasattva since, ultimately, everything is self-aware non-dual consciousness.⁹⁹ From the perspective of conventional truth, however, Non-dual Awareness can take any number of forms some of which – the Buddhist path, scripture, Bodhisattvas etc – aid in the process of its own realisation, and these are objects of experience that have various names. Depending on the perspective the Names are thus names of Mañjuśrījñānasattva or names of texts and things.

This interpretation is borne out in the NS, where the Names do not consist in a straightforward list of epithets and attributes of Mañjuśrī as Bodhisattva or Buddha. Whoever the Names name is variously identified as Vajrabhairava (NS 66), Samantabhadra (NS 115) and Vajrasattva (NS 71), as well as an Arhat (NS 52), a Pratyekabuddha (NS 51) and a purified Bhikṣu (NS 52). While these do not make sense as alternative names for Mañjuśrī, they do make sense as names of forms in which Mañjuśrī as *jñāna* can appear, that is, at the level of conventional truth.¹⁰⁰ Their true identity, what ultimately underlies their nature, has to be seen as Mañjuśrī[jñānasattva].¹⁰¹

⁹⁹A possible difficulty results here from the difference between *citta* and *jñāna*. It is justifiable from a Vijñānavāda perspective to say that all names ultimately name *citta* since all that is perceived is a product of its partition into a subject-object modality, but can it equally be said that all names name *[advaya]jñāna*? If *jñāna* is the product of *citta* becoming aware of its true nature, only those names that denote objects (ie. aspects of *citta*) that possess or denote (some degree of) insight into that nature can be said to name *jñāna*. If this is correct, Vilāsavajra's statement that the 'Names' include all that moves and that does not move goes beyond what he can legitimately say as a Vijñānavādin.

¹⁰⁰Alex Wayman (1985, 9) takes an opposite view, viz. that the 'Names' are expressive of the ultimate truth about Mañjuśrī, and that the glosses and further identifications made by commentators represent the level of conventional truth. Some of the verses of the NS might suggest this interpretation, but it is untenable for many. Is a purified Bhikṣu or a Pratyekabuddha Mañjuśrī's ultimate nature? Surely it is the other way round. Wayman's analysis is based on his reading the full title of the NS as containing the single word *paramārthanāmasaṃgītiḥ* and taking *paramārtha* as qualifying *nāma*. This commits him to explaining the 'Names' as ultimate. In fact the title contains the two words *paramārthā nāmasaṃgītiḥ* as given in the colophon of all the MSS that have been edited (see NS.Dav. 69, 9–10) and it is clearly the NS, rather than *nāma*, that is qualified as *paramārtha*. The single word *paramārthanāmasaṃgītiḥ* does occur in the *anūsamsā* where, based on the reading in the colophon as well as on the content of the text, it makes most sense to take *paramārtha* as qualifying *nāmasaṃgīti*, rather than *nāma*.

¹⁰¹This interpretation tallies with the fact that *jñānasattva* is not found as a 'Name' in the NS core verses, which one would not expect if Mañjuśrījñānasattva is the figure named. 'Mañjuśrī' on the

This makes sense of the short statement under the heading ‘connection’ (saṃbandha) in the introductory section of chapter 1, namely that, “the connection between these two [ie. between ‘Name’ and the subject-matter] is defined as the relation between name and named or between means and goal.”¹⁰² Hence if the Names name the subject matter, Non-dual Awareness, they also name Mañjuśrījñānasattva; but not only do they name it (or him), they are also the means to its (or his) realisation, the purpose or goal of the NS. One way of describing the central concern of the NMAA is as an explanation of how the Names can function as a soteriological means (upāya) and this involves a transition from the sphere of doctrine to that of method.

5.5 The ‘Name-mantras’ of the NMAA.

The above gives an account of how the NMAA understands the Names of the NS in doctrinal terms. Transposed into the language of ritual the Names become mantras, the ‘Name-mantras’ of the passage cited in the preceding section and the title of the commentary. The ‘Name-mantras’ are sometimes, but not always, identified as the mantras of particular deities – in chapter 5, for example, they become the mantras of the deities of the Vajradhātumaṇḍala. The NMAA is structured so that all the Names become ‘Name-mantras’ and have a place in the Vajradhātumaṇḍala that has at its heart Mañjuśrījñānasattva and the letter A.¹⁰³

The construal of the first two words in the title of the NMAA (*Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī*) is not immediately apparent. Though taking them as a dvandva produces good sense, ‘An Explanation of the Meaning of the Names and Mantras’, Vilāsavajra’s discussion of the number of Name-mantras and their distribution

other hand – understood as a Bodhisattva – could be a ‘Name’, and is so found (NS 157). He also appears as a deity in the Vajradhātumaṇḍala of NMAA 5, where he is identified with one of the ‘Names’ of NS 38.

¹⁰²anayor abhidhānābhidheyalakṣaṇa upāyo peyalakṣaṇo vā saṃbandhaḥ // (Text 1.62)

¹⁰³For a description of this structure see section 5.7.

among the deities of the Vajradhātumaṇḍala at the end of chapter 5 shows they must be understood as a karmadhāraya, ie. as ‘Name-mantras’. Vilāsavajra states that the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī “is qualified [in the *Nāmasaṃgīti*] by phrases, the words of which are Name-mantras” (*nāmamantrākṣarapadair ... viśeṣyo*).¹⁰⁴ Though *nāmamantrā-* could theoretically be read as a dvandva here, since there are no mantras in the NS verses containing Names it must be taken as a karmadhāraya, ‘Name-mantras’ (ie. Names that are mantras).¹⁰⁵

The compound ‘Name-mantras’ never occurs alone but in the context of two compounds: *nāmamantrākṣarapada* (as above) or *nāmamantrākṣara*. The meaning of these compounds requires some discussion since they are central to an understanding of the role of the Names in the NMAA’s ritual structure. At the end of chapter 5 they are used on a number of different occasions.¹⁰⁶

An interpretation that takes *akṣara* as ‘syllable’ and *akṣarapada* as ‘unit (or group) of syllables’, reading ‘syllables of the Name-mantras’ for *nāmamantrākṣara* and ‘groups of syllables that are the Name-mantras’ for *nāmamantrākṣarapada*, is satisfactory in some of these contexts. In the description of the visualisation it makes sense to say that the maṇḍala-deities transform into the ‘syllables of the Name-mantras’ (note 106: ‘ii’), and also that Mañjuśrījñānasattva is qualified in the NS by

¹⁰⁴This passage is quoted more fully in the preceding section. See note 97 for the Skt. text.

¹⁰⁵This assumes that *nāmamantra* acts as a unit within the compound *nāmamantrākṣarapada*. That a division such as *nāma-mantrākṣara-pada* can be discounted becomes clear in the following argument.

¹⁰⁶They are used as follows: i. Mañjuśrī is said to be qualified with *nāmamantrākṣarapadas* (the example cited above) that are predicates, without verbs (*Text* 5.269–272); ii. the maṇḍala-deities [previously individually identified as being denoted by particular NS ‘Names’] are visualised as going forth and acting for the benefit of living beings. On their return they become *nāmamantrākṣaras*, which are placed on the moon-disc seats of the Vajradhātumaṇḍala (*Text* 5.275); iii. The practitioner is recommended to recite the *nāmamantrākṣarapadas* in order to gain the qualities mentioned in the *anūsamsā* section of the NS (*Text* 5.284–5); iv. Combined together the *nāmamantrākṣarapadas* are said to have eighty-six Names (*Text* 5.292–3); v. The *nāmamantrākṣarapadas* are said to be connected to the deities ‘in the relation of qualifier and qualified’ (*Text* 5.297); vi. It is stated that tradition has it that there are eighty-six *nāmamantrākṣaras* (*Text* 5.298).

‘groups of syllables that are the Name-mantras’ (note 106: ‘i’). However, to say that the combination of ‘groups of syllables that are the Name-mantras’ results in eighty-six Names (note 106: ‘iv’) is problematic since the number of Names and ‘groups of syllables that are the Name-mantras’ are the same according to this analysis (each syllable-group being one Name or Name-mantra). There is no point in ‘combining’ the syllable-groups. That this reading of the meaning of *akṣara* and *pada* is unsatisfactory is confirmed when it implies that Vilāsavajra states that the number of ‘syllables of the Name-mantras’ is eighty-six (note 106: ‘vi’), a number which is far too small for a syllable count.¹⁰⁷ Also, the number of Names has already been stated as eighty-six (note 106: ‘iv’).¹⁰⁸

To create consistent sense *pada* has to be taken as meaning ‘phrase’, a meaning it bears in Vasubandhu’s *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*,¹⁰⁹ and *akṣara* as ‘word’, giving a karmadhāraya, ‘words that are Name-mantras’, for *nāmamantrākṣara*, and a bahuvrīhi, ‘phrases whose words are Name-mantras’, for *nāmamantrākṣarapada*. The two difficulties above are then resolved. If each NS word is a Name it makes sense to say that there are eighty-six ‘Name-mantra words’ (not syllables) (note 106: ‘vi’), and if each deity of the maṇḍala is qualified by one ‘phrase whose words are Name-mantras’ – which may contain one or more words; there are more Names than deities – then it also makes sense to say that these phrases (*pada*) when combined give a count of eighty-six Names (note 106: ‘iv’). Thus, on this interpretation, the number of *nāmamantrākṣarapada* equals the number of deities and the number of *nāmamantrākṣara* equals the number of Names.

¹⁰⁷A tempting solution was to treat the Skt. as corrupt here and follow the Tibetan translation, which appeared to read *nāmamantrākṣarapada* (mtshan gyi sngags kyi yi ge’i tshig rnams Tib. [194.5.8–195.1.1]).

¹⁰⁸This count is accurate if each word of NS 28–41 is taken to be a Name.

¹⁰⁹“*Pada* or ‘phrase’ is understood as *vākya*, a discourse, a phrase allowing the development necessary for a complete sentence, for example the stanza, ‘Impermanent are the *saṃskāras*...’ and the rest.” (AKBh.Pru. I: 250)

The conclusions of other chapters of the NMAA confirm this analysis of the compounds. Chapter 5 does not give a figure for the number of ‘phrases whose words are Name-mantras’ (*nāmamantrākṣarapada*), though in the body of the chapter the identifications between Names and deities are, for the most part, clearly stated. In chapter 6 Vilāsavajra states that according to tradition (*ity āmnāyaḥ*) there are thirty-six ‘phrases whose words are Name-mantras’, though these are not identified, or correlated with deities in the comment on the NS verses. It is also stated that the number of ‘words that are Name-mantras’ (*nāmamantrākṣara*) is one hundred and eighty-one. Chapter 7 also distinguishes between the numbers of *nāmamantrākṣarapada* and *nāmamantrākṣara*, identifying NS Names as deities. In chapters 8–10, the last three containing Names, only the number of Name-mantra words (*nāmamantrākṣara*) is stated and Names are not correlated with deities in the commentary on individual NS verses.¹¹⁰

To summarise, within the ritual context of the NMAA the Names of the NS are interpreted by Vilāsavajra as mantras, referred to as ‘Name-mantras’. The Name-mantras are identified with maṇḍala-deities in some chapters, each deity being allocated one or more Name-mantra. At the conclusion of each chapter dealing with the NS Names (chapters 6–10) the number of Name-mantras understood to be contained in the corresponding NS chapter is stated, and on two occasions (chapters 6 & 7) a number is given for the number of groups they are divided into, when they are so divided. It is these Name-mantras that Vilāsavajra sets himself to explain in the NMAA and which give it its title, “An Explanation of the Meaning of the Name-Mantras”.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰In chapter 10 the word *nāmamantrapada* is used for the identification of the number of Name-mantras. This may reflect the fact that in this chapter the number of *nāmamantrākṣara* and *nāmamantrākṣarapada* are in effect identical since the former are not allocated to deities, ie. *nāmamantrākṣarapada* means ‘phrases whose (single) words are Name-mantras’.

¹¹¹For discussion of the overall structure of the NMAA and the way in which the Name-mantras are treated within it see section 5.7 below.

5.6 The Five Awarenesses (*pañca jñānāni*)

The group of five Awarenesses (*jñāna*) is a key interpretive category of the NMAA and one used throughout the text and applied at a number of levels. In the introduction at the beginning of the first chapter they are listed as the topics of five sections of the NS (nos. 6–10) as divided by Vilāsavajra and correlated with the five Tathāgatas as shown in the following table.¹¹²

Tathāgata	Awareness (<i>jñāna</i>)	English translation
Vairocana	suviśuddhadharmadhātu- <i>jñāna</i>	Awareness of the Perfectly Pure Dharma-Sphere
Akṣobhya	ādarśajñāna	Mirror-like Awareness
Amitābha	pratyavekṣaṇajñāna	Discriminating Awareness
Ratnasambhava	saṃatājñāna	Awareness of Equality
Amoghasiddhi	krtyānuṣṭhānajñāna	Awareness of the Performance of Action

Table 2. The Five Tathāgatas and Five Awarenesses

As described earlier, Vilāsavajra also states that Mañjuśrījñānasattva has the five *jñānas* as his nature.¹¹³ This follows their correlation with the five epithets given to Mañjuśrījñānasattva in NS 10. Since Mañjuśrījñānasattva is identified as *advaya-jñāna*,¹¹⁴ this suggests that the *jñānas* are to be seen as *advayajñāna*’s principal aspects or manifestations. In ritual terms this is reflected in Mañjuśrījñānasattva having the five Tathāgatas as primary emanations.

It now becomes clear what is intended by the identification of the five *jñānas* as the topics of sections 6–10 of the NS. They are the principal aspects, or modes of appearance, of Mañjuśrījñānasattva seen as *advayajñāna*, and thus the Names of these sections are Names of Mañjuśrījñānasattva appearing as one or other of the *jñānas*, which can in turn be hypostasised as the Tathāgatas. Section 5 of the NS

¹¹²See *Text* 1.13–17. The five Awarenesses and their correlation with the five Tathāgatas became familiar currency of Tantric exegesis. Historically, the set of five Tathāgatas almost certainly preceded their identification as reflexes of the five *jñānas*; various sets of five Buddhas are found in the Yoga Tantras as well as in the earlier *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhisūtra* and *Amoghapāśakalpa*. See Yoritomi, 1990, pp. 693–716.

¹¹³*pañcajñānātmako bhagavān mañjuśrījñānasattvaḥ* (*Text* 1.214).

¹¹⁴This identity is established in NMAA on NS 10 (*Text* 1.215–218). See note 79 above.

(‘The Vajradhātumahāmaṇḍala’) contains Names but its topic is said to be *bodhicitta* rather than one of the *jñānas*. It is nevertheless so organised that each Name falls under the aegis of one the *jñānas*, except for those at the beginning of the chapter that are said to apply directly to Mañjuśrījñānasattva and the letter A in his heart. Vilāsavajra explains the Names of NS section 5 as being distributed between the *jñānas*; those of sections 6–10 are apportioned one section to one *jñāna*. In terms of the maṇḍala that is developed throughout the NMAA this is represented by the Vajradhātumaṇḍala surrounded by circles of Name-mantras embodying the different *jñānas*.¹¹⁵

Four of the five *jñānas* are found in the Yogācāra tradition and one, the Awareness of the Perfectly Pure Dharma-Sphere, appears to be a product of Tantric literature.¹¹⁶ Yogācāra works describe the four *jñānas* as arising on Enlightenment (*mahābodhi*) as a result of the purifying transformation (*parāvṛtti*) of the eight consciousnesses (*viññāna*). In the course of chapter 5’s correlation of Names with deities and *jñānas* Vilāsavajra shows familiarity with these origins: each of the four *jñānas* is described as having as its nature the transformation of one or more of the consciousnesses. The following table gives the correlation between consciousnesses and the four *jñānas* in the NMAA. It corresponds to the Vijñānavāda correlation as seen, for instance, in Xuanzang’s *VijñMāSi* (p. 684).

¹¹⁵The detail of this is examined in the following section.

¹¹⁶For a Yogācāra discussion of the four *jñānas* see Xuanzang’s *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* (*VijñMāSi* 681–692). The five *jñānas* are listed in the *Dharmasaṃgraha* (DhSaṃ 94) and comprise the fifth section of the *Mahāvvyutpatti* (MVy 110–114). Prof. A. Sanderson has pointed out in his work on Advayavajra’s *Saptākṣarasādhana* that a likely source of the *suviśuddhadharmadhātujñāna* is Vasubandhu’s *Triṃśikā* 30ab: *sa evānāsravo dhātur acintyaḥ kuśalo dhruvaḥ*, “This [Mahābodhi] is the Pure Sphere, inconceivable, good, eternal”. Xuanzang discusses this verse and the pure *dhātu*, identified as the *dharmadhātu*, immediately following his discussion of the four *jñānas* (*VijñMāSi* 693ff.). Also, La Vallée Poussin notes that the *Buddhabhūmisūtra* teaches that the Buddha-stage (*buddhabhūmi*) consists of five *dharma*s, the pure *dharmadhātu* and the four *jñānas* (*ibid.* 694).

Consciousness	Resultant Awareness	Skt. text
cakṣūrūpādivāsanā = ālayavijñāna	ādarśajñāna	5.81
kliṣṭamānas = kliṣṭamanovijñāna	saṃatājñāna	5.104-5
vikalpamānas = manovijñāna	pratyavekṣaṇājñāna	5.131
cakṣurādivijñāna = pañca vijñāna	krtyānuṣṭhānajñāna	5.157

Table 3. The Four *jñānas* and the Eight Consciousnesses (vijñāna).

Elsewhere in chapter 5, Names, sets of four deities and these four *jñānas* are correlated. Thus, the four Family-Mothers (kulamātr) are said to be ‘Named’ by the epithets of NS 29 and their activity linked to the four *jñānas* (Text 5.23–35). The following table gives the correspondences. The Family-Mothers are also said to be transformations of the syllables ‘A’ etc..

NS Name(s)	Family Mother	Seed	Awareness
The great breath, a non-production.	Sattvavajrī	A	ādarśajñāna
Free from speech utterance.	Ratnavajrī	Ā	saṃatājñāna
Foremost cause of all expression.	Dharmavajrī	A M	pratyavekṣaṇājñāna
Very radiant as all speech.	Karmavajrī	A H	krtyānuṣṭhānajñāna

Table 4. The Four Family-Mothers and Four Awarenesses.

In the comment on NS 36 the four *pūjādevīs*, said to be denoted by the Names of the verse, are described as different types of delight that arise with the four *jñānas*.¹¹⁷ Correlation with four rather than five *jñānas* partly reflects their grouping in the Yogācāra tradition, but also results from the fifth *jñāna* being identified with the central deity of the maṇḍala and the other four being associated with sets of four deities occupying the cardinal directions. The Dharma-Sphere Awareness in these circumstances is considered to incorporate the others. When the four *jñānas* appear in Yogācāra contexts, the Mirror-like Awareness (ādarśajñāna) is considered primary in that it contains the seeds (bīja) of the other three. This sense is retained in the NMAA. Following the passage on the Family-Mothers Vilāsavajra says that the enlightened mind is of the nature of the Mirror-like Awareness since it is the cause of

¹¹⁷ataś ca guhyapūjācatuṣṭayātmakam yathākramam ādarśādivijñānaniṣpattau svavimokṣamukha-
viśuddhibalenānābhogābhirativīṣeṣotpādakatvāt // (Text 5.178–9)

the other *jñānas* arising.¹¹⁸ In respect of Mañjuśrījñānasattva, however, all five *jñānas* may be considered equal aspects of ‘his’ *advayajñāna*. There is an ascending hierarchy of importance such that *ādarśajñāna*, *suviśuddhadharmadhātujñāna* and *advayajñāna* in turn contain the other *jñānas*, which, depending on context, may or may not be considered as on a level with each other.¹¹⁹

On other occasions Vilāsavajra invokes just one of the *jñānas* in his comment; the link between the mantra-family called *lokāloka* and Akṣobhya is explained as a result of him having the Mirror-like Awareness as his nature (*Text* 3.16–18) and the word ‘wisdom’ (*prajñā*) in the Name ‘Great bearer of the weapon of wisdom’, *mahāprajñāyudhadharaḥ* (NS 34a), is glossed as meaning the Discriminating Awareness (*Text* 5.117–8).¹²⁰ One further important use of the five *jñānas* in the NMAA occurs in chapter 4, where they are described as forms of Perfect Understanding (*abhisambodhi*) and used to structure part of the preliminaries of the *sādhana*.¹²¹ When the Name ‘Having the five Awarenesses as his nature’, *pañcajñānātmakaḥ* (NS 59b), is glossed in chapter 6 it seems that Vilāsavajra has nothing more to add since the comment is brief, simply listing the five *jñānas* and analysing the compound as a *bahuvrīhi*.¹²²

5.7 The Ritual Structure of the NMAA

The ritual structure of the NMAA is based on a modified version of the thirty-seven deity Vajradhātu maṇḍala with Mahāvairocana at the centre, as found in the first chapter of the *Sarvatahāgatatattvasaṃgraha*. Chapter 4 of the NMAA initiates

¹¹⁸“And hence the very mind that has the Dharmadhātu as its essence ... is of the nature of the Mirror-like Awareness, because it is radiant through the absence of adventitious impurities and because it is the sign, [that is to say cause,] of the arising of other Awarenesses.” (*tataś ca yad eva cittam dharmadhātusvabhāvaṃ prakṛtyā ... tad evāgantukamalābhāvaprabhāsvaratvāj jñānāntarodayanimittatvāc cādarśajñānātmakam Text* 5.36–39)

¹¹⁹*Text* 4.29–59 and 5.36–43 are the longest passages dealing with the five Awarenesses in the first five chapters.

¹²⁰See also 5.211: *agradhīr iti suviśuddhadharmadhātujñānam*.

¹²¹See section 5.8 below.

¹²²*pañcajñānātmaka iti / ādarśasamatāpratyaवेक्षणाकृत्यानुष्ठानासुविśuddhadharmadhātujñānānīty etāni pañca jñānāni / tāny evātmā svabhāvo yasya sa pañcajñānātmakaḥ // (D.76v5–77r1)*

a *sādhana* that is finally completed at the end of chapter 10, in the course of which all the Name-mantras of the NS are assigned a place in or around the Vajradhātu maṇḍala. The bulk of the *sādhana* material falls in chapters 4 and 5, especially the former, which is wholly devoted to the *sādhana* and which is in some respects complete in itself. The remaining chapters contain considerably less material directly related to the *sādhana*, this being confined to their opening and closing lines.

Chapter 4 essentially consists in the visualisation of the maṇḍala-palace with oneself as the central deity. The thrones and seats of the maṇḍala-deities are left unoccupied. The central deity, Mahāvairocana, is visualised as having the Ādibuddha seated on a moon-disc at his heart; in the Ādibuddha's heart is a wisdom-wheel (prajñācakra), on which are placed various mantras from the NS. At the hub of the wisdom-wheel is Mañjuśrījñānasattva, seated on a lotus throne; on a moon-disc in his heart is the letter A. The central figure(s) emanate light-rays that act for the benefit of living beings throughout space and these rays, after absorbing the *jñāna* of the Tathāgatas, are drawn back to unite with the letter A in the heart of Mañjuśrījñānasattva.

Six ancillary visualisations follow that repeat exactly the same pattern as above, but with Mahāvairocana replaced in turn by the Tathāgatas that head the six mantra-families enumerated in chapter 3; at the hub of the wisdom-wheel a deity embodying one of the six mantras from NS 27 (and found on the spokes of the wisdom-wheel in the initial visualisation) replaces Mañjuśrījñānasattva. These visualisations could be seen to represent an initial refraction of the central and unitary *advayajñāna* into six primary components.

Chapter 5 populates the thrones and seats of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala left empty in the previous chapter. The bulk of the chapter is concerned with identifying NS Names with the individual deities; this is performed within the context of a complex elaboration of doctrinal correspondences (viśuddhi) that has the function of showing

how the maṇḍala-deities that are emanations of Mañjuśrījñānasattva are also reflexes of *advayajñāna*. When the NS verses have been glossed and the identifications made, the maṇḍala-deities are visualised as going forth and acting for the benefit of beings throughout the universe. On their return they become the words of the Name-mantras with which they have been identified and take their places on the seats visualised in chapter 4. The practitioner, maintaining a sense of identity with Mañjuśrījñānasattva, then recites the NS verses, the performance of which is described as leading to the amassing of hosts of qualities and, eventually, Buddhahood. The chapter concludes with a statement of the number and distribution of Name-mantra words.

None of the remaining chapters that deal with the Names (chapters 6-10) contains the detailed identification of Name and deity found in chapter 5. Their concluding sections, however, do follow a similar pattern. The various figures or forms denoted by the Names are visualised as radiating outwards into the universe, acting for the welfare of creatures, becoming on their return the words of the Name-mantras. The verses of the NS are then recited and the results of such practice – the obtaining of Buddha-qualities and eventual enlightenment – are restated. The words of the Name-mantras for these chapters are not placed on moon-disc seats in their own maṇḍala at the conclusion of the visualisation, but are formed into circles that are added, at each successive stage of the *sādhana*, to the Vajradhātu maṇḍala of chapters 4 and 5.

In the initial visualisation of the maṇḍala (in chapter 4) it is described as having an inner and outer area. The Name-mantras of chapter 6 are placed in a circle in the outer area, described as the second circle (*cakra*) of Mahāvairocana. The Name-mantras of the remaining four chapters occupy three further *cakras* that encircle the outside of the main maṇḍala. Those of chapters 7 and 8 together occupy the third *cakra*; those of chapter 9 the fourth; and those of chapter 10 the fifth and final *cakra*:

NMAA Chapter	Awareness (jñāna)	Position in maṇḍala
6	suviśuddhadharmadhātujñāna	2nd <i>cakra</i>
7	ādarśajñāna	3rd <i>cakra</i>
8	pratyavekṣanājñāna	3rd <i>cakra</i>
9	samatājñāna	4th <i>cakra</i>
10	kṛtyānuṣṭhānajñāna	5th <i>cakra</i>

Table 5. Correspondence of NMAA Chapters, Awarenesses and *cakras*.

Vilāsavajra does not explain why the Name-mantras of chapter 6 are placed inside the Vajradhātu maṇḍala and those of chapters 7–10 outside, but since the Names of chapter 6 are interpreted as those of the Awareness of the Perfectly Pure Dharma-Sphere associated with Mahāvairocana, and given that Mahāvairocana is the central deity of the maṇḍala their position makes sense. That Vilāsavajra had this in mind is suggested by the statement that this chapter has thirty-six ‘phrases whose words are Name-mantras’ (nāmamantrākṣarapada), which, with Mahāvairocana at the centre gives thirty-seven, the standard number for the deities of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala. The Dharma-Sphere Awareness is also often seen as containing, or as being the essence of, the other four *jñānas* and so it is not inappropriate that it should be distinguished from the others. Why the Name-mantras of chapters 6 and 7 should occupy the same *cakra* rather than have their own is, however, not obvious. It perhaps reflects their association with the Vajra and Lotus (padma) families, which historically appear before the Gem (*ratna*: chapter 9) and Action (*karma*: chapter 10) families; their status could thus be equal to each other and higher than that of the other two. Or it may have been dictated by a prior division of the *anuśaṃsā* into five sections that are interpreted by Vilāsavajra as relating to the five *cakras* of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala. However, it is uncertain that the *anuśaṃsā* divisions were not Vilāsavajra’s own. As noted earlier, extant NS manuscripts that have the *anuśaṃsā* divide it into six rather than five sections.

Although chapters 6–10 do not make the identification of the Names with deities in the way that chapter 5 does (for example, “Great bearer of the weapon of

wisdom’ is [the Name of] Vajradharma”), some NS Names are already deity names. This is particularly so in chapter 7, which is associated with Akṣobhya’s Mirror-like Awareness and the wrathful forms of the Vajra family. Here Vilāsavajra identifies many NS Names as being those of Krodhas (‘Wraths’) by stating the Tantra in which they are to be found. It is also explained, before the concluding section of chapter 8, that Mañjuśrījñānasattva can appear in a range of forms in accordance with the needs of living beings (for example as a jar of plenty to the poor). Thus not all the Names of the NS are, or have to be, explained as names of deities.

Another important feature of the ritual structure of the NMAA is Vilāsavajra’s use of six Buddha families, enumerated in chapter 3. They are identified with six mantra families that Vilāsavajra interprets as being described in NS 23–24. The following table lists the six Tathāgatas, their family name, their mantra-family name and associated *jñāna*.

Tathāgata	Family name	Mantra Family	Awareness (<i>jñāna</i>)
Bodhicittavajra		mahāmudrā	
Vairocana	(cakra)	kulatraya	dharmadhātujñāna
Akṣobhya	vajra	lokāloka	ādarśajñāna
Amitābha	padma	lokalokottara	pratyavekṣaṇājñāna
Ratnasambhava	ratna	mahoṣṇīṣa	saṃatājñāna
Amoghasiddhi	karma ¹²³	mantravidyādhara	kṛtyānuṣṭhānajñāna

Table 6. The Six Buddha Families of the NMAA.

The six Tathāgatas of this scheme do not have an equal status. Just as Vairocana (or Mahāvairocana) subsumes Akṣobhya, Amitābha, Ratnasambhava, and Amoghasiddhi so Bodhicittavajra, a hypostatisation of *bodhicitta*, subsumes the other five. Mañjuśrījñānasattva is the source or nature of all six. The steps in this proliferation of figures, each incorporating the previous ones, appears to be a translation into ritual terms of successive attempts to describe liberative realisation in the most fundamental

¹²³The *karma* family is not found in the STTS, which has four *kulas*: *buddha*-, *padma*-, *vajra*- and *ratna*-. Yoritomi (1990) notes that it is referred to in the STTS commentaries of Buddhaguhya and Ānandagarbha (the latter is certainly later than Vilāsavajra) and also in the version of the *Vajraśekhara* tantra translated into Chinese by Vajrabodhi (Ryakushutsunenju-kyō: Taishō 866). He also notes that the *Vajraśekhara* tantra contains a reference to a sixth *kula*, the Vajradharakula.

terms.¹²⁴ Thus, Mahāvairocana (dharmadhātujñāna) → Bodhicittavajra (bodhicitta) → Mañjuśrījñānasattva (advayajñāna). The sense of progressive incorporation is reflected in the increasing number of heads possessed by the three figures at the centre of the maṇḍala. Mahāvairocana has four, the Ādibuddha five, and Mañjuśrījñānasattva six. Mahāvairocana has one head for each of the four *jñānas*; the other two each have the heads of the previous figure plus one of their own. Identification of Bodhicittavajra with the Ādibuddha is not, and cannot be made since Bodhicittavajra as a Tathāgata has the Ādibuddha in his heart in one of the ancillary visualisations of chapter 4. Such an identification would, however, make sense and also explain the title of chapter 5 of the NMAA, ‘On the Vajradhātumahāmaṇḍala of Bodhicittavajra’; this title is puzzling since the Vajradhātu maṇḍala is described in chapter 4 as having Mahāvairocana at its centre. If Bodhicittavajra is the Ādibuddha and the Ādibuddha is interpreted as the inner aspect of the central deity then in chapter 5, as the inner aspect, Bodhicittavajra emanates the inner (first) *cakra* of the main Vajradhātu maṇḍala and then in chapter 6, as the outer aspect of the central deity, Mahāvairocana emanates its outer (second) *cakra*.

Creating a *sādhana* that binds each of the core verses of the NS into a single framework and interprets them in a meaningful way is an intrinsically difficult task given which the resultant ritual structure of the NMAA and the multilevel level Russian doll-like visualisation of the central deity is a remarkable accomplishment. However, Vilāsavajra’s use of a six family and seven Tathāgata (counting Mañjuśrījñānasattva as a Tathāgata) system does not make the task any easier. The basic Yoga Tantra format of central deity with major secondary deities in the four quarters is put under considerable strain and at places cracks begin to show, as can be seen in the figure of Bodhicittavajra. In relation to Mañjuśrījñānasattva he is of equal

¹²⁴The process of hierarchisation here gives the appearance of being doctrine-led rather than the rationalisation of a deity’s pre-existing popularity by devotees and exegetes (as may be the case, for example, with some of the Yoganiruttaratantra deities).

stature to the five Tathāgatas and embodies one of the *mantrarājas* of NS 27. However, in relation to Bodhicittavajra the five Tathāgatas are of lower status.¹²⁵ Bodhicittavajra would be a good candidate for the role of Ādibuddha as described above, but his function as Tathāgata makes this impossible, and his role as the head of a family (*kula*) of deities is largely theoretical.¹²⁶ Another area of strain shows in the ritual function of the Ādibuddha; he appears almost redundant and could be removed with minimal loss since the role of being the underlying nature of all the other deities is fulfilled by Mañjuśrījñānasattva. Occasional ‘blips’ ensue on a practical level, for instance the five Tathāgatas emanated in chapter 5 have only four thrones (those visualised in chapter 4).¹²⁷

5.8 Chapter four: ‘The Method of Awakening according to the Māyājāla’.

As described earlier, chapter 4 establishes the ritual context of the NMAA by initiating the *sādhana* that runs through the subsequent six chapters. The practitioner visualises the maṇḍala-palace with him or herself as the central deity Mahāvairocana who contains both the Ādibuddha and Mañjuśrījñānasattva. Light is emanated out into the universe, promoting the welfare of others and, having absorbed the *jñāna* of the Tathāgatas, is drawn back again to deepen the practitioner’s realisation.

The stages of the *sādhana* are summarised below.

¹²⁵Bodhicittavajra’s *mahāmudrā* family is explained as ‘foremost’ (NS 24) for the reason Vairocana and the other Tathāgatas all have [the *mudrā* of] *bodhicitta* as their nature (bodhicittavajrakulam ata evāgryaṃ vairocanādīnāṃ bodhicittasvabhāvatvāt / tasya kulam mahāmudrākulam ity arthaḥ Text 3.18–20).

¹²⁶The first chapter of the *Guhyasamājantra* is an important source for the function of Bodhicittavajra, where he is described as containing the five Tathāgatas in his heart (GuSamā 3, 11–14). However, Bodhicittavajra appears to have been a transitional figure, his role and that of the Ādibuddha being taken over by Vajradhara. As described, pressure for such a merging of roles is present in the NMAA.

¹²⁷See section 5.9 for a possible solution to this apparant discrepancy.

I. PRELIMINARIES

Generation of the *bodhicitta*.

- i. Generation of the resolve to attain Perfect Enlightenment (*saṃyaksambodhau cittam*) via the five Buddha-family Vows.
- ii. Generation of a mind of Enlightenment that ‘sets out’ (*prasthānabodhicitta*) via the development of five-aspected Perfect Understanding (*abhisambodhi*), that is, the generation of the Five Awarenesses (*pañca jñānāni*)

II. GENERATION OF SELF AS DEITY

1. Generation of the Vajra-ground (*vajrabhūmi*).

- i. Consciousness is visualised to have the form of the letter ‘A’, which is like a magical creation, located in empty space and naturally radiant.
- ii. A radiant fiery HŪṂ, which emits coloured rays of light is visualised in the heart. Tathāgatas at the ends of the light-rays purify all beings in all world spheres, after which the rays return into the HŪṂ.
- iii. The HŪṂ transforms into a six-faced five-pronged Knowledge-Vajra (*jñānavajra*) which pervades the six Buddha fields and which is encircled by flames.
- iv. In the centre of the *jñānavajra* a white BHRŪṂ is visualised that transforms into a stūpa (*caitya*) made of the four jewels, which is the size of the trichiliocosm.
- v. In the centre (*garbha*) of the *caitya* an inverted triangle (*dharmodaya*) is visualised, transformed out of a syllable HRĪḤ.
- vi. Above the *dharmodaya* is visualised a double *vajra* (*viśvavajra*) generated out of a letter A.
- vi. With the *viśvavajra* a white Vajra-ground (*vajrabhūmi*) is empowered.

2. The Generation of the Maṇḍala (as residence).

On the Vajra-ground the temple (*kūṭāgāra*) is visualised, transformed out of the syllable BHRŪṂ. It is square with four gates, adorned and embellished, with a circular inner area called the Vajradhātu maṇḍala in which is visualised the throne of

the central deity and those of the Buddhas of the four cardinal directions (Akṣobhya etc.). Moon-disc seats are provided for the maṇḍala-deities, each generated of the letter A.

3. Generation of Mahāvairocana and the Ādibuddha.

i. As a transformation of the syllable ĀḤ one visualises oneself as Mahāvairocana – white in colour, four-headed and seated on the central lion throne.

ii. A moon-disc is visualised in Mahāvairocana's heart on which is a syllable DHĪḤ. This transforms into the Ādibuddha – five-faced and eight-armed, with each of his four right hands holding a sword and each of his left hands holding a volume of the Perfection of Wisdom in 100,000 lines.

4. Generation of the wisdom-wheel (prajñācakra) and Mañjuśrījñānasattva.

i. At the heart of the Ādibuddha a *prajñācakra*, produced from the letter A, is visualised. The wheel has six spokes and two inner and two outer bands (mekhalā). On the bands are placed mantras from the mantra section of the NS, the twelve vowels of NS 26 – identified as the twelve Tathāgata *bhūmis* – and the consonants of the Sanskrit alphabet. On the spokes are six mantras derived from the six epithets of the homage of NS 27.

The following figure shows the arrangement:

On the bands (mekhalā):

1. om sarvadharmābhāvasvabhāvaviśuddhavajra a ā am aḥ
2. a ā i ī u ū e ai o au am aḥ
3. aḥ āḥ sarvatathāgatahṛdaya hara hara om hūṃ hrīḥ bhagavan jñānamūrte vāgīśvara mahāvāca sarvadharmagaganāmalasupariśuddhadharmadhātu-jñānagarbha āḥ
4. ka kha ga gha ṇa ... ha

On the spokes (āra):

- i. om vajratikṣṇāya namaḥ; ii om duḥkhaśchedāya namaḥ;
- iii. om prajñājñānamūrtaye namaḥ; iv. om jñānakāyāya namaḥ;
- v. om vāgīśvarāya namaḥ; vi. om arapacanāya namaḥ.

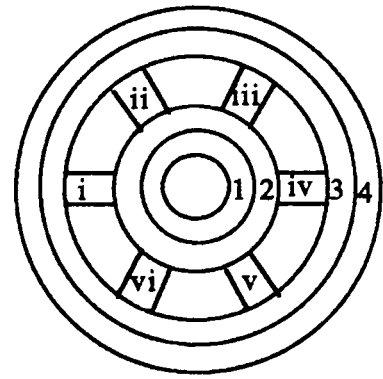


Fig. 1. The Arrangement of Mantras on the Wisdom-wheel (prajñācakra).¹²⁸

¹²⁸The mantra of the first band is described as the root (mūla) mantra of Mañjuśrījñānasattva; that of the third as his garland (mālā) mantra (Text 4.158; 4.167).

ii. Transformed from a syllable A at the hub of the *prajñācakra* one visualises oneself as Mañjuśrījñānasattva, seated on a lotus throne, six-faced, two-armed, immersed in *samādhi*, with the Sentiment (*rasa*) of Tranquility, each hand holding a lotus on which there rests a volume of the Perfection of Wisdom. On a moon-disc in Mañjuśrījñānasattva's heart one visualises a letter A

5. Emanation and Reabsorption of Light-Rays.

i. The mantras of the *prajñācakra* become radiant, making Mahāvairocana shine with light illuminating the Sahā world.

ii. The light rays then go to all the Buddha fields that make up the universe where they achieve the welfare of beings.

iii. They next illuminate the assembly of Tathāgatas, Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and, entering their heads, they encircle the *vajras* in their hearts and absorb Wisdom-Awareness (*prajñājñāna*).

iv. Returning to Mahāvairocana, the light rays re-enter his body and, identified as the essencelessness of *dharma*s, unite with the letter A at Mañjuśrījñānasattva's heart.

v. By thus meditating on Mañjuśrījñānasattva, the moon-disc and the letter A at his heart, it is stated that one will see Mañjuśrī in his apparitional form (*nirmāṇakāya*) accompanied by Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and that, through the power of meditation, Buddhahood and Vajradharahood will be attained in this life.

6. Visualization of the six *prajñācakras* of the Buddha families.

The Buddhas of the six families now in turn take the central position of the maṇḍala replacing Mahāvairocana, and six visualization sequences are performed that are structurally identical with what has preceded. At the heart of each figure is visualized the Ādibuddha, and at the heart of the Ādibuddha a *prajñācakra*. The number of spokes on the *prajñācakra* corresponds to the number of syllables of the mantra of the deity that is to reside at the heart of the *prajñācakra*. The mantra is then

visualised one syllable per spoke on the wheel and the corresponding deity placed at its hub. The six deities derive from the epithets of NS 27 and their mantras are those that occupied one spoke each of the original *prajñācakra*. The process of emanation and reabsorption of light rays proceeds as before.

The following table summarizes the visualisations of the six *prajñācakras* giving them in the order in which they are visualised. For each *prajñācakra*, the *bīja* that is visualised on a moon-disc at the heart of the innermost deity is also used to generate both the central Tathāgata and the innermost deity. The innermost figures are all single-headed and two-armed with the right hand holding a sword and the left an emblem of the presiding Tathāgata.

Tathāgata	bīja	Prajñācakra		Innermost Deity		
		mantra / no. of spokes		Name	Colour	Object
Amitābha	Hriḥ	Om vajratīkṣṇāya namaḥ	8	Vajratīkṣṇa	red	lotus
Akṣobhya	Hūṃ	Om duḥkhacchedāya namaḥ	8	Vajrakhadga	dark blue	vajra
Vairocana	Āḥ	Om prajñājñānamūrtaye namaḥ	10	Prajñājñāna	white	wheel
Amoghasiddhi	Aḥ	Om jñānakāyāya namaḥ	8	Jñānakāya	green	double vajra
Ratnasambhava	Om	Om vāgīśvarāya namaḥ	8	Vāgīśvara	yellow	jewel
Bodhicittavajra	A	Om arapacanāya namaḥ	9	Arapacana	white	book

Table 7. The Six Ancillary Visualisations of NMAA Chapter 4.

Remarks on Some Features of the Sādhana

The preliminaries to a *sādhana*, which create the ethical and metaphysical context for the subsequent visualisation, are often rather elaborate, involving descriptions of suitable times and places for practice, preliminary purificatory ablutions, a (seven-fold) service (pūjā) before a visualised assembly of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, the generation of the Brahmavihāras and a meditation on emptiness. The present *sādhana*’s preliminaries, however, centred on the generation of the *bodhicitta* through the family vows and the development of ‘Perfect Understanding that is of five forms (pañcākārābhisambodhiḥ)’, are comparatively simple.

The ‘five forms’ of Perfect Understanding are the Five Awarenesses the generation of which produces, according to Vilāsavajra, the ‘setting out’ mind of

enlightenment (prasthānabodhicitta).¹²⁹ This use of the Five Awarenesses in the preliminaries is noteworthy as in later *sādhana*s they became associated instead with the different stages in the evocation of the central deity.¹³⁰

In the NMAA *sādhana* the Awarenesses are developed in the following order: i. *ādarśajñāna*; ii. *śamatā*^o; iii. *pratyavekṣaṇā*^o; iv. *suviśuddhadharmadhātu*^o; v. *kṛtyānuṣṭhāna*^o. The first three are generated by reflection on some conceptual or mantric correlate of the respective Awareness. There are no instructions on how to develop the fourth, the Awareness of the Completely Pure Dharma-Sphere. It is a culmination of the other three, characterised as a state free from any dichotomy of subjects and objects that is radiant by nature.¹³¹ The previous resolution to act for the welfare of beings causes the practitioner to rouse from this non-discursive state and the final Awareness is developed out of compassion for living beings. As the Awarenesses are developed the nature of the compassion associated with each changes. There is a progression from compassion that takes living beings as its object (*ādarśajñāna*), to that which takes *dharma*s as its object (*śamatājñāna*), to objectless compassion (*pratyavekṣaṇājñāna*), and finally to objectless great compassion (*suviśuddhadharmadhātujñāna* & *kṛtyānuṣṭhānajñāna*). The subtlest level of compassion – objectless great compassion – is thus attained by the fourth Awareness in order of development, the Awareness of the Completely Pure Dharma-Sphere, and maintained into the fifth Awareness.

¹²⁹For the Skt. see *Text*. 4.29–56.

¹³⁰For mKhas grub rje's account of the development of the five *abhisambodhis* in his *rGyud sde spyi* see Lessing and Wayman, 1968, 28–35. For the five ('Realisations') as a means of structuring the generation of the central deity see Beyer, 1973, 111ff; R. Davidson, 1992; A. Sanderson, *Advayavajra's Saptākṣarasādhana*. The identification of the five *abhisambodhis* with the five Awarenesses and their use both in the preliminaries and the organisation of the generation of the deity can be traced to the key passage in the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* that describes the Enlightenment (*abhisambodhi*) of Siddhārtha (as Sarvārthasiddhi) in terms of an accelerated traversal of the Bodhisattva path achieved by means of meditation on a series of mantras (for the Skt. text of this passage see I. Yamada, 1981, 7–10. For a translation, see D. Snellgrove, 1987, 240–243.)

¹³¹*sakalagrāhyagrāhaka vinirmuktaṃ prakṛtiprabhāsvaraṃ ... suviśuddhadharmadhātuśūnyatājñānaṃ [bhāvayet]* (*Text* 4.51–53). Thus defined, there appears to be little to differentiate this Awareness from the Non-dual Awareness (*advayajñāna*) of Mañjuśrījñānasattva.

The differentiation of the Awareness of the Performance of Action (*kr̥tyānuṣṭhānajñāna*) from the other *jñānas* as something concerned with enlightened activity and which emerges out of a non-dual, non-discursive state (*nirvikalpajñāna*), contrasts with other ways of viewing them, such as when the Mirror-like Awareness or the Awareness of the Perfectly Pure Dharma-Sphere is distinguished from the others.¹³² The present distinction is rooted nonetheless in Yogācāra understanding of *kr̥tyānuṣṭhānajñāna* where it is described as functioning for the benefit of beings by manifesting different Buddha-forms (*nirmāṇakāya*) (VijñMāSi 683).

In later *sādhana*s the condition of a radiant non-discursive mind is more usually generated through reflection on a mantra that evokes (or summarises) the essential purity and emptiness of all things, including the *sādhaka*. This meditation on emptiness is taken to stand for achieving the Provision of Wisdom (*jñānasambhāra*), the Provision of Merit (*puṇyasambhāra*) having been symbolically gained through the performance of the preceeding part of the preliminaries. In the NMAA *sādhana* the summary statement upon which the practitioner is instructed to reflect in order to develop the Awareness of Equality – “Just as all phenomena are empty, without a self, so also am I empty, without a self”¹³³ – is close in sense to mantras used in later *sādhana*s such as, “OM all phenomena are by nature pure, I [too] am pure by nature”.¹³⁴ The meditation on emptiness and the generation of the Awareness of Equality can be seen to share the same function and method. If the use of the five Awarenesses in the preliminaries does predate their association with the stages of generation of the main deity it is possible that their function to develop *jñāna*, particularly the *jñāna* that realises the emptiness of all entities, and part of their method, was transmuted into the meditation on emptiness.

¹³²See section 5.6 above.

¹³³yathā sarvadharmāḥ śūnyā anātmānas tathāham api śūnyo 'nātmā (*Text* 4.41).

¹³⁴The other mantra often used – *om śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmaḥ 'ham* – is found in the anonymous *sādhana* of Āryanāmasaṃgīti in the *Sāadhanamāla* (*sādhana* no. 82; SāMā 159, 7–8). See Beyer, 1973, 33–36 for discussion of these mantras and how they are glossed in the Tibetan tradition.

The unelaborated nature of the preliminaries and the role of the Five Awarenesses suggest that the NMAA *sādhana* is a comparatively primitive and early exemplar of the genre. Other features support this conclusion. There is no division of the *sādhana* into a ‘Generation-phase’ (utpattikrama) and ‘Completion-phase’ (niṣpannakrama)¹³⁵ and the whole of its contents would be classified as belonging to the ‘Generation-phase’ if such a division were applied. Also, there is no distinction between ‘Pledge-deities’ (samayasattva) and ‘Knowledge-deities’ (jñānasattva), though in the NMAA Mañjuśrī is ‘the *jñānasattva* Mañjuśrī’ and performs the same function as ‘Knowledge-deities’, namely standing for the true nature of the visualised deities. However, Mañjuśrī is ‘the’ Knowledge-deity in the NMAA rather than one of many, and there is no merging of separately visualised Knowledge-deities with Pledge-deities to mark the point at which the *sādhaka* enters a state of full ritual identity with the *jñānasattva* of the deity whose *sādhana* is being performed. Nonetheless, the role of Mañjuśrī as *jñānasattva* in the NS and commentaries such as the NMAA could have contributed to the development of the more technical use of *jñānasattva* as Knowledge-deity.¹³⁶

¹³⁵The ‘generation-phase’ of a *sādhana* encompasses the preliminaries and the visualisation of the central deity, often with a consort and retinue. This stage is distinguished from the ‘completion phase’, which is concerned with various yogas performed by the practitioner-deity in order to ‘complete’ the attainment of enlightenment.

¹³⁶I do not know of any study on the *samayasattva-jñānasattva* distinction. mKhas grub rje, in his *rGyud sde spyi*, has the following to say in the chapter on Yoga Tantra:

One generates the Symbolic Being (*samayasattva*) and draws in the Knowledge Being (*jñānasattva*), then applies the seals of the four Seals, but not if there is only the Symbolic Being or only the Knowledge Being. The purpose of executing the seals of the four Seals is to merge and unify the Body, Speech, Mind and Acts of the Knowledge Being with the body, speech, mind and acts of the Symbolic Being. There would be no foundation for merger if either were present by itself. This is comparable to having both Self Generation and Generation in Front. (Lessing & Wayman, 1980 ed., 235)

This suggests that the distinction was in use in the Yoga Tantras, though mKhas grub rje cites the explanatory *tantras*, the *Paramādyā* and *Vajraśekhara*, rather than the root Yoga Tantra, the *Sarvathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, as confirming the picture he gives of the relation between the seals (mudrā) and the *sattvas*. Vilāsavajra cites both the *Paramādyā Tantra* and *Vajraśekhara Tantra* in the NMAA, which suggests he was familiar with their content. mKhas grub rje’s citation of these works, however, does not indicate how full a treatment they give to the subject. The question of whether Vilāsavajra was aware of the notion of drawing the *jñānasattva* into the *samayasattva*, but choose to

5.9 The Vajradhātumahāmaṇḍala (ch.5): Summary of Doctrinal Correspondences.

As described earlier, in NMAA chapter 5 Vilāsavajra identifies the Names of the fifth section of the NS as those of the deities of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala, and at the end of the chapter they take their places on the empty thrones and seats visualised in chapter 4. The identification of the Names as deities is accompanied by the enumeration of a series of correspondences with doctrinal categories designed to show how the maṇḍala-deities are also manifestations of different aspects of the Non-dual Awareness (advayajñāna) embodied by Mañjuśrījñānasattva.

The correlations established (viśuddhi) are sometimes of considerable complexity as may be illustrated in the treatment of the Names of NS 32cd–35, which are identified as the names of sixteen *samādhi* deities. An underlying assumption, clear in the designation *samādhi*, is that all the maṇḍala-deities are conceived of as states of mind, *samādhis*, of Mañjuśrījñānasattva. The *samādhi* deities are dealt with by Vilāsavajra in four groups of four, each of which is named by one of the NS verses (four deities are said to be named in NS 32cd). He approaches each group, ie. each verse, as follows. First, the enlightened mind is explained as having a set of four *śūnyatās* as its nature. These are related to one of the four Liberation-Doors (vimokṣamukha) identified as the four faces of Mahāvairocana in chapter 4. The Names of the NS verse are next identified with the specific deities from the Vajradhātu mandala, usually with a reason for the Name being also a Name of Mañjuśrījñānasattva. Each set of four *śūnyatās* is then associated with one of the four Awarenesses (the five, minus the Awareness of the Perfectly Pure Dharma-Sphere), and each *śūnyatā* is described as opposing certain errors and producing certain effects, the effects being generally linked with the name of the maṇḍala-deity that

elaborate his *sādhana* differently, or whether his approach contributed to the development of that notion remains open to further investigation.

corresponds to the *śūnyatā*. The treatment of the remaining verses, however, is rather less complicated.

Though Vilāsavajra states that there are eighty-six Name-mantra words, ie. eighty-six Names, to be distributed among the maṇḍala-deities and allocates some of them,¹³⁷ he does not say how many maṇḍala-deities there are altogether, though in the chapter they are specified by name. Thus, as well as the thirty-seven deities of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala of the STTS, sixteen Bodhisattvas are enumerated (after the door-guardians), giving a total of fifty-three. However, Vilāsavajra appears to identify Vajrasattva as a sixth Tathāgata,¹³⁸ increasing the total to fifty-four.

It is also a question whether the Tathāgata Vairocana (identified in NMAA on NS 31: *Text* 5.60–1) is the central deity, namely, Mahāvairocana. If not, then the total for the deities increases once more since the thirty-seven deity Vajradhātu maṇḍala does not mention Vairocana separately from Mahāvairocana. The issue is one of whether the Names of chapter 5 are those of all the maṇḍala-deities, including the central deity, or just those of the retinue. The *sādhana* of chapter 4, in which the central deity is visualised and the seats of the retinue left empty would suggest the latter and this is supported by the statement in chapter 5 that the chapter's Name-mantra words should be imagined as placed in order on the moon-discs arranged previously.¹³⁹ However, Vilāsavajra later assigns seven of chapter 5's Names to Mañjuśrījñānasattva and the letter A in his heart. This suggests that the Names are not only those of the retinue. If it were assumed that every figure in Vilāsavajra's ritual structure is 'Named' in chapter 5, including the central deity and the inner figures, then the Tathāgata Vairocana can be taken as Mahāvairocana and perhaps the Tathāgata Vajrasattva can be identified as the Ādibuddha. This proposal also has the

¹³⁷See *Text* 5.293–298.

¹³⁸See *Text* 5.50–51 and note to the translation in chapter 5, NMAA on NS 30ab.

¹³⁹*Text* 5.276–277.

merit of providing a solution to the difficulty of having six Tathāgatas but only four thrones visualised for them in chapter 4.

The following table summarises the correlations between the maṇḍala-deities, the NS verse stated to name them (the Names themselves are not given) and the various doctrinal categories that they embody.

N S Verse	Maṇḍala deity	Class of deity	Defilement (kleśa)	Emptiness (śūnyatā)	Liberation Door (vimokṣa-mukha)	Awareness (jñāna)
28	Manjuśrījñāna-sattva The letter A					
29	Sattvavajrī Ratnavajrī Dharmavajrī Karmavajrī	Kulamāṭṛs				
30	Vajrasattva Amitābha Akṣobhya	Tathāgatas	rāga rāga dveṣa			
31	Vairocana Amoghasiddhi		moha krodha			
32	Ratnasambhava		lobha			
	Vajrasattva Vajrarāja Vajrarāga Vajrasādhu	Samādhis		adhyātma° bahirdhā° adhyātma- bahirdhā° mahā°	śūnyatā°	ādarśajñāna
33	Vajraratna Vajrasūrya Vajrahetu Vajrahāsa			śūnyatā° paramārthā° saṃskṛta° asaṃskṛta°	animitta°	saṃatājñāna
34	Vajradharma Vajratīkṣṇa Vajrahetu Vajrabhāsa			atyanta° anavarāgra° anavakāra° prakṛti°	apraṇihita°	pratya- vekṣa- ñājñāna
35	Vajraviśva / Vajrakarma Vajrarakṣa Vajrayakṣa Vajramuṣṭi			lakṣaṇa° sarvadharmā° abhāva° abhāvasva- bhāva°	anabhi- saṃskāra°	kṛtyānuṣṭhā- ñājñāna

Table 8. Correspondences of the Vajradhātumahāmaṇḍala of NMAA 5 (part 1).

N S Verse	Maṇḍala deity	Class of deity	Emptiness (śūnyatā)	Perfection (pāramitā)	Power (bala)	
36	Vajralāsyā Vajramālā Vajragītā Vajranṛtyā	Guhyapūjādevīs		dāna° śīla° vīrya° kṣānti°		
37	Vajradhūpā Vajrapuṣpā Vajrālokā Vajragandhā	Bāhyapūjādevīs		prajñā° dhyāna° prañidhi° upāya°		
	[Vajrāṅkuśa] [Vajrapāśa] [Vajrasphoṭa] Vajrāveśa	Dvārapālas		bala°		śraddhā vīrya smṛti samādhi
38	Maitreya Mañjuśrī Gandhahastin Jñānaketu	Bodhisattvas		adhyātma° bahirdhā° adhyātma- bahirdhā° mahā°		prajñā
39	Bhadrapālā Sāgaramatī Akṣayamatī Pratibhānakūṭa			śūnyatā° paramārthā° saṃskṛta° asaṃskṛta°		
40	Mahāstāmaprāpta Sarvāpāyañjaha Sarvaśokatamo- nirghātamatī Jālinīprabha			atyanta° anavarāgra° anavakāra°		
41	Candraprabha Amitaprabha Gaganagañja Sarvanivarāṇa- viṣkambhin			prakṛti° lakṣana° sarvadharmā° abhāva° abhāvasvabhāva°		

Table 9. Correspondences of the Vajradhātumahāmaṇḍala of NMAA 5 (part 2).

TRANSLATION

CHAPTERS 1–5 OF VILĀSAVAJRA’S
NĀMAMANTRĀRTHĀVALOKINĪ,
‘AN EXPLANATION OF THE MEANING OF THE NAME-MANTRAS’

Conventions Used in the Translation.

I have employed the following conventions in order to produce a translation that is both accurate and readable.

Square Brackets

Square brackets contain material not present in the Sanskrit text. This additional material generally has the purpose of making the sense of a passage clear and is often implicit in the Sanskrit. I have tried to translate so that if square brackets and their contents are removed what remains makes grammatical sense. Following this rule so as to leave punctuation intact produces some oddities of appearance, thus:

“After the request for instruction, he[, that is, Śākyamuni,] replies ...”
(chapter 2: opening)

To prevent this I have regularly placed the opening bracket after the comma:

“After the request for instruction, he, [that is, Śākyamuni,] replies ...”

Square brackets also enclose inserted citations of NS verses. Whole verses of the NS are first cited in chapter 5, from NS 33 onwards. Before this Vilāsavajra gives half or quarter verses, or just the opening words of a verse – the *pratīka*. To make the translation more readable the NS verses are inserted where necessary, translated as understood by the commentary.

Although Vilāsavajra provides regular analyses of the syntactic structure of the NS where a sentence spans more than one verse, the commentarial practice of taking the root text one verse at a time can make it hard to sense how the NS itself is developing. For this reason I have appended the text and a parallel translation of the NS verses commented on in chapters 1–5 of the NMAA (Appendix VIII).

Bold Face

Bold face is used to indicate a citation of the root text, whether appearing in the text of the NMAA or inserted by the editor. This may be a verse, part of a verse,

a word or part of a word, thus:

“**Mental delusion** (mūḍhadhī-) means the delusion connected with thoughts {mūḍha^ḍdhī-}. It, [namely, **great delusion**,] is the **destroyer** (sūdanah > vināśakah) of this ...” (NMAA on NS 31ab)

Glosses

Vilāsavajra often uses synonyms to gloss words of the NS. If these have no particular force in the original it is hard to reproduce them in translation without them becoming empty or trite and they are better left untranslated. In such cases I have adopted the following notation to indicate how a word has been glossed:

(x > y) means ‘x is glossed as y’.

Thus,

“[Śākyamuni] withdrew ... **his long** (āyatām > dīrghām), **full** (sphītām > bahalatarām) ... **tongue**.” (NMAA on NS 17)

‘āyatām > dīrghām’ indicates that the word ‘long’ is the translation of āyatām, and that āyatām is glossed by the synonym dīrghām. Without this convention the passage would have to be translated by something such as,

“[Śākyamuni] withdrew ... **his long**, namely, lengthy; **full**, namely, thick ... **tongue**.”

An arrow sign facing the other way, (x < y), means ‘x is the gloss of y’.

Grammatical Analyses

Idiomatic grammatical analyses, such as those of bahuvrīhi or karmadhāraya compounds, are almost impossible to translate. Also, since the word glossed has to be translated according to the gloss, attempting to give a translation often produces an apparently redundant sentence, thus:

“**Lord of the thunderbolt** means lord of the thunderbolt, namely, of the *vajra*.” (kuliśo vajras tasya īśvaraḥ kuliśeśvaraḥ; *Text* 1.101)

The difficulties mount when there is a sequence of analyses for a long compound. Occasionally, these problems can be overcome if the head-word is translatable by an English compound word. Alternatively, Sanskrit can be imported into the translation,

though this is not always satisfactory and the translation quickly becomes overburdened with untranslated words. I have generally indicated the presence of a grammatical analysis by placing the word analysed within braces, {}, and using the notation evolved by Michael Coulson (1976) to indicate the particular analysis. Although this results in Sanskrit being present in the translation, the braces can be passed over without loss of sense while the information contained in the original is preserved.

Coulson's notation makes use of punctuation marks to distinguish different types of compound, as follows:

<i>dvandva</i>	Indicated by a semicolon, eg. {aśva;gajāḥ}.
<i>tatpuruṣa</i>	Indicated by a hyphen, the case relation being given by a number above the hyphen, eg. {kuliśa ⁶ īśvaraḥ} for a genitive tatpuruṣa.
<i>karmadhāraya</i>	Indicated by a colon, eg. {mahā:bhavādrisaṃbhattā}.
<i>bahuvrīhi</i>	Indicated by an underscore beneath the relationship mark for the two elements, eg. {mahābala_7parākramaḥ} for a bahuvrīhi based on a locative tatpuruṣa; {mahā:rūpaḥ} for a bahuvrīhi based on a karmadhāraya. (In the first example the tatpuruṣa case number is placed beside the hyphen since typographical limitations prevent it being placed above.)

Parentheses

Except for their use to enclose glosses (see above), parentheses, (), are used to indicate the Sanskrit or English translation of the preceding word or phrase.

TRANSLATION

[Chapter 1. On ‘The Request for Instruction’.]

Having bowed to the noble one,¹ Mañjuśrī, moon of knowledge and protector in the three times, and likewise to his *Nāmasaṃgīti*² of profound and lofty character; having studied the Yoga, Caryā and Kriyā Tantras; also the system of the Perfection of Wisdom; the Sūtra and Abhidharma Collections, [and] the explanation of others,³ [that is, of other Ācāryas]; the Birth Stories and the Sayings;⁴ [and] also the teaching of the Hymnographer,⁵ [that is to say, Mātṛceṭa,] the whole Vijñānavāda, and likewise the Madhyamaka, and also worldly treatises;⁶ and keeping in mind the teaching received from the succession of my teachers,⁷ I, who have been [so] requested, will now produce a commentary on this [*Nāmasaṃgīti*], which deals with that which is profound and lofty, with a mind that is tender with compassion for slow-witted beings.

¹Some MSS start with an additional salutation. A has *oṃ namas te varadavajrāya* (“OM, Obeisance to you, wish-granting *vajra*”), and the MSS of *ḍ* have *oṃ mañjughoṣasvāmine* (“OM, Obeisance to the Lord who is Mañjughoṣa”). Tib. has a translator’s homage to Tārā. I take all of these to be additions to the text of the NMAA (see textual note on 1.0). A’s homage alludes to NS 158a, *namas te varadavajrāgrya*.

²Titles of texts are not translated.

³*anyanibandhanam*. There is some doubt over this reading. See textual note 1.4.

⁴*itivr̥ttam* (for *itivr̥ttakam*). This is an incorrect back-formation from the Pali *itivuttaka* (Skt. *ityuktaka*), “So it has been said”. As one of the twelve types of Buddhist literature (*pravacanāni*) it is enumerated in NMAA 6 (on NS 55ab). Nine *pravacana*, excluding *itivr̥ttakam*, are listed elsewhere (DhSam 62). Both lists also include ‘birth stories’ (*jātakam*). *Itivuttaka* is also the name of a particular work in the Pāli *Khuddaka Nikāya*. The twelve *pravacana* are sometimes distributed among the three *piṭaka*. (Eg., see mKhas grub rje’s *rGyud sde spyi* in Lessing and Wayman, 1968, 53–7).

⁵*stotrakāra*. La Vallée Poussin identifies the ‘Hymnographer’ as the famous Mātṛceṭa (AKBh.Pou. II, 205, note 2; IX, 230 note 3). I use ‘teaching’ to translate *matam* rather than the more literal ‘thought’ or ‘doctrine’, which seem inappropriate given that Mātṛceṭa’s renown was due to his devotional compositions. For *matam* Tib. has *gzhung*, which is more often used to translate *granthaḥ*, ‘literary work’, ‘original composition’ (MVy 1428, 1455, 1466).

⁶*laukika*. Works on non-Buddhist subjects such as grammar, metrics, poetics; also Hindu sectarian texts.

⁷The oral tradition as well as the textual tradition is thus referred to.

Now I will state the division[s] of the body of this *Nāmasaṃgīti*. Thus: the Request for Instruction; the Reply; the Survey of the Six Families; the Method of Awakening according to the *Māyājāla*; the Bodhicitta – as [the nature of] Śrīvajrasattva;⁸ the Awareness of the Perfectly Pure Dharma-Sphere⁹ (*suviśuddha-dharmadhātujñānam*) – as [the nature of] Mahāvairocana; the Mirror-like Awareness (*ādarśajñānam*) – as [the nature of] Akṣobhya; the Discriminating Awareness (*pratyavekṣanājñānam*) – as [the nature of] Amitābha; the Awareness of Equality (*samatājñānam*) – as [the nature of] Ratnasambhava; the Awareness of the Performance of Action (*kṛtyānuṣṭhānajñānam*) – as [the nature of] Amoghasiddhi; the Praise [which is of the nature] of the [five] Awarenesses – via the five Tathāgatas; the Benefit;¹⁰ the Arrangement of Mantras; and the Conclusion. These are the fourteen topics of the body [of the text].

Of these [topics], the Request for Instruction, in sixteen verses [NS 1–16], starts with [the words], **Then Vajradhara ...** [and continues] until, ... **stood before [him] with his body bowed [in respect]**. The Reply, in six verses [NS 17–

⁸*śrīvajrasattvadvāreṇa*. When making identifications or correlations, Vilāsavajra uses *-dvāreṇa*, *-mukhena*, *-rūpeṇa*, *-svarūpeṇa*, *-svabhāvena* and *-ātmanā* interchangeably as synonyms. As well as in the present enumeration of NS topics, they are used in the division of NS verses immediately following (*Text* 1.27–43). Elsewhere they are used to establish further correlations with the five Awarenesses (*Text* 1.204–213; NMAA 11 [A.102v5–103r1]) and the five Tathāgatas (*Text* 1.191–197); and in chapter 5 they are used to give correspondences between ‘Names’ and maṇḍala-deities (*Text* 5.23–31). The sense of these terms can often be translated by ‘as’. The phrase ‘x as y’ can mean either ‘x [embodied] as y’ or ‘x as [the nature of] y’. These meanings can be identical since, for example, *jñāna* is both (doctrinally) the nature of, and (ritually) embodied as, the Tathāgatas. The sense of instrumentality (present in *-dvāreṇa*, *-mukhena*: lit. ‘by means of’) is sometimes required and then ‘via’ is a better translation.

⁹‘Dharma-Sphere’ (*dharmadhātu*). An important term in the NMAA, *dharmadhātu* is employed by Vilāsavajra in its Vijñānavāda usage to denote the ultimate non-dual nature of things. The Abhidharma sense of *dharmadhātu* as the object of the mind (*manas*) is in the background but since all is mind from a Vijñānavāda perspective, everything is comprised by the *dharmadhātu*. ‘Awareness of the Perfectly Pure Dharma-Sphere’ stands for the *dharmadhātu* as realised by an enlightened mind. It is one of the set of five Awarenesses (*pañca jñānāni*), a key interpretive category of the NMAA (see *Introduction*).

¹⁰*anuśamsā*. Not listed in MW (but s.v. *anu* √*śams*, ‘to praise’), the Buddhist sense of the nominal form is ‘advantage’, ‘benefit’ (BHSD 34).

22], starts with, **Then Śākyamuni, the Fortunate One** ... [and continues] until, ‘... [listen] to it well.’ ‘O Fortunate One, [so be it.]’ replied **Vajrapāṇi**. The Survey of the Six Families, in two verses [NS 23–24], starts with, **Then Śākyamuni, the Fortunate One, [having surveyed] the entire** ... [and continues] until, ... **the great Mahoṣṇīṣa family**. The Method of Awakening According to the *Māyājāla* is alluded to in three verses [NS 25–27], starting with, **[Śākyamuni spoke] this [verse] endowed with the six [kingly] mantras** ... [and continuing] until, **Obeisance to you ... Arapacana**. The teaching of Bodhicittavajra via the Great Maṇḍala of the Vajradhātu, in fourteen verses [NS 28–41], starts with, **That is to say** ... [and continues] until, ... **master of the path of the Great Way**. The praise [of the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī] via the Awareness of the Perfectly Pure Dharma-Sphere, in twenty-five verses less a quarter [NS 42–66c], starts with, **Mahāvairocana, the Enlightened One** ... [and continues] until, ... **he is Vajrāṅkuṣa, with a great noose**. The praise [of the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī] via the Mirror-like Awareness, in ten verses plus a quarter [NS 66d–76], starts with, **Producing terror as Vajrabhairava** ... [and continues] until, ... **he is speech, the best of those with a voice**. The praise [of the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī] via the Discriminating Awareness, in forty-two verses [NS 77–118], starts with, **Being suchness, selflessness** ... [and continues] until, ... **very radiant with the rays of knowledge**. The praise [of the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī] via the Awareness of Equality, in twenty-four verses [NS 119–142], starts with, **Supreme accomplisher of desired objects** ... [and continues] until, ... **he is Ratnaketu, the great jewel**.¹¹ The praise [of the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī] via

¹¹The Skt. reads “Ratnaketu, the great sage” (ratnaketur mahāmuniḥ *Text* 1.34–5). The NS has “Ratnaketu, the great jewel” (ratnaketur mahāmaṇiḥ *NS.Dav.* 59, v.142d). The commentary of NMAA 9 confirms the epithet as *mahāmaṇiḥ* (B.68r2, B.68r3), however, showing *mahāmuniḥ* to be corrupt.

the Awareness of the Performance of Action, in fifteen verses [NS 143–157], starts with, **To be understood by all the Buddhas ...** [and continues] until, **... Mañjuśrī, best of the glorious.** The praise [of the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī, which is of the nature] of the five Awarenesses, via the five Tathāgatas, in five verses [NS 158–162], starts with, **Obeisance to you, foremost wish-granting thunderbolt ...**¹² [and continues] until, **... obeisance to you, Knowledge-Body.** The praise [of the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī via] ‘The Benefit’, starts with, **This, O Vajrapāṇi, O Vajradhara, is that ...** [and continues] until, **... [he is will be] a king of the Dharma.** The praise [of the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī] via ‘The [Arrangement of] Mantras’, starts with, **OM – [PURE VAJRA WHOSE ESSENCE IS THE NON-BEING] OF ALL DHARMAS ...** [and continues] until, **... WOMB OF THE DHARMA-SPHERE AWARENESS [...]** – ĀḤ. The praise via ‘The Conclusion’, starts with, **Then Vajradhara ...** [and continues] until, **... taught by all the Perfectly Enlightened Ones** [NS 163–7].

So [al]together, the entire praise [of the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī] has [a total of] one hundred and sixty-two verses, [plus the equivalent of a further] one hundred and fifty verses¹³ for the [prose] Benefit [Section].¹⁴ And this is a résumé of the *Nāmasaṃgīti* of the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī, the Fortunate One, the Knowledge-Body of all the Tathāgatas.

Due to the uncertainty about the meaning of words, everyone always proceeds

¹²Davidson translates this as “Reverence to you, the giver of the best, the foremost *vajra*” taking *varadavajrāgrya* as two words (NS.Dav. 38, v.158ab). I take them as compounded since the allusion to this verse in MS A’s opening salutation, *om namas te varadavajrāya*, indicates that *varada* qualifies *vajra* (unless *varadavajrāya* is read as a corruption of the vocative *varadavajrāgrya*).

¹³*grantha*. A unit of thirty-two syllables used to measure prose as well as verse.

¹⁴For discussion of the division of the NS by Vilāsavajra see *Introduction*, section 5.2.

[with the study of a text] on the basis of having determined its structure,¹⁵ its subject matter,¹⁶ its purpose, and the purpose of that [purpose].¹⁷ Hence the structure, and so forth, of this *Nāmasaṃgīti* must be stated. To elaborate: if its structure and subject matter are not spoken of, then those who act on the basis of reason, assuming that it is unconnected and purposeless like the words of a madman, will not proceed to study. For this reason its structure and subject matter should certainly be stated. Yet those with faith proceed simply from the authority of the words of the Fortunate One. Since they progress from faith alone, they do not need to be told the subject matter and the rest.

So here, [namely, in the *Nāmasaṃgīti*], the subject-matter is Non-dual Awareness (advayajñāna). And he, [that is, Śākyamuni,] speaks to this effect in the [Section on] Benefit:

“[...] since it, [that is, the *Nāmasaṃgīti*] illumines and focuses [awareness] on [Mañjuśrī's] names for the sake of causing [pupils] to penetrate the non-dual realness of things.”¹⁸

The name¹⁹ [of the text] is *Nāmasaṃgīti*. [It is to be analysed as follows]: *gīti* means ‘chanting’ (gāna); *saṃgīti* means ‘perfect chanting’ (samyaggīti) [and] *Nāmasaṃgīti* means ‘The Perfect Chanting of Names’ {nāma⁶saṃgītiḥ}. ‘Names’ [in the sense of texts] are mundane, [that is, non-Buddhist] and supramundane, [that

¹⁵*sambandhaḥ*. Lit. ‘connection’, *sambandha* is used in more than one sense by Vilāsavajra. Generally it is used to denote the grammatical structure of a passage under comment, ie. the connection between part of the text and what precedes or follows it. In the present list it refers to the connection between the title (abhidhānam) of the NS and its subject matter (abhidheyam).

¹⁶*abhidheya*, lit. ‘what is named’. The heading ‘subject matter’ includes consideration of the name or title (abhidhāna) of the text since an explanation of the title involves an explanation of what is referred to by the title and it is assumed that the title describes the subject matter.

¹⁷*tatprayojana*. This refers to the purpose behind the purpose, or ultimate purpose. (See textual note 1.47–8.) Lopez, 1988, 212, note 1, cites a Tibetan discussion of these headings.

¹⁸This citation is from the end of the third part of the NS *anuśaṃsā* (NS.Dav. 64, 17). A few lines earlier is the following passage: “It, [that is, the *Nāmasaṃgīti*,] is the non-dual realness of things since it is separated from the characteristics of duality” (advayadharmatā dvayadharmavigatatvāt: NS.Dav. 64, 14).

¹⁹*abhidhānam*. This is included under the head of ‘subject matter’ (see note 16).

is, Buddhist. The latter are] Yoga, Kriyā and Caryā Tantras; [the twelve categories of] enlightened utterance;²⁰ the Sūtrānta, the Abhidharma and the Vinaya. And [‘Names’ also denote] all things moving and unmoving.²¹ The ‘Chanting’ is of those Names, metaphorically, that is, not as they ultimately are, but conventionally, in accordance with the principle that all this is mere names up to, [that is, until one has reached,] the upper limit of existence.

The connection (saṃbandhaḥ) between these two, [that is to say, between the title and the subject-matter,] is defined as the relation between name and named²² or between means and goal.²³

And as for the purpose [of the text], it is the attaining of the Non-dual Awareness by Bodhisattvas practicing the observances of the Way of Mantras, who realise [it] directly ‘by means of concentration on the real and fervent application, through faith that is permeated with wisdom, [that is] spotless, absolute and that is penetrative of all *dharmas*’.²⁴

And so it should be added that the purpose of the purpose, [namely, Non-dual Awareness,] is [the attainment of] the final rank of the Tathāgata, which arises from the limit that is the highest degree of meditation, [that is to say, from its culmination].

²⁰*pravacana*. NMAA 6 (on NS 55ab) gives a twelvefold classification (see note 4).

²¹The Abhidharma sense of *nāma* as a linguistic unit of greater length than a word is being exploited here, in addition to the usage of reference to ‘things’ in the sense of nameables. (See *Introduction* 5.4 for discussion of Vilāsavajra’s treatment of the ‘Names’ of the NS.) On the relation between names and their referents see P. Williams (1991, 198–9).

²²I.e. the simple denotative relation.

²³Thus the [recitation of the] Names as means leads to the goal of Non-dual Awareness, the subject-matter of the NS.

²⁴The single inverted commas in this sentence indicate material from the *anuśaṃsā* of the NS that has been incorporated into the text. The original *anuśaṃsā* passage reads, *adhimuktitattvamanas-kārābhyāṃ samantamukhavihāravihārī sarvadharmapratiśedhikayā paramayānāvīlayā prajñānu-viddhayā śraddhayā* (NS.Dav. 65, 9–11). Excepting *samantamukhavihāravihārī*, which is excluded, this is incorporated without change (Text 1.63–5).

The phrase ‘by Bodhisattvas practicing the observances of the Way of Mantras’ (*mantramukha-caryācāriṇām bodhisattvānām* Text 1.63) also derives from the *anuśaṃsā* (NS.Dav. 63, 4). Elsewhere in the *anuśaṃsā* the nominative form *mantramukhacaryācārī* is found (NS.Dav. 65, 3). I take *mantramukha* as a synonym of *mantranaya* (i.e. *mukha* as ‘way’, ‘path’, or ‘method’).

And now the meaning of the words is explained.

**[Then Vajradhara, the glorious, best tamer of those hard to tame,
a hero [since he is] the conqueror of the three worlds, king of
secrets, lord of the thunderbolt, (1)]**

[The word] ‘**then** (atha)’: it, [that is, the text] speaks about Vajradhara since he is topical, inasmuch as he is [the] one who seeks instruction.²⁵ The Fortunate One Vajradhara [is present] in order to request instruction in that ‘*Nāmasaṃgīti*, possessing ultimate truth, of the Fortunate One, the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī, spoken by the Fortunate One Śākyamuni in the “Net of Samādhi” chapter occurring within the Mahāyoga Tantra in sixteen thousand [lines called] the *Āryamāyājāla*’²⁶ for the sake of benefiting beings of weak [spiritual] capacities. Alternatively it, [that is, the *Nāmasaṃgīti*] says **then** [where] the word ‘then’ has a sense of succession: ‘Then Vajradhara, accompanied by [Vajra-holding Krodhas²⁷] such as Bhṛkuṭītarāṅga, made obeisance to the protector, the Awakened One, the Fortunate One, the Tathāgata, and, having joined his palms in respectful greeting, stood before

²⁵The word *atha* is being taken here in the sense of indicating the introduction of a new topic (ie. *atha adhikāre*). This contrasts with the second gloss below, “[Alternatively,] the word *atha* has a sense of succession” (*athaśabda ānantarye Text 1.75–6*), ie. *atha* as meaning ‘next’.

²⁶This passage (*Text 1.72–74*) incorporates the NS colophon (marked in single inverted commas), though it differs slightly from the version in *NS.Dav.* (see textual note on 1.72). The full title of the NS is given as: *mañjuśrījñānasattvasya paramārthā nāmasaṃgītiḥ*.

The relationship of the NS and NMAA to the *Māyājālatantra* cycle remains a matter for further investigation. As well as the statement in the NS colophon, the opening verses of the NS (verse 13) describe it as being recited in the *Māyājālatantra*. Vilāsavajra names the fourth section of the NS as ‘The Method of Awakening according to the *Māyājāla*’ (*māyājālābhisambodhikramah*) and he opens the *sādhana* of chapter 4 by saying that the method “has come down through the line of my gurus, and is included within the *Śrīmāyājāla* [*Tantra*] in sixteen thousand [verses]”. The version of the *Māyājālatantra* in the Kanjur (Tōh 466), however, is not in sixteen thousand verses and though it contains a *samādhi* chapter, the NS is not found there (Davidson, 1981, 2). Nonetheless, study of the contents of this work may cast light on the reasons for the statements in the NS and NMAA, as may exploration of the more extensive material on the *Māyājāla* cycle in the rNying ma collection of Tantras (rNyingGB).

²⁷*krodha*. Lit. ‘wrath’, ‘anger’. See NMAA on NS 5 below for a description of the appearance of these wrathful attendants of Vajradhara.

[Śākyamuni] and spoke as follows'. This [also] gives the sentence structure [of verses 1–6 of the *Nāmasaṃgīti*].

[The name] **Vajradhara** means 'Vajra-bearer'. [His] profundity (*gāmbhīrya*) is referred to by this expression. The word **glorious** (*śrīmān*) refers to one who possesses (-*mān*) '*śrī*', that is to say, [one who possesses] 'goddesses'. And this alludes to his extensiveness (*audārya*). And so, what is being said [here]? It is that Vajradhara, the Fortunate One, has wisdom and skilful means as his nature.²⁸ For this very reason it is said in the *Śrīsaṃvara* [*Tantra*],

The glorious Vajrasattva (*śrīvajrasattva*), [that is, Vajradhara,] the Tathāgata, is [present] in the whole sphere of space.²⁹

It is Īśvara³⁰ and so forth that are **hard to tame** [and they are so described] because they are tamed with difficulty. He is their **tamer**, that is to say, discipliner, because Īśvara and so forth are to be disciplined by Vajradhara. Vajradhara is [described as] **best** because of his eminence.³¹ [The phrase] **the three worlds**

²⁸The word *śrīman* literally means 'possessing glory' (*śrī* with the possessive suffix *-man*). Vilāsavajra's interpretation, 'possessing goddesses', associates the word with the deities of a maṇḍala. *Śrī* is identified as *devatī*, a word used in Buddhist contexts as equivalent to *devatā*. This is seen, for instance, in *sādhana*s devoted to Tārā where the term denotes the offering goddesses (*pūjādevī*) (SāMā 140, 11; 180, 10; 185, 19; 195, 6; 199, 4). Thus to say that Vajradhara is glorious is to say that he is surrounded by a maṇḍala of deities. The maṇḍala deities represent the active, compassionate, all-pervading aspect of the deity at the centre of the maṇḍala and so the term *śrīmān* can also be associated with Vajradhara's skill in means (*upāya*). When considered alone without a retinue of maṇḍala-deities Vajradhara symbolises both wisdom and skilful means; when he has a retinue the two qualities become separated, Vajradhara standing for wisdom and the maṇḍala-deities for skilful means. As a result, Vilāsavajra can state that 'Vajradhara' denotes profundity (*gāmbhīrya*). The quotation from the *Samvaratantra* that follows serves to illustrate the all pervasive aspect. Vajradhara is by implication identified with Vajrasattva of the quotation, and the *śrī* of *śrīvajrasattva* is to be understood as meaning *śrīmān*. A parallel to the gloss of *Śrīvajrasattva* as Vajrasattva plus maṇḍala-deities is seen in Bhavabhaṭṭa's *Cakrasaṃvaravivṛti* where the name Śrīheruka is glossed as Heruka plus his consort Vajravārāhī: *śrīvajravārāhī / tayā yukto herukaḥ śrīheruka iti / madhyapadalopī samāsaḥ* (CSViv folio 5r1). (I am grateful to Prof. A. Sanderson for this reference.)

²⁹This quotation has been identified by K. Tanaka as coming from chapter 1 of the SBSYDJS and not from the *Laghusaṃvaratantra* (see Appendix 1 and *Introduction* note 20).

³⁰The name of Śiva. The "and so forth" refers to other Hindu deities who are to be brought into the 'discipline'.

³¹The gloss is not as empty as it appears. There are other ways of construing *paraḥ* ('best'), as 'full' (deriving from $\sqrt{pṛ}$), for instance, or 'enemy'.

refers to the earth, the atmosphere and the heavens. He is [described as] **conqueror of the three worlds** because it is his practice [or way] to conquer them. Alternatively, the three worlds are the three brothers Jayakara, Madhukara and Sarvārthasiddhi. He whose way it is to conquer these [brothers] is called **conqueror of the three worlds**. For this very reason Vajradhara, the Fortunate One, is a **hero** since he is not to be overcome by enemies.

In the *Śrītattvasaṃgraha* [*Tantra*] five secrets are mentioned. To be explicit:

To the extent that living beings are converted [to Buddhism]³² according to their individual natures, one who is pure should accomplish the purposes of [those] living beings using passion and so forth.

With the Buddha's teaching as one's motive, [if] for the sake of the benefit of living beings one even kills all living beings, one is not stained by sin.

Employing a Buddha's body,³³ [if] for the sake of the benefit of living beings one even steals the wealth of others, one is not stained by sin.

There is no pleasure equal to sexual desire.³⁴ Offering it, [that is, the pleasure,] to the Conquerors, one may resort to the wives of others [and provided it is] for the welfare of living beings one will gain merit.³⁵

³²Lit. "accept the discipline" (*vinayaṃ yānti Text* 1.90). An alternative translation of this stanza is, "The more that beings accept the *vinaya* by their nature, the more, being pure, they are able to accomplish the purposes of beings through passion and so forth". In this case *śuciḥ* has to be read as a plural. Though grammatically irregular, such usage is found in Buddhist metrical material.

³³"Employing a Buddha's body" (*buddhakāyaprayogataḥ*; *sangs gyas sku dang sbyor ba las Tib.* [185.5.6]). It is unclear whether this means the taking on of such a body through visualisation or its actual attainment.

³⁴*rāga*. Though not prominent, use of sexuality as part of the path is present in the Yoga Tantras. It is present in the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha* although it was expurgated in the Chinese translation. Thus: "Throughout the triple-sphered [world] there is no evil like absence of passion. Therefore, you should not practice being indifferent to sexual desire" (*virāgasadṛṣaṃ pāpam anyan nāsti tridhātuke / tasmāt kāmavirāgitvaṃ na kāryaṃ bhavatā punaḥ // STTS 150, 12–13*); "For those whose nature is pure sexual desire is pure, but it is impure for non-Buddhist yogins. Observing the pledge of the pure-natured, one obtains success.' Thus said the Fortunate One, Avalokiteśvara" (*rāgaḥ śuddhātmanāṃ śuddho hy aśuddhas tīrthyayogināṃ / śuddhātmanāṃ tu samayaṃ pālayaṃ siddhim āpnuyād ity āha bhagavān avalokiteśvaraḥ STTS 479, 2–4*). See also STTS 127, 3–10; 478–9.

³⁵This could still fall within the limits of the Bodhisattva *vinaya*. Candragomin's 'Twenty Verses on the Bodhisattva vow' (**Bodhisattvasaṃvaraviṃśaka*) reads (verse 11c), "With mercy there is no [deed] without virtue" (Tatz 1985, 28, 35–6). For a parallel to these verses see SDPS 218, 1–15 (translation: p. 66–7).

And whatever action one performs, [if it is done] for the sake of the benefit of living beings, motivated by the Buddha's teaching, one will obtain much merit.

King of secrets {guhya⁶ rāṭ} means king of those five secrets.³⁶ Alternatively 'guhyarāṭ' may be analysed as 'one who reigns because of the [five] secrets' {guhya³ rāṭ}.³⁷

He, [that is, Vajradhara,] is [also described as] the **lord of the thunderbolt**, namely, [the lord of] the *vajra* {kuliśa⁶śvarah}. With each [epithet so far discussed] should be construed the verb [of the sentence of the first six verses of the *Nāmasaṃgīti* which is structured as follows]: 'Vajradhara, the Fortunate One, [...] standing in front [of Śākyamuni], joined his palms in respectful salutation and said the following', [what he said] being stated later [in verses 7–15].

[With eyes like an opened white lotus, with a face like a full-blown lotus, throwing the best of vajras upwards with his hand again and again ... (2)]

[In the word] 'vibuddha[puṇḍarīkākṣaḥ]', 'puṇḍarīka' means 'white lotus' (śvetapadmam), 'vibuddha' means 'opened' (vikasitam), [and] 'akṣi' means 'eye' (cakṣuḥ). He, [that is, Vajradhara,] is described as one **with eyes** (akṣiṇī > locane) that are **like an opened white lotus**: this is the [grammatical] analysis {vibuddha:puṇḍarīkam} {vibuddhapuṇḍarīka:akṣaḥ}.

He is also described as one **with a face** (ānanam > mukham) **like a full-**

³⁶Wayman (1973, 37–8) cites a verse from the *Śrī-Paramādyā Tantra* that refers to five secrets: "The great weapon of the great lord who has the supreme success (siddhi) that is great, is said to be the five-pronged thunderbolt which is the great reality of the five secrets." Ānandagarbha identifies these in his commentary, the *Śrīparamādyatīkā*. Wayman lists these: "(1) the *bodhicitta*, (2) understanding it, (3) its realisation, (4) its non-abandonment, and (5) the knowledge characterised by attainment."

³⁷The term *guhyarāṭ* is first glossed as meaning that Vajradhara is king, that is master of, the five secrets. The second gloss contrasts with this, saying he is king (over something else) as a result of the five secrets, ie. they are what give him his power. In this case *-rāṭ* is being analysed etymologically, from the root *√rāj*, 'to reign'.

(pra-), or thoroughly (prakarṣeṇa-³⁸) **blown** (-utphulla) **lotus** (kamalam > padmam) {protphullakamala;ānanah}.

The structure [of the first six verses of the *Nāmasaṃgīti*] is [this]: ‘Grasping the middle of the [best of] **vajra[s]** with his own hand, [and] **throwing** [it] **upwards again and again** (muhur muhuḥ > punaḥ punaḥ), which is to say, [and] catching the *vajra* that has been thrown up, [...] he, [namely, Vajradhara,] spoke as follows’.

[Accompanied by numberless Vajrapāṇis, with Bhṛkuṭītarāṅga
(‘Waves of Frowns’) at their head³⁹ – heroes [since they are]
tamers of the hard to tame, possessing hideous forms and
[displaying] the heroic [Sentiment], ... (3)]

[Now] the passage starting ‘**Accompanied by...**’. The attendants of Śrī-vajradhara are listed in the *Vajrapāṇyabhiṣeka Tantra* as Bhṛkuṭītarāṅga and so forth, the five hundred Krodhas.⁴⁰ [This verse] connects [with the rest of the sentence] as follows: ‘in the company of those [attendants], Vajradhara, the Fortunate One, bowed to the perfectly enlightened one, and spoke as follows: ...’. And those wrathful attendants, in respect of ultimate truth, are without number. Therefore he, [that is, Śākyamuni,] said **accompanied by numberless Vajrapāṇis**. And also, like Vajradhara, they tame the hard-to-tame. This is the reason that he, [that is, Śākyamuni,] said **tamers of the hard-to-tame**. [And] for this same reason they are heros, since they cannot be overcome by those [that are “hard-to-tame”]. Hence

³⁸*prakarṣa*, a grammatical term, indicates the sense of the verbal prefix *pra-* in *pra-utphulla*. (An alternative analysis of *pra-* is *prāthamye*, “in the sense of ‘first’”).

³⁹*bhṛkuṭītarāṅgapramukhaiḥ* (“with Bhṛkuṭītarāṅga at their head”). Davidson and Wayman take this differently: “With endless Vajrapāṇis showing billows of angry brows” (Davidson 1981, 19); “was along with [retinue] lords having ripples of furrowed brow, and so on” (Wayman 1985, 57–8). That Bhṛkuṭītarāṅga is a proper name is suggested by the termination *-pramukhaiḥ*, which functions in the same way as *-ādi* in stating the opening term(s) of lists.

⁴⁰For a discussion of the wrathful forms of Vajrapāṇi see Davidson, 1981, 18, note 52.

he, [that is, Śākyamuni,] said **heroes**. What Sentiment⁴¹ do they possess? They possess the heroic Sentiment. What form do they have? They have a form that is hideous.⁴² It is for this reason that they are described as **possessing hideous forms and [displaying] the heroic [Sentiment]**.

[Throwing [their *vajras*] upwards with their hands, with the tips of their *vajras* flashing, supreme [since they are] agents for the [ultimate] purpose of the worlds through their wisdom, skill-in-means, and great compassion, (4)]

The word ‘ullālayadbhiḥ’ means **throwing upwards**. How [is this done]? **With their hands**. [They are also described as] having **the tips** (koṭayaḥ > agrabhāgāḥ) **of their *vajras*** {vajra⁶koṭibhiḥ} **flashing** {praspuradḥvajrakoṭibhiḥ}.

What nature do they, [that is, the attendants,] have? [They are described as] functioning as **agents for the [ultimate] purpose of the worlds by means of wisdom, [skill-in-]means and great compassion**. In this [description] **wisdom** (prajñā) is for the purpose of realising [the nature of] all *dharmas*; **skill-in-means** (upāya) is acting for the [ultimate] purpose of all beings by explaining all mundane and supramundane *samādhis* according to [the individual’s] suitability; **compassion** [is the meaning of ‘karuṇā’] because it, [that is, compassion,] suppresses (ruṇaddhi) ‘ka’. [The term] ‘ka’ is the name of pleasure. [This ‘etymology’ applies] since the compassionate one, being one who suffers the sufferings of others, subordinates his own pleasure. **Great compassion**

⁴¹*rasa* (‘mood’ or ‘sentiment’). One of the key categories of Indian aesthetics. Eight *rasa* (or nine, if *śānta* is counted,) are usually enumerated: the erotic (śṛṅgāra), the heroic (vīra), the disgusting (bībhatsa), the angry (raudra), the mirthful (hāsyā), the terrific (bhayānaka), the compassionate (karuṇa), the wonderful (adbhuta) and the tranquil (śānta).

⁴²*bībhatsa*. Like *vīra*, *bībhatsa* is a *rasa*. For a description of this form see commentary on NS 5 below.

{mahā:karuṇā} is [that compassion which is] by nature objectless. [The term] ‘jagad’ is plural⁴³ (**‘worlds’**) [and refers to] the three-sphered [worlds].⁴⁴ The [ultimate] **purpose** (arthah > prayojanam) is that of those [worlds] {jagad⁶arthah}.

For this very reason, [namely, that they are agents of the worlds’ welfare,] those Krodhas are described as **supreme** (parāh > utkrṣṭāh) .

[With an excited and pleased attitude, joyful, possessing the body-form of Krodhas, protectors, accomplishing the business of the Buddhas, with their bodies bowed [in respect] – (5)]

What is their nature? They have as their nature an **attitude** which is both **excited** and **pleased**: ‘excited’ in their bodies and ‘pleased’ in their minds. [A synonym for] ‘āśayah’ (‘attitude’) is ‘abhiprāyah’. They are, therefore, described as [being] **with an excited and pleased attitude** {hrṣṭatuṣṭa:āśayaiḥ}. It is for this reason they are **joyful** (muditāh > harṣitsāh), since they are accomplishing the [ultimate] purposes of all living beings.

They are described as **possessing the body-form** {vigraha⁶rūpibhiḥ} **of Krodhas** {krodha⁶vigraharūpibhiḥ}. What is that form [like]? It has very terrifying loud laughter; many heads, hands and feet; distorted eyes, erect hair, and tawny knitted eye-brows; a garland of skulls as an [head] adornment; snakes as ornaments, a lower garment [made] of a tiger-skin, and so forth.⁴⁵

It says [they are] **accomplishing the business** (kṛtyāni > kartavyāni) **of the Buddhas** {buddha⁶kṛtyāni}. For this very reason, they are **protectors**, that is to

⁴³jagac ca jagac ca jagac ca jaganti. This parallels Pāṇini’s *Aṣṭādhyāyī* where *vrkṣaś ca vrkṣaś ca vrkṣaś ca* is said to explain the plural *vrkṣāḥ* (AA 1.2.64). Vilāsavajra specifies this here since the compounded stem form *jagad* is indeterminate as to number. (I am grateful to Prof. A. Sanderson for this reference.)

⁴⁴traidhātukāni. This adjectival form denotes the threefold division of *loka* (‘world’) into *kāma-loka* (‘the world of sensuous desire’), *rūpaloka* (‘the world of [pure] form’) and *ārūpyaloka* (‘the formless world’).

⁴⁵See textual note 1.144–6 for discussion of some difficulties in this passage.

say, discipliners, since they perform the business of the Buddhas. [The attendants are further described as being] **with bodies bowed [in respect]** {praṇataḥvighrahaḥ}.

The structure [of the first six verses of the *Nāmasaṃgīti*] is [to be understood as follows]: ‘Vajradhara, the Fortunate One, [...] accompanied by those [Krodhas ...] whose bodies were bowed [in respect], uttered the following’, [what he said being] stated later [in verses 7–15].

[Having bowed to the Lord, the perfectly enlightened one, the Fortunate One, the Tathāgata, [he, ie. Vajradhara,] joining his palms [in respectful salutation], and standing before [Śākyamuni] said the following: (6)]

What is he [Vajradhara] doing? **Bowing** [in respect]. To whom? To the **Lord**. He, [namely, Śākyamuni,] is called **Lord** (nāthaḥ > svāmī)⁴⁶ because he instructs protectorless creatures. How does it, [that is, the *Nāmasaṃgīti*,] also describe the Lord? As **the perfectly enlightened one** (saṃbuddham > samyaksaṃbuddham); not as a Śrāvaka or Pratyekabuddha.

[And the text] qualifies the Lord yet further as **the Fortunate One** (bhagavān). It so describes him because he is endowed with qualities (bhaga).⁴⁷ Alternatively he is [so-called] because of he routs (bhaṅga) the four Māras. Accordingly there is this verse:

He is called ‘bhagavān’ in this world because he destroys (bhagna) those things not conducive to enlightenment, [namely] the activity of the defilements, [re]birth, and also the obstacles of the [subtle] defilements and knowables (jñeya).⁴⁸

⁴⁶There is a play here between the two senses of *nātha* as ‘protector’ and ‘lord’.

⁴⁷*bhaga*. Lit. ‘good fortune’.

⁴⁸*kleśakarma tathā janma kleśajñeyāvṛtī tathā / yena vaipakṣikā bhagnās teneha bhagavān smṛtaḥ* // (nyon mongs las dang de bzhin skye / / de bzhin nyon mongs shes bya’i sgrib / / mi

According to this etymology he is the ‘bhagavān’ because he destroys (bhagna-vān) the defilements and so forth. Alternatively, [returning to the first gloss, he is called ‘bhagavān’] because he is endowed with the qualities (bhaga) such as sovereignty. And there is the following verse to this effect:

There is the tradition that [the word] *bhaga* names the following six things: complete sovereignty, beauty, fame, glory, knowledge and activity.⁴⁹

How is the Lord further described? As **the Tathāgata**. Tathāgata means ‘one who has attained (gata) suchness (tathatā)’,⁵⁰ that is to say, emptiness. Alternatively, he is [called] Tathāgata since just as those [past] Tathāgatas proceeded, [present ones] proceed, [and future ones] will proceed, so (tathā) he proceeds (gacchati).⁵¹ [The word] **Tathāgata** is connected with, [that is, is the object of,] the preceding [phrase] **having bowed to. While standing before [Śākyamuni], [and] joining his palms [in respectful salutation], Vajradhara, the Fortunate One, said the following:**

[“For my benefit, for my sake, out of favour to me, O lord, so that I may obtain [the method called] the Awakening according to the *Māyājāla*, (7)]

[Next there is] the passage beginning [with the words] **for my benefit**. [Here]

mthun phyogs chos gang yin pa / / 'joms pas de 'dir bcom ldan 'dod / Tib. [186.3.8-186.4.1])

The term *āvṛti* is here synonymous with *āvaraṇa*, which would be the normal word in a prose context. Both derive from *ā* √*vr* (*sgrib pa* is often used for *āvaraṇa*: MVy 814, 815, 1383, 6512). The terms *kleśāvaraṇa* and *jñeyāvaraṇa* have Yogācāra origins: the former can be overcome by Śrāvakas but the latter only by followers of the Mahāyāna. The latent traces of the *kleśas* can only be overcome by the practice of the *bhāvanāmārga*.

⁴⁹These two glosses are also cited by Haribhadra who attributes the second to the *Buddha-bhūmiśāstra* (AAĀ 1. 2-3: see ASPP 272, 5-11). I am grateful to Prof. A Sanderson for this reference. See testimonia to *Text* 1.159–164 for further citations. (See also textual note 1.159, 1.164.)

⁵⁰The gloss of *tathā* as *tathatā* exemplifies the commentarial device of glossing a word as its abstract.

⁵¹*tathāgata* is here read as meaning ‘so-going’, ie. ‘proceeding in the same way’.

my benefit means ‘what is good for me’ {mat⁴hitam}; [and] since it will spiritually transform [Vajradhara and others] in the future, **benefit** refers to what is advantageous in the long run. [The verse continues,] ‘**for my sake**, that is to say, for my [ultimate] purpose, **out of favour** (anukampāya > anugrahāya) **to me** (me > mama), **O lord**, may the Fortunate One teach⁵² **so that** (yathā), namely, in such a way that (yena prakāreṇa), **I may obtain** – [obtain] what, did he, [that is, Śākyamuni,] say? – [obtain] **the Awakening according to the *Māyājāla***, that is to say, the method called ‘the Awakening according to the *Māyājāla*’. The syntactic connection with the verb ‘teach’ that is stated subsequently [in verse 9] is as follows, ‘may the Fortunate One [teach] in such a way that I may obtain that [method]’.

[For the benefit of all living beings sunk in the mire of ignorance, whose minds are agitated by the defilements, for the sake of obtaining the highest fruit, (8)]

Also [the text says] ‘**For the benefit of all living beings sunk in the mire of ignorance**’. In this expression it is **ignorance** (ajñānam > avidyā) that is compared to a **mire** since it a place of attachment and because it is difficult to get out of. [Vajradhara’s request for instruction is] **for the benefit** of living beings who are **sunk** in that mire {ajñānapaṅka⁷magnānām}.

How also are those beings described? As ones **whose minds are agitated by the defilements**. The **defilements** are six in number. And accordingly, in the *Abhidharma* he, [namely, Śākyamuni,] says,⁵³

⁵²An alternative and more natural object for the verb *prakāśayatu* (‘may he teach’) is *nāmasaṃgītiṃ* (NS 11). Vilāsavajra reads *bhagavan* in NS 10 rather than *bhagavaj-*, ie. reading a vocative and not a compound with *jñānakāyasya*, and starts a new sentence with NS 10. The accusative *nāmasaṃgītiṃ* becomes the object of *dhārayisyāmi* in NS 14.

⁵³I take the unstated subject of the verb *āha* to be Śākyamuni, ie. that Vilāsavajra follows the view maintained by the Vaibhāṣikas (but opposed by the Sautrāntikas) that the *Abhidharmapiṭaka* was the

[The defilements are] pride, view, doubt, lust, anger and mental confusion.⁵⁴

[It is] living beings that have minds that are agitated by these [six] defilements [that] are described [as above in the text] {kleśa³vyākula-} {kleśavyākula;cetasām}.

The syntactic connection [with the subsequently stated verb ‘teach’] is as follows, ‘May the Fortunate One teach **for the sake of obtaining the highest fruit**’. **The highest fruit** is Buddhahood. [Vajradhara requests instruction] **for the sake of** (-prāptaye > -artham) **obtaining** (prāptiḥ > pratilambhaḥ) that [fruit].

[May the Fortunate One, the perfectly enlightened one, the teacher, the teacher of the worlds, he who knows the essence of the great pledge[-being], he who knows the disposition of [others’] spiritual capacities, [and] who is supreme, teach. (9)]

He, [that is, Vajradhara,] said, ‘May the Fortunate One [...] teach. [This should be understood to mean: ‘May the Fortunate One who is] **the perfectly enlightened one** [teach]’, that is to say, [teach] as the Eternal One, [namely, as Vairocana]; ‘[May the Fortunate One who is] **the teacher**, so-called because he instructs the world, [teach]’, that is to say, [teach] as Akṣobhya; ‘[May the Fortunate One who is] **the teacher of the worlds** {jagadguruḥ > jagatām guruḥ}[teach]’, that is to say, [teach] as Ratnasambhava; ‘[May the Fortunate One] **who knows**

word of the Buddha.

⁵⁴*mānadr̥gvicikitsās ca rāgapratighamūḍhayaḥ*. This is the common Abhidharma list of the basic defilements. Vasubandhu refers to them as *anuśayas* in the *Abhidharmakośa* (AK 5: 1) enumerating the same items though with two slight differences in terminology and in a different order: *mūlaṃ bhavasyānuśayāḥ śaḍ rāgaḥ pratighas tathā / māno ’vidyā ca dr̥ṣṭiś ca vicikitsā ca*. Later in the same chapter he has, *kāme ’kuśalamūlāni rāgapratighamūḍhayaḥ* (AK 5: 20ab). Here, the second *pāda* corresponds to the second *pāda* of Vilāsavajra’s citation. Perhaps both Vasubandhu and Vilāsavajra had the same Abhidharma source in mind. Vasubandhu’s *Triṃśikā* 11d–12a reads, [kleśā] *rāgapratighamūḍhayaḥ // mānadr̥gvicikitsās ca*. This preserves the order where *rāgaḥ* is placed first by splitting the list across two verses and so preserving the metre. Vilāsavajra possibly took the list from the *Triṃśikā*, reversing the order to preserve metre (Vilāsavajra was familiar with the *Triṃśikā*; he cites it in NMAA 6). The list is found in the *Dharmasaṃgraha*, which follows the order of AK 5: 1: *ṣaṭ kleśāḥ / rāgaḥ pratighaḥ mānaḥ avidyā kudr̥ṣṭiḥ vicikitsā ceti* (DhSam 67).

the essence {tattva²jñāḥ} **of the great pledge[-being]** {mahāsamaya⁶tattvajñāḥ} [teach]', that is to say, [teach] as Amitābha – [here] **pledge[-being]** is the Fortunate One, Śrīvajrasattva; '[May the Fortunate One] **who knows** (-vit > vetti) **the disposition** (āśayaḥ > abhiprāyaḥ) **of [others'] spiritual capacities** {indriya⁶āśayavit} [teach]', that is to say, [teach] as Amoghasiddhi – [here] **spiritual capacities** are [threefold, namely,] weak, medium or superior.⁵⁵ So, the meaning [of the passage] is, 'May the Fortunate One who has the five Tathāgatas as his nature [and] who is **supreme** (paraḥ > utkr̥ṣṭaḥ) teach'.⁵⁶

[O Fortunate One, [the *Nāmasaṃgīti*] of the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī, the Knowledge-Body, he who is endowed with a great coronal protuberance, the lord of speech, the Embodiment of Knowledge, the self-existing one, (10)]

Next is the passage beginning 'O Fortunate One, [the *Nāmasaṃgīti* of the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī,] the Knowledge-Body ...'. Its connection with the verb 'preserve', which is stated subsequently [in verse 14] is, 'O Fortunate One, I shall preserve the *Nāmasaṃgīti* which is associated with the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī'. How is [Mañjuśrī] described? As **the Knowledge-Body** – which means 'that body which is knowledge' {jñāna:kāya} – that is to say, as the Mirror-Awareness. [He is also described] as **endowed with a great coronal protuberance** {mahā:uṣṇīṣa} – that is to say, as the Awareness of Equality. He possesses the state of having a great coronal protuberance because he

⁵⁵See *Abhidharmakośa* and *Bhāṣya* for a fivefold classification of spiritual capacity (*mṛdu, madya, adhimātra, adhimātratara, adhimātratama*: AK 6: 43ab & *bhāṣya*). The list of five is, in effect, identical to the list of three, the NMAA's *adhimātra* being subdivided into three.

⁵⁶Śākyamuni is depicted as the embodiment of all five Tathāgatas, rather than being identified with Vairocana (portrayed in turn as the embodiment of the remaining four Tathāgatas). Śākyamuni can thus become a sixth Buddha.

has the consecrations of all the Tathāgatas as his nature. [He is also described] as ‘gīṣpatiḥ’ – which means **lord** (patiḥ > svāmī) **of speech** (gīrām > śabdānām)” – that is to say, as the Discriminating Awareness. [He is described] as **the Embodiment of Knowledge**, [namely, knowledge embodied] {jñāna:mūrtiḥ} – that is to say, as the Awareness of the Performance of Action. [He is described] as ‘svayambhūḥ’ which means **the self-existing one** in the sense that he exists (bhū > bhavati) spontaneously (svayam), that is, by the power of his own meditation. Accordingly, in the *Śrīparamādyā* [*Tantra*] it is said:

He will realise the Awareness that is Completely Good of his own accord (svayam).⁵⁷

Hence [the description of Mañjuśrī as] **the self-existing one** – that is to say, as the Awareness of the Perfectly Pure Dharma-Sphere. What does this [identification of epithets with the Awarenesses] mean? [It means] that the Fortunate One, the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī has the five Awarenesses as his nature.

[In the expression] **the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī** {mañjuśrī:jñānasattva} ‘Mañjuśrī’ means ‘one possessing splendour (śrī) which is sweet (mañjuḥ > komalā)’ {mañju:śrīḥ}. He is a ‘Knowledge-Being’ since he dwells in the heart, [that is, the consciousness] of all the Tathāgatas. The Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī is not the Bodhisattva who is the master of the ten stages (bhūmi). Rather, he is Non-dual Awareness (advayajñānam), the Perfection of Wisdom itself. It is for this reason that Dignāga said,

The Tathāgata is the Perfection of Wisdom, that is to say, Non-dual Awareness.⁵⁸

⁵⁷This citation suggests that *svayambhū* is being analysed as deriving from *svayam* + *√budh*. As it stands, *svayambhū* is problematic since, according to the basic Buddhist doctrine of Dependent Origination (pratītyasamutpāda), nothing is self-existent.

⁵⁸This is the opening two *pādas* of Dignāga’s *Yogācāra* commentary on the Perfection of Wisdom, the *Prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārtha* (PPA 1ab).

[In other words, the passage is to be understood as saying,] ‘I shall preserve the *Nāmasaṃgīti* which is related to the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī who embodies the five Awarenesses’.

[[That] supreme *Nāmasaṃgīti*, in which there is deep meaning, lofty meaning, [and] great meaning, which is without equal, auspicious, [and] beneficial in its beginning, middle and end, (11)]

How is that [*Nāmasaṃgīti*] qualified? In the words that begin ‘**[That supreme *Nāmasaṃgīti* in which there is deep meaning**’.

[In the expression] **in which there is deep meaning** {gambhīraḥ arthām} [the phrase] **deep meaning** indicates meaning relating to emptiness. It is for this reason that he, [that is, Vajradhara,] will preserve it, [that is, the *Nāmasaṃgīti*].

[In the expression] **in which there is lofty meaning** {udāraḥ arthām} [the phrase] **lofty meaning** refers to extensive (vaipulya) meaning.

[The *Nāmasaṃgīti* is further qualified as] ‘mahārthām’, meaning **in which there is great meaning** {mahā arthām}. Moreover, to have **great meaning** is to possess meaning for all living beings, because it fulfils all their hopes. [It is also qualified as] **without equal** {aśamām}. Why is it **without equal**? Because it has the Dharma-Sphere as its nature. [It is called] **auspicious** (śiva) because it is that in which all elaborations (prapañca) cease.⁵⁹ [It is further described as] **beneficial in its beginning, middle and end**. It possesses three benefits, for the reason that [through it] one obtains delight, joy and calm⁶⁰ [respectively] in the times of hearing,

⁵⁹śivām iti sarvaprapañcopaśamatvāt. This must be an allusion to Nagārjuna’s *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (yaḥ pratītyasamutpādaṃ prapañcopaśamaṃ śivam: MMK 1.2cd). I have taken *prapañcopaśamaṃ* as a locative bahuvrīhi following Candrakīrti’s *Prasannapadā* commentary on the MMK (Madhyś 4).

⁶⁰The list of seven Auxiliaries of Enlightenment (bodhyaṅga) contains ‘joy’ (prīti) and ‘calm’ (praśrabdhi) as its third and fourth members.

reflecting and meditating.⁶¹ It is that [*Nāmasaṃgīti*] that he, [that is, Vajradhara,] “will preserve”. [The meaning of] the phrase **supreme *Nāmasaṃgīti*** is understood, [that is, there is no need for further comment].

[Which was proclaimed by past Buddhas; [and] on account of that, [it is that] which future [Buddhas] will proclaim again, and which the perfect Buddhas of the present proclaim again, (12)

Which is recited in the great Tantra [called] the *Māyājāla* by immeasurable joyful great mantra-bearing Vajradharas, (13)

And I, of firm intention, will preserve that [*Nāmasaṃgīti*] until cessation. So that I may be, O lord, the preserver of the secrets of all the perfectly enlightened ones [may the Fortunate One teach]. (14)]

How is the *Nāmasaṃgīti* further described? [With the words] starting ‘[**which was proclaimed] by past [Buddhas]**’. [It is the *Nāmasaṃgīti*] ‘**which was proclaimed by past Buddhas, and on account of that** (hi > yasmād) [it is that] **which those in the future** who are perfectly enlightened **will proclaim again; and it is also the *Nāmasaṃgīti* which the Buddhas of the present, the Fortunate Ones, proclaim again**’.

[Next is] the passage, [that is, verse 13,] beginning with [the word] ‘*māyājāla*’. [It qualifies the *Nāmasaṃgīti* as] that ‘**which is recited in the great Tantra [called] the *Māyājāla* by immeasurable great Vajradharas, bearing great mantras, who are joyful**’.

⁶¹These constitute the Three Wisdoms (prajñā): *śrutamayī prajñā*, *cintāmayī prajñā*, *bhāvanāmayī prajñā* (see AKBh on AK 6: 5).

[The text continues, in verse 14,] **‘And I will preserve that** [*Nāmasaṃgīti*] **until cessation** (*ā niryāṇāt > nirvāṇaṃ yāvat*)’ How is he, [that is, Vajradhara, described]? He is [described as] **of firm** (*dr̥ḍhaḥ > avicalaḥ*) **intention** (*āśayaḥ > abhiprāyaḥ*) {*dr̥ḍha:āśayaḥ*}’.

What this, [that is to say, verses 12–14,]⁶² means is that the *Nāmasaṃgīti* is [a teaching] which is proclaimed by the Tathāgatas of the three times. Therefore, this Dharma-teaching is taught as being [a unconditioned entity] like space. There is a quotation to this effect:

Whether Tathāgatas arise or whether Tathāgatas do not arise the essential nature (*dharmatā*) of *dharma*s remains the same.⁶³

[Next comes the line] beginning **‘So that I may be ...’**. This is connected with the previous[ly stated verb] ‘teach’ [of verse 9, as follows], **‘So that I may be, O lord, the preserver of the secrets of all the perfectly enlightened ones, may he, [that is, Śākyamuni] teach’**. [The word] **preserver** (*dhṛk*) here, is the correct reading.⁶⁴

[I will teach [it] according to the particular dispositions of beings, (15ab)]

‘Having understood that [*Nāmasaṃgīti*] properly **I will teach [it] according to the particular dispositions** (*-viśeṣataḥ > -viśeṣāt*) **of all beings.**’ With what purpose [will he teach it]?

⁶²*Tib.* orders the text differently here, placing this paragraph and the subsequent quotation earlier. See textual note 1.247.

⁶³This is a well-known quotation in Buddhist works, cited by Vasubandhu as coming from a *sūtra* (AKBh on AK 3: 28ab). In the Mahāyāna revision of the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma *dharmatā* is an unconditioned entity (*asaṃskṛtadharma*), as is space (*ākāśa*). Buddhas, on the other hand, are conditioned entities (*saṃskṛtadharma*). (See testimonia to *Text* 1.254–5 for further citations of the verse and textual note 1.254. See AKBh.*Pru.* 412–3; 515, note 192, for Pāli version.)

⁶⁴This statement presupposes the existence of variant readings, though none are attested in the extant NS MSS edited (see *NS.Dav.* 50).

For the destruction of all the defilements [and] for the abandonment of all ignorance.” (15cd)

Here, by **all the defilements** are meant [both] the defilements (*kleśa*) and the products of the defilements (*upakleśa*).⁶⁵ [Vajradhara will teach the *Nāmasaṃgīti*] **for the** sake of their **destruction** {*aśeṣakleśāṇāśāya*} [In the phrase] **for the abandonment of all ignorance**, [the words] **all ignorance** means ignorance with respect to all objects. It is for the sake of that abandonment that he will teach [the *Nāmasaṃgīti*].

[Having thus requested the Tathāgata for instruction, Vajrapāṇi, the lord of the Guhya[ka]s,⁶⁶ joined his palms in respectful salutation and stood before [him] with his body bowed [in respect]. (16)]

[Having] thus begins [the next passage to be discussed]: ‘**Having thus** (*evam*), that is, ‘in this way’ (*anena prakāreṇa*) **requested the Tathāgata for instruction**, the Fortunate One **Vajrapāṇi**, [namely, Vajradhara,] **the lord of the Guhya[ka]s** (*guhyendra*) [...]’. He is called ‘*guhyendra*’ here because he is king (*indraḥ > rājā*) of the Guhya[ka]s {*guhyaṇdraḥ*}, that is to say, [king of] the Yakṣas dwelling in Aḍakavatī.⁶⁷ [The verse concludes, ‘Vajradhara] **joined his palms in respectful salutation [and] stood before [Śākyamuni] with his body bowed**

⁶⁵Vasubandhu defines *upakleśa* as the offspring of *kleśa*, giving the example of hatred (*kleśa*) engendering anger (*upakleśa*) (AKBh on AK 5: 46).

⁶⁶The translation ‘lord of the Guhya[ka]s’ for *guhyendra*, rather than ‘lord of the Guhyas’ is suggested by Vilāsavajra’s gloss and the presence of the epithet *guhyakādhipaḥ* in NS 22.

⁶⁷This gloss gives the potentially identical epithets *guhyendra* and *guhyarāt*, from NS 1, different senses. Aḍakavatī (*lcang lo can Tib.* [187.4.4–5]) is the capital of the *yakṣas*. The *Mahāvīyūtpatti* (MVy 4137) gives *lcang lo can* for both Aṭakāvatī and Alakāvatī, and Das (p. 399) identifies the former as the abode of Kuvera or Vaiśravaṇa and the latter as a place name. However, Alakāvatī is probably a variant of Aṭakāvatī, and *Tib.*’s use of the same word for Aḍakavatī reinforces Edgerton’s suggestion that Aṭakāvatī and Aḍakavatī are to be identified (BHSD 8). See Edgerton (*ibid.*) for textual references to Aḍakavatī.

(prahvakāyaḥ > praṇatakāyaḥ) [in respect].

The request for instruction is an entreaty accompanied by a preparatory act (saṃskāra). In this case the preparatory act is the respectful salutation and so forth.

[Here ends] the chapter on ‘The Request for Instruction’, the first in the commentary on the *Āryanāmasaṃgīti* [called] “An Explanation of the Meaning of the Name-Mantras”. Sixteen verses [are commented on].

[Chapter 2. On ‘The Reply’.]

[Then Śākyamuni, the Fortunate One, the perfectly enlightened one, supreme among the two-footed, extended out of his mouth his long, full, beautiful tongue; (17)]

Following the request for instruction, he, [that is, Śākyamuni,] replies in the passage beginning, ‘**Then Śākyamuni**’. [The word **Śākyamuni** means] ‘sage (muni) of the Śākya clans’. He is called a sage because he possesses silence (mauneya) in [the spheres of] body, speech and mind.⁶⁸ The meaning of **Fortunate One** and **perfectly enlightened one** is understood, [that is to say, there is no need for further comment].⁶⁹ [Śākyamuni is described as] **supreme** (uttamaḥ > śreṣṭhaḥ) **among the two-footed** (dvipada⁶uttamaḥ), that is to say, [supreme among] gods and men.

[Having first **extended** it, Śākyamuni] withdrew (upasamhṛtya < nirṇamayya) into his mouth (mukhe < mukhāt)⁷⁰ **his long** (āyatām > dīrghām), **full** (sphītām > bahalatarām), **beautiful** – since it resembles a conch shell [with a spiral] that turns to the right – **tongue**. And it is [also] the store of all teachings (dharma).

[Displayed a smile to living beings purifying the three lower destinies, illuminating the three worlds [and] chastising the enemies, the four Māras, [18]]

What does [Śākyamuni] do [next]? The passage starting, ‘[**Displayed**] a smile’ explains. Its structure is as follows: ‘[he] **displayed a smile to living beings**

⁶⁸*kāyavākcittamauneyayogān muniḥ*. In chapter 6 Vilāsavajra uses the same explanation in his account of NS 42b (mahāmaunī mahāmuniḥ), “[‘With the great rank of a sage’ (mahāmaunī).] A sage (muniḥ) is [so-called] because he possesses silence in [the three spheres of] body, speech and mind.” (*kāyavākcittamaunayogān muniḥ*: B.22v9)

⁶⁹See above, NMAA 1 on NS 6, for Vilāsavajra’s treatment of *bhagavān*.

⁷⁰Vilāsavajra reverses the literal meaning of the text.

(lokānām > sattvānām), **purifying the three lower destinies**, that is to say, purifying [the realms of] hell beings, animals and ghosts, **and [then] replied to Vajrapāṇi**’.

There are three signs of the Tathāgatas’ being about to teach the Dharma, namely, a smile, a glance, and the emitting of rays of light. Sometimes one [of the signs occurs], sometimes two, sometimes [all] three occur together. For example, in the *Śrīmāyājālatantra* two are mentioned, the smile and the glance. Sometimes all three [are found], as in the Perfection of Wisdom in Twenty-Five Thousand Verses [where] Maitreya’s glance, [as well as] his smile and the emanation of light-rays from his face occur. Sometimes there is one [sign], as in this very *Nāmasaṃgīti*, where it says, “[Śākyamuni] **displayed a smile to living beings**”.

And this smile is said to be of four kinds:⁷¹ one that is accompanied by emanation from the major and minor limbs; one that is accompanied by emanation from hair pores; one that is accompanied by emanation of natural light; [and] one that is accompanied by emanation from the sense [organ] of the tongue. That [last] one among these is the ‘tongue-miracle’. It is a prior-sign of the [Tathāgatas’] being about to teach.

It, [namely, the text,] demonstrates [that, namely, Śākyamuni’s smile and its effects⁷²] with the passage beginning ‘**illuminating the three worlds**’. Its structure is as follows: ‘[he] **displayed a smile illuminating**, that is, causing a display of, **the three worlds**, namely, the earth, the atmosphere, and the heavens, **and [then] replied to Vajrapāṇi**.’

⁷¹*tac ca smitam caturvidham* (‘dzum pa de ni rnam pa bzhi ste *Tib.* [188.1.3]). *Tib.* supports the Skt., though what follows could be an enumeration of the different types of the third sign, that of the emanation of light. Given that Śākyamuni’s smile in the NS is said to “illuminate the triple world”, the smile and possible accompanying effects are seen as separate from the emanation of light as a sign in its own right. Vilāsavajra appears to be suggesting that the present case is one of the ‘tongue-miracle’.

⁷²The intent of this passage is rather obscure and my addition is conjectural.

With the words, ‘**chastising the enemies, the four Māras**’, [the text now] states how that smile is further qualified. The **four Māras** are: the aggregates, the defilements, death, [and] the god.⁷³ Those same [māras] are **enemies** {māra:arayaḥ} and their **chastising** {mārāriśāsanaṃ} means their ‘instruction’ (anuśāsanaṃ) [or] ‘punishment’ (nigrahaḥ).

[And replied to Vajrapāṇi, of great strength, lord of the Guhya-
[ka]s, with a sweet sublime voice filling the three worlds: (19)]

“Having **displayed a smile**”, he, [that is, Śākyamuni,] **replied to Vajrapāṇi with a voice** (girā > vācā) **filling the three worlds**. With what kind of [voice did he reply]? With a **sweet** one. Its sweetness is due to it being pleasurable to the ear.

[His voice is also described as] **sublime** (brāhmī). This is because it is endowed with *brahma*-sound (brahmasvara). The word ‘*brahma*’ in ‘*brahma*-sound’ is the name for that which is great, that is to say, for that which is of great quality.⁷⁴ As it is said,

Sublime (brāhmaṃ) merit is produced in the many thousand assembly [of worlds].

One should understand the phrase, “thousand[worlds]”, to refer [here] to a great trichiliocosm.⁷⁵ The meaning [of the preceding quotation] is thus, ‘in the assembly consisting of many great trichiliocosms’. And accordingly it is said,

He pervades the great trichiliocosm with his voice. Just as those inside hear, so also do those outside.

⁷³*devaputraḥ*. The literal sense, ‘son of a god’, is not accurate since gods cannot literally have sons and Māra has no father. Thus *devaputra* is a synonym of *deva*.

⁷⁴This gloss is based on an etymology of *√brh* meaning ‘to grow great’ or ‘to grow strong’ (DhP 17.85). I am grateful to Prof. A. Sanderson for this reference.

⁷⁵*trisāhasramahāsāhasro lokadhātuḥ*. Lit. ‘the world system consisting of a triple thousand great thousand (worlds)’.

Here, those ‘inside’ are [those] within this great trichiliocosm; those ‘outside’ are those that are excluded from [this] world-system.

So *brahma*- is used because of [its denotation of the] greatness [of the sound]. [The expression] ‘*brahma*-sound’ [literally] means the sound of that {*brahma*⁶*svaraḥ*}, [that is to say, the sound of *brahma*, in other words “great sound”].

Alternatively [the word] *brahma* refers to Śākyamuni, the Fortunate One. [In this case] the ‘sublime speech’ (*brāhmī vāk*) is the speech of that Brahmana, [that is, of Śākyamuni].⁷⁶ [The passage can be understood, therefore, to be saying that], ‘with just that one **sublime voice filling** (*vyāpnuvantiyā*), that is to say, pervading (*āpūrayantiyā*), **the three worlds, he replied to Vajrapāṇi**’. And accordingly, it has been said:

Just as there is but one voice, though with many languages, different in every country, possessed by the destroyer of birth, so, since it is unfaltering [and] clearly articulated, it is the cause of the awakening of all people.⁷⁷

[“**Well done! O Vajradhara, glorious one. Good for you, Vajrapāṇi. Since you, who are so compassionate for the sake of the benefit of the world, (20) are eager to hear from me the *Nāma-saṃgīti* of the Knowledge-Body Mañjuśrī that is of great meaning, auspicious, [and] destructive of evil, (21) I will teach you [this] good thing, O lord of the Guhyakas. (22ab)**]

[Next is] the passage beginning ‘**Well done! O Vajradhara**’. Its structure is as follows: ‘**Good for you** (*te > tava*), **Vajrapāṇi** ([*vajrapāṇaye >*] *vajrapāṇeḥ*). **O**

⁷⁶Vilāsavajra’s glosses of the word ‘sublime’ used to describe Śākyamuni’s voice (*brāhmyā girā*) are that it is, i. a voice possessing great qualities; ii. his own (Buddha-like) voice.

⁷⁷For discussion of the view that the Buddha taught the whole of his teaching by uttering a single sound see E. Lamotte, *The Teaching of Vimalakīrti*. (tr., S. Boin) 1976, 12, notes 2–5.

Vajradhara, glorious one, since (yat > yasmāt) you are eager to hear from me the *Nāmasaṃgīti* which is associated with the Knowledge-Body Mañjuśrī, I will therefore (tat > tasmāt) teach you (te > tava), O lord of the Guhyakas, [this] good thing’.⁷⁸

“Why have you, [O Vajrapāṇi,] asked me, [that is, why have you made this request]? [It is made] **for the sake of the benefit of the world**, that is to say, as a favour to the world, because you, [O Vajrapāṇi,] are **so compassionate**. [And] how is this *Nāmasaṃgīti* which you are **eager to hear** further qualified? By the adjectives ‘pavitrām’ and ‘aghanāśinīm’. The first means **auspicious** (pavitrām > māṅgalyām) and the second **destructive of evil** (aghanāśinīm > pāpanāśinīm).”

[Listen to it well with a one-pointed mind.] “O Fortunate One, [so be it.” replied Vajrapāṇi.] (22cd)

Listen with a one-pointed mind. This means, ‘Do not [listen] in the manner of a pot that is face-down, leaky or impure, but listen well’.⁷⁹ When the Fortunate One had spoken thus, Vajradhara said ‘**O Fortunate One**’, that is, ‘O Śākyamuni, so be it.’; in other words, ‘I will listen in the way [you have] just stated’.

[Here ends] the chapter on ‘The Reply’, the second in the commentary on the *Āryanāmasaṃgīti* [called] “An Explanation of the Meaning of the Name-Mantras”. Six verses [are commented on].

⁷⁸See textual note 2.50 on Vilāsavajra’s reading of NS 20–22.

⁷⁹H. Guenther quotes and discusses a citation of this simile in the *rDzogs-pa-chen-po klong-chen-sñin-thig-gi sngon-gro’i khrid yig kun-bzang* (Guenther, 1959: 38, note 25).

[Chapter 3. On ‘The Survey of the Six Families’.]

[Then Śākyamuni, the Fortunate One, having surveyed the entire great family of mantras – the family of mantra spell-holders, the triple family, ... (23)]

Now immediately following the reply [to Vajradhara] he, [that is, Śākyamuni,] surveys the six [mantra] families in the passage beginning, **Then Śākyamuni, the Fortunate One.**

Here, [the phrase] **the entire great family of mantras** is an introductory summarising statement⁸⁰ referring [to the families] in general [terms only, without going into particulars]. The structure [of the whole passage, that is, NS 23–4], together with the [main] verb, [“uttered”,] which is stated later [in verse 25], is as follows: ‘**Having surveyed** those [families], **he**, [that is, Śākyamuni,] **uttered this verse having the characteristic of non-origination**, pertaining to the **Lord of Speech**, namely, the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī’.

The family of mantra spell-holders {mantravidyādhara⁶kulam}. [In this expression the term] ‘vidyādhara’ means ‘**spell** (vidyā)-**holder** (dhara)’, [that is, something containing a spell] {vidyā²dhara}. [The term] ‘mantravidyādhara’ denotes a spell-holder that is of the nature of a **mantra**{mantra:vidyādhara}. [It does] not [denote a spell-holder] that is of the nature of a *dhāraṇī*.⁸¹ **The family of mantra**

⁸⁰*grahaṇakavākyam* (sdud par byed pa’i tshig Tib. [188.3.2]). This term, used also in chapter 5 (Text 5.270) to describe the NS phrases containing the Name-mantras of Mañjuśrījñānasattva, seems to be a technical term having the sense of ‘an utterance that grasps [the essence of something], ie. a summary statement.

⁸¹Since ‘spell’ serves equally to translate both *dhāraṇī* and *vidyā* I have left *dhāraṇī* untranslated in order to preserve their distinction. Though the grammatical analysis is clear, the sense of this passage is obscure: *mantravidyādhara* is analysed as a karmadhāraya whose elements are *mantra* and *vidyādhara*. The option of taking it as a tatpuruṣa with a dvanda as the first element, which makes more immediate sense (ie. ‘holder of *mantras* and *vidyās*’) is not followed. Also, the function of the suffix *-ātmaka* added to both *mantra* and to *dhāraṇī* is unclear (cf. NMAA 5.48–9, *mahātmako rāgaś ca mahārūgaḥ*). Vilāsavajra seems to be making a distinction between mantras and *dhāraṇīs* as

spell-holders is the Action family [of Amoghasiddhi].

The triple family [is so called] because it has [the triad of] body, speech and mind as its nature. It is the family of Vairocana.

[... the family of the seen and that which is beyond the seen, the great family of the sight of the worlds, the foremost family of the Great Seal, [and] the great family of the great coronal protuberance – (24)]

The family of the seen and that which is beyond the seen {lokalokottara⁶kulam}.⁸² [The word] ‘lokaḥ’ is to be derived from the root *√lok* in its meaning of ‘to see’.⁸³ [Furthermore it is to be understood] in the sense of ‘what is seen’ [rather than ‘the seer’]. [This family] is the lotus family [of Amitābha].

The great family of the sight of the worlds {loka⁶āloka}. This is Akṣobhya[’s family] since he has the Mirror-like Awareness as his nature.⁸⁴ **The great family of the sight of the worlds** {lokāloka⁶kulam} is the *vajra* family.

different sorts of things that contain *vidyās*. The family under consideration is characterised as a holder of the former.

⁸²‘that which is beyond the seen’ (lokottara). The text does not gloss *lokottara* and thus its translation as “what is beyond the seen” is conjectural, based on the approach of the gloss on *loka*. A passage may be lost due to scribal misreading: the eye could easily jump a section if, as is likely, the gloss on *lokottara* started with some form of the word *lokaḥ*. If a passage has been lost it was also missing in *Tib.*’s exemplar since *Tib.* contains no extra material (*Tib.* [188.3.6–7]).

In his analysis of *loka* Vilāsavajra appears to be making a link with the Discriminating Awareness (*pratyavekṣaṇājñāna*) of Amitābha, head of the lotus family with which the *lokalokottara* family is identified. The root from which the word *pratyavekṣaṇā* derives also means ‘to see’ (*√ikṣ*). The term *lokottara*, often translated as ‘supramundane’ in distinction to ‘mundane’ (*loka*), was used by the eponymous Lokottaravādin School to refer to the Buddha’s life and activities (as being non-ordinary). The *Mahāvastu* describes Bodhisattvas as enlightened with regard to *loka* and *lokottara* (MV i.86.4: cited by BHSD 465). Whether Vilāsavajra has this sense in mind is not clear.

⁸³*lokaḥ darśane* (= DhP 1.76).

⁸⁴Vilāsavajra appears to be linking *āloka* to *ādarśa* and thus to *ādarśanājñāna*, the Mirror-like Awareness of Akṣobhya. Both words are composed of the verbal prefix *ā* and a root meaning ‘to see’ (*ā √lok* and *ā √drś*). The Skt. gives a tatpuruṣa analysis of *lokāloka*, “*lokāloka* means ‘sight of the worlds’”. *Tib.* differs, taking it as ‘illuminating the worlds’ but this loses the link with *ādarśa* (*lokānām āloko lokālokaḥ*; ’jig rten mams la gsal bar byed pa ni ’jig rten snang byed *Tib.* [188.3.7]).

The foremost Great Seal family. [This] is the family of [the Tathāgata] Bodhicittavajra [and], therefore, it is **foremost**. [This is] because Vairocana and [the other Buddhas of the directions] have the *bodhicitta*[-seal] as their nature.⁸⁵ The **Great Seal family** is the family connected with that [seal] {mahāmudrāḥkulam}.

The great family of the great coronal protuberance (mahoṣṇīṣakulam). All the Tathāgatas possess a great coronal protuberance because of the bestowal on them of the consecration of Lordship of the Dharma throughout the triple-sphered world.⁸⁶ The family associated with that [state of having a great coronal protuberance]⁸⁷ is [called] **the great family of the great coronal protuberance**. It is the jewel family.⁸⁸

[Here ends] the chapter on ‘The Survey of the Six Families’, the third in the commentary on the *Āryanāmasaṃgīti* called, “An Explanation of the Meaning of the Name-Mantras”. Two verses [are commented on].

⁸⁵Thus, Bodhicittavajra’s family is ‘foremost’ since *bodhicitta* is the essential mark (mudrā) of all other families, and Bodhicittavajra is the hypostatisation of *bodhicitta*.

⁸⁶An alternative translation of this passage is, “The condition of having a great coronal protuberance is a result of the bestowal of the consecration of Lordship of the Dharma throughout the triple sphered world of (ie. ‘by’?) all the Tathāgatas”. Cf. chapter 5 on NS 33 (Text 5.91–2): *mahat-tvaṃ cintāmaṇirūpatayā sarvatathāgatānām traidhātukadharma-rājyābhiṣekātmakatvāt*. This latter passage connects possessing the consecration of the Lordship of the Dharma with being like a wish-fulfilling jewel (cintāmaṇirūpatayā), thereby providing a rationale for the Mahoṣṇīṣa Family being the Jewel Family.

⁸⁷Vilāsavajra analyses *mahoṣṇīṣakulam* as *mahoṣṇīṣatvakulam* (mahoṣṇīṣatvam / tasya kulam maḥoṣṇīṣakulam mahad Text 3.21–22).

⁸⁸For a summary of the correlations between mantra-families, Tathāgatas and family name see Table 6 (Introduction, section 5.7).

**[Chapter 4. On ‘The Method of Awakening
According to the *Māyājāla*’.]**

Now I shall teach ‘The Method of Awakening according to the *Śrīmāyājāla* [*Tantra*]', which has come down through the line of my gurus, and is included within the *Śrīmāyājāla* [*Tantra*] in sixteen thousand [verses]. Now, at the start of this [method], the Bodhisattva who ‘practices the observances of the Way of Mantras’, [and] who desires to make manifest ‘this crest-jewel called the *Nāmasaṃgīti*, which has non-duality as its ultimate nature, [and which is] associated with the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī, the Knowledge-Body of all the Tathāgatas, [and] the Embodiment of Knowledge’,⁸⁹ [this Bodhisattva] who is intent on the protection of the whole mass of beings without remnant, who possesses the mind of aspiration⁹⁰ for the sake of Great Awakening,⁹¹ who embodies both wisdom and means, having attracted beings by means of the four elements of attraction,⁹² should generate a resolve to attain the highest perfect enlightenment. And thus he, [that is, the Bodhisattva,] says,

May all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas bear witness to me. I, called so and so,

⁸⁹The single inverted commas indicate material from the NS *anūsamsā* that has been incorporated into the text (*Text* 4. 2–4). In the Sanskrit the incorporated material is continuous: mantra-mukhacaryācārī imāṃ bhagavato mañjuśrījñānasattvasya sarvatathāgatajñānakāyasya jñānamūrter advayaparamārthāṃ nāmasaṃgītiṃ nāma cūḍāmaṇiṃ (*NS.Dav.* 65, 3–5). See textual note 4.4 on the reading *nāmasaṃgītiṃ nāma cūḍāmaṇiṃ*.

⁹⁰*praṇidhānacitta*. The ‘mind of aspiration’ and ‘the mind that has set out’ (*prasthānacitta*) constitute the twin aspects of the *bodhicitta*, the former being a prerequisite for the development of the latter. Thus, Śāntideva:

tad bodhicittam dvividham vijñātavyam samāsataḥ /
bodhipraṇidhicittam ca bodhiprasthānam eva ca // (BCA 1.15)

⁹¹*mahābodhi*. This term is used by the Vijñānavāda to denote the Enlightenment resultant upon the purificatory transformation (*parāvṛtti*) of the eight consciousnesses (*vijñāna*). (See *VijñMāSi* 684ff).

⁹²*saṃgrahavastu*. These are the four means by which a Buddha or Bodhisattva draws beings to the Dharma. The *Dharmasaṃgraha* gives the standard list: *catvāri saṃgrahavastūni / dānam priyavacanam arthacaryā samānārthatā ceti*, “The four elements of attraction are generosity, friendly speech, acting for the benefit [of others], and impartiality” (*DSam* 19). They are acquired by the Bodhisattva as part of his practice of the Perfection of Means (*upāyapāramitā*). See H. Dayal, 1932, 251–9.

from this time onwards until I am seated on the terrace of enlightenment [make the following vows],

“Just⁹³ as the lords, [that is, the Buddhas,] of the three times⁹⁴ have resolved to attain perfect enlightenment, [so] shall I raise the highest unsurpassed thought of enlightenment (bodhicitta). I firmly undertake the threefold training in morality, the amassing of good moral qualities, and the morality of serving the interests of beings.⁹⁵

Starting from today I shall accept the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha, the supreme excellent triple-jewel, [which is] the vow, arising from the union, [that is, the family,] of the Buddhas.

In the excellence of the great family of the *vajra*, I shall take up the *vajra*, bell and gesture⁹⁶ in their true nature; [and] I shall accept the teacher.

In the excellent, great family of the jewel, in the delightful pledge,⁹⁷ I shall offer four gifts six times a day.⁹⁸

In the pure, great family of the lotus, which arises from the Great Awakening,⁹⁹ I shall take up the true Dharma which is both exoteric and esoteric and has three paths.¹⁰⁰

⁹³From this point onwards the citation is also found (again, as a citation) in the *Sarvadurgati-pariśodhana Tantra* (SDPS, 146, 8-25).

⁹⁴*traiyadadvikā nāthāḥ* (‘lords of the three times’). The three times are the past, present and future (see the gloss below on NS 26’s “Buddhas of the three times”: *Text* 4.147).

⁹⁵*sattvārthakriyāśīlaṃ*. This may be an allusion to *arthacaryā*, the third ‘Means of Attraction’ (*saṃgrahavastu*). Dayal (1932, 254) cites *arthakriyā* as an alternative to *arthacaryā*.

⁹⁶*mudrā*. This refers to hand gestures that are either drawn on a *maṇḍala* (cf. SDPS 244, 22) or made by the practitioner in a ritual context. They may symbolise deities as well as accompany different ritual actions such as the invocation, worship and dismissal of deities.

⁹⁷*samaya* (‘pledge’). In translating *samaya* as ‘pledge’ rather than ‘assembly’ I follow *Tib.* and *SDPS.Tib.*’s *dam tshig*.

⁹⁸See chapter 5, comment on NS 36a, where are mentioned “the Four Gifts of worldly objects, fearlessness, the Dharma and consecration”. ‘Consecration’ (*abhiṣeka*) appears to be a Tantric ‘fourth’ added on to the familiar tripartite classification of *dāna*.

⁹⁹*mahāpadmakule śuddhe mahābodhisamudbhave* (byang chub chen po las ’byung ba’i *Tib.*) (*Text* 4.22). My translation follows *Tib.* Skorupski translates, “In the pure family of the great *Padma*, in which there arises the great Enlightenment” (SDPS 19, 1–2), following *SDPS.Tib.* (byang chub chen po ’byung ba la). This seems the less straightforward interpretation, though both are possible.

¹⁰⁰*saddharmaṃ pratigṛhṇāmi bāhyam guhyam triyānikam* (*Text* 4.21). The ‘three paths’ are likely to be the ways of the Śrāvaka, Pratyekabuddha and Bodhisattva rather than the Hinayāna, Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna (the term Vajrayāna is not common usage in the Yoga Tantras). *Tib.* takes *bāhyam* and *guhyam* to qualify *triyānikam* rather than *saddharmaṃ* (phyi dang gsang ba’i theg pa sum) but this creates problems of interpretation. What are the exoteric and esoteric forms of the way of the Śrāvaka etc. (or indeed the Hinayāna etc)? *SDPS.Tib.* takes them as separate qualifiers of

In the excellence of the great family of action, I shall take up in its true nature the vow that is all-inclusive, [namely,] the performance of devotion (pūjā), to the utmost of my ability.

Having raised the highest supreme thought of enlightenment, [and] taking up the complete vow, [that is to say, all the vows,] for the sake of all beings, I will cause those to cross over who have not crossed over, I will free the not-free, I will encourage the discouraged, [and] I will place beings in Nirvāṇa.¹⁰¹

Having generated the thought of enlightenment in accordance with the taking of the vows, he should develop the perfect understanding that is of five forms¹⁰² by the following method:

As for the first, the Mirror-like Awareness, he should develop [it] by means of reflection. Just as classes of entities, being associated in place and time, are reflected in the orb of a well-polished mirror, so, perceiving the mass of beings, differentiated by differences of destiny, region, and birth, in the consciousness of Great Awakening (mahābodhicitta), the outflow of the perfectly pure Dharma-Sphere, [and] having perceived them there within that very spotless Mirror-like Awareness, he should then generate compassion that takes beings as its object. He should behold all creatures in the Mirror-like Awareness as they really are, thinking, “Oh! Alas! Beings are protectorless, lack a refuge, have no ultimate goal, are suffering, sunk in the ocean of transmigration. For the sake of those beings, just as I shall free myself entirely, completely, in all respects, from all suffering, so likewise [shall I free] all beings”.

saddharmam (phyi dang gsang ba theg pa sum: *SDPS.Tib.* 147, 20).

¹⁰¹The *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* also closely parallels this paragraph: *karuṇāvaśena sarvasattvottāraṇāya bodhicittam utpādayed atīrṇatāraṇāyāmuktamocanāyānāśvāsanāyāpari-nirvṛtaparinirvātanāya sakalasattvadhātoḥ saṃsārasamudrād uttāraṇāya ca* (*SDPS* 142, 2–4).

¹⁰²*pañcākārābhisambodhiṃ*. See *Introduction* 5.8 for discussion of the five *jñānas* as the five forms of *abhisambodhi*.

Then he should apply himself zealously to [developing] the Awareness of Equality, by means of the sameness that is the selflessness of all phenomena. He should enter into the selflessness of all phenomena contemplating, “Just as all phenomena are empty, without a self, so also am I empty, without a self”. Accordingly he, [that is, Śākyamuni,] has spoken in such a way as, “Just as [one understands] oneself [to be], so should one understand all beings; just as [one understands] all beings [to be], so should one understand all phenomena”. Then, through the realisation that the nature of any phenomenon is its selflessness, he should generate compassion that has phenomena as its object by means of the Awareness of Equality.

And then, uttering the mantra, THE SOUND *A* IS THE FIRST OF ALL DHARMAS SINCE IT IS UNARISEN FROM THE BEGINNING,¹⁰³ the *mantrin* should realise the meaning of the mantra entirely [and] in brief, having contemplated the essencelessness of phenomena along with [compassion] that is without an object. In this way the Discriminating Awareness [is developed].

Immediately following [this], he should realise the Awareness of the Emptiness that is the Perfectly Pure Dharma-Sphere, which [Awareness] is accompanied by objectless great compassion. [It] is completely free from all subjects and objects;¹⁰⁴ it is radiant by nature;¹⁰⁵ [and] it has a nature in which parts are extinguished.

¹⁰³*akāro mukhaṃ sarvadharmāṇām ādyanutpannatvāt* (Text 4.46). This mantra occurs twice in the *Sarvadurgatipariśodana Tantra* (SDPS 160, 15; 282, 13–14). In chapter 1, with the syllable *om* at its beginning, it precedes the generation of the main *maṇḍala*. In chapter 3, following verses of praise, it accompanies an oblation to the guardians of the ten directions (*daśa diglokapālāḥ*). According to Beyer (1973, 146), it is used as a general purpose mantra. Skorupski’s translation, “The syllable *A* is the source of all the *dharma*s on account of their fundamental non-origination” (SDPS 26; 99), is inadequate since the reason in the ablative case (*ādyanutpannatvāt*) must qualify the subject (‘the syllable *A*’), not the complement (‘the source of all *dharma*s’).

¹⁰⁴*grāhyagrāhaka*. Lit. ‘that which is grasped and that which grasps’. This Yogācāra term describes the world as experienced by the unenlightened mind, ie. composed of a duality of subjects (*grāhaka*) and objects (*grāhya*), the result of the erroneous partition of the non-dual flow of perceptions (*vijñapti*) (see MSam 2.3).

¹⁰⁵*prakṛtiprabhāsvara*. The description of consciousness as ‘radiant by nature’ has its roots in

And then the yogin – who is, [at this point, immersed in non-discursive Awareness, and so] separated from acting for the sake of all beings – aroused by virtue of his mental continuum, which has been affected by his earlier resolution,¹⁰⁶ should cause the Awareness of the Performance of Action to arise by means of objectless great compassion. It is by that [Awareness] that one accomplishes the [ultimate] interests of all beings, since that [Awareness] is the pure worldly knowledge that is attained in the wake of the non-discursive Awareness.¹⁰⁷ And that [Awareness] should be understood to be the mind (*citta*) that is the thought of enlightenment that has the characteristic of setting out (*prasthānalakṣaṇa*), [the mind] that has conventional and ultimate [truth] as its nature, [and is] by nature pure.¹⁰⁸

Then the yogin should imagine his consciousness to be the letter A, having a form like that of a magical creation, located in [empty] space, naturally radiant, like a star. Arising out of that [syllable A], he should visualise himself as the great syllable HŪṂ, dark blue in colour, endowed with masses of flames of wrath, surrounded by many hundreds of thousands of rays of light. It, [that is, the syllable HŪṂ] is all-beneficent, the supreme bliss. He should imagine that rays of many kinds, [that is, of many colours] are emitted from that syllable HŪṂ and that all the Tathāgatas

early Buddhism (cf. *pabhassaram idaṃ cittaṃ*: Aṅguttara 1.10). In Mahāyāna Buddhism both the Yogācāra and Tathāgatarbha traditions adopted the term. See La Vallée Poussin, *VijñMāSi* 109-113, for discussion of its use.

¹⁰⁶Ie. the resolve to attain Perfect Buddhahood (*saṃyaksambodhi*) as embodied in the Buddha-families' vows.

¹⁰⁷*nirvikalpajñāna*. Again, this is Yogācāra terminology. In Xuanzang's account of the four *jñānas* it is associated with the Mirror-like Awareness (*VijñMāSi* 688); according to the *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha* when perceptions are burnt in the fire of *nirvikalpajñāna* the truth about things, the Perfected Nature (*pariṇiṣpannasvabhāva*) is revealed (*MSaṃ* 3, 29).

¹⁰⁸*vaiyavadānikam* 'pure'. Xuanzang distinguishes *dharma*s as *sāṃkleśika* ('defiled') or *vaiyavadānika* ('pure'), the two terms being *vrddhi* forms of *saṃkleśa* and *vyavadāna*. (See *VijñMāSi* 182: La Vallée Poussin reconstructs *vyavadānika* from the Chinese).

[manifest] from the ends of the rays; and that they, [that is, the light-rays, together] with all those Tathāgatas, go to all the Buddha-fields [and] purify all the mass of beings in all the world-spheres without remainder. Having generated the thought of enlightenment and so forth [in those beings],¹⁰⁹ up until the revealing of the miracles of all the Buddhas, they return back again [and] enter that syllable HŪM.

He should [then] visualise a knowledge-*vajra*, which is the transformation of that [syllable HŪM]; which possesses the six colours – dark blue, [yellow, red,] and the rest; which pervades the six Buddha-fields such as Abhirati; which is encircled by flames, [and] unapproachable by the enemies that are all the Māras; [and] which has six faces¹¹⁰ [and] five prongs. Having visualised a white syllable BHRŪM in the interior of the core, [that is, inside the central sphere] of that *vajra*, [and] having visualised a *caitya* through the transformation of that [syllable BHRŪM], made of the four jewels, big as the trichiliocosm, [he should visualise] a *dharmodaya*¹¹¹ by means of a syllable HRĪḤ in the centre of that [caitya]. Above that [dharmodaya], through [the transformation of] a letter A, [he should visualise] a crossed-*vajra* [and]

¹⁰⁹*bodhicittotpādādikam kṛtvā*. The Sanskrit appears to say that the light-rays with the Tathāgatas are generating the *bodhicitta* and so forth in themselves. The causative *kārayitvā* would give a better meaning: “Having caused the arising of the *bodhicitta* and so forth to occur, ...[in those beings]”. It is likely that the ‘mass of beings’ are to be visualised as going through the stages of the Path rather than the light-ray Tathāgatas. As Tathāgatas they do not need to go through such stages (though they could be interpreted as displaying the stages of the Path as a show in order to convert and benefit beings). The function of the visualisation appears to be to create a pure (and next, a protected) realm within which the evocation of the maṇḍala and central deity can proceed; visualising all beings as enlightened accords with such an aim.

¹¹⁰*ṣaṣṭmukham* ‘with six faces’. I am not certain to what this refers. Later in the *sādhana* light-rays emanate from the central deity, Mahāvairocana, and illuminate the Sahā world; then leaving ‘the six vajra-faces’ they pervade all Buddha fields (*Text.* 4.183–186). Could it be a triple *vajra*, ie. a *viśvavajra* with a further *vajra* in the third dimension? This would result in a *vajra* with six faces, one in each of the cardinal directions plus the zenith and nadir (often *vajras* have *makara* faces out of whose mouths the prongs of the *vajra* emerge). Wayman (1980, 229, note 25) cites a passage by Padmavajra that mentions a four-faced *vajra* (rdo rje kha bzhi) that is visualised in the heart; but whether or not this is a *viśvavajra* is not made explicit. Since it is encircled with flames and unapproachable by Māras, the function of the *jñānavajra* must be to create a protected space – the size of the ‘six Buddha-fields’ – for the performance of the *sādhana*.

¹¹¹*dharmodaya*. Lit. ‘the source of [all] *dharmas*’, this is represented as a triangle.

with that [crossed-*vajra*] he should empower a white ground constructed of *vajras*.

Then one should imagine a temple [on that ground] with a roof of *vajras*, gems and jewels, transformed out of the syllable BHRŪM. And how is that [temple] described? He, [that is, Śākyamuni,] has said,

It has four corners, four gates [and] is adorned with four arches. It is decorated with bells, ornamental strips of cloth, banners and so forth; [also] with garlands and Yak-tail plumes.¹¹² At all the corners and in the joints of the projections of the doors it is inset with *vajra*-like jewels [each of] which has a sickle-moon joined with it. It is beautified with various colours, [and] adorned with strings and half-strings of pearls. He should depict the outer maṇḍala with powders of five colours.

Having entered its interior enclosure, which is circular, he should then put in place the second [maṇḍala] which is called [the maṇḍala of] Vajradhātu. It is encircled with garlands of *vajras* [and] adorned with eight pillars. It is depicted with the five powders and ornamented with half-strings of pearls and so forth. And whatever characteristic has been specified for the outer maṇḍala, all of that he should apply fully [and] in particular to this [inner maṇḍala] also. Only one thing he should not produce, [namely] the arch at the gate-joints; and therefore he should not create gates [or] arches for that [circular enclosure].¹¹³

And afterwards, he should arrange the thrones of the deities in the following way. Among those [thrones] he should place the throne of the principal [deity] in the centre, and the thrones of those of Akṣobhya and the rest in the cardinal directions, starting with the east. And he who understands yoga should create those [thrones] as transformations of their own seed [syllables]. Here, the creation of the thrones [is as follows]: in the centre, a lion-throne; in the east, an

¹¹²*cāmara*. Lit. ‘belonging to the yak (camara)’, an insignia of royalty.

¹¹³Parallel passages containing some whole lines and some part lines of the above are found in the STTS (63, 13–18; 111, 3–8; 140, 32–36) and the SDPS (160, 23–25; 190, 11–12). For example:

caturaśraṃ caturdvāraṃ catustoraṇaśobhitam /
catuḥsūtrasamāyuktam paṭṭasragdāmaḥbhūṣitam //
koṇabhāgeṣu sarveṣu dvāraniryūhasandhiṣu /
khacitam vajraratnais tu sūtrayed bāhyamaṇḍalam //
tasya cakrapratikāśaṃ praviśyābhyantaram puram /
vajrasūtraparikṣiptam aṣṭastambhopaśobhitam // (STTS 63, 13–18)

elephant-throne; in the south, a horse-throne; in the west, a peacock-throne; [and] in the north, a *garuḍa*-throne.¹¹⁴

[For the deities], from Sattvavajrī up to Vajrāveśa,¹¹⁵ he should visualise moon-discs [as seats, each] generated out of the letter A.

And then, on the principal seat, [he should visualise] Mahāvairocana, generated by means of the syllable ĀḤ. [Why has he four faces?] Because consciousness – which is of the nature of the Dharma-Sphere since, by its nature, it lacks such forms as the grasped – is four-faced, since the four faces that are the freedoms (vimokṣa) of emptiness and the rest, are the avenues through which all *samādhis* arise since their, [that is, the freedoms’,] object is the Dharma-Sphere. He is white in colour because he has the Dharma-Sphere as his nature; he has braids of hair [stacked up on his head] as a crown¹¹⁶ and is unadorned, because he is one whose mind is tranquil; [and] he makes the *bodhyagrī* gesture¹¹⁷ because he has both wisdom and means as his nature.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴See P. Pal (1988, S 19, S 24) for some murals depicting such thrones in Ladakh dating from the time of Rin chan bzang po (C. 11th.).

¹¹⁵These are the thirty-six deities of the Vajradhātumaṇḍala (see STTS 11–60; NiṣpY 44–7). In the STTS, however, the sixteen *samādhi* deities (Vajrasattva, Vajrarāja etc.) are enumerated before the four *kulamātrīs* (Sattvavajrī, Ratnavajrī etc.).

¹¹⁶*jaṭāmakuṭa*. I read *jaṭāmakuṭa* as a karmadhāraya rather than as a bahuvrīhi of a dvandva, ie. as ‘with a crown (makūṭa) of braided hair (jaṭā)’ rather than ‘with braided hair (jaṭā) and a crown (makūṭa)’. A bronze figure of Vairocana from Korea dated to the second half of the eighth century depicted with a simple hair crown and two hands in the *bodhyagrī mudrā* (Snellgrove, 1978, p.235) supports this analysis, as does the present description of Mahāvairocana as *nirābharāṇa* (“unadorned”), which suggests he is to be visualised with the appearance of a *bhikṣu* rather than a *cakravartin*. However, the other analysis cannot be ruled out and in examples of figures with a *jaṭāmakuṭa* thus understood of Japanese origin the crown is placed in front of the *jaṭā* which rises up behind it (see B. Frank, 1991, 170, plate 88; 122, plate 54). I am grateful to Prof. A. Sanderson for pointing out this latter analysis of *jaṭāmakuṭa* as well as for the reference.

¹¹⁷*bodhyagrī mudrā*. Some MSS read *bodhyaṅgīmudrā* (see textual note 4.105), also found as the name of a *mudrā*. The *Niṣpannayogāvalī* has *bodhyaṅgī* for Vairocana’s *mudrā* in the Vajradhātumaṇḍala (NiṣpY 44, 7) and De Mallmann (1964, 260) gives it as a synonym for the *dharmacakramudrā*. However, the STTS (89, 4–5) describes a *bodhāgrī* (emend to *bodhyagrī*) *mudrā* as follows: *vāmavajrāṅgulir grāhya* (emend to *grāhyā*) *dakṣiṇeṇa samutthitā / bodhyagrī nāma mudreyaṃ buddhabodhipradāyikā //*. This accurately describes the *mudrā* of some surviving Korean and Chinese bronzes of Vairocana where his right hand grasps the raised left forefinger, completely encircling it (see Snellgrove, 1978, pp. 235, 369).

¹¹⁸*Tib.* changes the correlations of this passage. See textual note 4.102–5.

Having generated the conviction that he is, himself, Mahāvairocana, as described, through the yoga of the four Buddha-thrones,¹¹⁹ he should visualise a moon-disc in his heart; [and] above that, transformed out of the syllable DHĪḤ, [he should visualise] the Fortunate One, the Ādibuddha, **having five faces** (pañcānanah > pañcamukhaḥ), **having five crests**, that is to say, ‘having five hair-braids’. It is through tying up those [hair-braids that] **he has a head-dress of five hair-braids**.¹²⁰ [The five faces are] endowed with five colours: dark blue in the east; yellow in the south; red in the west; green in the north; on the top, he has a white face, the face of the most excellent horse.¹²¹ He is tranquil, with the ornaments of a youth,¹²² possessing the erotic [sentiment,¹²³ and] wearing about himself a cloth of many colours. He has eight arms, holding at his heart with four hands, the one hundred thousand [verse] Perfection of Wisdom [scripture], divided into four parts; [and] carrying, in each of the other four hands, a sword of wisdom in the gesture of striking. [He should visualise] through the yoga of the four Buddha-thrones.

¹¹⁹*caturbuddhāsanayogena*. This compound occurs again, also in the instrumental, after the visualisation of the Ādibuddha at the end of the paragraph. Its sense is unclear.

¹²⁰*pañcacīraka*. For discussion of this epithet see De Mallmann (1964, 13–14). This and the two preceding passages in bold are citations of NS 93cd (pañcānanah pañcaśikhaḥ pañcācīrakaśekharaḥ). Pañcaśikha is also the name of a *gandharva* – sometimes their king – who has been suggested as a possible antecedent or model for Mañjuśrī (M. Lalou 1930, 66–70).

¹²¹*paramāśva*. The significance of this is unclear. Candra bhadrakīrti, in his NS commentary the *Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgītināmavṛtti*, calls the Vajradhātumaṇḍala the *paramāśvamaṇḍala* (Wayman 1985, 29). Paramāśva is also the esoteric name of Hayagrīva.

¹²²*kumārābharanopeta* (byis pa'i rgyan gyis brgyan pa *Tib.*). This must allude to Mañjuśrī's epithet *kumārabhūta*, ‘in the form of a youth’ or ‘in the form of a prince’ common in Mahāyāna sūtra literature. (See Lamotte 1960, 1–3.)

¹²³*saśṛṅgāra* (sgeg pa dang ldan pa *Tib.*). Though *śṛṅgāra* can mean ‘adornment’ this is not its most usual sense and there are many other words commonly used for ‘adornment’ in a context such as this. Also, “possessing ornaments” is unlikely to follow “with the ornaments of a youth”. Taking it as the name of a *rasa* is supported by *Tib.* (and *sgeg mo* is given in a Tibetan lexicon for *lāsya*, the dancing girl whose dance depicts the emotion of love: Jaschke, p.114).

[[Śākyamuni] spoke this verse of the Lord of Speech, which is endowed with six kingly mantras,¹²⁴ in which there is the source of the non-dual, [and] which has the characteristic of non-origination: (25)]

The structure [of the verse] is: **‘[Śākyamuni] spoke this verse of the Lord of Speech**, which implicitly designates the twelve stages (bhūmi) of the Tathāgatas’. How is [the verse described]? As **endowed** (-saṃyuktām > -upetām) **with six kingly mantras**. The six mantras will be described later. What is the nature of [this verse]? It is one **in which there is the source of the non-dual** (advayodaya). Duality is [the world of] subjects and objects. That which does not have that [duality of subjects and objects] is ‘the non-dual’. [The word] ‘udaya’ means ‘that from which it arises’, [namely, ‘source’]. [The compound word] ‘advayodaya’ means ‘the source of the non-dual’ {advaya₂udaya}. He, [that is, Śākyamuni,] spoke that verse in which there exists the source of the non-dual {advaya₂udaya}. How also is [the verse] qualified? As one **which has the characteristic of non-origination**. This means that it has the Dharma-Sphere as its nature [and] that it has emptiness (śūnyatā) as its nature.

["A Ā I Ī U Ū E AI O AU AM AḤ. I, the Awakened One, the Embodiment of Knowledge, am in the heart of the Buddhas of the three times. (26)]

In the *Śrīvajraṃḍālāṃkāra* tantra the twelve stages of the Tathāgatas are mentioned:

The [first] great stage is All-Round Radiance, and that is like the circle of the sun. And the second is Nectar Radiance, shining as brilliantly as the moon.

¹²⁴śaṅmantrarājāṇasaṃyuktam. See textual note 4.117 for discussion of the Skt..

And the third is Sky Radiance, established in the region of space. And *Vajra* Radiance, the fourth stage, is delightful. It is called '*Vajra*' through its association with firm resolve. The fifth [stage] is called Jewel Radiance, which is established at consecration.¹²⁵ The sixth is called Lotus Radiance. It shines like a lotus; [and] since it is an inherently pure entity it is pure [and] unclinging. The seventh, called Radiance of Action, is said to cause Buddha activity. The eighth is called Incomparable [Radiance, since] it has no comparison. The ninth is called [Radiance] Without Equal since it penetrates all comparisons. The tenth is called Radiance of Wisdom, the unsurpassed Buddha-stage. The eleventh radiant great stage is [called] All-Knowing [Radiance]; and the twelfth, which is experienced individually, is [called] The Fulfiller of the Knowledge of Yogis.

These twelve Tathāgata stages should be understood as being transformed out of the twelve vowels, beginning with A.

[The phrase] '**of the Buddhas of the three times**' refers to Buddhas past, [present] and future. [The verse says] '**I [...] am in [their] heart**' because he, [that is, the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī] dwells in the heart of all the Tathāgatas. [He is] **the Embodiment of Knowledge**, because he has the Knowledge-Body as his nature; [and] **the Awakened One**, because he is enlightened as to things as they really are.

[OM – Obeisance to you, *Vajra*-Sharp, Destroyer of Suffering, Embodiment of the Knowledge of Wisdom, Knowledge-Body, Lord of Speech, Arapacana." (27)]

Now one should contemplate a wisdom-wheel (prajñācakra) in the heart of that [visualised form of the] Ādibuddha [in ones heart]. With what characteristics [should

¹²⁵In the system of the *bhūmis* followed by the Bodhisattva, consecration (abhiṣeka) takes place in the tenth and final *bhūmi* where one is consecrated as a Buddha. However, an alternative to the standard name of *dharmamegha* ('Cloud of the Dharma') for this *bhūmi* found in the *Daśa-bhūmikasūtra* is *abhiṣekabhūmi* (DBS 55). It is unclear what the significance is of having *abhiṣeka* at this point in the Tathāgata *bhūmis*.

one contemplate it]? He, [that is, Śākyamuni,] explains it as suggesting the law of dependent origination. And thus he says,

The hub is sustained by the spokes, and the spokes depend on the hub. And by means of dependent origination, this wheel is set in motion.

[The wheel] is generated from the letter A. It has six spokes with six colours, four bands (mekhalā), [and] a symmetrical hub. Visualising a letter A in the middle of the hub of that [wheel], the mantras – beginning with the root (mūla) mantra of the Fortunate One, the Knowledge-Being [Mañjuśrī] – should be visualised as white in colour on the four bands. On the first of those bands [one should visualise]:

OM PURE VAJRA WHOSE ESSENCE IS THE NON-BEING OF ALL
DHARMAS A Ā AM AH¹²⁶

On the second band of that [wheel] one should visualise the twelve vowels that express the twelve stages of the Tathāgatas. Then, beginning with the first spoke, one should arrange the six mantras in due order, according to the succession of the colours of the families as follows:

OM – OBEISANCE, O VAJRA-SHARP, on the first; OM – OBEISANCE, O DESTROYER OF SUFFERING, on the second; OM – OBEISANCE, O EMBODIMENT OF THE WISDOM-KNOWLEDGE, on the third; OM – OBEISANCE, O KNOWLEDGE-BODY, on the fourth; OM – OBEISANCE, O LORD OF SPEECH, on the fifth; [and] OM – OBEISANCE, O ARAPACANA, on the sixth.

On the rim outside [those spokes] one should arrange the garland mantra of the Fortunate One, the Knowledge-Body of all the Tathāgatas:

AH ĀH – O HEART OF ALL THE TATHĀGATAS, HARA HARA OM
HŪM HRĪH, O FORTUNATE ONE, EMBODIMENT OF KNOWLEDGE,

¹²⁶om sarvadharmābhāvasvabhāvaviśuddhavadajra a ā am ah (Text 4.159–160). This mantra is from the *mantravinyāsa* section of the NS.

LORD OF SPEECH, OF GREAT SPEECH, WOMB OF THE DHARMA-
SPHERE AWARENESS OF ALL DHARMAS THAT IS PERFECTLY
PURE AND STAINLESS LIKE THE SKY – ĀḤ.¹²⁷

One should [mentally] deposit outside [that] on the second band [the
consonants], beginning with the letter KA and ending with letter HA. This is the
arrangement of the mantras of the [wisdom] wheel.

[Next,] he should visualise himself as the Fortunate One, the Knowledge-Being
[Mañjuśrī], born from the letter A situated in the middle of that wheel, with six faces,
radiant like the autumn moon, with the best of sapphires in his beautiful hair,¹²⁸ with
a halo that has the brilliance of the orb of the newly risen sun, with all the Tathāgatas
as [head-]ornaments, immersed in *samādhi*, seated on a variagated lotus throne, with
two books of the Prajñāpāramitā above blue lotuses held in his two hands,¹²⁹ [and]
as in the Sentiment of Tranquillity.¹³⁰ Visualising a moon-disc in the heart of that
[Knowledge-Being], above it, he should place the letter A, the essence of the
Perfection of Wisdom, the cause of the arising of the Awareness of the Omniscient
Ones, the origin of all Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas, the accumulation of the merit

¹²⁷*ah āḥ sarvatathāgatahrdaya hara hara om hūṃ hrīḥ bhagavanjñānamūrte vāgīśvara mahā-
vāca sarvadharmagaganāmalasupariśuddhadharmadhātujñānagarbha āḥ* (Text 4.168–170). This
mantra is also from the NS *mantravinyāsa* section. The final compound can be variously construed.
Davidson (1981, 44) has, “O embryo of the gnosis of the *dharmadhātu*, being very pure and stainless
like the spatial field of all *dharmas*—*āḥ*”, taking *garbha* as ‘embryo’. Wayman (1985, 115) has, “O
womb of the pure Dharma-Sphere Wisdom where all natures are pure like the sky! ĀḤ”. For *garbha*,
‘womb’ (ie. ‘that which contains’) is probably better than ‘embryo’ since Mañjuśrī is the subject of the
description. Wayman’s translation is doubtful since it takes the first element of the compound as a
bahuvrīhi (ie. it would retranslate as *gaganāmalasarvadharmasupariśuddhadharmadhātujñāna-
garbha*). Using the notation adopted for showing grammatical analysis, the following shows how I
have taken the compound: (*sarvadharmā*⁶(*gaganāmalasupariśuddha:dharmadhātujñāna*))*garbha*.

¹²⁸*indranīlāgrasaccīraṃ* (i ndra nī la mchog gi gtsug phud *Tib.*). I take *cīra* to refer to head hair,
as in Mañjuśrī’s epithet *pañcacīraka*, rather than clothing. This is supported by *Tib.* (gtsug phud),
though it does not translate the compounded *sat*.

¹²⁹Ie. each hand holds a lotus on which there rests a book of the Perfection of Wisdom.

¹³⁰*śāntarasa*. The ninth *rasa* of Indian aesthetics.

and wisdom of all the Mahābodhisattvas, the letter of ultimate reality, the cause of all letters.¹³¹

Then, having imagined the syllables of the mantras on the [wisdom] wheel to be symmetrically placed, to have the colours described, to be radiant [and] capable of destroying the mountain of ignorance, he should visualise his own body as shining with those rays of light.

The bright rays go out of the four faces [of Mahāvairocana] and illuminate the Sahā world.¹³² Next, with six colours, they emerge from the six *vajra* faces,¹³³ go to the various Buddha fields, the collection of which makes up the whole of space, [and] accomplish the welfare of the mass of beings without remainder in those Buddha fields. Having illuminated the assembly of all the Tathāgatas, Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, they enter their mouths [and] circle the *vajra* in their hearts from left to right, extracting their Wisdom-Knowledge (*prajñājñāna*). They, [namely, the light-rays, then re-]enter one's own, [that is, Mahāvairocana's four] mouths, [the rays being conceived] as identical with the essencelessness of all *dharmas*, [and] become united with the mantra-syllable ['A'] on the moon[-disc] in one's own heart.

Thus, the Bodhisattva, delighting in uninterrupted meditation, practising the observances of the Way of Mantras, who meditates in the these three ways – [firstly] “taking the form of the Fortunate One, the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī as an object of meditation”, that is, [Mañjuśrī] as the Knowledge-Body; [secondly] “reflecting on his form”, that is, as the moon-disc; and [thirdly] “meditating on his form”, that is, as the letter A – “will, before very long, come to see him, [that is, Mañjuśrī,] in his

¹³¹This has the appearance of a passage incorporated from scripture, though I have not been able to trace it.

¹³²*sahāloka dhātu*. The name given to the world system in which we live (for textual refs see BHSD 588).

¹³³On the six-faced *vajra* see note 110 above.

Transformation Form-Body,¹³⁴ provided he follows the [rules of the] Vinaya. And he will see all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas accompanying his Transformation Form-Body in the vault of the sky”.¹³⁵

And therefore, through the power of meditation, one will attain Buddhahood [and] Vajradharahood here in [this] very life. In this way ‘The Method of Awakening according to the *Māyājāla*’ is indicated.

And now I will describe the six other wisdom-wheels according to the division of the families. Concerning these, one should firstly carry out the complete initial yoga,¹³⁶ [then] remove the Fortunate One Mahāvairocana, established in the centre of his maṇḍala, [and] in his place visualise Amitābha, red in colour, born from the syllable HRĪḤ, dwelling in *samādhi*. Likewise in his heart one should visualise the Ādibuddha; [and] in his [that is, in the Ādibuddha’s] heart, one should visualise an eight-spoked [wisdom-]wheel with four bands, occupied by the root mantra and so forth. And then, one should arrange on the eight spokes the eight seeds [of the syllables of the mantra] OM VAJRATĪKṢṆĀYA NAMAḤ.

In the middle of the hub of the [wisdom-]wheel, one should visualise

¹³⁴*nirmāṇarūpakāya* (‘Transformation Form-Body’). In the Triple-body (*trikāya*) system of Yogācāra Buddhism the Transformation-body *nirmāṇa[rūpa]kāya* and the Body of Enjoyment (*sambhogakāya*) comprise the twofold Form-body (*rūpakāya*), which is distinguished from the Dharma-body (*dharmakāya*). The emanation of *nirmāṇakāyas* by Buddhas to act for the benefit of beings is associated with the Awareness of the Performance of Action (see VijñMāSi 691). (For discussion of the bodies of the Buddha and bibliography see La Vallée Poussin, VijñMāSi 762–813.)

¹³⁵The quotations are from the NS *anusāṃsā* section (see NS.Dav. 66, 23–6, though Davidson’s text differs slightly from that cited here).

¹³⁶*ādiyoga*. This term is found in a tripartite classification of the generation-stage (*utpattikrama*) of *sādhana*s into three *samādhis*: i. *ādiyogo nāma samādhiḥ* (the preliminaries and the complete generation of the deity); ii. *maṇḍalarājāgrī nāma samādhiḥ* (the deity radiating the retinue of the maṇḍala from the womb of the consort); iii. *karmarājāgrī samādhiḥ* (the whole maṇḍala employed for the benefit of all creatures). Beyer (1973, 117) states that the three *samādhis* have their origin in *Guhyasamāja Tantra* exegesis, being mentioned in the explanatory Tantra, the *Vajramālā*. However, they were also employed by *Hevajratāntra* commentators, eg. Ratnākaraśānti in his *Muktāvalī nāma Hevajrapañjikā* (NAK MS no. 5.98; fol. 20r9–22r8: rf. from A. Sanderson, *Advayavajra’s Saptākṣarasādhana*). It appears that Vilāsavajra uses the expression *ādiyoga* to cover the preliminaries and the generation of the maṇḍala, but not the generation of the deity as included in the *ādiyogo nāma samādhiḥ*.

Vajratīkṣṇa, transformed out of the syllable HRĪḤ, red in colour, possessing the ornaments of a youth, with a head-dress of five hair-braids, clad in a garment of many colours, holding a lotus in his left hand [and] bearing in his right hand a sword of wisdom. Visualising the syllable HRĪḤ in his heart, above a moon-disc as before, he should meditate proceeding in accordance with the previously described sequence of emanating and withdrawing [light-rays].

Again, one should similarly visualise Akṣobhya in the centre of the maṇḍala, born from the syllable HŪṂ, dark blue in colour, [and] displaying the earth touching gesture. Within his heart one should imagine the Ādibuddha, and likewise, an eight-spoked [wisdom-]wheel [in the Ādibuddha's heart]. One should arrange the [root] mantras [and so forth] as before, and sit the eight seed[-syllable]s of [the mantra] OM DUḤKHACCHEDĀYA NAMAḤ on the spokes.

In the middle [of the hub of the wisdom-wheel] one should visualise the Fortunate One Vajrakhadga,¹³⁷ born from the syllable HŪṂ, deep blue in colour, with the form of a youth, adorned with all the ornaments of a youth, with five hair-braids, wearing about himself silk cloth, [holding] a *vajra* in his left [hand, and] bearing a sword in his right [hand]. Contemplating the syllable HŪṂ in his heart, above a moon-disc, one should carry out in the same way [the process] of emanation and [withdrawal of light-rays].

Again, in the same way one should imagine Vairocana in the centre [of the maṇḍala], transformed out of the syllable ĀḤ, white in colour, with [his hands in] the Bodhyagrī gesture.¹³⁸ In his heart [one should visualise] the Ādibuddha [and] likewise [in the Ādibuddha's heart] a ten-spoked [wisdom-]wheel. Making an envelope with the [root] mantras [and so forth, on the bands of the wheel], one

¹³⁷*vajrakhadga* (jam dpal sdug bsngal gcod pa *Tib.*). *Tib.* retranslates into Sanskrit as Mañjuśrī-duḥkhaccheda.

¹³⁸*bodhyagrī mudrā*. See note 117 above.

should arrange the seed-syllables of [the mantra] OM PRAJÑĀJÑĀNAMURTAYE NAMAḤ on the ten spokes.

In the middle of the [wisdom-]wheel one should visualise the Fortunate One Prajñājñāna, transformed from the syllable ĀḤ, white in colour, with five hair braids, endowed with the ornaments of a youth, wearing beautiful clothes, holding a wheel with his left [hand, and] a sword of wisdom in his right, transformed from the syllable ĀḤ. Visualising a moon[-disc] in his heart [and] above that the syllable ĀḤ, one should carry out in the same way [as before the process] of emanation and [withdrawal of light-rays].

In the same way, one should contemplate Amoghasiddhi at the centre of the maṇḍala, born from the seed syllable AḤ, green in colour, endowed with the gesture of fearlessness. Likewise, one should imagine the Ādibuddha in his heart [and] an eight-spoked wheel [in the Ādibuddha's heart]. Making an envelope of the [root] mantra and so forth as before, one should arrange the eight seeds of [the mantra] OM JÑĀNAKĀYĀYA NAMAḤ on the eight spokes.

In the middle of the [wisdom-]wheel one should visualise the Fortunate One Jñānakāya, born from the syllable AḤ, green in colour, with the ornaments of a youth, with a head-dress of five hair-braids, holding a double *vajra* with his left [hand], [and] bearing a sword with his right. Visualising a syllable AḤ above a moon [disc] in his heart, one should meditate in the same way [as before], performing the [process of] emanation and withdrawal [of light-rays].

Once more, in the same way, one should meditate on Ratnasambhava at the centre of the maṇḍala, born from the root syllable, [namely, OM,] yellow in colour, displaying the gesture of giving. Likewise, in his heart one should visualise the Ādibuddha, [and] an eight-spoked wheel [in the Ādibuddha's heart] with the root mantra and so forth [on its bands]. On the eight spokes of that [wisdom-wheel] one

should arrange the seeds of [the mantra] OM VĀGĪŚVARĀYA NAMAḤ.

At the hub of the [wisdom-]wheel one should visualise Vāgīśvara, born from the seed syllable OM, yellow in colour, endowed with every ornament, with five hair braids, wearing around himself a many coloured cloth, holding a jewel in his left [hand], bearing the sword of wisdom in his right. Visualising in his heart the syllable OM above a moon-disc, one should carry out [the process] of emanation and [withdrawal of light-rays] in the same manner [as before].

Similarly, one should visualise Bodhicittavajra, transformed out of the syllable A, white in colour, possessing the Erotic Sentiment, crowned with the five Buddhas, seated in a state of Diamond-pride, adorned with every ornament, holding a *vajra* and bell, [placed] as before, at the centre of the maṇḍala. Likewise, in his heart one should visualise the Fortunate One, the Ādibuddha, [and] a nine-spoked [wisdom-]wheel inlaid with the root mantra and so forth [on its bands] in his [that is, the Ādibuddha's,] heart. One should arrange the nine seed syllables of [the mantra] OM ARAPACANĀYA NAMAḤ on the spokes.

At the hub of the [wisdom-]wheel one should visualise the Fortunate One Arapacana, produced from the letter A, white in colour, adorned with the ornaments of a youth, with five hair-braids, wearing a many-coloured garment around himself, [holding] a book at his [left] side [and] a sword in his [right] hand. Visualising a letter A above a moon[-disc] in his heart, one should meditate as before, carrying out the [process of] emanation and withdrawal [of light-rays], and making firm the [deities'] dwelling place and so forth. In each case this should be added, [namely, the stabilising of the maṇḍala visualisation].¹³⁹

¹³⁹The Skt. word order is puzzling here (see textual note 4.253) and it is unclear what is to be added 'in each case' (ie. to the instructions for each of the *prajñācakras*?). I have taken it to be the requirement to stabilise the visualisation of the maṇḍala (*nilayadr̥hībhāva*) as this is both the last and the only new instruction.

Also, this is to be understood as the Sixfold Method of Awakening According to the *Śrīmāyājāla*, according to the division of the [Buddha] families.¹⁴⁰ There are, therefore, seven maṇḍalas in the *Āryanāmasaṃgīti*, and these should be known as the special instructions of the guru.

In this way is ‘The Method of Awakening According to the *Māyājāla*’ [explained].

[Here ends] the chapter on ‘The Method of Awakening According to the *Māyājāla*’, the fourth in the commentary on the *Āryanāmasaṃgīti* called, ‘An Explanation of the Meaning of the Name-Mantras’. Three verses [are commented on].

¹⁴⁰For a summary of the visualisations of the six *prajñācakras* see Table 7 (*Introduction*, section 5.8).

[Chapter 5. On ‘The Vajradhātu-Mahāmaṇḍala of Bodhicittavajra’.]

[That is to say,¹⁴¹ [the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī is] the Fortunate One, the Awakened One, the Fully Awakened One, born from the letter A.¹⁴² The letter A is the head of all letters, the great good, the supreme syllable. (28)]

Next, he, [that is, Śākyamuni,] spoke about the emanation and [withdrawal of deities] associated with Bodhicittavajra via the great maṇḍala of Vajradhātu. [In the passage] beginning **That is to say, [the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī is] the Fortunate One**, the meaning of [the Names] **the Fortunate One, the Awakened One, the Fully Awakened One** is understood, [that is to say, it needs no further comment]. He is **born from the letter A** (akārasambhavaḥ > akārajanitaḥ) because the Fortunate One, the Knowledge-Being [Mañjuśrī] has as his nature the pure Knowledge-Body of the Tathāgatas.

The letter A is above the moon-disc in his, [that is, the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī’s] heart. He, [namely, Śākyamuni,] next states the attributes of that [letter]. It is at **the head** (agryaḥ > agrebhavaḥ) **of all letters** (sarvavarṇānām > sarvākṣarānām) {sarvavarṇa⁶agryaḥ}. It is **the head**, that is to say, ‘best’, because it

¹⁴¹*tad yathā*. Vilāsavajra makes no comment on this opening, which I take as a statement that the subsequent verses amplify the *gāthā* of NS 26–7.

¹⁴²I translate this half verse in accordance with Vilāsavajra’s statement later in the chapter (*Text* 5.294) that four Name-mantras (nāmamantrāṇi) qualify Mañjuśrījñānasattva. He also cites the whole of NS 28ab as the first of the phrases whose words are Name-mantras (nāmamantrākṣarapadāni) (*Text* 5.269), and as each phrase denotes one figure it follows that all the Names of NS 28ab are Names of Mañjuśrījñānasattva (see *Introduction* section 5.5 for discussion of the Name-mantras). Other readings are clearly possible. Thus Wayman (1985, 68): “Accordingly, is the Buddha, Bhagavat, the Sambuddha arisen from A” taking *akārasambhavaḥ* as the predicate; and Davidson (1981, 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” taking the two half verses together with *akāraḥ* as the predicate.

is at their beginning.¹⁴³ It is **the great good** {mahā:arthah} for the reason that it causes the production of benefit for the whole world.

It is **the supreme syllable** (paramākṣarah). By etymological analysis¹⁴⁴ **syllable** (akṣarah) [is seen to] mean ‘that which does not (na < a-) perish (kṣarati < -kṣarah)’. This is because it is without change, due to having the Limit of Reality¹⁴⁵ as its nature. [Hence the word] ‘paramākṣarah’ means **the supreme syllable**, [that is to say, ‘the supreme unchangeable reality’] {parama:akṣarah}. In this way what is really named¹⁴⁶ by ‘Knowledge-Being’ and ‘the letter A’ is explained.

And that same [nature], since it is completely free from all obstacles, should be understood to be the nature, one by one, of each of the maṇḍala-deities arising in the consciousness of yogins.¹⁴⁷ Just as their *samādhis*, through indicating their non-apprehension (anupalambha) of error (viparyāsa) and being opponents (pratipakṣa) of [erroneous] perception, have the characteristic of the Liberation-Door¹⁴⁸ of

¹⁴³Cf. *om akāro mukhaṃ sarvadharmāṇām ādyanutpannatvāt* (“The sound ‘A’ is the first of all dharmas since it is unarisen from the beginning.”), the mantra used in chapter 4 as the basis for developing the Discriminating Awareness. See note 103 above.

¹⁴⁴*aparaparyāya* (mam grangs gzhan Tib. [191.3.4]). I take *aparaparyāya* to be used in the same way as *paryāya*, ie. to mean ‘synonym’ or, more literally, ‘convertible term’. The present context suggests ‘etymological analysis’ since a desired meaning is being derived through a constructed etymology in the fashion of a *nirvacana* or *nirukti*. The Tibetan *nam grangs* (paryāya) is used to refer to the component parts of words according to their etymological value (Das, 758).

¹⁴⁵*bhūtakotiḥ* (yang dag pa’i mtha’ Tib. [191.3.4]). Sometimes translated more literally as ‘The Goal for Beings’ *bhūtakotiḥ* is one of the synonyms for *śūnyatā* as understood by the Vijñānavāda (see Vasubandhu’s *bhāṣya* on the *Madhyāntavibhāga* I.15).

¹⁴⁶*svarūpābhidhāna*. Lit. ‘true naming’.

¹⁴⁷This sentence marks the beginning of the description and enumeration of the maṇḍala-deities of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala. However, the text is corrupt, making interpretation difficult (see textual note 5.14–15). I have taken the opening *tad eva* to refer to the previous sentence’s *svarūpābhidhānam* and thus the sentence as stating that the ‘true naming’, ie. true nature, of Mañjuśrījñānasattva and the maṇḍala-deities is the same. An alternative is that *tad eva* should be taken as *tad eva cittam*, referring to the naturally radiant mind (prakṛtiprabhāsvaṃ cittam) associated with Non-dual Awareness (advayajñānam) and generated by the practitioner in chapter 4 prior to the generation of the maṇḍala (Text 4.60–61). In the course of the introductory sections to the maṇḍala-deity identifications later in this chapter, the enlightened mind is referred to by *tad eva* (Text 5.72, 5.136), although these usages follow an earlier passage of the form, *yad eva cittam ... tad eva* (Text. 5.36–39).

¹⁴⁸*vimokṣamukha*. Chapter 4 identifies the four faces of Mahāvairocana as the four *vimokṣa-mukhas* (giving *śūnyatā* as the first), describing them as avenues for *samādhis*. Three *vimokṣamukhas* are commonly found in sūtra literature, ie. *śūnyatā*, *animitta[tā]*, *apraṇihita[tā]* (DhSam 73, MVy

Emptiness, in the same way, through being opponents of appearance, wrong desire and involvement in error, they [also] have as their nature the Liberation-Doors of the Signless, the Wishless [and] Non-Involvement¹⁴⁹ respectively.

And hence, in due order, he, [that is, Śākyamuni,] spoke about the nature of the family-mothers, Sattvavajrī, [Ratnavajrī, Dharmavajrī,] and [Karmavajrī].

[[He is] the great breath, a non-production. Free from speech utterance. Foremost cause of all expression. Very radiant as all speech. (29)¹⁵⁰]

The great breath, a non-production [is to be understood] as meaning Sattvavajrī. Here **the great breath** is the sound ‘A’; and that [sound ‘A’] has **non-production** as its nature. [This is] because it has the Dharma-Sphere as its nature and is the cause of the Mirror-like Awareness.

1541–1544). The fourth, *anabhisamskāra*, appears to be peculiar to the *mantranaya*. See note following.

¹⁴⁹*anabhisamskāra*, ‘Non-Involvement’. I take this to refer to a condition that allows the possibility of action that is free from karmic consequences. Edgerton notes that the term *abhisamskāra* is used in Mahāyāna Sūtra literature to mean both ‘performance’ (of action) and ‘accumulation’ (of merit or demerit) (BHSD 57). A possible translation of *anabhisamskāra* would therefore be ‘Non-Accumulation’. Yaśomitra uses *abhisamskāra* to gloss the state of mental investigation (*vitarka*) that occurs between possessing the desire to act (*chanda*) and making the effort to do so (*prayatna*): “from desire [arises] investigation, a type of volition characterised by mental application” (*chandād vitarkaḥ cetanāviśeṣo ’bhisamskāralakṣaṇaḥ*: AKBhVyā 1129, 18–19). This suggests a translation of *anabhisamskāra* that emphasises the mental aspect of action and I have therefore adopted the rendering ‘Non-Involvement’. (Edgerton also gives ‘mental preparation, application, determination’ as a meaning for *abhisamskāra*.)

In the NMAA *anabhisamskāra* is appropriately associated with the Awareness of the Performance of Action, the *jñāna* concerned with enlightened activity in the world for the benefit of beings. Whether it is found as a *vimokṣamukha* before this association with *krtyānuṣṭhānājñāna* is a question for further research. The development of a fourth *vimokṣamukha* may, like the fifth *jñāna*, be an instance of the expansion of a pre-existing doctrinal category to meet the needs of a Tantric context.

¹⁵⁰The translation follows Vilāsavajra’s interpretation of the verses containing the Names, ie. that each is comprised of a series of predicates (see Text 5.269–272). A more natural translation might be, “For the great breath is a non-production, free from the utterance of speech, foremost cause of all expression, very radiant in all speech”, taking ‘the great breath’ (*mahāprāṇo*) as the subject and the remainder as a series of predicates. So, Wayman (1985, 68): “The great inhalation is not a production, free from utterance by speech, chief cause of all speech, the clarification of all words”.

Free from speech utterance (vāgudāhāravajitah) [is to be understood] as meaning Ratnavajrī. He, [that is, Mañjuśrī,] is **free from** (varjitah > rahitah) that **speech utterance** {vāg⁶udāhāra} since, as a result of the Awareness of Equality, [the faculty of] speech is not functioning.

Foremost cause of all expression (sarvābhilāpahetvagryah) [is to be understood] as meaning Dharmavajrī. **All expression** {sarva⁶abhilāpa} means the **expression** (abhilāpah > abhilapanam) of **all** real entities (dharma), such as the five constituents (skandhas). The **cause** (hetuh > kāraṇam) of that [expression] is the Discriminating Awareness. For this very reason it is **foremost** (agryah > pradhānam).

Very radiant as all speech (sarvavāksuprabhāsvaraḥ)¹⁵¹ [is to be understood] as meaning Karmavajrī. **All speech** {sarva:vāk} means [the varieties of speech] as referred to in the passage that begins, “with the speech of the gods, with the speech of the *nāgas* ...”.¹⁵² He, [that is, Mañjuśrī,] is for this reason **very**

¹⁵¹*sarvavāksuprabhāsvaraḥ* There is a problem here of whether Vilāsavajra takes this as one word or two (sarvavāk suprabhāsvaraḥ). If one, unusually, he omits to state the grammatical relation between the two elements *sarvavāk* and *suprabhāsvaraḥ*. The analysis he does give is of the type he employs when there are two words, or Names, that denote a deity, ie. ‘Mañjuśrī is X, and so (ata eva) he is Y’, suggesting “[Mañjuśrī]ñānasattva is] all speech, [and so] very radiant” as the appropriate translation. At the end of the chapter Vilāsavajra gives five as the number of Name-mantra words for the four Family-Mothers (kulamātṛ) denoted by NS 29 (mahāprāṇo hy anutpādo vāgudāhāra varjitah / sarvābhilāpahetvagryah sarvavāksuprabhāsvaraḥ //) (see *Introduction*, section 5.5, on Name-mantras). If *hi*, a metrical filler, is discounted as a Name-mantra, there are five names when *sarvavāksuprabhāsvaraḥ* is counted as one word. If it is two words, there are two Names giving total of six for the verse. A possible solution, keeping two Names for the final quarter verse, is not to count *mahāprāṇah* as a Name. Vilāsavajra identifies it as the letter A; the other five words (Names) could then be seen as qualifying it. However, this means that in NS 29a, Sattvavajrī would be denoted by *anutpādaḥ* and Vilāsavajra unequivocally cites the whole quarter verse as referring to her. I have therefore taken *sarvavāk* and *suprabhāsvaraḥ* as one word in a karmadhāraya relation, preserving the Name count of five. This interpretation is also in line with Vilāsavajra’s statement that the verses are made of predicates, ie. they are all Names, including ‘the great breath’ (see note preceding). The identification of *mahāprāṇah* with the letter A is clarified later when the four Family-mothers are said to be transformations of the letters A Ā AM AH, ‘A’ being the letter for Sattvavajrī (*Text* 5.35–36).

¹⁵²*yathā devarutebhir nāgarutebhir ityādi* (’di lta ste / lha’i skad dang klu’i skad dang gnod sbyin skad ces pa la sogs pa lta bu’o *Tib.*[191.4.5]) (*Text* 5.31–32). *Tib.* adds, “with the speech of the *yakṣas*” as a third type of speech, unattested by any of the Skt. MSS.

radiant, since [speech] representations (*pratibhāsa*) arise in the mental continua of each being as is appropriate [for them]; and because [these] many faceted Dharma-teachings have the Awareness of the Performance of Action as their nature.

Therefore these Four Perfections,¹⁵³ [namely,] *Sattvavajrī*, [*Ratnavajrī*, *Dharma-vajrī*,] and [*Karmavajrī*] are transformed out of the four syllables, A Ā AM AH [respectively]. And hence that very mind that has the Dharma-Sphere as its essence – since it is by nature free from such [superimposed] forms as subject and object – is of the nature of the Mirror-like Awareness, because it is radiant through the absence of adventitious impurities and because it is the sign, [that is to say, cause,] of the arising of other Awarenesses. It has the Awareness of Equality [as its nature] since it consists of compassion that takes [all] *dharma*s as its object and so forth,¹⁵⁴ and because it is unaffected by [its] division from other mental streams. It has the Discriminating Awareness [as its nature] because it is free from the error produced by all that is [conceptually] knowable. [And] since it is the cause for the benefit of all the worlds it has the Awareness of the Performance Of Action as its nature.

And so it has as its nature, respectively, the lords [whose names are] The Eternal One,¹⁵⁵ [*Akṣobhya*, *Ratnasambhava*, *Amitābha*,] and [*Amoghasiddhi*]. For this very reason he, [namely, *Śākyamuni*] declared,

[The great festival of great passion,¹⁵⁶ producer of joy for all beings. (30ab)]

¹⁵³The force of ‘therefore’ (*ata eva*) is unclear. *Sattvavajrī* etc. are described as as Perfections (*pāramitāḥ*) in the STTS: “[These four are] the Perfections of all the Tathāgatas, namely, the Awareness-pledge of all the Tathāgatas, the great consecration, the Diamond nature of things [and] manifold worship” (*sarvatathāgatajñānasamayā mahābhiṣekā vajradharmatā sarvapūjā ceti sarvatathāgatapāramitāḥ* // STTS 46, 17–18).

¹⁵⁴“and so forth” (*-ādi*). This probably includes understanding the selflessness of all *dharma*s, the other major element in the nature of the Awareness of Equality (see the passage on the development of *śamatājñāna* in chapter 4: *Text* 4.40–45).

¹⁵⁵*Śāśvata*. Another name for *Vairocana*.

¹⁵⁶*mahāmahamahārāgaḥ*. The refrain, *mahāmahamahā-*, in this and the following two NS

[Next,] the passage beginning, **The great festival of great passion**. And here, at the beginning [of the verses that denote the Tathāgatas], Amitābha is referred to [rather than Vairocana, the Eternal One]. This is in order to indicate the pre-eminence of passion. For this reason he, [that is, Śākyamuni, putting passion first,] has declared:

“Passion and hatred and delusion ...”

There is said to be a **great festival** {mahā:mahāḥ} when the Tathāgatas display worship that pervades the whole of space. The word **festival**, [therefore,] denotes worship. **Great passion** is passion that has a nature that is great. In this context, of **the great festival of great passion** {mahāmaha:mahārāgaḥ}, **great passion** is that which has the characteristic of ripening¹⁵⁷ and liberating living beings. And that [great passion] is [of the nature of] the Fortunate One, the Glorious Vajrasattva.¹⁵⁸ [The truth of this is indicated] by reason of the words,

“For great passion is the Fortunate One, Vajrasattva, the Tathāgata.”

Producer of joy for all beings. [He is so described] since, for all beings

verses has a strong incantatory element that cannot be captured in translation.

¹⁵⁷*pācana* (smin [cing grol ba'i mtshan nyid do] *Tib.* [191.5.5–6]). The literal meaning of √*pac*, ‘to cook’ creates the link in the explanation of ‘great passion’: the heat of passion becomes the heat of the cooking that ripens one for liberation. *Tib.* confirms the Skt. reading which, given the common confusion of *ca* and *va* in Newārī script, could have been interpreted as a corruption of *pāvana*, ‘purifying’, a reading that would have made almost as good sense.

¹⁵⁸Given the suggestion at the beginning of the passage (on NS 30) that the half-verse ‘Named’ Amitābha, it is unclear whether Vilāsavajra is enumerating Vajrasattva as one of the Tathāgatas of the maṇḍala (as a *samādhi* deity Vajrasattva is identified with the Name *mahākāmaḥ* of NS 32cd). Perhaps Vajrasattva is being identified as the nature of Amitābha, though in the next paragraph the Name ‘producer of joy for all beings’ is specifically identified as Amitābha’s. Thus it appears that NS 30a names Vajrasattva and NS 30b Amitābha, although this means that the general pattern of assigning a complete half-verse starting, “the great festival of great ...”, to each Tathāgata is not followed. However, the ritual structure of the NMAA is a sixfold one (six mantra families, six Wisdom-wheel visualisations) and if Vilāsavajra needs Names for six Tathāgatas a half-verse has to be divided.

As the sixth Tathāgata, Vajrasattva and his family are also associated with passion by Tsong kha pa in his *sNags rim chen po* (Peking blockprint 365b.3ff.: ref. from Wayman, 1973, 47).

who act out of passion, he causes [the arising of] joy (ratim > prītim) that has great bliss (mahāsukha) as its nature. This is the nature of Amitābha.

He, [that is, Śākyamuni, then] spoke with regard to those who act in hatred:

**[The great festival of great hatred, great enemy of all defilements.
(30cd)]**

The great festival of great hatred. [Since it has been discussed above] the meaning of **great festival** is understood. **Great hatred** is Akṣobhya and he is **the great enemy of all defilements**, that is to say, the great enemy of the defilements (kleśa), subtle defilements (upakleśa) and so forth.

He, [that is, Śākyamuni, next] spoke concerning those who act out of delusion:

**[The great festival of great delusion, destroyer of stupefied
mental delusion. (31ab)]**

The great festival of great delusion. [The meaning of] **great festival** is as before. **Great delusion** is Vairocana. **Mental delusion** (-dhīmoha-) means the delusion connected with thoughts {-dhī²moha-}. It, [namely, **great delusion**,] is the **destroyer** (sūdanah > vināśakah) of this **stupefied mental delusion** {mūḍha:dhīmoha-} {mūḍhadhīmoha⁶nisūdanah}.

He, [that is, Śākyamuni, next] spoke with concerning those who act from anger:

**[The great festival of great anger, great enemy of great anger.
(31cd)]**

The great festival of great anger. [The phrase] **great festival** has the same meaning [as before]. **Great anger** is Amoghasiddhi. **Great enemy of great anger.** [The words] **great anger** [are used] since it has [both] beings and

non-beings as its object.¹⁵⁹ It is he, [that is, Amoghasiddhi,] who is the **great enemy** of this [great anger].

He, [that is, Sākyamuni, then] spoke concerning those who act out of greed:

[The great festival of great greed, destroyer of all greed. (32ab)]

The great festival of great greed. [The meaning of] **great festival** is [to be understood] as before. **Great greed** is Ratnasambhava. [He is] **the destroyer of all greed** because he intends the purification of all prosperity whether mundane or supramundane.¹⁶⁰

Since the four Liberation-Doors of Emptiness and so forth cause all *samādhis*, inasmuch as they, [that is, the Liberation-Doors,] are within the sphere of the Dharma-Sphere, that very [mind] has the Emptiness of the Internal (*adhyātma-sūnyatā*)¹⁶¹ as its nature since it opposes errors concerning the self, [that is, what is subjective]. It has the Emptiness of the External (*bahirdhā-sūnyatā*) as its nature

¹⁵⁹*sattvāsattvaviṣayatvāt* (sems can dang sems can ma yin pa'i yul gyi phyir *Tib.* [192.1.4]) *Tib.* supports the Skt. and takes *sattvāsattva* as a dvandva. However, the sense is uncertain and it may be that both the Skt. and *Tib.* are corrupt. Can anger be 'great' because it extends beyond its usual object of (other) living beings to focus on all objects, thus becoming 'objectless'? The epithet 'great', eg. applied to 'compassion', is usually understood to indicate that it is based in realisation of the essencelessness of all *dharma*s and Awareness of the Dharma-Sphere ie. it is 'objectless' (see chapter 4, *Text* 4.51–3).

¹⁶⁰*sarvalobhanisūdāna iti sarvalaukikalokottarasampattipariśodhanārthatvāt*. (chags pa thams cad sel bar byed pa ni 'jig rten dang 'jig rten las 'das pa thams cad kyi phun sum tshogs pa yongs su dag bar byed pa don nyid kyi phir ro *Tib.* [192.1.5–6]). The analysis and interpretation of this sentence is not straightforward. Only MS B attests *sampatti* but it is supported by *Tib.* (phun sum tshogs pa). *Tib.* takes *sarva* to qualify *laukikalokottara* and would translate as "[He is] 'the destroyer of all greed' because he intends the purification of the prosperity of all that is mundane and supramundane". I have taken both *sarva* ("all") and *laukikalokottara* ("mundane and supramundane") to qualify *sampatti* ("excellence", "prosperity", "welfare"). How the whole functions as an explanation of Ratnasambhava as "the destroyer of all greed" is uncertain. Does *sampatti* stand for all that is the usual object of greed?

¹⁶¹This is the first of sixteen Emptinesses (*sūnyatā*) that are correlated with the Names (and deities of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala) of NS 32cd–35. The list corresponds to that found in the *Aṣṭādaśa-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (T 220, t.VII, k. 500, p.604a17; cf. from Lamotte 1976, 2028) and in Vasubandhu's *Madhyāntavibhāṅgabhāṣya* (MAVibhBh on MAVibh 1:17; see Nagao, 24, 15–21), a work with which Vilāsavajra was familiar (see Appendix I). In the MAVibhBh Vasubandhu gives some explanation of the *sūnyatās* and relates them to MAVibh 1:17–20. See *Introduction*, section 5.9 for discussion and tabulation of the correlations. On the sixteen *sūnyatās* see Lamotte's essay (1976, 1995–2043); also his translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra* (*ibid.* 2044–2151).

subjective]. It has the Emptiness of the External (*bahirdhāśūnyatā*) as its nature because of the disappearance of the mental perception of the external, [that is, what is outward, as ultimately real]. It has the Emptiness of the Internal and the External (*adhyātmabahirdhāśūnyatā*) as its nature since it has the non-apprehension [as real] of the body as its nature, which is the substrate of that [internal and external perception]. It has Great Emptiness (*mahāśūnyatā*) as its characteristic because it is free from clinging to the [great and extensive] world of inanimate objects.¹⁶²

So it, [that is, the non-dual mind,] has as its nature the four *samādhis* – [those embodied as] Vajrasattva, [Vajrarāja, Vajrarāga] and [Vajrasādhu] – whose substrate is the Mirror-like Awareness [of Akṣobhya]. Therefore he, [that is, Śākyamuni,] said,

Great object of desire. Great happiness. Great delight. Great joy.
(32cd)

Here **great object of desire** (*mahākāmaḥ*) is Vajrasattva. [The word] ‘*kāmaḥ*’ means ‘that which is desired’, [that is, it is to be understood as ‘object of desire’ rather than ‘desire’]. This means that he, [that is, Vajrasattva as a *samādhi*,] is desirable. **Great happiness** is Vajrarāja, **great delight** is Vajrarāga, [and] **great joy** is Vajrasādhu.

Therefore, these [deities] are ordered in this way since the attainment of the Mirror-like Awareness – that has the nature of a reversion from (*parāvṛtti*) from impressions such as [those produced by] eye and form¹⁶³ – is the mastery of the [non-apprehensions] beginning with the non-apprehension [as real] of what is

¹⁶²Vilāsavajra follows Vasubandhu in relating *adhyātmabahirdhāśūnyatā* to the body and *mahāśūnyatā* to the inanimate world (*bhājanaloka*). See MAVibhBh on MAVibh 1:17.

¹⁶³The ‘reversion’ is the purificatory transformation of the *ālayavijñāna* (‘Receptacle-consciousness’), which, according to the Vijñānavāda, results in the arising of the Mirror-like Awareness. See *Introduction*, section 5.6.

subjective, [that is, the mastery of the four Emptinesses]; and since, individually being the opponents of [different] errors, they cause: the arising of *bodhicitta* [via Vajrasattva]; attraction [via Vajrarāja]; gratification [via Vajrarāga]; and goodness [via Vajrasādhū].

In the same way, that very [mind] is [of the nature of] the Emptiness of Emptiness (*śūnyatāśūnyatā*)¹⁶⁴ since there are no appearances (*nimitta*) even in the awareness of Emptiness. It is [of the nature of] the Emptiness of the Ultimate [truth] (*paramārthaśūnyatā*) because of non-affliction by appearances in Ultimate [truth]. It is [of the nature of] the Emptiness of the Conditioned (*saṃskṛtaśūnyatā*) due to the lack of grasping of appearances in the Merit-Accumulation, which is conditioned. It is [of the nature of] the Emptiness of the Unconditioned (*asaṃskṛtaśūnyatā*) because, in the unconditioned also it does not take hold of any appearance in the Accumulation of Wisdom. So he, [that is, Śākyamuni,] said,

With great appearance, [and] a distinguished body. Great colour, with great beauty. With a great name, great generous one. With a great extensive maṇḍala. (33)

Here, **with great appearance** {*mahā-rūpaḥ*}, **[and] a distinguished body** means Vajraratna. **Appearance** (*rūpam*) means ‘that which is represented (*rūpyate*)’, in other words, ‘what is visible (*vilokyate*)’. It is **great** because, since he is like a wish-fulfilling jewel, he has as his nature the consecration of the Lordship of the Dharma¹⁶⁵ of all the Tathāgatas throughout the triple-sphered [world]. And for this very reason, as he illuminates immeasurable [numbers of] Buddha-fields, he has **a distinguished body**.

¹⁶⁴Vilāsavajra links these four *śūnyatās* with the second Liberation-Door, the Signless (*animitta-vimokṣamukha*).

¹⁶⁵*dharmarājyābhīṣeka*. This consecration is mentioned in chapter 3 in connection with the *mahoṣṇīśakulam*, identified by Vilāsavajra as the *ratna* family of Ratnasambhava (see note 86).

Great colour, with great beauty means Vajrasūrya.¹⁶⁶ [He has the name **great colour** {mahā:varṇaḥ} since he is endowed with six colours.¹⁶⁷ He **has great beauty**¹⁶⁸ {mahā:vapuḥ} because he has the Awareness – consisting of Hearing, Thinking and Realising – of the Dharma-Sphere as his halo.

With a great name, great generous one means Vajraketu. **With a great name** {mahā:nāmā} means possessing great renown. Why? On account of his practicing the Perfection of Giving to the limit. And hence, as he gives everything away, he is a **great generous one** {mahā:udāra}.

With a great extensive maṇḍala means Vajrahāsa (Diamond Laughter). [The word] ‘maṇḍaḥ’ means ‘that which adorns’, [in other words, ‘an ornament’,] in accordance with the verbal root *maṇḍ*,¹⁶⁹ ‘to adorn’. **Maṇḍala** means ‘that which receives (grhṇāti > lāti > -la) an ornament (maṇḍa-)’. It is **extensive** (vipulam > vistīṇam) since it pervades all world-systems. Having a **maṇḍala** [that consists] of laughter, that is, a nature (sāram > [maṇḍam])¹⁷⁰ [so consisting], which is **great** [and] **extensive**, he is [said to have] a **great extensive maṇḍala**

¹⁶⁶The name found in Vajradhātumaṇḍala of the STTS and NiṣpY is Vajratejas rather than Vajrasūrya, though the STTS gives Vajrasūrya as an alternative (see STTS 36, 13).

¹⁶⁷The explanation of *mahāvarṇaḥ* makes the karmadhāraya analysis puzzling; a bahuvrīhi, “Of great colour”, would be more appropriate. Wayman (1985, 70) reports that Smṛtijñānakīrti identifies the ‘six colours’ as the six colours of sunlight. An alternative would be the colours of the six Buddha-families.

¹⁶⁸*Tib.* has *lus bong che* (“of great body size”, “of great body bulk”) for *mahāvapuḥ*. Though *vapus* does mean ‘form’, ‘figure’, it more especially indicates a beautiful or handsome form, ie. ‘beauty’ (in a parallel way to *rūpin*). This reading accords better with Vilāsavajra’s explanation of the Name in terms of a halo.

¹⁶⁹*maḍi bhūṣāyām* (= DhP 10.49).

¹⁷⁰*sāram* (‘nature’). See textual note 5.102 for a discussion of some problems associated with this passage. Vilāsavajra may be alluding here to a different gloss of *maṇḍala* where *maṇḍa-* is glossed as *sāram* (‘heart’, ‘essence’ or ‘nature’) rather than as ‘adornment’, and *-la* glossed as ‘grasping’ or ‘enclosing’. An example is provided by Lessing and Wayman (1968, 270, note 1) who cite Padmavajra’s STTS subcommentary, the *Tantrārthāvatārvyākhyāna*: “‘Maṇḍala’ means an ‘enclosing of essence’ (maṇḍa-la) because of having the ‘essence’ in the sense of ‘enclosing’ it.” (dkyil ’khor ni dkyil ’khor du ldan pas dkyil ’khor)” (Tōh 2502; 96b-3). This analysis appears to have become the one most commonly followed by Buddhist Tantric commentators, though it is not certain whether it was current at the time of Vilāsavajra. However, if Padmavajra was a disciple of Buddhaguhya he may have been a contemporary of Vilāsavajra.

{mahāvipula;maṇḍalaḥ}. This is because he, [that is, Mañjuśrī,] causes the illumination of the three worlds.¹⁷¹

And so, [that mind] has as its nature the tetrad [of deities], Vajraratna, [Vajrasūrya, Vajraketu] and [Vajrahāsa] – the retinue of the Awareness of Equality. This is due to the lack of appearances as [previously] described – such as the [division into] subject [and object] – in the Awareness of Equality, which has a reversion from the defiled mind as its nature. And because, via the abandoning of their respective obstacles, they cause: [the bestowal of] consecration [as Vajraratna]; increase of radiance [as Vajrasūrya]; the enjoining of the Perfection of Giving [as Vajraketu]; and attainment of joy [as Vajrahāsa], this, beginning with Vajraratna, is their order.

That same [mind] is [of the nature of] the Emptiness of the Endless (atyantaśūnyatā) because it does not cling to the desire for [achieving] the aims of endless beings.¹⁷² It is [of the nature of] the Emptiness of that Without Beginning or End (anavarāgraśūnyatā) because it is unattached to the desire, “I must not abandon the beginningless, endless world”. It is [of the nature of] the Emptiness of Non-Discarding (anavakāraśūnyatā) because it is free from clinging to [the thought], “When I am in the condition of Extinction that is free from all attachment, I must not discard that which is good”. It is [of the nature of] the Emptiness of the Innate (prakṛtiśūnyatā) because it is free from the desire, “I must purify the predispositions (gotra) that are innate, [rather than acquired] in nature”.¹⁷³

¹⁷¹*trailokyābhāsakaravāt*. This must allude to NS 18 where Śākyamuni’s smile illuminates the three worlds (ie. the earth, the atmosphere and the heavens).

smitaṃ saṃdarśya lokānāṃ apāyatrayaśodhanam /
trailokyābhāsakaraṇaṃ catumārīśāsanam // (NS 18)

For comment on *trailokyābhāsakaraṇaṃ* see Text 2.23–25.

¹⁷²Vilāsavajra associates this and the following three *śūnyatās* with the third Liberation-Door, the Wishless (apraṇihitavimokṣamukha).

¹⁷³The allusion here is probably to the Vijñānavāda classification of *bījas* contained in the *ālaya-vijñāna* (see VijñMāSi 562): “gotra is twofold, innate and acquired” (gotraṃ dvividhaṃ prakṛtiṣṭhaṃ

So he, [that is, Śākyamuni,] said,

Great bearer of the weapon of wisdom. [Being] the great goad of the defilements, foremost. Of great fame, of great renown. Possessing great light, of great splendour. (34)

Here, Vajradharma is the **great bearer of the weapon of wisdom** {mahā:prajñāyudhadharo}. The **wisdom** is the Discriminating Awareness. Since he has that Awareness as his nature, he is the **bearer of** that very [wisdom], which is a **weapon** (āyudham > śāstram).

The **great goad of the defilements** {mahā:kleśāṅkuśaḥ}, **foremost** means Vajratikṣṇa. The **defilements** (kleśa) are passion and so forth [and it is] these¹⁷⁴ he is the **goad** of {kleśāṅkuśaḥ}. He is like a goad¹⁷⁵ since he has attained control over the defilements. This is why he is **foremost** (agraṇīḥ > śreṣṭhaḥ).

Of great fame, of great renown means Vajrahetu.¹⁷⁶ He is **of great fame** {mahā:yaśāḥ}, because he, [that is, Mañjuśrī,] has as his nature the lordship¹⁷⁷ of all the maṇḍala deities taught in the Tantra¹⁷⁸ that are the means of ripening beings. For this very reason he is **of great renown** {mahā:kīrtiḥ}. [And his renown is] **great** in that it pervades the world systems completely, without remainder.

samudānītaṃ ca, BoBh 3.1). In other contexts *gotra* means ‘lineage’ or ‘family’, eg. Śrāvaka-gotra, Pratyekabuddha-gotra, Tathāgata-gotra (VijñMāSi 103).

¹⁷⁴*teṣāṃ aṅkuśabhūtatvāt kleśāṅkuśaḥ* (Text 5.121). Here, *aṅkuśabhūtatvāt* has to be taken as a sāpekṣasamāsa, *teṣāṃ* qualifying *aṅkuśa* instead of *aṅkuśabhūtatvāt*.

¹⁷⁵*aṅkuśa*, ‘a goad’. This especially denotes the hooked implement used by elephant drivers, which is an instrument of control.

¹⁷⁶*vajrahetu* (rdo rje rgyu *Tib.*). In reading *vajrahetu* I follow two Skt. MSS and *Tib.*. *Vajrahetu*, already identified with NS 33c, is the reading of the remaining MSS.

¹⁷⁷*cakravartisvabhāvatvāt*. There is a play on the word *cakra* (‘wheel’) here: a *maṇḍala* is shaped like a wheel – the word *cakra* is often used as a synonym for *maṇḍala* – and Vilāsavajra’s word for ‘lord’ (cakravartin) means ‘wheel turner’.

¹⁷⁸It is unclear whether it is Tantra in general or the *Māyājāla*, the Tantra from which the NS is purportedly taken, that is referred to here.

Possessing great light, of great splendour means Vajrabhāṣa.¹⁷⁹ [In the phrase] **possessing great light** (jyotiḥ > diptiḥ){mahā:jyotiḥ}, [the light is described as **great**] in that it diffuses throughout the triple-sphered [universe]. And therefore he is **of great splendour** {mahā:dyutiḥ} since he shines forth in the mental continua of all beings at the time of [mantra] recitation as the silence that is the avoidance of the defects of [pronounced] speech, whether [they be] of quick, medium or slow [speech].

And therefore, [that same mind] has as its nature [the tetrad of deities], Vajradharma, [Vajratīkṣṇa, Vajrahetu] and [Vajrabhāṣa], whose substrate is the Discriminating Awareness – which [in turn] has as its nature a reversion from the [falsely] discriminating mind. This is because of the discrimination of the truth concerning all phenomena – due to the separation from the errors as previously stated – in the Discriminating Awareness. And because, as those [deities], it causes: the naturally pure dharmatā (as Vajradharma); Wisdom-Knowledge (as Vajratīkṣṇa); non-turning back (as Vajrahetu); and the understanding of the intended meanings of all [speech] (Vajrabhāṣa); this is the order of these [four deities] starting with Vajradharma.

That very [mind] is [of the nature of] the Emptiness of Marks (lakṣaṇaśūnyatā) because of non-involvement with respect to the Form Body (rūpakāya) that consists of the [thirty-two major] marks and [eighty] minor marks.¹⁸⁰ It is [of the nature of] the Emptiness of All Dharmas (sarvadharmasūnyatā) because of non-involvement with respect to the Body of Dharmas (dharmakāya), which has as its nature such [dharmas] as powers and confidences. It is [of the nature of] the Emptiness of Non-Being (abhāvaśūnyatā) because of the lack of attribution [of ultimate existence] to

¹⁷⁹See textual note 5.127 for discussion of the possibility of reading Vajrabhāsa (Diamond Light) rather than Vajrabhāṣa (Diamond Speech).

¹⁸⁰This and the following three *śūnyatās* are associated with the fourth Liberation-Door, Non-Involvement (anabhisamṣkāravimokṣamukha).

persons and things. And it is [of the nature of] the Emptiness of Non-Being and Essence (abhāvasvabhāvaśūnyatā) because of non-involvement in reviling the nature of Emptiness as it has been explained.¹⁸¹ And therefore he, [that is, Śākyamuni,] declared,

Great creation-holder, [and so] wise. Great adept by means of the utility of creation. Great one, fond of the pleasure in creation. Great knower of the net of creation. (35)

Here, **great creation-holder** {mahā:māyādharaḥ},¹⁸² **[and so] wise** means Vajraviśva. [By] **creation** (māyā) is [meant] the creation (nirmāṇa) of varied, extensive and lofty worship for all the Tathāgatas. One who possesses this is called a **creation-holder** {māyā²dharaḥ}. For this very reason he is **wise** (vidvān > paṇḍitaḥ), since by this act of worship he acquires the Provision of Merit (puṇyasambhāra).

Great adept by means of the utility of creation is Vajrarakṣa {mahā:māyārthasādhakaḥ}. An **adept** (sādhakaḥ) **by means of the utility of creation** (māyārthaḥ > nirmāṇārthaḥ) is one who expertly guides (sādhayati), that is, urges on, lazy beings through that [power of creation].

Great one, fond of the pleasure in creation means Vajrayakṣa {mahā:māyāratirataḥ}. He is **fond of** (rataḥ > saktaḥ) **the pleasure in creation** {māyā⁷ratih} {māyāratih⁷rataḥ}, that is, [fond] of the pleasure in the creation of worship for the Tathāgatas.

¹⁸¹yathoktaśūnyatālakṣaṇāpavādānabhisamkāraṇāt (ji skad gsungs pa'i stong pa nyid kyi mtshan nyid la skur pa 'debs pa dang mngon par 'du mi byed pa'i phyir na *Tib.*[193.1.1]), "because of non-involvement in reviling the nature of Emptiness as it has been explained". I am not certain of the sense here. The 'nature of Emptiness as explained' might be reviled if, for instance, it is perceived as being nihilist. The translation follows *Tib.*; an alternative, "because of non-involvement in reviling, which is empty by nature as has been stated" is more difficult to ascribe doctrinal sense.

¹⁸²Wayman (1985, 70) and Davidson (1981, 23), following *NS.Tib.* (mkhas pa sgyu 'phrul chen po 'chang *Mukherji* 23) take *mahā* to qualify *māyā*. Thus, Wayman: "holding the great illusion".

Great knower of the net of creation {mahā:māyendrajālikah} is Vajramuṣṭi (Diamond Fist). **The net of creation**, that is to say, the assemblage of creations, refers to the unity of the Diamonds of Body, Speech and Mind. A **knower of the net of creation** is one who knows that¹⁸³ [unity]. It should be understood that the absence of *vṛddhi* here, [that is, the word ‘indrajālikah’ is used rather than the grammatically correct form, ‘aindrajālikah’,] is due to the text being scriptural.

And so, there being the Awareness of the Performance of Action that has a reversion from consciousnesses such as [those arising in conjunction with the] eye, [ear and nose,] as its nature, this [very mind] is of the nature of the tetrad – Vajrakarma,¹⁸⁴ [Vajrarakṣa, Vajrayakṣa,] and [Vajramuṣṭi] – that has the Awareness of the Performance of Action as its substate. Because, through the diminution of the [previously] stated misapprehensions, they cause: the worship of all the Sugatas [as Vajraviśva]; protection [as Vajrarakṣa]; the pacification of obstacles [as Vajrayakṣa]; [and the arising of the] Awareness of Emptiness with respect to the body and so forth [as Vajramuṣṭi]; the order of these [deities] that start with Vajraviśva is this.

Hence, since it is the obstacle to envy, immoral conduct, impatience and laziness, that very [mind] has the Perfections of Generosity, Moral Conduct, Patience and Energy as its nature.

¹⁸³*tad veti māyendrajālikah* (Text 5.153). Taking *-ika* in the sense of “one who knows ...” can be derived from Pāṇini (AA 4.2.59–60): *tad adhīte tad veda / kratūkthādisūtrāntāṭ ṭhak*, ‘[When the meaning is] “one who studies X” or “one who knows X”, ṭhak [is the affix] after (i) [names of] sacrifices, (ii) [the word] uktha etc., [and a compound] whose final member is [the word] sūtra’. The meaning ‘one who knows the net of creation’ is justified by treating the expression “[the word] uktha etc.” as indicating an *ākṛtigāṇah*, ie. a list that gives examples of words, rather than all the words, subject to a rule. Another Buddhist example of this treatment of *-ika* is Yaśomitra’s explanation of the term Vaibhāṣika as ‘one who knows the Vibhāṣā’ (see AKBhVyā on AK 1.3). I am indebted to Prof. A. Sanderson for this note.

¹⁸⁴Vajrakarma is the name for which Vajraviśva is given as an alternative in the STTS (35, 1; 36, 13).

Hence he, [that is, Śākyamuni,] said,

Great lord of gifts, the best. Great possessor of moral conduct, [and so] foremost. Great bearer of patience, unshakable. Great strength of vigour. (36)

Here, **great lord of gifts, the best** {mahā:dānapatiḥ śreṣṭhaḥ} means Vajralāsyā (Lady of Diamond Play). **Lord of gifts** {dāna⁶patiḥ} means lord of ‘that which is given’,¹⁸⁵ [given] out of a desire to confer benefit through worship. He is **the best** since he is the most eminent in the whole world, inasmuch as he bestows the Four Gifts of worldly objects, fearlessness, the Dharma and consecration.

Vajramālā (Lady with a Diamond Garland) is [the deity denoted by] **Great possessor of moral conduct, [and so] foremost** {mahā:śīladharo ’graṇīḥ}. Because of [Mañjuśrī’s] concentration of body, speech and mind [the word] ‘śīla’ (**moral conduct**) [is used]. [It is to be understood in the sense of ‘concentration’], since ‘to be concentrated’¹⁸⁶ is a meaning of the verbal root *śīl*. It, [that is, **moral conduct**,] is characterised by abstention from the ten evil [acts] and has the code of precepts as its nature. The **possessor of moral conduct** {śīla²dharah} is for that very reason **foremost**, that is, is one who goes in front.

Great bearer of patience, unshakable {mahā:kṣāntidharo dhīrah} means Vajragītā (Lady of Diamond Song). **Bearer of patience** – that is to say, [bearer of] tolerance (kṣamanam), [or] forbearance (titikṣā) – means ‘one possessing that [patience]’ {kṣānti²dharah}. And hence, he is **unshakable** (dhīrah) since he has firmness (dhairya) as a support even when among great sufferings.

¹⁸⁵Thus *dānapatiḥ* is glossed as ‘lord of gifts’ rather than ‘lord of [the act of] giving’.

¹⁸⁶*śīla samādhau* (= DhP 25.16).

Great strength of vigour (*mahāvīryaparākramah*) means *Vajranṛtyā* (Lady of Diamond Dance). **Vigour** (*vīrya*) means effort (*utsāha*) with respect to [developing] what is good. Vigour for what is evil and so forth, however, because of being lazy, is nothing but laziness; it is not **vigour**. He, [that is, *Mañjuśrī*,] is the **[great] strength** (*parākramah*) of that [vigour] {*vīrya*⁶*parākramah*} since he has completed the roots of merit [that are the basis] of all worldly and super-worldly [achievements].¹⁸⁷

And so it, [that is, the non-dual mind,] has the tetrad of secret worship [goddesses, namely, *Vajralāsyā*, *Vajramālā*, *Vajragītā* and *Vajranṛtyā*,] as its nature, because, when the [four] Awarenesses – the Mirror-like [Awareness] and so forth – arise in order, they give rise to special kinds of spontaneous¹⁸⁸ aesthetic delight by virtue of the purity of their respective Doors of Liberation.¹⁸⁹

Because that same [enlightened mind] is free from stupidity,¹⁹⁰ from distraction,¹⁹¹ from incorrect resolve, and from the power of obstacles, he, [that is, *Śākyamuni*,] declared,

¹⁸⁷*sarvalaukikalokottarakuśalamūlaparipūrāṇāt* ('jig rten dang 'jig rten las 'das pa thams cad kyi dge ba'i rtsa ba las yongs su rdzogs par byed pa'o *Tib.* [193.3.5])

I follow *Tib.*'s reading of *sarva* qualifying *laukikalokottara* rather than *kuśalamūla* (*jig rten dang 'jig rten las 'das pa thams cad*). The latter alternative, "...since he has completed all worldly and super-worldly roots of merit" is unsatisfactory since 'roots of merit' are not so distinguished. Merit can, however, be directed to either worldly or supermundane purposes. The *kuśalamūla* are variously listed, eg., *alobha*, *adveṣa*, *amoha* (*DhSaṃ* 138); *bodhicittotpāda*, *āśayaviśuddhi*, *ahaṃkāramama-kāraparityāga* (*DhSaṃ* 15).

¹⁸⁸*anābhoga* (*lhun gyis grub pa Tib.* [193.3.6]).

¹⁸⁹The enlightened mind is described as manifesting goddesses that embody forms of spontaneous delight that result from the purity of the *vimokṣamukhas* (*śūnyatā*, *animitta*, *apraṇihita* and *anabhisamskāra*) on the attainment of the four Awarenesses (*jñāna*). I have taken the compound ending *-niṣpattau* as a locative absolute (*Text* 5.178–179).

¹⁹⁰*dausprajñā* (*shes rab 'chal ba Tib.* [193.3.6]). This term is usually taken as an adjective meaning 'unwise' as is its non-*vṛddhi* form *duṣprajñā*. Here, being the opposite of *prajñā*, it must be understood in a nominal sense, ie. as *dausprajñatva*.

¹⁹¹*vikṣepaḥ*. The term *avikṣepaḥ* is classified as a supplementary positive mental event (*kuśalacaitta*) in *Yogācāra Abhidharma* (see *VijñMāSi* 338). Here *vikṣepa* is seen as the opponent to the concentration of the Perfection of Meditation (*dhyānapāramitā*).

Dweller in concentration in great meditation. Possessor of a body of great wisdom. Great power, great [skill in] means. Resolve, ocean of knowledge. (37)

It should be understood that in this verse [the parts dealing with] meditation and wisdom are reversed in order;¹⁹² and so the meaning is as follows.

Possessor of a body of great wisdom {mahāprajñāśarīra²dhṛk} means Vajradhūpā (Lady of Diamond Incense). **Great wisdom** {mahā:prajñā} is [to be understood as] **a body** {mahāprajñā:śarīra}. He is ‘one who possesses that [body]’.

Dweller in concentration in great meditation is Vajrapuṣpā (Lady of the Diamond Flower) {mahādhyāna²samādhisthaḥ}. [Mañjuśrī is a] **dweller in concentration** {samādhi²sthaḥ}, that is to say, in one-pointedness of mind, **in great meditation** {mahā:dhyāna}. [It is called] **great** because it has the Four Meditation States as its nature. He is in the state of *samādhi* in those Four Meditation States.

Resolve (praṇidhiḥ)¹⁹³ is Vajradīpā (Lady of Diamond Light). [The word] ‘praṇidhiḥ’ means ‘that which is vowed’, [that is, a ‘vow’ or ‘resolve’, rather than ‘one who vows’]. [He is so-described] because through the power of resolve Bodhi-sattvas are produced.

¹⁹²Though Vilāsavajra thus states that the order of enunciation (pāṭhakrama) is not that of the meaning (arthakrama) it is not certain how this should be understood. He might be stating that, in terms of meaning, the *pāda* on wisdom should precede that on meditation, and that he will comment on them in this order, inverting their NS order. However, the standard list of *pāramitās* always has *dhyānapāramitā* before *prajñāpāramitā* and in the following gloss there is no reason given for treating *prajñā* first. An alternative explanation is that Vilāsavajra’s NS exemplar had the *pādas* reversed, ie. with the *pāda* on *prajñā* coming first, and though he follows the order before him he notes that the usual order has been inverted. The problem with this account is that the extant MSS have the preceding citation of NS 37 in the usual order. It would have to be argued that later scribes restored or changed the order of the *pādas* in the citation.

¹⁹³Again (see note preceding) Vilāsavajra appears to take epithets *praṇidhiḥ* and *mahopāyaḥ* in reverse order. It also reverses the usual order of the *pāramitās*.

Great [skill in] means {mahā:upāyaḥ} means Vajragandhā (Lady of Diamond Scent). He, [the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī,] is so-called since, through the power of his [skill in] means, he fulfils the aims of the whole mass of beings without exception, according to their needs.

Therefore, since it is characterised by the Perfections of Wisdom, Meditation, Resolve and [Skill in] Means, it, [namely, that same non-dual mind,] has the tetrad of the external offering [goddesses – Vajradhūpā, Vajrapuṣpā, Vajradīpā and Vajragandhā –] as its nature.

Since power (*bala*) and knowledge (*jñāna*),¹⁹⁴ being the cause of joy on the Path of Enjoyment (*sāmbhogikamārga*), are introductions to the Dharma-Sphere, these two alone, power and knowledge, are separated [from the other Perfections].¹⁹⁵ ‘Power’ refers to the Five [Powers] of faith, [energy, mindfulness, concentration] and [wisdom].¹⁹⁶ ‘Knowledge’ [is to be understood] within [the context of, either] the Path of Vision or the Path of Development: with respect to the Path of Vision it refers to the [seven] Auxiliaries to Enlightenment (*bodhyaṅga*);¹⁹⁷ with respect to the Path of Development it refers to the eight Auxiliaries of the Noble Ones (*āryāṣṭāṅga*).¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁴Vilāsavajra thus treats the *pāramitās* in the following order: *dāna*, *śīla*, *vīrya*, *kṣānti*, *prajñā*, *dhyāna*, *prañidhi*, *upāya*, *bala*, *jñāna*. The usual order of enumeration is *dāna*, *śīla*, *vīrya*, *kṣānti*, *dhyāna*, *prajñā*, *upāya*, *prañidhi*, *bala*, *jñāna* (DhSam 17–18).

¹⁹⁵As introductions to the Dharma-Sphere rather than as embodiments of it Vilāsavajra is placing *bala* and *jñāna* on a lower level than the other *pāramitās*. This allows him to use *mahābalaḥ* of the NS to stand for the gate guardians, who are usually regarded as of a lower status than the other maṇḍala deities.

¹⁹⁶The standard list of the five Powers (*bala*) is, *śraddhā* (‘faith’), *vīrya* (‘energy’), *smṛti* (‘mindfulness’), *samādhi* (‘concentration’) and *prajñā* (‘wisdom’) (DhSam 47). It corresponds also to the five *indriyas*.

¹⁹⁷The seven, also referred to as *sambodhyaṅga* are, *smṛti* (‘mindfulness’), *dharmapraṇipāt* (‘discrimination of realities’), *vīrya* (‘effort’), *prīti* (‘joy’), *praśrabdhi* (‘calm’), *samādhi* (‘concentration’), and *upekṣā* (‘equanimity’) (DhSam 49; MVy 988–99).

¹⁹⁸The eight principal components of the Path (*mārga*) for Mainstream Buddhism: *saṃyagdr̥ṣṭi* (‘perfect view’), *saṃyaksamkalpa* (‘perfect thought’), *saṃyagvāc* (‘perfect speech’), *saṃyakkarmānta* (‘perfect action’), *saṃyagājīva* (‘perfect livelihood’), *saṃyagvyāyāma* (‘perfect effort’), *saṃyaksamṛti* (‘perfect mindfulness’), and *saṃyaksamādhi* (‘perfect concentration’) (MVy 997–1004).

And therefore, because it has [the **powers** of] faith, energy, mindfulness and concentration as its character, it, [that is, the non-dual mind,] is of the nature of the four gate-guardians [of the maṇḍala]¹⁹⁹ since they cause full confidence in the Mahāyāna, exertion, uninterruptedness of those [previous results], and complete satisfaction [respectively].

That same [mind], in relation to the purity of [its power of] wisdom alone, has sixteen *samādhis* – starting with [that embodied as] Maitreya²⁰⁰ – as its nature, [ordered] according to the divisions of [the sixteen] Emptinesses that have been previously stated. Therefore he, [that is, Śākyamuni,] declared,

Great one, made of friendliness, [and so] immeasurable. Of great compassion, supreme wisdom. Great wise one, [and hence] very intelligent. Possessed of great [skill in] means, [and so] very learned.²⁰¹ (38)

Here **great one, made of friendliness, [and so] immeasurable** means Maitreya. [The term ‘maitrī’ (**friendliness**) is derived from the word ‘mitram’ (‘friend’) as follows:] ‘maitram’ means ‘that which is connected with a friend

¹⁹⁹The epithet ‘great strength’ (mahābalaḥ) in NS 37 stands for the four guardians of the gates (dvārapālāḥ), the first four *balas* in the list of five being taken as the bases for the deities. The four guardians of the Vajradhātumaṇḍala are usually Vajrāṅkuśa (East), Vajrapāśa (South), Vajrasphoṭa (West) and Vajrāveśa (North). Vilāsavajra must have had these in mind given that in chapter 4 he enumerates the maṇḍala-deities as starting with Sattvavajrī and finishing with Vajrāveśa (*Text* 4.98–99).

²⁰⁰Maitreya is the first of a set of sixteen Bodhisattvas that are enumerated in the commentary to the following four verses. Identifying the Bodhisattvas as *samādhis* continues Vilāsavajra’s exegesis of the maṇḍala as being composed of Mahāvairocana and attendant deities understood at a deeper level as the non-dual enlightened mind and its various *samādhis*.

²⁰¹*mahākṛtī* (‘greatly learned’). Davidson and Wayman read *mahākṛtiḥ* (‘action’, ‘activity’) and translate accordingly: “with profound performance” (Davidson 1981, 23); “great deed” (Wayman 1985, 72). See textual note 5.205.

(mitram)'; then, it has the suffix *-ī* [added] at the end [to give 'maitrī'].²⁰² Therefore²⁰³ he, [that is, Mañjuśrī,] is **made of friendliness** (maitrīmayah) – that is, he is of the nature of friendliness – towards all living beings. Being a **great one, made of friendliness** {mahā:maitrīmayah} he is **immeasurable**, since, for the whole [immeasurable] mass of living beings, he possesses the love [one feels] for an only son.

Of great compassion, supreme wisdom means Mañjuśrī. Great compassion is [compassion that is] objectless. Possessing that [sort of compassion] he is **of great compassion. Supreme wisdom** refers to the Awareness of the Perfectly Pure Dharma-Sphere.²⁰⁴ And therefore it has been said,

The Fortunate One has loftiness, [that is, compassion,] and depth, [that is, wisdom,] as his nature.

Great wise one, [and so] very intelligent means Gandhahastin.²⁰⁵ He is **wise**, since he possesses great wisdom, [that is, wisdom] that has the discriminating comprehension of *dharma*s as its nature. Being the **great wise one** {mahā:prājñah}, he is **very intelligent**.

²⁰²*paścān nībantam* ("then, it has the suffix *-ī* [added] at the end"). This passage is concerned with deriving *maitrī* ('friendliness') from *maitram*, which is derived in turn from *mitram* ('a friend') as a *vrddhi* form in the most general way by means of a genitive of connection: *mitram asyāstīti maitram* (Text 5.206).

²⁰³*tataḥ* (de ni *Tib*/193.5.4/). The force of the word 'therefore' is unclear. *Tib.*'s "As for that [friendliness]" may be better.

²⁰⁴*agradhīr iti suviśuddhadharmadhātujñānam*. Vilāsavajra takes *agradhīḥ* as a karmadhāraya as opposed to the more idiomatic adjectival bahuvrīhi ("possessing supreme wisdom"). Given that the second word of the other three quarter-verses is an adjective, the most natural translation of *agradhīḥ* would be to also take it in an adjectival sense. The exegesis of this *pāda* also breaks the pattern of the other three, which take the concatenative form "[He is] X, and therefore (ata eva) Y". This would be inappropriate here as it would make wisdom dependent upon compassion. Making *agradhīḥ* a substantive, however, identifies Mañjuśrījñānasattva as wisdom while keeping compassion as an attribute. The traditional ascendance of wisdom is all the more important here given that the deity denoted by the quarter-verse is the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. Thus, Mañjuśrījñānasattva as Non-dual Awareness is here depicted as taking the form of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī.

²⁰⁵The name Gandhahastin denotes an elephant in must (BHSD 210).

Possessed of great [skill in] means, [and so] very learned means Jñānaketu.²⁰⁶ Being **possessed of great [skill in] means** {mahā:upāyah}²⁰⁷ he is **very learned** (mahākṛtī > mahāpaṇḍitaḥ), since he explains the Dharma clearly, on account of knowing the dispositions and propensities of all living beings.

Great one, endowed with the strength of magical power. Possessed of great impetus, [and thus] with great speed. Possessed of great magical power, named 'Great Lord'. Strong in great powers.
(39)

Here **great one, endowed with the strength of magical power** is Bhadrāpāla {ṛddhiḥbala}{ṛddhibala²upetaḥ}{mahā:ṛddhibalopetaḥ}.

Possessed of great impetus, [and thus] with great speed means Sāgaramati. He is **possessed of great impetus**{mahā:vegaḥ}, that is, [of great] power of progress, since he appears in many world spheres due to being motivated to attend and worship all the Tathāgatas. For this very reason he is said to be **with great speed**.

Possessed of great magical power, named 'Great Lord' means Akṣayamati. He is **possessed of great magical power** because he has the Provision of Merit belonging to wordly [beings], Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas. He is **named 'Great Lord'** as he has completed the Provision of Knowledge belonging to all the Tathāgatas.

Strong in great powers means Pratibhānakūṭaḥ. He is **strong**, that is, exerts vigour, **in the great powers** {mahā:bala}{mahābala-7parākramaḥ}, that is, with respect to the Ten Powers of the Tathāgata, which will be [fully] enumerated later²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶Jñānaketu is elsewhere the name of a *samādhi* (MVy 559).

²⁰⁷*mahopāyah*. In NS 37c (mahābalo mahopāyah) *mahopāyah* is analysed as a karmadhāraya ('great [skill in] means'). The present bahuvrīhi analysis provides a contrast.

²⁰⁸The *daśa tathāgatabalāni* are listed in NMAA chapter 6.

– [and] the first of which is, “The Knowledge Of What Is Possible And What Is Im-possible”.

Great shatterer of the mountain of existence. Bearer of the great vajra, solid. Great fierce one, greatly ferocious. Creating fear in ‘Great Fear’. (40)

Here, **great shatterer of the mountain of existence** means Mahāsthāma-prāpta {mahā:bhavādrisaṃbhattā}. **Existence** (bhavaḥ) refers to the five constituents [that are the basis] for clinging. Those same [constituents] are a **mountain** (adri){bhava:adri} since they are, [individually,] rocks (śaila) of ignorance.²⁰⁹ Because he has obtained correct and rightly oriented Awareness he is a **shatterer** (saṃbhattā) of that [mountain of ignorance]{bhavādriśsaṃbhattā}, that is, his practice is [its] destruction.

Bearer of the great vajra {mahāvajra²dharah}, **solid** means Sarvāpāyañ-jaha. **The great vajra** denotes Awareness that is completely beneficent (samanta-bhadrajñāna). Because he, [that is, Mañjuśrī,] is firm and since he has a material form he is [described as] **solid**.

Great fierce one, greatly ferocious means Sarvaśokatamonirghātamati. He is a **great fierce one**{mahā:krūro}²¹⁰ since he displays a very wrathful form to beings that are hard to control. **Greatly ferocious**: though peaceful, Mañjuśrī, the Fortunate One, also displays ferocity through a desire to discipline living beings.

²⁰⁹ta evādrir ajñānaśailatvāt. Alternatively: “Those same [constituents] are a ‘mountain’ (adri) as they are a mountain (śaila) of ignorance”. Both translations are possible, with ‘constituents’ taken either individually or collectively, since śailaḥ can mean ‘mountain’ or ‘rock’. Tib./194.2.2/ takes it as ‘rock’ (brag).

²¹⁰The translation, “great fierce one” follows Vilāsavajra’s karmadhāraya analysis. More idiomatic would be “greatly fierce”. The translation of *mahāraudra* should perhaps follow the same pattern as *mahākrūraḥ*, but the fact that Vilāsavajra does not give a grammatical analysis suggests he took it in its natural idiomatic sense, “very ferocious”.

Creating fear in ‘Great Fear’ {mahābhaya²abhayaṃ²karah} means Jālinī-prabha. ‘**Great Fear**’ is [the name of] Śaṃkara, [namely, Śiva,] in his Mahā-bhairava (“Greatly Terrifying”) aspect. He, [that is, Mañjuśrī,] produces fear even in him.

Master of the great spells, [and so] protector. Master of the great mantra, [and so] guru. Established on the path of the Great Way. Master of the path of the Great Way. (41)

Here **master of the great spells** (mahāvidyottamah), **[and so] protector** is Candraprabha. **The great spells** {mahā:vidyāḥ} are the four *dhāraṇīs* that are characterised by text, meaning, mantra and seal. He is their **master** {mahāvidyā⁶uttamah}. For this very reason he is a **protector** from [birth in] all the bad destinies since he completely purifies the behaviour of body, speech and mind of all beings.

Master of the great mantra (mahāmantrottamah), **[and so] guru** means Amitaprabha. **The great mantra** {mahā:mantraḥ} is that which has the Great Seal as its nature. He is its **master** (uttamah > śreṣṭhaḥ) {mahāmantra⁶uttamah}. For this very reason he is a **guru** since, knowing the dispositions and propensities of all living beings, [he gives] the special teaching of the spiritual realisations.

Established (ārūḍhaḥ > sthitaḥ) **on the path** (nayaḥ > mārgaḥ) **of the Great Way** means Gaganagañja {mahāyāna⁶nayaḥ} {mahāyānanaya⁷ārūḍhaḥ}. The meaning of **the Great Way** will be explained next.

Master of the path of the Great Way is Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin. The **Great Way** is, [in its ultimate nature, to be understood as] the non-objectifying Awareness (jñāna) which comes about from realising the inexpressible [common] nature of Samsāra and Nirvāṇa. Alternatively, the support nature of the **Great Way**

can be summarised as a threefold supremacy: of provisions, method, and of scope.²¹¹ If that is so, [that is, if the **Great Way** is seen in these latter terms], in what sense is it ‘**Great**’? The Buddhas, the Fortunate Ones, benefit all living beings. So it is they who are ‘**Great**’ [and] it is their ‘**Way**’, which they [gain] for the sake of perfection and cessation. Therefore, the **Great Way** is the **Way** of those associated with it; in other words, **Great Way** means ‘The Way of the Great {mahāyāna}’. Alternatively, it is [called] the **Great Way** by virtue of being great in seven ways: because of the greatness of its basis, practice, wisdom, energy, skill in means, attainment and [enlightened] activity. [From this perspective] **Great Way** means ‘The Way which is Great {mahāyāna}’. [It is so described] since these [factors] do not exist in any other Way.

This, in brief, is the threefold [meaning of the expression] **Great Way**. It should be understood as having meanings which explain [i.] the motive (hetu) [for following it, namely, the attainment of non-objectifying Awareness], [ii.] those to whom it applies (gocara), [namely, Buddhas,] and [iii.] its nature (svabhāva), [namely, its sevenfold greatness].²¹²

This is the case,²¹³ [namely, that Mañjuśrī is the **master of the path of the Great Way**] because, by depending on his [skill in] means alone, the Fortunate One, the Knowledge-Being [Mañjuśrī], the Knowledge-Body of all the Tathāgatas, has all the worldly and superworldly *samādhis* as his nature.

²¹¹For *sambhāropāya*- (‘provisions, method’) *Tib.* reads ‘*khōr ba’i gnas thabs dang* {samsāropāya}. See textual note 5.258.

²¹²It is unclear here whether the threefold meaning of Mahāyāna includes its initial definition as non-objectifying Awareness. I have translated as though it does. If it does not, there should surely be a correspondence with the threefold supremacy (of provisions, method, and of scope). Yet after the initial definition, only two further explanations of ‘Mahāyāna’ are given, one of its scope (gocara) and one of its ‘greatnesses’. For discussion of *Tib.* see latter part of textual note 5.258.

²¹³*tad evam* (de nyid *Tib.* [194.4.2]). The sense of this passage (*Text* 5.267-8) is uncertain. It is unclear what *tad evam* refers to (*Tib.* appears to have read *tad eva*). Provisionally, I take it to be to previous explanations of the term Mahāyāna.

It should be understood that ‘Mañjuśrī, the best of the glorious’,²¹⁴ the Knowledge-Being who dwells in the heart of all the Tathāgatas, is qualified [in the *Nāmasaṃgīti*] by phrases, the words of which are Name-mantras,²¹⁵ the first of which is “**Namely, [he is] the Fortunate One, the Awakened One, the Fully Awakened One, born from the letter A**”.²¹⁶ [These phrases] are summary utterances²¹⁷ characterised as [being comprised of a series of] predicates, [and] lacking verbs.

And these maṇḍala-deities – Vajrasattva and [the rest of the deities of the Vajradhātumahāmaṇḍala] – by virtue of their union with the Great Seal (mahāmudrā), go forth endowed with their own [distinguishing] colours and implements.²¹⁸ And having issued forth they perform the activities of the Buddhas for [the benefit] of all living beings in all world spheres. Returning [to the maṇḍala], they become words that are the Name-mantras, coloured with the hues of their own families. One should imagine [them] placed in order on the moon-disc seats of the great Vajradhātu maṇḍala that were arranged earlier.²¹⁹ [Then] generating the conviction that one possesses the appearance, indicated earlier,²²⁰ of the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī, the Knowledge-Body of all the Tathāgatas, who dwells at the centre of the circle of those [maṇḍala deities], ‘a son of a [good] family or a daughter of a [good] family’, a Bodhisattva ‘practising the observances of the Way of Mantras should quietly recite

²¹⁴*mañjuśrīḥ śrīmatām varāḥ* (= NS 157d). This is an allusion to the final *pāda* of the NS that contains the Names, the only one to contain the Name Mañjuśrī.

²¹⁵*nāmamantrākṣarapadaḥ* (‘by phrases, the words of which are Name-mantras’): *Text* 5.270. For discussion of this compound see *Introduction*, section 5.5.

²¹⁶This is NS 28ab, which contains the first Names of the NS and is the first verse commented on in NMAA chapter 5.

²¹⁷*grahanakavākya*. This term is used at the beginning of chapter 3 (*Text* 3.5; comment on NS 23). See note 80.

²¹⁸For reproductions of some Japanese illustrations of the different Vajradhātu maṇḍala-deities see Lokesh Chandra, 1987 (*Introduction*, p.80–87).

²¹⁹See chapter 4: *Text* 4.98–99.

²²⁰See chapter 4: *Text* 4.172–176.

three times the crest-jewel called the *Nāmasaṃgīti*, which has non-duality as its ultimate meaning, of this same Fortunate One, the Embodiment of Knowledge. Or one who wants to read should perform [the recitation] using a book'.²²¹

The pure one, becoming silent [and] reciting soundlessly – so that no-one can hear – [and] correctly, the phrases [of the *Nāmasaṃgīti*], whose words are the Name-mantras, will soon obtain the throngs of qualities enumerated in the [section in the *Nāmasaṃgīti* on] Benefit as well as other [qualities]:

The best of men,²²² [he] who preserves the *Nāmasaṃgīti* of ultimate meaning [and] who has properly collected the Provisions of Merit and Knowledge, will soon acquire all Buddha-qualities²²³ and fully awaken to unsurpassed perfect enlightenment. Teaching the unsurpassed Dharma to all living beings, [and] not entering [the state] of Final Extinction for many aeons,²²⁴ he will be a Dharma king with a drum of the true Dharma [resounding] in the ten directions.

And combined together, the phrases [of the *Nāmasaṃgīti*], whose words are the

²²¹The passage starting, “a son of a [good] family ...” incorporates material, marked by single inverted commas, from two parts of the NS *anuśaṃsā*. The Skt of the NMAA, with the material incorporated underlined, is:

tasyaiva bhagavato jñānamūrter advayaparamārthām nāmasaṃgītim nāma cūdāmaṇim yah kaś cit kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā mantramukhacaryācārī bodhisattvas trihkrivā kanthagatām āvartayiṣyati / pustakagatām vā pathamānaḥ pravartayiṣyati (Text 5.279–83).

The NS passages, again with the material incorporated into the NMAA underlined, are:

punar aparam vajrapāṇe vajradhara yah kaś cit kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā mantramukhacaryācārī imāṃ bhagavato mañjuśrījñānasattvasya sarvatathāgatajñānakāyasya jñānamūrter advayaparamārthām nāmasaṃgītim nāma cūdāmaṇim ... dhārayiṣyati (NS.Dav. 65, 2–4).

punar aparam vajrapāṇe vajradhara yā imāṃ nāmasaṃgītim nāma cūdāmaṇim pratyaham akhaṇḍasamādānatas trihkrivā kanthagatām āvartayiṣyati / pustakagatām vā pathamānaḥ pravartayiṣyati (NS.Dav. 66, 21–23).

In the translation I have taken *mantramukhacaryācārī* to qualify *bodhisattvaḥ* whereas in the NS passage it qualifies *kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā*. This follows Vilāsavajra who, in the opening of chapter 4 (Text 4.2–4), incorporates parts of this same *anuśaṃsā* passage, starting with *mantramukhacaryācārī*, which he uses to qualify the word *bodhisattvaḥ*.

²²²*puruṣapuṃgavaḥ*. Tib.reads *skyes bu gang zag* {*puruṣapudgalah*}. See textual note 5.287.

²²³*sarvabuddhaguṇān* (sangs rgyas thams cad kyi yon tan rnams Tib.[194.5.4]). Tib. translates, “... the qualities of all the Buddhas”.

²²⁴*aparinirvāṇadharmā*. I have taken *dharma* in the sense of ‘characteristic’. Thus, lit., “one who does not have the characteristic of (attaining) Final Extinction ...”. An alternative is to take *parinirvāṇa* as an adjective (“extinguished”), “his Teaching unextinguished ...”. An adjectival use would be less normal in Buddhist contexts, however.

Name-mantras of [the deities of] this great maṇḍala of Vajradhātu, contain [a total of] eighty-six names.²²⁵ Apportioning them, [that is, the names,] with respect to the maṇḍala deities, they are connected [as follows]: four for the Knowledge-Being [Mañjuśrī] and the moon-disc [at his heart]; three for the letter A; five for Sattvavajrī and [the remaining three family mothers]; eleven for the Eternal One [Vairocana] and [the other Tathāgatas]. The remaining phrases, whose words are the Name-mantras, are connected in due order [with the deities] in the relation of qualifier and qualified. The first [maṇḍala-deity] is Vajrasattva [and] the last Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin. [Altogether] there are fourteen verses [of the *Nāmasaṃgīti* that contain the Names of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala-deities]. According to tradition the total number of Name-mantra words is eighty-six.

[Here ends] the chapter on ‘The Vajradhātu-Mahāmaṇḍala of Bodhicittavajra’, the fifth in the commentary on the *Āryanāmasaṃgīti* called, “An Explanation of the Meaning of the Name-Mantras”.

²²⁵For discussion of the Name-mantras see *Introduction*, section 5.5.

INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXT

1. Materials

For the edition of the *Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī* I had access to the following ten Nepalese manuscripts:¹

- A: MS belonging to the University of Cambridge (Bendall Add. 1708). Palm-leaf, Newarī script, 115 folios (26 missing), dated Samvat 57? (= c. 1450 CE).
- B: MS belonging to P. R. Vajrācārya, Kathmandu (NGMPP Reel No. E 360/16). Paper, Newarī script (first 13 folios in Devanāgarī = B₁), 86 folios, undated.
- C: MS belonging to P. R. Vajrācārya, Kathmandu (NGMPP Reel No. E 419/17). Paper, Devanāgarī script, 80 folios, dated Samvat 920 (= 1800 CE).
- D: MS belonging to Dharmavajrācārya, Kathmandu (NGMPP Reel No. E 1369/3). Paper, Devanāgarī script, 194 folios, undated.
- E: MS belonging to P.B. Kamsakara, Kathmandu (NGMPP Reel No. E 1057/13). Paper, Devanāgarī script, 72 folios, dated Samvat 1021 (= 1901 CE).
- F: MS belonging to the National Archives, Kathmandu (NAK MS. No. 5–6863; NGMPP Reel No. A 133/12). Paper, Newarī script, 135 folios (1 missing), undated.
- G: MS belonging to the University of Kyoto (Goshima & Noguchi 58). Paper, Devanāgarī script, 123 folios, undated.
- H: MS belonging to the National Archives, Kathmandu (NAK MS. No. 5–138; NGMPP Reel No. B 108/24). Paper, Devanāgarī script, 77 folios, undated.
- J: MS belonging to Dharma Ratna Vajrācārya, Kathmandu (NGMPP Reel No. E 1920/2). Paper, Devanāgarī script, 121 folios (4 missing including the final folio).
- K: MS belonging to the National Archives, Kathmandu (NAK MS. No. 3–570; NGMPP Reel No. B 109/13). Paper, Devanāgarī script, 102 folios, dated Samvat 1954 (= 1897 CE?).

I also consulted two xylograph editions of the Tibetan translation of the NMAA:

- Tib.D.* sDe dge edition of the bsTan 'gyur. rGyud 'grel, Khu. 27v1–115v3 (Tōh. 2533). Copy in the possession of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.
- Tib.P.* Peking edition of the bsTan 'gyur. rGyud 'grel, Si. 31r8 – 135r1, in *Peking Tibetan Tripitaka*, ed., D. T. Suzuki, Tokyo: Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute, 1956. Vol. 74, pp. 184.4.8–226.2.1. (Ota 3365)

¹I worked with printouts from microfilms of all of these MSS. In the case of MS A I also consulted the original in the University Library, Cambridge.

A number of NMAA manuscripts have been microfilmed more than once by the NGMPP.² Also, some NMAA manuscripts microfilmed by the NGMPP have been microfilmed or listed separately by Takaoka and Tsukamoto.³ The following table gives duplications and correspondences and lists the extant copies of the NMAA that I am aware of.

(Sigla)	Manuscript	Duplications & Correspondences
1. (A)	Bendall Add. 1708	
2. (B)	NGMPP E 360/16	= E 418/6 (lacks fol. 1–13) = E 387/19 plus E 388/1 (lacks fol. 1–13) = E 404/18 (= fol. 1–13 only)
3. (C)	NGMPP E 419/17	= E 370/17 = E 397/7
4. (D)	NGMPP E 1369/3	
5. (E)	NGMPP E 1057/13	= Takaoka CH 380
6. (F)	NGMPP A 133/12	
7. (G)	Goshima & Noguchi 58	
8. (H)	NGMPP B 108/24	
9. (J)	NGMPP E 1920/2	
10. (K)	NGMPP B 109/13	= Bir 172 = Bir Library Catalogue tr 590 = BSP vol. 7, pt.2, 77
11.	IASWR MBB-1-77	
12.	IASWR MBB-1-117	
13.	Takaoka KA 50	
14.	Takaoka CA 43-3	
15.	St. Petersburg	
16?	Baroda 43	

Table 10: Duplications of microfilms and correspondences with catalogue numbers.

I have not been able to consult manuscripts 11–16 in the above list. Nos. 11–14 (*IASWR* and Takaoka) are microfilm copies of manuscripts in private ownership in Nepal. Of these, nos. 11 and 12, microfilmed by the *IASWR*, do not appear to

²One of the difficulties in identifying copies of the NMAA microfilmed by the NGMPP is that they are found under a variety of titles in the NGMPP card catalogues in Kathmandu and Berlin. The only fully correct title is that for E 1057/13 (MS E): *Āryanāmasaṃgītiṭikā (Nāmanantrārthāvalokinī)*. Other titles include *Nāmasaṃgītiṭikā* (E 404/18; E 1369/3; B 109/13), *Āryanāmasaṃgītiṭikā* (E 387/19 + E 388/1), and *Paramārthanāmasaṃgītiṭikā* (B 108/24). *Mantrārthāvalokinī* is erroneously used as a title on two occasions (E 360/16; E 397/7). This is probably the result of taking *Nāma* in *Nāmanantrā-* to mean ‘called’. *Mantrārthāvalokinī* is found twice more as part of a longer title, eg. *Nāmasaṃgītiṭikā (Mantrārthāvalokinī)* (E 1920/2). On three occasions what was titled *Nāmasaṃgīti* turned out to be the NMAA (E 418/6; E 419/17; A 133/12).

³Of the following, Tsukamoto (p.209) lists numbers 1, 5 (as Takaoka CH 380), 7, 9 (as Bir 72 = BSP tr590(2–77)) and 11–15. No.12. is incorrectly listed as MBB II-117 rather than MBB I-117. For the *IASWR* MSS Tsukamoto refers to the Title List (*IASWR list*). However, this does not give any details of MBB-I-77 (nos. MBB-I-77 to MBB-I-81 are unlisted). For these one must consult the descriptive catalogue by M. B. Bajracharya and C. S. George (*IASWR*). (But see note following.)

correspond with any of the NGMPP manuscripts.⁴ No.13 (Takaoka KA 50) is almost certainly an apograph of my MS C.⁵ No.14 (Takaoka CA 43-3), which is titled ‘*Nāmasaṃgīti Tīkā*’ in Takaoka’s catalogue, is identified as the NMAA by Tsukamoto (p. 209).⁶ These four microfilmed MSS (11–14) are on paper.

Tsukamoto also identifies Takaoka CH 380 as the NMAA (again, titled ‘*Nāmasaṃgīti Tīkā*’ by Takaoka). As a result it became clear that this was the same manuscript as NGMPP 1057/13 (= my MS E).

No 15 was consulted by Minaev for his 1887 edition of the *Nāmasaṃgīti*. According to his description of MSS it then belonged to the Library of the Imperial University of St. Petersburg.⁷ He gives no catalogue or accession number, and the manuscript is described as ‘new’. Whether this refers to its age or its being uncatalogued is unclear.⁸ It was not (subsequently) listed by Mironov and I have not been able to ascertain whether it is still held in the University Library. The identity of MS 16, owned by the Oriental Institute, Baroda, remains to be ascertained. The Baroda catalogue gives ‘*Nāmasaṃgītiṭīkā*’ as a title.⁹

⁴The IASWR, however, can find no trace of the microfilms of either of these MSS. The fiche entitled *Nāmamantrārtāvalokinī (Āryanāmasaṃgītiṭīkā)* (MBB-I-117) contained, on inspection, the *Durgatipariśodhanatantra* and no fiche for MBB-1-77 have been prepared.

⁵Sakurai uses Takaoka KA 50 in his edition of NMAA adhikāras 3–4 (= his MS T₁). See the note on his edition in Appendix VI.

⁶Sakurai consults this MS in his edition of the *Vairocanābhisambodhi* quotation in NMAA 6 (Sakurai 1989, p. 515–6). The variants in the apparatus suggest that it is a descendent of my hyparchetype ε, possibly another apograph of C.

⁷See, Minaev, I. P. (1887) *Buddhizm. Izledovaniya i Materialui*. St. Petersburg. Vol. II, p. xii. This work also contains Minaev’s edition of the *Mahāvvyutpatti*. (For that of the NS see pp. 137–159.) Vol. I, which comprises a collection of essays by Minaev, contains (p. 226) a citation from chapter 6 of the NMAA and has been translated into French: see Assier de Pompignan, R. H. (trans.) (1894) *Recherches sur le Bouddhisme*, Paris. Davidson (1981, 49) states that Minaev had intended to translate the *Nāmasaṃgīti* using Vilāsavajra’s commentary.

⁸Other details given by Minaev are that it is an undated MS, 130 folios in length with 8–9 lines per page, in Nepalese script. I am indebted to Dr. G. A. Evison of the Indian Institute Library, Oxford, for arranging for the Russian of the description of manuscripts to be translated for me.

⁹See *Baroda*, p.1462, Serial No 43, Accession No 13297.

2. Description of the Manuscripts

2.1 Introduction

All the manuscripts are made of paper and in good condition with the exception of the palm-leaf MS A, which is damaged in parts. Four are dated (ACEK), the earliest being from the fifteenth century CE (A); one has its colophon missing (J); the remainder are undated (BDFGH). Of the ten, BG are the only completely uncorrected manuscripts. FDJEK have a very few corrections; and AHC are more heavily corrected. At points these last three are extensively corrected, sometimes by more than one hand. (More specific information on corrections is given below.) The presence of manuscripts with such corrections suggests that the present text was not copied only to gain religious merit, as Cüppers has suggested was the case for Buddhist Sūtra texts in Nepal,¹⁰ but that it was also a commentary used by working scholars.

2.2 Presence of Figure Numerals

At the end of some of the (fourteen) chapters of the text there are numerals in figures. Bendall (p. 203) noticed this in MS A, citing the text at the end of chapters 6–8, and stating that the figures represented the number of sections in each chapter. This is not quite correct. What the figures represent is the number of Name-mantras (*nāmamantrāḥ*)¹¹ in the corresponding chapter of the NS according to Vilāsavajra's exegesis.¹² The figure is placed after the total of Name-mantras given in words, which whole in turn is placed either immediately before or after the colophon for the chapter. This number in figures is given only at the end of chapters that deal with the

¹⁰See Cüppers, (1990) *The IXth Chapter of the Samādhirājasūtra: a text-critical contribution to the study of Mahāyāna Sūtras*. Stuttgart, p. XIX.

¹¹In fact, Vilāsavajra states that the count of the *nāmamantrāḥ* for each chapter is one given by tradition (ity āmnāyaḥ). See *Introduction*, section 5.5, for discussion of the *nāmamantrāḥ*.

¹²Each Name-mantra is usually treated separately; to that extent each could be said to have a section devoted to it, giving Bendall's statement a certain truth.

Name-mantras of the NS, that is, chapters 5–10. All the MSS have these figures, with some slight variation between MSS (though only MS A has ‘// 86 //’ at the end of chapter 5).

Before the totals (in words and figures) for the Name-mantras, the number of NS verses on which each NMAA chapter has commented is given in words. DJECGK (archetype δ) also follow these with the number in figure form. However, ABFH have no figure numbers here suggesting, through the application of stemmatic analysis, that they were not present in the archetype. For chapters 5–8, DJECGK also have the number of NS verses in words (given incorrectly as a whole number for chapters 6 and 7) after the totals for the Name-mantras, ie. they give the number in words twice. When this happens, the number in figures follows the second instance of the number in words.

Manuscripts DEJB₁GK have *Nāmasaṃgīti* verse numbers embedded in the text of the NMAA. They are placed, in figures, at the point where the commentary on each verse is completed; and in each chapter the numbering starts afresh from one (since the chapter divisions of the NMAA and NS correspond). The numbering in E is only partial: it omits some of the numbers in chapters 1 and 2, has only a few for chapter 6, and none for the rest. C has the numbers in the margin throughout, with insertion marks in the text to indicate their position.

I take these NS numbers to be an addition to the text. They are only found in MSS from one part of the stemma (δ): ABHF do not have them, so they should be absent from the archetype (Ω) unless they have been omitted independently, which seems unlikely. However, their presence certainly makes reference to the commentary on particular NS verses easier, and this may have been the motive for adding them. The partial numbering of E could originate in various ways: it, or one of the manuscripts it descends from, could have omitted some of the numbers present in its exemplar, though this seems rather unlikely if the numbering was already

incorporated into the text. The alternative is that E, or one of its antecedents, had as its exemplar a manuscript such as C, that had marginal numbers, and that these were only partially incorporated. Perhaps some of them were obscure, or the scribe had doubts as to whether they should be part of the text. In C we possibly witness the transitional state between manuscripts with and without numbering.

2.3 *Lacunae*

The existence of lacunae in the MSS and the way in which they are marked also reflects the stemma groupings of the MSS as ascertained through examination of variants. Thus, A has no lacunae marked; B indicates them only very occasionally, leaving empty space in the text to mark them. (B has only one lacuna of over two syllables: on fol. 22v.) F contains many lacunae, especially in the first half of the text, which are marked by empty spaces as in B. H also has many lacunae similarly marked, though some are also indicated by means of dashes that fill the space of the lacuna. In these cases, however, many of the dashes are part of laconose corrections inserted into the empty spaces of the lacunae of the uncorrected manuscript.

The remaining six manuscripts (DJECKG) all contain lacunae that are generally marked by dashes. CK contain some lacunae marked by both dashes and empty space, usually one or two dashes followed by a longer empty space. This method of marking appears to be used when the scribe does not know the precise length of the lacuna. This is borne out where the text of lacunae marked wholly by dashes is attested by other manuscripts; in such cases the number of dashes often exactly corresponds to the number of missing akṣaras.

K, which is an apograph of C, generally preserves C's distinctions between the different types of lacunae. But G, an apograph of K, often omits the space where K (and C before it) have lacunae that are marked by dashes followed by empty space. The number of dashes no longer gives an indication of the number of missing akṣaras. This pattern is not universal for G: fol. 86r has a dash followed by a gap and

there is an occasional instance of two dashes followed by a half dash space before the following syllable.

2.4 Individual Manuscripts

MS A (6–7 lines per side) Although this dated palm-leaf manuscript, the oldest of those extant, has been described at some length by Cecil Bendall,¹³ his remarks can be enlarged upon and require some correction.

Parts of this manuscript are in poor condition; some folios are damaged at the margins or corners with resulting loss of text and folio numbers (especially fol. 38–55). There is some insect damage in the form of small irregular holes and though much of this is in the margins some has intruded into the text (eg. fol. 36–40, 52, 61). On a few folios the text is a little faded, and there is occasional text loss through detachment of a surface layer of the palm leaf (eg. fol. 107, 108, 114). Of the 115 folios there are 26 missing.¹⁴

The script of MS A is ‘hooked Newarī’, a form of Newarī script distinguished by a curve or hook on the top of each letter, and common in Nepalese manuscripts of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries CE (see Bendall, 1883, xxi ff.). At the beginning of fol. 54r there is a change in hand, which continues until the end of the manuscript.¹⁵ This change is also reflected in changes in the script, as well as in the numerals used in the pagination.¹⁶ The text of chapters 1–5, as well as that collated

¹³See Bendall, C. (1883) *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge*. 203–4.

¹⁴Fol. 4, 5, 8, 9, 19–22, 26, 42, 43, 47, 49, 50, 59, 63, 78, 80, 91, 94, 97, 99, 109, 110, 112, 113 are missing. This list differs slightly from that given by Bendall since he does not list fol. 78 as missing. However, the folio microfilmed before fol. 10 has lost its number as a result of damage to its margin. That it is out of place is clear from the script, which is that of A₂. Examination of its content indicates that it is fol. 92. Since Bendall counts fol. 92 as missing, the total number of missing folios remains the same, ie. 26. The microfilming process has made some folios (6r, 72v, 92r, 111r, 114r) appear dark causing partial illegibility.

¹⁵In fol. 84–6 the script slants forwards in contrast to its usual upright form. The change is not abrupt but occurs gradually over the course of fol. 84r. It is unclear whether this might be a different hand. Fol. 87r returns to the upright script of fol. 54–83.

¹⁶Bendall does not mention the change in hand. The examples of the script given at the end of the catalogue are from the second hand (see the “Table of Letters” and the “Table of Figure Numerals”). In this hand the *akṣaras* for *ta* and *bha* illustrate forms found in early Bengali script. (Eg. see the

from chapter 6 for the purpose of establishing the stemma, is all of the first hand (ie. it falls within fol. 1–53). Whether the position of the manuscript in the stemma changes with the change in hand remains to be ascertained.

MS A is dated in the final colophon with words standing for figures. Unfortunately, the folio containing the colophon is damaged and some – perhaps two syllables – of the relevant text is lost and two further syllables are hard to read. Bendall reads the date as N.S. 577: “If the first member of the partly mutilated compound word expressing the figures of the year stands for *aśva*, the date is N.S. 5 (iṣu) 7 (mahīdhara) 7 (aśva) or A.D. 1457” (Bendall, 1883, 203). I am not convinced that *aśva* can be read. What Bendall takes as an initial *a* is not clear, and what he reads as *śva* is probably better taken as *ndha*. I can read very little of the first part of the passage with any certainty; ie. no more than: [**]***ndha***mahīdhareṣuganīte samvat*. However, the error resulting from the illegibility of this first word falls within a margin of only ten years, since it represents the final number of the date.

An argument might be made for a different reading of the date on the grounds that *mahī* and *dharā* can also be used individually as word numerals.¹⁷ If this were the case here the date could be N.S. 5 (iṣu) 1 (dharā) 1 (mahī) or 1391CE, which is still consistent with the period within which the hooked form of the script is known to have been used. But such a proposal leaves the role of the previous syllable unaccounted for (**andha**), a syllable that has every indication of being compounded with *mahīdhareṣuganīte* (ie. it has no *visarga* or *anusvāra*).

There are only a very few marginal corrections in the first portion of the text (A₁, ie. fol. 1–53), largely in a second hand. The number of corrections increases

facsimile of MS Add. 1699, I, fol. 5, which is in an early Bengali hand, at the end of Bendall’s catalogue. The forms of the syllables *ta* and *bha* are seen clearly here in the word *amitābha* in line one.)

¹⁷See Sarma, K.V. & Subbarayappa, B.V. (1985) *Indian Astronomy, A Source-Book*. Bombay: Nehru Centre, appendix 5, ‘Bhūtasāṅkhyā—Word Numerals’.

markedly in the second portion (A₂). With the exception of the few corrections to A₁ in the hand of A₁'s scribe, all the corrections use the script of A₂, in a smaller size than that of the text. Though it is not possible to say whether they are in the hand of the scribe of A₂, the form of the script suggests that they were made at a time close to that of the manuscript itself, since usage of hooked Newarī had ceased by the sixteenth century CE.

MS B (28.8 x 12.6 cms., 9 lines per side) This is, for the most part, a clear and legible manuscript mostly written in Newarī script. However, fol. 1–13 are in Devanāgarī script, with fol. 14–86, the remaining 73, in Newarī. The Newarī folios are numbered one to seventy three in small figures in the bottom right hand corner of the verso. (The verso of the final folio, which contains the colophon on its recto, was not microfilmed but I assume it is numbered as the rest.) Analysis of the variant readings of the two portions shows that they occupy different places in the stemma. The Devanāgarī portion (B₁) is an apograph of MS C whereas the Newarī portion is an independent witness of considerable value. It is not clear whether the pagination of the Newarī folios is that of the original scribe. If not, then the original was unnumbered and probably included the opening folios, which were subsequently lost; if it were, then in B's exemplar those folios must have been damaged or already lost. In any case the first thirteen folios clearly replace a lost or damaged portion of the original or one of its precursors. Since B₁ is an apograph of C, and C is complete and in good condition, the readings of B₁ are not included in the edition of text. I have adopted a continuous pagination, ie. 1–86, for purposes of reference to the manuscript as a whole.

MS B was microfilmed three times by the NGMPP (see Table 10 above). There are some errors in the filming where two folios have been turned at once: E 360/16 omits fol. 63v/64r and fol. 65v/66r; E 418/6 has fol. 65v/66r but still omits fol. 63v/64r. E 418/6 also omits the final folio. Both E 418/6 and E 387/19 plus E

388/1 omit the thirteen Devanāgarī folios. Although E 418/6 is by far the clearest film, most of the pagination numbers at the bottom right hand corners are not visible since they fall outside the frame of the photographs. Fol. 1–13 have also been microfilmed as a separate item by the NGMPP (E 404/18).

B is an uncorrected manuscript with neither marginal nor interlinear corrections.

MS C (22 x 10.6 cms., 12 lines per side) Written in Devanāgarī script this MS is dated “Nepāla Sam 920” (= 1800 CE) in the colophon. Generally the text has just a few marginal corrections, usually of one or two syllables, in what is possibly the hand of the original scribe. There is one instance of a more extensive marginal correction: fol. 42r has three lines down the side and one along the top margin, in the hand of the original scribe. However, fol. 1–4 are heavily corrected by at least two hands.

MS D (24.7 x 8.3 cms, 5 lines per side) This is written in Newarī script in a large clear hand. Fol. 1–30 contain passages that appear to have been intentionally marked over or highlighted, with the result that they are darkened on the microfilm. Generally these passages are still legible through the ‘highlighting’. The marking bears no apparent relation to the content of the text.

For the most part D is corrected only very occasionally, possibly by the original scribe. There is a flurry of corrections in chapter 6 in connection with a number of lacunae (see fol. 53v, 54, 55r). Here the corrections are either marginal or written to fill the lacunae. Otherwise the MS contains just two other marginal corrections.

MS E (29.4 x 13.5 cms., 11/12 lines per side) Written in Devanāgarī script, dated “samvat 1021” (= 1901 CE), MS E is closely written and sometimes of poor legibility. It has a few small marginal corrections, mostly in what is probably the hand of the original scribe, though there are some very occasional interlinear corrections in a second hand.

MS F (18 x 10.5 cms., 9 lines per side) This is an undated manuscript – as with MS H, it has no final colophon – written in a Newarī script often not easy to read. In particular, the vowels *a* / *e*, and *ā* / *o* are often hard to distinguish, as are *śa* and *ga*.

The number of folios of F is incorrectly given as 85 in the title sheet at the opening to the NGMPP microfilm. The correct figure is 135, made up as follows: fol. 1–64 are numbered in the middle of the right hand side of the verso; fol. 65v is blank and unnumbered; fol. 66–8 are numbered 1–3 in the bottom right hand corner of the verso in a much smaller hand of poor legibility; fol. 69–134 are numbered 1–65 (number 8 is erroneously used twice), also in the bottom right hand corner of the verso, in the same smaller hand; and the text ends on fol. 135r. The reason for these changes is unclear since the manuscript is almost certainly in a single hand. Fol. 1–64 appear to have the original pagination. In any references to this manuscript, as well as in the table that gives the folio number for the beginning of each chapter in the individual manuscripts (see Appendix V), I have adopted a continuous pagination from 1 to 135. Like fol. 65v, fol. 42v is blank; fol. 43 is missing, one frame of the microfilm containing fol. 42v and fol. 44r.

F has almost no corrections: in the hand of the original scribe there are four marginal insertions of one syllable and one of two syllables (19r, 21v, 85r, 117v, 84v); one marginal correction of one syllable (29r); and, possibly in a second hand, there is a one and a half line marginal insertion (4v). There are a small number of erasures, generally one to four syllables in length, making the erased text illegible.

MS G (30.1 x 10.8 cms., 7 lines per side) This is a clear, legible, undated Devanāgarī manuscript. The punctuation is that of double *daṇḍas* throughout. They appear lighter in shade than the body of the text in the microfilm, suggesting that they may be in a different ink. G has no corrections and is the most corrupt of the ten manuscripts.

MS H (32 x 12.5 cms., 9 lines per side) This is an undated manuscript – as with MS F, there is no colophon – written in Devanāgarī script, and of reasonable legibility. Fol. 39 has probably been rewritten; although it is in the hand of the original scribe the recto has eleven lines and the verso twelve, in contrast with the usual nine lines per side. On the verso the text finishes before the end of line twelve and is followed by connecting marks that run to the end of the line, indicating that there is no break with the text at the beginning of the next folio. From fol. 40 the verso is also numbered with a small figure in the bottom right hand corner. This second pagination starts at one (for fol. 40) and continues until the end of the manuscript. The main numbering also continues. The hand of the manuscript does not appear to change.

H is the mostly heavily corrected of all the manuscripts, containing numerous marginal and interlinear corrections and corrections filling many of the lacunae marked in the original. There is one closely written nine-and-a-half line marginal correction occupying the upper and lower margins of fol. 75r. There are also some erasures. A few of the corrections are in the hand of the original scribe but most are in a second hand.

MS J (27.9 x 11.4 cms., 7 lines per side) This is a clear and legible manuscript written in Devanāgarī script. Four folios are missing (fol. 1, 2, 29, 121) including the first and last. Any colophon is therefore lacking. The title – “āryanāmasaṃgīṭikā (nāmamantrārthāvalokinī)” – has been written in Devanāgarī in a second hand in the margin above the first surviving leaf (fol. 3r).

This manuscript is unusual in that it inserts all the verses of the Nāmasaṃgī into the text, each generally preceded by a translation into Newarī of the previous verse. These extra passages are distinguished from the rest of the text by being written in a slightly larger script and possibly in a different ink. On the microfilm they come out darker than the surrounding text. That these Sanskrit Nāmasaṃgī verses are

insertions is also evident from the fact that they are present even when the text itself cites the whole Nāmasaṃgīti verse, resulting in a double citation.

With the exception of one marginal correction in the hand of the scribe (on fol. 9r) it has no marginal or interlinear corrections.

MS K (31 x 16 cms., 10 lines per side) This is a clear and and fairly legible Devanāgarī manuscript dated 'samvat 1954'. If this is the Vikrama Samvat calender, it is equivalent to 1897 CE. It is almost uncorrected; it has a number of small interlinear corrections which, excepting two in a second hand, appear to be in the hand of the original scribe. The punctuation is with double *daṇḍas* only, which may be in different ink to the rest of the text since they appear somewhat lighter on the microfilm.

2.5 Orthography

The present manuscripts display a range of orthographic features, listed below, a number of which are peculiar to manuscripts of Nepalese origin.¹⁸ Many of these occur frequently but they have not generally been incorporated into the apparatus since to do so would be to burden it unnecessarily. However, if there is some doubt concerning the sense or syntax of a passage then they are recorded; in some cases they are noted in the insignificant variants.

1) Homorganic nasal for anusvāra. This feature occurs most notably as a final, particularly in MS A: eg. (1.1) *āryamañjuśriyan natvā* rather than *āryamañjuśriyaṃ natvā*; (1.2) *nāmasaṃgītiṃ gambhīrodāra-* rather than *nāmasaṃgītiṃ gambhīrodāra-*; (1.5) *jātakāṇ cetivṛttaṇ ca* rather than *jātakam cetivṛttam ca*.

2) Anusvāra for homorganic nasal. This is found generally, though most widely in the more recent MSS: eg. (1.1) *-mañjuśriyaṃ* (CH) for *-mañjuśriyam* (ADEF); (1.2) *gambhīro-* (CD) for *gambhīro-* (AEFH); (1.17) *paṃca-* (C) for *pañca-*

¹⁸For discussion of the possible origins of some of these orthographic features see John Brough, (1954) 'The language of the Buddhist Sanskrit Texts.' *BSOAS*, 16, 25–75; and also Constantin Regamey, (1954) 'Randbemerkungen zur Sprache und Textüberlieferung des Kāraṇḍavyūha' *Asiatica, Festschrift Friedrich Weller*, Leipzig, pp. 514–527. (I am grateful to Kate Crosby whose unpublished English translation of Regamey's paper I have consulted.)

(ADEFH); (1.77) *-āṃjalipuṭo* (CH) for *-āñjalipuṭo* (ADEF); (5.298) *aṃkato* (CDJ) for *aṅkato* (ABEFH); (5.300) *nāmamamtrā-* (CDEH) for *nāmamantrā-* (ABFJ).

3) Anusvāra in addition to nasal. Eg. B₁ has (1.169) *idaṃm* for *idam*; (2.24) *lokānāṃm* for *lokānām*; (3.18) *cāgryaṃm* for *cāgryam*; (4.25) *bodhicittaṃm* for *bodhicittam*; (4.141) *nirupaṃmā* for *nirupamā*; and also (1.155) *anuśāsamṇāt* for *anuśāsanāt*; (2.4) *-ānaṃntaraṃ* for *-ānantaraṃ*; (2.58) *-āṃnvitaḥ* for *-ānvitaḥ*.

4) Gemination of consonants following the letter *r*. This feature is found to a greater or lesser extent in all the MSS. It is most common in those in Newarī script. Eg. (1.1) *āryya-* (D) as against *ārya-* (AṽE); (1.2) *-dharmmiṇīm* (Aṽ) as against *-dharminiṇīm* (CDE); (1.10) *-ārddreṇa* (A) as against *-ārdreṇa* (ḍH²); (1.44) *-arddha-* (codd.) as against *-ardha-*; (5.8) *sarvvavarṇṇānām* (BF) as against *sarvavarṇṇānām* (D) and *sarvavarṇānām* (HJCE); (5.26) *varjjito* (Bṽ) as against *varjito* (ḍ).

5) Parasitic superscript *r* with double consonants. Eg. (2.7) *nirṇamaryyopa-* (H) for *nirṇamayyopa-*; (2.36) *-maryyām* (A) for *-mayyām*; (4.245) *-niṣarṇṇam* (B) for *-niṣaṇṇam*.

6) Confusion of sibilants. The most common form is between palatal and dental *s*, both *ś* for *s*, and *s* for *ś* being regularly attested: eg. (2.26) *-śāśanam* (HCEF) for *-śāsanam* (AJD); (5.147) *kuśīda* (ḍ) for *kusīda* (ABF); (5.151) *śakto* (β) for *sakto* (AB); also (1.17) *anusamsā* (CAE) for *anuśamsā*¹⁹ (DH²); (2.12) *-sodhanam* (FHC) for *-śodhanam* (JDE); (2.15) *rasmi-* (FHC) for *raśmi-* (JDE); (5.217) *-āsayānusaya-* (β) for *-āśayānuśaya-* (AB); and (2.27) *anusāsanam* (FHC) and *anuśāśanam* (E) for *anuśāsanam* (AJD). Less commonly, retroflex and palatal *s* are confused: eg. (5.85) *-marṣāt* (BṽE) for *-marśāt* (A).

7) Identity of *v* and *b*. Since the Newarī and Devanāgarī scripts of the present (and indeed all Nepalese Buddhist) MSS do not distinguish the letter *b* from the letter *v*, context has to determine which is intended.

8) *tva* used for *ttva*. This spelling is ubiquitous, with all the manuscripts almost invariably spelling words such as *sattva*, *tattva*, and *mahattva* as *satva*, *tatva*, *mahatva*: eg. (5.189) *mahatvam* (BFHECD) for *mahattvam* (J). In all cases I have regularised the spelling.

¹⁹Edgerton notes that Buddhist Hybrid MSS often have *anusams-* for *anuśams-* (BHSD 34, s.v. *anuśamsa*). As in the present case these are likely to be examples of sibilant confusion rather than instances of an alternative spelling.

9) *j-* used for *y-*. I have noticed only one instance of this usage, in the text of chapter six collated for establishing the stemma: (6.40) A has *-jogena* for *-yogena* (Bβ).

10) *l* used for *r*. This occurs occasionally: eg. (3.11) *vailocana-* (E) for *vairocana-* (AγζC); (3.19) *vailocanā-* (E) for *vairocanā-* (AγζC); (5.229) *vīryālam̐bho* (δ) for *vīryāram̐bho* (Aγ).

11) Confusion of *n* and *ṇ*. This is not very common and is mainly witnessed in the more recent manuscripts where *n* is found for *ṇ* in instrumental singular forms such as (1.16) *-rūpena* for *-rūpeṇa*. Occasionally it appears in ligatures: (1.60) *gaunyā* (CDEFJ) for *gaṇyā* (AH²); (5.101) *grhnā-* (BγζC) for *grhṇā-* (E). More rarely *ṇ* is found for *n*: (5.231) *ghanaḥ* (CDF) for *ghaṇaḥ* (ABHE).

12) Confusion of *sth* and *ṣṭh*. As with confusion of *n* and *ṇ*, this is most apparent in the more recent MSS: eg. B₁ has (1.66) *naisthikaṃ* for *naiṣṭhikaṃ*; (4.154) *pratisthitāḥ* for *pratiṣṭhitāḥ*; as well as (4.57) *praṣṭhāna-* for *prasthāna-*; and (4.111) *avaṣṭhaṃ* for *avasthitaṃ*.

13) Use of the *avagraha*. The MSS do not show a consistent usage, the *avagraha* being often omitted. I have regularised the spelling so that readings such as *sopi* are transcribed as *so 'pi*. The *avagraha* is sometimes found – again the use is not consistent – within compounds, indicating loss of an initial *a* through sandhi. This usage is only recorded in the apparatus if there is some doubt about meaning. For example, at 2.62, A reads *mā'dhomukha-*, whereas β has *śādhomukha-* (misreading *mā-* as *sā-*); and at 4.54, β reads *-kriyāvirahito* and A (erroneously) has *-kriyā'virahto*.

14) Occasional irregularities of sandhi. If all MSS fail to show the correct sandhi this is noted in the apparatus, when corrected. If one or two MSS omit sandhi (and this occurs most commonly with final *-aḥ* and *-ḥ*) this is not recorded. On occasion sandhi is omitted because of differing punctuation between MSS. Again, such omissions are not recorded, unless the punctuation adopted in the edition is attested by none of the MSS. Sandhi preceeding *iti* is usually preserved, though not consistently; differences between MSS are not generally recorded.

15) *-m* in *pausa*. The manuscripts show no consistency in their usage here, at some points using an *anusvāra*, at others a final *m* with a *virāma*. I have not recorded differences either in the apparatus or in the insignificant variants.

2.6 Other Features of the Script

Apart from these orthographic traits, the manuscripts share a number of other characteristics:- particular misreadings of *akṣaras* due to their similarity in shape;²⁰ loss and addition of *anusvāra*; and loss and addition of *visarga*. These, along with elisions of single *akṣaras*, dittographs, haplographs, metatheses etc., I have recorded, if only in the insignificant variants.

Recording errors such as these may not directly help restore the text; nonetheless they are useful for establishing the stemma, which in its turn aids the resolution of cruces; and if other manuscripts become available they are invaluable evidence in the work of investigating new stemmatic relationships. Where the manuscripts disagree over the presence of an *anusvāra* or *visarga* it is not always a straightforward matter to decide whether one is dealing with an omission or an addition. Prose syntax is not always clear, particularly where abstract reasons are given in the form of a series of compounds. And although loss of an *anusvāra* or *visarga* occurs most frequently – particularly in the most recent manuscripts – on occasion their addition is seen: eg. (5.287) *puruṣaḥ* (B) for *puruṣa-* (α); (5.290) *anuttaraṃ* (Hḍ) for *anuttara-* (ABF); (5.291) *-dharmaṃ* (DH) for *-dharma-* (ABFCEJ). I have therefore preserved all the readings to allow for the possibility of future revision of the text. Where there is no doubt over the preferred reading the variants are placed with the insignificant variants.

2.7 Punctuation

At points the punctuation of the manuscripts varies considerably, and I have generally not included these since to do so would be to overburden the apparatus. Exceptions arise if there is an issue of sense, or when the punctuation I have adopted

²⁰Akṣaras easily confused in Newarī script include *sa / ma*; *ta / bha*; *pa / ya*; *ca / va*; *na / ra*; and *ga / śa*. Also the ligatures *ddha* and *dva*, and the vowels *a / e*, *ā / o*, and *u / ū* can be almost indistinguishable. An example of a misreading of *m* and *bh* in ligature is provided at *Text* 5.229 where B has *vīryārastā* for *vīryārambho* (Aγ).

differs from that of the available manuscripts and requires a change in sandhi. My underlying assumption is that punctuation is not part of the textual transmission. As a result I have felt free to regularise it where necessary so that it accords with syntax, for the most part using double *daṇḍas* for sentence breaks and single *daṇḍas* elsewhere. One ‘punctuation’ error that occurs on a number of occasions and should be noted is the misreading of *ā* as a *daṇḍa*; so, for example, (5.197) B misreads *-svabhāvatvāt* as *-svabha / vatvāt*. Sometimes *daṇḍas* can be inserted in the middle of word: eg. (4.41) B₁ has *a / nātmānas* for *anātmānas*. Generally, the punctuation in A indicates structure and semantics with by far the greatest accuracy, and it is thus when A is unavailable that I have had to do most regularisation.²¹

²¹The punctuation generally deteriorates as one goes further along the transmission as reflected by the stemma. For example, in GK the distinction between single and double *daṇḍas*, preserved in C, has been lost, all the punctuation being in double *daṇḍas*.

3. Method of Editing

3.1 Emendation

There are a number of questions as to the degree to which an editor may legitimately emend a text. This is not the place for a full discussion of them but I should clarify my position as regards the present edition. I take it to be the aim of an editor to establish the oldest form of the text that is accessible. I do not subscribe to a view of “minimal interference” if by this is meant an edition that preserves the idiosyncrasies of a particular scribe or script along with regional peculiarities of orthography. This would be to identify the text with what is likely to be a comparatively late layer of its transmission.²² The alternative, of attempting to unravel the different layers of textual transmission, can bristle with difficulties, sometimes to the extent that little progress is feasible. Nevertheless, this aim devolves upon the editor a duty to correct, emend and suggest possible solutions to cruces in the transmission as received.

Three factors in particular can hinder the editor’s task so construed: whether one is dealing with a single prototypical text or with a number of recensions; uncertainty concerning the language of composition of the text; and frequently, in the case of Buddhist texts, reliance on recent Nepalese manuscripts that are often very corrupt.

The problem of multiple recensions is encountered in acute form in Buddhist Mahāyāna Sūtras, which either evolved over a period of time or existed in different recensions from the beginning.²³ This issue is less likely to be encountered in the

²²In some cases, when for instance there survives only one manuscript of a text, there may be little alternative to adopting this approach to some degree. However, this can result in a transcription rather than an edition, with little or no attempt being made at fulfilling the critical obligations of an editor. Worse than this, in consideration of its use for further scholarship, is an edition that emends or adopts readings from other manuscripts without so stating. See, for example, Schopen’s remarks on Dutt’s edition of the *Bhaiṣajyaguru Sūtra* (Schopen, 1977, 208–210).

²³The various Chinese translations of Mahāyāna sūtras are certainly evidence of different recensions. However, it does not necessarily follow, as is often assumed, that a later translation represents a later recension. Regamey, for instance, concludes that the Gilgit and Nepalese versions of the prose *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra* represent different recensions that must have existed from the earliest periods of the text.

field of *śāstra* since one is dealing with texts ascribed to a specific author and the difficulties often shift into the sphere of attribution. Varying degrees of opportunity for interpolation and expansion do exist, however, with the work of more renowned writers being especially susceptible.²⁴ In the present case there is no reason to doubt that we are dealing with one text without recensions, and there is no sign of any significant interference of the sort just described; its style and content remain consistent.

Secondly, uncertainty with respect to the language of the original inevitably makes the proposition of emendations uncertain. Material written in Prakrit or the (Buddhist Hybrid) Sanskrit of the Mahāvastu may have suffered different types of Sanskritization – intentional, and that resulting from copyists ‘corrections’ – that can be extremely hard to disentangle. Again it is largely the texts of the (Mahāyāna) *sūtras* and *tantras* that are implicated here. Vilāsavajra’s *Nāmasaṃgītiṭīkā* appears to have been written in chaste classical Sanskrit. Apart from the citations, the text of the present edition yields evidence only once of a non-classical form (the thematised form *yoginaḥ* for *yogī*: see 4.60 and textual note). As for sandhi, although the readings of some of the more recent manuscripts (δ) might suggest irregularities, those of the others, especially the palm-leaf (A), generally preserve it. The internal evidence – our author’s careful commentarial style and range of learning – also suggests that as a scholar Vilāsavajra was likely to have written in classical Sanskrit: one who cites Pāṇini’s *Aṣṭādhyayī* and Patañjali’s *Mahābhāṣya*, as well as the *Dhātupāṭha*, is unlikely to have done otherwise.

The present text is also relatively unaffected by the third obstructive factor, reliance on recent, often very corrupt, Nepalese manuscripts. Although we have only

²⁴Śāntideva’s *Bodhicaryāvatāra* is one text that has almost certainly suffered in this way: an early Tibetan translation preserved at Dun-huang contains 210½ less verses than the later version that is found in the bKa’ ’gyur, which latter corresponds with the Sanskrit text as we have it (see Saito, 1993).

one palm-leaf manuscript of the NMAA (A), time and again it preserves good readings lost elsewhere, or corroborated only in the undated manuscript B, which stands out beside A in its value as a witness.²⁵ If the edition had to be based on the more recent manuscripts (CEDJKG) it would be considerably less reliable.²⁶

Hence, the task of editing the NMAA is more straightforward than is sometimes the case for Buddhist texts. Nonetheless, being a prose rather than a verse text, it lacks the regulation of metre and the punctuation that indicates each half-verse; it is thus more liable to suffer from scribal errors of omission.

3.2 Types of Emendation

In the apparatus I distinguish three types of emendation using the abbreviations *corr.*, *em.*, and *conj.*. This attempts to differentiate levels of seriousness of emendation. These levels are not discrete categories so much as points on a continuum representing the degree of certainty with which an emendation can be maintained.

The first level (*corr.*) is used for correcting a reading that would be fully attested by the manuscripts were it not that it contained an insignificant error, such as a misreading or elision of a single *akṣara*. Its use signifies that I judge there exists a minimal degree of doubt as to its being the correct reading. The second level (*em.*) is used where the degree of doubt is greater but the emendation is not completely conjectural since the reading is in part attested and a path of corruption is discernible. This type of emendation typically occurs when a word is attested but the syntax of the passage requires a different inflection. The third level (*conj.*) is reserved for

²⁵Features of its (Newarī) script suggests that B is probably from the eighteenth century or earlier. Other valuable manuscripts are F and the contaminated H (both undated).

²⁶CEKDJG are shown below (see section 4.2, *Evidence for the Hyparchetypes*) to descend from one hyparchetype (δ). They contain considerable errors, particularly omissions, that it would not be possible to restore. Only CEK are dated, C (1800 CE) being approximately one hundred years earlier than EK. Examination of their script and physical condition (as far as can be made out from the microfilms) renders it unlikely that DJ are older than C. G, the remaining manuscript of this group, is an apograph of K, and must therefore have been copied this century.

emendations that are diagnostic, and where there is little or no support from the manuscripts. Some emendations of this type are purely conjectural, representing a possible solution to a crux, as for example when sense or syntax indicates that the text contains an omission. Others have some support from the manuscripts, and sometimes it is possible to see how the present state of the transmission could have developed. Nonetheless, the degree of doubt for such emendations is high, and for the majority there is some comment in the textual notes.

3.3 Use of the Tibetan Translation

In the preparation of the present edition I have made selective use of the Tibetan translation of the NMAA (*Tib.*), consulting it whenever there is a crux in the Sanskrit text or when the manuscripts present alternative readings that seem equally viable. I have not accorded it any privileged status but have treated its readings as those of a further witness, assessing them in that light. The evidence of *Tib.* is thus incorporated into the apparatus, where its alliances with the Sanskrit variants are stated and its readings cited, as appropriate. In the textual notes, when a wider context is needed for a proper assessment of its significance, *Tib.* is cited more extensively.

My aim in using the Tibetan translation has been essentially one of improving the Sanskrit edition, and I have not therefore made an exhaustive comparison with the Sanskrit text; for example, I have not attempted to list every place where it differs from the Sanskrit. Despite this restricted use I have recorded sufficient readings to make an attempt at relating it to the stemma of the Sanskrit manuscripts worthwhile.²⁷

Reading the Tibetan translation reveals a number of characteristics that are relevant to an assessment of its value as a witness. Discussion of these is deferred to section 5 of the present chapter; it suffices for now to note that some of them – occasional mistranslations, interpretive translations, and rearrangements of the Sanskrit – suggest that *Tib.* should be treated with caution. Also, errors shared with

²⁷See section 4.4 below, *The Tibetan Translation & the Stemma Codicum*.

some of the Sanskrit manuscripts point to the Tibetan translation being based, at least in part, upon a corrupt exemplar.

The role of Tibetan translations in the editing of Buddhist texts (Tantric and otherwise) has been the subject of a continuing debate, triggered in large part by David Snellgrove's remarks in the introduction to his edition of the *Hevajra Tantra*. My own contribution to the discussion is best deferred until after my remarks on some of the characteristics of the Tibetan translation of the NMAA.

3.4 Positive Apparatus

For the presentation of the variant readings I have adopted a positive apparatus, that is to say, the first variant in each entry comprises the accepted reading followed by the siglum (or sigla) of the manuscript(s) that attest it or, if it is an emendation, by the appropriate abbreviation. The advantage in this approach is that one can see at a glance which manuscripts support the preferred reading; there is no need to work them out by a process of deduction (ie. by seeing which are not mentioned as having variant readings).

Furthermore, the ambiguities that can arise with a negative apparatus – when it may not be clear what a variant is a variant of – are eliminated; the readings that follow the initial accepted reading are the variants of that reading. The possibility of such ambiguity is perhaps most evident when recording variants in compounds. The methods of dealing with the problem used by those who adopt a negative apparatus – placing the footnote mark within the compound after the word concerned, or citing more of the surrounding text – are unsatisfactory when confronted with a compound that has a number of elements each of which may have variants.

In the present edition I have placed the footnote mark at the end of the word for which there are variants, whether that word is a compound word or not. This allows a smoother reading of the text than inserting them midway. If, as in a compound, it is only part of the whole word that has variants, the positive reading in the apparatus is

cited without dashes or other marks that are usually indicative of it being part of a compound. Such marks are unnecessary since the purpose of the positive reading is to indicate the preferred reading where there are variants; reference to the edited text shows whether the whole or part of a word is referred to. Any of these marks appended to the positive reading could reintroduce the possibility of ambiguity, of uncertainty as to what the variants are variants of. When dashes are used in variants following the positive reading, they refer back to the positive reading as their starting point. If more than one element in a word has variants then the entries for each are found at the same footnote in the apparatus but separated by a diamond (◆).

The present apparatus has three registers: a register of testimonia, not always present; a register of codices; and a register of variant readings. The register of codices notes any manuscripts that are lacking (and for which lines when necessary) and summarises the resultant stemma. When a manuscript noted as lacking is unavailable because of lost folios, its unavailability is not also noted in each entry in the register of variants. Omissions of three or more lines are noted in the register of codices, but in such cases the omission is generally noted in the register of variants as well.

3.5 Insignificant Variants

To reduce the burden on the apparatus I have removed insignificant variants, placing them at the end of the edition (after *adhikāra* 5) where they are cross-referenced to the text by chapter and line number. Variants accounted insignificant include misreadings, elisions, haplographs and dittographs of single *akṣaras*. However, if such an error is attested by all the available manuscripts it is included in the main apparatus, and the emendation noted. This is because I have followed a rule of including all emendations to the text, however small, in the register of variants. In general, I have erred on the side of caution in counting a variant as insignificant. If a preferred reading is only witnessed by one manuscript, though the others possess

only insignificant variants as just defined it is still included in the apparatus. This is partly to show the slight support that the preferred text sometimes has, but there is also the consideration that whether or not a variant is insignificant depends on a correct understanding of the text. In passages where the sense is complex or doubtful, the presence or absence of an *anusvāra* or *visarga* can produce meanings of apparently equal viability; thus, what may be an insignificant variant in one part of the text may not be so elsewhere. Larger errors, such as the corruption of more than one *akṣara* or the omission of a word or phrase, are also included as insignificant errors if they are the error of just one manuscript or of (the descendants of) one hyparchetype. Such errors are included only when stemmatic theory indicates that they could not be the reading of the archetype.

4. A Stemma Codicum for Vilāsavajra's Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī

4.1 Introduction

For the purpose of constructing a stemma I initially collated readings of the (ten) MSS available to me for a passage of some ninety lines in the sixth chapter of the NMAA. In some of the manuscripts this passage contained a number of marked lacunae that I hoped would provide clear evidence concerning transmission of shared errors. I intended to include an edition and translation of the whole of chapter six in the present work but it subsequently became apparent that the chapter was too long for this to be possible. The text and variant readings of the collated passage are included at the end of the edition, after the insignificant variants.

The variant readings from the passage provide strong evidence for the existence of hyparchetypes α , β , γ and δ . The relationship between the manuscripts of δ is less clear. There is also evidence of contamination in some manuscripts, including those from δ , and it is sometimes not easy to distinguish instances of contamination from those of counter-examples to proposed sub-hyparchetypes. Nonetheless, K and G are

clearly apographs of C. They have all the errors of C as well as some of their own. Further, G has all the errors of K and also some of its own, so in turn is an apograph of K. Since C is complete, in good physical condition and clearly microfilmed by the NGMPP I have not collated KG for chapters 1–5. The present edition of these chapters is thus based on the eight remaining manuscripts, ABCDEFHJ.

Subsequent collation confirmed the existence of hyparchetypes α , β , γ and δ , and suggested the existence of ϵ and ζ , two sub-hyparchetypes of δ . As a result I have adopted them as hyparchetypes in the apparatus and textual notes, although their status as such remains rather tentative. Further collation also made it apparent that the first thirteen folios of B (= B₁) – which replace a lost portion of the original manuscript – are also an apograph of C and so readings of B₁ are not included in the apparatus.²⁸ Since K and G had previously been eliminated as apographs of C, the relation between B₁ and KG was deduced by examining a number of key passages in chapter 1 rather than by a full collation of variants. Nevertheless, the evidence is clear enough to show that B₁ and KG form separate transmissions from C.

There follows a summary of the evidence for the stemma and then a discussion of contamination. All the variants in the proposed examples of contamination are given in the format used in the apparatus for the text. Thus the first reading is always the positive or preferred reading and is followed by the variants of the remaining manuscripts. A variant followed by a hyparchetype siglum means that the reading is attested by all the manuscripts available at that point which are the descendants of that hyparchetype. The hyparchetype sigla are not used in the apparatus to denote a reading inferable as that of the hyparchetype (as a result of examining the readings of its descendants). In other words, “*indu* γ : *indra* δ ” means that *indu* is attested by

²⁸A close comparison of the readings of B₁ and C was possible since my initial draft of chapters 1–4 used manuscripts A and B, the only ones available to me at the time. Since chapter four ends on fol. 15r in B, I had collated all of the first thirteen folios, ie. all of B₁.

FH and *indra* by CDEJKG.²⁹ The existence of the hyparchetypes is not thereby presumed by the use of their sigla.

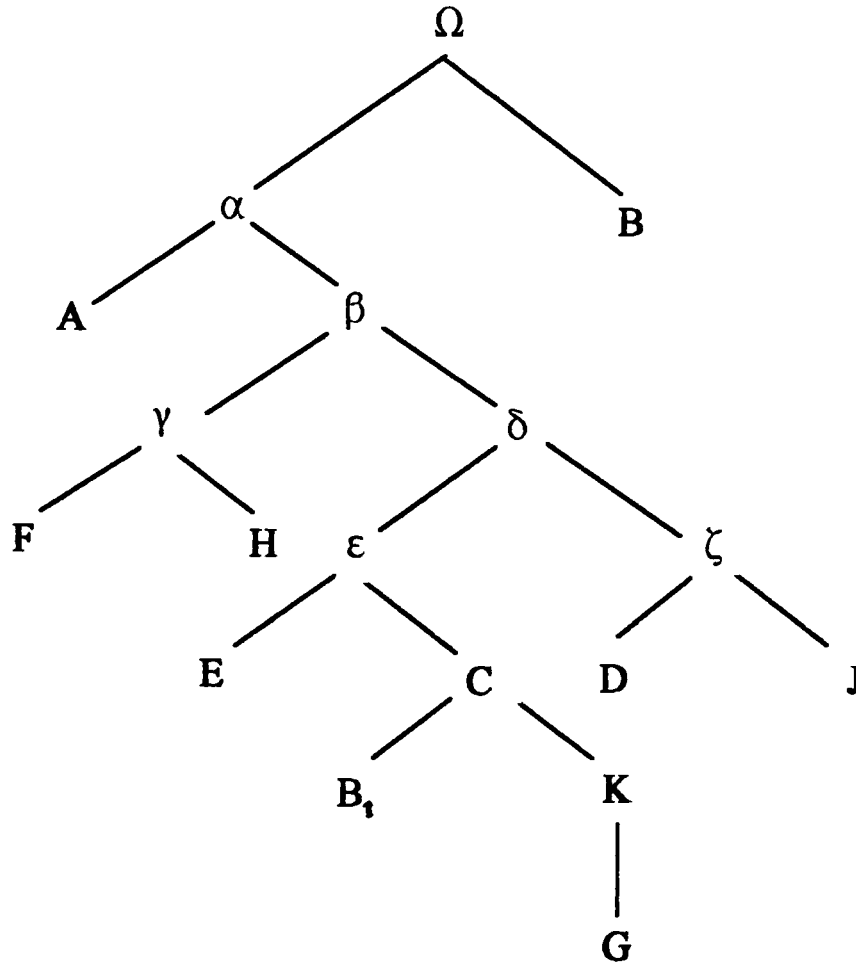


Fig. 2. *Stemma Codicum* of the Sanskrit Manuscripts of the NMAA.

4.2 Evidence for the hyparchetypes

i) ABCDEFGHKJ (Ω = all available MSS)

ABCDEFGHKJ share significant errors indicating that they descend from a common archetype, (Ω). For example, (4.201) they interpolate *idam* (CDJ have *itam*; E *itah*) before *idānīm*. They read (4.207) *aṣṭāsu cāṣṭau* for (conj.) *aṣṭāsv aṣṭau*, (5.153) *indrajālikah* for (conj.) *māyendrajālikah*, (5.154) *indrajālikah* for (conj.) *māyendrajālikaś*, (5.159–60) *karmeti* for (conj.) *krama iti* or *karmakrama iti*, and (5.287) *puṅgalah* (JDC have *puṅgalah*) for (conj.) *puṅgavaḥ*.

ii) ACDEFGHJK (α) and B descend independently from Ω .

ACDEFGHJK (α) share errors not transmitted by B. For example they read (6.2) *pravṛttāś* for *pravibhāvitāś*, (6.4) *jātasamgam* for *saṅgajātaṃ* (conj. :

²⁹In examples from chapters 1–5 the siglum δ stands for manuscripts CDEJ since KG were only collated for the passage from chapter 6.

*saṅg*ī*jātaṃ* B), (6.13) *pāramitā* for *na dānapāramitā*, and (5.287) *paramārthā-* for *paramārtha-*. They omit (6.43) *taj* (D^C has *ta*), and (5.239) *mahākrūraḥ*.

ACDEFGHJK are not descendants of B since B has errors of its own. For example, it omits (6.10) *dānapāramitā*, (6.59) *rūpārūpyapratisaṃyuktānām saṃskārāṇām hetau yad anāsravaṃ jñānam*, (6.64) *anvayajñāne*, (6.46) *bhumau*, (6.61) *saṃyuktānām*, and (6.80) *mārgaṃ*. It reads (6.46) *bhūmi* for *vaśitva*, and (6.19) *vīr yadi* for *dhīr yādi*.

iii) CDEFGHJK (β) and A descend independently from α (ACDEFGHJK).

CDEFGHJK share errors not transmitted by A (or B). For example, they omit (6.10) *pāramitā*, (6.76) *jñānam* / *tat samudayaajñānam*, and (6.87–9) *parijñeyam iti jñāti samudayaḥ prahāṇo na punaḥ prahātavyaḥ* / *nirodhaḥ sāksātkṛto na punaḥ sāksātkartavyaḥ*. They share a long interpolation (6.70): *prajñā pari(parī-GK)jñeyam iti jñāti / samudaya prahāṇo na punaḥ prahātavya(-tavyaḥ FH) nirodhaśāksāt(-śāksā GK) tvatā(*tr*to F; vattā H) na punaḥ sāksātkartavyaḥ (sāksāt om. HF; sāksāt H²) / saṃvrtijñānam ceti*. They read (6.9) *karmavibhakta* for *karmavibhakteḥ*, (6.16) *etena* for *ekena*, (6.40) *samādhāna* for *guṇādhāra*, (6.63) *dvayajñāneṣu* for *anvayajñāne*, (6.63) *jñāneṣu bhūmau* (GK have *jñāniṣu bhūmau*) for *jñānabhūmau*, and (6.71) *duḥkha* for *duḥkhataḥ*.

Since A has errors of its own CDEFGHJK are not descendants of A. For example, A (6.35) reads *verma-* for *dharma-*, (6.54–5) omits *prahāṇāya*, (6.84) interpolates *na punar bhāvayitavya iti*. It (1.20) omits one and a half lines, *atha* → *prativacanam*.

iv) FH (γ) and DJECKG (δ) descend independently from β (CDEFGHJK)

FH share errors not transmitted by DJECKG. For example, they omit two lines (6.61–3), *rūpārūpyapratisaṃyuktānām saṃskārāṇām hetau* → *nirodhe yad anāsravaṃ*. They share marked lacunae, reading (6.56–60) *ucyate* < ~15 > *pratisaṃyukteṣu*; and (6.74–6) *samudayaajñānam* < ~48 > *nirodhajñānam katamat*. They read (6.38) *jñānabhāvi* < > for *jñānasyāvasthā*, (6.41) *sāmanyatvād* (against δ's *sāmānya* < – > *tvād*) for *sāmānyalakṣaṇatvād*, (6.51) < 3 > *su* for *saṃskāreṣu*, (6.52) < > (against δ's *heto*) for *hetau*, (6.67) < > *hitāya* for *samavahitān*, (6.67) *saṃmukhī* < > for *saṃmukhībhūtān*, (6.67) < > *bhavanti pareṣāṃ* for *pareṣāṃ*, (6.85) < > γ (*vidhā* H²) for *vidyā*, and (6.83) *patijñānam* (against δ's *parijñānam*) for *parijñātam*.

DJECKG (δ) share errors not transmitted by FH. By way of example DJECKG read (6.7) *atīti* for *etīti*, (6.38) *śrāvakābhir* for *śrāvakādibhir*, (6.66) *avihīnā* for *avihīnaṃ* (H² has *avihīnā*), (6.78) *niśaraṇata* for *niḥśaraṇataś ca*, (6.80) *mārga* for *mārgato* (GK have *māga*), (6.85) *upāyasa* for *upādāya*, and (*ibid.*) *tvana* for *jñānaṃ* (FH have *jñāna*).

v) F and H have their own errors, and so descend independently from γ

F has errors of its own not transmitted by H. For example, it omits five lines (6.43–8), *[nairā]tmyāviśeṣāt → pratiṣṭhita iti // [daśa jñānāni]*, and reads (6.23) *-ārthara* for *-ārthaḥ*, (6.72) *manāsa* for *manasi*, and (6.66) *< >gamye* for *mārgasya* (which is attested by AB against *magamya* by DJECKGH, the rest of β).

H has errors of its own not transmitted by F. For example, it omits (6.27–8) *daśaiva pāramitā nayo mārga upāyo yasyāsau sa tathoktaḥ*. It has dittographies: (5.61) of *vairocanaṃ dhiyāṃ mohah* after *dhiyāṃ moho*, (5.71–2) of *śūnyatā-dicaturvimokṣamukhānāṃ dharmadhātuvāyatanamukhena sarvasamādhihetutvāt*. It reads (6.1) *-pravṛtya* for *-pravṛttās* (attested by AB against *-pravṛttā* by DJECKGF, the rest of β), (6.3) *dāraṃ* for *dānaṃ*, (6.17) *tvagaṇā* for *'ndhagaṇah* (attested by AB against *tvagaṇā* by DJECKGF, the rest of β), and (6.45) *pramuditāhināṃ* for *pramuditādīnāṃ*.

vi) DJ (ζ) and ECKG(B₁)³⁰ (ε) descend independently from δ

DJ share errors not transmitted by ECKG. For example, DJ read (6.18) *ihākṣihīn* for *ihā(ahā F)kṣihīnān*, (1.64) *prativedhikaṃ yā* for *prativedhikayā*, (1.73) *bhagavān śākya* for *bhagavacchākya*, omit (1.110) *protphullaṃ* (from the extant MSS, ie. those of β), read (1.131) *ruṇā* – in contrast to FH's *ruvīti* – for *ruṇaddhīti* (EC). They read (5.85) *paramārthāt* for *parāmarśāt* (EC having *paramarṣāt*).

There is no unambiguous support for ECKG deriving from a single hyparchetype in the portion of chapter six collated. That KG are direct descendents of C is clear (see below). Readings from chapters 1–4 also show that B₁ is an apograph of C (see below). However, evidence of shared errors in chapters 1–5 suggests that E and C, and thereby ECKGB₁, are related.

³⁰B₁ is placed in brackets since it is only extant for chapters 1–3 and part of 4.

EC share errors not transmitted by DJ. For example, (1.79) EC read *gāmbhirai* for *gāmbhīrya* <m>, (1.147) *-rūpinir* for *-rūpibhir*, (1.148) *-karar* for *-karair*, (1.151) *vakṣyamāṇamāna* for *vakṣyamāṇam*, (1.191) *śāśya-* for *śāśva-*, (1.195) *-sattvajña* for *-tattvajña*, (1.251) *adva-* for *tryadhva-*, (4.122) *ta yasya* for *yasya*, and omit (5.62) *mūdha* (reading *dhīmohaḥ* for *mūḍhadhīmohaḥ*). They have close errors. For example (4.198) C reads *jramani*, and E *vajramani*, for *janmani*; (5.68) E reads *-moheti*, and C *-moha iti*, for *lobha iti*. And both (5.68) read *-moho* for *-lobho*, and (5.138) *-āropetāt* for *-āropanād*.

vii) D and J have their own errors, and so neither is the exemplar for the other.

J has its own errors. For example J reads (6.17) *samasta* for *samasto*, (6.19) *ādayaḥ* in contrast to the rest of β's *ādaya* for *ādāya* (AB), *yasya* for *yasyāsau* (H² has *yasya*), (6.72) *anāsrava* for *anāsravam*. J interpolates (5.69), reading *sarvamukhena sarvasamādhihetutvāt sarvalobhanisūdana iti* for *sarvalobhanisūdana iti*,

D has its own errors. For example D reads (6.7) *sarvām* for *sarvā-*, (6.46) *dānādinā* (against the rest of δ's *dānādinām*) for *dānādi-*, (6.77) *praṇīmato* for *praṇītato*, (6.6) *jñānodayakrameṇa* for *krameṇa* (but CGK have *krameṇa jñānodaya*), (5.45) *amiti* / (against ECJ's *amita* /) for *amitā-*, (5.71) *dhātvāyamana* for *dhātvāyatana*, (5.239–40) *taryakānām* (in contrast to the rest of β's *taryantānām*) for *durdāntānām*.

viii) E and CKG have errors of their own and so descend independently from ε.

E has errors of its own. For example it reads (6.7) *kimapi* (against the rest of β's *kipi*) for *kvipi*, (6.8) *tadabhirūpe* for *tatpuruṣe*, (6.36) *-ṣṭhānatato* for *-ṣṭhānato*, (6.42) *ātmasatā* for *ātmasamatām*, and omits (6.84) *me*. In chapter four E omits one and a half lines (4.51–2).

CKG have errors of their own, and C has no errors of its own that are not shared by KG. For example CKG read (6.6) *krameṇa jñānodaya* for *krameṇa* (D has *jñānodayakrameṇa*), (6.47) *prati<->tāt* (against the rest of β's *pratiṣṭhitāt*) for *pratiṣṭhānāt*, (6.53–4) *yānāśravam* for *yad anāśravam*, and (6.81) *<->nairyati<->manasi* for *nairyāṇikataś ca manasi*.

ix) KG are apographs of C.

KG have all the errors of C and are never correct against C. They have errors of their own, and when C is in error their own errors can be seen to compound those of

C. The additional errors of KG are minor, amounting to the loss, addition or alteration of one or two syllables, but they are sufficient in number and specific enough to make the relationship to C clear.

For example, KG read (6.6) *-vabhānā-* for *-bhāvanā-*, (6.8) *alaki* for *aluki*, (6.51) *svaskāreṣu* for *saṃskāreṣu*, (6.56) *jñānas* for *jñānam*, (6.59) *skārānā* for *saṃskārāṇām*, (6.63) *anvrya-* for *anvaya-*, and (6.91) *dam* for *idam*. Error is compounded by KG, for example: (6.62) AB have (correctly) *api*, H²FCEDJ have *atha*, GK have *ya atha*; (6.80) AB have (correctly) *mārgato*, CDEJ have *mārga*, and KG *māga*; (6.84) AB have (correctly) *me bhāvita*, CDJFH have *ma bhāvita*, and KG *mamā bhāvitadu*; (6.68) A has (correctly) *cānāsravān*, CDEHJ have *cānyāṃścavān*, and KG have *cānyāṃścāvān*. KG compound errors that C has alone. For example, (6.67) KG have *saṃ // 1 // nāt* (for *saṃmukhībhūtān*) where C has *saṃ<- ->ī<- ->nāt*, misreading C's 'ī' for a '1'. On the next line (6.68) KG have *dhamam jināti* for *dharmāṃ jñāti*, where C has *dharmāṃ jñāti*. But C places the *anusvāra* of *dharmāṃ* before the superscript 'r', which latter is above the vertical stroke of the 'ā'. The result is that C appears to read *dhamam jñāti*, which could easily be copied as *dhamam jināti*.

x) G is an apograph of K

KG have almost identical readings, but G has all the errors of K plus some of its own suggesting that G is an apograph of K.

For example G omits (6.49) *duḥkhajñānam*, and reads (6.14) *paramitānām* for *pāramitānām*, (6.55) *anārthavam* for *anāsravam*, (6.74) *hetuta* for *hetutaḥ*. G compounds error. For example (6.2) ABE correctly have *madhyamakā-*, C^cDFHJ have *mādhyamakā*, CK have *mādhyakāma* and G has *mādhekāma*.

xi) B₁ is an apograph of C

B₁ is the first 13 fol. of B. These folios contain chapters 1–4 and part of 5. The examples that follow are taken from chapter 1.

B₁ has all the errors of C. For example, B₁C alone read (1.4) *pidyakam* for *piṭakam*, (1.10) *karuṇārdrāṇa* for *karuṇārdreṇa*, (1.31) *pādāna-* for *pādona-*, (1.84) *-pratidya-* for *-pratigha-*.

B₁ also has its own errors. For example, it omits (1.175–6) *māyājālābhisambodher iti / māyājālābhisambodhir nāma kramas tasya yathāham lābhī*

bhavāmi; and it reads (1.27) *-vairocanā* for *-vairocano*, (1.60) *paramārthaḥ saṃvṛtyāt* for *paramārthataḥ saṃvṛtyā*, (1.65) *-vidvaṃyā* for *-viddhayā*, (1.76) *nārthaṃ* for *nāthaṃ*.

There is a telling example of how *B*₁ (or one of its antecedents) has incorrectly incorporated a marginal correction found in *C*. At 1.93, *C* reads *sarvasattvāṃs tu na se pāpena lipyate*. The right margin contains the words *na sa doṣe · pāṭha*, and in the text two short horizontal lines above *na* and a short vertical stroke after *pāpe* indicate the syllables to be replaced by the ‘correct’ reading (*pāṭha*). The ‘corrected’ reading is therefore *sarvasattvāṃs tu na sa doṣena lipyate*. The scribe of *B*₁ (or one of its antecedents), however, did not notice the vertical stroke after *pāpe* and took the marginal correction to be an insertion. Also, he misunderstand the use of the term *pāṭha* and took it too as part of the insertion. Thus he replaces *C*’s *na* with *na sa doṣe pāṭha*, giving the reading, *sarvasattvāṃs tu na sa doṣe pāṭha se pāpena lipyate!* A good illustration of the process of textual corruption.

Fol. 1–4 of *C* are heavily corrected and in these folios *C*^c often follows *δ*, in contrast to *C*^a which follows *γ*.³¹ For the text covered by *C* in these four folios *B*₁ follows *C*^c rather than *C*^a.

For example *B*₁*C*^c read: (1.13) *ādarśanajñānaṃ bodhicittaḥ* where *C*^a has < ~7 > *bodhicittaḥ*, (1.17) *anuśamsā mantravīṇyāsaḥ* where *C*^a has an omission, (1.49) *sambandhādiny* where *C*^a has *sambandhāny*.

xii) *B*₁ and *K* descend independently from *C*

*B*₁ and *K* have their own errors indicating that they are independent copies of *C*. *B*₁ incorporates – sometimes erroneously, as at 1.93 in the preceding note – all the corrections of *C* whereas *K* incorporates only some of them. This suggests:- i) that *C* was corrected more than once, and copied after one set of corrections, but before a second set, had been made; ii) that the copy leading to *K* was made before the one leading to *B*₁. This partial incorporation of corrections by *K* in contrast to *B*₁ also

³¹See below for discussion on contamination in *C*.

confirms the view, reached through consideration of the stemmatic affiliation of C's corrections, that C was corrected by more than one hand or one more than one occasion.³²

K follows C^a. For example: at 1.13, where KC^a have < ~6 > *bodhicittah* whereas B₁C^c have *ādarśanajñānaṃ bodhicittah*; at 1.83, where KC^a have *dharma* whereas B₁, incorrectly treating C^c's correction *dāmyanta* as an insertion, has *dharma dāpyanta*; and at 1.93, where KC^a have *sarvasattvāms tu na se pāpena lipyate* whereas B, again incorrectly incorporating a marginal correction (see above), has *sarvasattvāns tu na sa doṣe pāṭha se pāpena lipyate*.

K incorporates some of C's corrections. For example, at 1.93, where C^a has *sārayan*, B₁C^c have *mārayan*, and K has *māsārayan*. (Here K incorrectly incorporates C's interlinear correction *mā* taking it as an interpolation before, rather than as a substitute for, *sā*). At 1.87–8, KB₁ both incorporate a longish marginal correction in C, *śīlam asyeti trilokavijayī / ata eva vīro bhagavān vajradharaḥ parair anabhibhavanīyatvāt*, but K adds its own errors, reading *śīlan* for *śīlam*, and *-bhavatīyatvāt* for *-bhavanīyatvāt*.

At 1.17, there is a more complex example. C^a has a lacuna of about seven *akṣaras* for the reading *anuśaṃsā mantravinyāsa*. B₁C^c supply the correct reading but have *-vīnyāsa* for *-vinyāsa*. K reads *anuśaṃsā mantra*. K might have had the correction in its exemplar but have made an error of omission, dropping *vīnyāsa*. Examination of C reveals that the lacuna is filled with the correction *anuśaṃsā mantra vī*; the final part of the correction, *nyāsa*, is placed in the margin. It is possible that *vī* (and *nyāsa*) are later additions – in other words that C's lacuna was corrected twice; once with the addition of *anuśaṃsā mantra* and then with the addition of *vīnyāsa*. So K's reading could be an accurate copy of its exemplar, since if it were to omit anything it would more likely to be the marginal *nyāsa*, retaining *anuśaṃsā mantra vī*.³³

³²See discussion of contamination below.

³³This example, like that at 1.13 already cited, is relevant to discussion of contamination. (See following section.)

In the above examples G follows K, and adds some minor errors of its own, which confirms the conclusion that it is an apograph of K.

4.3 Contamination

A number of the manuscripts exhibit signs of contamination in chapters 1–5 and that part of chapter 6 collated for establishing a stemma. H and D each contain varying degrees of correction, these forming the source of their contamination. C, E and J show limited signs of contamination, and the evidence in the latter two is not decisive. C's first four folios contrast with the rest of the manuscript; the readings suggest that its exemplar may have changed from fol. 4v or 5r onwards. B shows no sign of contamination and, with the exception of one correction each, the same is true of A and F.

Stemmatic theory can still usefully be applied in the evaluation of variants for this text after consideration of the level and nature of the contamination evidenced in these manuscripts. The contamination in HDC originates from corrections that can usually be identified as such; the negligible contamination in AF is of the same type; that in EJ, though incorporated into the text (except for the occasional correction in E), if it exists at all is of limited extent.

In the following discussion of contamination in individual manuscripts, I give all the variants at each point in the form they are found in the apparatus, though for clarity of comparison I have removed any citations of the Tibetan translation. They are also prefaced by their text chapter and line number, and note is made of MSS lacking as a result of lost folios, eg. "(AB lacking)".³⁴

³⁴In the apparatus this information is obtained from the register of codices located above that of the variants.

MS A shows no sign of contamination, with the exception of one correction in a second hand:³⁵

6.45 *bhūmīnām īśvaro* A² : *bhūmīśvaro* ABD^c : *bhūmīnāmanā<>śvara*
CDEH²JKG : *om.* F : *lac.* H

The readings here are puzzling. The syntax of the passage makes it clear that *bhūmīnām īśvaro* is the correct reading. According to the stemma *bhūmīśvaro* should be the reading of Ω since it is attested by both AB as well as D^c. The correction of A must thus represent contamination from outside Ω. However, δ's *bhūmīnāmanā<>śvara* apparently has a remnant of the correct reading, implying that δ is in its turn contaminated. Yet there is no other instance suggestive of contamination in δ. The problem would be solved if *bhūmīnām īśvaro* is taken as the reading of Ω and both A and B allowed to have independently omitted the two syllables *-nāmī-* (ie. *bhūmī[nām ī]śvaro*), enabling δ's reading to be traced via α. Such independently occurring omission seems unlikely, however. Readings of the later part of the manuscript – ie. chapters 7ff. – may cast more light.

MS C does not generally show signs of contamination from outside β. Two exceptions are the corrections *dāmyanta* (1.83) and *pratīcchan* (1.113).

1.83 *dāmyanta* C^c : *dharmmata* γ : *dharmata* ζEC^a (AB lacking)

1.113 *pratīcchan* E^cC^c : *pratītya cett.* (AB lacking)

For the first four folios C may have had two exemplars, one related to γ, the main exemplar used for the initial copy, and a second, related to δ, used to correct the first. Fol. 1–4, in contrast to the remainder of the manuscript, are heavily corrected, with some of the uncorrected readings showing agreement – often in error – with F and H (γ). The corrections are in at least two hands, which are not always easy to distinguish, for which reason I have adopted C^c for all corrections. In the instances cited above (1.83; 1.113) the hand is one almost certainly used only for a small

³⁵A's position in the stemma and the question of contamination will have to be examined again for the later part of the manuscript where the hand changes and the number of corrections increases. See above, *Description of Manuscripts*, section 2.4.

number of the corrections. Most of the corrections produce readings that agree with DEJ (δ). Thus:

- 1.49 dheyam AC^a γ : dheyādikam DEC^c (BJ lacking)
- 1.52 avaśyam H² : avaśya A : śyava ζ EC^c : ava γ C^a (B lacking)
- 1.108 ivākṣiṇī ζ C^c : iti akṣiṇī γ C^a : iti vākṣiṇī E (AB lacking)
- 1.17–18 anuśamsā mantravinyāsaḥ ADE : < ~8 > C^a γ (anuśamsā mantra-vinyāsaḥ *suppl.* H²; anuśamsā mantravinyāsaḥ *suppl.* C^c) (BJ lacking)
- 1.134 jagac ca jagac ca jagac ca jaganti ζ EC^c : jagac ca jaga C^a γ (AB lacking)
- 1.135 arthakarair iti C^a γ : arthakaraiḥ parair iti ζ EC^c (AB lacking)

From fol. 5r onwards C agrees in significant error with EDJ rather than FH. (See, for example, 2.17, where C has *paṭhyate* as does EDJH² as against γ 's *pa*< >.) It may be that at this point the scribe adopted as his main exemplar the manuscript he had been using for making corrections, abandoning the first.

Two readings from fol. 1–4 suggest more specifically that C's initial exemplar may have been a manuscript between β and F:

- 1.7 lau(lo- DC^c)kikam ca tathā śāstram guruparvakramāgatam AEDH²C^c : *om.* γ : < ~18 > C^a (*suppl.* C^cH²) (BJ lacking)

Here (1.7), C could not have F or H as its exemplar since it marks a lacuna for a half verse that they omit.

- 1.85–8 śīlam asyeti → anabhibhavanīyatvāt *om.* FC (śīlam {y}asyeti → anabhibhavanīyatvā<t> *suppl.* F^c; śīlam asyeti trilokavijayī / ata eva viro bhagavān vajradharah parair anabhibhavanīyatvāt *suppl.* C^c) ♦
atha vā jayakaramadhukarasarvārthasiddhikarās trayo bhrātaras trilokāḥ / tām vijetum śīlam asyeti trilokavijayī *om.* EDJCC^c (lacking AB)

C here (1.85–8) omits three lines also omitted by F but not by H, affiliating it with the line of transmission from β to F. F corrects the omission in the margin, as does C, but C's correction is not complete; it omits part of the passage that is also omitted, probably through a *saut du même au même*, by DJE. This example shows independently that C could have had as its exemplar neither H nor the corrected F. It also demonstrates how C was being corrected by δ or one of its descendants. Affiliation with uncorrected F rather than H is also seen at 1.13.

- 1.13 bodhicittam A : < ~7 > bodhicittah FC^a : < ~7 > bodhicittam H
(ādarśajñānam bodhicittam H²) : ādarśanajñānam bodhicittah EC^c :
om. D (BJ lacking)

The situation is even more complicated than I have suggested since C, uncorrected, does not always follow FH in fol. 1–4. The clearest example of this is at 1.10 where C does not follow FH in having a different half verse to the rest of the MSS.

- 1.10 sattvānām mandabuddhīnām karuṇārdreṇa cetasā AδH² : sattvānām
ca hitārthāya jñānīnām mokṣapṛāptaye γ (BJ lacking)
- 1.56 dharmatāvatāraṇārtham δ : dharmatādhvatāraṇārtham γ : dharmatārtha A (B lacking)

Furthermore, in fol. 4v, despite the examples to the contrary (see above, 1.134; 1.135), there are also readings where C follows δ rather than γ:

- 1.129 pravacayaḥ conj. : pravacaryā δ : prasiddhaye γ (AB lacking)
- 1.131 ruṇaddhiti ε : ruṇā ζ : ruvīti γ (AB lacking)

It may be that fol. 4v is transitional, with both exemplars being used evenly. Alternatively, the change in exemplar may occur near the bottom of fol. 4r (where a change in ink, if not hand, is discernable) and the corrections to fol. 4v, fewer in number than in the preceding folios, form the tail end of a second and later strata of corrections. The adoption of differing quantities of the corrections by the various descendants of C, ie. KG and B₁, supports such a theory.³⁶

MS D, like H, gives indications of contamination only where it has been corrected. In contrast to H, D has few corrections, possibly in the hand of the original scribe, their highest density occurring in the portion of the sixth chapter collated to establish the stemma. On a number of occasions D^c is correct against the rest of β.

- 5.13 sattvādyakṣarayoh D^c : sattvādyakṣara<--> D : sattvādyak<-- -->
εγJ (AB lacking) ♦ svarūpābhīdhānam D^c : <-->parīdhānam ζ :
< >petīdhānam γ : < >panīdhānam C : <-->praṇīdhānam E : om.
B (A lacking)

³⁶See discussion of variants at 1.13 & 1.17 in part xii (“B₁ and K descend independently from C”), section 4.2, above.

Here (5.13) D^c provides a good reading in the absence of ones from AB. Elsewhere D^c agrees with AB. For example:

- 6.41 sāmānyalakṣaṇatvād ABD^c : sāmānya<-->tvād CDEGJK : sām-
anyatvād FH
- 6.44 daśabhūmiśvaro nātho AD^{cmg} : daśabhūmiśvarau nātho B : daśa-
bhūmi<-->pādā CDEGH²JK : om. F : lac. H
- 6.45 bhūmīnām īśvaro 'dhipatir A² : bhūmiśvaro 'dhipatir ABD^c :
bhūmīnāmanā<-->śvara jivapattir CDEH²JKG (-patir KG) : om. F :
lac. H
- 6.81 nairyāṇikataś ca manasi ABD^c : <-->nairyati<-->manasi CGK :
<-->nairyata<-->manasi E : nai< ~8 > FH : <-->naiyāti<-->ta
<-->manasi D : <-->naiyāti<-->manasi J : naiyāti<-->manasi H²

These readings show that D's source of contamination could come from either α or B. The correction to D at 6.47, however, suggests the source may be the branch of the stemma containing B since D^c's *ucyacyate* (= *ucyate* with dittography) is attested by B but not A:

- 6.47 nātha ity ucyate tās eva daśabhūmiṣu B : nātha ity ukte tās eva
daśabhūmiṣu A : nā< ~7 >daśabhūmiṣu CDEGH²JK : nāpa ity
ucyacyate tāny eva daśabhūmiṣu D^c : om. F : lac. H

MS E in general does not show signs of any contamination from outside β. There are three instances possibly indicating the contrary. Firstly, (1.113) E is corrected in the margin to provide a good reading:

- 1.113 prāticchan E^cC^c : prāṭīya FHDJC^a (prāṭī* E^a) (AB lacking)

Secondly, at 5.19, E is the only MS from β not to contain a lengthy dittography:

- 5.19 saṃskāravimokṣa BE : saṃskārapratipakṣabhāvena(-prāṭī< ~4 >
FH; bhāvena *suppl.* *H²*) kramād animittāpraṇihitānabhisamskāra-
vimokṣa FHDJC (A lacking)

Thirdly, E is correct with AB against the rest of β:

- 5.265 abhāvād ABE : abhāvad ḡC

Only the first of these examples is wholly convincing: the source of the correction must lie outside β. In the second case the dittography could have been omitted by the scribe through a *saut du même au même* (less likely, it could have been independently corrected); in the third, E's *abhāvād* could be the result of a scribal slip rather than a genuine inherited reading. Thus, it is possible that E

uncorrected is uncontaminated, at least from any source outside β and its descendants.

On a number of occasions E is correct against the rest of δ and these are harder to assess. Some could be correct adventitiously as a result of an independent error by E. For example,

4.44 *nairātmya* A γ E : *nairātmye* C ζ (B lacking)

4.199 *māyājālā* AB γ E : *mālājālā* C : *mālā* ζ

4.206 *cintayet* AB γ E : *vicintayet* C ζ

6.3 *prati* AB γ E : *pravi* CDJGK

Others are not so easily explained as, for example, the retention of a syllable (6.39; 6.63) or vowel (4.67) or two words not attested by the rest of δ (6.58):

6.39 *uttarottarajñāna* AB γ E : *uttarottajñāna* CDJGK

6.63 *anāsravaṃ* ABE : *asravaṃ* CDJGK : *nāsravaṃ* F : *āsravaṃ* H² : *om.* H

4.67 *vikurvitāni* AE : *dvivikurvitāna* C ζ : < >*kurvatā*(-to F)ni γ : *dvivikurvitāni* H² (B lacking)

6.58 *anvayajñānaṃ katamat* ABD^c : *advayajñānaṃ katamat* E : < --- >
JD^a : < > HF : < --- > CGK : *om.* H²

In this last example the reading of HF seen out of context is misleading since it is part of a larger lacuna. Thus β could have the correct reading, the larger lacuna occurring as a separate error in γ . However, a lacuna for *anvayajñānaṃ katamat* should, according to the readings, be present in δ .

These examples can be seen either as evidence of contamination or as providing counter-instances to the proposed structure of the stemma. They do not, I think, have sufficient weight to warrant changing the stemma at present; the evidence for the MSS of δ sharing error is strong and it is not clear how the relationship of the MSS of δ could be changed while accommodating the evidence of shared errors in DJ and EC reviewed earlier. Collation of further chapters of the NMAA may bring clarification.

MS F shows no sign of contamination with the exception of a one and half line omission corrected in the margin, possibly in a second hand.

1.85–8 śīlam asyeti → anabhibhavanīyatvāt *om.* FC (śīlam {y}asyeti → anabhibhavanīyatvā<t> *suppl.* F^c)

The corrected passage is otherwise fully attested only by H, though it is present in part in δ. The reasons for thinking that the correction is from a different exemplar than the original (ie. that F did not omit the passage and then correct it from the same exemplar) are speculative. C also omits this passage. Possibly C could have copied from F before it was corrected or from a descendant of F, copied before F was corrected; but other evidence suggests that an antecedent of F rather than F itself was C's exemplar here. (See example 1.7 in the discussion on MS C above.) If this is so then F's exemplar would have contained the omission. However, since H has the passage, α has to have had it. Thus if F is contaminated its source need be no further distant than a manuscript between α and F that still contained the passage. (For a discussion of C's correction of the omission, following δ, see above on 'MS C'.)

MS H is the most heavily corrected of the manuscripts and is clearly contaminated. However, like D, the uncorrected text appears to be free from contamination, though not all the corrections are easy to identify as such, especially when they fill lacunae left as empty spaces in the uncorrected text. H is often 'corrected' so as to produce a more erroneous reading. H² follows δ, for example, at:

1.125 svakaraiḥ γ : muhur muhuḥ svakaraiḥ δH² (AB lacking)

6.56–8 ucyate dharmajñānam // anv(adv- E)ayajñānam katamat / rūpā-rūpyapratisaṃyukteṣu ABED^c : ucyate dharmajñānam rūpārūpya-pratisaṃyukteṣu DJCKGH² : ucyate < ~15 > pratisaṃyukteṣu FH
(ie. H² omits *anvayajñānam katamat*, following δ, excepting E.)

The direction of contamination can often be seen, with H² having readings only found in J. For example:

5.36 pariniṣpannā BγED : pariniṣpannatvād JH² (A lacking)

6.25 pariśuddhatvād AB : pariśuddhatvā CDEGKFH : pariśuddhitvā JH²

- 6.42 *nairātmyā* AB : *nairātmya* CDGEK : *naigamya* JH² : *nairā* F :
 *nai**< > H
- 6.66 *avihīnaṃ* / *yena* AB : *avihīnaṃ yad* F : *avihīnaṃ yada* H : *avihīnā*
 para JH²
- 6.81 *nairyāṇikataś ca manasi* ABD^C : <-->*nairyati*<-->*manasi* CGK :
 <-->*nairyata*<-->*manasi* E : <-->*naiyāti*<-->*ta*<-->*manasi* D : *nai*<
 ~8 > FH : <-->*naiyāti*<-->*manasi* J : *naiyāti*<-->*manasi* H²

Occasionally H appears to be corrected from a source outside β. For example, at 1.125 and 6.7, H² is correct against β. (In 6.7 α could have *kvipi*.) At 4.42 it is correct against α, and at 5.153 correct against Ω.

- 1.125 *utkṣipadbhiḥ* H^{2*} : *utkṣipyadbhiḥ* EC^C (*utkṣipya* C) : *utkṣipyabhiḥ*
 ζ : *utkṣip*< > FH (AB lacking)
- 6.7 *kvipi* BH² : *kṣipi* A : *kipi* β (*kimapi* E)
- 4.42 *tathā cāha* H² *Tib.* : *om.* AFHECDJ (B lacking)
- 5.153 *ekībhāvaḥ* H² : *ekībhāvaṃ* AB : *ekībhāva* β

The example at 4.42 is persuasive and in its light one is tempted to see BH²'s *kvipi* at 6.7 as evidence of contamination from the B branch of the stemma. The example at 5.153 is by itself insufficient to warrant a conclusion of contamination from outside the archetype – it could be the result of a (fortunate) scribal slip – and I have not noticed any other possible instance of such contamination.

MS J has few readings suggestive of contamination. Since it is an uncorrected manuscript³⁷ any contamination would have to be either inherited or the result of incorporation of corrections made to its exemplar. There are two potential examples: firstly, in 6.21–2, where J retains a syllable omitted by the rest of β; secondly, in 5.239, where J does not witness an interpolation found in the rest of β.

- 6.21–2 *ādhārarūpatvāt* ABJ : *ārarūpatvāt* CDEFHKG
- 5.239 *tamonirghāta* B : *tamonirghātana* AJ : *tamondhakāranirghā(-gho*
 H)tana Dγϵ

If independent scribal correction can be discounted (I am not convinced it can) the second example, since it retains the final *-tana*, suggests contamination from α or one

³⁷J does have just one marginal correction. See above, *Description of Manuscripts*, section 2.4.

of its descendants rather than from the branch of the stemma containing B. Other possible examples of contamination in J are less convincing. For example:

4.167 nemyām AJ : namyām CDγ : navamyām E (lacking B)

6.48 anvaya ABJ : advaya CDEFHKG

Here the possibility of independent scribal correction is more likely. The case for contamination in J is not very strong. As with E, the results of further collation and editing may produce a clearer picture.

4.4 The Tibetan Translation & the Stemma Codicum

Discussion of the relation between the Skt. MSS and *Tib.* can only be preliminary, since it draws upon a limited range of comparisons, although the implications of a number of these are nevertheless clear. Each of the examples summarised below is discussed more extensively within the corresponding textual note.

i) *Tib.* has its own errors.

For example, *Tib.* omits (5.243) *śaṃkara iti*; reads (5.258) *'khor ba'i gnas thabs {saṃsāropāya}* for *saṃbhāropāya*; transcribes (4.207 & elsewhere, see textual note) *te nama* for *nama*. At 2.34, *Tib.* omits *parṣadi* (though B is lost here).

It is hardly surprising that *Tib.* has errors. There was at least one hundred years between the composition of the text and its translation. It would be unlikely that the exemplar(s) used by the translator would be an autograph manuscript; it could well contain corruptions. Errors could also enter at the time of translation or later, when the translation was revised. If some of these errors were derived from *Tib.*'s Skt. exemplar then, since they are *Tib.*'s (exemplar's) own errors, it follows that Ω is not in the direct line of descent from *Tib.*'s exemplar, otherwise the present MSS would also contain those errors. Unfortunately, the above examples are not sufficiently decisive to form a basis for such assumption; *'khor ba'i gnas thabs {saṃsāropāya}* for *saṃbhāropāya* is perhaps the most likely candidate. Of course, *Tib.* could not be an apograph of any of the Skt. MSS since the oldest is dated c. 1450 CE, so it would

be logically impossible for *Tib.* to have all the errors of, say, MS A as well as errors of its own. However, if *Tib.* and α shared errors and also contained errors of their own, then *Tib.* and α would share a hyparchetype that was an Indian manuscript predating the translation into Tibetan.

ii) *Tib.* agrees in error with α

At 5.90, B's *vilokyata* is to be preferred against α 's *vinaśyata*, which latter is supported by *Tib.*'s *mi rtag [ces pa'i don to]*.

iii) *Tib.* agrees in error with β

At 1.45, *Tib.* and β omit *stutiḥ samagrā // idaṃ* attested by A, thereby collapsing two sentences that make good sense into one without sense. (Unfortunately B is lost here.)

At 2.40–1, *Tib.* again follows β in omitting three words: for A's *tena mahattvād brahma / tasya svarah* (em. : *sūro A*) *brahmasvaram*, β has *tena mahattvād brahma-svarah*. *Tib.* reads *de bas na che ba'i phyir tshangs pa'i gsung ro*. (B is lost here.)

iv) *Tib.* is correct with A(B) against β

For example, at 4.221 *Tib.* (*byang chub mchog*) supports AB's *bodhyagrī-* against β 's *bodhyaṅgī-*.

There are also instances from chapters 1–4, where MS B is lost, when *Tib.* supports A against β . For example, *Tib.* supports: (1.67) A's *iti* against β 's *ityādi*; (1.183) A's *kleśāḥ ṣaṭ* (*nyon mongs pa drug go*) against β 's *kleśā rāgādayaḥ ṣaṭ*; (4.6) A's *mahābodhikṛt praṇidhānacittaḥ* (*byang chub chen por smon pa'i sems*) against β 's *mahābodhikṛtapraṇidhānacittaḥ*; (4.96) A's *tatrāsanavikalpaḥ* (*de la gdan rnams brtag pa*) against β 's *tatrāsanam vikalpetah*; and (4.96) A's *madhye siṃhāsanam pūrve gajāsanam* against β 's *madhye siṃhāsanam varam pūrve gajāsanam jñeyam*. At 4.105 *Tib.* (*byang chub mchog*) supports A's *bodhyagrī-* against β 's *bodhyaṅgī-*.

The two examples cited where *Tib.* has the errors of β are striking. Both are errors unlikely to have been made independently and have therefore either been inherited from *Tib.*'s Skt. exemplar or are the result of later contamination. If the former, then *Tib.* and β must descend from the same hyparchetype, since the

possibility of *Tib.* descending from β is ruled out by the examples where *Tib.* is correct against β (ie. β has its own errors in relation to *Tib.*). The following figure shows this alternative:

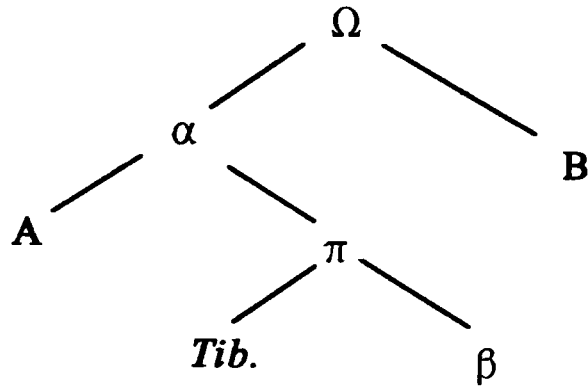


Fig. 3. Possible Relation of *Tib.* to the *Stemma Codicum* of the Sanskrit Manuscripts of the NMAA.³⁸

If *Tib.* and β do descend from the same hyparchetype, *Tib.* cannot be correct (unless through independent correction) against α ; against either A or β when they are in agreement with B; or against α and B (ie. Ω). However there are such cases, where:

v) *Tib.* is correct against α .

For example: *Tib.* supports (2.41) *atha vā* (*yang na*), which gives good sense as the opening of a second gloss, against α 's *tatra*; supports (3.4) *ityādi* / *tatra* (*ces pa la sogs pa ste / de la*), omitted by α . (For each of these B is lost.) At 5.199, *Tib.*'s *drag pa chen po* supports B's *mahākrūrah*, omitted by α .

vi) *Tib.* is correct against Ω .

There is one instance where this may be the case: at 4.201 where *Tib.* supports *idānīm* {*da ni*} against AB γ 's *idam idānīm* (C ζ have *itam idānīm*; E has *itaḥ idānīm*).

These examples suggest, though perhaps not conclusively, that *Tib.* is contaminated; there is a slender possibility that they could be corrections made independently by the translator. It is not clear whether these examples represent the

³⁸For the full *stemma codicum* of the Sanskrit Manuscripts see Fig. 2 (p. 171).

contamination or whether it is seen in those where *Tib.* shares error with β . Contamination could well have arisen at the time of *Tib.*'s revision, especially if it was 'corrected' against a different Skt. exemplar. In any case *Tib.* cannot be simply related to the stemma of the Skt. manuscripts.

5. The Tibetan Translation of Vilāsavajra's Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī

Title: Āryanāmasaṃgīṭīkā Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī;³⁹ 'phags pa mtshan yang dag par brjod pa'i rgya cher 'grel pa mtshan gsang sngags kyi don du rnam par lta ba (*Tib.P.* 31r8–31v1 [184.4.8–184.5.1]; *Tib.D.* 27v1-2).

5.1 The Translators

According to the colophon of the blockprint edition(s) of the Tibetan translation of the NMAA the text was translated by Smṛtijñānakīrti and revised by Phyag na rdo rje and kLog skya shes rab brtsegs.⁴⁰ The Indian *paṇḍita* Smṛtijñānakīrti, who can probably be placed at the beginning of the eleventh century, is portrayed by the Tibetan histories as an important figure in the initiation of the 'later spread' (*phyi dar*) of Buddhism in Tibet.⁴¹ He worked in Eastern Tibet (Khams) where, apart from teaching, he was responsible for the translations of a number of texts, including the NMAA, some shorter works on the NS and his own NS commentary (Tōh 2584). The Blue Annals discuss whether or not he predated Rin chen bzang po and conclude that he did.⁴²

³⁹-āvalokinī is my emendation. The transcription reads -āvalokinī.

⁴⁰See Appendix III for text. Concerning kLog skya shes rab brtsegs, the *Blue Annals* (I 382) states, "The lo-tsa-ba kLog-skyā Śes-rab-brtsegs heard the Tantras of the Saṃvara Cycle from Pham-mthiñ-pa". Pham-mthiñ-pa is earlier described as a pupil of Nāropa (*ibid.* I 381). Bu ston's *Chos 'byung* adds: "Log-kya Shes-rab-tseg translated the (works of the) Cycles of Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīṭī (mTshan-brjod)" (Obermiller, 1932, 220). If kLog skya shes rab brtsegs is a contemporary or near contemporary of Nāropa (956–1040 CE) the revision of the Tibetan of the NMAA did not post-date the original translation by very long. (On the date of Nāropa, see D. Snellgrove and T. Skorupski, *The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh*. Vol.II, p. 90, where they argue that 956–1040 CE is better than 1016–1100 CE, the figure given by H.V. Guenther in *The Life and Teaching of Nāropa*, London, 1963.)

⁴¹Some biographical information is found in Bu-ston's *Chos 'byung* (Obermiller, 1932, 214–5). See also *Blue Annals* I 204–5, 346, 372, 395; II 417.

⁴²*Blue Annals* I 204–5.

5.2 Xylograph Editions

In the preparation of the present edition I used two xylograph Tanjur editions of the Tibetan translation of the NMAA, the Derge and the Peking, one from each of the two Tanjur traditions.⁴³ For those parts of the text that I consulted, however, the two editions were practically identical, showing only very minor variations in readings.⁴⁴ My concern has not been to produce an edition of the Tibetan text but rather to consult it at points where the Sanskrit proved problematic. The following remarks concerning the translation and its relation to the Sanskrit transmission arise in this context.

5.3 Features of the Translation

The Tibetan translation of the NMAA displays a number of features that might be expected of any translation: occasional mistranslation and misinterpretation, as well as translation that is interpretive rather than strictly literal. The inherent difficulties of translating a Sanskrit commentary, such as dealing with glosses and grammatical analyses, sometimes produce Tibetan that is trite or empty of meaning. Part of the problem can be the comparatively limited vocabulary of Tibetan.

Other features derive from the adoption of what must be a previously existing translation of the *Nāmasaṃgīti* for all citations of its verses. The most dramatic result of this is the rearrangement of the Skt. text of the NMAA wherever the order of comment on words in the NS differs from the order followed by the inherited NS translation. This generally arises in the following circumstances. The Skt. usually comments on a verse *pāda* by *pāda*, working from the first through to the last. If, however, the pre-existing NS translation has altered the order of the *pādas*, the

⁴³The transmission of the Tanjur xylograph editions is less complicated than that of the Kanjur. All four – the Narthang, the Peking, the Derge, and the Cone – can be traced back to the edition of Bu ston. They divide into two families, the Narthang and the Peking editions on the one hand and the Derge and the Cone on the other. In the latter, the Cone edition is a direct copy of the Derge.

⁴⁴Any variants in the passages I consult are noted in brackets after the preferred reading.

Tibetan translation of the NMAA rearranges the NMAA so that it follows the order of *pādas* in the NS translation. This would of course make for better reading of the Tibetan, with the commentary taking the words of the verse, as translated, one by one from the beginning. Since the pre-existing NS translation sometimes differs from Vilāsavajra in how it construes the Skt., this can produce a conflict in sense between verse citation and commentary. There is also at least one occasion where, faced with a clash between the inherited NS translation and the (Skt.) NMAA analysis, the Tibetan modifies the NMAA in order to make its analysis accord more with the inherited NS translation.

There are also passages that are straightforwardly corrupt. Various junctures provide opportunities for corruption: the point of translation, revision, or the point of preparation of the blocks for the xylograph editions. Also, as seen above (section 4.4), *Tib.* is likely to have inherited corruptions from its exemplar(s).

The following paragraphs contain examples and some further discussion of these features.

i) Corruptions

Some examples of small errors – of omission, addition and misreading – in *Tib.* that are not shared by any of the Skt. MSS are enumerated in section 4.4 (i) above. A extensive corruption is seen at the beginning of the passage in chapter 4 listing the attributes of Mahāvairocana as visualised by the *yogin*: part of a sentence is misconstrued as a complete sentence, and its translation contains a misreading (*caturtham* for *catur-*) as well as an omission (see the textual note on 4.102–5). Chapter five has examples of additions where *Tib.* inserts citations of NS *pādas*: thus *Tib.* has the half verses 31ab, 31cd and 32ab where the Skt. (*codd.*) has 31a, 31c, and 32a respectively (see textual note on 5.56).⁴⁵

⁴⁵For discussion of instances of corruption that may have been inherited from *Tib.*'s Skt. exemplar(s) see section 4.4 (iii) above.

ii) Mistranslation

At 5.13, *Tib.* misinterprets the dvandva *jñānasattvādyakṣarayoh* (*jñānasattva;ādyakṣarayoh*), taking it to be a karmadhāraya (*ye shes sems dpa' la sogs pa'i yi ge dag gi {jñānasattvādi:akṣarayoh} Tib.[191.3.5]*). The result, “of the two syllables *jñānasattva*, etc.”, gives no sense in context.

A lengthier mistranslation occurs in a passage that lists the attributes of Mahāvairocana as visualized by the *yogin*, following each with an explanation of its significance. *Tib.* misreads the punctuation and so incorrectly links all but the last of the attributes and explanations (see textual note on 4.102–5).⁴⁶

iii) Non-literal translation

For example, at 4.174, Mañjuśrījñānasattva is described with the bahuvrīhi *bālārkamaṇḍalacchāyaprabhāmaṇḍalam*, “with a halo that has the brilliance of the orb of the newly risen sun” (The Skt. is emended to *-cchāya-* from *-cchāyā-*). *Tib.* does not translate the element *-cchāya-* and uses the interpretive *bskor ba* rather than the possessive particle *can* giving, “encircled by a halo like the disc of the newly risen sun” (*nyi ma 'char ka'i dkyil ltar 'od kyi dkyil 'khor gyis bskor ba Tib.[190.2.6–7]*). (See textual note on 4.174.)

Again, at 4.81, in a verse citation describing the decoration of the *kūṭāgāra* (ie. the maṇḍala) *Tib.* translates the half-verse *khacitaṃ vajraratnais tu ardhacandreṇa saṃyutaiḥ* with *rdo rje rin chen rnam dang ni / / zla gam (kham Tib.P.) rnam kyis yang dag brgyan (mnan Tib.P.) (Tib.[189.3.5])*. Though the Skt. is not without its problems – *saṃyutaiḥ* is a conjectural emendation of *codd.*'s *saṃyutaṃ* (see the textual note on 4.81) – *Tib.*, perhaps constrained by the metre, deals with it interpretively, using the verb *yang dag brgyan* for both *saṃyutaiḥ* and *khacitaṃ*

⁴⁶For discussion of a mistranslation that makes sense in context see textual note on 5.177. At 4.207, *Tib.* mistranscribes a mantra, adding an extra syllable, and omits the Skt. giving the number of syllables (again, see the textual note).

(*yang dag* preserves the verbal prefix *saṃ-*) and treating *ardhacandreṇa* as a plural, giving “...it is adorned with *vajra*-gems and half-moons”.⁴⁷

iv) Empty glosses

At 1.110, the Skt., commenting on *protphullakamalānanaḥ* (NS 2b), glosses *kamalaḥ* with *padmam*. *Tib.*, which inherits *pa dma* for *kamala*, can but repeat itself, translating the gloss with *pa dma ni pa dma nyid do* (*Tib.*[186.1.3]).

A few lines earlier, at 1.106, commenting on the previous *pāda*, *vibuddha-puṇḍarīkāḥ*, the Skt. glosses *puṇḍarīkam* with *śvetapadmam*. *Tib.* has *pa dma dkar po zhes pa ni dkar po'i pa dma'o* (*Tib.*[186.1.2]), “as for **white lotus**, [this refers to] a lotus that is white” Given that *pa dma dkar po* had been chosen to translate *puṇḍarīkam*, the rendering of the gloss is bound to be empty. Nonetheless, *pa dma dkar po* is an obvious choice for a translation of *puṇḍarīkam* even if it were not predetermined by the inherited translation: it is after all how the NMAA glosses it (and how it is translated in its three appearances in the MVy, at 1335, 1348, and 6147). *Tib.* has here fallen foul of a problem endemic to all translation of Skt. commentaries, namely, that if the root text is translated in accordance with the commentary, as it generally should be, it often renders translation of glosses empty.

v) Adoption of a pre-existing Tibetan translation of the *Nāmasaṃgīti*

For its citations of NS verses *Tib.* does not translate afresh but adopts what must have been a previously existing translation.⁴⁸ That this is the case is most apparent where there is a conflict between the meaning of a NS verse as cited by *Tib.* and its analysis in the following comment. If *Tib.* translated the NS citations for itself such conflicts would be extremely unlikely, whereas in fact they occur frequently, particularly so in chapter 5 where the NMAA and the inherited translation often read

⁴⁷A further example of a non-literal translation is found at 5.175 (see textual note).

⁴⁸I generally refer to this translation as the ‘inherited translation’, which for the most part corresponds with the edition of the translation printed by Mukherji (1963) (= *NS.Tib.*). See section 5.5 below for discussion of its relation to the transmission of the NS in Tibetan translation.

the epithets starting *mahā-* differently. Before discussing possible sources of this inherited translation, there follow some examples of how it can differ from the analysis given by the NMAA, and a note of some of the consequences.

Verse 40 of the *Nāmasaṃgīti* provides a typical example of what is commonly found in chapter 5. Here, the epithet *mahābhavādrisaṃbhattā* (NS 40a) is analysed by the Skt. as a karmadhāraya with *mahā-* qualifying the rest of the compound: *mahāṃś cāsau bhavādrisaṃbhattā ca mahābhavādrisaṃbhattā* (5.235–6). Thus the NMAA takes the compound to mean “great shatterer of the mountain of existence”. However, in the opening citation of the verse (5.231 in the Skt.) *Tib.* reads otherwise: *srid pa'i ri bo chen po 'joms*, “[he] shatters the great mountain of existence” (*Tib.*[194.1.8–194.2.1]). In the translation of the karmadhāraya analysis this difference produces a confusing result, ie. *chen po yang de yin la srid pa'i ri bo 'joms pa yang de nyid yin pas srid pa'i ri bo chen po 'joms zhes so* (*Tib.*[194.2.3]). Here the analysis, that is, what corresponds to *mahāṃś cāsau bhavādrisaṃbhattā ca*, is translated correctly but since the conflicting translation of the epithet is retained, its restatement at the end creates a nonsense (“Since he is great and one who shatters the mountain of existence, he **shatters the great mountain of existence**”).

A similar conflict is seen in the treatment of the epithet *mahāprajñāyudhadharaḥ* (NS 34a), which is again taken by the Skt. as a karmadhāraya with *mahā-* in apposition to the rest of the compound: *mahāṃś cāsau prajñāyudhadharaś ca mahāprajñāyudhadharaḥ* (5.119–120). This gives a meaning of, “Great bearer of the weapon of wisdom”; *Tib.*, however, in its citation of the *pāda* has *shes rab mtshon chen 'chang ba ste* (*Tib.*[192.4.5]), “Bearing the great weapon of wisdom” and this time in the translation of the karmadhāraya analysis it mistranslates the first part as well as restating the inherited translation of the epithet at the end: *shes rab mtshon chen 'chang ba yang de yin la chen po yang de nyid pas shes rab mtshon chen 'chang ba'o* (*Tib.*[192.4.7]).

A further example of the inherited NS translation conflicting with the interpretation of the NMAA and leading to mistranslation is found in the following verse (NS 35a). The Skt., following the familiar pattern, analyses *mahāmāyādharaḥ* as a karmadhāraya: *mahāṃś cāsau māyādharaś ceti mahāmāyādharaḥ* (5.144–5). For this *Tib.* has *chen po yang de yin la sgyu 'phrul yang de nyid yin pas sgyu 'phrul chen po 'chang ba'o* (Tib.[193.1.3–4]). For the citation of the epithet *Tib.* takes *mahā* to qualify *māyā* (sgyu 'phrul chen po 'chang {mahāmāyā²dharah}). It looks as if it may be trying to retain this in the translation of the karmadhāraya, which retranslated into Skt. gives something like *mahāṃś cāsau māyā ca mahāmāyādharaḥ*.⁴⁹

Finally, I have noted one instance in the translation of these karmadhāraya analyses where *Tib.* attempts to translate it all in accordance with the reading of the inherited translation. Thus in the analysis of the epithet *mahāmāyendrajālikah* (taken by *Tib.* as *sgyu 'phrul chen po mig 'phrul can*) the Skt. reads *mahāṃś cāsau māyendrajālikas ca mahāmāyendrajālikah* (5.153–4).⁵⁰ For this *Tib.* has *sgyu 'phrul chen po yang de nyid yin la mig 'phrul can yang de nyid yin pas sgyu 'phrul chen po mig 'phrul can no {mahāmāyā cāsāv indrajālikas ca mahāmāyendrajālikah}* Tib.[193.1.8–193.2.1]. Not only does the use of a pre-existing translation of the NS by *Tib.* produce conflicts of meaning and passages that make little sense, it also exerts pressure on *Tib.* to translate in accordance with that translation.

⁴⁹An example of limited vocabulary compounding the problems of adopting a pre-existing translation is seen in *Tib.* for NMAA on NS 31b (*mūḍha dhīmohasūdanah*) where *gti mug* is used to translate both *mūḍha* and *moha*. See textual note on 5.61.

⁵⁰The Skt. here is emended. The available MSS read *mahāṃś cāsāv indrajālikas ca mahāmāyendrajālikah*, which must be corrupt. (See textual note on 5.154.) However, if *Tib.*'s exemplar also read this, the path of further corruption to its present reading is easier to account for – all that is needed is for the lost '*māyā*' to be attached to '*mahā*'.

At a number of points the NMAA either cites or incorporates passages from the *anuśaṃsā*, the prose section praising the benefits of the NS.⁵¹ In translating these, *Tib.* does not follow the translation of the *anuśaṃsā* as printed in the Derge or Narthang Kanjurs. I have not been able to ascertain whether there was an earlier translation that it did follow (see section 5.5 below). The same is true for the translation of the NS colophon where it is incorporated into chapter one (see textual note on 1.72).

vi) Rearrangement of NMAA in accordance with the order of the inherited translation of the NS.

As stated earlier, one of the most striking features of *Tib.*, deriving from its adoption of the pre-existing translation of the NS, is the re-ordering of sections of the NMAA so that its order in commenting on the words or *pādas* of a NS verse accords with that of the words or *pādas* of the inherited translation.

I will examine just one instance of this phenomenon, which should be sufficient to illustrate some of the frequent ramifications. Other instances, a number of which are discussed in the textual notes, are listed subsequently.

NS 8 reads, *ajñānapaṅkamagnānāṃ kleśavyākulacetasām / hitāya sarva-sattvānām anuttaraphalāptaye //*. The inherited translation reverses the order of the first two *pādas*, thus: *nyon mongs pas ni sems dkrugs shing / mi shes 'dam du bying ba yi / sems can kun la sman pa dang / bla med 'bras bu thob bya'i phyir //* (*Mukherji* 5–6)

Tib. has rearranged the passage on NS 8 so that the lines on *kleśavyākulacetasām* are translated first, followed by those on *ajñānapaṅkamagnānāṃ*, and finally by those on *anuttaraphalāptaye*. Hence *punar api kimviśiṣṭās → prakāśayatv iti*

⁵¹In chapters 1–5 the *anuśaṃsā* is cited twice: a single line at 1.56, and a five line passage starting at 5.287 (see corresponding textual notes). It is incorporated (without attribution) on three further occasions: two and a half lines starting at 1.63; a little less at 4.2 and some four lines at 5.279ff. (again, see corresponding textual notes). In the last of the incorporated passages, material from two parts (*cakras*) of the *anuśaṃsā* is combined.

saṃbandhaḥ (1.182–7) is translated first, starting at *Tib.*[186.4.8]; then *ajñāna-pankamagnānām* → *sattvās teṣām hitāya* (1.180–2), from *Tib.*[186.5.2]; and *anuttaraphalaṃ* → *tatprāptaya iti* (1.187–8) stays last, at *Tib.*[186.5.4]). The rearrangement is unsuccessful, however, since the Skt. does not comment on the NS verses in discrete units that can be interchanged without interrupting the development of the interpretation. This is especially so in the introductory chapters preceding those that deal with the ‘names’ of Mañjuśrī. Unfortunately it is in these chapters that there is least coincidence between the order of the Skt. and that of the inherited translation of the NS verses, which results in the Tibetan in disruption of meaning.

In the present instance, for example, *Tib.* opens the passage with *sems can de rnams ji lta bu zhe na*, translating *punar api kimviśiṣṭās te sattvā ity āha*, but reference to the living beings (*sems can de rnams; te sattvāḥ*) only makes sense in context of the previous reference to them in the opening passage of the Skt., which *Tib.* has not translated. (*Tib.*’s omission of anything for *punar api* here could be seen as a remedy for the problem of putting first a sentence that starts, “Again ...”) Later, *Tib.* includes the linking passage (*saṃbandhaḥ*), *anuttaraphalaprāptaye bhagavān prakāśayatv iti saṃbandhaḥ*, at the end of the lines on *kleśavyākulacetāsām*. This should properly have been included as the start of the comment on *anuttaraphalāptaye*; since *Tib.* omits it, it has to insert a citation of the last *pāda* before translating the commentary on it. These are not the only problems with this passage, but they are enough to show the tangle that can and often does result from rearranging the order of the Skt..⁵²

⁵²The Tibetan translation of the NMAA on NS 8 is as follows: *sems can de rnams ji lta bu zhe na / / nyon mongs pas ni sems dkrugs shing zhes pa ni nyon mongs pa drug go / / de skad mngon pa'i chos las gsungs te / nga rgyal lta ba the tshom dang / / 'dod chags zhe sdang gti mug go / / zhes gsungs so / nyon mongs pa de rnams kyis sems mam par dkrugs pa'i sems can gang yin pa de rnams ni nyon mongs pas ni sems dkrugs shing ste / de'i phyir na de rnams bla na med pa'i 'bras bu thob pa'i don du bcom ldan 'das kyis bshad du gsol zhes pa dang 'brel to (te Tib.D.) / / gzhan yang khyad par ci 'dra ba'i sems can zhe na / mi shes 'dam du bying ba yi / / sems can kun la sman pa dang / / zhes pa ste / de la mi shes pa ni ma rig pa ste / de nyid thogs pa'i gnas nyid kyi phyir ram / thar dka' bas na 'dam dang 'dra bas 'dam mo / / der bying ba'i sems can gang yin pa rnams la phan pa'i phyir*

Tib. again rearranges the Skt. text so that it follows the order indicated by *NS.Tib.* in the passages on the following verses: NS 1d (see textual note on 1.88); NS 4 (see textual notes on 1.125 & 1.129); NS 9b (*Tib.* reverses the order of the NMAA at 1.191ff on the epithets *śāstā* and *jagadguruḥ*); NS 18 (see textual note 2.12).⁵³

For the commentary on NS 6ab, *Tib.* changes the order of the Skt. but unusually – this is the only occasion I have noted – not so as to follow that of *NS.Tib.*. This suggests that at this point the inherited Tibetan translation followed by *Smṛtijñānakīrti* differs from that of the bilingual xylograph. (See textual note to 1.156.) In its citation of NS 38d, *Tib.*, following *NS.Tib.*, reverses the order of the two epithets but does not subsequently rearrange the order of the NMAA. Such preservation of the Skt. order of the NMAA in the face of a divergence in the inherited NS translation is uncharacteristic. (See textual note to 5.205.)

5.4 The Value of Tibetan Translations in Editing Buddhist Sanskrit Texts.

As stated before (in section 3.3 above) I have treated the readings of the Tibetan translation of the NMAA as simply those of another witness and assessed them as such in the light of the evidence from the Skt. MSS. This might seem to state the obvious, but means that the readings of the Tibetan have not been accorded any privileged status, running contrary to the view, classically exemplified by David Snellgrove in the introduction to his edition of the *Hevajra Tantra* (HVT), that in the editing and translating of Buddhist Tantric texts the value of the Tibetan translation is equal to, if not greater than, that of the surviving Sanskrit. He says, for example,

...the general method has been to first ascertain the intended sense of the text and then edit the manuscripts accordingly. (HVT II, viii.)

bshad du gsol zhes pa'i tshig dang 'brel to / bla med 'bras bu thob bya'i phyir zhes ba ni bla na med pa'i 'bras bu ni sangs rgyas nyid do / / de<'i> thob pa ni rab tu myed pa'o / / de'i don ni de thob pa'i phyir (thob par bya'i *Tib.P.*) zhes bya'o / *Tib.* [186.4.8–186.5.4]

⁵³This list is by no means comprehensive since it results largely from observations noted in the course of consulting *Tib.* at points where the Skt. is in doubt.

For ascertaining the intended sense of the text the most reliable version is the Tibetan translation. This reproduces the original text at a far earlier stage than the nineteenth-century Nepalese MSS. (HVT II, ix.)

Although these comments were made in the context of editing a particular text whose original was not pure Sanskrit, using manuscripts from no earlier than the nineteenth century, Snellgrove's more general attitude to Tibetan translations of Buddhist texts informs them. Thus:

Every one of their (ie. the Tibetan translators') texts is an extraordinary linguistic feat, for no other translators have ever succeeded in reproducing an original with such painstaking accuracy. Relying upon them alone, there is no reason why the exact contents of any Buddhist text should not become known to us. (HVT II, viii.)

His remarks initiated discussion that still continues on the role of Tibetan translations in the editing of Buddhist texts.⁵⁴ In the light of my observations on the Tibetan translation of the NMAA, I want briefly to comment on two points: that Tibetan translations are especially accurate; and the assumption that a Tibetan translation, as distinct from the Sanskrit, does not have its own history of transmission.

The previous section offers adequate testimony that Tibetan translation is not always accurate. Apart from the considerable confusion that often results where *Tib.* rearranges the order of the Skt., there are clear mistranslations and misinterpretations, besides the evidence that the Skt. exemplar(s) themselves may have been corrupt.⁵⁵ This is not surprising. In any sphere and at any time some translators will be better than others and the quality and accuracy of a translation will depend on their linguistic competence and understanding of the subject matter. It also relies on the state of the exemplar(s) of the text being translated. The value of each translation as a witness needs to be weighed individually. I have dwelt at more length than is perhaps

⁵⁴Eg. see Tsuda, 1974, 6–11; Snellgrove, 1987, 270 (note 257); Siklós, 1990, 203–209; Isaacson, 1994, 34–38.

⁵⁵Further evidence of a Tibetan translation following a corrupt exemplar has been provided by Isaacson, who has shown that in at least one place the Tibetan translation of Kāṇha's *Hevajratantra* commentary, the *Yogaratnamālā*, follows a corrupt reading, witnessed by part of the extant Skt. MS transmission (Isaacson, 1994, 13, on YRM 105.3–5).

necessary on the difficulties attending the Tibetan translation of the NMAA to counter the risk inherent in the assumption that ascribes sovereign accuracy to Tibetan translations. Wayman, for instance, introducing his translation of the *anuśamsā* section of the NS, writes (1985, 42):

Since the Minaeff Sanskrit edition differs, by reason of corruptions, from the Tibetan in various spots, I have naturally consulted the Sanskrit but take the Tibetan version by Rin-chen-bzang-po as my guide here.

As has already been seen, the presupposition that differences between the Skt. and Tibetan reflect corruptions in the Skt. is untenable.⁵⁶ If what Wayman is in fact saying is that for this particular translation each difference reflects a corruption in the Skt., he provides no supporting evidence for this.⁵⁷

Secondly there is the assumption, which reinforces this view of the accuracy of Tibetan translations, that once a text was translated into Tibetan it was no longer susceptible to further corruption in the way that the Skt. was. This must underlie Snellgrove's statement that the Tibetan "reproduces the original text at a far earlier stage than the nineteenth-century Nepalese MSS". It is true that once a blockprint edition is published possibilities for further change become limited. However, recent

⁵⁶In point of fact, the Derge translation of the *anuśamsā*, which Wayman follows, mistranslates on at least one occasion. In the fourth section (*cakra*) of the *anuśamsā*, for the phrase *imāṃ ... nāmasaṃgītiṃ nāma cūḍāmaṇiṃ* the Tibetan has *mtshan yang dag par brjod pa gtsug gi nor bu zhes bya ba 'di*, which, if retranslated would give, *imāṃ nāmasaṃgītiṃ cūḍāmaṇiṃ nāma*. (See textual note on 4.4.)

⁵⁷It should be said that Wayman does comment on the Tibetan translation of the NS verses, arguing that (what he takes to be) Rin chen bzang po's translation is a particularly good one (see Wayman, 1985, 36–9). However, in the one instance where he refers to a disagreement between the Skt. and the Tibetan in the bilingual Peking xylograph edition, his conclusion that the Tibetan is correct is doubtful. The issue concerns the words *mauṇḍī* and *mauñjī* found in the Skt. in NS 93 & 94 (Wayman's VIII 17, 18) respectively, whereas in the Tibetan their position is exchanged. The NMAA, however, supports the Skt., not the Tibetan. NS 93ab is cited as *śikhī śikhaṇḍī jaṭilo jaṭī mauṇḍī kirītimān* (D.109v3) with the clear, if not very enlightening, gloss, *mauṇḍīti muṇḍadhararūpeṇa* (D.109v5–110r1); and NS94ab is cited as *mahāvratadharo mauñjī brahmacārī vratottamaḥ* (D.110r4), and glossed as *mauñjīti muñjamekhalāvratadhāraṇarūpeṇa* (D.110r5–110v1). This latter gloss, placing *mauñjī* into the context of "observance" (*vrata*) that characterises the rest of the verse, shows that the NMAA could not itself be corrupt (ie. its citations and glosses interchanged). Sense also makes NS 93 the proper place for *mauṇḍī*, the verse being otherwise wholly concerned with hair and head-dress. It is almost certainly the Tibetan, and not the Skt. that is in error here and this is recognised in the Derge edition of the Tibetan which, for NS 93b, revises the Peking xylograph's *ral pa muṇḍza cod pan thogs* to *ral pa mgo reg cod pan ldan* (Mukherji 56, & note 5). (However, *mgo zlum* – "round-headed" – for *mauñjī* is not changed in NS 94a.)

work on the history of the Kanjur has shown that textual transmission in Tibet is extremely complicated, and it is now clear that there were often considerable revisions to a text both before and after its initial xylograph edition.⁵⁸ Little comparable work has been done on the Tanjur.⁵⁹ Though the difficulties are less acute than with the Kanjur (the four Tanjur editions can be traced back to one manuscript edition), individual texts are often not the original translation but revised versions.

The process of revision is vulnerable to corruption and distortion, and if a translation is revised with reference to a different Sanskrit exemplar from that used by the original translator a contaminated translation will almost certainly result. Evidence reviewed earlier suggests this may have happened in the present case.⁶⁰ *Tib.* shows signs of contamination and, according to the xylograph edition colophons, the translation was revised.⁶¹

The evidence of the present translation shows the pitfalls of making simple generalisations about the value of Tibetan translations in editing and translating Sanskrit Buddhist texts. Complex factors coincide to produce the extant textual readings of a translation, and these vary with each text. Thus, each translation needs to be assessed individually and its value in editing and translating a Skt. original is dependent on a separate evaluation of the surviving Skt. MSS. To see that a translation is in places corrupt, has mistranslations or interpretations, does not

⁵⁸Much of the ground-breaking work in this field has been by H. Eimer. See, for example, 'The Position of the 'Jañ Sa tham/Lithang Edition Within the Tradition of the Tibetan Kanjur.' In *Indology and Indo-Tibetology. Thirty Years of Indian and Indo-Tibetan Studies in Bonn*. Ed. Helmut Eimer, Bonn, 1988, 43–52; 'A Note on the History of the Tibetan Kanjur.' *Central Asiatic Journal* 32, No. 1–2, 1988, 65–72. See also P. Harrison, *Druma-kinnara-rāja-paripṛcchā-sūtra*, Studia Philologica Buddhica, Monograph Series VII, Tokyo, 1992; E. Steinkellner, 'A Report on the 'Kanjur' of Ta pho.' *IsMEO* Vol. 44, no. 1, 115–136.

⁵⁹A start has been made by Helmut Tauscher. See H. Tauscher 'Tanjur Fragments from the Manuscript Collection at Ta pho Monastery: *Sambandhaparīkṣā* with Its Commentaries *Vṛtti* and *Ṭikā*.' *IsMEO* Vol. 44, no. 1, 173–184.

⁶⁰See section 4.4 above, 'The Tibetan Translation & the stemma codicum'.

⁶¹See section 5.1 above, and Appendix III for colophon text.

necessarily decrease its value as a witness elsewhere. A more accurate assessment of Tibetan translations can but yield better editions of Buddhist texts, and their true worth thereby appreciated.

5.5 *The Relation of the NS Translation used by the Translator of the NMAA to the Tibetan Transmission of the NS*

Only a few preliminary remarks can be offered as to which translation of the *Nāmasaṃgīti* was used by *Tib.* for the citations. Anything further would require a more extensive comparison of readings from *Tib.* with others from different editions of the Tibetan translation of the NS than lies within the scope of the present work. I shall therefore briefly summarise what is known about the transmission of the NS in Tibet and observe how the data from *Tib.* may complement that picture.

The Derge Kanjur edition of the NS states that it was translated by Kamalagupta and Rin chen bzang po (958–1051) and revised by bLo gros brtan pa (1276–?).⁶² Beside the Kanjur editions there exists a bilingual Sanskrit-Tibetan xylograph edition, printed in Peking.⁶³ Mukherji's edition of the Sanskrit text includes the Tibetan translation, which he takes from the bilingual xylograph version, emending very occasionally. Variant readings from the Derge and Narthang Kanjurs are usefully recorded in footnotes. The readings from the bilingual version often differ considerably from those in the Kanjur versions; for many lines, and even verses, the differences amount to a retranslation. Wayman, who also used the bilingual xylograph for his translation of the NS, argues that this extra-canonical edition corresponds in general with Rin chen bzang po's translation prior to its revision by bLo gros brtan pa. The bilingual xylograph is not the only extra-canonical edition;

⁶²Variation between the Kanjur editions remains to be explored. Mukherji (1963, ii) notes that the Derge and Narthang editions have few differences.

⁶³In this edition the Skt. text is given twice, once in Lañca script and once in Tibetan transcription; after this there follows the Tibetan translation.

another, published in Dharamsala (undated), was used by Wayman.⁶⁴ This latter edition, however, appears to be basically the same version as the bilingual edition and Wayman calls it the ‘traditional version’, presumably because it is this unrevised version that is memorized and recited by all Tibetan monks, as well as being the version used in the indigenous commentaries (Davidson, 1981, 13).

As far as I have observed, in *Tib.*, citations of NS verses in the NMAA generally follow the bilingual version as printed by Mukherji (*NS Tib.*), and never follow the revised Kanjur version.⁶⁵ I have found one occasion where the citation differs from the bilingual version and one other where a difference is strongly suggested.⁶⁶ That they never follow the revised version is unsurprising since *Smṛtijñānakīrti*, if he was

⁶⁴Wayman does not state on which edition he bases his printed text of the Tibetan, though it generally corresponds to the bilingual version. However, he incorporates readings from at least the Derge Kanjur without noting that he has done so. (The Tibetan text is not accompanied with any record of variants or emendations.) For example, for the first word of NS 29 (*mahāprāṇo*) he follows the Derge Kanjur (*srog chen po ste*) rather than the Peking blockprint (*khong nas byung ba*). In his introductory remarks on the Tibetan text (pp. 35–41) Wayman does discuss this verse and the different translations, arguing that both the Peking blockprint and the Dharamsala versions are corrupt, and that the Derge reading is to be preferred. However, this should supplement, rather than be a substitute for, a list of emendations. Whether any other alternative readings have been incorporated is unclear.

A number of other extra-canonical editions of the NS are mentioned by Davidson (1981, 13, note 38): i) a quadrilingual edition (see Raghu Vira, ed., *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, Śatapitaka Vol. 18, New Delhi, for a reproduction of this edition); ii) two editions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from blocks kept in the Royal Palace at Leh: Library of Congress accessions no. I Tib 412 & 425; and iii) an edition from blocks at the monastery of gYung drung, Yuru: Library of Congress accessions no I Tib 71-906365.

⁶⁵Citations and incorporations of the *anuśaṃsā* also never follow the Kanjur version (at least in the Derge and Narthang editions). The Peking bilingual edition of the NS does not contain the *anuśaṃsā* in either the Skt. or Tibetan translation and I do not know whether there was an earlier translation of the *anuśaṃsā* that was revised before inclusion in the Kanjur: examination of the other editions and manuscripts of the Tibetan NS mentioned below should help settle this question. As a result, it is not possible to say whether *Tib.* translated the *anuśaṃsā* material afresh or followed an earlier translation.

⁶⁶The first is at 1.122 where the NMAA cites NS 3d: *vīrabībhatsarūpibhir iti*. For this *Tib.* has *’jigs su rung ba’i dpa’ byad can zhes so* (*Tib.*[186.2.1]), whereas the bilingual xylograph edition reads *’jigs su rung dang dpa’ byad can* (*NS.Tib.*[Mukherji 3]). The reading of the Narthang and Derge editions differs from both of these: *dpa’ bo ’jigs rung gzugs can dang* (*Mukherji 3*, note 2). The second instance, where examination of *Tib.* suggests that it was following a different translation from that of the bilingual edition, is at the commentary on NS 6ab (*praṇamya nāthaṃ sambuddhaṃ bhagavantaṃ tathāgataṃ*). Here, the order of the NMAA is changed, but not, as usual, so that the it follows the order of epithets of the translation represented by the bilingual edition. An obvious explanation is that *Tib.* was following a different translation. Unfortunately, since the NMAA cites neither NS 6ab as a whole nor NS 6a or 6b separately, but takes the epithets word by word, there is no translation of them and the hypothesis cannot be tested. (See also the textual note on 1.156.)

working at the beginning of the eleventh century, considerably predates bLo gros brtan pa. The relative chronology of Smṛtijñānakīrti and Rin chen bzang po is far less certain. Smṛtijñānakīrti may be the earlier, or they may have been contemporaries. If the former, the *Tib.* citations cannot be based on Rin chen bzang po's translation. Even if they were contemporaries their geographical separation makes the borrowing less likely. This suggests that the citations in *Tib.* represent a translation of the NS that predates Rin chen bzang po's. If Rin chen bzang po based his translation largely on this earlier one it would account for the closeness of the two.⁶⁷

There is substantial evidence for the existence of an earlier translation: the NS is listed in the lDan dkar catalogue⁶⁸ and there are manuscripts of a Tibetan translation from Dunhuang.⁶⁹ Also, Vimalamitra's *Nāmasaṃgīti* (Tōh. 2092) is known to have been translated into Tibetan towards the end, or shortly after, the reign of Khri Srong lde'u btsan (742–797);⁷⁰ and it is unlikely that this would occur without the NS itself being translated, especially given the popularity it seems to have been enjoying at that time in India. Davidson suggests (1981, 13) that this early translation may be preserved in the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*, where there is a translation of the NS (with no translator identified) that differs in detail from other versions. I have not consulted this version but Davidson implies that the differences between it and the

⁶⁷In fact, if the proportion of differences I have observed holds for the whole of the NS, the two versions are more or less identical and Rin chen bzang po's version can hardly be called a new translation, being indeed less of one than the 'revision' of bLo gros brtan pa. Alternatively, Smṛtijñānakīrti may be using Rin chen bzang po's translation rather than an earlier one, in which case any differences have to be accounted for by other means.

A further possibility is that the NS verse citations are from Rin chen bzang po's translation (or one that he modified) but were substituted for their initial translations at the time of *Tib.*'s revision by Phyag na rdo rje and Klog skya shes rab brtsegs. In this case differences between Rin chen bzang po's translation and that found in *Tib.* could be the remnant of Smṛtijñānakīrti's initial translation. The rearrangement of parts of the NMAA to conform to the order of the incorporated NS translation could also have occurred at the same time.

⁶⁸See Marcelle Lalou (1953) 'Les textes bouddhiques au temps du roi Khri-sroṅ-lde-bcan.' *Journal Asiatique* 241, p. 329, no. 438.

⁶⁹See Louis de La Vallée Poussin (1962) *Catalogue of the Tibetan Manuscripts from Tun-Huang in the India Office Library*. London: OUP, pp. 43 & 126.

⁷⁰Davidson (1981, 9–10 & note 23) discusses the chronology of Vimalamitra's visit to Tibet and the translation of his NS commentary.

‘traditional version’ ascribed to Rin chen bzang po are not very great since he suggests that if it does represent the early translation then Rin chen bzang po must have drawn heavily on it.

Progress in the work of clarifying the relation between the version ascribed to Rin chen bzang po and any earlier version requires further study of the Dunhuang MSS and the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* edition as well as of the NS citations in the present commentary. A manuscript identified as the NS in the library of Ta pho monastery in Spiti (present day Himachal Pradesh) may also be of significance. Ta pho was founded by Rin chen bzang po and a preliminary investigation of its library shows that some manuscripts date from the 11th century. There is the exciting possibility that the NS manuscript is a contemporary copy of Rin chen bzang po's translation.

TEXT

A CRITICAL EDITION OF CHAPTERS 1–5 OF
VILĀSAVAJRA’S
NĀMAMANTRĀRTHĀVALOKINĪ,
‘AN EXPLANATION OF THE MEANING OF THE NAME-MANTRAS’

Abbreviations and Symbols in the Text, Apparatus, and Textual Notes.

Symbols in the Text

- < > A word enclosed with angle brackets is an emendatory addition by the editor that is not attested by any of the manuscript readings available.
- * Following a word a superscript asterisk indicates that there is a note in the *Textual Notes* on the preceding word or passage.
- [] Square brackets enclose material additional to the edited text of the NMAA, eg. inserted verses of the NS and chapter headings.
- † † Obeli are used to mark a word or passage judged to be corrupt but which the editor is not able to emend.

Symbols and Abbreviations in the Apparatus and Textual Notes

1. Manuscript, Archetype and Hyparchetype Sigla

- A, B, C, D, E, F, H, J. Upper case Roman letters are used as sigla for the Sanskrit MSS of the NMAA. (See *Introduction to the Text*, Section 1)
- Ω, α, β, γ, δ, ε, ζ: Greek letters are used as sigla for the archetype (Ω) and hyparchetypes (α, β, γ, δ, ε, ζ) of the *stemma codicum*. Unless otherwise stated, they are used to denote the readings of all the extant descendants of the (hyp)archetype, rather than a reading inferred as being that of the (hyp)archetype itself (because, for example, it is attested by the majority of its descendants).

2. Abbreviations for Texts and Tibetan Translations

- NMAA* Vilāsavajra's *Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī*. In plain text in the testimonia; elsewhere in italics. Figures give chapter and line number of the present edition, eg. 'NMAA 1, 202.' or '*NMAA*[1, 202]' denotes NMAA adhikāra 1, line 202.
- Tib.* The Tibetan translation of the NMAA. Unless otherwise specified, *Tib.* refers to the reading of both *Tib.D.* and *Tib.P.* Text references, following *Tib.* in brackets, are those of *Tib.P.*, eg. *Tib.*[186.3.7].
- Tib.P.* Peking blockprint edition of *Tib.* (D. T. Suzuki, ed., *Peking Tibetan Tripitaka*, Tokyo: Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute, 1956, vol. 74, pp. 184.4.8–226.2.1)
- Tib.D.* Derge blockprint edition of *Tib.*
- NS *Nāmasaṃgīti*. NS 42 denotes *Nāmasaṃgīti*, verse 42 (verse numeration follows that of *NS.Dav.*).
- NS.Dav.* Edited text of the NS as printed by Davidson (1981): in plain text in the testimonia, elsewhere in italics, eg. '*NS.Dav.*[68, 2]' denotes *NS.Dav.* page 68, line 2; '*NS.Dav.*[68, v.163a]' denotes *NS.Dav.* page 68, verse 163, *pāda* a. (In the testimonia

references are given without brackets around the text reference. Eg. ‘NS.Dav. 68, 2’; ‘NS.Dav. 68, v.163a’.)

Variant readings recorded by Davidson are given with the source of the variant (as abbreviated by Davidson) indicated in superscript, eg. *NS.Dav.^{Minaev}* denotes the reading of Minaev’s edition of the NS.

NS.Tib. Tibetan translation of the NS according to the bilingual Peking xylograph edition as printed in *Mukherji*.

NS.Tib.D.N. Tibetan translation of the NS according to the Derge and Narthang xylograph editions as printed in *Mukherji*.

Mukherji Mukherji, Durga Das. (1963) (ed.) *Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti: Sanskrit & Tibetan Texts*. Calcutta: University of Calcutta.

Sak. Sakurai’s edition of NMAA 3 & 4 as printed in Sakurai, 1988.

3. Symbols and Abbreviations

<i>A</i> ¹	A as corrected by the original scribe.
<i>A</i> ²	A as corrected by a later hand.
<i>A</i> ^a	A before correction.
<i>A</i> ^c	A after correction.
<i>A</i> ^{mg}	Indicates a reading in A’s margin.
<i>corr.</i>	<i>correxī</i> . ‘I have corrected.’
<i>em.</i>	<i>emendavi</i> . ‘I have emended.’
<i>conj.</i>	‘I have conjectured.’
<i>codd.</i>	<i>codices</i> . All the manuscripts available at a place in the text.
<i>cett.</i>	<i>ceteri</i> . All the remaining manuscripts available at a place in the text.
<i>om. A</i>	<i>omisit A</i> . ‘A has omitted.’
<i>suppl. A</i>	<i>supplevit A</i> . ‘A has supplied.’
<i>v.l.</i>	<i>varia lectio</i> . ‘Variant reading.’
<i>lac. A</i>	lacuna in A.
>>>>	Represent connecting marks in a MS, which indicate that there is not a break or <i>lacuna</i> in the text where there is a gap between <i>akṣaras</i> , eg. ‘u>>>>>pamā A’.
()	Parentheses generally contain additional or exceptional material. Uses: 1. Following a hyparchetype, giving – usually insignificant – exceptions to the reading record. Eg. “sarvaṃdadatvāt <i>codd.</i> (sarvadadatvāt BH)”. If the exception involves a difference of one <i>akṣara</i> only, the brackets may be placed within the reading, eg. “pāpādaū tūtsāhaḥ B : pāpādy(-ody F)anutsāhasya β”. 2. Within a reading of <i>Tib.</i>, giving a variant. Eg. “paścān nūbantam <i>conj.</i> : mjug ni nge’i (de’i <i>Tib.D.</i>) rkyen dang ldan pa’o <i>Tib.</i>[193.5.4]”. 3. Following <i>corr.</i>, <i>em.</i>, or <i>conj.</i>, giving a reason for the reading proposed. This includes abbreviations of testimonia, <i>Tib.</i> with text reference and reading, the name of the

proposer of the emendation (if different from the editor). Eg. “*kusīdasattvāni conj. (Tib.[193.1.5] sems can le lo can rnam) : kusīdasattvaṃ codd.*”.

4. Following *Tib.* and containing a text reference and reading where *Tib.* supports an attested reading. Eg. “*svasamādhinām F Tib.([191.3.6] rang gi ting nge ’dzin rnam) : svaṃ samādhinām cett.*”

< > Angle brackets indicate a lacuna recorded in a manuscript, either empty (< >), or enclosing dashes (< – – >) according to whether the manuscript has a blank space or has marked the number of syllables lost or illegible. For large lacunae the total number of lost or illegible syllables is indicated by a number within the angle brackets (< – – 8 – – >). Where the number of such syllables is an estimate, eg. in a lacuna that is a blank space, the number is preceded by a tilde (< ~9 >).

[] 1. Encloses source reference after a text abbreviation. Eg. *Tib.[193.2.5], SDPS[14, 21]*.
2. Encloses Tibetan that contextualises the relevant passage. Eg. “*atītānāgatapratyut-pannānām conj. Tib. ([190.1.4] ’das pa dang ma ’ongs pa dang da ltar gyi [dus gsum gyi sangs rgyas rnam kyi’o]) : atītānāgatānām codd.*”.

{ } Follows a Tibetan reading and contains a retranslation into Skt.. Eg. “*krama iti em. : karmeti codd. : las kyi go rim shes bya ’o {karmakrama iti} Tib.[193.2.5]*”.

- Hyphen. Uses:
1. At the beginning or end of a word or syllable, to indicate that the word or syllable is part of a larger word. Eg. “*yathāsvaṃ β (-tvaṃ F) : yathāsva B*”; “*nimittābhāvāt α (nimihā- F) : nimittagrahābhāvāt B*”.
2. In the middle of a word at a break.

A hyphen is never used in the first (positive) reading of the apparatus, which is fully stated, since the positive reading identifies which part of the edited text has variant readings.

* Illegible syllables are indicated by asterisks on the line, eg. *gu*rāt*.

* * Uncertain letters or syllables are enclosed by superscript asterisks, eg. *gu*hya*rāt*.

◆ Separates entries of different sets of variants at a given footnote.

X→Y Used inclusively to indicate a passage of text, ‘from X to Y’. Eg. *guhye → guhyarāt*, ‘The passage starting *guhye* and ending *guhyarāt*’.

Abbreviations in the Register of Testimonia

unattrib. Unattributed quotation.

attrib. Attributed quotation.

T E X T

[Adhikāra 1]^{1*}āryamañjuśrīyaṃ natvā jñānenduṃ^{2*} tryadhvatāyinaṃ^{3*} /tathāsyā⁴ nāmasaṃgītiṃ gambhīrodāradharminīm //yogacaryākriyātantraṃ⁵ tathā pāramitānayaṃ /sūtrābhīdharmapiṭakaṃ⁶ vilokyānyanibandhanam^{7*} //

5 jātakaṃ cetivṛttaṃ ca stotrakāramataṃ tathā /

vijñānavādam akhilaṃ tathā madhyamakam ca yat //

laukikaṃ⁸ ca tathā śāstraṃ guruparvakramāgatam /

upadeśaṃ ca saṃsmṛtya prārthitena mayādhunā //

vyākhyānaṃ kriyate tasyā gambhīrodāravartanaṃ⁹ /10 sattvānām¹⁰ mandabuddhīnām karuṇārdreṇa cetasā //idānīm asyā¹¹ nāmasaṃgīteḥ śarīravavyavasthāpanam abhidhīyate //

tad yathā / adhyeṣaṇā / prativacanam / ṣaṭkulāvalokanam //

Codd. α (A F H E C D); A, β (F H E C D); γ (F H), δ (E C D); ε (E C), ζ (D). Lacking: B (fol. 1–13 lost); J (fol. 1–2 lost).

¹ Before the first line are found the following salutations: om namo mañjughoṣasvāmine δ : om namas te varadavajrāya A : < ~12 > γ : rje btsun sgrol ma la phyag 'tshal lo Tib. [184.5.1]

² jñānenduṃ H^{2*} Tib. ([184.5.2] ye shes zla) : jñānendu Aβ (jñāne*du* C)

³ tryadhvatāyinaṃ conj. (Tib.) : tryadhvatāyinaṃ A : pravatāyiniṃ γ (tryadhvatāyiniṃ H²) : pradhvatāyinaṃ δ (*dhvatāyiniṃ E; tpradhvatāyiniṃ C)

⁴ tathāsyā Aγ : tathāsmīn δ

⁵ yogacaryā A : yogasyārtha F : yogasyārthā H (yogacaryā H²) : yogasyārthe δ ♦ kriyā< ~2 > vilokyānya- γ (ie. tantraṃ → piṭakaṃ lac. γ; suppl. H²) ♦ tantraṃ A-εH² : tantre D : lac. γ

⁶ piṭakaṃ EH² : piṭakaṃ A : pidyakaṃ C : padyakaṃ D

⁷ ānyanibandhanam AδH² : ānyatibandhanam F : ānyapibandhanam H : rnam 'grel gzhan Tib. [184.5.3]

⁸ lau(lo- DC^c)kikaṃ ca tathā śāstraṃ guruparvakramāgatam AEDH²C^c : om. γ : < ~18 > C (suppl. C^cH²)

⁹ vartanaṃ F : varta*am H (vata*am H²) : vartaraṃ δ : vattaraṃ A

¹⁰ sattvānām mandabuddhīnām karuṇārdreṇa cetasā AδH² : sattvānām ca hitārthāya jñānīnām mokṣaprāptaye γ

¹¹ asyā A : asyāḥ β

māyājālābhisambodhikramah / bodhicittam^{1*} śrīvajrasattvadvāreṇa / su-
viśuddhadharmadhātujñānam mahāvairocanasvabhāvena / ādarśajñānam
15 akṣobhyadvāreṇa² / pratyavekṣaṇājñānam amitābhamukhena³ / samatā-
jñānam ratnasambhavarūpeṇa / kṛtyānuṣṭhānajñānam amoghasiddhi-
svabhāvena / pañcatathāgatamukhena jñānastutiḥ / anuśaṃsā / mantra-
vinyāsaḥ / upasaṃhāraś ceti śarīrārthāś⁴ caturdaśa //

tatra atha vajradhara ityādy⁵ ārabhya yāvat prahvakāyasthito 'grata iti
20 ṣoḍaśabhir gāthābhir adhyeṣaṇā // atha⁶ śākyamunir bhagavān ityādy
ārabhya yāvat tat sādhu bhagavann⁷ iti ṣaḍbhir gāthābhiḥ prativacanam //
atha śākyamunir bhagavān sakalam⁸ ityādy ārabhya yāvad mahoṣṇīśakulam⁹
mahad iti dvābhyām gāthābhyām ṣaṭkulāvalokanam // imām ṣaṇ-
mantretyādy ārabhya yāvad arapacanāya te nama iti tisṛbhir gāthābhir
25 māyājālābhisambodhikramah sūcitah // tad yathetyādy ārabhya yāvan
mahāyānanayottama iti caturdaśabhir gāthābhir vajradhātu-
mahāmaṇḍaladvāreṇa bodhicittavajrasyābhidhānam¹⁰ // mahāvairocano
buddha¹¹ ityādy ārabhya¹² yāvad vajrāṅkuśo mahāpāśa iti

Codd. α (A F H E C D); A, β (F H E C D); γ (F H), δ (E C D); ε (E C), ζ (D). Lacking: B (fol. 1–13 lost); J (fol. 1–2 lost).

- ¹ bodhicittam → mahāvairocanasvabhāvena *om.* D ♦ bodhicittam A *Tib.D.* ([27v6] byang chub kyi sems) : < ~7 > bodhicittah FC : < ~7 > bodhicitteṃ H (ādarśa-jñānam bodhicittam H²) : ādarśanajñānam bodhicittah EC^c : *om.* D : byang chub kyi sems rdo rje {bodhicittavajram} *Tib.P.* [184.5.6]
- ² dvāreṇa A : svabhāvena β (*om.* E; dvāreṇa H²)
- ³ mukhena A : svabhāvena β (mukhena H²)
- ⁴ śarīrārthāś A : sarīrārthaś β (śarīrārtheś D)
- ⁵ ityādi A : ityādāv β
- ⁶ atha → prativacanam *om.* A
- ⁷ bhagavann *corr.* (NMAA 2, 64; NS.Dav. 51, v.22d) : bhagavān γ : bhagavānn δ (bhagavān D) : *om.* A
- ⁸ sakalam β : sakalamantram A
- ⁹ mahoṣṇīśa A : β uṣṇīśa (*u*ṣṇīśa F)
- ¹⁰ bodhicitta A *Tib.* : bodhicittacitta β (bodhicitta DH)
- ¹¹ buddha A : buddho γ : buddhā δ
- ¹² ārabhya A : ārabhyaḥ β

pādonapañcaviṃśatibhir¹ gāthābhiḥ suviśuddhadharmadhātujñānasva-
 30 bhāvena² stutiḥ // vajrabhairavabhīkara ityādy ārabhya yāvad³ ghoṣo
 ghoṣavatām vara iti pādonasārdhadaśabhir gāthābhir ādarśajñānasvabhāvena
 stutiḥ // tathatābhūtanairātmyetyādy⁴ ārabhya yāvaj⁵ jñānārciḥ supra-
 bhāsvara iti dvācatvāriṃśadbhir gāthābhiḥ pratyavekṣaṇājñānamukhena
 stutiḥ // iṣṭārthasādhakaḥ⁶ para ityādy ārabhya yāvad ratnaketur⁷ mahā-
 35 maṇir⁸ iti caturviṃśatibhir⁹ gāthābhiḥ samatājñānasvabhāvena stutiḥ //
 sarvasambuddhaboddhavya¹⁰ ityādy ārabhya yāvan¹¹ mañjuśrīḥ śrīmatām
 vara iti pañcadaśabhir gāthābhiḥ kṛtyānuṣṭhānajñānadvāreṇa stutiḥ // namas
 te varadavajrāgryetyādy¹² ārabhya yāvaj¹³ jñānakāya namo 'stu ta iti
 pañcabhir gāthābhiḥ pañcatathāgatamukhena pañcajñānastutiḥ // iyam asau
 40 vajrapāṇe vajradhara¹⁴ ityādy ārabhya yāvad dharmarāja ity anuśamsā¹⁵
 stutiḥ // om sarvadharmetyādy ārabhya yāvad dharmadhātujñānagarbha āḥ

32 cf. NMAA 8 [Ω: see, eg. B.42r8]: *tathatābhūtanairātmyabhūtakoṭir anaksara iti*
 34 cf. NMAA 9 [B.60v5]; NS.Dav. 58, v.119a: *iṣṭārthasādhakaḥ paraḥ* 34 cf. NS.Dav.
 59, v.142d: *ratnaketur mahāmaṇiḥ*; NMAA 9 [B.68r2, B.68r3] *mahāmaṇiḥ*

Codd. α (A F H E C D); A, β (F H E C D); γ (F H), δ (E C D); ε (E C), ζ (D). Lacking: B (fol. 1–13 lost); J (fol. 1–2 lost).

1 pādona A : pādonna β (pādona D) ♦ viṃśatibhir corr. : viṃśati codd.
 2 jñāna A : om. β
 3 yāvad corr. : yāvat codd.
 4 nairātmyety conj. (NMAA 8; NS.Dav. *Bi(Vira alone); Quad.*) : nerātmyety A : nairā-
 tmya(-tmye H) ity β NS.Dav. *Mukherji; Vira* : nairātmyam NS.Dav. [55, v.77a]
 5 yāvaj corr. : yāvat codd.
 6 sādhakaḥ corr. (NS.Dav. [58, v.119a]) : sādhaka codd.
 7 ratnaketur γ : ratnaketu Aδ
 8 mahāmaṇiḥ conj. (NMAA 9; NS.Dav. [59, v.142d]) : mahāmunir codd.
 9 viṃśatibhir A : viṃśati β
 10 buddhaboddhavya corr. : buddhabodhavya β : buddhābodhavya A
 11 yāvan A : yāvat β
 12 vajrāgryety A : vajrāgrety β
 13 yāvaj corr. : yāvat codd.
 14 vajradhara A : om. β (vajradhara H)
 15 anuśamsā corr. : anusamsā codd.

iti mantradvāreṇa stutiḥ // atha vajradhara ityādy¹ ārabhya yāvat
 sarvasaṃbuddhadeśita² ity upasaṃhāreṇa stutiḥ // tad ekaṭra dvāṣaṣṭy-
 uttaraśatagāthābhir adhyardhaśatenānuśamsāgrantha stutiḥ³ samagrā⁴ /
 45 idam⁵* ca⁶ bhagavataḥ sarvatathāgatajñānakāyasya mañjuśrījñānasattvasya
 nāmasaṃgīteḥ piṇḍārthaḥ //

sarvatra vākyārthasaṃśayena⁷* sarveṣāṃ saṃbandhābhidheya-
 prayojanatatprayojanādhyavasāyapūrvikā⁸* pravṛttir iti saṃbandhādīny⁹
 asyā nāmasaṃgīter vācyāni // tathā hi yadi saṃbandhābhidheyam¹⁰ asyā na
 50 kathyeta tadonmattavākyavad¹¹ asaṃbaddhatvam¹² ānarthakyaṃ ca
 saṃbhāvayantaḥ prekṣāpūrvakāriṇo¹³ na pravartante śrotum iti saṃ-
 bandhābhidheyam¹⁴ asyā avaśyaṃ¹⁵ vacanīyaṃ // śraddhāvantas tu

42 cf. NS.Dav. 68, v.163a: *atha vajradharaḥ* 42–43 cf. NS.Dav. 69, v.167d: *sam-
 yaksambuddhadeśitaḥ*

Codd. α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
 Lacking: B (fol. 1–13 lost); J, lines 42–51, (fol. 1–2 lost); J, fol. 3r, starts line 51:
prekṣāpūrva ...

- 1 vajradhara ityādy H² (NS.Dav.[68, v.163a]) : vajradharetyādy cett.
- 2 sarva codd. Tib.([185.2.5–6] [rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas] kun [gyi bshad]) NS.Tib.
 [Mukherji 102, 4] : samyak NS.Dav.[69, v.167d]
- 3 stutiḥ A : om. β Tib.
- 4 samagrā A : om. β Tib.
- 5 idam A : om. β Tib.
- 6 ca AH²δ : *rddha* γ
- 7 sarvatra vākyārthasaṃśayena conj. (Tib.[185.2.7] 'dir tshig gi don the tshom gyis) :
 sarvatra vākārthasaṃśayena γ : sarvatrai(tre A)va hy arthasaṃśayena AδH² (sarva-
 traiva hy arthasaṃśayena saṃśayena D)
- 8 saṃbandhābhidheya AH² : saṃbuddhābhidheya EC^c : saṃbuddhābhidhepraya D :
 saṃbuddhābhipraya γC^a ♦ prayojanatatprayojanā A : prayojanaprayojanī γ : pra-
 yojanaprayojanaprayojanī H² : prayoja* C^a : prayojanaprayojanā DEC^c ♦
 dhyavasāya H² : vasāya A : vasoyaṃ γ : dhevasāyaṃ C^c : thevasāyaṃ D :
 vasāyaṃ EC^a
- 9 saṃbandhādīny A : saṃbandhādīny EDC^c : saṃbandhāny γC^a
- 10 dheyam AC^aγ Tib.([185.3.1] 'brel pa dang brjod bya) : dheyādikaṃ DEC^c
- 11 tadonmatta H : tadotmatta A : tadonmantra δF
- 12 asaṃbaddhatvam conj.(asaṃba*ddha*tvam H²) : asaṃbandhatvam β : asaṃ-
 bandha A
- 13 kāriṇo AH² : kāriṇe β
- 14 ābhidheyam α Tib.([185.3.2] ['brel pa dang] brjod bya) : ābhidheyādikaṃ H²
- 15 avaśyaṃ H² : avaśya A : śyava ζEC^c : ava γC^a

bhagavadvacanaprāmāṇyāt pravartanta eva / na tāt praty abhidheyādikam
abhidhātavyam teṣāṃ śraddhāmātrapravṛttatvāt //

- 55 tad atrādvayajñānam¹ abhidheyam / tathā ca vakṣaty² anuśamsāyām /
yad* utādvayadharmatāvatāraṇārtham³ nāmasaṃdhāraṇaprakāśanatayeti //
abhidhānam nāmasaṃgītir iti gānam gītiḥ samyaggītiḥ saṃgītir⁴
nāmnām⁵ saṃgītir nāmasaṃgītir iti // nāmāni⁶ yogakriyācaryātantrapra-
vacanasūtrāntābhidharmavinayalaukikalokottarāṇi sarvasthāvarajaṅgamāni
60 ca / teṣāṃ nāmnām saṃgītir iti / gaṇyā sthityā na⁷ paramārthataḥ saṃ-
vṛtyā tu⁸ / nāmamātram idaṃ sarvam ā bhavāgraparicchedam iti nyāyāt //
anayor abhidhānābhidheyalakṣaṇa upāyopeyalakṣaṇo vā saṃbandhaḥ //
prayojanam ca mantramukhacaryācāriṇām bodhisattvānām adhimuktitattva-
manaskārābhyām sarvadharmaprativēdhikayā⁹ paramayānāvīlayā¹⁰
65 prajñānuviddhayā śraddhayā sāksātkurvātām advayajñānapratilambhaḥ¹¹ //
tataś ca bhāvanāprakarṣaparyantajaṃ¹² naiṣṭhikaṃ tathāgatapadaṃ¹³

56 NS.Dav. 64, 17: *yad utādvayadharmatārtham nāmasaṃdhāraṇaprakāśanatayeti*
63–5 NS.Dav. 65, 9–11: *adhimuktitattvamanaskārābhyām samantamukhavihāravihārī*
sarvadharmaprativēdhikayā paramayā anāvīlayā prajñānuviddhayā śraddhayā samanvā-
gataḥ

Codd. α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
Lacking: B (fol. 1–13 lost).

- ¹ atrādvaya A : atrādvayam β
² vakṣaty *corr.* : vakṣyati Aδ (va*ti D) : vakṣati F : vakṣyati H
³ dharmaatāvatāraṇārtham δ : dharmaatādhvatāraṇārtham γ : dharmaatārtha A : chos
[gnyis su med pa] gzung ba'i don du *Tib.[185.3.4]* : dharmaatārtham NS.Dav. :
[gnyis su med pa'i] chos nyid kyi don [dang ming] NS.Tib.D.N. [Mukherji 119, 3]
⁴ saṃgītir H² : saṃgīti β : *om.* A
⁵ nāmnām A : nāmnā DF : nāmno ε : tāmnāma J
⁶ nāmāni A : nāmāni β
⁷ sthityā na AH² : sthityān δ : sthi H : sthi< > F
⁸ saṃvṛtyā tu β : saṃvṛtyā ca A
⁹ prativēdhikayā *codd.* (prativēdhikam yā ζ)
¹⁰ paramayānāvīlayā *corr.* : paramayā anāvīlayā *codd.* NS.Dav. (paramayā anāvīlama-
yā H²)
¹¹ pratilambhaḥ A : pratilambhabhūtānām β (-bhūtānā C)
¹² paryantajaṃ H² : paryantam A : paryantaja β
¹³ tathāgata H² : tathāgata *cett.*

prayojanaprayojanam iti¹ yojanīyaṃ //

padārthas tv adhunā vyākhyāyate //

***[atha vajradharaḥ śrīmān durdāntadamakaḥ paraḥ /**

70 **trilokavijayī²* viro guhyarāṭ kuliśeśvaraḥ // (1)]**

atheti vajradharam adhikṛtyāha tasyādhyeṣakatvena prastutatvāt /
 āryamāyājālaṣoḍaśasāhasrikamahāyogatantrāntaḥpātisamādhijālapaṭalād³*
 bhagavacchākyamunibhāṣitā⁴* bhagavato mañjuśrījñānasattvasya param-
 ārthā nāmasaṃgītir yā tasyā⁵ adhyeṣaṇārthaṃ bhagavān vajradharo
 75 mṛdvindriyasattvānugrahārthaṃ⁶ / punar apy athety⁷ āha / athaśabda
 ānantarye / atha vajradharo bhṛkuṭitarāṅgapramukhaiḥ sārthaṃ nāthaṃ
 buddhaṃ bhagavantam tathāgataṃ praṇamya kṛtāñjalipuṭo bhūtvā agrataḥ
 sthita⁸ idam āheti saṃbandhaḥ // vajraṃ dhārayatīti vajradharaḥ /
 anena padena gāmbhīryam⁹ abhidhīyate¹⁰ / śriyo¹¹ devatyas tā¹² vidyante

72–4 cf. NS.Dav. 69, 8–10: *āryamāyājālāt ṣoḍaśasāhasrikān mahāyogatantrāntaḥpātisamādhijālapaṭalād bhagavattathāgataśākyamunibhāṣitā bhagavato mañjuśrījñānasattvasya paramāṛthā nāmasaṃgītiḥ parisamāptā.*

Codd. α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
 Lacking: B (fol. 1–13 lost).

¹ iti A Tib. [185.4.1] : ityādi β

² triloka NMAA [1, 86] NS.Dav. [49, v.1] : trailokya J

³ māyājāla codd. : māyājālāt NS.Dav. [69, 8] ♦ sāhasrika A : sāhasrikāt β : sāhasrikān NS.Dav.

⁴ bhagavacchākyā Aγ Tib. ([185.4.3] bcom ldan 'das śā kya thub pas) : bhagavān śākyā ζ : bhagavattathāgataśākyā NS.Dav. [69, 9] ♦ bhāṣitā conj. (Tib. [185.4.3] gsungs pa; NS.Dav. [69, 9]) : bhāṣitād codd.

⁵ tasyā A : tām β

⁶ mṛdvindriya AJ : mṛdvim indriya β

⁷ athety A : arthety β

⁸ sthita corr. : sthitaḥ / β : om. A

⁹ gāmbhīryam conj. : gāmbhīrya γζ (gāmbhīya F) : gāṅgīryām A : gāmbhirai ε

¹⁰ abhidhīyate conj. : sobhidhīyate codd.

¹¹ śriyo codd. (śriyā H)

¹² devatyas tā A : devatyam tā δ : devatyam tī γ

- 80 yasyāsau śrīmān / anena caudāryaṃ sūcitam / tataś ca kim uktaṃ bhavati /
 prajñopāyātmako bhagavān vajradhara iti / ata evoktaṃ śrīsaṃvare /
 sarvākāśāvakāśe¹ śrīvajrasattvas tathāgata iti /
 duḥkhena dāmyanta² iti durdāntā īśvarādayas teṣāṃ damakaḥ śāsako
 vajradharavineyakatvāt teṣāṃ īśvarādīnām / utkr̥ṣṭatvāt paro vajradharaḥ³ /
 85 bhūrlोकabhuvarlokasvargalokā⁴ iti trayo lokāḥ / tān vijetum⁵ śīlam⁶ asyeti⁷
 trilokavijayī // atha⁸ vā jayakaramadhukarasarvārthasiddhikarās trayo
 bhrātaras trilokāḥ / tān vijetum śīlam asyeti⁹ trilokavijayī / ata eva viro
 bhagavān vajradharaḥ parair anabhibhavanīyatvāt¹⁰ // *śrītattvasaṃgrahe
 pañca guhyāni paṭhyante / tathā hi /
 90 yathā yathā hi vinayaṃ yānti sattvāḥ svabhāvataḥ /
 tathā tathā hi¹¹ sattvārtham kuryād rāgādibhiḥ śuciḥ //
 sarvasattvahitārthāya buddhaśāsanahetutaḥ /
 mārayan¹² sarvasattvāṃs tu na sa pāpena¹³ lipyate //

Codd. β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J). Lacking: A (fol. 4–5 lost), B (fol. 1–13 lost); A, lines 80–93, (fol. 4–5 lost); A, folio 3v, ends line 80: ... yasyāsau śrīmān / anena.

- ¹ sarvākāśāvakāśe ε : sarvākāśovakāśa(-aḥ II²) γ : sarvākāśāvakāśa ζ
² dāmyanta C^c : dharmmata γ : dharmata δ
³ vajradharaḥ J : vajradhara cett. (vajradharo H)
⁴ bhūrloka H : bhūloka cett. ♦ bhuvarloka corr. : bhuvaloka codd. ♦ svargalokā em. : svargaloka δ : svarloka γ
⁵ vijetum δ : vikṣet F : vikṣettum F^c : vikṣet / *t*um H
⁶ śīlam asyeti → anabhibhavanīyatvāt om. FC (śīlam {y}asyeti → anabhibhavanīyatvā<t> suppl. F^c; śīlam asyeti trilokavijayī / ata eva viro bhagavān vajradharaḥ parair anabhibhavanīyatvāt suppl. C^c)
⁷ asyeti ζEC^c : yasyeti HF^c : om. FC
⁸ atha vā → trilokavijayī om. δC^c
⁹ asyeti corr. (NMAA/I, 85J) : yasyeti HF^c : om. cett.
¹⁰ bhavanīyatvāt H² : bhavanīyatvā HF^c : om. cett.
¹¹ tathā tathā hi γ : tathā tathā δ
¹² mārayan JEC^c : sārayat D : sarayan H : s*ā*rayan F : sārayan C^aH²
¹³ na sa pāpena γ : na se pāpena δ : na sa doṣena C^c

- sarvasattvahitārthāya buddhakāyaprayogataḥ /
 95 harams tu¹ paravittāni na sa² pāpena lipyate //
 rāgatulyaṃ sukhaṃ nāsti taj jinebhyah³ samādadat /
 sattvārthāt paradārāṇi sevayan⁴ puṇyam āpnuyāt //
 sarvasattvahitārthāya buddhaśāsanahetutaḥ /
 sarvakarmāṇi kurvaṃs tu⁵ bahu puṇyam avāpnuyād iti //
 100 teṣāṃ pañcānāṃ guhyānāṃ rājā guhyarāt / guhyair vā^{6*} rājata iti
 guhyarāt // kuḷiśo vajras tasya īśvaraḥ kuḷiśeśvaraḥ // bhagavān vajra-
 dharo 'grataḥ⁷ sthito bhūtvā kṛtāñjalipuṭa idaṃ vakṣyamānam⁸ āheti
 kriyāpadaṃ sarvatra yojanīyam //

- [vibuddhapuṇḍarīkākṣaḥ protphullakamalānanaḥ /
 105 prollālayan vajravaram svakareṇa muhur muhuḥ // (2)]

vibuddha<puṇḍarīkākṣa> iti^{9*} puṇḍarīkaṃ śvetapadmam vibuddham¹⁰
 vikasitam akṣi¹¹ cakṣuḥ / tataś cāyaṃ vigrahaḥ / vibuddham ca
 puṇḍarīkaṃ ceti vibuddhapuṇḍarīkaṃ / vibuddhapuṇḍarīkaṃ ivākṣiṇī¹²
 locane¹³ yasya sa tathoktaḥ // <protphullakamalānana iti>^{14*}

Codd. β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J). Lacking: A (fol. 4–5 lost), B (fol. 1–13 lost).

- 1 harams tu conj. (Tib.[185.5.6–7] 'phrog na yang) : harantu codd.
 2 na sa γ : na se δ
 3 jinebhyah δ : jitebhyah γ
 4 sevayan γ : sevayet ζEC^c : sevaye C^a
 5 kurvaṃs tu conj. : kurva*ṃ* tu H : kurvante cett.
 6 guhyair vā J : guhyaivā(va E) ε : guhya γ : om. D : yang na gsang ba pa las
 Tib.[186.1.1] ♦ guhyair vā → guhyarāt om. D
 7 'grataḥ H² : 'grata cett.
 8 idaṃ vakṣyamānam āheti δ : vakṣamānamānam āheti γ (idaṃ vakṣyamānam āheti H²)
 9 vibuddhapuṇḍarīkākṣa iti conj. : vibuddhamti δ (vibuddheti J) : om. γ Tib.
 10 vibuddham Jy : vibuddha Dε
 11 akṣi δ : akṣiś γ
 12 ivākṣiṇī ζC^c : iti akṣiṇī γC^a : iti vākṣiṇī E
 13 locane corr. : locanau codd.
 14 protphullakamalānana iti conj. (Tib.[186.1.3] pa dma rab tu rgyas pa'i zhal zhes pa ni
 {protphullakamalānana iti}) : om. codd.

110 prakarṣeṇotphullam protphullam¹ kamalam padmam ānanam² mukham /
 prakarṣotphullakamalavad³ ānanam yasyāsau tathoktaḥ⁴ // vajrasya
 madhyam* svakareṇa⁵* gṛhītvā muhur muhuḥ punaḥ punaḥ prakṣiptam
 vajram pratīcchan⁶ prollālayann idam āheti sambandhaḥ //

[bhr̥kuṭītarāṅgapramukhair anantair vajrapāṇibhiḥ /

115 durdāntadamakair vīrair vīrabībhatsarūpibhiḥ // (3)]

śrīvajrapāṇyabhiṣekatantre⁷* śrīvajradharānucarā⁸ bhr̥kuṭītarāṅgapra-
 mukhāḥ pañca śatāni krodhagaṇānām paṭhyante / taiḥ sārddham bhagavān
 vajradharaḥ sambuddham praṇamyedam āheti yojyam // te ca krodhagaṇāḥ
 paramārthato 'nantāḥ / ata āhānantair⁹ vajrapāṇibhir iti / te 'pi dur-
 120 dāntadamakā vajradharavat / ata evāha durdāntadamakair iti / ata eva vīrās
 te / tair anabhibhavanīyatvāt* / ata āha vīrair iti / kimrasā vīra-
 rasāḥ¹⁰ / kimrūpiṇo¹¹ bībhatsarūpiṇaḥ / ata eva vīrabībhatsarūpibhir iti //

Codd. β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J). Lacking: A (fol. 4–5 lost), B (fol. 1–13 lost).

- 1 protphullam Eγ : om. ζ
- 2 padmam ānanam conj. : padmānanam codd.
- 3 prakarṣotphulla corr. : prakarṣotphullaḥ codd. (prakarṣotphullam H)
- 4 tathoktaḥ Jγ : tathoktam Dε
- 5 svakareṇa JH² : kareṇa γ Tib.([186.1.4] lag pas) : sa svakareṇa Dε
- 6 pratīcchan E^cC^c (Tib. [186.1.4] gzung ba) : pratītya cett.
- 7 śrīvajrapāṇyabhiṣekatantre conj. Tib.([186.1.5] dpal phyag na rdo rje dbang bskur ba'i rgyud las) : śrīvajrapāṇyabhiṣeke tantre γ : śrīvajrapāṇibhiṣeke tantre ε : śrī-
 vajrapāṇya(-ṇi D)bhiṣeke tantre bhr̥kuṭī ityādi ζC^cH²
- 8 vajradharānucarā ζEC^c : vajradharo 'nucarā H² : vajradharā C^a : vajradharo γ
- 9 āhānantair corr. : āha anantair EC^c : ājñānavastair C^aζ : āhatair γ (ājñā*vā* tair H²)
- 10 vīrarasāḥ γ : vīrarasā δ
- 11 rūpiṇo corr. : rūpiṇaḥ δ : rūpitaḥ γ

[ullālayadbhiḥ svakaraiḥ praspuradvajrakotibhiḥ /
prajñopāyamahākaruṇājagadarthakaraiḥ paraiḥ // (4)]

- 125 ullālayadbhir* iti ūrdhvam utkṣipadbhiḥ¹ / kaiḥ / svakaraiḥ^{2*} //
praspuradvajrakotibhir³ iti praspuranti^{4*} vajrāṇaṃ koṭayo 'grabhāgā
yeṣāṃ te praspuradvajrakotayah⁵ / taiḥ⁶ // kimātmakāḥ⁷ / prajño-
pāyamahākaruṇayā jagatām arthaṃ kartuṃ śīlaṃ yeṣāṃ te prajñopāya-
mahākaruṇājagadarthakarāḥ⁸ / tatra* sarvadharmāṇaṃ pravīcayah^{9*}
130 prajñā / upāyo^{10*} 'śeṣalaukikalokottarasamādhipradarśanamukhena¹¹
yathābhavyatayā¹² sakalasattvārthakaraṇaṃ^{13*} / kaṃ¹⁴ ruṇaddhīti¹⁵
karuṇā / kaṃ iti sukhasyākhyā¹⁶ / kāruṇiko hi paraḍuḥkhaḍuḥkhī sann

129–30 cf. AKBh 1017, 10: *smṛtyupasthānāni dharmapravīcayasambodhyaṅgaṃ samyagdr̥ṣṭiś ca prajñāiva* 131 cf. NMAA 1, 141–2: *ata eva muditā harṣitāḥ sarvasattvārthakaraṇāt* (em. : -karaṇāni codd.).

Codd. β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J). Lacking: A (fol. 4–5 lost), B (fol. 1–13 lost).

- 1 utkṣipadbhiḥ H^{c*} : utkṣipyadbhiḥ EC^c (utkṣipyā C) : utkṣipyabhiḥ ζ : ut-
kṣip< > γ
2 svakaraiḥ γ Tib.[186.2.2] : muhur muhuḥ svakaraiḥ δH²
3 praspurad γ : praspulla δ (praspullad D, praphulla J, prapraspulla C)
4 praspuranti conj. (Sanderson; Tib.[186.2.1] rab tu 'phro ba) : praspullāṇaṃ δH²
(prapraspullāṇaṃ J) : praspurad eva< > γ
5 praspurad γ : praspulla δ (praphulla J)
6 taiḥ codd. (om. H)
7 kimātmakāḥ δ : kimātmaikāgra γ
8 karāḥ δ : karair iti γ
9 pravīcayah conj. (AKBh; Tib.[186.2.5] rab tu 'byed pa) : pravīcaryā δ : pra-
siddhaye γ
10 prajñā / upāyo conj. (Tib.[186.2.5] shes rab bo / / thabs ni) : prajñopāyayo δ
(prajñopāyayau C) : prajñopāyayoḥ γ
11 'śeṣa δ : śeṣe γ ('śeṣe F) ♦ laukika codd. (lokika C) : om. Tib. ♦
pradarśana γE : pradarśa Cζ
12 yathābhavyatayā ε : yathābhavātayā ζγ
13 sattvārthakaraṇaṃ conj. (NMAA[1, 142]; Tib.[186.2.6] sems can mams kyi don byed
pa) : sattvakāraṇaṃ codd.
14 kaṃ corr. : ka codd.
15 ruṇaddhīti ε : ruṇā ζ : ruvīti γ
16 sukha EJ : mukha cett.

ātmanah sukham āvṛṇotīti karuṇā¹ / mahatī cāsau karuṇā ceti mahākaruṇā /
 anāmbanātmikā // jagac ca jagac ca jagac ca jaganti traidhātukāni / teṣām
 135 arthah prayojanam / ata āha prajñopāyamahākaruṇājagadarthakarair iti^{2*} /
 ata eva te krodhāḥ parā utkr̥ṣṭās te ata āha parair iti //

[hr̥ṣṭatuṣṭāśayair muditaiḥ krodhavigraharūpibhiḥ /

buddhakṛtyakariḥ nāthaiḥ sārdham prañatavigrahaiḥ // (5)]

kiṃsvabhāvāḥ³ / hr̥ṣṭatuṣṭāśayasvabhāvāḥ / tatra⁴ hr̥ṣṭāḥ⁵ kāyais⁶
 140 tuṣṭāś⁷ cittena / āśayo 'bhiprāyaḥ⁸ / tataś cāyam arthah / hr̥ṣṭatuṣṭā
 āśayā⁹ yeṣām te hr̥ṣṭatuṣṭāśayā ata āha hr̥ṣṭatuṣṭāśayair iti / ata¹⁰ eva muditā
 harṣitāḥ sarvasattvārthakaraṇād^{11*} / ata evāha muditair iti // vighrahasya
 rūpaṃ vighraharūpaṃ / krodhānāṃ vighraharūpaṃ krodhavigraharūpaṃ /
 kiṃ tad rūpaṃ / mahābhairavātṭahāsānekaśīrṣakaracaraṇavikṛtanayano-
 145 rdhvakeśapiṅgalabhrūbhaṅgakapālamālālamkṛtisarpābharaṇavyāghracarma-
 nivāsanādikaṃ^{12*} / tad vidyate¹³ yeṣām te krodhavigraharūpinah / ata

Codd. α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
 Lacking: A (fol. 4–5 lost), B (fol. 1–13 lost).

- 1 karuṇā γ Tib. [186.2.4] : mahākaruṇā δ
- 2 arthakarair iti C^aγ : arthakaraiḥ parair iti ζEC^c Tib.
- 3 kiṃsvabhāvāḥ corr. : kiṃsvabhāvā δ : kibhūtāvā H : kibhūbhāvā F
- 4 tatra γ Tib. ([186.2.8] de la) : tataḥ δ (tata J)
- 5 hr̥ṣṭāḥ corr. : hr̥ṣṭā codd.
- 6 kāyais corr. : kāyaiḥ codd.
- 7 tuṣṭāś H² : tuṣṭā cett.
- 8 'bhiprāyaḥ JE : abhiprāya CDγ : abhiprāyaḥ H²
- 9 hr̥ṣṭatuṣṭā āśayā corr. : hr̥ṣṭatuṣṭāśayā ε : hr̥ṣṭatuṣṭāśayo Jγ : hr̥ṣṭatuṣṭā D
- 10 ata eva muditā → muditair iti om. H
- 11 karaṇāt conj. Tib. ([186.3.1] [sems can gyi don] byed pa'i phyir ro) : karaṇāni codd. (om. H)
- 12 mahābhairavātṭahāsā conj. : mahābhairavo ṭṭahāsā γ : mahābhairavā atṭahāsā δ (mahābhairavā aṭhāsā C) ♦ ālamkṛti conj. : ālamkṛta codd.
- 13 tad vidyate γ : tad(ta C) vidyante δ

āha krodhavigraharūpibhir iti // buddhānām kṛtyāni buddhakṛtyāni kṛtyāni
kartavyāni / ata āha buddhakṛtyakarair iti / ata eva¹ nāthāḥ² śāstāro³
buddhakṛtyakaraṇāt / ato nāthair iti // praṇato vighraho yeṣām te
150 praṇatavigrahāḥ / atas taiḥ / praṇatavigrahaiḥ sārdham bhagavān vajra-
dhara idam vakṣyamāṇam āheti⁴ sambandhaḥ⁵ //

[praṇamya nātham sambuddham bhagavantam tathāgatam /
kṛtāñjalipuṭo bhūtvā idam āha sthito 'grataḥ // (6)]

kiṃ kṛtvā / praṇamya / kaṃ / nātham iti⁶ / anāthānām lokānām
155 anuśāsanāt nāthaḥ svāmī / taṃ^{7*} // punar api kiṃviśiṣṭam nātham⁸
ity āha sambuddham iti* samyaksambuddham⁹ na¹⁰ śrāvakaṃ
pratyekabuddham¹¹ <vā>* // bhūyo 'pi nātham viśinaṣṭi bhagavantam iti /

Codd. α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
Lacking: B (fol. 1–13 lost); A, lines 147–9 (fol. 4–5 lost); A, fol. 6r, starts line 149:
[bu]ddhakṛtyakaraṇāt

- 1 ata eva δ Tib. ([186.3.4] de nyid kyi phyir na) : ata evāha γ
- 2 nāthāḥ corr. : nātha codd. (om. H)
- 3 śāstāro Jy : śāstaro εD
- 4 āheti A : āha β (ā< > F)
- 5 sambandhaḥ A Tib. ([186.3.6] 'brel lo) : om. β
- 6 nātham iti A : nātham δ : nātham nātham iti γ
- 7 taṃ conj. : taṃ nātham A : nātham β Tib. ([186.3.6] mgon po)
- 8 nātham A : om. β
- 9 buddham Ay : buddha δ
- 10 na Ay : om. δ
- 11 pratyeka A : adhya β

- bhagasampannatvād¹ bhagavān / caturmārabhaṅgād vā / tathā cāha /
- kleśakarma tathā janma kleśajñeyāvṛtī^{2*} tathā /
- 160 yena³ vaipakṣikā⁴ bhagnās⁵ teneha bhagavān smṛtaḥ⁶ // iti //
- anena⁷ nairuktena⁸ vidhinā kleśādikaṃ bhagnavān⁹ iti bhagavān¹⁰ /
- aiśvaryādiguṇayogād vā / tathā cāha /
- aiśvaryasya samagrasya rūpasya yaśasaḥ śriyaḥ /
- jñānasyātha¹¹ prayatnasya ṣaṇṇām bhaga iti¹² smṛtiḥ^{13*} // iti //
- 165 punar api kimbhūtaṃ nātham ity¹⁴ āha tathāgatam iti / tathatām¹⁵

159–60 cf. AAĀ 1.2–3, p.272, 5–6 (unattrib.): *kleśakarma tathā janma kleśajñeyāvṛtī tathā / yena vaipakṣikā bhagnās teneha bhagavān smṛtaḥ //* 163–4 cf. 1) AAĀ 1.2–3, p.272, 9–10 (attrib. BuBhūŚ): *aiśvaryasya samagrasya rūpasya yaśasaḥ śriyaḥ / jñānasyātha prayatnasya ṣaṇṇām bhaga iti śrutih;* 2) AbhayaP 1v6–7: *aiśvaryasya samagrasya rūpasya yaśasaḥ śriyaḥ / jñānasyātha prayatnasya ṣaṇṇām bhaga iti śrutir iti;* 3) CSViv 6v1–2: *aiśvaryasya samagrasya rūpasya yaśasaḥ śriyaḥ / jñānasyātha prayatnasya ṣaṇṇām bhaga iti smṛtir iti bhagayogād bhagavān aham;* 4) SpPr 89, 2–4: *aiśvaryasya samagrasya jñānasya yaśasaḥ śriyaḥ / vairāgasya ca mokṣasya ṣaṇṇām bhaga iti smṛtaḥ //*

Codd. α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
Lacking: B (fol. 1–13 lost).

- 1 bhaga *codd.* (*gya A)
- 2 āvṛtī *conj.* (AAĀ) : āvṛtis *codd.* : [nyon mongs shes bya'i] *sgrib Tib.*[186.4.1]
- 3 yena A : ye ca *cett.*
- 4 vaipakṣikā A : vaipakṣikāṃ δ : vaiparikā γ
- 5 bhagnās A : bhagnā β
- 6 smṛtaḥ AH² : smṛtāḥ β
- 7 iti // anena *em.* : ity anena AH² : ityane HE : ityene FCDJ (ityenai J)
- 8 nairuktena Aε : tairuktena ζ : nairuktetad(stad H) γ
- 9 bhagnavān AJγ : bhagnavānn CDE
- 10 bhagavān β : *om.* A
- 11 jñānasyātha E AAĀ; AbhayP; CSViv : jñānasyārtha (-ār*tha* A) *cett.*
- 12 bhaga iti A AAĀ; AbhayP; CSViv, SpPr : iti bhaga(gaḥ J) β
- 13 smṛtiḥ AH² CSViv : smṛtaḥ β SpPr : śrutih AAĀ AbhayaP
- 14 ity Ay : iti ity δ
- 15 tathatām *codd.* (tathatā A)

śūnyatām¹ gataḥ tathāgataḥ / atha vā yathā te tathāgatā gatā gacchanti²
 gamiṣyanti tathā gacchatīti tathāgataḥ / taṃ tathāgataṃ praṇamyeti pūrveṇa
 saṃbandhaḥ / agrataḥ³ sthito bhūtvā kṛtāñjalipuṭaḥ⁴ san bhagavān vajra-
 dhara idam āha //

- 170 [maddhitāya mamārthāya anukampāya me vibho /
 māyājālābhisambodher yathā lābhī bhavāmy aham // (7)]
- maddhitāyetyādi / mahyaṃ hitaṃ maddhitaṃ hitam⁵ āyatipathyam⁶
 āgāmipariṇāmatvāt⁷ // mamārthāya matprayojanāya⁸ me mama he vibho
 anukampāya anugrahāya yathā yena prakāreṇāham⁹ lābhī bhavāmi /
- 175 kasyety āha / māyājālābhisambodher iti / māyājālābhisambodhir¹⁰ nāma
 kramas tasya¹¹ yathāham lābhī bhavāmi tathā¹² bhagavān¹³ prakāśayatv iti
 vakṣyamāṇena¹⁴ kriyāpadena saṃbandhaḥ //

Codd. α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
 Lacking: B (fol. 1–13 lost).

- 1 śūnyatām *codd.* (śūnyatā A)
 2 gacchanti A : *om. cett.*
 3 agrataḥ *corr.* : agrata *codd.*
 4 puṭaḥ AJ : puṭa β
 5 hitam A : him εF : hit JH : hin D
 6 āyati *codd.* (āyeti JH)
 7 āgāmi AE : āgāmī *cett.*
 8 matprayojanāya Aδ : mahāyojanāya γ
 9 prakāreṇāham *corr.* : prakāreṇa aham *codd.*
 10 sambodhir A : sambodhi β
 11 tasya A : tasyā β
 12 tathā δ : tatathā A : tapo γ
 13 bhagavān Aδ : bhagayā γ
 14 vakṣyamāṇena J : vakṣyāmāṇena A : vakṣamāṇena γεD

[ajñānapañkamagnānām kleśavyākulacetasām /
hitāya sarvasattvānām anuttaraphalāptaye // (8)]

180 ajñānapañkamagnānām sarvasattvānām hitāya ca / tatrājñānam¹ avidyā
saivāsaṅgasthānatvād² duruttaratvāc³ ca pañka iva pañkaḥ⁴ / tasmin magnā
ye sattvās teṣām hitāya // punar api kimviśiṣṭās te sattvā ity āha kleśa-
vyākulacetasah / kleśā ṣaṭ^{5*} / tathā cāhābhidharme /

mānadṛgvicikitsāś⁶ ca rāgapratighamūḍhayaḥ / iti //

185 taiḥ kleśair vyākulāni cetāmsi yeṣām sattvānām te⁷ kleśavyākula-
cetasah / atas teṣām // anuttaraphalaprāptaye bhagavān⁸ prakāśayatv iti
saṁbandhaḥ / anuttaraphalam buddhatvaṁ tasya prāptiḥ pratilambhaḥ /
tadartham tatprāptaya iti //

[prakāśayatu sambuddho bhagavān* śāstā jagadguruḥ /
mahāsamayatattvajña indriyāśayavit paraḥ // (9)]

190 prakāśayatu bhagavān ityāha⁹ / sambuddha iti śāśvatadvāreṇa // jagad-
anuśāsanāc chāstety akṣobhyadvāreṇa // jagatām gurur¹⁰ jagadgurur iti
ratnasambhavadvāreṇa // samayo¹¹ bhagavān śrīvajrasattvaḥ / mahāmś
cāsau samayaś ca mahāsamayaḥ / tasya tattvaṁ mahāsamayatattvaṁ /

Codd. α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
Lacking: B (fol. 1–13 lost).

¹ tatrā A : tatra γ : taṁtra(-traṁ C) δ (taṁca J)

² saivāsaṅga A : saivasāṅga β

³ duruttaratvāc A : duttaratvāc δ : dubhṛratvāc H (duttaratvāc H²) : dubhṛratvā F

⁴ pañkaḥ A : pañka β (pañkas JH)

⁵ kleśāḥ ṣaṭ A *Tib.* ([186.4.8] nyon mongs pa drug go) : kleśā rāgādayaḥ ṣaṭ β

⁶ vicikitsāś A : vicikitsā β

⁷ te A : om. β

⁸ bhagavān A : om. β

⁹ ityāha A : ityādi β

¹⁰ gurur γ : gurūḥ A : guru δ

¹¹ samayo Aδ : samayā γ

195 taj jānātīti mahāsamayatattvajña iti / amitābhadvāreṇa // indriyāṇi mṛdu-
 madhyādhimātrāṇi¹ / teṣāṃ āśayo² 'bhiprāyaḥ³ / taṃ vettīti indriyāśaya-
 ity amoghasiddhidvāreṇa // evaṃ pañcatathāgatātmako bhagavān para
 utkr̥ṣṭaḥ prakāśayatv ity arthaḥ⁴ //

[bhagavan jñānakāyasya mahošṇīśasya gīṣpateḥ /

200 mañjuśrījñānasattvasya jñānamūrteḥ svayambhuvah // (10)]

atha bhagavan^{5*} jñānakāyasyetyādi⁶ // he bhagavan mañjuśrījñāna-
 sattvasya sambandhini⁷ yā⁸ nāmasaṃgītis tām cāhaṃ dhārayiṣyāmīti
 vakṣyamāṇena kriyāpadena sambandhaḥ // kimviśiṣṭasya jñānakāyasyeti /
 jñānam eva kāyo jñānakāyas tasya jñānakāyasyety⁹ ādarśajñānadvāreṇa //
 205 mahošṇīśasyeti / mahān¹⁰ uṣṇīṣo 'syeti mahošṇīśas tasya¹¹ mahošṇīśasyeti
 samatājñānadvāreṇa // mahošṇīśatvaṃ sarvatathāgatābhiṣekātmakatvāt //
 gīṣpater¹² iti / girāṃ śabdānāṃ patiḥ svāmī gīṣpatis tasya gīṣpateḥ pratyā-
 vekṣaṇājñānadvāreṇa // jñānamūrter¹³ iti / jñānam eva mūrtir jñānamūrtis

Codd. α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
 Lacking: B (fol. 1–13 lost).

- 1 mātrāṇi A : mātratāni β
- 2 āśayo β : āśayād A
- 3 'bhiprāyaḥ AJ : bhiprāya γδ (bhiprāyas H²)
- 4 ity arthaḥ A : iti β : zhes pa dang 'brel to ('brel lo Tib.P[187.1.1] Tib.D.[32r3]
- 5 bhagavan J : bhagavān cett. : bcom ldan 'das kyi [ye shes sku] {bhagavaj-} Tib.
 [187.1.1]
- 6 jñānakāyasyetyādi conj. (Tib.[187.1.1] ye shes sku zhes bya ba la sogs pas ni) : jñā-
 nasattvasyetyādi codd.
- 7 sambandhini A : taṃbhavanī β (saṃbhavanī E)
- 8 yā Aδ : yo γ
- 9 tasya jñānakāyasyety A : tasyety β
- 10 mahān A : mahāṃś cāsau β
- 11 tasya mahošṇīśasyeti samatājñānadvāreṇa om. F
- 12 gīṣpater A : gīḥpater β
- 13 mūrter AH : mūrtir δ (mūrtir C) : mū< > F ♦ [jñānamū]rter iti / jñānam eva
 mūrtir om. F

- tasya jñānamūrter iti kṛtyānuṣṭhānajñānadvāreṇa // svayaṃbhuva¹ iti
 210 svayaṃ bhavatīti svayaṃbhūr bhāvanābalād² bhavatīty arthaḥ / tathā
 coktaṃ śrīparamādye /
- samantabhadrajñānasya³ svayaṃ evāvabhotsyate / iti^{4*} //
- atas tasya svayaṃbhuva iti suviśuddhadharmadhātujñānadvāreṇa // kim
 uktaṃ bhavati / pañcajñānātmako bhagavān mañjuśrījñānasattvaḥ /
 215 mañjuḥ⁵ komalā śrīr yasyāsau mañjuśrīḥ / jñānasattva iti / sarvatathā-
 gatahṛdayavihāritvāt / mañjuśrīś cāsau jñānasattvaś ceti⁶ mañjuśrī-
 jñānasattvaḥ / nāyaṃ daśabhūmīśvaro bodhisattvaḥ⁷ kiṃ tarhy⁸
 advayañānam prajñāpāramitā saiva mañjuśrījñānasattvaḥ // ata evāha
 dignāgapādaḥ /
- 220 prajñāpāramitā jñānam advayaṃ⁹ sā tathāgataḥ / iti¹⁰ //
- tasya mañjuśrījñānasattvasya pañcajñānātmakasya sambandhinī¹¹ yā¹²
 nāmasaṃgītis tāṃ cāhaṃ¹³ dhārayiṣyāmīti¹⁴ //

222 cf. NMAA 1, 202: *nāmasaṃgītis tāṃ cāhaṃ dhārayiṣyāmīti*

Codd. α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
 Lacking: A, lines 222, (fol. 8–9 lost); B (fol. 1–13 lost); A, fol. 7v, ends line 222 ... *tāṃ
 cāhaṃ dhārayā*.

- ¹ bhuva A : bhuvar β (bhur H)
- ² bhāvanābalād Aδ : bhāvanādbalād γ
- ³ samantabhadra AD^c : <– –> γεD^c : om. J
- ⁴ evāvabhotsyate / iti *conj.* : evāvabhotsyatheti A : evāvabhautsatheti β : [kun tu
 bzang po ye shes kyi / / bdag] nyid mngon par byang chub bo(*em.* : po Tib.) Tib.
 [187.1.6]
- ⁵ mañjuḥ *corr.* : mañju *codd.* (mañjuṃ F)
- ⁶ ceti A : ca β
- ⁷ bodhisattvaḥ → mañjuśrījñānasattvaḥ *om.* H (*suppl.* H²)
- ⁸ tarhi AEζ : tahy Cγ : tajje H²
- ⁹ advayaṃ A : advaya β
- ¹⁰ tathāgataḥ / iti *em.* : tathāgata iti A : tathāgatam iti β
- ¹¹ sambandhinī A : sabandhanī β
- ¹² yā AJγ : yo εD
- ¹³ tāṃ cāhaṃ *om.* F
- ¹⁴ dhārayiṣyāmīti *corr.* (NMAA[1, 202]; Tib.[187.2.3] bdag gis gzung(bzung Tib.P.) ngo
 shes pa) : dhārayāmīti β : dhārayā< > A

[gambhīrārthām udārārthām mahārthām asamām śivām /
ādimadhyāntakalyāṇīm nāmasaṃgītim uttamām // (11)]

- 225 kimviśiṣṭām ity āha // gambhīrārthām ityādi* / gambhīraś cāsāv arthaś
ca gambīrārthaḥ śūnyatārthaḥ¹ sa² yasyām asti sā gambhīrārthā / atas tām
dhārayiṣyāmīti³ // udārārthām iti / udāraś⁴ cāsāv arthaś codārārtho⁵*
vaipulyārtha⁶ iti yāvat / sa yasyām⁷ vidyate sā udārārthā / tām ca //
mahārthām⁸ iti / mahān artho⁹ yasyām¹⁰ sā mahārthā / mahārthatvaṃ
230 punar niravaśeṣasattvārthatā¹¹ sarvāsāparipūraṇatvāt¹² / <tām ca>¹³* //
asamām iti / na vidyate samā yasyā sāsāmā¹⁴* / asamatvaṃ kutaḥ /
dharmadhātusvabhāvatvāt / <tām ca>¹⁵* // śivām iti sarvaprapañcopa-
śamatvāt // ādimadhyāntakalyāṇīm iti / śrutacintābhāvanākāleṣu harṣapṛiti-

227 cf. NMAA 1, 202: *nāmasaṃgītis tām cāham dhārayiṣyāmīti*

Codd. β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J). Lacking: A (fol. 8–9 lost), B (fol. 1–13 lost).

- 1 śūnyatārthaḥ γε : om. ζ
2 sa δ : se γ
3 dhārayiṣyāmīti conj. (NMAA[1, 202]; Tib.[187.2.5] bdag gis gzung zhes pa'o) : dhā-
rayāmīti codd.
4 udāraś → mahārthām iti om. E
5 udāraś cāsāv arthaś codārārtho conj. : udāra < ~14 > F : udārārtham < ~8 > rtha H :
udārārtham<-->rtha C : udārārthām udārārtha D : udārārtham udārārtha JH² :
om. E Tib.
6 vaipulyārtha δH² (om. E) : masamām iti / na vidyate samā yasyā ity asamām /
asama< > kutaḥ vaipulyārtha γ (γ omit *asamām* → *kutaḥ*, line 231)
7 sa yasyām conj. : sa yasyā F : sā yasyā H : yasyā sā δ (om. E)
8 mahārthām corr. : mahārtham codd. (om. E)
9 artho γε : arthā ζ
10 yasyām corr. : yasyā codd.
11 niravaśeṣa corr. : niravaiśeṣa γ : niravaśeṣasya δ (niravaśeṣasya C) ♦ sattvārtha-
tā JH² : sattvathatāḥ cett. (om. F) ♦ [niravaśeṣa]sattvārthatā → asamatvaṃ kutaḥ
om. γ
12 sarvāsā JC : sārvasā E : sarvāsām DH² : om. F
13 tām ca conj. (NMAA[1, 228]) : om. codd.
14 sāsāmā conj. : sā ity asamām codd. (om. F; ity asamām H²)
15 tām ca conj. (NMAA[1, 228]) : om. codd.

praśrabdhilābhāt¹ trikalyāṇinī² / tāṃ dhārayiṣyāmi³ // nāmasaṃgītim
 235 uttamām iti gatārtham⁴ //

[yātītair bhāṣitā buddhair bhāṣiṣyante hy anāgatāḥ /
 pratyutpannāś ca sambuddhā yāṃ bhāṣante punaḥ punaḥ //
 māyājālamahātantre yā cāsmiṃ sampragīyate /
 mahāvajradharair hr̥ṣṭair ameyair mantradhāribhiḥ //
 240 ahaṃ caināṃ dhārayiṣyāmy ā niryāṇād dṛḍhāśayaḥ /
 yathā bhāvamy ahaṃ nātha sarvasambuddhaguhyadhṛk //
 (12–14)]

punar api kiṃviśiṣṭām⁵ ity āha / yātītair ityādi⁶ / atītair buddhair yā
 bhāṣitā anāgatāś ca ye samyaksambuddhā hi yasmād yāṃ⁷ bhāṣiṣyante
 245 punaḥ^{8*} / pratyutpannāś ca buddhā bhagavanto bhāṣante yāṃ⁹ nāma-
 saṃgītim¹⁰ punar^{11*} apīti //

234 cf. NMAA 1, 202: *nāmasaṃgītis tāṃ cāhaṃ dhārayiṣyāmīti* 243 cf. NMAA
 1, 225: *kiṃviśiṣṭām iyādi*.

Codd. β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J). Lacking: A (fol. 8–9 lost),
 B (fol. 1–13 lost).

- ¹ praśrabdhilābhāt *corr.* : praśabilābhāt ε : praśabitvābhāt (-bhāvāt J) ζ : praśarddhi-
 bhāvāt γ
- ² trikalyāṇinī δ (trikalyānī J) : trikatvoninī γ
- ³ dhārayiṣyāmi *conj.* (NMAA[1, 202] Tib.[187.2.8] bdag gis gzung ngo) : dhārayā-
 mi *codd.*
- ⁴ gatārtham εD : gatārthaḥ JH : gatārtha F
- ⁵ kiṃviśiṣṭām *conj.* (NMAA[1, 225]) : kiṃviśiṣṭam *codd.*
- ⁶ yātītair ityādi γ : *om.* δ
- ⁷ yāṃ δ (*om.* J) : yā γ
- ⁸ punaḥ γε : punaḥ punaḥ ζ : *om.* Tib.
- ⁹ yāṃ *conj.* : yā *codd.*
- ¹⁰ nāmasaṃgītim *corr.* : nāmasaṃgīti *codd.* (nāmasaṃgītiḥ H²)
- ¹¹ punar *codd.* : yang dang yang du {punaḥ punar} Tib.[187.3.2]

- māyājāletyādi^{1*} / asmin māyājālamahātantre 'meyair² mahāvajradharair
mahāmantradhāribhir³ hr̥ṣṭair yā saṃpragīyate tām //
- aham cainām dhārayiṣyāmy ā niryāṇād nirvāṇaṃ yāvat / kimbhūto⁴
250 dr̥dhāśayaḥ / dr̥dho⁵ 'vicala⁶ āśayo 'bhiprāyo yasyāsau dr̥dhāśaya iti //
- anenaitad uktaṃ bhavati / tryadhvavartibhis⁷ tathāgatair yā bhāṣitā
<sā>^{*} nāmasaṃgītiḥ⁸ / ato 'sya dharmaparyāyasyākāśatulyatām^{9*} saṃ-
darśayati / tathā coktaṃ /
- utpādād¹⁰ vā tathāgatānām anutpādād¹¹ vā < tathāgatānām >^{12*}
255 sthitaivaiṣā¹³ dharmāṇām dharmateti pradarśitaṃ bhavatīti^{14*} //
- yathā¹⁵ bhavāmy aham ityādi / he nātha yathā sarvasaṃbuddhaguhyā-
dhr̥g bhavāmy aham tathā prakāśayatv iti pūrveṇa saṃbandhaḥ / dhr̥g ity
ayaṃ śuddhapāṭhaḥ¹⁶ //

254–5 SekUdṬī 71: *utpādād vā tathāgatānām anutpādād vā tathāgatānām sthitaivaiṣā dharmāṇām dharmateti*; AKBh 452, 9–10 (on AK 3, 28ab): *utpādād vā tathāgatānām anutpādād vā tathāgatānām sthitaiveyaṃ dharmatā iti vacanāt*.

Codd. β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J). Lacking: A (fol. 8–9 lost), B (fol. 1–13 lost).

- 1 māyājāletyādi (māyām- H) γζ : māyājālatyādi (āni E) ε
- 2 'meyair *corr.* : ameyair *codd.*
- 3 dhāribhir *corr.* : dhāribhiḥ *codd.*
- 4 kimbhūto J : kimbhūta *cett.*
- 5 dr̥dho H : dr̥dha *cett.*
- 6 'vicala H : avicala *cett.*
- 7 tryadhva γζ : adhva ε
- 8 nāmasaṃgītiḥ γ : nāmasaṃgīti δ
- 9 tulyatām *conj.* (Sanderson) : tulyaṃ DEγ : tulya CJ : [nam mkha'] dang 'dra bar *Tib.* [187.3.3]
- 10 utpādād *corr.* (SekUdṬī; AKBh) : upādād γ : upādā δ
- 11 anutpādād γ : anutpādā δ
- 12 tathāgatānām *conj.* (SekUdṬī; AKBh) : *om. codd. Tib.* [187.3.3]
- 13 sthitaivaiṣā J (cf. SekUdṬī) : sthitiṣā (-rṣā H) γ : sthitaiveṣām D : sthitaivaiṣām ε
- 14 bhavatīti *conj.* (Tib. [187.3.4] [bstan par] 'gyur ro zhes so) : bhavati *codd.*
- 15 yathā γ : tathā δ
- 16 śuddha HE : saddha CFζ

[prakāśayiṣye sattvānaṃ yathāśayaviśeṣataḥ / (15ab)]

260 yathāvat tām aham adhigamya¹ sarvasattvānāṃ yathāśayaviśeṣāt pra-
kāśayiṣye // kimartham ity āha /

aśeṣakleśanāśāya aśeṣājñānahānaya iti / (15cd)

tatra aśeṣakleśā iti² kleśopakleśā grhyante teṣāṃ nāśāya / aśeṣājñānahānaya
iti aśeṣeṣu padārtheṣv ajñānaṃ aśeṣājñānaṃ aśeṣājñānahānis tadarthaṃ
265 prakāśayiṣye //

[evam adhyeṣya guhyendro vajrapāṇis tathāgatam /

kṛtāñjalipuṭo bhūtvā prahvakāyasthito 'grataḥ // (16)]

evam ityādi / evam anena prakāreṇa bhagavān guhyendro³ vajrapāṇis
tathāgatam adhyeṣya^{4*} / tatra guhyā yakṣā aḍakavatīnivāsinas⁵ teṣāṃ indro
270 rājā / ata eva guhyendra ity ucyate // kṛtāñjalipuṭo bhūtvā prahvakāyaḥ
praṇatakāyo 'grataḥ⁶ sthita iti // saṃskārapūrvikā⁷ prārthanā adhyeṣaṇā /
saṃskāro⁸ 'tra praṇāmādi //

āryanāmasaṃgīṭīkāyāṃ nāmamantrārthāvalokinyām adhyeṣaṇāyā<ḥ>
prathamō 'dhikārah // gāthāḥ⁹ ṣoḍaśa¹⁰ //

Codd. β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J). Lacking: A (fol. 8–9 lost),
B (fol. 1–13 lost).

- 1 adhigamya γε : adhigatya ζ
- 2 aśeṣakleśā iti γε : aśeṣa ζ
- 3 guhyendro γζ : guhyandro ε
- 4 adhyeṣya corr. : adhyeṣye codd.
- 5 aḍakavatī δ Tib. ([187.4.4] lchang lo can) : aḍakavatā γ
- 6 'grataḥ corr. : grata codd. ('grata J)
- 7 saṃskāra δ : satkāra γ
- 8 saṃskāro δ (saṃskārā J) : satkāra γ (corr. H²)
- 9 gāthāḥ corr. : gāthā codd.
- 10 ṣoḍaśa γ : ṣoḍaśaḥ δ

[Adhikāra 2]

[atha śākyamunir bhagavān* sambuddho dvipadottamaḥ /
nirṇamayyāyatām sphītām svajihvām svamukhāc chubhām //
(17)]

adhyeṣaṇānantaram prativacanam āha / atha śākyamunir ityādi /
5 śākyakulānām muniḥ kāyavākcittamauneyayogān muniḥ / bhagavān sam-
buddha iti gatārthaḥ / dvipadottama iti dvipadā devamanuṣyāḥ¹ / teṣām
uttamaḥ śreṣṭha² ity arthaḥ / svajihvām nirṇamayyopasaṃhr̥tya³ sva-
mukhād iti⁴ svamukha⁵ āyatām iti dīrghām⁶ sphītām iti bahalatarām śubhām
iti dakṣiṇāvartaśaṅkhanibhām / sarvadharmālayām ca //

10 [smitam saṃdarśya lokānām apāyatrayaśodhanam /
trailokyābhāsakaraṇam caturmārariśāsanam // (18)]

kiṃ kṛtvā / smitam ityādi* / lokānām sattvānām apāyatrayaśodhanam
narakatiryakpretasaṃśodhanam⁷ smitam darśayitvā vajrapāṇim praty-
abhāṣateti saṃbandhaḥ // tathāgatānām dharmadeśanāyās⁸ trilingāni⁹ / tad
15 yathā / smitam vyavalokitam rāsmisaṃcodanam ca / kvacid ekam¹⁰ kvacid
dve¹¹ kvacit triṇi vā yugapad¹² bhavanti / tad yathā / śrīmāyājāla-

Codd. β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J). Lacking: A (fol. 8–9 lost);
B (fol. 1–13 lost).

¹ manuṣyāḥ J : manuṣyā cett. (manuṣyām H)

² śreṣṭha JF : śreṣṭha cett.

³ nirṇamayyopa Dγ : nirṇamayyāpa εJ

⁴ svamukhād iti conj. : svamukhādibhiḥ codd.

⁵ svamukha γ : svamukhe δ

⁶ dīrghām J : dīrghā cett.

⁷ saṃśodhanam δ : saṃsādhataṃ γ

⁸ deśanāyās γ : deśanāyas δ

⁹ tri Cζ : tri γE

¹⁰ kvacid ekam H : kvacidd ekam cett.

¹¹ kvacid dve corr. : kvacid dvekam JF : kvacid ekam H : kvacidd ekam εD

¹² yugapad δ : yutapa γ

- tantre dvayaṃ¹ paṭhyate / smitaṃ vyavalokitaṃ² ca / kvacit trīṇi yathā
 pañcaviṃśatisāhasryāṃ prajñāpāramitāyāṃ maitreyavyavalokanaṃ smitaṃ³
 mukhena raśmispharaṇaṃ ceti / kvacid ekaṃ yathātraiva nāmasaṃgītau
 20 smitaṃ saṃdarśya⁴ lokānāṃ iti / tac ca smitaṃ caturvidhaṃ⁵ / aṅgapraty-
 aṅgaspharaṇena roma-kūpaspharaṇena prakṛtiprabhāvispharaṇena jihvendri-
 yaraśmispharaṇena ca / tad atra jihvāprātihāryaṃ / deśanāyāḥ⁶ pūrva-
 liṅgaṃ⁷ // trailokyābhāsakaraṇaṃ⁸ ityādinā darśayati bhūr bhuvah svar iti
 trayāṇāṃ lokānāṃ ābhāsakaraṇaṃ⁹ prakāśanakaraṇaṃ smitaṃ darśayitvā
 25 vajrapāṇiṃ pratyabhāṣateti saṃbandhaḥ // punar api kimviśiṣṭaṃ¹⁰ smitaṃ
 ity āha caturmārāriśāsanaṃ iti / catvāro mārāḥ skandhakleśamṛtyudeva-
 putrāḥ / ta evārayas¹¹ teṣāṃ śāsanaṃ anuśāsanaṃ nigrahaḥ //

[trilokaṃ āpūrayantyā brāhmyā madhurayā girā /

pratyabhāṣata guhyendram vajrapāṇiṃ mahābalaṃ // (19)]

- 30 smitaṃ saṃdarśyati¹² trilokaṃ āpūrayantyā vajrapāṇiṃ girā¹³ vācā pra-
 tyabhāṣata¹⁴ / kimbhūṭayā / madhurayā / mādhyamaṃ¹⁵ śrutisukhatvāt¹⁶ //

Codd. A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J). Lacking: A, lines 17–25 (fol. 8–9 lost), B (fol. 1–13 lost); A, fol. 10r, starts line 25: *ṣateti saṃbandhaḥ* //.

- 1 dvayaṃ *em. Tib.* ([188.1.1] gnyis) : 'dvayaṃ *codd.* ('dvaya F)
 2 vyavalokitaṃ *codd.* (-kataṃ γ; -kitaṃ H²; -kanaṃ C^c)
 3 smitaṃ *conj.* : smita *codd. Tib.* ([188.1.2] 'dzum pa'i [zhal dang])
 4 saṃdarśya δ : darśya ζ
 5 caturvidhaṃ δ : caturvidhaḥ γ
 6 jihvāprātihāryaṃ / deśanāyāḥ ε : jihvāprātihārya / deśanāyāḥ (daśa- H) γ :
 jihvāpr<-->nāyāḥ J : jihvā**pri**sphāṇa deśanāyāḥ D
 7 pūrvaliṅgaṃ *corr.* : pūrvaliṅga εγ : pūrvaṃ liṅgaṃ (liṅga D) ζ
 8 ābhāsakaraṇaṃ *em. (NS.Dav. [50, v.18]; Tib. [187.5.4] ['jig rten gsum po] snang byed)*
 : ābhāskaraṇaṃ *codd.*
 9 ābhāsakaraṇaṃ *em. (NS.Dav. [50, v.18]; Tib. [187.5.4] snang zhing gsal bar byed pa'i*
 'dzum ba bstan nas)) : ābhāskaraṇaṃ *codd.* (ābhāskaraṇa H)
 10 kimviśiṣṭaṃ δ (kimviśiṣṭa C) : kimviśiṣṭaḥ γ
 11 ta evārayas Aγ : trayavārayas δ
 12 saṃdarśyati *em.* : saṃdarśyati A : darśayati β
 13 girā εF : girām Aζ : śiro H
 14 pratyabhāṣata AJ : pratyabhāṣataḥ εγD
 15 mādhyamaṃ AJ : mādhyamaṃ εγD (mādhyama H)
 16 śrutisukhatvāt A : śruti(iḥ E)sukhetvā ε : śrutimukhetvā ζ : śrutimukhatvā γ

brāhmyeti¹ brahmasvaropetatvāt² / brahmasvara iti brahmaśabdo mahato
mahāguṇasyādhivacanam / yathoktam /

brāhmaṃ³ puṇyam prasūyate⁴ 'nekasāhasraparṣadi / iti^{5*} //

35 sāhasraśabdena⁶ trisāhasramahāsāhasro lokadhātur avagantavyaḥ / aneka-
sāhasramayyām⁷ parṣadīty⁸ arthaḥ // yathā⁹ coktam /

lokadhātum¹⁰ trisāhasramahāsāhasram¹¹ śabdena spharatīti /

yathābhyantarāḥ śṛṇvanti tathā bāhyā apīti¹² /

tatrābhyantarā ye 'smimṣ¹³ trisāhasramahāsāhasre¹⁴ sthitāḥ / bāhyā iti ye¹⁵

40 lokadhātvantarītāḥ¹⁶ / tena mahattvād brahma / tasya¹⁷ svarō¹⁸ brahma-
svaraḥ^{19*} //

atha vā^{20*} brahma²¹ bhagavān śākyamuniḥ / tasya brahmaṇa iyaṃ

Codd. α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
Lacking: B (fol. 1–13 lost).

- 1 brāhmyeti *em.* : brāhmeti AD : brahmeti CF : *om.* J : brahmati HE
- 2 brahmasvaropetatvāt *om.* J
- 3 brāhmaṃ DH : brāhmyaṃ AεJF :
- 4 prasūyate A : prasūyate iti D : <--->iti εJ : <~3>γ : mahar*dya*m ca iti H² :
rab skye ba'o zhes *Tib.* [188.1.5]
- 5 'nekasāhasra *conj.* : anekasāhasram β : anekasāhasryā A ♦ parṣadi / iti *em.* :
parṣadīti A : parṣadam β
- 6 sāhasra A : sahasra β
- 7 mayyām *conj.* : maryyām A : mayī β
- 8 parṣadīty AJ : parṣad ity γεD
- 9 yathā A *Tib.* [188.1.6] ji skad gsungs pa) : tathā β
- 10 lokadhātum A : lokadhātu β
- 11 mahāsāhasram A : mahāsāhasra β
- 12 bāhyā apīti A : bāhyāpīti β (bāhyāṇīti E)
- 13 ye 'smimṣ *corr.* : yesmin A : yasmim β
- 14 trisāhasra AH : trisāhasre δF
- 15 ye A : *om.* β
- 16 lokadhātvantarītāḥ A : lokadhātur itā β (lokadhātur iti E)
- 17 brahma / tasya *om.* β
- 18 svarō *conj.* : sūro A : *om.* β
- 19 brahmasvaraḥ β : brahmaśvaram A
- 20 atha vā *conj.* (*Tib.* [188.1.8] yang na) : tatra *codd.*
- 21 brahma β : brahmā A

brāhmī¹ vāk / tayā brāhmyā² ekayaiva³ girā⁴ trilokam⁵ āpūrayantyā⁶
vyāpnuvantyā⁷ vajrapāṇiṃ pratyabhāṣata / tathā cokaṃ /

45 ekāpi vāṇi bhavasūdanasya

nānābhīdhānaiḥ pratideśabhinnaḥ /

yathā tathā⁸ sarvajana-prabodha-

hetur⁹ bhavaty askhalitā¹⁰ vibhakteti¹¹ //

[sādhū vajradhara* śrīmān* sādhū te vajrapāṇaye /

50 yat* tvam jagaddhitārthāya mahākaruṇayānvitaḥ // (20)

mahārtham nāmasaṃgītiṃ pavitrām aghaṇāśanīm /

mañjuśrījñānakāyasya mattaḥ śrotuṃ samudyataḥ // (21)

tat sādhū deśayāmy eṣa aham te guhyakādhipa* / (22ab)]

sādhū vajradharetyādi / te tava vajrapāṇeḥ sādhū / śrīmān he vajra-

55 dhara yat yasmāt tvam mañjuśrījñānakāyasya sambandhinī¹² yā nāma-
saṃgītis tām¹³ mattaḥ¹⁴ śrotuṃ samudyatas tat tasmāt he guhyakādhipa te
tava¹⁵ sādhū deśayāmīti sambandhaḥ // kimartham tvayāham¹⁶ prṣṭaḥ /

Codd. α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
Lacking: B (fol. 1–13 lost).

- 1 brāhmī vāk A : brahmī vāk β
- 2 brāhmyā *em.* : brāhmya F : brāhme H : brahmā A : brahma δ
- 3 ekayaiva A&D : eka eva J : ekayava H : ekayeva F
- 4 girā A : girām β
- 5 trilokam A : trailokyam β
- 6 āpūrayantyā AE : āpūryantyā Cζ : āpūryantyo γ
- 7 vyāpnuvantyā A : vyāpnuvantya δ : vyāpnuvantyo γ
- 8 tathā A : yathā εγ : *om.* ζ
- 9 sarva AH² *Tib.* ([188.2.2] thams cad) : sattva β ♦ hetur Aγ : hetu δ
- 10 askhalitā AH² : astvalitā δ : < >litā γ
- 11 vibhakteti Aγ : vibhaktah (-kta JE) iti δ
- 12 sambandhinī AH² : sambandhanī β
- 13 tām Aζ : tā γε
- 14 mattaḥ A : mamtrah δ : mantah γ
- 15 tava A : tatra β
- 16 tvayāham Aδ : bhūyā(yo H)ham γ

jagaddhitārthāyeti / jagadanugrahāya mahākaruṇayānvitaḥ¹ san // kiṃ-
 viśiṣṭāṃ nāmasaṃgītiṃ śrotum udyata iti / pavitrām iti māṅgalyāṃ² /
 60 aghanāśanīm³ iti pāpanāśanīm⁴ //

[śṛṇu tvam ekāgramanās tat sādhu bhagavann iti // (22cd)]

śṛṇu tvam ekāgramanā iti⁵ / anenaitad uktaṃ bhavati / mādhumukha-
 cchidrāśucighaṭavat⁶ kiṃ tarhi sādhu śṛṇu // bhagavataivam ukte sati
 vajradharaḥ prāha bhagavan⁷ śākyamune⁸ evam astv iti⁹ / yathoktenaiva¹⁰
 65 kramenāham śṛṇuyām iti //

āryanāmasaṃgītiṭikāyāṃ nāmamantrārthāvalokinyāṃ prativacanādhikāro
 dvitīyaḥ // gāthāḥ ṣaṭ¹¹ //

Codd. α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
 Lacking: B (fol. 1–13 lost).

- 1 karuṇayānvitaḥ β (-āṃnvitaḥ C) : karaṇānvitaḥ A
- 2 māṅgalyāṃ A : maṅgalyāṃ β
- 3 aghanāśanīm AH² : aghanāśinīm δ : aghanāśinām γ
- 4 pāpanāśanīm A : pāpanāśinīm β
- 5 iti AH² : om. β
- 6 mādho A : sādho β ♦ cchidrā AH : cchidā cett.
- 7 bhagavan AH² : bhagavān β
- 8 śākyamune AH² : śākyamuniḥ β (-muni E)
- 9 astv iti AδH² : asthiti γ
- 10 yathoktenaiva Aγ : yathoktanaiva J : ethoktanaiva εD
- 11 gāthāḥ ṣaṭ corr. : gāthāṣaṭ δH² : om. Aγ

[Adhikāra 3]

[atha śākyamunir bhagavān* sakalam* mantrakulam mahad /
mantravidyādharakulam vyavalokya kulatrayam // (23)]

idāniṃ prativacanānantaram ṣaṭkulāvalokanam adhikṛtyāha / atha
śākyamunir bhagavān¹ < ityādi / tatra >^{2*} sakalam^{3*} mantrakulam mahad
5 iti grahaṇakavākyam etat sāmānyenopāttam⁴ / tad⁵ vyavalokya girām pater
mañjuśrījñānasattvasya⁶ sambandhini⁷ yānutpādadharmini gāthā tām imām
bhāṣate smeti / vakṣyamāṇakriyāpadena saha⁸ sambandhaḥ⁹ //

mantravidyādharakulam iti / vidyām dhārayatīti vidyādharah /
mantrātmakaś cāsau vidyādharaś ca¹⁰ mantravidyādharah / na¹¹ dhāraṇy-
10 ātmakaḥ¹² / tasya kulam mantravidyādharakulam karmakulam ity arthah //
kulatrayam iti kāyavākcittasvabhāvatvād vairocanakulam^{13*} //

1 cf. NS.Dav. 51, v.23ab: *atha śākyamunir bhagavāṃ savakalam mantrakulam mahat*

Codd. α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
Lacking: B (fol. 1–13 lost).

¹ bhagavān *codd.* : bhagavāṃ NS.Dav. [51, v.23]

² ityādi / tatra *conj.* (Tib. [188.3.2] ces pa la sogs pa ste / de la) : *om. codd.*

³ sakalam A NS.Dav. [51, v.23] : sakala β NS.Dav.^{Ne. A}

⁴ sāmānyenopāttam AH² : sāmānyatāpāttam ε : sāmānyanāpāttat ζ : sāmānyanāmāttat
F : sāmānyenomāttat H

⁵ tad AH² : ta γε : na ζ

⁶ jñānasattvasya Aγ : hīnasattvasya δ

⁷ sambandhini AH² : sambandhanī β

⁸ saha A : *om.* β

⁹ sambandhaḥ A : sambandhārthaḥ β

¹⁰ ca A : ceti β

¹¹ na AH² : *om.* β

¹² dhāraṇyātmakaḥ A : dhāraṇātmakaḥ β

¹³ vairocanakulam *codd.* : mam par snang mdzad kyi rigs zhes pa'i don {vairocana-
kulam ity arthaḥ} Tib. [188.3.5]

[lokalokottarakulam lokālokakulam mahat /

mahāmudrākulam cāgryam mahošṇīṣakulam mahat // (24)]

- lokalokottarakulam¹ iti / lokṛ² darśane³ / lokyata⁴ iti lokah / tasya
 15 kulam lokalokottarakulam⁵ padmakulam ity arthah //
- lokālokakulam mahad iti / lokānām āloko lokālokaḥ / akṣobhyaḥ /
 ādarśajñānātmakatvāt / tasya kulam lokālokakulam <mahad>^{6*} vajrakulam⁷
 ity arthah^{8*} // mahāmudrākulam cāgryam iti / bodhicittavajrakulam ata
 evāgryam⁹ vairocanaḍḍinām bodhicittasvabhāvatvāt / tasya kulam mahā-
 20 mudrākulam^{10*} ity arthah^{11*} // mahošṇīṣakulam mahad iti / sarva-
 tathāgatānām traidhātukadharṃmarājyābhiṣekapradānān¹² mahošṇīṣatvam /
 tasya kulam¹³ mahošṇīṣakulam¹⁴ mahad¹⁵ ratnakulam ity arthah //
- āryanāmasaṃgītiṭīkāyām nāmanantrārthāvalokinyām ṣaṭkulāvalokanā-
 dhikāras tṛtīyaḥ // gāthe¹⁶ dve //

Codd. α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
 Lacking: B (fol. 1–13 lost).

- 1 loka ACF : lokā ζE : lauka H
 2 lokṛ H² : lokya α
 3 darśane Aεγ : darśana ζ
 4 lokyata Ay : lokata δ
 5 lokalokottara AEγ : lokalokāttara C : lokālokottara ζ
 6 mahad conj. (Tib.[188.3.8] chen) : om. codd.
 7 vajrakulam AyD (Tib.[188.3.8] rdo rje'i rigs) : cakrakulam εJ
 8 ity arthah H² : iti α : om. Tib.
 9 evāgryam A : evāgryō β
 10 mahāmudrākulam codd. : phyag rgya chen po'i rigs mchog {mahāmudrākulam
 agryam} Tib.[188.4.1]
 11 ity arthah H² : iti α : om. Tib.
 12 dharmarājyā AH² : dharmarājā β
 13 mahošṇīṣatvam / tasya kulam AH² : mahošṇīṣa / tasya kulam γ : om. δ
 14 mahošṇīṣakulam FH²δ : om. AH
 15 mahad AδH² (mahata C) : mahataram H : mahamṭam F
 16 gāthe AH² : gāthā β

[Adhikāra 4]

adhunā śrīmāyājālābhisambodhikramo¹ guruparamparāyāta² ucyate /
 sa ca śrīmāyājālaṣoḍaśasahasrāntaḥpātī³ / tatrādau tāvan mantramukha-
 caryācārī imāṃ bhagavato mañjuśrījñānasattvasya sarvatathāgatajñāna-
 kāyasya jñānamūrter advayaparamārthāṃ⁴ nāmasaṃgītiṃ nāma cūḍāmaṇiṃ*
 5 sākṣātkartukāmo bodhisattvo 'śeṣānavaśeṣasarvasattvadhātuparitrāṇāśayo⁵
 mahābodhikṛt^{6*} prañidhānacittaḥ prajñopāyātmakaś caturbhiḥ saṃgraha-
 vastubhiḥ sattvān saṃgrhya anuttarāyāṃ⁷ saṃyaksambodhau cittam
 utpādayet⁸ // tathā cāha /

samanvāharantu mām sarvabuddhabodhisattvā aham amukanāmā⁹
 10 imāṃ velām upādāya yāvad ā bodhimaṇḍaṇiṣadanāt¹⁰ /
 utpādayāmi paramaṃ bodhicittam anuttaram /
 yathā traiyadhvikā^{11*} nāthāḥ¹² sambodhau kṛtaniścayāḥ¹³ //

2–4 cf. NS.Dav. 65, 3–5: *mantramukhacaryācārī imāṃ bhagavato mañjuśrījñāna-*
sattvasya sarvatathāgatajñānakāyasya jñānamūrter advayaparamārthāṃ nāmasaṃgītiṃ
nāmacūḍāmaṇiṃ 12 cf. SDPS 146, 9: *yathā traiyadhvikānāthāḥ sambodhau kṛta-*
niścayāḥ.

Codd. α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
 Lacking: B (fol. 1–13 lost).

- 1 kramo A : kramaḥ H² : krama β
- 2 guru A : śrīguru β
- 3 sahasrāntaḥpātī A : sāhasryāntaḥpātī γ : sāhasryāntaḥpātā δ
- 4 paramārthāṃ AH : paramārthā δF
- 5 'śeṣānavaśeṣa A : aśeṣāvaśeṣa γζ : aśeṣovaśeṣa ε ♦ paritrāṇāśayo A : paritrāṇā-
 nayo δ : paritrāṇāyā γ
- 6 kṛt A *Tib.* ([188.4.6–7] byang chub chen por smon pa'i sems) : kṛta β
- 7 saṃgrhyānuttarāyāṃ *corr.* : saṃgrhya anuttarāyāṃ *codd.*
- 8 utpādayet AδH² : utpādayāt γ
- 9 amukanāmā(-nāma H) *codd.*
- 10 niṣadanāt *em.* : niṣadānāt A : nivedanāt β
- 11 traiyadhvikā *codd.* : traiyadhvika SDPS[146, 9]
- 12 nāthāḥ A SDPS[146, 9] : nāthā β
- 13 niścayāḥ A : niścayā β (-ścaya E, -ścayo F)

- trividhāṃ śīlaśikṣāṃ ca kuśaladharmasamgraham^{1*} /
 sattvārthakriyāśīlam² ca³ pratigrhṇāmy ahaṃ dṛḍham //
- 15 buddham⁴ dharmam ca samgham ca triratnāgram anuttaram /
 adyāgreṇa grahīṣyāmi⁵ samvaram buddhayogajam //
- vajram⁶ ghaṇṭām^{7*} ca mudrām ca pratigrhṇāmi tattvataḥ /
 ācāryam ca grahīṣyāmi⁸ mahāvajrakuloccaye //
- 20 caturdānam pradāsyāmi ṣaṭkṛtvā tu dine dine /
 mahāratnakule yogye⁹ samaye ca manorame //
- saddharmam pratigrhṇāmi bāhyam guhyam triyānikam /
 mahāpadmakule śuddhe mahābodhisamudbhāve¹⁰ //
- samvaram sarvasamyuktaṃ pratigrhṇāmi tattvataḥ /
 pūjākarma yathāśaktyā mahākarmakuloccaye //

13 cf. SDPS 146, 10: *trividhāṃ śīlaśikṣāṃ ca kuśaladharmasamgraham* 16 cf. SDPS 146, 13: *adyāgreṇa grahīṣyāmi samvaram buddhayogajam* 17 cf. SDPS 146, 14: *vajraghaṇṭām ca mudrām ca pratigrhṇāmi tattvataḥ* 18 cf. SDPS 146, 15: *ācāryam ca grahīṣyāmi mahāvajrakuloccaye* 20 cf. SDPS 146, 17: *mahāratnakule yoge samaye ca manorame* 22 cf. SDPS 146, 19: *mahāpadmakule śuddhe mahābodhisamudbhāve*.

Codd. α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
 Lacking: B (fol. 1–13 lost).

- ¹ kuśala *conj.* (SDPS/146, 10]; Tib.[188.5.2] dge ba'i [chos ni sdud pa dang]) : kuśa-
 lam *codd.*
² sattvārtha Aγε : sattvārthe ζ
³ ca β : *om.* A
⁴ buddham AEγ : buddha Cζ
⁵ grahīṣyāmi H² SDPS/146, 13] : grhīṣyāmi *cett.*
⁶ vajram γ : vajra Aδ SDPS/146, 14]
⁷ ghaṇṭām AJ : ghaṇṭāmñ γ : ghaṇṭā εD
⁸ grahīṣyāmi H² SDPS/146, 15] : grhīṣyāmi *cett.*(-hiṣyāmi CD)
⁹ yogye A : yoge β SDPS [146, 17] (yogya SDPS^{ACD}; yoga SDPS^E)
¹⁰ samudbhāve AH² SDPS/146, 19] : samudbhāvam β

- 25 utpādayitvā¹ paramaṃ bodhicittam anuttaram /
 grhītvā² saṃvaram kṛtsnaṃ sarvasattvārthakāraṇāt //
 atīrṇāms³ tārayiṣyāmi amuktān mocayāmy⁴ aham /
 anāśvastān āśvāsayiṣyāmi⁵ sattvān⁶ sthāpayiṣyāmi⁷ nirvṛtāv iti //
 saṃvaragrahaṇapūrvakam bodhicittam utpādyā⁸ pañcākārābhisam-
 30 bodhiṃ bhāvayed anena krameṇa // prathamam tāvad ādarśajñānaṃ prati-
 bimbayogena bhāvayet / yathā pariśuddhādarśamaṇḍale⁹ taddeśakālasaṃ-
 nihitāḥ padārthajātayaḥ pratibhāsante¹⁰ tathā suviśuddhadharmadhātu-
 niṣyande¹¹ mahābodhicitte gatideśayonibhedabhinnān¹² sattvadhātūn¹³
 paśyaṃs¹⁴ tatra tān sunirmala¹⁵ ādarśajñāne dṛṣtvā tadupari sattvā-
 35 lambanām¹⁶ karuṇām utpādayet // aho batāmī sattvā anāthā aśaraṇā
 aparāyaṇā duḥkhitāḥ saṃsārārṇavanimagnās¹⁷ teṣāṃ sattvānām arthāya

25 cf. SDPS 146, 22: *utpādayitvā paramaṃ bodhicittam anuttaram* 26 cf. SDPS 146, 23: *grhītaṃ saṃvaram kṛtsnaṃ sarvasattvārthakāraṇāt* 27 cf. SDPS 146, 24: *atīrṇāms tārayiṣyāmi amuktān mocayāmy aham* 28 cf. SDPS 146, 25: *anāśvastān āśvāsayiṣyāmi sattvān sthāpayāmi nirvṛttāv iti*.

Codd. α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J). Lacking: B (fol. 1–13 lost).

- 1 utpādayitvā A SDPS[146, 22] : utpādayāmi β SDPS^{AC}
 2 grhītvā A : grhītaṃ β SDPS[146, 23]
 3 atīrṇāms ACJH : atīrṇās DF : atīrṇān E SDPS[146, 24]
 4 mocayāmy codd. : mocayāmy SDPS[146, 24]
 5 āśvāsayiṣyāmi AČH : āśvāsayiṣyāmi ε F
 6 sattvān conj. (SDPS[146, 25], Tib.[188.5.7] [mya ngan 'das la] sems can [dgod]) :
 sattvā A : sarvasattvā β (-sattvām J)
 7 sthāpayiṣyāmi codd. SDPS^B : sthāpayāmi SDPS[146, 25]
 8 bodhicittam utpādyā A : bodhicittotpādyā β
 9 darśamaṇḍale A : darśanamaṇḍale ε : darśanamaṇḍala γζ : darśanamaṇḍalais H²
 10 pratibhāsante A : pratibhāṣante β
 11 niṣyande A : niṣyande β
 12 gatideśa Aγ : deśa ε : daśa ζ ♦ bhinnān Aγ : bhinnāt δ
 13 sattva codd. (sattvān H²)
 14 paśyaṃs corr. : paśyan codd. (paśyen E)
 15 sunirmala γ : sunirmale Aδ
 16 ālambanām β : āvalambanām A
 17 saṃsārārṇava Aδ : saṃsārārṇave γ

- yathāham ātmānam sarveṇa sarvaṃ sarvathā sarvaduḥkhebhya¹
 mocayiṣyāmi² tathā sarvasattvān³ apīty ādarśajñāne⁴ sarvasattvān asaṃvṛtyā
 paśyet⁵ //
- 40 tataḥ samatājñānam adhimuñcet sarvadarmanairātmyasamatāyogena⁶ /
 yathā sarvadarmaḥ⁷ śūnyā anātmānas tathāham api śūnyo 'nātmeti⁸
 vibhāvya sarvadarmanairātmyaṃ praviśet // tathā cāha⁹ / yathātmānam¹⁰
 tathā¹¹ prajānāti sarvasattvān¹² / yathā sarvasattvāms¹³ tathā prajānāti
 sarvadarman ityādi // tataḥ sarvadarmanairātmyasvabhāvādhigamād¹⁴
 45 dharmāvalambanāṃ¹⁵ karuṇāṃ samatājñānenotpādayet /
 tataś cākāro mukhaṃ¹⁶ sarvadarmanāṃ ādyanutpannatvād iti mantram
 uccārya
 mantrārthaṃ¹⁷ bhāvayen mantrī nikhilena samāsataḥ /
 vibhāvya dharmanairātmyam anālambanayā saha //
- 50 evaṃ pratyavekṣanājñānam¹⁸ //

Codd. α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
 Lacking: B (fol. 1–13 lost).

- 1 sarvaduḥkhebhya Aγζ : sarveduḥkhebhya ε
 2 mocayiṣyāmi A : mocayāmi β
 3 sarvasattvān AH² : sarvasattvatvān CF : sarvasattvatān E : sarvasattvasyān J :
 sarvasattvasvān D
 4 ādarśajñāne A . ādarśajñāna β (ādarśana- E)
 5 paśyet AF : paśyat δH
 6 nairātmya A : nairātmye β
 7 sarvadarmaḥ A : sarvadarma β (sarvadarma H)
 8 śūnyo 'nātmeti *corr.* : śūnyonātmeti A : śūnyānātmeti β
 9 tathā cāha H² *Tib.* ([189.1.5] de skad kyang gsungs pa) : *om. cett.*
 10 yathātmānam *em.* : yathātmāna H² : yathā ātmāna δ : yatha ātmana A : yathā
 ā< > γ
 11 tathā *em.* (*Tib.* [189.1.5] de 'drar) : tatha A : *om.* β
 12 sarvasattvān *em.* (*Tib.* [189.1.5–6] sems can thams cad) : sarvasarvasattvān AH :
 sarvasattvā δF
 13 sarvasattvāms *em.* : sarvasattva *codd.*
 14 nairātmya AγE : nairātmye Cζ
 15 lambanāṃ β : lambanīm A
 16 mukhaṃ AH : mukha δF
 17 mantrārthaṃ A : mantrāsattvārthaṃ εF : mantrasattvārthaṃ J : matrāsattvārtha D :
 mantrā< > rthaṃ H
 18 jñānam A : jñāna β ('mitābha E)

samanantaram¹ evānāmbanamahākaruṇānugataṃ sakalagrāhyagrāhaka-
vinirmuktaṃ prakṛtiprabhāsvaraṃ² pratyastamitāvayavasvabhāvaṃ suvi-
śuddhadharmadhātuśūnyatājñānaṃ³ bhāvayet //

tataś ca sarvasattvārthakriyāvirahito^{4*} yogī pūrvapraṇidhānāhitacittasaṃ-
55 tānavaśād utthāpito 'nāmbanayā⁵ mahākaruṇayā kṛtyānuṣṭhānājñānaṃ
bhāvayet⁶ / nirvikalpakajñānapṛṣṭhalabdhasuddhalaupikajñānatvāt⁷ tasya
tenaiva sakalasattvārthaparisamāptiḥ⁸ / tac ca prasthānalakṣaṇaṃ bodhi-
cittaṃ samvṛtiparamārthasvabhāvaṃ prakṛtivyavahārikam cittaṃ iti
veditavyam //

60 tato yogī^{9*} cittaṃ māyopamākāraṃ ākāśadeśasthaṃ prakṛtiprabhā-
svaraṃ tāraṅgākāraṃ <ākāraṃ> vicintya^{10*} tadudbhūtaṃ krodhajvālāmālā-
kulaṃ¹¹ nīlavarṇaṃ anekaraśmīśatasahasraparivṛtaṃ samantabhadraṃ para-
mānandaṃ ātmānaṃ bṛhad dhūmkāraṃ* cintayet¹² // tasmād dhūmkārād
anekākāraraśmayo¹³ viniṣṛtās¹⁴ tebhyaś ca raśmimukhebhyaḥ sarvatathā-
65 gatās taiś ca sarvatathāgatāih sarvabuddhakṣetrāṇi gatvāśeṣānavaśeṣeṣu¹⁵

64 cf. NMAA 4, 185–6: *śadbhyo vajramukhebhyaḥ śadvarṇā viniṣṛtya* (viniṣṛtya
A : viniṣṛtya β)

Codd. α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
Lacking: B (fol. 1–13 lost).

- 1 samanantaram → pratyastamitāvayava[svabhāvaṃ] *om.* E
- 2 prabhāsvaraṃ AH : prabhāsvara CF : prabhāsvarā ζ : *om.* E
- 3 dhātu δ : dhātum Aγ
- 4 kriyāvirahito β : kriyā'virahto A
- 5 utthāpito 'nāmbanayā *corr.* : utthāpitaḥ / anāmbanayā *codd.*
- 6 bhāvayet A : sāksātkuryāt β
- 7 laupika AEH² : lokika Cγζ
- 8 sattvārtha β : sattvārthaṃ A ♦ parisamāptiḥ A : parisamāpte β (parisamāpteḥ H²)
- 9 yogī *conj.* (Tib. [189.2.4] rnal-'byor pas) : yoginaś *codd.*
- 10 akāraṃ vicintya *conj.* (Tib. [189.2.4] a bsams te) : vicintya *codd.*
- 11 jvālāmālākulaṃ Aγ : jvālākālaṃ CJ : jvālākāraṃ DE
- 12 cintayet A : vicintayet β
- 13 anekākāra A² : anekāra A : anekākārā β
- 14 viniṣṛtās *corr.* (NMAA [4, 185–6] viniṣṛtya) : viniṣṛtās *codd.*
- 15 gatvāśeṣā *corr.* : gatvā aśeṣā *codd.* ♦ ānavaśeṣeṣu Aγ : āvaśeṣeṣu δ

sarvalokadhātuṣu sarvasattvadhātūn saṃśodhya bodhicittotpādādikam kṛtvā
yāvat sarvabuddhavikurvitāni¹ ca saṃdarśya punar āgatya tasmin hūṃkāre
praviśantīti^{2*} cintayet //

tatpariṇatam nīlādiṣaḍvarṇam³ abhiratyādiṣaḍbuddhakṣetravyāpinam
70 jvālāmālinam sarvamārāridurdharṣam⁴ ṣaṇmukham pañcasūcikaṃ jñāna-
vajram bhāvayet / tasya vajravarāṭakasyāntargatam⁵ śuklam bhrūṃkāram
vicintya / tatparāvṛtṭyā⁶ catūratnamayam⁷ trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu-
pramāṇam caityam vibhāvya / tasya garbhe hrīḥkāreṇa dharmodayam /
tadupary⁸ akāreṇa⁹ viśvavajram tena ca vajramayīm¹⁰ śuklavarṇām¹¹
75 bhūmim adhiṭṭhet //

tato bhrūṃkāreṇa vajramaṇiratnaśikharakūṭāgāram cintayet¹² / tac¹³ ca
kimviśiṣṭam ity āha /

Codd. α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
Lacking: B (fol. 1–13 lost).

- 1 vikurvitāni AE : dvivikurvitāna Cζ : < >kurvatā(-to F)ni γ : dvivikurvitāni H²
- 2 praviśantīti *conj.* (Sanderson) : praviśataḥ A : praviśanta(-taś J) δ : praviśantam γ
- 3 varṇam Aγε : varaṇam ζ
- 4 mārāri AγE : mālāri C : nālāri ζ
- 5 vajravarāṭakasyā A : vajrava(dha H)rata(ṭa E)kā β
- 6 parāvṛtṭyā *corr.* : parāvṛtyā A : parāvṛtam β (rāvṛtam H)
- 7 catū AJ : catu Dγε
- 8 tadupary *corr.* : tadupari *codd.*
- 9 akāreṇa β *Tib.* ([189.3.2–3] yi ge a las) : aḥkāreṇa A
- 10 mayīm AH : mayī δF
- 11 varṇām *em.* : varṇam *codd.* (varṇa F)
- 12 cintayet A : vicintayet β
- 13 tac Aγ : tam δ

- caturaśraṃ caturdvāraṃ catustoraṇabhūṣitaṃ /
ghaṇṭāpattapatākādisrakcāmaravibhūṣitaṃ¹ //
- 80 koṇeṣu caiva sarveṣu dvāraniryūhasaṃdhiṣu /
khacitaṃ vajraratnais tu ardhaacandrena saṃyutaiḥ^{2*} //
hārārdhahāraracitaṃ vicitrair upaśobhitaṃ³ /
rajobhiḥ pañcavarṇaiś ca saṃlikhed⁴ bāhyamaṇḍalam //
- 85 tasya cakrapratīkāśaṃ praviśyābhyantaraṃ⁵ puram⁶ /
vajradhātvabhīdhanākhyam dvitīyam vinyaset tataḥ //
vajramālāparikṣiptam aṣṭastambhopaśobhitaṃ /
rajobhiḥ pañcabhiś caiva hārārdhādivibhūṣitaṃ //
maṇḍalasya tu bāhyasya yad uktaṃ sarvalakṣaṇam /
sarvaṃ tasyāpi tat⁷ kuryāt samāśena viśeṣataḥ //
- 90 ekam eva na kuryād vai toraṇaṃ⁸ dvārasaṃdhiṣu /
ataś ca tasya dvārāṇi toraṇāni na kalpayet // iti /

Codd. α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
Lacking: B (fol. 1–13 lost).

- 1 vibhūṣitaṃ β : bhūṣitaṃ A
- 2 saṃyutaiḥ conj. (Sanderson) : saṃyutaṃ codd.
- 3 vicitrair upaśobhitaṃ ADFE : vicitrarūpaśobhitaṃ HJ : vicitrair ūpaśobhitaṃ C
- 4 saṃlikhed Jγ : likhed vā A : saṃlikhye CD : saṃlikhe E
- 5 ābhyantaraṃ A : osvantaraṃ δ : āsvantaraṃ γ
- 6 puram A : punaḥ β
- 7 tat Aγ : yat δ
- 8 toraṇaṃ A : toraṇa β

- āsanam¹ ca nyaset paścād devatānām yathākramam² /
 tatramadhye³ nyasec caiva pradhānasya⁴ tu āsanam //
 pūrvādidikṣu sarvāsu akṣobhyādīnām ca viṣṭaram⁵ /
 95 svabījapariniṣpannam kalpayet tac ca⁶ yogavit //
 tatrāsanavikalpaḥ⁷ / madhye siṃhāsanam⁸ pūrve gajāsanam⁹ da-
 kṣiṇe turagāsanam paścime mayūrāsanam uttare garuḍāsanam* iti //
 sattvavajryādyārabhya yāvad vajrāveśaparyantānām¹⁰ akārapariniṣpannāni
 candramaṇḍalāni¹¹ vicintayet /
 100 tataś ca pradhānāsana¹² āḥkāreṇa¹³ pariniṣpannam mahāvairocanam /
 yato yad eva¹⁴ cittam prakṛtyā grāhakādyākāravirahād dharmadhātu-
 svabhāvam tad eva* caturmukham śūnyatādicaturvimokṣamukhānām
 dharmadhātor ālambanatvena sarvasamādhiprasūtihetutvāt / śuklavarnam¹⁵
 dharmadhātusvabhāvatvāt / jaṭāmakuṭopetaṃ¹⁶ nirābharaṇam ca

Codd. α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
 Lacking: B (fol. 1–13 lost).

- 1 āsanam Ay : āsanai ε : āsane ζ
- 2 kramam A . kramāt β
- 3 tatra β : tan A
- 4 pradhānasya Ayζ : pradhānasye ε
- 5 viṣṭaram A : vistaram β
- 6 tac ca β (taca F) : tasya A
- 7 tatrāsanavikalpaḥ A : tatrāsanam vikalpetah β : de la gdan mams brtag pa Tib.
[189.4.2]
- 8 siṃhāsanam A Tib. : siṃhāsanam varam β
- 9 gajāsanam A Tib. : gajāsanam jñeyam β
- 10 vajrā Ayζ : vajrām ε ♦ paryantānām A : paryantam β
- 11 candramaṇḍalāni Ay : om. δ
- 12 āsana corr. : āsane codd.
- 13 āḥkāreṇa Ay : ākāreṇa δH²
- 14 yato yad eva A : yade< >va H : yato ya< >va F : yad eva δ
- 15 varṇam AH : varṇa δF
- 16 makuṭopetaṃ AJH : makuṭopetaṃ εDF

- 105 śāntacittatvāt / bodhyagrīmudrāyuktam^{1*} prajñopāyātmakatvāt // tam
 evambhūtam mahāvairocanam ātmānam adhimucya² caturbuddhāsana-
 yogena taddhṛdaye candramaṇḍalam tadupari dhīhkāreṇa pariniṣpannam
 ādibuddham bhagavantam / pañcānanam iti pañcamukham / pañcaśikham
 iti pañcacīrakam³ / tasyaiva^{4*} bandhanāt pañcacīrakaśekharam / pañca-
 110 varṇopetam / pūrveṇa nīlam dakṣiṇeṇa pītam paścimena raktam uttareṇa
 haritam / mūrdhni⁵ paramāśvamukhavad avasthitam mukham śvetam
 <yasya tam>^{6*} / śāntam⁷ kumārābharaṇopetam⁸ saśṛṅgāram⁹ vicitra-
 vastraparidhānam aṣṭabhujaṁ śatasāhasrikām¹⁰ prajñāpāramitām caturdhā
 vibhajya caturbhiḥ karair hṛdi saṁdhār<a>yamānam^{11*} / aparaiś caturbhiḥ
 115 karaiḥ prajñākhaḍgam¹² praharaṇābhīnayaṇa dhārayantam caturbuddhāsana-
 yogena¹³ vyavasthitam bhāvayet //

105 cf. NMAA 4, 221–2: *vairocanam sitavarṇam bodyagrīmudrāyuktam āhkāra-pariniṣpannam* (bodhyagrī AB *Tib.* [190.5.5] byang chub mchog) : bodhyaṅgī(-gā F) β)

Codd. α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
 Lacking: B (fol. 1–13 lost).

- ¹ bodhyagrī A *Tib.* [189.4.6] byang chub mchog); NMAA[4, 221–2] : bodhyaṅgī β ♦
 yuktam A : yutam β
² adhimucya A : adhimuṁcya β
³ pañcacīrakam A : pañcacīram β
⁴ tasyaiva *conj.* : tad eva *codd.*
⁵ mūrdhni β : mūrdhani A
⁶ yasya tam *conj.* (Sanderson) : om. *codd. Tib.*
⁷ śāntam Ay (śāmntam H) : śānta δ
⁸ ābharaṇopetam A : obharaṇopetam H : obharaṇavarṇopetam F : ābharaṇavarṇopetam δ
⁹ saśṛṅgāram AF : saśṛṅgāra δH
¹⁰ śatasāhasrikām A : śatasāhasra β
¹¹ saṁdhārayamānam *em.* : saṁdhāryamānam *codd.* (sadhāryamānam D)
¹² khaḍgam *em.* : khaḍga *codd.*
¹³ yogena A : om. β

[imāṃ ṣaṇmantrarājānasamyuktām* advayodayām /

anutpādadharminīm gāthām bhāṣate sma girām pateḥ // (25)]

imāṃ dvādaśatathāgatabhūmyupalakṣitām¹ gāthām² girām pater
 120 bhāṣate smeti saṃbandhaḥ // kimbhūtām ṣaṇmantrarājānasamyuktām³ iti
 vakṣyamāṇaṣaṇmantropetām // kimātmikām advayodayām⁴ iti / dvayam
 grāhyam⁵ grāhakam ca / tan⁶ na vidyate⁷ yasya⁸ tad advayam⁹ / udy
 asmā¹⁰ ity udayaḥ¹¹ / advayasyodayo¹² 'dvayodayaḥ¹³ / sa vidyate
 yasyām¹⁴ gāthāyām sādvyodayā¹⁵ tām¹⁶ bhāṣate sma // punar api kim-
 125 viśiṣṭām / anutpādadharminīm¹⁷ iti dharmadhātusvabhāvām¹⁸ śūnyatā-
 svabhāvām¹⁹ ity arthaḥ //

[a ā i ī u ū e ai o au am aḥ sthito hr̥di /

jñānamūrtir ahaṃ buddho buddhānām tryadhvavartinām //

(26)]

130 śrīvajraṇḍālāṃkāratantre dvādaśatathāgatabhūmayāḥ paṭhyante //

Codd. α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
 Lacking: B (fol. 1–13 lost).

- 1 bhūmy *corr.* : bhūmi *codd.* (bhūmim H)
- 2 gāthām AJF : gāthā εD : gārthā H
- 3 rājāna A : rājānaṃ δH : rājānaḥ H² : *g*ājātam F
- 4 advayodayām AJ : advayodvayām γεD
- 5 grāhyam AH : grāhya ζFE : grāhr C
- 6 tan na AJ : tām na εD : taun na H : tā*tt*ā F
- 7 vidyate Aδ : vidyeteti H : vayateti F
- 8 yasya Ayζ : ta yasya ε
- 9 advayam Aδ (advaya D) : akṣayam γ ♦ akṣayam /< ~8 >advayasyodayo F
- 10 asmād AJ : asmābhīd εD : asmām H : *lac.* F
- 11 udayaḥ AζH : udayamḥ C : udayam E : *lac.* F
- 12 odayo *corr.* : odayaḥ H : odvayaḥ A : ādayaḥ εF : *om.* ζ ♦ advayasyo-
 dayo *om.* ζ
- 13 'dvayodayaḥ *corr.* : advayodayaḥ Jγ : advayodvayaḥ εD : *om.* A
- 14 yasyām AJH : yasyā εDF
- 15 sādvyodayā *corr.* : sādvyodayā A : sādvyodaya εH : sādvyodaya J :
 sādvyodvaya D : sādvyādvaya F
- 16 tām A : gāthām δF : gāthām tām H
- 17 dharminīm A : dharminīm(-nī F) gāthām β
- 18 svabhāvām AH : svabhāvā F : svabhāva δ
- 19 svabhāvām Ay : svabhāvam δ

- samantaprabhā mahābhūmiḥ¹ sūryamaṇḍalavac ca sā /
 amṛtaprabhā dvitīyā tu candravat suprabhāsvarā² //
 gaganaprabhā tṛtīyā tu gaganabhūmipratiṣṭhitā³ /
 vajraprabhā tu yā bhūmiś⁴ caturthī sā manoramā //
 135 dr̥ḍhādhyāśayayogena⁵ vajreti parikalpyate /
 pañcamī ratnaprabhā nāma abhiṣeke pratiṣṭhitā //
 ṣaṣṭhī padmaprabhā nāma padmavat suvirājate /
 svabhāvaśuddhadharmatvāt⁶ nirmalā niṣparigrahā //
 saptamī karmaprabhā nāma buddhakarmakari⁷ smṛtā /
 140 aṣṭamy⁸ anupamā nāma upamā tatra na vidyate //
 navamī nirupamā⁹ nāma sarvopamāprativedhataḥ¹⁰ /
 daśamī prajñāprabhā nāma buddhabhūmīr anuttarā //
 ekādaśī sarvajñatā mahābhūmiḥ¹¹ prabhāsvarā¹² /
 dvādaśī pratyātmavedyā¹³ tu yogijñānaprapūrikā // iti //
 145 etā dvādaśatathāgatabhūmayo 'kārādidvādaśasvaraiḥ¹⁴ pariniṣpannā
 veditavyāḥ //

Codd. α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H). δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
 Lacking: B (fol. 1–13 lost).

- 1 mahābhūmiḥ A : mahābhūmi γ : maṇḍalabhūmi δ
- 2 suprabhāsvarā AH : suprabhāsvarām εF : saprabhāsvarām ζ
- 3 pratiṣṭhitā AεD : pratiṣṭhitāḥ γ : pratiṣṭhitām J
- 4 bhūmiś A : bhūmi β
- 5 dr̥ḍhādhyāśaya A : tadādhyāśaya Eγ : tadādhyāsama Cζ
- 6 svabhāva Aγ : prabhāva δ
- 7 karma A : dharma β
- 8 aṣṭamy *corr.* : aṣṭamī *codd.*
- 9 nirupamā Aγζ : nirūpamā ε : dpe ldan {sopamā} Tib.[191.1.2]
- 10 prativedhataḥ A Tib.[191.1.2] so sor rtogs) : prativodhakaḥ β
- 11 sarvajñatā mahābhūmiḥ A : sarvajñāprabhā nāma bhūmiβ
- 12 prabhāsvarā Aγ : prabhāsvaraḥ δ
- 13 vedyā β : vaidyā A
- 14 'kārādi *corr.* : akārādi *codd.*

- buddhānām tryadhvavartinām ity atītānāgat<apratyutpann>ānām¹
 buddhānām / hr̥di² sthito 'ham iti sarvatathāgatahr̥dayavihāritvāt / jñānamū-
 rtir iti jñānakāyasvabhāvatvāt / buddha iti yathāvasthitapadārthāvabodhāt³ //
- 150 [om vajratikṣṇa duḥkhaccheda prajñājñānamūrtaye /
 jñānakāya vāgīśvara arapacanāya te namaḥ // (27)]
- idānīm tasyādibuddhasya hr̥daye prajñācakram vicintayet⁴ // kim-
 viśiṣṭam* ity āha pratītyasamutpādārthasūcakam⁵ / tathā cāha /
 āraiḥ* saṃdhāryate⁶ nābhir nābhau⁷ cārāḥ⁸ pratiṣṭhitāḥ /
- 155 pratīyotpādayogāc ca cakram etat pravartate // iti //
- akāreṇa pariniṣpannam ṣaḍvarṇopetaṃ sāraṣaṭkaṃ⁹* caturmekhalāsaṃ-
 yuktaṃ suvibhaktanābhi // tasya nābhimadhye¹⁰ akāraṃ vicintya / bhaga-
 vato jñānasattvasya mūlamantrādayo mantrās catasṛṣu mekhalāsu sitavarṇā
 eva¹¹ bhāvanīyās¹² // tatra prathamamekhalāyām¹³ om sarvadharmābhāva-
 160 svabhāvaviśuddhavajra¹⁴ a ā am aḥ // tasyaiva dvitīyamekhalāyām¹⁵

Codd. α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
 Lacking: B (fol. 1–13 lost).

- ¹ atītānāgatapratyutpannānām *conj. Tib.* ([190.1.4] 'das pa dang ma 'ongs pa dang da ltar gyi [dus gsum gyi sangs rgyas mams kyi'o]) : atītānāgatānām *codd.*
² hr̥di A : hr̥daye δ : hr̥daya γ
³ yathāvasthita A : yathāsthita β ♦ padārthāvabodhāt A : padādvabodhāt δ : padā-
 vabodhāt γ
⁴ vicintayet AH : cintayet δF
⁵ samutpādārtha AJE *Tib.* ([190.1.6] rten cing 'brel par 'byung ba'i don) : sam-
 utpā(-ttvā H) rtha CDγ ♦ sūcakam Aγ : sūcikaṃ δ
⁶ saṃdhāryate Aγε : saṃdhāryati ζ
⁷ nābhau AJH² : nābhi nābhau Dγε
⁸ cārāḥ AH² : cārā β
⁹ ṣaḍvarṇopetaṃ sāraṣaṭkaṃ *conj.* : ṣaḍvarṇopetaṃ āraṣaṭkaṃ *codd.*
¹⁰ tasya nābhi *om.* β
¹¹ eva AF : evaṃ δH
¹² bhāvanīyās A : bhāvanāyā(-ām H) β
¹³ prathama Aγ : *om.* δ
¹⁴ dharmābhāva Aγ : dharmā δ ♦ viśuddha AFe : śuddha Hζ
¹⁵ dvitīya Aγ : dvitīyā δ

dvādaśatathāgatabhūmyabhidhāyakān¹ dvādaśasvarān² cintayet³ // tataḥ⁴
 prathamāram ārabhya⁵ yathāvat mantraṣaṭkavinyāsaṃ⁶ kulavarnakrameṇa
 kuryāt // tad yathā / prathame / om vajratikṣṇāya namaḥ^{7*} / dvitīye /
 om duḥkhacchedāya namaḥ⁸ / tṛtīye / om prajñājñānamūrtaye namaḥ /
 165 caturthe / om jñānakāyāya namaḥ⁹ / pañcame / om vāgīśvarāya
 namaḥ¹⁰ / ṣaṣṭhe / om arapacanāya¹¹ namaḥ¹² / cakrasya¹³ bahir-
 nemyām¹⁴ bhagavataḥ sarvatathāgatajñānakāyasya mālāmantram nyaset /
 aḥ āḥ¹⁵ sarvatathāgatahṛdaya¹⁶ hara hara om hūṃ hrīḥ bhagavan jñāna-
 mūrte¹⁷ vāgīśvara mahāvāca sarvadharmagaganāmalasupariśuddhadharma-
 170 dhātujñānagarbha āḥ // bahir dvitīyāyām mekhalāyām kakārādihakāra-
 paryantān¹⁸ niveśayet // ity ayam cakrasya mantravinyāsaḥ //

168–9 NS.Dav. 68, 12–13: *a āḥ sarvatathāgatahṛdayam hara hara / om hūṃ hrīḥ bhagavan jñānamūrtivāgīśvara mahāvāca*; SāMā 160, 19–20: *a āḥ sarvatathāgatahṛdaya hara hara / om hūṃ hrīḥ bhagavan jñānamūrtivāgīśvara mahāvāca*; Tib.[190.2.4–5]: *a āḥ om sar ba ta thā ga ta hr da ya / ha ra ha ra / om hūṃ hrīḥ bha ga wān (bām Tib.P.) / dznyā na mū (mu Tib.P.) rtti / bā gī śwa ra / ma hā wā (bā Tib.P.) tsa.*

Codd. α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J). Lacking: B (fol. 1–13 lost).

- 1 abhidhāyakān A : abhidhāyakām β
- 2 svarān A : svarām β
- 3 cintayet Aγ : vicintayet δ
- 4 tataḥ AδH² : om. γ
- 5 prathamāram ārabhya A : prathamā< >m ārabhya γ : prathamamaniparitye δH²
- 6 vinyāsaṃ A : vinyāsa β
- 7 namaḥ A : te namaḥ β Tib.[190.2.3]
- 8 namaḥ Aγ : te namaḥ δH² Tib.
- 9 namaḥ conj. : te namaḥ codd. Tib.
- 10 namaḥ conj. : te namaḥ codd. Tib.
- 11 arapacanāya Aγζ : alapaṃcanāya ε
- 12 namaḥ conj. : te namaḥ codd. Tib.
- 13 cakrasya Aγ : cakra δ
- 14 nemyām AJ : namyām CDγ : navamyām E
- 15 aḥ āḥ AJ : āḥ aḥ γεD : a āḥ om Tib.[190.2.4] : a āḥ SāMā[160, 19]; NS.Dav.[68, 12] : a ā om NS.Dav.^{Ne} : am aḥ NS.Tib.[Mukherji 99, 2]; NS.Dav.^{Mukherji, Vira} : a ā NS.Dav.^B : om. NS.Dav.^Y
- 16 hṛdaya codd. Tib.[190.2.4]; SāMā[160, 19]; NS.Dav.^{Minaev, Tib., B.} : hṛdayam NS.Dav.[68, 12]
- 17 jñānamūrte codd. NS.Dav.^{Minaev} (ajñāna- C) : jñānamūrti Tib.[190.2.4]; NS.Dav.[68, 13]; SāMā [160, 19–20]
- 18 paryantān AH² : paryantām β

tasya cakrasya madhyavartinam akārajam bhagavantam ṣaṇmukhaṃ
 jñānasattvaṃ śaracchaśāṅkaprabham¹ indranilāgrasaccīram² bālārka-
 maṇḍalacchāyaprabhāmaṇḍalam^{3*} sarvatathāgatamayābharanam⁴ samādhi-
 175 samāpannam vicitrapadmāsanopaviṣṭam ubhayakarāsaktanīlotpalordhva-
 sthitaprajñāpāramitāpustakadvayaṃ⁵ śāntarasopetam ātmānam vicintya /
 taddhṛdaye candramaṇḍalam vibhāvya tadupari prajñāpāramitāsvabhāvaṃ
 sarvajñajñānodayakāraṇam⁶ sarvaśrāvakapratyekabuddhānām utpattibhū-
 tam⁷ sarvamaḥābodhisattvānām⁸ puṇyajñānasambhārabhūtam⁹ paramārthā-
 180 kṣaram sarvākṣarāṇām kāraṇabhūtam akāram¹⁰ vinyaset¹¹ //
 tataś¹² cakrasthitāni¹³ yāni mantrākṣarāṇi yathoktavarnopetāni¹⁴ suvi-
 bhaktāny¹⁵ ajñānaśailavidhamanakṣamāṇi¹⁶ gabhastimanti vicintya taiś ca
 raśmibhiḥ svaśarīram uddyotamānam¹⁷ vibhāvayet //

Codd. α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
 Lacking: B (fol. 1–13 lost).

- 1 chaśāṅka δ : chaśāṅkam A : chaśākam H : chaśāka F
- 2 indranilāgra AJ (*Tib.* [190.2.6] i ndra nī la mchog) : indramālāgra εD : indra-
 jālāgra H : indratālāgra F ♦ saccīram AyJ (sacīra H) : saccarid εD
- 3 maṇḍalacchāya *em.* : maṇḍalacchāyā *codd.*
- 4 mayābharanam A : mayābharana β
- 5 karāsakta β : karesakta A ♦ nīlotpalordhva A : nīlotpaladvaya β (nīlotpara- C) ♦
 dvayaṃ Ayε : dvaya ζ
- 6 jñānodayakāraṇam A : jñānodayākāram γ : jñānādayākāram δ
- 7 utpattibhūtam Ay : mūr(mū C)ttparttibhūtam CD : mūrttibhūtam JE
- 8 sarva Ay : sarve δ
- 9 sambhārabhūtam Ay : sambhūtam δ (sambhāram C, sambhūātām C²)
- 10 akāram A : akāra δ : aikāram γ
- 11 vinyaset β : vinyasya A
- 12 tataś AJγ : ataś εD
- 13 sthitāni Ay : sitāni δ
- 14 varṇopetāni Ay (varṇopetā < > F) : mantro(trā C)petāni δH²
- 15 suvibhaktāny A : bhakṣāny β (< > bhakṣāny F)
- 16 vidhamana Ay (vidharmana H) : dvidharmana(matā E) δ ♦ kṣamāṇi A . kṣa-
 rāṇi εγ : kṣatrāṇi ζ
- 17 uddyotamānam Ay : udyānam δ

uddyotayanto¹ raśmayaś caturbhyo² mukhebhyo nirgatya sahāloka-
 185 dhātum avabhāsyā / tataḥ ṣaḍbhyo³ vajramukhebhyaḥ⁴ ṣaḍvarṇā⁵ viniḥ-
 sṛtya⁶ sarvākāśadhātusamavasaraṇāni⁷ nānābuddhakṣetrāṇi gtvā teṣu
 buddhakṣetreṣv aśeṣānavaśeṣasya⁸ sattvadhātor arthaṃ kṛtvā sarvatathā-
 gatabuddhabodhisattvapaṣadam⁹ avabhāsyā teṣāṃ vaktreṇa praviśyā
 taddhṛdvajraṃ¹⁰ pradakṣiṇīkṛtya tatprajñājñānam ākṛṣya dharmanairātmya-
 190 samatayā svavaktraīḥ¹¹ praviśyā svahrccandrasthita-mantrākṣareṇa sahaikī-
 bhūyāvasthitā <iti>^{12*} cintayet¹³ //

evam anavaratabhāvanābhīrato mantramukhacaryācārī bodhisattvo
 bhagavato¹⁴ mañjuśrījñānasattvasya rūpam ālambayann iti jñānakāyena
 tadrūpam anuvicintayann¹⁵ iti candramaṇḍalarūpeṇa / tadrūpam anu-
 195 dhyāyann ity akārarūpeṇa / evaṃ tridhākāreṇa bhāvayan¹⁶ / tam eva
 nirmāṇarūpakāyena¹⁷ na cirād eva vinayavaśam upādāya drakṣyati¹⁸ /

Codd. α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
 Lacking: B (fol. 1–13 lost).

- 1 uddyotayanto A : uddyotyate H : uddyotyatai F : uddyān(-yā*n* C)ācatai ε : ud-
dyāntācatai ζ
- 2 caturbhyo A : catur β
- 3 ṣaḍbhyo codd. (ṣaḍbhyaś J; ṣaḍbhyaś* E)
- 4 vajramukhebhyaḥ A Tib. ([190.3.4] rdo rje'i sgo [drug] nas) : cakramukhebhyo γ :
cakrebhyo εD : cakrebhyaḥ J
- 5 varṇā AH : varṇo δF
- 6 viniḥsṛtya A : vinisṛtya β
- 7 ākāśa Aδ : ākāśe γ
- 8 aśeṣānavaśeṣasya corr. : aśeṣānavaśeṣasya A : aśeṣānavaśeṣa β
- 9 paṣadam β : paṣad A
- 10 vajraṃ A : vajrīm β ♦ taddhṛdvajraṃ → svavaktraīḥ om. D
- 11 svavaktraīḥ AyC : svavaktre E : sva*jaiḥ J : om. D
- 12 sthitā iti conj. : sthitāṃ A : sthitāṃ β (sthita D)
- 13 cintayet Ay Tib. ([190.3.7] bsgom par bya'o) : vicintayet δ (vicintat D)
- 14 bhagavato AJγ : bhagavanto εD
- 15 anuvicintayann A : anuvicintayan F : anuvicintayenn E : anuvicintayet HCζ
- 16 bhāvayan A : bhāvayet β
- 17 nirmāṇa Ay : nirvāṇa δ
- 18 drakṣyati ACD : drakṣati JEγ

gaganatalagatāmś ca sarvabuddhabodhisattvān nirmāṇarūpakāyasahagatān
 drakṣyatīti¹ // tataś ca bhāvanābalād ihaiva janmani² buddhatvaṃ vajra-
 dharatvaṃ prāpnotīty³ anena krameṇa māyājālābhisambodhikramah⁴
 200 sūcitah //

idānīm^{5*} kulabhedena cāparāṇi ṣaṭ prajñācakrāṇy apy ucyante // tatra
 pūrvam tāvat sarvam ādiyogaṃ kṛtvā bhagavantam mahāvairocanaṃ
 svamaṇḍalamadhye⁶ vyavasthitam⁷ apakṛṣya⁸ tatsthāne 'mitābham⁹ rakta-
 varṇam hrīḥkārodbhavam samādhisthitam¹⁰ vicintya taddhṛdaya¹¹
 205 ādibuddham tathaiva dhyātvā taddhṛdi cāṣṭāraṃ cakram caturmekhalā-
 yutam¹² mūlamantrādibhiḥ¹³ pariveṣṭitam¹⁴ cintayet¹⁵ // tataś cāreṣv
 aṣṭāsv aṣṭau^{16*} bījāni om vajratīkṣṇāya nama^{17*} iti vinyaset // cakra-
 nābhimadhye vajratīkṣṇam raktavarṇam bālābharanānvitam¹⁸ pañcacīraka-
 śekharam vicitravastrasaṃvītam¹⁹ hrīḥkārapariṇatam vāmahastena²⁰

Codd. Ω (B A F H E C D J); B, α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J). Lacking: B, lines 197–99 (fol. 1–13 lost); B, fol. 14r1 starts line 199, [prā]pnotīty anena

- 1 drakṣyatīti *corr.* : drakṣyati iti εD : drakṣati iti Jγ : drakṣyati A
- 2 janmani Aγζ : jramaṇi C : vajramaṇi E
- 3 prāpnotīty γ : prāpnoti ity δ : prāyotīty A : prāprātīty B
- 4 māyājālā ABγE : mālājālā C : mālā ζ
- 5 idānīm *conj.* (Tib. [190.4.3] da ni) : idam idānīm ABγ : itam idānīm Cζ : itah idānīm E
- 6 sva α : *om.* B
- 7 vyavasthitam A : vyavatthitam B : vyavasthitah δ : vovyavasthitah γ
- 8 apakṛṣya AB : avakṛṣya δ
- 9 'mitābham *corr.* : amitābham *codd.*
- 10 samādhisthitam α : samāvistham B
- 11 taddhṛdaya *corr.* : taddhṛdaye *codd.*
- 12 mekhalā ABFE : mukhaṃlā ζH
- 13 mantrādibhiḥ B : mantrādi α
- 14 pariveṣṭitam ABγ : parivyaṣṭhitam δ
- 15 cintayet ABγE : vicintayet Cζ
- 16 aṣṭāsv aṣṭau *conj.* : aṣṭāsu cāṣṭau *codd.*
- 17 nama AB : namaḥ β : te namaḥ Tib. [190.4.6]
- 18 ānvitam α : ānvitā B
- 19 saṃvītam BJγ : samcītam A : saṃvīram ε : savīram D
- 20 hastena AB : haste β

210 padmadharam dakṣiṇahastena¹ prajñākhaḍgadharam² vicintya taddhṛdi
pūrvavac³ candramaṇḍalopari⁴ hriḥkāraṃ vibhāvya pūrvoktaspharaṇa-
saṃharaṇakrameṇa kṛtvā bhāvayed iti //

punas tathaivākṣobhyam⁵ maṇḍalamadhye⁶ nīlavarnaṃ hūṃkārajanitaṃ
bhūsparśamūdrāyuktaṃ dhyātvā taddhṛdaye cādibuddhaṃ tathaiva
215 cāṣṭāraṃ⁷ cakram vibhāvya pūrvavaṇa mantravinyāsaṃ kṛtvā oṃ duḥkha-
cchedāya nama⁸ ity aṣṭau bijāni cāreṣu niveśya madhye bhagavantam vajra-
khaḍgam⁹ hūṃkārodbhūtaṃ nīlavarnaṃ kumārarūpaṃ sarvabālābharaṇavi-
bhūṣitaṃ¹⁰ pañcacīraṃ cīnapaṭṭaparidhānaṃ vāmena vajraṃ dakṣiṇena
khaḍgadharam¹¹ vibhāvya taddhṛdi candramaṇḍalopari hūṃkāraṃ dhyātvā
220 tathaiva spharaṇādikaṃ kuryād iti //

punas tathaiva madhye vairocanaṃ sitavarnaṃ¹² bodhyagrīmudrā-
yuktaṃ^{13*} āḥkārapariniṣpannaṃ¹⁴ vicintya taddhṛdaya¹⁵ ādibuddhaṃ¹⁶
tathaiva daśāraṃ¹⁷ cakram mantrair vidarbhitam kṛtvā oṃ prajñājñāna-

Codd. Ω (B A F H E C D J); B, α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J). Lacking: A, line 223 (fol. 19–22 lost); A, fol. 18v, finishes line 223, ...cakram mantrai[r].

- 1 dakṣiṇahastena B : dakṣiṇe α
- 2 dharam AB : bhṛtaṃ β
- 3 pūrvavac ABδ : buddha γ
- 4 candra Aδ : catu B : saṃjñā γ
- 5 ākṣobhyam A : āskobhyam B : ākṣobhya β
- 6 maṇḍalamadhye AB : maṇḍalam tasya madhye(madhya F) β
- 7 tathaiva cāṣṭāraṃ(-ra DE) α : tathaivāṣṭāraṃ B
- 8 nama AB : namaḥ β
- 9 vajrakhaḍgam codd. : 'jam dpal sdug bsngal gcod pa {mañjuśrīduḥkhacchedaḥ} Tib. [190.5.3]
- 10 sarvabālābharaṇa α : sarvābharaṇa B
- 11 khaḍga ABδ : khaḍgam γ
- 12 sita α : śveta B ♦ varṇam ABy : varṇa δ
- 13 bodhyagrī AB Tib.([190.5.5] byang chub mchog) · bodhyaṅgī(-gā F) β ♦
yuktaṃ AB · yutaṃ β
- 14 āḥkāra AB : āḥ β : yi ge a {ākāra} Tib.([190.5.4])
- 15 taddhṛdaya H : taddhṛdaye cett.
- 16 ādibuddhaṃ AJE : ādibuddha B : ādibuddhaṃs CDγ
- 17 daśāraṃ A : daśāra β : daśira B

- mūrtaye nama¹ iti bījākṣarāṇi daśasu cāreṣu vinyasya² cakramadhye
 225 bhagavantam prajñājñānam śuklavarnam pañcacīram kumārābharanopetaṃ
 vicitrāmbharadharam vāmena cakradharam dakṣiṇena prajñākhaḍgam
 āḥkārapariṇatam^{3*} vibhāvya taddhṛdi candram tadupary āḥkaram⁴ dhyātvā
 tathaiva spharaṇādikam kuryād iti //
- tathaivāmoghasiddhim⁵ maṇḍalamadhye haritavarnam abhayamudrānv-
 230 itam āḥkārabījodbhavam^{6*} dhyātvā taddhṛdaya⁷ ādibuddham tathaiva vi-
 cintya cakram aṣṭāram pūrvavan mantrādividarbhitam⁸ kṛtvā / tataś cāreṣv
 aṣṭāsu⁹ om jñānakāyāya nama¹⁰ iti bījāni cāṣṭau¹¹ vinyasya¹² cakramadhye
 bhagavantam jñānakāyam haritavarnam kumārābharanam pañcacīraka-
 śekharam āḥkārapariniṣpannam¹³ vāmena viśvavajradharam¹⁴ dakṣiṇena
 235 khaḍgadharām vicintya taddhṛdi candram tadupary āḥkaram¹⁵ dhyātvā
 tathaiva spharaṇasamharaṇam kurvan¹⁶ bhāvayed iti //

Codd. Ω (B F H E C D J); B, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
 Lacking: A (fol. 19–22 lost).

- 1 nama B : namaḥ β
- 2 vinyasya B : niveśya β
- 3 āḥkāra β : āḥkāra B : yi ge a {akāra} Tib.[190.5.6]
- 4 āḥkaram codd. : yi ge a {akāra} Tib.[190.5.7]
- 5 siddham em. : siddhi Bβ
- 6 āḥkāra B : akāra β : yi ge sa bon a Tib.[190.5.8]
- 7 taddhṛdaya corr. : taddhṛdaye codd.
- 8 vidarbhitam B : vinyāsam β
- 9 aṣṭāsu B : aṣṭasu β
- 10 nama B : namaḥ β
- 11 bījāni cāṣṭau B : om. β
- 12 vinyasya β : nityasya B
- 13 āḥkāra BεJ : akāra D Tib.([191.1.2] yi ge a) : *kāra H : illeg. F
- 14 vāmena viśvavajradharam codd. (< ~9 > F; vā H; mena viśvavajradharam suppl. H^{mg})
- 15 āḥkaram BγE : trākāram ζ : yi ge a {akāram} Tib.[191.1.2]
- 16 kurvan em. : kurvana B : kṛtvā β

punar api tathaiva ratnasambhavam pītavarṇam varadamudropetaṁ
 mūlākṣarasambhūtaṁ¹ maṇḍalamadhye dhyātvā taddhṛdaya² ādibuddhaṁ
 tathaiva dhyātvā³ cakram aṣṭāraṁ mūlamantrādisamyutaṁ tadaṣṭāreṣu⁴ om
 240 vāgīśvarāya nama⁵ iti bījāni vinyasya⁶ cakranābhau vāgīśvaraṁ pītavarṇam
 sarvābharaṇopetaṁ pañcacīraṁ vicitravastraparidhānam omkārabījajātaṁ⁷
 vāmena ratnadharaṁ dakṣiṇena prajñākhaḍgadharaṁ dhyātvā taddhṛdi
 candramaṇḍalopari omkāraṁ vibhāvya⁸ tathaiva spharaṇādikaṁ kuryād iti //
 tathaiva bodhicittavajraṁ⁹ śvetavarṇam śṛṅgārarasopetaṁ pañcabuddha-
 245 mukuṭam vajragarvatayā niṣaṇṇam^{10*} sarvālaṁkāravibhūṣitaṁ¹¹ vajra-
 ghaṇṭādhāriṇam akāreṇa pariniṣpannam¹² tathaiva maṇḍalamadhye vicintya
 taddhṛdaye bhagavantam ādibuddhaṁ tathaiva vibhāvya¹³ taddhṛdi cakram¹⁴
 navāraṁ mūlamantrādikhacitam¹⁵ om¹⁶ arapacanāya nama¹⁷ iti

Codd. Ω (B F H E C D J); B, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
 Lacking: A (fol. 19–22 lost).

- 1 mūlākṣara B : maunākṣara δ : maunākṣara F : nānākṣara H : yi ge om {omkāra} Tib.[191.1.3]
- 2 taddhṛdaya corr. : taddhṛdaye β : taddhṛdayā B
- 3 tathaiva dhyātvā Bγ : om. δ
- 4 tad Bγε : sad ζ
- 5 nama B : namaḥ β
- 6 vinyasya BDγ : vinyasec J : vinyase ε
- 7 jātaṁ BE : jāta γζC
- 8 vibhāvya BJ : vibhāvyas Dγε
- 9 vajraṁ B : vajra β
- 10 garvatayā niṣaṇṇam conj. : gar*vt*ayāniṣaṇṇam B : garbhayādivarṇam C : garbha ādivarṇam E : garbhapā<->varṇam J : garbhapādavarṇam D : gardabhāvarṇam H^{*2*} : garbha< 2 >varṇa F : rdo rje snyems pas bzhugs pa Tib.[191.1.8]
- 11 sarvālaṁkāra Bγε : sarvākāra ζ
- 12 pariniṣpannam B : parinataṁ β
- 13 vibhāvya β Tib.([191.2.1] bsgoms te) : om. B
- 14 cakram Bγ : cakra δ
- 15 mūla β Tib.([191.2.1] rtsa ba) : mala B ♦ khacitam Bγ : kheditam δ
- 16 om β Tib.([191.2.1] : om. B
- 17 nama corr. : namaḥ εγ : te namaḥ ζH² : te nama B Tib.[191.2.1]

nava bījākṣarāṇy¹ areṣu² vinyasya³ cakranābhau bhagavantam arapacanam
 250 śuklavarnam bālābharanabhūṣitam⁴ pañcacīram vicitrāmbapariḍhānam
 akārapariniṣpannam⁵ pustakāṅkam^{6*} khadgapāṇim vicintya taddhṛc-
 candropary⁷ akāram dhyātvā pūrvavat spharaṇasamharanānilayadr̥dhī-
 bhāvādikam⁸ kṛtvā bhāvayed⁹ iti sarvatra yojanīyam* //

ayam api¹⁰ kulabhedena¹¹ śrīmāyājālābhisambodhikramah ṣoḍhā¹²
 255 veditavyah¹³ // ata evāryanāmasaṃgītau¹⁴ sapta cakrāṇi bhavanti tāni ca
 gurūpadeśād veditavyāni // etāvān māyājālābhisambodhikramah //

āryanāmasaṃgītiṭikāyām¹⁵ nāmamantrārthāvalokinyām māyājālābhisam-
 bodhikramasyādhikāraś caturthah // gāthās tisrah //

Codd. Ω (B F H E C D J); B, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
 Lacking: A (fol. 19–22 lost).

- ¹ bījākṣarāṇy *codd.* (bījākṣarā E) ♦ [bījākṣarā]ṇy areṣu → vicitrā[mbaraparidhānam] *om.* E
- ² areṣu B : cāreṣu β (*om.* E)
- ³ vinyasya BJγ : vinyase CD : *om.* E
- ⁴ bhūṣitam Bδ : vibhūṣitam γ
- ⁵ pariniṣpannam β : niṣpannam B
- ⁶ pustakāṅkam B : pustaka(-ke D)β : phyag na po ti *Tib.* [191.2.3]
- ⁷ taddhṛc B : taddhṛdaye β
- ⁸ samharāṇa *conj.* (*Tib.* [191.2.3] bsdu ba dang) : samharāṇam β : saṃspharaṇa B ♦
 nilaya *conj.* (*Tib.* [191.2.3–4] gnas pa [brtan par gyur pa]) : nilayam β : līlayā B
- ⁹ bhāvayed BγD^c *Tib.* ([191.2.4] bsgom par bya'o) : <→kuryād δ
- ¹⁰ ayam api β *Tib.* ([191.2.4] 'dir yang) : ity ayam B
- ¹¹ kula β *Tib.* (rigs) : aṣila B
- ¹² ṣoḍhā γ *Tib.* (drug tu) : proḍhā D : prauḍhā εJ : *om.* B
- ¹³ ṣoḍhā veditavyah → etāvān māyājālābhisambodhikramah *om.* B
- ¹⁴ evārya *conj.* (*Tib.* [191.2.5] 'phags pa) : evāyam *codd.*
- ¹⁵ āryanāma B *Tib.* ([191.2.6] 'phags pa mtshan) : iti nāma β (nāma D)

[Adhikāra 5]

[tad yathā bhagavān¹ buddhaḥ sambuddho 'kārasambhavaḥ /
akāraḥ sarvavarṇāgrya mahārthaḥ paramākṣaraḥ // (28)]

athedānīm vajradhātumahāmaṇḍaladvāreṇa bodhicittavajrasya
spharaṇādikam ityāha / tad yathā bhagavān ityādi² / bhagavān buddhaḥ
5 sambuddha iti gatārthaḥ / akārasambhava iti akārajanitaḥ³ / bhagavato
jñānasattvasya parīśuddhatathāgatajñānakāyasvabhāvatvāt⁴ // tasya hṛc-
candramaṇḍalopari yo⁵ 'sāv akāras tasyedānīm⁶ viśeṣaṇam⁷ āha //
sarvavarṇāgrya iti / agrebhavo⁸ 'gryaḥ sarvavarṇānām sarvākṣarāṇām /
agryaḥ śreṣṭhas tanmukhatvāt // mahārtha iti mahāmś cāsāv arthaś ca
10 mahārthaḥ / mahārthatvaṃ⁹ sakalajagaddhitādhānahetutvāt¹⁰ // param-
ākṣara ity aparaparyāyeṇa na kṣaratīty^{11*} akṣaraḥ / bhūtakoṭīrūpeṇāvicālita-
tvāt^{12*} / paramaś cāsāv akṣaraś ceti paramākṣara iti // anena krameṇa
jñānasattvādyakṣarayoh^{13*} svarūpābhidhānam¹⁴ uktaṃ //

Codd. Ω (B F H E C D J); B, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
Lacking: A (fol. 19–22 lost); B, lines 11–13 (*om.*), [bhūtakoṭi]rūpeṇāvicālitvāt → svarū-
pābhidhānam uktaṃ.

- 1 bhagavān NMAA[5, 4] : bhagavām NS.Dav.[51, v28a]
- 2 ityādi β : ityāha B
- 3 akārajanitaḥ B : akārājātaḥ β (akārājātaḥ D)
- 4 tathāgata B : *om.* β
- 5 yo Bγ : <-->yo δ
- 6 tasye β (tasya H) : tasyai B
- 7 viśeṣaṇam Bε : viśeṣam γζ
- 8 agrebhavo BJγ : agryabhavo εD
- 9 mahārthatvaṃ B : < >ε : *om.* γζ
- 10 ādhāna Bγ (ādhāra H) : ādhyāna δ
- 11 kṣaratīty B : rakṣati ity δ : rakṣatīty γ
- 12 āvicālitvāt γ : āvicaritatvāt δ : mi g.yo ba phir ro Tib.[191.3.4]
- 13 sattvādyakṣarayoh D^c : sattvādyakṣara<-->D : sattvādyā<-- -->εγJ : [ye shes]
sems dpa' la sogs pa'i yi ge dag gi Tib.[191.3.5])
- 14 svarūpābhidhānam D^c Tib. ([191.3.5])rang bzhin brjod pa gsungs ba ste) : <-->pari-
dhānam ζ : < >petidhānam γ : < >panidhānam C : <-->praṇidhānam E

tad evaikaikaṃ ca^{1*} yogināṃ svacittodayasakalamāṇḍaleya devatā-
 15 svabhāvaḥ² samastavipakṣavyāvṛttarūpatayā³ pratyavekṣaṇīyaḥ⁴ / yathā⁵
 svasamādhināṃ^{6*} tadviparyāsānupalambhasūcakatvād⁷ upalambhapra-
 ti-
 pakṣatayā ca śūnyatāvimokṣamukhalakṣaṇaṃ / evaṃ nimittamithyāpraṇi-
 dhiviparyāsābhisaṃskārapratipakṣabhāvena⁸ kramād animittāpraṇihitānabhi-
 saṃskāravimokṣamukhātmakam^{9*} //

20 tataś¹⁰ cānukrameṇa sattvavajryādikulamātrsvabhāvam¹¹ adhikṛtyāha /

[mahāprāṇo hy anutpādo vāgudāhāravarjitaḥ /

sarvābhilāpahetvagryaḥ sarvavāksuprabhāsvaraḥ // (29)]

mahāprāṇo hy anutpāda iti sattvavajrīsvabhāvena / tatra mahāprāṇo hy
 akāraḥ¹² sa cānutpādasvabhāvas¹³ tasya dharmadhātusvabhāvatvād
 25 ādarśajñānahetutvāc ca // vāgudāhāravarjita iti ratnavajrīmukhena /
 vācām udāhāro vāgudāhāraḥ / tena varjito¹⁴ rahitaḥ samatājñānena
 vāgvyāpārābhāvāt¹⁵ // sarvābhilāpahetvagrya iti dharmavajrīdvāreṇa /

Codd. Ω (B F H E C D J); B, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
 Lacking: A (fol. 19–22 lost).

- 1 tad evaikaikaṃ ca conj. (Tib. [191.3.5] de dag nyid re re yang) : tad evaikaikaṃ tac
 ca β : om. B ♦ tad evaikaikaṃ ca yogināṃ om. B
- 2 svacittodaya conj. (Tib. [191.3.5] rang gi sems las byung ba'i) : svacintodayaḥ B :
 svacittādayaḥ β ♦ māṇḍaleya B : māṇḍalaya β ♦ devatā β : devacatā B
- 3 tayā BEγ : mayā ζ
- 4 pratyavekṣaṇīyaḥ BCγ : tratyavekṣaṇīyaḥ ζ : om. E ♦ pratyavekṣaṇīyaḥ → upa-
 lambhapratipakṣatayā om. E
- 5 yathā codd. : de ltar {tathā} Tib. [191.3.6]
- 6 svasamādhināṃ F Tib. ([191.3.6] rang gi ting nge 'dzin mams) : svaṃ samādhin-
 āṃ cett.
- 7 tadviparyāsānupalambhasūcakatvād B : catu<~4>vakatvāt β (om. E)
- 8 bhāvena β (bhāvana F) : bhāveta B
- 9 saṃskāravimokṣa BE : saṃskārapratipakṣabhāvena(-prati<~4>F) kramād animittā-
 praṇihitānabhisamāskāravimokṣa cett. ♦ ātmakam Bγε : ātmakam D : ātmakā J
- 10 tataś B : tac β
- 11 vajryādi corr. : cājryādi B : vajrādi β
- 12 akāraḥ B Tib. (yi ge a) : om. β
- 13 sa cānutpādasvabhāvas em. (Tib. [191.4.1–2] de yang skyed ba med pa'i rang bzhin te)
 : sa cānusvādasvabhāvas B : evānutpādasva(-svaṃ C)bhāvas β
- 14 varjito Bγε : varjitā ζ
- 15 vyāpārābhāvāt B : vyāhāra(-hārā J)bhāvāt β

- abhilapanam abhilāpaḥ / sarveṣāṃ dharmāṇāṃ skandhādīnāṃ abhilāpaḥ
 sarvābhilāpaḥ / tasya hetuḥ¹ kāraṇaṃ² pratyavekṣaṇājñānaṃ / ata
 30 evāgryaḥ pradhānam ityarthah // sarvavāksuprabhāsvara iti karma-
 vajrīsvārūpeṇa / sarvā³ cāsau⁴ vāk⁵ ca⁶ sarvavāk / yathā devarutebhir
 nāgarutebhir⁷ ityādi / ata eva suprabhāsvara iti yathābhavyatayā sarva-
 sattvasaṃtāneṣu pratibhāsodayād⁸ anekamukhadharmadeśanāyāś ca
 kṛtyānuṣṭhānājñānasvabhāvatvāt⁹ //
- 35 ata evaitāś¹⁰ catasraḥ¹¹ sattvavajryādipāramitā^{12*} a ā aṃ aḥ iti
 caturbhir akṣaraiḥ pariniṣpannā¹³ iti // tataś ca yad eva cittam¹⁴
 dharmadhātusvabhāvaṃ prakṛtyā grāhyagrāhakādyākāravirahāt¹⁵ tad
 evāgantukamalābhāvaprabhāsvaratvāj¹⁶ jñānāntarodayanimittatvāc cā-
 darśajñānātmakam // dharmāmbanākṛpādyātmakatayā¹⁷ saṃtānāntara-
 40 bhedāparāmarṣāc¹⁸ ca¹⁹ samatājñānam // sarvajñeyāvīparyāsāt²⁰

Codd. Ω (B F H E C D J); B, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
 Lacking: A (fol. 19–22 lost).

- 1 hetuḥ BH² : hetu β
 2 kāraṇaṃ H : kāṃraṇaṃ B : kāraṇa δF
 3 sarvā B : sarvāś β
 4 cāsau β : cāse B
 5 vāk BH² : vākṣa δ : vākya γ
 6 ca β : va B
 7 nāgarutebhir B : klu'i skad dang gnod byin skad [ces pa la sogs pa lta bu'o] Tib.
 [191.4.5] om. β
 8 pratibhāso Bγ : pratibhāsā δ
 9 jñāna β : om. B
 10 evaitāś Bγε : evaināś ζ
 11 catasraḥ em. : catasro Bγ : catasrā δ
 12 sattvavajryādi conj. (Tib. [191.4.7] rdo rje sems ma la sog pa) : vakvādi B :
 vajrādi γε : cakrādi ζ
 13 pariniṣpannā BγED : pariniṣpannatvād JH²
 14 eva cittam γ : eva cintam B : evācattam ε : evāvantam ζ
 15 grāhya β (grāhyaḥ C) : om. B
 16 bhāva BF : bhāve Hεζ
 17 ātmakatayā B : ātmatayā β
 18 saṃtānāntara BJ : saṃtānantara DE : saṃtānandara γ ♦ bhedāparāmarṣāc corr. :
 bhedāyarāmarṣāc B : bhedā aparām<--> ζ : bhedā aparāmarṣāc D² : bhedā
 aparāmṛṣād γ : bhedā aparāmṛṣod ε
 19 ca BD² : vā γε : <--> ζ
 20 jñeyā B : jñeya γ : jñaya δ

pratyavekṣaṇājñānam // samastalokahitahetutayā kṛtyānuṣṭhānajñānātma-
kam¹ //

ataś ca² yathākramam śāśvatādyadhipatisvabhāvam³ // ata evāha

[mahāmahamahārāgaḥ sarvasattvaratimkaraḥ / (30ab)]

- 45 mahāmahamahārāga ityādi // atra cādāv amitābhasyopādānam⁴ rāgasya
prādhānyakhyāpanārtham⁵ / ata evāha rāgo dveṣaś ca mohaś ceti / sarva-
tathāgatasarvākāśavyāpipūjāsamdarśanakāle⁶ mahāmaha ity ucyate / maha-
śabdena^{7*} pūjābhidhiyate / mahān maho mahāmahaḥ⁸ / mahātmako rāgaś
ca mahārāgaḥ^{9*} / mahāmahaś cāsau mahārāgaś ca mahāmahamahārāgaḥ /
50 tatra¹⁰ mahārāga iti sattvapācanamocanalakṣaṇaḥ¹¹ sa ca¹² bhagavān śrī-
vajrasattvaḥ¹³ / mahārāgo hi bhagavān vajrasattvas tathāgata iti vacanāt //
sarvasattvaratimkara iti rāgacaritānām sarvasattvānām¹⁴ ratim prītim mahā-
sukhātmikām karotīti sarvasattvaratimkaraḥ / ayam amitābhasvabhāvaḥ //
dveṣacaritān adhikṛtyāha /

Codd. Ω (B F H E C D J); B, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
Lacking: A (fol. 19–22 lost).

- 1 ātmakam Bγε : ātmakā ζ
- 2 ataś ca Bγ : ata eva δ
- 3 adhipati B : apipati β
- 4 amitābhasyopādānam *corr.* : amitābhasyāpādānam B : amita / tasyopādānam ε :
ami< >tasyopādānam F : amita / tasyopādāna J : amiti / tasyopādāna D : abhitaḥ /
tasyopādāna H
- 5 prādhānya Bγ : pradhānya δ ♦ artham BF : ārthaḥ δH
- 6 tathāgata BJF : tathāgataḥ εDH ♦ pūjā B : pūjana β ♦ kāle B : kāla γζ :
kala C : kālaḥ E
- 7 mahaśabdena *conj.* (Tib.[191.5.4] ma hā'i sgra ni) : mahacchabdena β : < >śacchai-
na B
- 8 mahān maho mahāmahaḥ B : *om.* β Tib.
- 9 mahātmako rāgaś ca mahārāgaḥ *conj.* (Tib.[191.5.5] chen po'i bdag nyid kyi 'dod
chags dang 'dod chags chen po'o) : mahātmako mahārāgaḥ β (mahā< ~13 *illeg.* >tma-
ko mahārāgaḥ C) : *om.* B
- 10 tatra B : *om.* β
- 11 pācana *codd.* Tib.([191.5.5–6] smin [cing grol ba'i mtshan nyid do])
- 12 ca B Tib.(191.5.6] yang) : *om.* β
- 13 śrīvajrasattvaḥ *codd.* : dpal rdo rje sems dpa' mtshan nyid yin no {śrīvajrasattvalakṣa-
ṇatvaḥ} Tib.[191.5.6]
- 14 sarva β : *om.* B

55 [mahāmahamahādveṣaḥ sarvakleśamahāriṣuḥ // (30cd)]

mahāmahamahādveṣa iti* / mahāmaheti gatārthaḥ¹ / mahādveṣo
'kṣobhyaḥ sa ca sarvakleśamahāriṣuḥ / kleśopakleśādīnāṃ mahāriṣur ity
arthaḥ // mohacaritān adhikṛtyāha /

[mahāmahamahāmoho mūḍhadhīmohasūdanah / (31ab)]

60 mahāmahamahāmoha iti // mahāmaheti pūrvavat / mahāmoho
vairocanaḥ² / dhiyāṃ³ moho dhīmohaḥ* / mūḍhaś cāsau dhīmohaś ca⁴
mūḍhadhīmohaḥ* / tasya sūdano vināśakaḥ // krodhacaritān adhikṛtyāha /

[mahāmahamahākrodho mahākrodharipur mahān // (31cd)]

mahāmahamahākrodha iti / tathaiva mahāmaheti / mahākrodha ity
65 amoghasiddhiḥ / mahākrodharipur mahān iti / sattvāsattvaviṣayatvād⁵
mahākrodhaḥ / tasya⁶ sa eva mahāriṣur iti // lobhacaritān adhikṛtyāha /

[mahāmahamahālobhaḥ sarvalobhanisūdanah / (32ab)]

mahāmahamahālobha iti⁷ // mahāmaheti pūrvavat^{8*} / mahālobho⁹
ratnasambhavaḥ // sarvalobhanisūdana iti / sarvalaukikalokottarasampatti-
70 pariśodhanārthatvāt¹⁰ //

Codd. Ω (B F H E C D J); B, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
Lacking: A (fol. 19–22 lost).

¹ gatārthaḥ β : gatārthaṃ B

² vairocanaḥ J : vaicocanaḥ B : vairocanaṃ γεD

³ dhiyāṃ Bγ : dhiyā δ : [blo la gti mug pa ni] gti mug gi blo ste *Tib.* [192.1.2-3]

⁴ ca B : ceti β

⁵ viṣayatvād *em.* : viṣayatvāta B : viśeṣatvāt β : [sems can dang sems can ma yin
pa'i] yul gyi phyir *Tib.* [192.1.4]

⁶ tasya B : *om.* β

⁷ lobha iti Bγζ : moha iti C : moheti E

⁸ pūrvavat β : pūrvaca*kṣu*tārthaṃ B : [mchod pa chen po'i don ni] gong ma zhin du
bshad do *Tib.* [192.1.5]

⁹ lobho BHζ : lobhā F : moho ε

¹⁰ laukika Hδ : lokika BF ♦ sampatti *em.* : saspatti B : phun sum tshogs pa *Tib.*
[192.1.6] : *om.* β

śūnyatādicaturvimokṣamukhānām dharmadhātvāyatanamukhena¹ sarva-
 samādhihetutvāt / tad eva² cādhyātmaviparyāsapratikūlatayādhyātma-
 śūnyatākāram / bāhyopalambhāpagamād³ bahirdhāśūnyatāsvabhāvam /
 tadāśrayaśarīrānupalambhasvabhāvatayādhyātmabahirdhāśūnyatātmakam /
 75 bhājanalokādhyavasāyarahitatvena mahāśūnyatālakṣaṇam // tata evādarśa-
 jñānāśrayavajrasattvādisamādhicatuṣṭayātmakam⁴ iti / ata āha⁵

mahākāmo mahāsaukhyo mahāmodo⁶ mahāratih // iti // (32cd)*

tatra mahākāma iti vajrasattvaḥ / kāmyata iti kāmah / abhilaṣaṇīya⁷ ity
 ārthaḥ / mahāsaukhya iti vajrarājah / mahāmoda⁸ iti vajrarāgaḥ / mahā-
 80 ratir⁹ iti vajrasādhuh //

ata eva cakṣūrūpādivāsanāparāvṛttisvabhāvādarśajñānanīṣpatter¹⁰ adhy-
 ātmānupalambhādyadhiṣṭhānatvāt / yathāsvam¹¹ viparyāsavipakṣatayā¹²
 bodhicittodayākaraṣānurāgaṇasādhubhāvahetutvāc¹³ caiṣām yathākramam //

Codd. Ω (B A F H E C D J); B, α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H),
 δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J). Lacking: A, lines 71–82 (fol. 19–22 lost); A, fol. 23r, starts,
 line 82 [viparyāsavipa]kṣatayā bodhicittodayā...

¹ dhātvāyatana γJ : dhātvāpatana ε : dhātvāyamaṇa D : dhātvālabhana B

² eva β : evam H

³ lambhāpagamād B : lambhopagamāt β

⁴ catuṣṭayātmakam B : catuṣkayātmakam β

⁵ iti / ata āha β : ity āhā B

⁶ mahāmodo conj. (NMAA/5, 74] mahāmōda; NS.Dav./52, v32] mahāmodo) : mahā-
 moho codd. (om. F)

⁷ abhilaṣaṇīya B : abhilakṣaṇīya β : 'dun pa [zhes pa'i don to] Tib.[192.2.2]

⁸ moda γ : moha Bδ

⁹ rāgaḥ / mahā om. B

¹⁰ vāsanā B : vāsātā β (< > satā F) ♦ parāvṛtti β : yanāvṛtti B

¹¹ yathāsvam β (-tvam F) : yathāsva B

¹² viparyāsa Bγ : viparyosa DC : vipayosa E : viparyāse J

¹³ ākaraṣānurāgaṇa A : ākaraṣā / nurāgaṇa B : ākaraṣānurāgena β

evam tad eva śūnyatājñāne 'py animittatvāt¹ śūnyatāśūnyatā /
 85 paramārthanimitāparāmarśāt² paramārthaśūnyatā / saṃskṛtapuṇyasam-
 bhāranimitāparigrahāt³ saṃskṛtaśūnyatā / asaṃskṛte 'pi bodhisambhāra-
 nimitāgrahād^{4*} asaṃskṛtaśūnyatā // ata evāha //

mahārūpo mahākāyo mahāvarṇo mahāvapuḥ /

mahānāmā⁵ mahodāro mahāvipulamaṇḍalaḥ // iti // (33)

90 tatra mahārūpo mahākāya iti vajraratnaḥ⁶ / rūpyata iti rūpaṃ vilokyata^{7*}
 ity arthaḥ / mahad rūpaṃ yasyāsau mahārūpaḥ / mahattvaṃ⁸ cintā-
 maṇirūpatayā sarvatathāgatānām traidhātukadharmaṛājyābhiṣekātmakatvāt⁹ /
 ata eva mahākāyo 'meyabuddhakṣetrāvabhāsanatvāt¹⁰ // mahāvarṇo
 mahāvapur iti vajrasūryaḥ / mahāmś cāsau varṇaś ca mahāvarṇaḥ
 95 ṣaḍvarṇopetatvāt¹¹ / mahad vapur yasya sa¹² mahāvapuḥ suviśuddha-
 dharmaśrutacintābhāvanāmayajñānaprabhāmaṇḍalatvāt¹³ // mahānāmā
 mahodāra iti vajraketuḥ / mahan nāma¹⁴ yasyāsau mahānāmā mahākīrtir

Codd. Ω (B A F H E C D J); B, α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H),
 δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).

- 1 animittatvāt ABH² : anittatvāt Cy : anityatvāt E : anitatvāt ζ
- 2 parāmarśāt A : parāmarśāt By : paramarśāt ε : paramārthāt ζ
- 3 puṇya ABFε . śūnya Hζ
- 4 nimitāgrahād conj. : nimitā*grahāt B : nimitānuṅgrahāt A : nimitānugrahāt β :
 mtshan mar(mar yang Tib.P.) mchog tu mi 'dzin pa'i phyir na Tib.[192.2.7]
- 5 nāmā Bβ : nāmo A
- 6 ratnaḥ AB : ratna β
- 7 vilokyata B : vinyasyata A : vinaśyata β (<>naśyata F) : mi rtag [ces pa'i don to]
 Tib.[192.2.8]
- 8 mahattvaṃ corr. : mahatvaṃ AδF : mahatva B : mahātvaṃ H
- 9 rājyā AB : rājā β
- 10 mahākāyo 'meya corr. : mahākāyaḥ / ameya codd. (mahākāgraḥ / ameya F) ♦
 ameya α : prameya B ♦ āvabhāsanatvāt AB : āvabhāṣaṇatvāt β
- 11 ṣaḍvarṇopetatvāt α : ṣaṭvarṇatvāt B
- 12 sa ABE : om. γζC
- 13 dharma α : om. B
- 14 mahan nāma AB : mahānāmā δF : mahān nāmo H

ity arthaḥ / kuto dānapāramitāyāḥ prakarṣagamanāt / tataś ca mahodāra iti
mahāṃś cāsāv udāraś ca mahodāraḥ sarvaṃdadatvāt¹ // mahāvipula-
100 maṇḍala iti vajrahāsaḥ / maḍi² bhūṣāyām maṇḍayatīti³ maṇḍaḥ / maṇḍam⁴
lāti grhṇātīti⁵ maṇḍalam / vipulam vistṛṇam sakalalokadhātuvyāpakatvāt⁶ /
mahad vipulam⁷ hāsamaṇḍalam^{8*} sāram yasya sa mahāvipulamaṇḍalaḥ /
trailokyābhāsakaravāt⁹ //

tataś ca samatājñānaparīkaravajraratnādicatuṣṭayātmakam¹⁰ kliṣṭamanah-
105 parāvṛtṭyātmani¹¹ samatājñāne¹² grāhakādīmukhena yathoktanimitā-
bhāvāt¹³ / yathāsvaṃ¹⁴ vipakṣaprahāṇadvāreṇa ca / abhiṣekatejo'bhi-
vṛddhidānapāramitāniyojanaprāmodyaniṣpattikāraṇatvāc¹⁵ ca¹⁶ teṣāṃ¹⁷
vajraratnādīnām kramah //

tad evātyantikasattvārthapraṇidhānānabhiniveśād¹⁸ atyantaśūnyatā //
110 anavarāgro mayā samsāro na¹⁹ parityaktavya²⁰ iti praṇidhānānavagrahād

Codd. Ω (B A F H E C D J); B, α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H),
δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J). Lacking: B (*om.*), lines 106–110, *yathāsvaṃ* → *iti praṇi-*
dhānānavagrahād.

- 1 sarvaṃdadatvāt *codd.* (sarvadadatvāt BH)
- 2 maḍi AJF : maṇḍi εDH : maḍi B
- 3 maṇḍayatīti α : maṇḍavatīti B
- 4 maṇḍam A : maṇḍa Bβ
- 5 grhṇātīti E : grahnāti iti A : grhṇātīti BγζC
- 6 sakala *codd.* (sakula γ)
- 7 mahad vipulam ABF : mahāvipula ζ : mahāvipuram C : mahāvipulam HE
- 8 hāsamaṇḍalam γ *Tib.* [192.3.7] : mahāsamayamaṇḍalam A : mahāmaṇḍalam BC :
mahāmaṇḍa E : maṇḍalam ζH²
- 9 lokaḥbhāsakaravāt AB : lokaḥbhāsakaravāt δF : lokaḥbhāsavaravāt H
- 10 samatā α : samahā B ♦ vajra AB : *om.* β
- 11 parāvṛtṭyātmani B : parāvṛtṭātmani A : parāvṛtyātmani β
- 12 jñāne A² : ne A : jñānai B : jñānaḥ δH² : jñāna γ
- 13 yathokta ABJH : yathoktā εDF ♦ nimittābhāvāt α (nimihā- F) : nimittagrahā-
bhāvāt B
- 14 yathāsvaṃ A^c : yathāsva A^a : yathā tvaṃ β : *om.* B
- 15 vṛddhi AJ : vṛddhir γεD ♦ prāmodya β : pramoda A ♦ kāraṇatvāc β :
kāraṇatvād A
- 16 ca β : *om.* A
- 17 teṣāṃ β : eteṣāṃ A
- 18 ānabhiniveśād A : ābhiniveśāt β
- 19 samsāro na β : saṃsārā A
- 20 tyaktavya Aγ : tyakta δ

anavarāgraśūnyatā // anupadhiśeṣe¹ nirvāṇadhātau mayā kuśalam² nāva-
karaṇīyam³ ity anabhiniveśād⁴ anavakāraśūnyatā // prakṛtilakṣaṇam
gotram⁵ mayā śodhanīyam iti prārthanāvirahāt prakṛtiśūnyatā // ata
evāha //

115 **mahāprajñāyudhadharo mahākleśāṅkuśo 'graṇīḥ⁶ /**
mahāyaśā⁷ mahākīrtir mahājyotir mahādyutiḥ // iti // (34)

tatra mahāprajñāyudhadhara iti vajradharmah⁸ / tatra⁹ prajñā praty-
avekṣaṇājñānam / tad evāyudham śāstram tad¹⁰ dhārayatīti prajñāyudha-
dharah / tajjñānasvabhāvatvāt¹¹ / mahāmś cāsau prajñāyudhadharaś ca¹²
120 mahāprajñāyudhadharah // mahākleśāṅkuśo 'graṇīr iti vajratikṣṇah / kleśā
rāgādayah / teṣām ankuśabhūtatvāt kleśāṅkuśah / ankuśa ivāṅkuśah
kleśavaśitāprāptatvāt / tataś ca¹³ mahāmś cāsau kleśāṅkuśaś ca mahā-
kleśāṅkuśah / ata evāgraṇīḥ¹⁴ śreṣṭha ity arthah // mahāyaśā¹⁵ mahākīrtir
iti vajrahetuḥ¹⁶ / sattvapariṣāṅkopāyabhūtānām sarvamāṇḍaleyānām¹⁷

Codd. Ω (B A F H E C D J); B, α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H),
δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J). Lacking: B (*om.*), lines 120–123, *kleśā rāgādayah* → *evā-
graṇīḥ śreṣṭha ity arthah*.

- 1 anupadhiśeṣe A : nirupaviśeṣe pi B : nirupadhiseṣo pi β
- 2 kuśalam A : kuśalā Bγ : kuśalo εD : kuśale J
- 3 nāvakaraṇīyam Aβ (-īya H, kāraṇīyam J) : nāvantiraṇīyam B
- 4 anabhiniveśād A²B : anabhiveśād A . abhiniveśād β
- 5 gotram AB : vā gotram γ : vā gātram δ
- 6 'graṇīḥ *corr.* : graṇīḥ AB : graṇī β
- 7 yaśā ABFζ : yaśo Hε
- 8 dharmah AB : dharma β
- 9 tatra AB : *om.* β
- 10 tad AB : *om.* β
- 11 taj *corr.* : tat β : tata A : ta B
- 12 dharaś ca AB : dharah β (dhara C)
- 13 tataś ca A : *om.* β
- 14 evāgraṇīḥ H : evāgraṇī AFδ
- 15 yaśā ABδ : yaśo γ
- 16 vajrahetuḥ AF^c *Tib.* ([192.5.1] rdo rje rgyu) : vajraketuḥ Bβ
- 17 māṇḍaleyānām B : maṇḍalānām α

- 125 tantranirdiṣṭānām¹ cakravartisvabhāvatvāt / mahad yaśo² yasya sa mahā-
 yaśāḥ / ata evāśeṣānavaśeṣalokadhātuvyāpinī³ kīrtir yasya sa⁴ mahākīrtir iti
 // mahājyotir mahādyutir iti vajrabhāṣaḥ^{5*} / mahatī traidhātukaprasarpinī
 jyotir dīptir yasyāsau mahājyotiḥ⁶ / tataś ca vāgdoṣānām drutamadhyā-
 vilambitānām⁷ parihāreṇa tūṣṇīmbhāvasvabhāvena⁸ jāpakāle⁹ sarvasattva-
 130 saṃtāneṣv¹⁰ avabhāsakatvān¹¹ mahādyutir iti //
- tataś ca¹² vikalpamanahparāvṛtilakṣaṇapratyavekṣaṇājñānāśritavajra-
 dharmādisvabhāvaṃ^{13*} pratyavekṣaṇājñāne¹⁴ yathoktaviparyāsavivekena
 samastadharmatattvapratyavekṣaṇāt¹⁵ / tanmukhena¹⁶ ca svabhāva-
 śuddhadharmatāprajñājñānāvaivartikasamastābhisandhyarthaparijñānahetu-
 135 tvāc¹⁷ ca / ata evaiṣām vajradharmādīnām¹⁸ ayaṃ kramah //

Codd. Ω (B A F H E C D J); B, α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H),
 δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).

- 1 tantra AB : tatra β
- 2 yaśo ABH : yaśā Fδ
- 3 ānavaśeṣa ABJ : ānavaśeṣā γεD
- 4 sa α : sā B
- 5 bhāṣaḥ β *Tib.* ([192.5.3] [rdo rje] smra ba'o) : bhāṣaḥ AB
- 6 jyotiḥ α (jyoti CDF) : dyutiḥ B
- 7 madhya AB : mapya β ♦ vilambitānām α (-anām A) : vilambitādīnām B
- 8 tūṣṇīm A : tūṣṇī Bβ
- 9 jāpa α : japa B
- 10 sarvasattva Bβ *Tib.* (sems can thams cad) : sattva A
- 11 avabhāsakatvān α : avabhāsanān B
- 12 tataś ca *codd.* : de rnams kyang *Tib.* [192.5.5]
- 13 lakṣaṇa B *Tib.* ([192.5.5] mtshan nyid) : lakṣaṇe α ♦ vajradharmādi A *Tib.* ([192.5.5] rdo rje chos la sogs pa) : dharmādi B : *om.* β ♦ svabhāvaṃ B : svabhāve A : *om.* β ♦ pratyavekṣaṇājñānāśritavajra dharmādisvabhāvaṃ *om.* β
- 14 pratyavekṣaṇājñāne α : vikalpamanahparāvṛtilakṣaṇe pratyavekṣaṇājñāne B
- 15 samasta ABγ : samaste ζ ♦ tattva *corr.* : tatva *codd.*
- 16 tanmukhena α : ta akhena B
- 17 prajñājñāna α : jñāna B ♦ āvaivartika α : āvaivartikatva B ♦ samastābhisandhy α : meyestobhisandhy B
- 18 vajradharmādīnām AB : dharmādīnām β (-ādīnām H)

tad eva lakṣaṇavyañjanātmani¹ rūpakāye² 'nabhisamskārāl³ lakṣaṇa-
 śūnyatā // balavaiśāradyādisvabhāvadharmakāyānabhisamskārāt⁴ sarva-
 dharmaśūnyatā // pudgaladharmāsamarōpaṇād⁵ abhāvaśūnyatā // yatho-
 ktaśūnyatālakṣaṇāpavādānabhisamskāraṇāc⁶ ca abhāvasvabhāvaśūnyatā //
 140 ataś cāha⁷ //

mahāmāyādharo vidvān mahāmāyārthasādhakaḥ /

mahāmāyāratirato mahāmāyendrajālikah // iti // (35)

tatra mahāmāyādharo vidvān iti vajraviśvaḥ / māyeti sarvatathāgata-
 vicitravipulodārapūjānirmāṇam⁸ tad dhārayatīti māyādharaḥ / mahāmś
 145 cāsau māyādharaś ceti⁹ mahāmāyādharaḥ¹⁰ / ata eva vidvān paṇḍitas tena
 pūjākarmaṇā puṇyasambhāropārjanāt // mahāmāyārthasādhaka¹¹ iti vajra-
 rakṣaḥ / māyārtheti¹² nirmāṇārthaḥ / tena¹³ kuśīdasattvāni¹⁴ sādhayati
 protsāhayatīti¹⁵ māyārthasādhakaḥ / mahāmś cāsau māyārthasādhakaś ceti
 mahāmāyārthasādhakaḥ // mahāmāyāratirata iti vajrayakṣaḥ / māyāyām¹⁶

Codd. Ω (B A F H E C D J); B, α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H),
 δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).

- 1 lakṣaṇa AB : lakṣaṇam β
- 2 rūpakāye ABF : rūpakāyeḥ C : rūpakāyaḥ JD : rūpekāya H
- 3 samskārāl *corr.* : samskārāt *codd.* (saskārāt A)
- 4 vaiśārady α : vaiśa / rady B ♦ ānabhisamskārāt AB : ābhisamskārāt β
- 5 dharmā AB : dharma β ♦ āropaṇād ABγζ : āropetāt ε ♦ pudgala *corr.* :
 puṇḍala *codd.* ♦ dharmāsamarōpaṇād *codd.* : [gang zag dang] chos la sgro 'dogs
 par 'du mi byed pa'i phyir na *Tib.* [192.5.8–193.1.1]
- 6 āpavādānabhi α (vādānābhi A, asyavādānabhi J) : āpavādābhi B ♦ samskaraṇāc
 AB : samskārāc β
- 7 ataś cāha AB : ata āha β
- 8 pūjā AB : *om.* β
- 9 māyādharaś ceti α : māyādharaḥ B
- 10 mahāmāyādharaḥ *om.* B
- 11 mahā α : taṃhā B
- 12 māyārtheti A : māyārtha iti β (mahāmāyārtha iti E^c) : māyārthohi B
- 13 tena ABγ : *om.* δ
- 14 kuśīdasattvāni *conj.* (*Tib.* [193.1.5] sems can le lo can mams) : kuśīdasattvaṃ *codd.*
- 15 protsāhayatīti ABγε : protsāhaya iti ζ
- 16 māyāyām AB : māyāyā ζH : mārāyā F : māroyā C : māyayā E

- 150 ratir māyāratih / tathāgatapūjānirmāṇaratir¹ ity arthaḥ / māyāratau rataḥ²
 sakto māyāratirataḥ / mahāṃś cāsau māyāratirataś ca mahāmāyāratirataḥ //
 mahāmāyendrajālika iti vajramuṣṭih / māyendrajālam^{3*} nirmāṇasamūhaṃ
 kāyavākcittavajrāṇām ekibhāvaḥ⁴ / tad vettīti māyendrajālikaḥ^{5*} / mahāṃś
 cāsau⁶ māyendrajālikaś^{7*} ca mahāmāyendrajālikaḥ // vṛddhyabhāvo⁸ 'tra⁹
 155 draṣṭavyaḥ saddharmaṇāpāṭhāt¹⁰ //
 tataś ca kṛtyānuṣṭhānājñānāśrayavajrakarmādicatuṣṭayātmakam¹¹
 cakṣurādivijñānaparāvṛtṭyātmani¹² kṛtyānuṣṭhānājñāne¹³ sati / uktavipary-
 āsāpahrāsamukhena¹⁴ samastasugatapūjābhisamrakṣaṇavighnopaśama-
 kāyādisūnyatājñānakāraṇatvāt^{15*} / ata¹⁶ eva caisāṃ vajraviśvādīnāṃ krama
 160 iti¹⁷ //
 evaṃ mātsaryadauḥśīlyākṣāntikausīdyapratipakṣatayā¹⁸ tad eva¹⁹ dāna-
 śīlakṣāntivīryapāramitātmakam iti / ata āha //

Codd. Ω (B A F H E C D J); B, α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H),
 δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J). Lacking: A, line 162 (fol. 26 lost); A, fol. 25v ends, ... -śīla-
 [kṣāntivīryapāramitātmakam].

- 1 nirmāṇa A : nirmāṇai B : *om.* β ♦ tathāgatapūjānirmāṇaratir ity arthaḥ *om.* β
 2 rataḥ α : raktaḥ B
 3 māyendrajālam A : māyendralam B : māyendrajāla β : mig 'phrul can *Tib.* [193.1.8]
 4 ekibhāvaḥ H² : ekibhāvaṃ AB : ekibhāva β
 5 māyendrajālikaḥ *conj.* : indrajālikaḥ *codd. Tib.* ([193.1.8] mig 'phrul can)
 6 cāsau *corr.* : cāsāv *codd.*
 7 māyendrajālikaś *conj.* : indrajālikaḥ *codd. Tib.* ([193.2.1] mig 'phrul can)
 8 vṛddhyabhāvo *corr.* : vṛddhyabhāvo B : vṛddhyabhā* A : vṛddhabhāvo β
 9 'tra B : tra β : *illeg.* A
 10 saddharmaṇāpāṭhāt A : saddharmaṇāpāṭhād vā Bβ
 11 vajra A : *om.* Bβ ♦ ātmakam α : ātmakām B
 12 cakṣurādi ABγ : caturādi δ ♦ vijñāna *conj.* : jñāna *codd.* ♦ parāvṛtṭy-
 ātmani *corr.* : parāvṛtyātmani α : parāvṛttvātmani B
 13 ṣṭhāna α : ṣṭhānā B
 14 viparyāsāpahrāsa AB : viparyāsa β
 15 ābhisamrakṣaṇa *conj.* : ābhisamkarāṇa AH : ābhisamskaraga B : ābhisamskreṇa
 δF : mngon par srung ba[r byed pa dang] *Tib.* [193.2.3] ♦ kāyādi A *Tib.* ([193.2.3]
 sku la sogs pa) : kāryādi Bβ ♦ kāraṇatvāt Bγε : kara*atvāt A : kāraṇāt ζ
 16 ata α : atra B
 17 krama iti *em* : karmeti *codd.* : las kyi go rim shes bya'o {karmakrama iti} *Tib.*
 [193.2.5]
 18 mātsarya AB : tātparyā δ : gām(gā F)bhīrya γ ♦ dauḥśīlyā *corr.* : dauśīlyā A :
 dauśīlyā β (śīlyā H) : dauḥśīlyāt B
 19 tad eva AB : evaṃ β

mahādānapatiḥ śreṣṭho¹ mahāśīladharo² 'graṇīḥ³ /

mahākṣāntidharo dhīro mahāvīryaparākramah // iti // (36)

- 165 tatra mahādānapatiḥ śreṣṭha iti vajralāsyā / pūjānugrahakāmyayā dīyata
 iti dānaṃ / tasya dānasya patir dānapatiḥ / mahāṃś cāsau dānapatiś ca
 mahādānapatiḥ / āmiṣābhayadharmābhiṣekātmakacaturdānotsṛjanatayā
 śreṣṭhaḥ sarvalokotkrṣṭatvāt // mahāśīladharo⁴ 'graṇīr iti vajramālā /
 kāyavākcittānāṃ samādhānāc chīlaṃ / śīla samādhāv iti dhātvarthatvāt⁵ /
 170 daśākuśalaviratīlakṣaṇaṃ prātimokṣasvabhāvaṃ⁶ ca / tad dhārayatīti
 śīladharaḥ / mahāṃś cāsau śīladharaś ca mahāśīladharaḥ / ata evāgraṇīḥ⁷
 puraḥsara⁸ ity arthaḥ // mahākṣāntidharo dhīra iti vajragītā / kṣamaṇaṃ⁹
 kṣāntis titikṣā tām¹⁰ dhārayatīti kṣāntidharaḥ / mahāṃś cāsau kṣāntidharaś
 ca¹¹ mahākṣāntidharaḥ / tataś ca dhīraḥ¹² / mahatsv api duḥkheṣu
 175 dhairyāvalambanatvāt^{13*} // mahāvīryaparākrama iti vajranṛtyā / vīryaṃ¹⁴
 kuśala^{15*} utsāhaḥ^{16*} / pāpādu tūtsāhaḥ¹⁷ kusīdatvāt kausīdyam* eva na

Codd. Ω (B F H E C D J); B, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
 Lacking: A (fol. 26 lost).

- 1 śreṣṭho *corr.* : śreṣṭhaḥ γζ : śreṣṭa ε : śeṣṭhau B
 2 mahāśīladharo BζH : mahāśīlaṃ dharo εF
 3 'graṇīḥ BH : 'graṇī δF
 4 mahāśīladharo BHγ : mahāśīlaṃ dharo εF
 5 arthatvāt B : arthāt β
 6 prātimokṣa BF : prātimokṣa Hδ
 7 evāgraṇīḥ Bγε : evāgraṇī ζ
 8 puraḥsara *corr.* : purassara *codd.*
 9 kṣamaṇaṃ BJ : kṣamaṇa γED
 10 kṣāntis titikṣā tām B : kṣāntim astīti kṣāntā(-tām H) β
 11 ca B : ceti β
 12 tataś ca dhīraḥ *om.* B
 13 dhairyāvalambanatvāt *conj.* : dhairyāvalambinatvāt δ : dhairyāva(-ava F)lambina-
 tvāt γ : vairyālambaratvāt B : britan par sran thub pa'i phyir ro *Tib.* [193.3.3–4]
 14 vīryaṃ B : vīrya β
 15 kuśala *corr.* : kuśale β *Tib.* ([193.3.4] dge ba la) : kuśalaṣu dharmeṣu B
 16 utsāhaḥ *conj.* (*Tib.* [193.3.4] spro ba ste) : ty utsāhaḥ *codd.* (ty utsāha EF)
 17 pāpādu tūtsāhaḥ B : pāpādy(-ody F)anutsāhasya β

vīryam / tasya parākramah sarvalaukikalokottarakuśalamūlaparipūraṇāt^{1*} //

ataś ca guhyapūjācatuṣṭayātmakam² yathākramam ādarśādi jñānaniṣpattau
svavimokṣamukhaviśuddhibalenānābhogābhirativīṣeṣotpādakatvāt³ //

180 tad eva dauṣprajñavikṣepāsamyakpraṇidhivipakṣābhibhūtirahitatven-
āha⁴ //

mahādhyānasamādhistho mahāprajñāśarīradhṛk /

mahābalo mahopāyaḥ praṇidhir⁵ jñānasāgarah // iti // (37)

tatrāsyām gāthāyām dhyānaprajñayor vyatyayo^{6*} draṣṭavyaḥ / tataś
185 cāyam arthaḥ / mahāprajñāśarīradhṛg iti vajradhūpā / mahatī prajñā
mahāprajñā saiva⁷ śarīram tad⁸ dhārayatīti mahāprajñāśarīradhṛk⁹ // mahā-
dhyānasamādhistha iti vajrapuṣpā / samādhiś cittasyaikāgratālakṣaṇas¹⁰
tasmimś tiṣṭhatīti samādhisthaḥ / mahac ca tad¹¹ dhyānam ca¹² mahā-
dhyānam mahattvaṁ caturdhyānātmakatvāt / teṣu caturṣu¹³ dhyāneṣu

Codd. Ω (B F H E C D J); B, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H), δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).
Lacking: A, lines 177–189 (fol. 26 lost); A, fol. 27r starts, line 189, [caturdhyā]nātmaka-
tvāt

¹ laukika BHε : lokika ζF ♦ mūla B : mūlānām β

² guhyapūjā β : pūjyapūjā B

³ balenā εDH : balanā F : balena BJH² ♦ nābhogābhirati *corr.* (Tib.[193.3.6] lhun
gyis grub pa {anābhoga}) : nābhogādibhirati β (nānābhogādi- H²) : bhogābhirati B

⁴ dauṣprajña β : dauṣprarjñā B ♦ vikṣepā *corr.* (Tib.[193.3.6] rnam par g.yeng ba
dang {vikṣepaś ca}) : vikṣepāt β : vakṣepā B

⁵ praṇidhir Jγ : praṇidhi Bε : praṇidhī D

⁶ vyatyayo *conj.* : vyatyaryo B : vyatyayāsau Cγζ : vyatyasau E : bsnor bar Tib.
[193.3.8]

⁷ saiva BH : sa eva δ : seva F

⁸ tad B : *om.* β

⁹ mahāprajñāśarīradhṛk *om.* H

¹⁰ lakṣaṇas Bγε : lakṣaṇam J : lakṣaṇa D

¹¹ tad B : *om.* β

¹² ca B : *om.* β

¹³ caturṣu *corr.* : catuṣu A : catur Bβ

- 190 samādhisthaḥ¹ // praṇidhir² iti vajradīpā³ / praṇidhīyata iti praṇidhiḥ⁴ /
 bodhisattvānāṃ praṇidhānavaśād utpatteḥ // mahopāya iti vajragandhā /
 mahāṃś cāsāv upāyaś ca⁵ mahopāyaḥ / tata⁶ evopāyabalenāśeṣānava-
 śeṣasya⁷ sattvadhātor yathāśayābhiprāyaparipūrāṇāt //
- ata eva prajñādhyānapraṇidhyupāyapāramitālakṣaṇatayā bāhyapūjā-
 195 catuṣṭayātmakam iti //
- sāmbhogikamārgapṛītihetubhāvena⁸ balajñānāyor⁹ dharmadhātuvavatāra-
 svabhāvatvāt tayor eva¹⁰ balajñānāyoḥ pravibhāgaḥ¹¹ / tatra balaṃ¹²
 śraddhādīpañca¹³ / jñānaṃ darśanamārga bhāvanāmārga ca / tatra
 darśanamārga¹⁴ bodhyaṅgeṣu¹⁵ / bhāvanāmārga āryāṣṭāṅgeṣu¹⁶ //
- 200 tataś ca śraddhāvīryasmṛtisamādhirūpatayā dvārapālacatuṣṭayātmakam
 mahāyānābhisampratyayapravṛttitannairantaryasantuṣṭikāraṇatvāt¹⁷ //
- tad eva prajñāpariśuddhimātrāpekṣayā¹⁸ yathoktaśūnyatāprabheda-
 mukhena¹⁹ maitreyādiṣoḍaśasamādhyātmakam ity ata āha²⁰ //

Codd. Ω (B A F H E C D J); B, α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H),
 δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).

- 1 sthaḥ AB : stham β
- 2 praṇidhir α (praṇidhi E) : praśidhir B
- 3 vajradīpā ABγ : om. δ
- 4 praṇidhiḥ α : praśidhiḥ B
- 5 upāyaś ca α : upāya B
- 6 tata codd. (ta A) : om. Tib.
- 7 śeṣānavaśeṣasya B : śeṣasya A : vaśeṣasya β
- 8 sāmbhogika AB : sambhogika β
- 9 jñānāyor α : jñānāyād B
- 10 eva AB : om. β
- 11 pravibhāgaḥ ABγ : pravibhogah δ
- 12 balaṃ AB : balaḥ β
- 13 śraddhādi ABγ : śreṣṭhādi δ ♦ pañca AB : pañcabalaṃ ca β
- 14 mārge B : mārgo A : mārگا δH : mārگاṃ F
- 15 bodhyaṅgeṣu α : jñānaṃ bodhyaṅgeṣu B : byang chub kyi yan lag bdun {sapta-
 bodhyaṅgeṣu} Tib. [193.4.7–8]
- 16 āryāṣṭāṅgeṣu α Tib. : jñānaṃ āryāṣṭāṅgeṣu B
- 17 tannairantarya AB : tavairantarya(-am εF) β
- 18 pariśuddhi α : pariśuddhir B ♦ mātrāpekṣayā α : gātrāpekṣayā B
- 19 yathokta AB : yathoktaṃ β ♦ prabheda α : prabhede B
- 20 ity ata āha Bβ (iti J) : ityāha A

- mahāmaitrīmayo 'meyo mahākāruṇiko 'gradhīḥ¹ /
 205 mahāprājñō² mahādhīmān mahopāyo mahākṛtī* // iti³ // (38)
 tatra mahāmaitrīmayo 'meyā iti maitreyaḥ⁴ / mitram asyāstīti⁵ maitraṃ /
 paścān⁶ nībantam^{7*} / tataḥ⁸ sarvasattveṣu maitrīmayo⁹ maitrīsvabhāvaḥ /
 mahāṃś cāsau maitrīmayaś ca¹⁰ mahāmaitrīmayaḥ / ata evāmeyaḥ sakala-
 sattvadhātāv¹¹ ekaputraprematvāt¹² // mahākāruṇiko 'gradhīr iti
 210 mañjuśrīḥ¹³ / mahākāruṇā anāmbanātmikā¹⁴ / sā yasyāsti¹⁵ sa¹⁶ mahā-
 kāruṇikaḥ / agradhīr iti suviśuddhadharmadhātujñānam / tataś caitad¹⁷
 uktaṃ bhavati / audāryagāmbhīryātmako¹⁸ 'sau bhagavān iti // mahā-
 prājñō¹⁹ mahādhīmān iti gandhahastī²⁰ / mahatī prajñā dharmapracicaya-
 lakṣaṇātmikā²¹ sā yasyāsti²² sa²³ prājñāḥ²⁴ / mahāṃś cāsau prājñāś²⁵ ca

Codd. Ω (B A F H E C D); B, α (A F H E C D); A, β (F H E C D); γ (F H),
 δ (E C D); ε (E C), ζ (D). Lacking: J, lines 204–214 (fol. 29 missing); J, fol. 28v ends, line
 203, ... -ṣoḍaśasamādhyātmakam ity ata āha.

- 1 mahāmaitrīmayo 'meyo mahākāruṇiko 'gradhīḥ om. F
- 2 prājñō A : prādā B : prajñō β
- 3 kṛtī // iti em. : kṛtīti AB : kṛtiḥ(-ti H) β : kṛtiḥ NS.Dav.[52, v.38d] (kṛtī
 NS.Dav.^{Vira}) : mkhas pa [chen po thabs che ba] zhes pa'o Tib.[193.5.3]
- 4 maitreyaḥ AB : maitreya δF : maitreyaṃ H
- 5 mitram asyāstīti ABH : mitrasyāstīti δF (-syāstīti E)
- 6 paścān conj. : paścāj β : paśyāt A : paś*c*āta B
- 7 nībantam A : jībantam Bβ
- 8 tataḥ codd. : de ni Tib.[193.5.4]
- 9 maitrīmayo Bβ (-nayo C) : om. A
- 10 ca AB : ceti β
- 11 sakala AB : sarva β
- 12 prematvāt A : prematvot B : premakatvāt εF : pramakativāt DH
- 13 mañjuśrīḥ AB : mañjuśrī β
- 14 anāmbanātmikā ABγ : anā(-nam C)lambikātmakā δ
- 15 yasyāsti AB : yāsyāstīti β
- 16 sa AB : om. β
- 17 caitad ABγ : cetad δ
- 18 audārya A : < > dāya B : udārāṃ DF : udānyaṃ C : udāryaṃ E : udāra H ♦
 gāmbhīryātmako AB : gambhīryātmako β
- 19 prājñō AB : prajñō δ : prājñā γ
- 20 hastī Bβ : hasti A
- 21 dharma Bβ : om. A
- 22 yasyāsti AB : yasyāstīti β
- 23 sa AB : sā β
- 24 prājñāḥ ABγ : prajñāḥ δ
- 25 prājñāś ABγ : prajñāś δH²

215 mahāprājñāḥ¹ / ata eva mahādhīmān² // mahopāyo mahākṛtī³ jñāna-
ketuḥ / mahān upāyo yasyāsau mahopāyaḥ / tataś ca mahākṛtī⁴ mahā-
paṇḍitaḥ sarvasattvāśayānuśayajñatayā saddharmaprakāśakatvāt //

mahārddhibalopeto⁵ mahāvego mahājavaḥ /

maharddhiko maheśākhyo mahābalaparākramaḥ // iti // (39)

220 tatra mahārddhibalopeta iti bhadrapālāḥ / ṛddher balaṃ ṛddhibalaṃ
tenopeta⁶ ṛddhibalopetaḥ⁷ / mahāṃś cāsāv ṛddhibalopetaś ca mahārddhi-
balopetaḥ // mahāvego mahājva itī sāgaramatiḥ / mahān vego gatiḥ
yasyāsau mahāvegaḥ / sarvatathāgatapūjopasthānahetutayānekalokadhātu-
saṃkramaṇāt⁸ / ata eva mahājva ity ucyate // maharddhiko maheśākhyā
225 iti akṣayamatiḥ⁹ / laukikaśrāvakaḥ paratyekabuddhānām¹⁰ puṇyasambhāro-
petatvān^{11*} maharddhikaḥ / sarvatathāgatajñānasambhāraparipūraṇa-
tayāto^{12*} maheśākhyā itī // mahābalaparākrama itī pratibhānakūṭaḥ /
mahānti¹³ ca tāni balāni ceti daśa tathāgatabalāni sthānāsthānajñānādini

Codd. Ω (B A F H E C D); B, α (A F H E C D); A, β (F H E C D); γ (F H),
δ (E C D); ε (E C), ζ (D). Lacking: J (fol. 29 missing); lacking B (om.), lines 225–7,
akṣayamatiḥ → maheśākhyā itī.

- 1 mahāprājñāḥ ABy : mahāprajñāḥ δH²
- 2 mahādhīmān AB : mahādhīmān itī β (mahādhīn itī F)
- 3 mahākṛtī Bγ : mahākṛtir itī A : mahākṛti itī δ
- 4 mahākṛtī Bγ : mahākṛtiḥ A : mahākṛti δ
- 5 mahārddhi ABDE : mahāridhi Cy
- 6 tenopeta AB : tenopetaḥ β
- 7 ṛddhibalopetaḥ / mahāṃś cāsāv ṛddhibalopetaś ca mahārddhibalopetaḥ om. β
- 8 pūjopasthāna Bβ : pūjyopasthāna A ♦ saṃkramaṇāt Bβ : saṃkṛtamaṇāt A
- 9 akṣayamatiḥ AE : akṣayamati CDγ : om. B
- 10 laukika AE : lokika CDHF : om. B
- 11 puṇya conj. : puṇyajñāna α Tib.([194.1.6] bsod nams dang ye shes)
- 12 jñāna E : puṇyajñāna cett. Tib.([194.1.6] bsod nams dang ye shes) ♦ paripūraṇa-
tayāto corr. : paripūraṇatayā 'ato A : paripūraṇatayā hetor β (-tayā hator F, -tayā
heto E) : yongs su dzogs pa'i phyir na {paripūraṇāt} Tib.[194.1.6]
- 13 mahānti α : mahati B

vakṣyamāṇāni¹ teṣu parākramo vīryārambho² yasya³ sa mahābala-
 230 parākramah //

mahābhavādrisambhettā mahāvajradharo ghanah /

mahākrūro mahāraudro mahābhayabhayaṃkaraḥ // iti // [40]

tatra mahābhavādrisambhetteti mahāsthāmaprāptaḥ / bhavaḥ pañco-
 pādānaskandhāḥ / ta evādrir ajñānaśailatvāt / tasya samyagaviparītajñāna-
 235 lābhād⁴ bhañjanaśīlaḥ sambhettā / mahāṃś cāsau bhavādrisambhettā ca⁵
 mahābhavādrisambhettā⁶ // mahāvajradharo ghana iti sarvāpāyañjahāḥ /
 mahāvajraṃ⁷ samantabhadrañjānaṃ tad dhārayatīti mahāvajradharaḥ /
 nibiḍatvān mūrtimattvāc⁸ ca ghanah // mahākrūro mahāraudra iti sarva-
 śokatamonirghātamatiḥ⁹ / mahāṃś cāsau krūraś ca¹⁰ mahākrūraḥ¹¹ / dur-
 240 dāntānāṃ¹² sattvānāṃ mahākrodharūpasamdarśanāt¹³ / mahāraudra iti /
 śānto 'py¹⁴ asau bhagavān mañjuśrīḥ¹⁵ sattvavinayaśāda^{16*} raudratām¹⁷

Codd. Ω (B A F H E C D J); B, α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H),
 δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J). Lacking: J, lines 229–230 (fol. 29 missing); J, fol. 30r starts,
 line 231, *mahābhavādrisambhettā*

- 1 vakṣyamāṇāni *em.* : vakṣamāṇāni *codd.* (vakṣanānāni D)
- 2 vīryārambho Aγ : vīryārastā B : vīryālaṃbho δ
- 3 yasya α : yasyā B
- 4 lābhād ABδ : lābhatvād γ
- 5 sambhettā ca AB : sambhettīti β
- 6 mahābhavādrisambhettā ABδ : mahābhettā γ
- 7 vajraṃ AB : vajra β
- 8 mūrtimattvāc *corr.* : mūrtimatvāc β : mūrtitvāc A : mūrticatvāc B
- 9 tamonirghāta B : tamonirghātana AJ : tamondhakāranirghā(-gho H)tana Dγε
- 10 krūraś ca Bβ : krūraḥ A
- 11 mahākrūraḥ B *Tib.* [194.2.5] : *om.* α
- 12 durdāntānāṃ AB : taryantānāṃ β (taryakānāṃ D)
- 13 krodharūpasamdarśanāt AB : krodhasamdarśanāt β
- 14 śānto 'py *corr.* : śānto py AB : satoṣy δ : samtoṣy II : samtoṣā F
- 15 mañjuśrīḥ AB : mañjuśrī β
- 16 vinaya Bγ : vineya Aδ *Tib.* [194.2.6] gdul ba)
- 17 raudratām ABδ : raudratān ζ

api darśayatīti // mahābhayaḥbhayaṃkara iti jālinīprabhaḥ / mahābhayo¹
mahābhairavarūpadhārī śaṃkara iti^{2*} / tasyāpi bhayaṃ karotīti mahābhaya-
bhayaṃkaraḥ //

245 **mahāvidyottamo nātho mahāmantrottamo guruḥ /**
 mahāyānanayārūḍho mahāyānanayottamaḥ³ // iti // (41)

tatra mahāvidyottamo nātha iti candraprabhaḥ / mahatyaś ca tā vidyāś
ca mahāvidyāś catasro dhāraṇyo granthārthamantramudrātmikāḥ⁴ / tāsām⁵
uttamaḥ^{6*} / ata⁷ eva nāthaḥ⁸ sarvāpāyebhyaḥ sarvasattvānām aśeṣakāya-
250 vānmanaḥsamudācārasaṃśodhanāt⁹ // mahāmantrottamo gurur iti amita-
prabhaḥ¹⁰ / mahāṃś cāsau mantraś ca mahāmantro mahāmudrātmakas¹¹
tasyottamaḥ śreṣṭha ity arthaḥ / ata eva guruḥ sarvasattvānām yathāśayānu-
śayajñatayābhisamayopadeśāt¹² // mahāyānanayārūḍha iti gaganagañjaḥ /
mahāyānaṃ vakṣyamāṇaṃ¹³ tasya nayo¹⁴ mārgas tasminn ārūḍhaḥ¹⁵ sthita
255 ity arthaḥ //

Codd. Ω (B A F H E C D J); B, α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H),
δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).

- 1 mahābhayo ABH : mahābhayā δ
- 2 śaṃkara iti conj. : saṅkara iti A : ṇaṅkara B : gaṅkaraḥ F : gahvaraḥ Hδ
om. Tib.[194.2.6]
- 3 nayottamaḥ α : mayottamo B
- 4 mantramudrātmikāḥ AB Tib.[194.3.1] sngags dang phyag rgya'i bdag nyid rnams
so) : mudrātmikāḥ β (mudrātḡikāḥ J)
- 5 tāsām α : tsusām B
- 6 uttamaḥ B : uttama β : uttamaḥ śreṣṭhaḥ A ♦ tāsām uttamaḥ om. Tib.[194.3.1]
- 7 ata ABy : agra δ
- 8 nāthaḥ α : nārthaḥ B
- 9 samudācāra AB : samudāra β
- 10 amitaprabhaḥ A : amitabhadraḥ B : amṛtaprabha β
- 11 mahāmudrātmakas α : mahātmakas B
- 12 yathāśayānuśaya Bβ : yathāśrayānuśraya A ♦ jñatayā ABFε : jñatatrā Hζ ♦
samayopadeśāt ABF : samayāpadeśāt Hδ
- 13 vakṣyamāṇaṃ A : vakṣamāṇaṃ By : vakṣamāṇa δ
- 14 nayo AB : tayo F : tayā Hδ
- 15 ārūḍhaḥ AB : ārūḍha β

mahāyānanayottama iti sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhī¹ / saṃsāranirvāṇayor
 anabhilāpyadharmatādhigamān² nirvikalpakaṃ³ jñānaṃ mahāyānam⁴ iti /
 atha vā trividhānuttaryeṇa⁵ saṃbhāropāyagocarādhārasvabhāvo^{6*} mahāyā-
 nasya saṃgrhīta iti / yady evaṃ katham asya mahattvam / sarvalokahitā⁷
 260 buddhā bhagavantaḥ / tena te⁸ mahāntaḥ / teṣāṃ idaṃ yānaṃ niṣpattaye⁹
 niryāṇāya vā¹⁰ / tasmāt tatsahitānāṃ yānaṃ¹¹ mahāyānam / mahatāṃ vā¹²
 yānaṃ¹³ mahāyānam¹⁴ // atha vā saptavidhamahattvāt^{15*} / ālambana-
 pratipattijñānavīryopāyakausālyasamudāgamakarmamahattvān¹⁶ mahā-
 yānaṃ / mahac ca tad¹⁷ yānaṃ ceti¹⁸ mahāyānam / anyatra yāne¹⁹ tad-
 265 abhāvād²⁰ iti / tad etat samāsenā trividhaṃ mahāyānam / hetugocara-
 svabhāvaparidīpanārthaṃ^{21*} veditavyam iti //

Codd. Ω (B A F H E C D J); B, α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H),
 δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).

- ¹ nivarāṇa BF : nivarāṇa A : nivarāṇa JC : nivarāṇa DE : nivarāṇa H ♦ viṣkambhī ζ
: viskambhī AB : viskambhī E : bhiskambhī Cy
- ² anabhilāpya Aδ : anabhilāpya B : anabhilāṣa γ
- ³ nirvikalpakaṃ AB : nirvikalpaka β
- ⁴ mahāyānam AB : mahāyānanayottama β
- ⁵ trividhā A : vtrividhā B : tridhā β
- ⁶ saṃbhāropāya codd. : 'khor ba'i gnas thabs dang{saṃsāropāya} Tib.[194.3.5]
- ⁷ hitā Bβ (hito H) : mahitā A
- ⁸ te AB : om. β
- ⁹ niṣpattaye ABF : niṣpattayā Hδ
- ¹⁰ niryāṇāya vā BF : niryāṇāya vā Hδ : niryāṇāt A
- ¹¹ yānaṃ AB : yāna γ : yāni εJ : yāti D
- ¹² mahatāṃ vā em. : mahatā vā Bγ : atha vā mahatāṃ A : om.δ ♦ mahatāṃ vā
yānaṃ mahāyānam om. δ
- ¹³ yānaṃ AB : yāna γ : om. δ
- ¹⁴ mahāyānam AB : mahāyāna γ : om. δ
- ¹⁵ vidha conj. (Tib.[194.3.7–8] mam pa [bdun]) : vidhena α : vidhina B
- ¹⁶ pratipatti ABγ : pratipattir δ ♦ jñānavīryopāya corr. : jñānavīrya upāya A :
jñānavīrya utsāha B : jñānavīrya β ♦ kauśalya Hδ : kauśala ABF ♦ mahat-
tvān AB : mahatvatvāt γ : muhutvatvāt(-tvān D) δ
- ¹⁷ tad ABγ : taṃ δ
- ¹⁸ ceti AB : citti β (ci*r*ta F)
- ¹⁹ yāne AB : yāna δF : yona H
- ²⁰ abhāvād ABE : abhāvad γζC
- ²¹ hetugocarāsvabhāva codd. : rgyu dang yul dang rten gyi rang bzhin rnams {hetu-
gocarādhārasvabhāva} Tib.[194.4.1–2] ♦ anārthaṃ ABH : anārtha Fδ

tad evam upāyamātrāpekṣitayā cāśeṣalaukikalokottarasamādhisvabhāva-
tvād¹ bhagavato jñānasattvasya² tathāgatajñānakāyasya //

tad yathā bhagavān buddhaḥ sambuddho 'kārasambhava ity evamādibhir
270 nāmamantrākṣarapadair grahaṇakavākyair viśeṣaṇaviśiṣṭaiḥ³ kriyāpada-
rahitair viśeṣyo⁴ jñānasattvaḥ sarvatathāgatahṛdayavihārī mañjuśrīḥ⁵
śrīmatām vara iti draṣṭavyaḥ //

te⁶ ca māṇḍaleyā⁷ vajrasattvādayo⁸ mahāmudrāyogena⁹ svavarṇa-
praharaṇopetā¹⁰ viniḥsṛtā¹¹ viniḥsṛtya¹² ca sakalalokadhātuḥ¹³ sattvānām
275 buddhakṛtyaṁ kṛtvā punar āgatya nāmamantrākṣarāṇi svakulavarṇopa-
rañjitāni bhavanti^{14*} / yathānukramato¹⁵ vajradhātumahāmaṇḍalasya
prāgvinyastacandramaṇḍaleṣu vyavasthitāni vicintya¹⁶ taccakra-
nābhīsthitasya sarvatathāgatajñānakāyasya mañjuśrījñānasattvasya¹⁷

Codd. Ω (B A F H E C D J); B, α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H),
δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).

- 1 cāśeṣa A : vāśeṣa β : aśeṣa B
- 2 sattvasya ABγ : kāyasya δ
- 3 viśeṣaṇa α Tib.[194.4.4] : anekaviśeṣaṇa B
- 4 viśeṣyo ABH : viśeṣyā Fδ
- 5 mañjuśrīḥ α : mañjuśrī B
- 6 te Bβ Tib.([194.4.5] de mams) : tena A
- 7 māṇḍaleyā AB : maṇḍaleyā β
- 8 ādayo α : ādaye B
- 9 yogena ABγ : yoge δ
- 10 varṇa AB Tib.([194.4.5] sku mdog) : kaṇṭha β
- 11 viniḥsṛtā B : viniḥsṛtā β : niḥsṛtā A
- 12 viniḥsṛtya B : viniḥsṛtya A : om. β
- 13 dhātuḥ AB : dhātu β
- 14 bhavanti conj. : bhūtvā ABγ : om. δ : bsgyur te Tib.[194.4.6]
- 15 yathānu AB : yathārtha δ : yathātha γ
- 16 vicintya α : cintya B
- 17 mañjuśrījñānasattvasya om. B

prāñnirdiṣṭarūpam¹ ātmano 'dhimucya² tasyaiva bhagavato jñānamūrter³
 280 advayaparamārthāṃ⁴ nāmasaṃgītiṃ⁵ nāma cūḍāmaṇiṃ* yaḥ kaś cit
 kulaputro vā kuladuhitā⁶ vā mantramukhacaryācārī bodhisattvas triḥ-
 kṛtvā⁷ kaṇṭhagatām āvartayiṣyati / pustakagatām vā paṭhamānaḥ⁸ pra-
 vartayiṣyati //

śucir⁹ maunī¹⁰ bhūtvā tūṣṇīmbhāvena¹¹ yathā kaś cin na¹² śṛṇoti nāma-
 285 mantrākṣarapadāni yathāvad āvartayan¹³ na cirād evānuśamsāparipaṭhitān¹⁴
 guṇagaṇān anyāṃś ca prāpsyati /

paramārthanāmasaṃgītisaṃdhārakaḥ¹⁵ puruṣapuṃgavaḥ^{16*} saṃ-
 bhṛtapuṇyajñānasambhāraḥ kṣiprataram sarvabuddhaguṇān^{17*}
 samudānīyānuttarām¹⁸ samyaksambodhim abhisambhotsyate /

279–80 cf. NS.Dav. 65, 3: *jñānamūrter advayaparamārthāṃ nāmasaṃgītiṃ* 282
 cf. NS.Dav. 66, 23: *pustakagatām vā paṭhamānaḥ pravartayiṣyati* 287–9 cf.
 NS.Dav. 68, 4–6: *paramārthanāmasaṃgītisaṃdhārakapuruṣapuṃgavaḥ saṃbhṛta-
 puṇyajñānasambhāraḥ kṣiprataram buddhaguṇān samudānīyānuttarām samyaksam-
 bodhim abhisambhotsyate*; cf. NMAA 12 [D.192r3; B.85r2] *paramārthanāmasaṃgīti-
 saṃdhārakaḥ puruṣapuṃgava*(em. : -puṃgala D : puṃgala B) *iti pradhāna ity' arthaḥ*.

Codd. Ω (B A F H E C D J); B, α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H),
 δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).

- 1 prāñ *corr.* : prāg α : prīg C
- 2 'dhimucya ABJ : 'ṣimucya DC : 'mimucya H : 'pimucya FE
- 3 mūrter α : mūrtir B
- 4 paramārthāṃ *corr.* (NS.Dav.[65, 3]) : paramārthā *codd.*
- 5 saṃgītiṃ ABγ : saṃgīti δ
- 6 kuladuhitā α : kulahitā B
- 7 triḥ B : tris A : tri β
- 8 paṭhamānaḥ(-māna H) α NS.Dav.[66, 23] : paṭhana B
- 9 śucir ABH : śuci Fδ
- 10 maunī Bγ : mauni δ : monī A
- 11 tūṣṇīṃ ABH : tūṣṇī Fδ
- 12 na α : om. B
- 13 yathāvad āvartayan A : yathāvartayan β : tathāvartayan B
- 14 paripaṭhitān A : pari< >tān B : paripaṭhitāni(-nāni D) β
- 15 paramārtha B : paramārthā α ♦ saṃdhārakaḥ *codd.* (sanvārakaḥ B) : saṃ-
 dhāraka NS.Dav.[68, 5]
- 16 puruṣa α : puruṣaḥ B ♦ puṃgavaḥ *conj.* (NMAA 12; NS.Dav.[68, 5]) : puṃgalaḥ
 ABγE : puṃgalaḥ JDC : [skyes bu] gang zag {puḍgalaḥ} Tib.[194.5.3]
- 17 sarvabuddhaguṇān *codd.* Tib.([194.5.4]sangs rgyas thams cad kyi yon tan mams) :
 buddhaguṇān NS.Dav.[68, 6]
- 18 ānuttarām ABJγ : ānuttarāyām DeH²

- 290 analpakalpān¹ aparinirvāṇadharmā^{2*} sarvasattvānām anuttara-
dharmadeśako^{3*} daśadiksaddharmadundubhir⁴ dharmarāja⁵ iti //
- asya ca vajradhātumahāmaṇḍalasya nāmamantrākṣarapadānām ekaṭra
piṇḍikṛtānām ṣaḍaśītir⁶ nāmāni⁷ bhavanti / tāni ca māṇḍaleyadevatānām⁸
pravibhajya yojaniyāni / tatra catvāri jñānasattvacandramaṇḍalayoh /
295 akārasya trīṇi / sattvavajryādīnām pañca / śāśvatādīnām ekādaśa⁹ / vajra-
sattvād¹⁰ ārabhya¹¹ yāvat sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhīty¹² etatparyantaṃ¹³
śeṣāni* nāmamantrākṣarapadāni viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyabhāvena¹⁴ yathākramato
yojyāni¹⁵ // gāthāś¹⁶ caturdaśa / nāmamantrākṣarāṇi¹⁷ ṣaḍaśītir¹⁸ aṅkato
'pi / ity āmnāyaḥ //
- 300 āryanāmasaṃgītiṭikāyāṃ nāmamantrārthāvalokinyāṃ bodhicittavajrasya
vajradhātumahāmaṇḍalādhikāraḥ pañcamah¹⁹ //

290–91 cf. NS.Dav. 68, 7–8: *analpakalyāṇaparinirvāṇadharmāḥ sarvasattvānām anuttaradharmadeśako 'dhiṣṭhito daśadiksaddharmadundubhir dharmarāja iti.*

Codd. Ω (B A F H E C D J); B, α (A F H E C D J); A, β (F H E C D J); γ (F H),
δ (E C D J); ε (E C), ζ (D J).

- ¹ analpa AB *Tib.* [194.5.4] mang po) : anatyā β ♦ kalpān *conj.* (*Tib.* [194.5.4] bskal pa) : kalyān *codd.* (kalyāṇ E) : kalyāṇ *NS.Dav.* [68, 7]
- ² aparinirvāṇa AB : aparimāṇa β ♦ dharmā *codd.* (dharma J) : dharmāḥ *NS.Dav.* [68, 7] : [yongs su mya ngan las mi 'da' ba'i] chos su 'gyur *Tib.* [194.5.4]
- ³ anuttara ABF : anuttaraṃ Hδ ♦ deśako *codd.* *Tib.* ([chos] ston par byed la) : deśako 'dhiṣṭhito *NS.Dav.* [68, 8] *NS.Tib.D.N.*
- ⁴ dundubhir AB : dundubhi β
- ⁵ rāja ABγ : rājā δ
- ⁶ ṣaḍaśītir AB : ṣaḍaśīti β
- ⁷ nāmāni ABH² : nāni β
- ⁸ māṇḍaleya AB : māṇḍaleya β ♦ devatānām ABH² : devatīnām β
- ⁹ ekādaśa Aγ : ekādaśā δ : ekādaśaḥ B
- ¹⁰ vajrasattvād ABγ : vajrad δ
- ¹¹ ārabhya ABγ : ārebhya δ (-bhyaḥ J)
- ¹² nivaraṇa ABγ : nīvaraṇa δ ♦ viṣkambhīty *corr.* : viṣkambhīty *codd.* (bhiskambhīty γ)
- ¹³ paryantaṃ AB : paryanta γ : paryenta ζC : paryantaḥ E
- ¹⁴ viśeṣaṇa AB : viśeṣena δ : *om.* γ
- ¹⁵ yojyāni ABH² : yojyati β (-jyāni H, -jyeti J)
- ¹⁶ gāthāś B : gāthā α
- ¹⁷ ākṣarāṇi *codd.* : yi ge'i tshig mams {ākṣarapadāni } *Tib.* [195.1.1]
- ¹⁸ ṣaḍaśītir AH² : ṣaḍaśītir B : ṣaḍāśītir β
- ¹⁹ pañcamah Bγ : pañcama A : pañcamah // gāthā caturdaśaḥ δ

Insignificant Variants

Adhikāra 1

- 1.1 śriyaṃ *codd.* (śriyaṃ E) 1.2 nāmasaṃgītiṃ A : nāmasaṃgīti β (nāmasaṃgītiṃ H)
 1.3 tantraṃ Aδ (tantra D)H² : om. γ 1.4 dharma *codd.* (dharmāṃ D) 1.5 jātakaṃ A γ
 : jātikaṃ δ 1.6 madhyamaka *codd.* (madhyamaṃka C) ♦ yat AγE : yet CDJ
 1.8 saṃsmṛtya Aβ (-smṛtyū C) 1.9 vyākhyānaṃ *codd.* (vyākhyāna C) 1.10 buddhīnāṃ
codd. (buddhināṃ E) ♦ karuṇārdreṇa AδH² : karuṇārdraṇa C : om. γ
 1.11 sthāpanam *codd.* (sthānam D) 1.14–15 ādarśajñānam akṣobhyadvāreṇa om. E
 1.17 jñānastutiḥ AC^cH² : jñānastuti ÇE : jñānasteti C : jñānastheti γ 1.17–18
 anuśaṃsā mantravinyāsaḥ ADE : < ~8 > Cγ (anuśaṃsā mantravinyāsaḥ *suppl.* H²;
 anuśaṃsā mantravinyāsaḥ *suppl.* C^c) 1.18 caturdaśa *codd.* (catudaśaḥ A) 1.19
 kāyasthito ADγ : kāyagrasthito ε 1.20 adhyeṣaṇā ADγ : adhyeṣaṇāḥ ε ♦
 śākyamunir β (śākyamuni C) : om. A 1.21 sādhu δ : sādhu γ (sādhu H²) : om. A
 1.22 AγE sākyaṃmunir : śākyamuni CDJ 1.24 arapaṇcānāya Aγ : arapaṇcānāya δ
 (alapaṇcānāya E, arapaṇcānāya D) ♦ nama A : nama β (nama H²) ♦ tiṣṭbhir A γ :
 tiṣṭ δ (tiṣṭbhir D) 1.25 saṃbodhi β : saṃbodhiḥ A ♦ kramaḥ A : krama β ♦
 sūcitaḥ AF : sūcitaṃ Hδ ♦ yāvan *codd.* (yāvat F) 1.26 mahāyānanayottama β :
 mahāmāyānanayottamaś A ♦ iti β : om. A ♦ gāthābhir β : om. A 1.28 vajrā *codd.*
 (vrajā F) ♦ pāśa AH² : pāśo β ♦ iti AH² : om. β 1.30 stutiḥ AH² : stuti β ♦
 ghoṣo β (ghoṣā D) : om. A 1.31 pādonasārdha Aγ : pādonasārdham δ
 (pādānasārdham C) 1.32 stutiḥ AH² : stuti β (stuti E) ♦ jñānārciḥ AH² : jñānārci β
 1.33 dvācatvār β : cātvār A 1.34 stutiḥ AH² : stuti β ♦ para *codd.* (om. A)
 1.35 stutiḥ AH² : stuti β 1.37 stutiḥ AH² : stuti β 1.38 ta Aδ : te γD
 1.39 stutiḥ AH² : stuti β 1.41 stutiḥ AH² : stuti β 1.41 garbha β : om. A
 1.42 stutiḥ AH² : stuti β 1.43 stutiḥ A : stuti β ♦ uttara *codd.* (uttara C, uttara C^c)
 1.44 adhyardha AH : addhyardha Fδ ♦ śatenānuśaṃsā AδH² : śata< >sā F : śate<
 >sā H 1.47 sarveṣāṃ *codd.* (om. A) 1.50 kathyeta AδH² : kathyete γ

- 1.51 sambhāvayantaḥ AEγ : samdhāvayantaḥ CDJ (sam*āvayantaḥ C) 1.52
 vacanīyaṃ AδH² : vacanīya γ 1.53 prāmāṇyāt AH²δ : prāmāt(mot F)yāt γ ♦
 pravartanta AH² : pravartata β (pravarta J) 1.56 prakāśana *codd.* (prakāśanaṃ γ)
 1.57 gānaṃ β : gīnaṃ A ♦ gītiḥ AHE : gīti CDJF 1.58 saṃgītir AH : saṃgīti δF
 ♦ tantra *codd.* (tantraṃ J) 1.59 vinaya *codd.*(vinaye F) ♦ laukika *codd.* (lokika F) ♦
 sarvasthāvarajaṅgamāni ca *illeg.* D 1.60 teṣāṃ nāmnāṃ saṃgītir iti ACDJ : om. E :
 teṣāṃ saṃgīti saṃgīti γ (*corr.* H²) 1.61 paricchedam β (parikṣedam E) : paricchadam A
 1.62 abhidhānābhidheya *codd.* (abhidhotādheya γ) ♦ upāyopeyalakṣaṇo *codd.*
 (lakṣaṇe J) 1.63 mukha *codd.* (mukhe H) ♦ tattva *codd.* (sattva H) 1.64 bhyāṃ
codd. (* E) 1.65 viddhayā AE : ddha(dra H)yā γ : viccha(cha J)yā ζ 1.66 tataś ca
 bhāvanā om. F 1.67 prayojanaprayojanam β : prayojanam A ♦ yojanīyaṃ om. H
 1.68 padārthas *codd.* (*illeg.* D) 1.74 nāmasaṃgītir *codd.* (nāmasaṃgītir iti J) 1.77 puṭo
codd. (pūto CB₁) ♦ agrataḥ AH : agrata Fδ 1.78 sambandhaḥ AEJH² : sambandha
 FDC ♦ vajradharaḥ AEJH² : vajradhara FDC 1.79 śriyo *codd.* (śriyā H) ♦
 vidyante *codd.* (-ate γ) 1.80 yasyāsau *codd.* (yasyāso A) ♦ śrīmān *codd.* (śrīmān iti J)
 1.81 ātmako Aδ : otmako γ ♦ śrisaṃvare Aδ : śrisaṃvara γ 1.83 śāsako *codd.*
 (śāsaka FC) 1.84 vineyakatvāt *codd.* (vineyatvāt J, vineyekatvāt H) 1.88 bhavanīyatvāt
codd. (bhagavanīyatvāt D) 1.91 rāgādibhiḥ *codd.* (rāgādibhi F) 1.93 sarvasattvāṃs
codd. (sarvasattvās JF) 1.94 kāya *codd.* (kārya J) 1.95 paravittāni *codd.* (paracittāni E)
 1.97 sattvārthāt → āpnuyāt *illeg.* D 1.99 avāpnuyād *codd.* (adāpnuyād F)
 1.101 kuliśeśvaraḥ *codd.* (kuliśeśo D) 1.107 vibuddhaṃ *codd.* (vibuddhaś HE)
 1.108 vibuddhapuṇḍarikam / vibuddhapuṇḍarikam *codd.* (vibuddhapuṇḍarikaceti /
 vibuddhapuṇḍarikam D) 1.110 prakarṣeṇotphullaṃ *codd.* (prakarṣeṇautphullaḥ γ)
 1.117 mukhāḥ *codd.* (mukhauḥ F) 1.120 durdāntadamakair iti om. E 1.121 te om. E
 ♦ tair *codd.* (ttair H) ♦ kimrasā *codd.* (kimraso F) 1.122 bībhatsarūpiṇaḥ δ :
 bībhatsarūpitaḥ γ ♦ ata eva δ : atra eta γ ♦ vīrabībhatsa δ : dvīrabībhatsa γ
 1.125 ullālayadbhir *codd.* (ullālayedbhir γ) ♦ kaiḥ *codd.* (om. F) 1.128 karuṇayā
codd. (karuṇayo DC) ♦ yeṣāṃ *codd.* (yaṣāṃ H) 1.132 karuṇā om. ζ 1.133 sukham

ḍ : mukham γ 1.134 lambanātmikā ḍ : lambamātmikā γ ♦ jagac ca jagac ca jagac ca
 jaganti ṣEC^C : jagac ca jaga Cγ 1.136 āha *codd.* (āhā C) 1.140 āśayo *codd.* (āśaya E)
 1.141 muditā *codd.* (mudito F, om. H) 1.147 rūpibhir *codd.* (rūpinir E) 1.148 karair
codd. (karar E) 1.149 vighraho *codd.* (vighrarhe E) 1.151 vakṣy(kṣa A)amāṇam Aγ :
 vakṣya(kṣa D)māṇa ṣ : vakṣyamāṇamāna E 1.154 nātham *codd.* (nātha* A) 1.155
 anuśāsanāt *codd.* (anuśāsanān ṣ) 1.156 śrāvakaṃ *codd.* (śrāvaka A) 1.157 viśinaṣṭi H :
 viśinaṣṭi A : viśinasti *cett.* 1.162 guṇayogād *codd.* (guṇāyogād D; guṇayod A;
 guṇayogād A^C) 1.164 prayatnasya *codd.* (prayannasya A) 1.166 tathāgataḥ *codd.*
 (svathāgataḥ E) ♦ gatā *codd.* (om. J) 1.167 gacchatīti *codd.* (gacchanti H) ♦ taṃ
codd. (ta*t* A) ♦ praṇamyeti *codd.* (praṇamy*ai*ti A) 1.168 sthito *codd.* (sthitā E)
 1.175 jālābhisambodher *codd.* (lājābhi- E) 1.176 yathāhaṃ *codd.* (haṃ D) ♦ lābhī
codd. (lobhī H) 1.181 duruttaratvāc ca *codd.* (duruttaratvā< > F) 1.184 pratigha *codd.*
 (pratidya C) 1.187 pratilambhaḥ *codd.* (pratilambha D) 1.188 tatprāptaya *codd.*
 (tatprāptaye F) 1.191 śāśvata *codd.* (śāśyata(tat E) E) 1.192 chāstety *codd.* (chāstebhy
 A E) 1.193 sattvaḥ AEJH² : sattva CDγ 1.195 tattvajña *codd.* (sattvajña E) 1.196
 āśayavid *codd.* (āśayadvid E) 1.202 nāmasaṃgītis AH : nāmasaṃgīti β 1.203
 vakṣyamāṇena AH² : vakṣamāṇena β (vahumāṇena J) 1.205 mahošṇīṣas AJH :
 mahošṇīṣa DF E 1.206 ābhiṣekātmakatvāt *codd.* (ābhiṣekāyātmakatvāt E) 1.208 mūrtir
codd. (mūrtiḥ C, om. F) ♦ mūrtis *codd.* (mūrtiḥ C) 1.210 svayaṃbhūr *codd.*
 (svayaṃbhū C) 1.212 jñānasya *codd.* (< >sya F) 1.214 mañjuśrījñānasattvaḥ *codd.*
 (mañjuśrīr jñānasattvaḥ A) 1.215 mañjuśrīḥ AH : mañjuśrī Fḍ 1.216 hr̥dayavihāritvāt
codd. (dvayaparihāritvāt H) 1.218 advayajñānaṃ *codd.* (yajñānaṃ H²) 1.222
 nāmasaṃgītis *corr.* : nāmasaṃgītiḥ Aγ : nāmasaṃgīti ḍ 1.226 sā *codd.* (so J) ♦
 gambhīrārthā *codd.* (gambhīrārthāṃ J) ♦ tāṃ *codd.* (tā H) 1.228 sā *codd.* (om. JE)
 1.229 mahārthā *codd.* (mahārtho C) 1.230 punar JHE : puna DCF 1.231
 asamatvaṃ *codd.* (asama< > F) 1.243 atitair JE : atitai *cett.* 1.244 bhāṣitā *codd.*
 (bhāṣitāḥ J) 1.248 hr̥ṣṭair HJ : hr̥ṣṭai *cett.* 1.255 pradarśitaṃ γ E : darśitaṃ ṣ 1.256
 sarvasambuddha *codd.* (saṃbuddha C) 1.257 saṃbandhaḥ *codd.* (saṃbandha F) 1.260

yathāvat Cy : yathādat ζ : yathāca E 1.262 śeṣā Jy : aśeṣo εD ♦ hānaya iti Cζ :
hānayeti E : hānaya < > γ : hānayiti H² 1.263 grhyante *codd.* (grhyanta C) ♦ aśeṣā
γJ : aśeṣo εD 1.264 aśeṣājñānam γJ : aśeṣojñānam εD ♦ aśeṣājñānahānis (aśeṣo-
F) *codd.* (ajñānahānis D) ♦ tadarthaṃ ζH : tadartha εF 1.271 praṇata *codd.* (prahva
D) ♦ 'tra *codd.* (ca J)

Adhikāra 2

2.4 antaraṃ *codd.* (amntaraṃ C) 2.5 mauneya δ : maunaya γ ♦ yogān ζ : yogāt γ ε
2.6 gatārthaḥ *codd.* (gatārthaṃ C gatārtha D) 5.8 bahalatarāṃ *codd.* (bahalatarā H)
2.9 śaṅkha *codd.* (sakha C) 2.12 sattvānām *om.* D 2.13–14 pratyabhāṣateti *codd.*
(pratyābāṣat*ti C) 2.16 triṇi (triṇi E) δ : strīṇi ζ ♦ śrīmāyājāla *codd.* (śrīmālājāla C)
2.17 tantre *codd.* (tantra F) ♦ paṭhyate *codd.* (pa< > γ; paṭhyate *suppl.* H²) ♦ ca
codd. (cā F) ♦ triṇi *codd.* (triṇi E) 2.18 sāhasryāṃ *codd.* (sāhasryaṃ H)
2.19 mukhena *codd.* (mukhana H) 2.20 tac *codd.* (ta H) 2.21–22 jihvendriya *codd.*
(jihvandriya H) 2.23 bhūr JEy : bhū CD ♦ svar iti γζ : sver iti C : sveti E
2.24 trayāṇām δ : trayoṇām γ ♦ prakāśana *codd.* (prakāśena H) 2.25 vajrapāṇim
codd. (vajrapāṇi H) 2.26 skandha AE : skanda *cett.* (skanda E^C) 2.27 anuśāsanam
codd. (anuśāsana H) 2.30 trilokam āpūrayantyā *codd.* (trilokanām āpūrayantyā H) ♦
vajrapāṇim AζCF : vajrapāṇi EH ♦ vācā AγE : vācām ζ 2.32 opetatvāt *codd.*
(opetatvātvāt H, *om.* J) ♦ brahmasvara *codd.* (brahmasvaram A) ♦ śabdo *codd.* (svaro
E) 2.39 tatrābhyantarā *codd.* (tathābhyantarā J) 2.44 vajrapāṇim Aζ : vajrapāṇi Eγ ♦
pratyabhāṣata AJ : pratyabhāṣataḥ EγD 2.46 bodha *codd.* (bodhaḥ F)
2.54 vajradharetyādi *codd.* (vajradharatyādi H) 2.55 yat *codd.* (yatt H) 2.55–56 nāma-
saṃgītis *codd.* (nāmasagītis C) 2.57 sādhu *codd.* (sādhum D) ♦ kimarthaṃ AJEH :
kimartha CDF ♦ prṣṭaḥ *codd.* (ṣṭaḥ D) 2.63 śuci *codd.* (muci F) ♦ ukte *codd.* (ukta
C) 2.67 dvitīyaḥ *codd.* (dvitīya C)

Adhikāra 3

3.4 śākyamunir *codd.* (śākyamuni D) 3.6 gāthā β : gāthā*ṃ* A ♦ tām *codd.* (m JE)
3.7 vakṣyamāṇa AJ : vakṣamāṇa γεD 3.11 svabhāvatvād JEH² : svabhāvatvā ACDγ

♦ vairocana *codd.* (vailocana E) 3.15 arthaḥ *codd.* (artha C) 3.16 akṣobhyaḥ *codd.* (akṣobhya A) 3.19 vairocanā *codd.* (vailocanā E)

Adhikāra 4

4.2 tatṛāḍau *codd.* (tātrāḍau C) ♦ mantra *codd.* (matra CD) 4.3 imāṃ *codd.* (imā F) ♦ jñānasattvasya *codd.* (jñāna F) ♦ sarvatathāgata *codd.* (sarvatathāgatasya H) 4.5 kāmō *codd.* (kāmā F) ♦ bodhisattvo *codd.* (bodhisattva D) 4.6 ātmakaś HE : ātmakaḥ / ACČF ♦ caturbhiḥ AḌ : catubhiḥ γ 4.7 sattvān *codd.* (sattvāt D) 4.9 mām β : mā A 4.10 imāṃ AEČH : imā CF ♦ velām β : valam A ♦ yāvad β : yāvād A 4.11 bodhicittam AγE : bodhicitta Č 4.17 mudrām *codd.* (mundrām C) ♦ pratigrhṇāmi *codd.* (pratigrahṇāmi E^C) ♦ tattvataḥ *corr.* : tatvataḥ *codd.* 4.19 caturdānam *codd.* (caturdāna C) ♦ ṣaṭkṛtvā *codd.* (ṣankṛtvā C) 4.21 saddharmam ADEγ : saddharma CJ ♦ pratigrhṇāmi *codd.* (pratigrhṇāti H) ♦ bāhyam guhyam *codd.* (bāhya guhya J) 4.23 tattvataḥ *corr.* : tatvataḥ *codd.* 4.25 bodhicittam *codd.* (bodhicittamm C) 4.30 bodhiṃ *codd.* (bodhi D) 4.30–31 pratibimba *codd.* (pratimba F) 4.31 bhāvayet *codd.* (bhāvayan F) ♦ yathā β (tathā E) : yatha A 4.31–2 saṃnihitāḥ *codd.* (saṃvihitāḥ J) 4.34 ādarśajñāne *codd.* (ādarśanajñāne E) 4.36 magnās AH : magnā ḌF 4.38 asaṃvṛtyā *codd.* (saṃvṛtyā C) 4.40 adhimuñcet *codd.* (adhimucet D) 4.41 anātmānas *codd.* (a / nātmānas C) 4.43 prajānāti β : prajānati A ♦ yathā β : yatha A 4.43–4 tathā prajānāti sarvadharmān β : tatha prajānati sarvadharmān A 4.46 dharmāṇām *codd.* (dharmām D) 4.47 uccārya *codd.* (ucārya C, uccāya D) 4.48 mantrī *codd.* (matrī CD) 4.56 prṣṭha A : prṣṭa β 4.57–58 bodhicittam AγE : bodhicitta Č 4.58 vaiyava *codd.* (naiyava J) 4.60 ākāśadeśa *codd.* (ākāradeśa J) 4.62 sahasra *codd.* (sahasram E) ♦ bhadram *codd.* (bhadra J) 4.65 gatvā *codd.* (śatvā H) 4.66 saṃśodhya *codd.* (suśodhya F) 4.67 ca *codd.* (ra H) 4.68 cintayet *codd.* (cittayet F) 4.69 kṣetra AJHE : kṣatra CD : kṣetre F 4.70 durdharṣam AJF : dudharṣam EDH 4.71 śuklam *codd.* (śukla A) 4.73 caityam AγČ : caitya E ♦ dayam *codd.* (dayām E) 4.75 bhūmim *codd.* (bhūmīm E) ♦ adhiṣṭhet *codd.* (adhiṣṭhet E, -ṣṭhat F, *illeg.* D) 4.78 caturaśram AJH : caturaśra EDF ♦ dvāram AγČ : dvāra E ♦

catus *codd.* (catu CD) 4.79 paṭṭa *codd.* (paṭū C) ♦ srak *codd.* (sraś C, srajaś E)
 4.83 varṇaiś *codd.* (varṇeś C, varṇaś D) 4.89 kuryāt *codd.* (kṣaryāt F) ♦ samāsenā
codd. (mamābhena F) 4.90 kuryād *codd.* (kuryā F) ♦ saṃdhiṣu β : sadhiṣu A
 4.92 devatānām *codd.* (devatātām F) 4.93 madhye *codd.* (madhya J) ♦ āsanam AγJE
 : āsatam CD 4.96 gajāsanam *codd.* (gajāsana D) 4.100 mahāvairocanam AJγ :
 mahāvairocana εD 4.101 cittam *codd.* (cintam D) 4.102 mukhānām *codd.* (mukhām E)
 4.104 ābharaṇam *codd.* (ābharaṇaśm A, āsaraṇam C, ābharaṇaś H) 4.106 vairocanam
codd. (vailocanam E) ♦ catur *codd.* (catu F) 4.107–8 pannam ādibuddham *codd.*
 (pannam < ~4 >m ādibuddham C) 4.108 pañcānanam iti om. E 4.110 varṇopetaṃ
codd. (varṇopataṃ C) 4.111 haritam *codd.* (haritam F) ♦ śvetam *codd.* (śveta F)
 4.112 vicitra *codd.* (vicāitra E) 4.113 caturdhā *codd.* (catudhā C) 4.114 karair AεH :
 karai ĆF 4.119 girām *codd.* (garām H) 4.120 sambandhaḥ *codd.* (sabandhaḥ A) ♦
 ṣaṇ *codd.* (ṣaṭ A) 4.121 vakṣyamāṇa AJ : vakṣamāṇa εγD ♦ petām *codd.* (petā D)
 ♦ kimātmikām *codd.* (< >tmikām F) ♦ dvayam *codd.* (hr̥ṣṭam F) 4.122 grāhakaṃ
codd. (grākamś H, gāhakaṃ F) 4.124 sma *codd.* (smaḥ A) 4.124–125 kimviśiṣṭām
codd. (kimviśiṣṭam J) 4.132 amṛta *codd.* (amṛ C) ♦ dvitīyā *codd.* (dviyā F; dvitīyā F^c)
 4.133 gagana *codd.* (gagaṇa C) ♦ gaganabhūmi *codd.* (gagaṇabhūmi CF) 4.134 sā
 manoramā *codd.* (so manāramā F) 4.137 ṣaṣṭhi AJFE : ṣaṣṭi CDH 4.140 upamā *codd.*
 (u>>>>>pamā A) 4.141 sarvopamā *codd.* (sarvopramā C) 4.142 anuttarā *codd.*
 (anuttaro F) 4.144 yogi *codd.* (yāmi F) ♦ prapūriketi *codd.* (prapūrikati H)
 4.145 pariniṣpannā *codd.* (pariniṣpanno D) 4.147 buddhānām *codd.* (buddhānāms J) ♦
 tryadhva *codd.* (adhva E) 4.148 buddhānām *codd.* (buddhānā C) 4.149 buddha *codd.*
 (om. F) 4.152 hr̥daye *codd.* (hr̥dagre J, hr̥daya F) 4.155 pratītyotpāda *codd.*
 (pratītyātpāda C, pratītpāda D) 4.156 catur *codd.* (catu CD) 4.158 sattvasya *codd.*
 (sabhṛsya F) ♦ mūla *codd.* (mūlam E) ♦ sitavarṇā *codd.* (sitavarṇe F)
 4.159 mekhalāyām *codd.* (meṣalāyām F) 4.162 varṇa *codd.* (varta J) 4.164 mūrtaye
codd. (mūrteye C) 4.165 om vāgīśvarāya Aδ : vāgīśvarāya γ 4.168 bhagavan *codd.*
 (bhagavata E) 4.170 āḥ *codd.* (jñāḥ E) 4.175 samāpannam Aγε : pannam Ć 4.176

śāntarasopetam Ay (śāntam- H) : śāntasopetam ḍ (śāntarsepetam C) 4.177 vibhāvya
codd. (vibhāvyaḥ CF) 4.182 gabhastimanti *codd.* (garbhasti F, gabhastirmālāmta E) ♦
 vicintya *codd.* (vicintyā F) 4.183 raśmibhiḥ *codd.* (raśmibhi D) 4.184 raśmayaś AJy :
 raśmaya Dε 4.186 kṣetrāṇi *codd.* (kṣatrāṇi CD) ♦ teṣu AγE : tevu ζ
 4.187 kṣetreṣv *codd.* (kṣatreṣv C) 4.192 bodhisattvo(-vā F) AγE : bodhi ζ
 4.193 ālabayann *codd.* (ālabayann F) ♦ kāyena *codd.* (kāyeca A) 4.194 tadrūpam
codd. (tadrūpam tadrūpam J) 4.196 rūpakāyena *codd.* (rūkāyena A) 4.197 gaganatala
codd. (gagaṇata*a C) ♦ rūpa *codd.* (rūpaṃ D) 4.199 anena *codd.* (enena ε) 4.202
 pūrvam *codd.* (pūrva CD) 4.204 kārodbhavam α : kāraudbhavam B 4.207 aṣṭāsu Bβ :
 aṣṭasu A ♦ tīkṣṇāya α : tihṇāye B 4.208 tīkṣṇam α : tīṣṇa B 4.209 vastra *codd.*
 (vastram H) ♦ vāma *codd.* (vāmaṃ H) 4.210 khaḍga α : khaḍgaṃ B 4.211
 spharaṇa *codd.* (sphalaṇa CD) 4.212 saṃharaṇa α : saṃpharaṇa B 4.213 varṇam
 ABγE : varṇa ζ 4.215 pūrvavan ζ : pūrvavat ACγ : pūrvat B 4.217 odbhūtam α :
 audbhūtam B ♦ nīlavarṇam *codd.* (nīravarṇa C) 4.218 pañcacīram cīnapaṭṭa-
 paridhānam(-dhāna D) α : pañcavīnapaṭṭapanidhānam B 4.220 kuryād *codd.* (kuyād B)
 4.221 madhye *codd.* (madhya F) ♦ vairocanaṃ ABγE : vairocana ζ 4.222 pari-
 niṣpannam α : paripaniṣpannam B 4.223 mantrair *codd.* (mantrai BCD) 4.225 cīram
codd. (cīra CH) 4.226 vicitrā *codd.* (citrā E) 4.227 candram *codd.* (candra F, ca*ndra*
 B) 4.229 maṇḍala *codd.* (maṇḍa D, maṇḍalamaṇḍala E) 4.231 pūrvavan DE :
 pūrvavat BCJy ♦ cāreṣv *codd.* (cāraṣv CD) 4.233 kāyam Bγ : kāya ḍ
 4.234 śekharam BJHFE : śeṣaram CDF 4.235 taddhṛdi β : taddhṛ taddhṛdi B ♦
 candram β : ca*ndra* B ♦ dhyātvā *codd.* (dhyātvāt H) 4.239 mūlamantrādi *codd.*
 (mū< 4 > F) ♦ samyutam *codd.* (samyuktaṃ F; samyukaṃ H) 4.240 bijāni *codd.*
 (bijā F) 4.241 opetaṃ β : aupetaṃ B 4.243 omkāra *codd.* (*kāra C) 4.244 śveta β :
 śveja B 4.249 arapacanaṃ *codd.* (arapaṃcanaṃ C) 4.251 pāṇim Hε : pāṇi BFζ
 4.252 candropary *codd.* (candrepari CD) 4.254 kramaḥ *codd.* (krama J) 4.256 vedi-
 tavyāni β (viditavyāni F) : om. B ♦ māyājālā *codd.* (māyālā H) 4.257 āvalokinyām β
 : avilokinyām B 4.258 tisraḥ *codd.* (tisra DF)

Adhikāra 5

5.3 athedānīm *codd.* (athedānī F) 5.7 edānīm *codd.* (edānī DF) 5.8 varṇāgrya *codd.* (varṇagra H) ♦ ṛgryaḥ BJ : agryaḥ εDF : gragryaḥ H 5.9 mahāmś *codd.* (mahāś B) 5.14 yoginām *codd.* (yoginām E; om. B) 5.16–17 pratipakṣatayā *codd.* (pratikṣatayā H) 5.18 viparyāsābhi *codd.* (viparyāsobhi C) ♦ animittāpraṇihitā *codd.* (animitt< >hitā F) 5.23 vajrī *codd.* (vaṃjrī B, vajra F) ♦ tatra *codd.* (titra B) 5.25 varjita β : rjita B 5.26 tena *codd.* (sona D) ♦ jñānena β : jñānai B 5.27 sarvābhilāpa BCJ : sarvābhilāṣa DHF ♦ hetvagrya *codd.* (hetugrya γ) 5.28 abhilapanam abhilāpaḥ *codd.* (abhilapanam abhilāṣaḥ DH) ♦ abhilāpaḥ Jε : abhilāyaḥ B : abhilāṣaḥ Dγ 5.29 sarvābhilāpaḥ BEJ : sarvābhilāpa C : sarvābhilāṣaḥ Dγ 5.30 pradhānam *codd.* (pradhāna* B) ♦ sarvavāk β : sarvavāka B ♦ suprabhāsvara *codd.* (yaprabhāsvara γ) ♦ karma β : kamma B 5.31 sarvavāk *codd.* (sarvavāka B) ♦ yathā *codd.* (yayā J) 5.33 deśanāyās β : deśayās B 5.36 akṣaraiḥ *codd.* (akṣaraḥ F) 5.37 prakṛtyā β : prakṛbhā B 5.38 odaya *codd.* (ādaya F, edaya B) 5.39 dharmāmbana Bγ : dharmalabana(-ta D)δ ♦ kṛpādy *codd.* (kṛpā* B) 5.40 viparyāsāt *codd.* (viparyāsāta B) 5.41 pratyavekṣaṇā β : <>tyavekṣaṇā B 5.43 kramam β : krama B ♦ bhāvaṃ *codd.* (bhāva H) 5.45 atra β : a<> B ♦ cādāv Bεγ : <-->dāv ζ 5.47 ucyate β : acyateti B 5.51 mahārāgo BJH : mahārāgā εDF 5.52 ratimkara *codd.* (ratikara H) ♦ rāga Bγζ : rāca ε (rāga E^C) ♦ ratim *codd.* (rati D) 5.52–53 mahāsukhātmikām γζ : mahāsukhotmikām ε : mahālmikām B ♦ karotīti β : kamotīti B 5.53 ratimkaraḥ Jε : ratimkara DF : ratikaraḥ H : ratimka<>ḥ B 5.54 dveṣa β : dvetha B 5.57 sa ca om. J ♦ ādinām γJ : ādinām εD : ān<> B 5.57–58 ity arthaḥ γεJ : ity artha BD 5.58 adhikṛtyāha β : adhikṛtyāpha B 5.60 mahāmoho *codd.* (mahāmohā CF) 5.61 moho H : moha B : mohaḥ δF ♦ H reads *vairocanaṃ dhiyāṃ mohaḥ (ditto.)* after *dhiyāṃ moho* 5.62 mūḍha *codd.* (om. ε) 5.64 mahāmaheti *codd.* (maheti E) 5.66 caritān β : carritān B ♦ adhikṛtyāha *codd.* (adhikṛtyāhā B) 5.69 sarvalobhanisūdana iti *codd.* (sarva-mukhena sarvasamādhīhetutvāt sarvalobhanisūdana iti *ditto.* J) 5.70 pariśodhanārthatvāt *codd.* (śodhanārthatvāt J) 5.71–72 H repeats: *sūnyatādicaturvimokṣa mukhānām dharmā-*

dhātvāyatanamukhena sarvasamādhihetutvāt (*ditto.*) 5.73 bahirdhā *codd.* (bahirvā CD)
 5.74 śarīrānupalambha Bγϵ : śarīrāmupalambha ζ 5.75 lokādhyavasāya δ : lokasya /
 dhyavasāya B : lokāpyavasāya γ ◆ tata *codd.* (nata B) 5.76 samādhi *codd.* (samdhi
 H) 5.77 saukhyo β (sausyo C) : sokhā B ◆ mahāmodo *om.* F 5.78 vajrasattvaḥ BJ
 : vajrasattva DFϵ : vajrasattvaṃ H ◆ kāmyata *codd.* (kākota F) 5.79 saukhya β :
 saukha B ◆ rājaḥ *codd.* (rājraḥ B) 5.80 sādhuḥ β : sāyuh B 5.81 niṣpatter *codd.*
 (niṣpanter D, niṣpattar F) 5.82 upalambhādy β : uyalambhādy B ◆ adhiṣṭhānatvāt δF
 : ādhiṣṭhānatvāt H : edhiṣṭhānatvāt B ◆ viparyāsa Bγ : viparyosa DC : vipayosa E :
 viparyāse J 5.83 odayā AδH : ādayo F : audayā B 5.84 tad eva *codd.* (tad e C, tad
 evaṃ H) ◆ jñāne *codd.* (jñāna F) 5.85 paramārthaśūnyatā *codd.* (paramārthaḥ śūnyatā
 E) 5.86 parigrahāt α : paratuhāt B 5.88 rūpo *codd.* (rūpā F) ◆ varṇo α : varṇa B
 5.89 mahodāro *codd.* (mahādāro ϵ) 5.90 rūpaṃ *codd.* (rūpa ζ) 5.91 yasyāsau α :
 yasya / sau B 5.93 kṣetrā *codd.* (kṣatrā C) 5.95 mahad *codd.* (mad F) 5.96 maya
codd. (maye F) ◆ jñāna *codd.* (jāna E) 5.97 mahodāra α : mahodāna B ◆ yasyāsau
 α : masyāsau B 5.98 mahodāra α : mahādāra B 5.100 hāsaḥ α : phāsaḥ B
 5.101 lāti *codd.* (lāni E) 5.104 parikara α : parika B ◆ ātmakaṃ *codd.* (ātmaka J)
 5.105 mukhena AB : mu< >na γ : mu<-->na δ 5.107 niṣpatti *codd.* (niṣprati J)
 5.109 evātyantika ADγ : evābhyantika ϰ 5.110 anavarāgro β : anavārāgro A ◆
 avagrahād *codd.* (acagrahād A, avarāgrahāt H) 5.113 mayā Bβ : mayā* A ◆ virahāt
 α : virahot B 5.115 āṅkuśo α : āṅkuśau B 5.116 kīrtir Jγ : kīrti ABϵD ◆ jyotir
codd. (jyoti BD) 5.117 tatra *codd.* (trata B) ◆ vajra *om.* C 5.119 cāsau *codd.* (cāsāv
 A) ◆ prajñāyudha *codd.* (āyudha A) 5.120 āṅkuśo *codd.* (āṅkuśro B) ◆ 'graṇir
codd. (yaṇī J) 5.121 teṣām *codd.* (teṣāmm A) ◆ aṅkuśabhūta *codd.* (aṅkuśobhūta J)
 ◆ ivāṅkuśaḥ β : iva aṅkuśaḥ A 5.123 śreṣṭha *codd.* (śraṣṭha C) 5.125 nirdiṣṭānām α
 : niddiṣṭānām B ◆ svabhāvatvāt *codd.* (svabhāvatvot B) 5.126 lokadhātu *codd.*
 (lokaḥdhātur H) ◆ vyāpinī α : vyādhinī B ◆ kīrtir *codd.* (kīrti B) 5.127 mahājyotir
codd. (mahājyotiϵD) ◆ dyutir α : dyuti B 5.128 doṣānām *codd.* (doṣāṇo H) 5.131
 manaḥ α : mana B 5.132 jñāne *codd.* (jñāte J, jñāna F) 5.135 kramaḥ *codd.* (kramā J)

- 5.137 bala *codd.* (< ~2 >bala C) 5.142 jālikah *codd.* (jalikah B) 5.143 māyeti *codd.* (om. J) 5.144 vipulodāra *codd.* (-audāra B, -ādhāra F) ♦ mahāmś *codd.* (mahās B)
- 5.145 vidvān *codd.* (vidvāna B) 5.146 opārjanāt α : oyārjanāt B 5.147 kusīda ABF : kuśīda δ : kṣūśīda H 5.148 māyārthasādhakah *codd.* (mahāmāyārthasādhakah E^C)
- 5.150 māyāratih ABJH : māyāratī EDF 5.151 sakto AB : śakto β 5.152 māyendra β : māyendri A : māyaindra B 5.153 nirmāṇa α : nirmāśa B ♦ samūhaṃ *codd.* (samū* A) 5.155 draṣṭavyah *codd.* (illeg. A) 5.156 tataś ca α : tatraśra B 5.158 mukhena *codd.* (mukhera B) ♦ samasta *codd.* (saṃmasta B, samaṣṭa F) ♦ vighnopaśa-
ma α : cighnāyaśama B 5.159 caiṣām β : caiṣā A : vaṃṣām B 5.161 kausīdya *codd.* (kausīya H) 5.164 dhīro *codd.* (dhīrā F) 5.165 vajra *codd.* (vajrā C) 5.166 patir *codd.* (pati CF) 5.167 dharmābhiṣekātmaka β : dharmābhirṣekātmaka B 5.168 lokot-
krṣṭa BJγ : lokātkrṣṭa ED ♦ 'graṇīr *codd.* ('graṇī J) 5.169 śīla *codd.* (gala F) ♦ samādhāv *codd.* (samādhār B) 5.170 daśākuśala β : daśyakuśala B 5.171 śīladharaś *codd.* (ladharaś E) 5.175 vajranṛtyā Bδ : vajranṛtya(-tyah H²) γ 5.178 niṣpattau *codd.* (nivpattau B) 5.180 ābhibhūti *codd.* (ābhibhūtīr H) ♦ rahita β : raphita B
- 5.183 mahopāyah β : mahopāvaḥ B ♦ sāgaraḥ *codd.* (sāra C) 5.184 prajñayor Bγ : prajñāyor(-yo E) δ ♦ draṣṭavyah *codd.* (draṣṭevyah B) 5.185 cāyam *codd.* (cām B) ♦ dhūpā Fδ : ṣūpā B : dhūpaḥ H 5.187 stha BEJ : stho CDF : ṣṭhā H ♦ samādhiś *codd.* (samādhi J) 5.188 tasmimś *codd.* (tasmaimś E) ♦ tiṣṭhatīti *codd.* (tiṣṭhantīti J) ♦ mahac β : maphac B 5.189 dhyānaṃ *codd.* (dhyāna D, dhyānī B) ♦ mahattvaṃ J : mahatvaṃ *cett.* 5.190 praṇidhiyata *codd.* (-dhīyayata C, -dhiyayata E) 5.191 utpatteḥ AεJH : utpanteḥ B : utpatte D : utpa< > F ♦ mahopāya *codd.* (< >hopāya F)
- 5.192 mahopāyah *codd.* (mahopayah A) ♦ evopāyabalenā α : evopāyalenā B 5.193 ābhiprāya *codd.* (āhiprāya H) 5.196 avatāra *codd.* (āvatāra A) 5.197 svabhāvatvāt α : svabha / vatvāt B ♦ tayor *codd.* (ayor C) 5.199 bodhyaṅgeṣu α : bodhyaga B
- 5.201 sampratyaaya *codd.* (sapatyaaya B) ♦ kāraṇatvāt α : kāraṇatvāka B 5.204 maitrīmayo *codd.* (maitrīmeyo C, om. F) ♦ kāruṇiko ABDH : karuṇiko C : karuṇako E : om. F 5.205 dhīmān *codd.* (dhīmāṃ A) 5.206 maitrīmayo *codd.*

(maitrīmeṃyo C) ♦ maitraṃ ABy : maṃtraṃ CD : metraṃ E 5.208 evāmeṃyaḥ *codd.*
 (evāmayāḥ AF) 5.209 eka *codd.* (aṅka F) ♦ 'gradhīr *codd.* (gra 'dhīr B) 5.210 sā
codd. (so H) 5.210–211 mahākāruṇikaḥ *codd.* (mahāruṇikaḥ A; *corr.* A²) 5.211
 suviśuddha *codd.* (saviśuddha B) 5.212 bhagavān iti ABy : bhagavānn iti DE :
 bhagavānti iti C 5.213 mahatī ABey : mahātī C : mahānti D 5.215 mahopāyo *codd.*
 (mahopāya F) 5.216 mahopāyaḥ *codd.* (mahāpāyaḥ C) 5.216–217 mahāpaṇḍitaḥ
codd. (mahopāṇḍitaḥ B) 5.217 āśayānuśayajñatayā α : āśaya anuśayajñatayā B
 5.218 vego *codd.* (veśo H) 5.219 ākhyo α : ākho B 5.220 ṛddher *codd.* (ṛddhe F)
 5.222 sāgaramatiḥ ABE : sāgaramati CD : sāra*mati H : *om.* F 5.223 dhātu *codd.*
 (pātu F) 5.225 pratyeka *codd.* (pratyaka C, *om.* B 5.226 maharddhikaḥ β :
 maharddhiko A : *om.* B 5.228 sthānāsthāna *codd.* (sthānasthāna D) 5.229 parākramo
codd. (parākramā F) 5.231 sambhettā α : sambhetā B ♦ ghaṇaḥ *codd.* (ghaṇaḥ CDF)
 5.233 sthāma *codd.* (sthāna H, stāna B) 5.234 samyag α : myag B 5.236 sarvā *codd.*
 (sarva E) 5.238 nibiḍatvān *codd.* (nibidatvāt B) 5.239 śoka ABCE : śoga CF : śogata
 H 5.241 bhagavān *codd.* (bhagavāt B) 5.243 karotīti *codd.* (karobhīti A) 5.246
 nayārūḍho *codd.* (naylorūḍho H) 5.247 vidyās α : vi*dy*oś B 5.247 mahāvidyās
codd. (vidyās A) ♦ dhāraṇyo *corr.* : dhāraṇyaḥ *codd.* (dhāriṇyaḥ J) 5.250 saṃśodha-
 nāt *codd.* (saśodhanāt B) 5.252 tasyottamaḥ ABH : tasyottama FḌ 5.253 nayārūḍha
 ABJy : naylorūḍha DE ♦ gañjaḥ *codd.* (gajaḥ H) 5.256 nirvāṇayor *codd.* (nirvāṇayor
 anabhiṇayor H) 5.257 ādhigamān(-mon F) ABy : ādhigamā Ḍ 5.258 ānuttaryeṇa
codd. (ānurttaryeṇa F) 5.259 saṃgrhīta Bβ : saṃgrahīta A ♦ mahattvam *corr.* :
 mahatvaṃ *codd.* (maṃphatvaṃ B, mahatva F) 5.260 buddhā *codd.* (buddho γ) ♦
 bhagavantaḥ *codd.* (bhagantaḥ A) ♦ teṣāṃ ABJHE : taiṣāṃ CDF ♦ yānaṃ *codd.*
 (yāna J) 5.261 tatsahitānām(nā H) AByE : tatsattānaṃ J : tatsatānām D ♦ mahā-
 yānaṃ AB : mahāyānā β 5.262 ālambana *codd.* (ālambata F) 5.263 samudāgama
codd. (samuptagama C) 5.264 mahāyānaṃ *codd.* (mayānaṃ B) 5.265 trividhaṃ *codd.*
 (trividha J) 5.266 paridīpanā *codd.* (yaridīpanā B) 5.267 tayā *codd.* (tayo F) ♦
 laukika *codd.* (lokika CF) 5.269 tad yathā *codd.* (tasrathā A) 5.270 padair *codd.* (padai

CD) ♦ grahaṇaka *codd.* (gahaṇa B) ♦ vākyair *codd.* (vāvyair B) ♦ viśeṣaṇa *codd.* (viśeṣeṇa E) 5.271 jñāna *codd.* (jāna H) 5.272 śrīmatām *codd.* (śrīsematām C) 5.275 punar *codd.* (puna* C) ♦ āgatyā *codd.* (ogabhya A, āgasya B) 5.275–276 varṇoparañjitāni Aβ (varṇepa- H, carṇopa C) : varṇopariñjitāni B 5.279 bhagavato *codd.* (bhagato A, bhagavṛto J) 5.280 cūḍāmaṇiṃ *codd.* (cūśāmani BH) 5.282 āvartayiṣyati *codd.* (āvartayiṣyeti F) 5.285 mantrākṣara α : mantrakṣara B ♦ evānuśamsā *codd.* (evānāmsamsā A) 5.286 anyāṃś *codd.* (anyāś B) ♦ prāpsyati *codd.* (prāpṛyati J) 5.289 samudānīyā *codd.* (samadānīyā A, -nīyā H) ♦ abhisam *codd.* (adhisam E) 5.291 dharmadeśako *codd.* (dharmam deśako DH) ♦ daśadik AγČ : daśadig ε : daśadika B 5.293 kṛtānām *codd.* (kṛtānā D) 5.294 jñānasattva *codd.* (jñāsattva C) 5.295 trīṇi AB : trīṇi β ♦ sattvavajryādīnām α : sattvavadīnā B ♦ śāśvatā *codd.* (ṇāśvatā B) 5.298 caturdaśa *codd.* (catuṇdarśa H) 5.299 āmnāyaḥ α : āmnāya B 5.300 mantrārthāvalokinyām(-kinyā F) Bβ : mantrāvalokinyām A 5.301 ādhikāraḥ *codd.* (ādhikāra H)

Adhikāra 6. Text Collated to Establish the Stemma Codicum.*

lokottarās¹ ca skandhādiṣv² anātmādyadhimokṣappravṛttās³ tattvādhi-
gamappravibhāvitās⁴ ca // ata evāha madhyamakāvatāre⁵ candrakīrtiḥ //

deyapratigrāhakadātrṣūnyam⁶ lokottarā⁷ pāramiteti⁸ dānam⁹
nirucyate¹⁰ / tatra¹¹ yat¹² saṅgajātaṃ¹³ tal¹⁴ laukikī¹⁵ pāramiteti
5 nirdiṣṭam¹⁶ //

śrutacintābhāvanāmaya jñānodayakrameṇa¹⁷ sarvākārajñatādhigamapra-
karṣaparyantam¹⁸ etīti¹⁹ vigrhya²⁰ kvipi²¹ sarvāpahāriloṣe²² 'nityam²³

* The text collated for the purpose of establishing the *stemma codicum* covers 3 folios in MS A (33r6–36r6), commencing 2½ folios after the opening of the chapter (30v6).

Codd. Ω (B A F H E C D J K G); B, α (A F H E C D J K G); A, β (F H E C D J K G); γ (F H), δ (E C D J K G); ε (E C K G), ζ (D J).

- 1 lokottarās *codd.* (lokottaro F)
- 2 skandhādiṣv ABH : skandhādisu CDEFGKJ
- 3 anātmādy AH : an*o*tmādy B : nātmādy CDEFGKJ ♦ adhimokṣappravṛttās AB : avimokṣappravṛttā CDEFGKJ : avimokṣappravṛtya H
- 4 tattvādhiḡama AJ : tattvadhiḡama B : tattvādhiḡamana CDEFGHK ♦ pravibhāvitās B : pravṛttās *cett.*
- 5 madhyamakā ABE : mādhyamakā C^cDFHJ : mādhyakāma CK : mādhekāma G
- 6 deya *codd.* (daya F) ♦ pratigrāhaka AEFH : pratisrāhaka B : pravigrāhaka CJD : pravigāhaka KG ♦ dātrṣūnyam AB : dā<>ṣūnyam F : dānaṣūnyam H : dānaṣū CJ : dāṣūna C^c : dāneṣu DE : dātaṣū KG
- 7 lokottarā *codd.* : lokottaro H
- 8 pāramiteti ABFH : dānapāramiteti EJDC^{cmg} : dāramiteti CGK
- 9 dānam *codd.* (dāram H)
- 10 nirucyate AFHECDJKG : niru*dy*ate B
- 11 tatra *codd.* (tatrā KG)
- 12 yat *conj.* : ca A : ya B : yaj C¹DEFGHKJ
- 13 saṅgajātaṃ *conj.* : saṅg*i*jātaṃ B : jātasamgam ACDEFGHKJ
- 14 tal B : sā A : sa CDEFGHKJ
- 15 laukikī JCDEH : laukikī*r* A : laikikī B : lokikī F : lāikikī GK
- 16 nirdiṣṭam HFEJ : diṣṭam AB : nidiṣṭam D : nidiṣṭam C : nidiṣṭha KG
- 17 bhāvanāmaya *codd.* (vabhānāmaya KG) ♦ jñānodaya *codd.* (jñānādaya F) ♦ krameṇa ABHFJE : krameṇa jñānodaya CGK : jñānodayakrameṇa D
- 18 jñatādhigama A : jñatādhimātpāram B : jñatādhigamanāt CDEFGHKJ ♦ paryantam AF : paryantam H : yaryam B : prayantam CDGKJ : prayatnam E
- 19 etīti ABFH : atīti CDEGKJ
- 20 vigrhya ABH : vigrhyam CDGKJ : vighraḡam E : vigrh*y*am F
- 21 kvipi BH² : kṣipi A : kipi CDFGKJH : kimapi E
- 22 sarvāpahāriloṣe AB : sarvā(-rvām D)pahāralāpa CEGKJD : sarvāpahāralopa FH
- 23 'nityam *corr.* : anityam ACDEFGHKJ : 'nityad B

āgamaśāsanam¹ ity atuki² / tatpuruṣe³ kṛti bahulam ity aluki⁴ karma-
 vibhakteḥ⁵ kṛte⁶ / pāramir iti⁷ bhavati tadbhāvaḥ⁸ pāramitā / dānasya
 10 pāramitā⁹ dānapāramitā¹⁰ / evaṃ śīlādiṣv api yojyaṃ // tataś ca praviṣṭa-
 bhūmikānām¹¹ bodhisattvānām trikoṭipariśuddhilakṣaṇaṃ yad dānaṃ tad
 dānapāramitā / yat tu¹² pṛthagjanānām¹³ dānaṃ tad¹⁴ dānaṃ eva na
 dānapāramitā¹⁵ trikoṭipariśuddhajñānavirahāt¹⁶ / tataś ca dānādinām pāra-
 mitānām¹⁷ prajñāpāramitaiva¹⁸ cakṣur¹⁹ veditavyā // ata evāha madhya-
 15 makāvatare²⁰ candrakīrtiḥ /

ekena²¹ puṃsākṣimatā²² yatheṣṭaṃ

deśaṃ²³ samasto²⁴ 'ndhagaṇaḥ²⁵ sukhena²⁶ /

Codd. Ω (B A F H E C D J K G); B, α (A F H E C D J K G); A, β (F H E C D J K G); γ (F H), δ (E C D J K G); ε (E C K G), ζ (D J).

- 1 āgamaśāsanam *conj.* : āgamānuśāsanam A : āgamaśāsenam B : ārgamas āsanam CDEGHJK : ārgamasāšana < > F
- 2 ity atuki H : ity a*tu*ki B : ity atukim CDEGKJ : ity antaki A : < ~3 > F
- 3 tatpuruṣe AJFH AA[VI.3.14] : tatpurupe D : tanpuruṣe B : tadabhirūpe E : ta*bh*purupe CGK
- 4 aluki *codd.* (alaki GK)
- 5 vibhakteḥ AB : vibhakta CDEFGHJK
- 6 kṛte AB : kṛta CDEFGHJK
- 7 pāramir iti BFH : pāram iti A : pāramitār iti CDEGJK : pāramiteti H^c
- 8 tadbhāvaḥ AB : tadbhāva CDEFGJKH² : mahāva H
- 9 pāramitā AB : *om.* CDEFGHJK
- 10 dānapāramitā *codd.* (*om.* B)
- 11 praviṣṭa *codd.* (praviṣṭaḥ E)
- 12 yat tu *conj.* : yas tu A : ya tu B : yatra CDEFGHJK
- 13 pṛthagjanānām ACDEJHKG : pṛthagjanānī F : pṛthakunānām B
- 14 dānaṃ tad AB : tu CDEFGHJK
- 15 na dānapāramitā B : pāramitā ACDEFGHJK
- 16 pariśuddha AB : pariśuddhi HFDJECGK
- 17 pāramitānām *codd.* (paramitānām G)
- 18 pāramitaiva *codd.* (pāramiteva B)
- 19 cakṣur ABJ : cakṣura CDEFGHK
- 20 madhyama *codd.* (madhya A; madhyama A^{cmg})
- 21 ekena AB : etena CDEFGHJK
- 22 puṃsākṣimatā A : puṃsā CDEGHJK : puṃso F : ya*n*sākṣimatā B
- 23 deśaṃ A : deśa BCDEHJKG : de*s*am F
- 24 samasto *codd.* (samaste E; samasta J)
- 25 'ndhagaṇaḥ AB : tvagaṇā CDEFGJK : tvagaṇā H
- 26 sukhena *codd.* (sukhenah A)

ākṛṣyate tadvad¹ ihākṣihīnān²

ādāya³ dhīr yāti⁴ guṇāñ⁵ jīnatvam // iti //

- 20 tad evambhūtā⁶ daśapāramitāḥ prāpto 'dhigato⁷ yo⁸ bhagavān sa
tathoktaḥ // tatrāśraya⁹ ādhāraḥ / tāsām eva daśānāṃ pāramitānāṃ ādhāra-
rūpatvāt¹⁰ tadādheyatvāc¹¹ ca / tad¹² etad uktaṃ bhavati /

anyonyādhārādheyasambandhāt¹³ pratītyasamutpādārthaḥ¹⁴ sūcito
bhavati / iti¹⁵ //

- 25 daśapāramitāsuddhir iti trikoṭipariśuddhitvād¹⁶ deyaḍāyakapratigrāhakā-
nupalabdhir¹⁷ āsām¹⁸ pāramitānām¹⁹ iti //

daśapāramitānaya iti daśaiva²⁰ pāramitā nayo mārga upāyo yasyāsau²¹
sa²² tathoktaḥ²³ //

Codd. Ω (B A F H E C D J K G); B, α (A F H E C D J K G); A, β (F H E C D J K G); γ (F H), δ (E C D J K G); ε (E C K G), ζ (D J).

- 1 tadvad ABE : tadvā*dd* CDHJ : tadvā*dd* F : tadvah GK
- 2 ihākṣihīnān ABHECGK : ihākṣihīn DJ : ahākṣihīnān F
- 3 ādāya AB : ādaya CDEFGHK : ādayaḥ J
- 4 dhīr yāti AFHCDEJGK : vīr yadi B
- 5 guṇāñ conj. : guṇām codd.
- 6 evambhūtā ABJ : evambhūtāḥ CDEH : edhabhūtoḥ F : evambhūtāṃḥ GK
- 7 prāpto 'dhigato AB : prāptādhigamo EJ : prāptādhigato CDGFHK
- 8 yo ABH : om. CDEFGJK
- 9 tatrāśraya ABJ : tatrāśaya CDEFGHK
- 10 ādhārarūpatvāt ABJ : ārarūpatvāt CDEFGHK
- 11 tadādheyatvāc ACDEFHGKJ : tadādhipatvāc B
- 12 tad codd. (tata B)
- 13 anyonyādhārādheya AB : anyonyādhārāya CDJKHG : nyodhārāya E : anyānyā-
dhāreya F ♦ sambandhāt em. : sandhāt A : sabandhāt A^{cmg} : sambadhāt B :
sambandhā CDJEFH : sambadhā GK
- 14 pratītya codd. (pratyamtya B) ♦ ārthaḥ codd. (ārthara F)
- 15 bhavati / iti corr. : bhavati iti A : bhavati CDEFGHJK : taratīti B
- 16 pariśuddhitvād conj. : pariśuddhatvād AB : pariśuddhatvā CDEGKFH : pari-
śuddhitvā JH²
- 17 deyaḍāyaka codd. (dayadāyeka F; diyadāyaka H) ♦ upalabdhir AB : upa-
labdhī DJHK : upala*bdhit* F : upalamdhī E : upala*mdh*it C : upala*bdh*it G
- 18 āsām codd. (āsā DHJ)
- 19 pāramitānām codd. (pāramitām DHJ)
- 20 daśaiva AB : daśeva CDEGJK : om. H ♦ daśaiva → sa tathoktaḥ om. H (***pā-
ramitā nayo mārga upāya yasya sa tathokta*m*ḥ suppl. H^{2mg})
- 21 yasyāsau codd. (yasyā J; yasya H²)
- 22 sa codd. (om. A)
- 23 tathoktaḥ AB : tathokta*m*ḥ H² : tathoktam iti CDEFGJK : om. H

- tāḥ¹ punar bhūmiṣu yojyāḥ² / tad yathā pramuditāyāṃ bhuvi dānapāra-
 30 mitā / atiriktataro³ bhavatīti⁴ / vimalāyāṃ⁵ śīlapāramitā / prabhākaryāṃ⁶
 kṣāntipāramitā / arcīṣmatyāṃ vīryapāramitā / sudurjayāyāṃ⁷ dhyānapāra-
 mitā / abhimukhyāṃ prajñāpāramitā / dūraṅgamāyāṃ upāyapāramitā /
 acalāyāṃ praṇidhipāramitā⁸ / sādhumatyāṃ balapāramitā⁹ / dharma-
 meghāyāṃ jñānapāramiteti¹⁰ //
- 35 tatraitā¹¹ bhūmayo dharmanairātmyamaitryadhigamāviśeṣe¹² 'pi
 dānapāramitādiviśuddhyadhiṣṭhānato¹³ viśeṣākhyāṃ¹⁴ pratilabhante //
 audāryaṃ tu praṇidhānabalād āsām anantam¹⁵ asādhāraṇaṃ ca sarva-
 śrāvakādibhir¹⁶ iti // tatra bhūmir iti jñānasyāvasthā¹⁷ bhūmir¹⁸ gocara iti
 yāvat¹⁹ / tatra bodhyadhigamaviśeṣād²⁰ uttarottarajñānapratiṣṭhāyogena²¹

Codd. Ω (B A F H E C D J K G); B, α (A F H E C D J K G); A, β (F H E C D J K G); γ (F H), δ (E C D J K G); ε (E C K G), ζ (D J).

- 1 tāḥ ABH² : tā CDEFGHJK ♦ Before tā CDEGJK marks '2'. J inserts NS44.
- 2 yojyāḥ AB : yojyā CDEFGHJK
- 3 atiriktataro A : atiriktatarā CDEFGHJK : atiriktatamā B
- 4 bhavatīti *corr.* : bhavati iti CDEFGHJK : bhavati AB
- 5 vimalāyāṃ *codd.* (vimalāṃ F)
- 6 karyāṃ *codd.* (*d*āyāṃ C; kayāṃ GK)
- 7 sudurjayāyāṃ *codd.* (sudurjayāṃ B)
- 8 praṇidhi *codd.* (praṇi FH; praṇidhi H²)
- 9 bala *codd.* (bara GK)
- 10 pāramiteti B : pāramitā iti *cett.*
- 11 tatraitā AB : tatretā CDEGJK : tatratā F : tatreta J
- 12 dharma *codd.* (verma A) ♦ maitryadhigamā A : maitrā< >gamā B : maitrādhi-
gamā CDEFGHJK
- 13 viśuddhya AB : viśuddhyā CDGHJKEF ♦ ṣṭhānato *codd.* (ṣṭhātato F; ṣṭhānat-
ato E)
- 14 viśeṣākhyāṃ AB : viśeṣākhyāṃ CDEFGHJK
- 15 anantam *codd.* (ānantyaṃ B; antam E)
- 16 śrāvakādibhir ABFH : śrāvakābhir CDEGJK
- 17 jñānasyāvasthā AB : jñānasya avisthā H² : jñānasyavisthā CDEGK : jñānabhāvi< >
FH : jñānasyaniṣṭhā J
- 18 bhūmir AB : bhūmi CDEFGHKJ
- 19 yāvat ABFH : yāvan CDEGJK
- 20 bodhyadhigama A : bodhigama B : vākadhigamya CDEGJK · < >dhigama F :
vāgadhiḡam*y*a H ♦ viśeṣād AB : viśeṣān *cett.*
- 21 uttarottara ABFHE : uttarotta CDGJK

- 40 tattajjñānaguṇādhārayogena¹ ca bhūmaya ity ucyante² // sarvatra sattva-
dhātoḥ sāmānyalakṣaṇatvād³ yato dharmadhātuvinirmukto na kaś cid
dharmo⁴ 'stīti tata⁵ ātmasamatām⁶ pratilabhante⁷ nairātmyāviśeṣāt⁸ / ekam⁹
api¹⁰ taj¹¹ jñānam¹² daśety ucyate / avasthāviśeṣāt // ata āha

daśabhūmiśvaro nātho¹³ daśabhūmipraṭiṣṭhita¹⁴ iti / (44ab)

- 45 daśānām pramuditādinām¹⁵ bhūmīnām īśvaro¹⁶ 'dhipatir¹⁷ ity arthaḥ / sa
yasyām¹⁸ yasyām¹⁹ bhūmau²⁰ dānādipāramitānām²¹ vaśitvalābhāt²²

Codd. Ω (B A F H E C D J K G); B, α (A F H E C D J K G); A, β (F H E C D J K G); γ (F H), δ (E C D J K G); ε (E C K G), ζ (D J). Lacking F (*om.*) H (*lac.*), lines 43–48, [nairā]tmyāviśeṣāt → praṭiṣṭhita iti // [daśa jñānāni]. {For MS F nairā concludes fol. 40v; daśa jñānāni starts fol. 41r}.

- 1 tattaj conj. : tatat A : tanta B : tatra DEFGHJK : *tra C ♦ guṇādhāra A : guṇādhara B : samādhāna CDEGHJK : *illeg.* F ♦ yogena codd. (jogena A; *illeg.* F)
2 ucyante AB : ucyate CDEFHJ : ucyamte KG
3 sāmānyalakṣaṇatvād ABD^c : sāmānya<-->tvād CDEGJK : sāmānyatvād FH
4 dharmo codd. (*dh*armo CE)
5 tata AB : atra CDEFGHJK
6 ātmasamatām AB : ātmasamatā CDHJKGF : ātmasatā E
7 pratilabhante codd. (pratilabhate B; pratilabha*e FH)
8 nairātmyā AB : nairātmya CDGEK : naigamya JH² : nairā F : nai*< > H ♦ viśeṣāt ABEKH : niśeṣāt CDGJ : *om.* F ♦ [nairā]tmyāviśeṣāt → praṭiṣṭhita iti // [daśa jñānāni] *om.* F; *lac.* H
9 ekam AB : evam cett. (*om.* F; *lac.* H; *suppl.* H²)
10 api AB : avi D^c : a< > CDEGH²JK : *om.* F : *lac.* H ♦ evaṃ a< ~ 10 > t // ata āha CDEGH²JK (vi ta jñāna daśety ucyate / avasthāviśeṣāt *suppl.* D^c)
11 taj B : ta D^c : *om.* cett.
12 jñānam AB : jñāna D^c : *om.* cett.
13 daśabhūmiśvaro nātho AD^{cmg} : daśabhūmiśvarau nātho B : daśabhūmi<-->pādā CDEGH²JK : *om.* F : *lac.* H
14 daśabhūmipraṭiṣṭhita ABD^c : <-->praṭiṣṭhita CDJEGH²K : *om.* F : *lac.* H
15 ādinām codd. (*lac.* H; *suppl.* H²; *om.* F)
16 bhūmīnām īśvaro A² : bhūmiśvaro ABD^{cmg} : bhūmīnāmanā<-->śvara CDEGH²JK : *om.* F : *lac.* H
17 'dhipatir BD^{cmg} : dhipatir A : jivapattir CDEH²J : jivapatir GK : *om.* F : *lac.* H
18 sa yasyām A : sarvasyā CDEGH²K : sarvasyām J : tasmāt B : *om.* F : *lac.* H
19 yasyām A : tāsā B : *om.* CDEGH²JKF : *lac.* H
20 bhūmau codd. (*om.* BF; *lac.* H; *suppl.* H²)
21 dānādi A : dānadi B : dānādinām CGKEJ : dānādinām H² : dānādinā D : *om.* F : *lac.* H ♦ pāramitānām CGKDEH²J : pāramitādinām AB : *om.* F : *lac.* H
22 vaśitvalābhāt A : bhūmilābhāt B : vāśatvaṃ lābhāt CDEGJKH² : *om.* F : *lac.* H

nātha¹ ity ucyate² / tās³ eva daśabhūmiṣu pratiṣṭhānāt⁴ pratiṣṭhita iti //

daśa jñānāni dharmajñānam anvayajñānam⁵ paracittajñānam⁶ samvṛti-
jñānam duḥkhajñānam⁷ samudayajñānam nirodhajñānam mārgajñānam⁸
50 kṣayajñānam anutpādayajñānam ceti //

dharmajñānam katamat / kāmapratisaṃyukteṣu saṃskāreṣu⁹ yad
anāsravaṃ^{10*} jñānam / kāmapratisaṃyuktānām saṃskārāṇām hetau¹¹ yad
anāsravaṃ jñānam / kāmapratisaṃyuktānām saṃskārāṇām nirodhe yad
anāsravaṃ¹² jñānam¹³ / kāmapratisaṃyuktānām^{14*} saṃskārāṇām prahā-
55 nāya¹⁵ mārge yad anāsravaṃ¹⁶ jñānam // api ca dharmajñāne¹⁷ dharmā-

Codd. Ω (B A F H E C D J K G); B, α (A F H E C D J K G); A, β (F H E C D J K G); γ (F H), δ (E C D J K G); ε (E C K G), ζ (D J). Lacking F (*om.*) H (*lac.*), lines 43–48, [nairā]tmyāviśeṣāt → pratiṣṭhita iti // [daśa jñānāni]. {For MS F *nairā* concludes fol. 40v; *daśa jñānāni* starts fol. 41r}.

- ¹ nātha AB : nā<→ CDEGH²JK : nāpa D^c : *om.* F : *lac.* H ♦ nā< ~7 >daśa-
bhūmiṣu CDEGH²JK (pa ity ucyacyate tāny eva *suppl.* D^c)
- ² ucyate B : ucyacyate D^c : ukte A : *lac. cett.* (*om.* F)
- ³ tās AB : tāny D^c : *lac. cett.* (*om.* F)
- ⁴ pratiṣṭhānāt A : praṣṭhānāt B : pratiṣṭhitāt DEH²J : prati<→tāt CGK : *om.* F : *lac.* H
- ⁵ anvaya ABJ : advaya *cett.* ♦ jñānam *codd.* (jñāna FH)
- ⁶ paracitta *codd.* (parivartta F; p*** H)
- ⁷ duḥkhajñānam ABCDJEFKH² : *om.* GH
- ⁸ samudayajñānam nirodhajñānam mārgajñānam *om.* A (*suppl.* A^{2mg})
- ⁹ saṃskāreṣu ABDECJH² : < 3 >ṣu FH : svaskāreṣu GK
- ¹⁰ anāsravaṃ ABHF : anāsrava CDEJ : ānāścava KG
- ¹¹ hetau AB : heto CDEGJK : hetoḥ H² : < > HF
- ¹² yad anāsravaṃ *codd.* (yanāsravaṃ CGK)
- ¹³ jñānam (jñāna F)
- ¹⁴ DH place kāmapratisaṃyuktānām saṃskārāṇām prahāṇāya mārge yad anāsravaṃ
jñānam after kāmapratisaṃyukteṣu saṃskāreṣu yad anāsravaṃ jñānam (line 51–2).
- ¹⁵ prahāṇāya *codd.* (*om.* A)
- ¹⁶ anāsravaṃ *codd.* (anāsthavaṃ G)
- ¹⁷ dharmajñāne *codd.* (dharmajñānai B)

jñānabhūmau ca yad anāsravaṃ¹ jñānam² idam ucyate³ dharma-
jñānam //

anvayajñānam katamat⁴ / rūpārūpyapratisaṃyukteṣu saṃskāreṣu yad
anāsravaṃ jñānam / rūpārūpyapratisaṃyuktānām⁵ saṃskārāṇām⁶ hetau⁷
60 yad anāsravaṃ jñānam / rūpārūpyapratisaṃyuktānām⁸ saṃskārāṇām⁹
nirodhe yad anāsravaṃ jñānam / rūpārūpyapratisaṃyuktānām¹⁰ saṃskārā-
ṇām prahāṇāya mārge yad anāsravaṃ¹¹ jñānam / api¹² ca¹³ khalv¹⁴
anvayajñāne¹⁵ anvayajñānabhūmau¹⁶ ca¹⁷ yad¹⁸ anāsravaṃ¹⁹ jñānam idam
ucyate 'nvayajñānam²⁰ //

Codd. Ω (B A F H E C D J K G); B, α (A F H E C D J K G); A, β (F H E C D J K G); γ (F H), δ (E C D J K G); ε (E C K G), ζ (D J).

- 1 anāsravaṃ ABFH : anāśrava CDEGJK
- 2 jñānam codd. (jñānas KG)
- 3 ucyate < ~15 > pratisaṃyukteṣu FH (dharmajñānam / rūpārūpya suppl. H²)
- 4 anvayajñānam katamat ABD^c : advayajñānam katamat E : < --- > JD^a : < > HF : < --- > CGK : om. H²
- 5 pratisaṃ codd. (pratiṣaṃ GK) ♦ rūpārūpyapratisaṃyuktānām saṃskārāṇām hetau yad anāsravaṃ jñānam om. B ♦ rūpārūpyapratisaṃyuktānām saṃskārāṇām hetau → nirodhe yad anāsravaṃ om. FH
- 6 saṃskārāṇām codd. (skārāṇā KG)
- 7 hetau AFH : heto CDEGJK : om. B
- 8 rūpārūpyapratisaṃyuktānām codd. (rūpārūpratisaṃyuktānā GK)
- 9 saṃskārāṇām AFHCDEJ : saṃskārādinām B : saskārāṇām GK
- 10 saṃyuktānām codd. (saṃyuktānām om. B)
- 11 anāsravaṃ codd. (anāsravaṃ F)
- 12 api AB : atha CDEFH²J : ya atha GK : om. H ♦ api ca → ucyate 'nvayajñānam om. H (atha khalu dvayajñāneṣu anvayajñāneṣu bhūmau yad āsravaṃ jñānam idam ucyate / anvayajñānam / suppl. H^{2mg})
- 13 ca AB : om. CDEGHJKH²
- 14 khalv AB : khalu CEFH²JKD : om. H
- 15 anvayajñāne A : dvayajñāneṣu CDEFGH²JK : om. BH
- 16 anvayajñāna AB : anvayajñāneṣu CDFH²J : advayajñāneṣu E : anvayajñāniṣu GK : om. H
- 17 ca ABF : om. CDEGHJKH²
- 18 yad codd. (om. F)
- 19 anāsravaṃ ABE : āsravaṃ CDGJK : nāsravaṃ F : āsravaṃ H² : om. H
- 20 'nvayajñānam corr. : anvayajñānam ACDFGH²JK : advayajñānam E : atvaya-jñānaḥ B : om. H

65 paracittajñānaṃ katamat / yaj¹ jñānaṃ bhāvanāmayam² bhāvanā
phalam / bhāvanāmārgasya³ pratilabdham⁴ avihīnam⁵ / yena⁶ jñānena
kāṃāvacarān⁷ rūpāvacarān⁸ samavahitān⁹ saṃmukhībhūtān¹⁰ pareṣāṃ¹¹
cittacaitasikān¹² dharmān¹³ jñāti^{14*} / ekatyāms¹⁵ cānāsravān¹⁶ dharmān¹⁷
idam ucyate paracittajñānam //

70 saṃvṛtijñānaṃ katamat / sāsravā¹⁸ prajñā^{19*} //
duḥkhajñānaṃ katamat / pañcopādānaskandhān²⁰ anityato duḥkhataḥ²¹

Codd. Ω (B A F H E C D J K G); B, α (A F H E C D J K G); A, β (F H E C D J K G); γ (F H), δ (E C D J K G); ε (E C K G), ζ (D J).

- 1 yaj AHFDEJCGK : sa B
- 2 mayam codd. (maya GK)
- 3 mārgasya AB : magamya CDEGHJK : < > gamye F
- 4 pratilabdham codd. (pratila*py*am B)
- 5 avihīnam ABHF : avihīnā CDEGJKH²
- 6 yena AB : pana CDE : para JH² : yana GK : yad F : yada H
- 7 kāṃāvacarān AB : kāṃāvacarāt CDEGJK : kāṃāvacarā F : kāṃāvacarā* H
- 8 rūpāvacarān AB : rūpāvacarāt CDEFGHJK
- 9 samavahitān ABD^c : sasatvahitān E : <--> satvahitān CGJKH² : satvahitān D :
< > hitāya HF
- 10 saṃ(sa- A)mukhībhūtān ABD^c : sa<-- -- -->nāt E : saṃmukhī< > HF : saṃ-
mukhī< >nāt H² : saṃ<-- -->nāt DJ : saṃ<-- -->ī<-->nāt C : saṃ // 1 // nāt KG
- 11 pareṣāṃ A : paraṣāṃ B : pare bhavanti pareṣāṃ CDEGH²JK : < > bhavanti
pareṣāṃ FH
- 12 caitasikān codd. (-kāna FGK)
- 13 dharmān codd. (dhamam KG)
- 14 jñāti codd. (jināti GK)
- 15 ekatyāms codd. (ekatyām F)
- 16 cānāsravān A : cāśravān B : cānyāmscavān CDEHJ : cānyāmscāvān GK : nyām-
ścavām F
- 17 dharmān AB : dhavān CDEHJGK : dhamān F
- 18 sāsravā AB : sāśra*dhv*ā cett.
- 19 prajñā AB : prajñā pari(parī- GK)jñeyam iti jñāti / samudaya prahīṇo na punaḥ pra-
hātavya(-tavyaḥ FH) nirodhaśākṣāt(-śākṣā GK) tvatā (*tr*to F vattā H) na punaḥ
śākṣātkartavyaḥ (śākṣāt om. HF; śākṣāt H²) / saṃvṛtijñānaṃ ceti CDEFGHJK
- 20 pañcopādāna ABDHJ : pañcaupādān ECFGK ♦ skandhān ABE : skandhāt CFD-
HJGK
- 21 duḥkhataḥ AB : duḥkha cett.

śūnyato 'nātmataś¹ ca² manasikurvato³ yad anāsravaṃ⁴ jñānam idam ucyate
duḥkhajñānam //

75 samudayajñānam⁵ katamat / sāsravaṃ⁶ hetuṃ⁷ hetutaḥ⁸ samudayataḥ
prabhavataḥ⁹ pratyayataś ca¹⁰ manasikurvato yad anāsravaṃ jñānam / tat¹¹
samudayajñānam¹² //

nirodhajñānam katamat¹³ / nirodhaṃ¹⁴ nirodhataḥ śāntataḥ praṇītato¹⁵
niḥśaraṇataś¹⁶ ca¹⁷ manasikurvato yad anāsravaṃ jñānam idam ucyate
nirodhajñānam //

80 mārgajñānam katamat / mārgaṃ¹⁸ mārgato¹⁹ nyāyataḥ²⁰ pratipattito²¹
nairyāṇikataś ca manasikurvato²² yad anāsravaṃ jñānam idam ucyate
mārgajñānam //

Codd. Ω (B A F H E C D J K G); B, α (A F H E C D J K G); A, β (F H E C D J K G); γ (F H), δ (E C D J K G); ε (E C K G), ζ (D J).

- 1 'nātmataś AB : nātmāna CDEJ : nātmata GFK : nātmataṃ H
- 2 ca AB : *om. cett.*
- 3 manasi *codd.* (manāsa F)
- 4 anāsravaṃ *codd.* (amasravaṃ B; anāsrava J)
- 5 samudayajñānam < ~48 > nirodhajñānam katamat HF (*ie.* katamat → tat samud-
ayajñānam // *om. FH*)
- 6 sāsravaṃ ABD^c : <---> CDEH²J : ni GK : *om. FH*
- 7 hetuṃ → prabhavataḥ *om. B*
- 8 hetutaḥ *codd.* (hetuta G)
- 9 prabhavataḥ AJ : prabhavatā CDEGK : prabhavata H² : *om. BFH*
- 10 pratyayataś ca ABD^c : <-----> CDEGH²JK : *om. FH*
- 11 tat *codd.* (tata B)
- 12 jñānam / tat samudayajñānam AB : *om. CDEGHJKFH²*
- 13 katamat *codd.* (kṛtamata B)
- 14 nirodhaṃ *codd.* (nirodha B)
- 15 praṇītato *codd.* (praśītato B; praṇīmato D)
- 16 niḥśaraṇataś ABHF : niśaraṇata CDEGJK
- 17 ca ABHF : *om. CDEGJK*
- 18 mārgaṃ A : mārga CDEFGHJK : *om. B*
- 19 mārgato ABHF : mārga CDEJ : māga GK
- 20 nyāyataḥ CDEGHJK : n*m*āyataḥ A : nyācyataḥ B : nyāyatā F
- 21 pratipattito ACDEFGH²JK : prativattito H : pratipattibhe B
- 22 nairyāṇikataś ca manasi ABD^c : nai< ~8 > FH : <-->nairyati<-->manasi CGK :
<-->nairyata<-->manasi E : <-->naiyāti<-->ta<-->manasi D : <-->naiyāti<-->ma-
nasi J : naiyāti<-->manasi H²

kṣayajñānaṃ katamat / duḥkhaṃ¹ me² parijñātaṃ³ iti jñāti samudayo⁴
 me⁵ prahīṇaḥ / nirodhaḥ sāksātkṛto⁶ mārgo⁷ me⁸ bhāvita⁹ iti^{10*} jñāti tad
 85 upādāya¹¹ jñānaṃ¹² darśanaṃ vidyā¹³ bodhiḥ prajñāloko^{14*} 'bhisamayāḥ¹⁵
 / idam¹⁶ ucyate kṣayajñānaṃ¹⁷ //

anutpādayajñānaṃ¹⁸ katamat / duḥkhaṃ me parijñātaṃ¹⁹ na punaḥ pari-
 jñeyam²⁰ iti jñāti samudayaḥ prahāṇo²¹ na punaḥ²² prahātavyaḥ / niro-
 dhaḥ sāksātkṛto na punaḥ sāksātkartavyaḥ / mārgo me bhāvito²³ na punar
 90 bhāvayitavya iti jñāti // tad upādāya²⁴ jñānaṃ²⁵ darśanaṃ vidyā bodhiḥ
 prajñāloko 'bhisamaya²⁶ idam²⁷ ucyate 'nutpādayajñānaṃ ity āha //

daśajñānaviśuddhātmā daśajñānaviśuddhadhṛg iti // [44cd]

Codd. Ω (B A F H E C D J K G); B, α (A F H E C D J K G); A, β (F H E C D J K G); γ (F H), δ (E C D J K G); ε (E C K G), ζ (D J). Lacking F, lines 85–92. Folio 42r ends ...*bodhiḥ pra*< >. Folio 42v is blank; folio 43, missing.

- 1 duḥkhaṃ AB : duḥkha *cett.*
- 2 me AB : ma *cett.*
- 3 parijñātaṃ AB : parijñānaṃ CDEGJK : patijñānaṃ FH
- 4 samudayo *codd.* (samudadayo A; samudayā F)
- 5 me AB : ye CDEGHJK : ya F
- 6 sāksātkṛto AB : sāksāt<-->tau CDEFGJK : sāksāttau H
- 7 mārgo *codd.* (mārgau EH)
- 8 me AB : ma CDFHJ : mamā GK : *om.* E
- 9 bhāvita *codd.* (abhāvita E; bhāvitadu KG)
- 10 iti *codd.* (iti na punar bhāvayitavya iti A)
- 11 upādāya ABFH : upāyasa CDEGJK
- 12 jñānaṃ AB : jñāna FH : tvana CDEGJK
- 13 vidyā ACDEGJK : vi*ghn*ā B : < > FH : vidhā H²
- 14 prajñāloko *codd.* (prajñā'loko A; pra< > F)
- 15 'bhisamayāḥ *corr.* : abhisamayāḥ AB : bhisamaya CEGJK : 'bhisamaya D : bhi-
 samaye H : *om.* F
- 16 idam *codd.* (dudaṃ GK)
- 17 kṣayajñānaṃ *codd.* (-jñānā H)
- 18 anutpādayajñānaṃ *codd.* (-jñāna H)
- 19 parijñātaṃ AB : parijñānaṃ CDEGJK : parijñāna H : *om.* F
- 20 parijñeyam → sāksātkartavyaḥ *om.* CDEGHJKF
- 21 prahāṇo A : prahā* B : *om.* *cett.*
- 22 punaḥ A : *om.* *cett.*
- 23 bhāvito *codd.* (bhāvita iti A; dhāṣito H)
- 24 upādāya AB : upāya *cett.*
- 25 jñānaṃ AB : jñāna *cett.*
- 26 prajñāloko 'bhisamaya A : prajñā'loko 'bhisamaya B : prajñālokābhisamaya CDEG-
 HJK : *om.* F
- 27 idam *codd.* (dam GK)

TEXTUAL NOTES

TEXTUAL NOTES

Chapter 1

- 1.0 om namo mañjughoṣasvāmine δ : om namas te varadavajrāya A :
 < ~12 > γ : rje btsun sgrol ma la phyag 'tshal lo {namas bhaṭṭārikāyai tārāyai}
Tib.[184.5.1]

The variation between these opening salutations suggests that they are scribal additions rather than part of Vilāsavajra's text. It is hard to view them as derived from an original that subsequently became corrupted. For example, A's reading cannot be seen as a corruption of δ's or vice versa. A's *om namas te varadavajrāya* probably alludes to NS 158a (*namas te varadavajrāgrya*), while δ's *om namo mañjughoṣasvāmine* is a common salutation to Mañjuśrī (though hardly necessary here since a salutation to Mañjuśrī immediately follows) and *Tib.* contains a translator's homage to Tārā. These salutations resemble the *praśasti* verses that precede the opening of some Buddhist *sūtras*.

- 1.1 jñānendum H^{2*} *Tib.*([184.5.2] ye shes zla): jñānendu Aβ (jñāne*du* C)
 āryamañjuśriyaṃ natvā jñānendum tryadhvatāyinam : dus gsum skyob
 pa'i ye shes zla // 'phags pa 'jam dpal phyag 'tshal te // *Tib.*

Tib.'s *zla* confirms the reading of *indu*, weighing against an argument for emending *jñānendu* to a more familiar word such as *jñānendra*. *Tib.* also supports the uncompounded form *jñānendum* insofar as the genitive *skyob pa'i* indicates that it takes *tryadhvatāyinam* to be in apposition to *jñānendum*. (*Tib.* could also be retranslated as *tryadhvatāyijñānendum*, though not as *jñānendu-tryadhvatāyinam*.) I take H's reading to be an result of contamination from outside α.

- 1.1 tryadhvatāyinam *em.* (*Tib.*) : tryadhvatāyinām A : pravatāyinīm γ (tryadhva-
 tāyinīm H²) : pradhvatāyinām δ (*dhvatāyinām E, tpradhvatāyinām C)

āryamañjuśriyam natvā jñānendum tryadhvatāyinam : dus gsum skyob
pa'i ye shes zla / / 'phags pa 'jam dpal phyag 'tshal te / / Tib.[184.5.2]

I emend to the masculine *tryadhvatāyinam* on the grounds that the word makes better sense as an epithet of Mañjuśrī rather than as an attribute of the Nāmasaṃgīti. Its position in the verse, before the *tathā* at the opening of the third *pāda*, which introduces the Nāmasaṃgīti as the second object of salutation, also suggests that the emendation is to be preferred. *Tib.* supports this in that it takes *dus gsum skyob pa* (*tryadhvatāyinam*) to be in apposition to *ye shes zla* (*jñānendum*) and thus related to Mañjuśrī.

- 1.4 ānyanibandhanam AḍH² : ānyatibandhanam F : ānyapibandhanam H : rnam
'grel gzhan Tib.[184.5.3]

sūtrābhīdharmapīṭakam vilokyānyanibandhanam AḍH² : mdo sde chos
mngon sde snod dang / / rnam 'grel gzhan yang bltas pa dang / /
Tib.[184.5.3]

The reading *-ānyanibandhanam* is problematic. It is witnessed by AḍH² and is thus almost certainly the reading of α. (F and H's *ti* and *pi* are explicable as corruptions of *ni*, and MS B is unavailable here.) However, if *nibandhanam* means 'treatise' one would expect a plural termination, as well as a conjunction (*api*, *ca* or *tathā*) as found in the preceding and subsequent parts of this opening list of acknowledgements. In terms of sense *-anyanibandhanam* is also suspect. Glossing it as a karmadhāraya ("other treatise[s]") gives an inappropriate meaning since no *śāstras* have been mentioned; only *tantras* and *sūtras*. The alternative, taking it as a tatpuruṣa ("treatise[s] of others"), is also unsatisfactory if taken as implying that works by named authors have already been referred to. Sense could be made here if the 'others' are taken to refer to anyone apart from the writer (ie. Vilāsavajra).

Tib. has *rnam 'grel* for *nibandhanam*. In the MVy there is no entry for *nibandhanam* but *rnam 'grel* is given for *vārttikam* ('critical gloss',

‘annotation’) (MVy 1454). The term *vārttikam*, however, is usually reserved for commentary on philosophical or grammatical works. Perhaps *rnam 'grel* was the best *Tib.* could do for *nibandhanam*. MVy 1450 gives *rnam par 'grel ba* for *vivaraṇam* (‘explanation’, ‘exposition’, ‘interpretation’, ‘gloss’, ‘comment’). Could *nibandhanam* be a corruption of *vivaraṇam*? The sense may be better – “the explanation of others” – and there would no longer be the problem of number. *Tib.* takes the compound as a karmadhāraya (*rnam 'grel gzhan*) – “other explanation” – which seems unlikely in this context. Also a karmadhāraya is, strictly speaking, ungrammatical and though pronouns like *anya* did come to be compounded in karmadhārayas such grammatical laxity is untypical of Vilāsavajra. *Tib.*’s *yang {api}* also deals with the problem of the lack of a conjunction.

A further possibility is that both the Skt. and *Tib.* are corrupt, the latter inheriting the corruption from its Skt. exemplar. (For discussion of *Tib.* inheriting error from its Skt. exemplar(s) see *Introduction to the Text*, section 4.4.) Reference to *śāstra* at this point appears out of place. The texts previously listed, and the two items immediately following (*jātakam cetivṛttam ca*) are all considered Buddhavacana, and their order of enumeration – from Yoga Tantra down to *itivṛtta* – can be taken as one of decreasing importance. However, the list contains no reference to the *vinaya*, which, as the third *piṭaka*, commonly follows any mention of the *sūtra*- and *abhidharmapiṭaka*. The extant reading could represent a corruption of a word fulfilling such a function. On the other hand, the listing of *jātaka* and *itivṛtta* might be taken as reference to the *vinaya* since in some divisions of Buddhavacana these two are placed under the heading of the *vinayapiṭaka* (cf. Lessing & Wayman, 1968, 57). If this were the case, this might after all be an appropriate place for reference to *bauddham śāstram*, since *laukikam śāstram* is mentioned later. (Against this, the

enumeration of Vijñānavāda and Madhyamaka – *vijñānavādam akhilam tathā madhyamakam ca yat* – might be taken as fulfilling any need for mention of *bauddham śāstram*.)

Prior to consultation of the Tibetan translation Prof. A. Sanderson suggested that *vilokyānyanibandhanam* could be a corruption of *vilokyāryanibandhanam*. This emendation, giving “treatises of the Āryas” (or “interpretation of the Āryas”), would make sense as denoting works by important commentators who were regarded as Āryas. Prof. Sanderson also pointed out that if *-nibandhanam* (or an emended reading) were to qualify *sūtrābhidharma-piṭakam* the need for a conjunction would disappear.

The issue of whether and to what extent *vilokyānyanibandhanam* is corrupt does not seem capable of ready solution. In lieu of any satisfactory alternative that can be supported I have kept it, though with no great confidence in its being correct.

- 1.13 *bodhicittam* A *Tib.D.* ([27v6] byang chub kyi sems) : < ~7 > *bodhicittaḥ* FC : < ~7 > *bodhicitteṃ* H (*ādarśajñānam bodhicittam* H²) : *ādarśanajñānam bodhicittaḥ* EC^c : *om*. D : byang chub kyi sems rdo rje {*bodhicittavajram*} *Tib.P.* [184.5.6] ♦ *bodhicittam* → *mahāvairocanasvabhāvena om*. D
bodhicittam śrīvajrasattvadvāreṇa A : byang chub kyi sems dpal rdo rje sems dpa'i sgo nas dang *Tib.D.* : byang chub kyi sems rdo rje dpal rdo rje sems dpa'i sgo nas dang *Tib.P.*

The hyparchetype α is likely to contain *bodhicittam*: it is the reading of A and H². The readings *ādarśajñānam* and *ādarśanajñānam* are scribal corrections filling marked lacunae. They are surely erroneous, and probably borrow from the chapter title *ādarśajñānam akṣobhyadvāreṇa*, which closely follows (NMAA 1, 14–15). *Tib.D.* supports *bodhicittam*. *Tib.P.* supports *bodhicittavajrah*, though *bodhicittavajrah śrīvajrasattvadvāreṇa* does not give any sense if *bodhicittavajrah* is the name of a deity.

Though *bodhicittam śrīvajrasattvadvāreṇa* gives sense, there are some problems. Vilāsavajra divides the NMAA into chapters following his chapter-divisions of the NS. With the exception of the present case, the NMAA chapter names correspond with his titles for the NS divisions. The fifth chapter of the NMAA, which corresponds to the present NS division, is called “The Vajradhātu-Mahāmaṇḍala of Bodhicittavajra” (*bodhicittavajrasya vajradhātu-mahāmaṇḍala-* NMAA 5, 300–301). The Nepalese NS MSS that have the chapter-divisions as enumerated by Vilāsavajra also describe the fifth chapter as comprising verses on the Vajradhātu-Mahāmaṇḍala (*vajradhātumahāmaṇḍala-gāthās caturdaśa NS.Dav. 52*).

One might thus expect more of a link between the name Vilāsavajra gives to the NS chapter and the corresponding NMAA chapter, which suggests that the reading *bodhicittam śrīvajrasattvadvāreṇa* may be a corruption of a longer original. That this may be the case is further suggested by the lacuna marked before *bodhicittam* in all the MSS except for A.

An emendation that straightforwardly incorporates the title of the fifth chapter of the NMAA is *bodhicittavajrasya vajradhātumahāmaṇḍalam śrīvajrasattvadvāreṇa*. This would mean that α (with *Tib.D.* following) at some point lost *-vajrasya vajradhātumahāmaṇḍala-* (with *Tib.P* somehow preserving *bodhicittavajra[sya]*). Although this emendation produces, on corruption, a lacuna after *bodhicitta* rather than before, it has the merit of mirroring the form of the following five titles of the NS chapters, those on the five *jñānas*, where each *jñāna* is explained via a particular Tathāgata (*mahāvairocanasvabhāvena*, *akṣobhyadvāreṇa*, *amitābhamukhena* etc.: lines 14, 15 & 16).

However, in these cases, the ‘explaining via’ is an account of the *pañca jñānāni*, seen as non-dual Awareness (characterised by the absence of any

subject-object dichotomy), being understood (and objectified) in more dualistic terms as the *pañca tathāgatāḥ*. While preserving the title of NMAA 5, emendation to *bodhicittavajrasya vajradhātumahāmaṇḍalam śrīvajrasattvadvāreṇa*, gives a meaning (“the Vajradhātu maṇḍala ... [is explained] via Vajrasattva”) that moves in the opposite direction: greater differentiation (duality) is worked out in terms of less differentiation (non-duality). This does not make good sense. The form needed is the reverse of this, ie. that Vajrasattva is explained as the Vajradhātumaṇḍala. (The Skt. cannot be read as saying that Vajrasattva is the nature of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala – this would require a *bāhuvrīhi*: *bodhicittavajrasya vajradhātumahāmaṇḍalam śrīvajrasattvasvabhāvam*.)

In the passage of the NMAA that follows this one, where the opening and closing words of each NS chapter are given, Vilāsavajra refers to the verses of the fifth chapter as being “The elucidation of Bodhicittavajra through the Great Maṇḍala of the Vajradhātu” (*vajradhātumahāmaṇḍaladvāreṇa bodhicittavajrasyābhidhānam* NMAA 1, 26–7). This makes it clear that Vilāsavajra sees the chapter as being about Bodhicittavajra, the hypostatisation of *bodhicitta*. If *codd.*’s *śrīvajrasattvadvāreṇa* is accepted, Vajrasattva is to be identified with Bodhicittavajra. If this is the case, then Vajrasattva can be seen as the embodiment of *bodhicitta* and the reading of A and *Tib.D* makes sense. It also follows the form of explaining non-duality in terms of duality found in the other chapter titles.

An emendment to *bodhicittavajram śrīvajrasattvadvāreṇa*, following *Tib.P.*, could make sense but only if *bodhicittavajra* is not seen as the name of a Buddha by Vilāsavajra. Unfortunately, there is no discussion of *bodhicittavajra* in NMAA 5, while in NMAA 3 the word is given (ambiguously) as the name of one of the six Buddha-families. Lacking a clear alternative and despite the

mismatch between the title given to the NS chapter and the corresponding NMAA chapter, I have accepted the reading of A, which can be seen to give good sense.

1.45 idam A : om. β Tib.

tad ekatra dvāṣaṣṭyuttaraśatagāthābhir adhyardhaśatenānuśamsā-granthena stutiḥ samagrā // idam ca bhagavataḥ sarvatathāgatajñānakāyasya mañjuśrījñānasattvasya nāmasaṃgīteḥ piṇḍārthaḥ A : tad ekatra dvāṣaṣṭyuttaraśatagāthābhir adhyardhaśatenānuśamsā-granthena ca bhagavataḥ sarvatathāgatajñānakāyasya mañjuśrījñānasattvasya nāmasaṃgīteḥ piṇḍārthaḥ β : de ltar de dag gcig tu bsdus nas tshigs su (su om. Tib.P.) bcad pa brgya drug cu rtsa gnyis rnams dang / yon tan brgya lnga bcu'i gzhung gis bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi ye shes kyi sku 'jam dpal ye shes sems dpa'i mtshan yang dag par brjod pa'i don bsdus pa'o // Tib.[185.2.6]

The choice of readings for this passage is between A and β, where *Tib.* follows β (B is unavailable). The punctuation of both A and *Tib.D.* indicates that the end of the passage marks the end of a section: *Tib.D.* has two double *shad* (vertical strokes), which are usually found at the end of a chapter; A has two double *daṇḍas* with a small circle in between (// o //). A has these before as well as after the passage.

A divides the passage into two sentences whereas β and *Tib.* have one. As a single sentence the passage is problematic: it is hard to see how either *tad ekatra* or the instrumentals, *-gāthābhir* and *-granthena*, connect with what must be the subject, *piṇḍārthaḥ*. If there are two sentences the *ca* following *-granthena* of β now introduces the second sentence, rather than linking the two preceding instrumentals. In terms of corruption, however, it is easier to understand the collapse of a sentence through scribal error than its expansion, unless there is an opportunity for insertion of additional material such as a gloss. As two sentences the sense is better: the first sentence makes good sense following the enumeration of the verses of each chapter of the NS; the second makes sense as

the conclusion of the forgoing material that starts at NMAA 1, 11 (*idānīm asyā nāmasaṃgīteḥ śarīravasthāpanam abhidhīyate /*).

It might be suggested that the latter sentence should go with what follows, that is as the opening sentence to the discussion of *sambandhaḥ*, *abhidheyam*, *prayojanam* and *prayojanaprayojanam*. (Such a proposal would require emendation of *idaṃ* to *idānīm*.) *Tib.*'s '*dir* {*atra*}' at the beginning of this following passage could be read as indicating a link with the present sentence and thus supporting this proposal (yet *Tib.* may be itself in error here since the *Skt.* reads *sarvatra* rather than *atra*). However, as 'summary meaning' or 'summary' the term *piṇḍārthaḥ* better describes the enumeration of the chapters of the NS with their titles. If the two sentences belong together, A's *idaṃ* can be retained, and understood to refer to the whole preceding passage on the divisions of the NS.

Taking the two sentences in this way also follows the uncharacteristically decisive punctuation. While the punctuation of the *Skt.* MSS and of *Tib.* is in general unreliable, here it is striking that both A and *Tib.D.* indicate that the sentence concludes a section of text. Also, *Tib.P.* gives two single *shad*, a convention normally used for indicating verse line or chapter breaks.

- 1.47 *sarvatra vākyārthasaṃśayena conj. (Tib.[185.2.7] 'dir tshig gi don the tshom gyis) : sarvatra vākārthasaṃśayena γ : sarvatrai(tre A)va hy arthasaṃśayena AH²ḍ (sarvatraiva hy arthasaṃśayena samśayena D)*

Tib.'s *tshig gi* supports *vāk* or *vākya*. Emendation to *vākārtha-* leaves the syllable *kā* in *γ*'s *vākārtha-* and also *hy* in *cett.* unexplained. The alternative, of emending to *vākyārtha-*, is preferable. The syllables *kya* and *hya* are close in Newarī script and *-kyā-* could corrupt to *-kā-* in *γ*. The reading *sarvatraiva* can be seen as a subsequent corruption (perhaps via A's *sarvatreva*) to give sense after the creation of *hy*. *Tib.*'s '*dir* supports *atra* rather than *sarvatra*, however.

1.47–8 ābhidheya AEH²C^c : ābhipraya γC^a : ābhidhepraya D ♦ prayojanat-
 prayojanā A : prayojanaprayojanī γ : prayojanaprayojanaprayojanī H² :
 prayoja* C^a : prayojanaprayojanā DEC^c

sambandhābhidheyaprayojanatprayojanā A : 'brel pa dang / brjod bya
 dang dgos pa dang / dgos pa'i yang dgos pa'i Tib.[185.2.7–8]

The issue here – whether A, or an emended version of H² (*prayojana-prayojanaprayojanā*) is to be preferred – is one of style and idiom rather than meaning, which is unaffected. Though interpretation of the variants is not simple it seems to me unlikely that α (B is unavailable here) read *prayojana-prayojanaprayojanā*. One explanation of the reading of H² is that *-ābhipraya-* (γC^a) is a corruption of *-ābhidheya-*, the corrupt *praya* then attracting an additional *jana* to give the third *prayojana* in H². (If this is the case D's *-ābhidhepraya-* may be the result of scribal misreading of a correction as an insertion.) The alternative explanation, that H² is essentially correct, requires that *-ābhipraya-* be a corruption of *-ābhidheyaprayojana-*. This account, which demands two two-syllable omissions seems less likely. (The first explanation also requires that β has omitted *tat* from *tatprayojanā-*, though this is not impossible.)

Unfortunately, since J is missing here it is not possible to establish whether or not H² is following J, as it sometimes does. (See the discussion of contamination in the *Introduction to the Text*, section 4.3.) Nevertheless, H²'s reading could result from contamination from outside β and thus be a good reading. If *prayojanaprayojanaprayojanā* were correct, *tatprayojana* could be an attempt to improve the style of the original since A's reading is certainly stylistically preferable to having *prayojana* three times in succession. But Vilāsavajra's style is generally not clumsy.

Tib.'s *dgos pa dang dgos pa'i yang dgos pa* appears to support *-prayojanaprayojanaprayojana-* against *-prayojanatprayojanā* since if *tatprayojana*

were its exemplar one would expect *de'i yang dgos pa* or *de'i dgos pa*. However, *Tib.* may have translated as it did in order to avoid possible ambiguity in a literal translation of *tatprayojana*. Also, since this four-fold classification is found elsewhere in Buddhist Śāstra, (for example, in the opening of Dharmottara's commentary on Dharmakīrti's *Nyāyabindu*: see Stcherbatsky, 1930, II, 1) *Tib.* may have used a familiar idiom rather than translate more literally. In any case, *Tib.* does not translate *prayojanaprayojana* literally – the presence of *yang* {*api*} gives *prayojanasyāpi prayojanam* as a retranslation.

To conclude, the variants in the MSS of β suggest a path of corruption from A to H² that is more convincing than one in the reverse direction, and A also seems more in keeping with Vilāsavajra's style. Given that *Tib.* does not decisively favour either alternative, I have preferred A's *-tatprayojana-*.

- 1.56 dharmatāvatāraṇārthaṃ δ : dharmatādhvatāraṇārthaṃ γ : dharmatārtha A :
 chos [gnyis su med pa] gzung ba'i don du *Tib.*[185.3.4] : dharmatārthaṃ
NS.Dav. : [gnyis su med pa'i] chos nyid kyi don [dang ming]
NS.Tib.D.N.[Mukherji 119, 3]

yad utādvayadharmatāvatāraṇārthaṃ nāmasaṃdhāraṇaprakāśana-
 tayeti δ : yad utādvayadharmatārthaṃ nāmasaṃdhāraṇaprakāśanatayeti
NS.Dav.[64, 17]

I have followed δ against A here; and γ's *-ādhvatāraṇā-* is likely to be a corruption of *-āvatāraṇā-*, giving *dharmatāvatāraṇārthaṃ* as the reading of β. *Tib.*'s *gzung ba'i don du* indicates that it read something more than *dharmatārthaṃ*, though *gzung ba* is puzzling. *Tib.* has it for *-saṃdhāraṇa-* immediately afterwards (mtshan gzung ba bstan to *Tib.*[185.3.4]), so its presence may be a scribal error triggered by this use. *Tib.* also lacks an abstract suffix (*nyid*) to give *-dharmatā-* rather than *-dharma-*.

This citation of the *anuśaṃsā* differs, however, from the *anuśaṃsā* as found in *NS.Dav.*, which reads *-dharmatārthaṃ*. If this is taken as supporting

A's *-dharmatārtha* (read as having lost an *anusvāra*), the element *-vatāraṇā-* could be seen as an interpretative addition. *NS.Tib.D.N.* follows *NS.Dav.* in having nothing for *-āvatāraṇā-* (chos nyid kyi don); it also reads a compounded *-dharmatārtha-* rather than *-dharmatārtham* (don dang ming), suggesting further that A may be correct as it stands.

In Chapter 12, on the *anuśamsā*, the NMAA paraphrases this passage as follows: *yad utādvayadharmatā śūnyatā tatrāvatāraṇārtham* (A.108v7). Since the *anuśamsā* is not cited separately from this paraphrase it is not clear whether Vilāsavajra read it as *-dharmatāvatāraṇārtham* or *-dharmatārtham*. In terms of sense he certainly took it as the former; and some such meaning has to be understood for sense to be made. Overall, I think the paraphrase makes it more likely that the NMAA also read this alternative in the present citation. If *-āvatāraṇā-* is a scribal addition, it is a sophisticated one, matching the later paraphrase, and has to have predated the Tibetan translation (unless *Tib.* here is itself contaminated).

The NMAA cites or incorporates passages from the NS *anuśamsā* at a number of points in Chapters 1–5. *Tib.* never follows *NS.Tib.D.N.*, the Tibetan translation of the *anuśamsā* that is found in the (Derge and Narthang) Kanjur editions, as printed in *Mukherji*. (See the *Introduction to the Text*, section 5.3, note 51, for a list of *anuśamsā* citations.)

1.69 Citation of NS verses

NS verses are given in bold, and those surrounded by square brackets have been inserted by the editor. MS J cites NS 1 as a whole, as it does the other NS verses of this chapter. These citations, which are usually accompanied with translation into Newarī, are only found in J, and are clearly insertions. For a fuller description of MS J see *Introduction to the Text*, section 2.4. Of the NS

verses commented on in chapters 1–5 of the NMAA only verses 33–40 are cited in whole. Otherwise half-verses, *pādas*, or single words are cited.

1.70 triloka NMAA [1, 86] NS.Dav.[49, v.1] : trailokya J

I follow NMAA[1, 85–6] (tān vijetum śīlam asyeti trilokavijayī) as well as NS.Dav.[49, v.1] in preferring *trilokavijayī* to *trailokyavijayī*. The latter is only attested by J's inserted (see previous note) citation of NS 1.

1.72 māyājāla codd. Tib. : māyājālāt NS.Dav.[69, 8] ♦ sāhasrika A Tib. : sāhasrikāt β : sāhasrikān NS.Dav.

āryamāyājālaṣoḍaśasāhasrikamahāyogatantrāntahpātisamādhijālapaṭalād
A : āryamāyājālāt ṣoḍaśasāhasrikān mahāyogatantrāntahpātisamādhijālapaṭalād NS.Dav.[69, 8–10] : 'phags pa sgyu 'phrul dra ba khri drug stong pa mal 'byor chen po'i rgyud kyi nang nas ting nge 'dzin dra ba'i le'u las Tib.[185.4.2–3] : 'phags pa mal 'byor chen po'i rgyud sgyu 'phrul dra ba stong phrag bcu drug pa ting nge 'dzin dra ba'i le'u las phyung ba NS.Tib.D.N.[Mukherji 102]

In this incorporation of the NS colophon into the NMAA, *Tib.* supports both *codd.*'s *-māyājāla-* and A's *-sāhasrika-*: there are no case particles after *sgyu 'phyul dra ba* or *khri drug stong pa*. The compound passage thus read yields good meaning. By contrast, the ablatives *-māyājālāt* and *-sāhasrikāt* in *NS.Dav.* make no grammatical sense. It looks as if they have both resulted from attraction to the case of *-paṭalād*. However, that both β and *NS.Dav.* have *-sāhasrikāt* is puzzling. How likely is it that the same error could be made independently? Perhaps β's reading is a result of contamination from scribal familiarity with an already corrupt NS manuscript tradition. *NS.Tib.D.N.*, which translates the passage differently to *Tib.*, also supports the readings I have accepted, further suggesting that *NS.Dav.* is corrupt. (As with the translation of the other citations and incorporations from the NS *anuśamsā*, *NS.Tib.D.N.* here differs from *Tib.*. See *Introduction to the Text*, section 5.3 (v) and section 5.5.)

- 1.73 bhagavacchākya Aṃ Tib.([185.4.3] bcom ldan 'das śā kya thub pas) : bhagavān śākya ζ : bhagavattathāgataśākya NS.Dav.[69, 9] NS.Tib.D.N.[Mukherji 103]

I have followed Aṃ (which by stemmatic analysis I take to be the reading of α) and Tib. against NS.Dav. and NS.Tib.D.N.. If the reading *bhagavattathāgataśākya*- is correct then, since Tib. and α agree, Tib. must have inherited a corruption already present in its exemplar of the NMAA (independent loss of *-tathāgata-* seems unlikely). However, it is also possible that the MS tradition of the NS itself became corrupted, adding the term *tathāgata*, again before its translation into Tibetan. Lacking a strong reason for preferring one alternative over the other, I follow α on the grounds that it is the reading of Vilāsavajra's text as far as can be ascertained.

- 1.73 bhāṣitā conj. (Tib.[185.4.3] gsungs pa; NS.Dav.[69, 9]) : bhāṣitād codd.

Sense requires emendation to *-bhāṣitā* since it must qualify *nāmasaṃgītiḥ* in the following line. The ablative, *-bhāṣitād*, may well have been attracted from the preceding *-paṭalād*.

- 1.88–9 śrī-tattvasaṃgrāhe pañca guhyāni paṭhyante

guhyarāt kuliśeśvaraḥ NS 1d : rdo rje dbang phyug gsang ba'i rgyal
NS.Tib.[Mukherji 2]

Tib., in its translation of the NMAA on NS 1d, follows the order of the epithets in NS.Tib., which reverses (for metrical reasons) that of the Skt.. Hence, it translates the short passage on *kuliśeśvaraḥ* (rdo rje dbang phyug), namely, *kuliśo vajras tasya īśvaraḥ kuliśeśvaraḥ* (1.101; Tib.[185.5.4]), before the longer section on *guhyarāt* (gsang ba'i rgyal), which starts with *śrī-tattvasaṃgrāhe pañca guhyāni paṭhyante* (1.88–101; Tib.[185.5.4–186.1.1]). For further discussion of Tib.'s reordering of the NMAA to accord with the order of NS.Tib. see *Introduction to the Text*, section 5.3.

- 1.100 guhyair vā J : guhyaivā(va E) ε : guhya γ : om. D : yang na gsang ba pa las
Tib.[186.1.1] ♦ guhyair vā → guhyarāt om. D

guhyair vā rājata iti guhyarāt conj. : yang na gsang ba pa las rgyal ba'i
phyir gsang(gsar Tib.P.) ba'i rgyal po'o Tib.[186.1.1]

It is likely that J contains the reading of δ , which became progressively corrupted to *guhyaivā* and *guhyaiva*. The reading of γ , *guhya*, could perhaps give some sense (as corrupt locative, “rule over”, though $\sqrt{rāj}$ usually takes the genitive in this sense), but then *vā*, supported by *Tib.* would have to be supplied. Also γ is easier to explain as a contraction than δ as an expansion. *Tib.*'s *gsang ba pa* implies a reading of *guhyaka*: it translates as, “Alternatively, he is [called] *guhyarāt* because he is victorious over the Secret Ones”. Since *las* is the usual particle taken by the verb *rgyal ba*, it is hard to interpret it as supporting any particular reading in the Skt., though it could be taken as indicating an ablative. In terms of sense *guhyair vā rājata iti guhyarāt* is plausible: “Alternatively ‘guhyarāt’ may be analysed as ‘one who reigns because of the [five] secrets’”.

To take $\sqrt{rāj}$ in its sense of ‘to shine’, ‘to be illustrious’ is also possible: “Alternatively, ‘guhyarāt’ may be analysed as ‘one who is radiant because of the secrets’”. Neither the immediate nor broader context, however, suggests that this is how it should be taken.

- 1.106 vibuddhapuṇḍarīkākṣa iti conj. : vibuddhamti δ (vibuddheti J) : om. γ Tib.

See the following note.

- 1.109 protphullakamalānana iti conj. (Tib.[186.1.3] pa dma rab tu rgyas pa'i zhal zhes
pa ni {protphullakamalānana iti}) : om. codd.

I have emended so as to include the lemma both here and for the first *pāda* of NS 2 (vibuddhapuṇḍarīkākṣa iti, line 106). Both glosses end with the word *tathoktaḥ* (vibuddhapuṇḍarīkam ivākṣiṇī locane yasya sa tathoktaḥ – lines 108–

9; prakarṣotphullakamalavad ānanam yasyāsau tathoktaḥ – line 111), implying a previous statement of what is being glossed. Since the NMAA does not cite the whole verse before its analysis, without such opening citations the two passages do not read with any sense.

The evidence from the Skt. MSS is indecisive: for the first *pāda* the lemma is partly supplied by δ , and omitted by γ ; for the second *pāda* the lemma is not witnessed by any of the available MSS. *Tib.*, on the other hand, omits the first lemma but has the second. Such a pattern could result from errors either of addition or of omission. The appearance of a lemma is on the whole easier to account for than its disappearance (see the note on 1.116 where the former is likely to have occurred) since it is a familiar unit. However, both MSS A and B are unavailable here, and β can have substantial levels of corruption in relation to AB. Given the ambiguity of the MSS evidence, the strength of the argument from sense suggests the proposed emendation.

1.112 vajrasya madhyam *codd.* *Tib.* ([186.1.4] rdo rje'i dbus)

Emendation to *vajravarasya madhyam* is suggested, as otherwise *varam*, a word from the NS, is neither mentioned nor glossed and this is uncharacteristic of Vilāsavajra. Since *Tib.* supports *vajrasya* I have not emended, yet there remains a doubt over the passage since *vajrasya* may be the reading of β rather than Ω , MSS A and B being unavailable. *Tib.*, which misinterprets the latter part of this sentence, could have inherited a corruption (see the following note).

1.112 svakareṇa JH² : kareṇa γ *Tib.* ([186.1.4] lag pas) : sa svakareṇa Dc

vajrasya madhyam svakareṇa grhītvā muhur muhuḥ punaḥ punaḥ
prakṣiptam vajram praticchan prollālayann idam āheti sambandhaḥ :
rdo rje'i dbus nas lag pas bzung (gzung *Tib.P.*) nas yang dang yang du
rdo rje gyen du bsgyur nas gzung ba ni / rang gi lag gis (gi *Tib.P.*) rdo
rje mchog / yang dang yang du gsor byed pa'o / 'di skad gsol to zhes pa
dang 'brel to / *Tib.* [186.1.4]

The question that arises here is the same as that implicit in the discussion of the preceding note: is Vilāsavajra incorporating the text of the NS into the *sambandhaḥ*, ie. into his structural analysis of the half-verse and its relation to the rest of the sentence? It is usual for him so to do. The MSS support *kareṇa* as well as *svakareṇa* (following the NS). Stemmatic analysis of the readings is not decisive: it is not possible to say what the reading of β may have been. The *sa* of Dε's *sa svakareṇa* could be a dittography, which J either corrected or failed to inherit. H²'s *svakareṇa*, an instance of H's contamination, is not necessarily correct: *svakareṇa* may well be a scribal 'correction' to the familiar word of the NS. On the other hand *svakareṇa* may be correct while γ's *kareṇa* lost a syllable. Though *Tib.* supports *kareṇa*, it could have inherited an error from its exemplar. (See the note on 1.45 for an example of *Tib.* inheriting an error, found in β.) On balance I prefer *svakareṇa* on the grounds that it makes sense within the broader context of Vilāsavajra's style. When he gives a *sambandhaḥ* Vilāsavajra usually incorporates words of the NS, sometimes with a gloss, (as here, with *muhur muhuḥ punaḥ punaḥ prakṣiptaṃ vajraṃ pratīcchan prolālayann*).

Tib. also changes the sense of the passage by inserting a citation of the half-verse after translating the sentence as far *prolālayann*. This is blended, though not very happily, with the rest of the sentence by the addition of the word *skad* ("speech") to the translation of *idam āheti sambandhaḥ*. See above for the Skt. as I have accepted it and *Tib.* – the citation of the NS by *Tib.* is underlined.

- 1.116 śrīvajrapāṇyabhiṣekatantre *conj.* *Tib.* ([186.1.5] dpal phyag na rdo rje dbang bskur ba'i rgyud las) : śrīvajrapāṇyabhiṣeke tantre γ : śrīvajrapāṇibhiṣeke tantre ε : śrīvajrapāṇya(-ṇi D) bhiṣeke tantre bhr̥kuṭī ityādi ζC^cH²
 śrīvajrapāṇyabhiṣekatantre śrīvajradharānucarā bhr̥kuṭī taraṅgapra-
 mukhāḥ pañca śatāni krodhagaṇānām paṭhyante *conj.* : dpal phyag na
 rdo rje dbang bskur ba'i rgyud las / dpal rdo rje 'chang gi rjes su

spyod pa khro gnyer rim par(pa *Tib.P.*) ldan pa la sogs pa khro bo'i
tshogs lnga brgya brjod *Tib.*[186.1.5–6]

There are two issues here: firstly, the emendation from *śrīvajra-pāṇyabhiṣeke tantre* to *śrīvajrapāṇyabhiṣekatanetre*; and secondly, the possibility that the reading *bhr̥kuṭī ityādi* may be (part of) a lemma that has become displaced from its original position. The emendation to *śrīvajra-pāṇyabhiṣekatanetre* creates good Sanskrit. It is the standard way that Vilāsavajra refers to other texts, and it is supported by *Tib.* (the connective particle 'i is used to translate such a compound). As for the reading *bhr̥kuṭī ityādi*, it is not supported by *Tib.* and is not required by the sense of the passage, which can stand alone without a lemma (*bhr̥kuṭītarāṅgapramukhāḥ* can be taken as an allusion to the NS that is incorporated into the text). I therefore take *bhr̥kuṭī ityādi* to be a scribal insertion: the manuscript readings suggest that it was not present in β (being absent in both γ and ε). The corrected readings of C^cH² could represent contamination from corrupt exemplars, for example from J in the case of H (see *Introduction to the Text*, section 4.4).

1.120–1 ata eva vīrās te / tair anabhibhavanīyatvāt *codd.* : de nyid kyi phyir dpa' bo ste
/ de de rnams kyis zil gyis mnan par mi nus pa'i phyir ro *Tib.*[186.1.7–8]

Taken strictly, *tair* must be understood to refer back to *durdāntadamakaiḥ*, yet what is required is reference to *durdāntaiḥ*, the 'hard-to-tame'. It is they who cannot overcome the attendant Vajrapāṇis. In other words, *taiḥ* would be glossed as *durdāntair iti taiḥ*. Could *taiḥ* be a remnant of *durdāntair*? *Tib.* supports *taiḥ* (taking the first *de* as a misplaced translation of *te*) or *tair eva* (treating *de de* as emphatic). In the absence of any concrete evidence for emendation it is probably safer to retain *taiḥ*; its proper referent is clear from the context.

- 1.125 ullālayadbhiḥ svakaraiḥ prasphuradvajrakotibhiḥ NS 4ab : rdo rje rtse mo rab 'phro ba / rang gi lag gis gsor byed pa / NS.Tib.[Mukherji 3, 7–8]

Tib. follows the order of *NS.Tib.* and rearranges the NMAA, placing the passage on *prasphuradvajrakotibhiḥ* (1.126–7; *Tib.*[186.2.1–2]) before that on *ullālayadbhiḥ svakaraiḥ* (1.125; *Tib.*[186.2.2]).

- 1.125 svakaraiḥ γ *Tib.*[186.2.2] : muhur muhuḥ svakaraiḥ δH²

ullālayadbhir iti ūrdhvam utkṣipadbhiḥ / kaiḥ / svakaraiḥ // : gsor byed pa zhes bya ba ni gyen du sgyur ba'o / gang gis zhe na / rang gi lag gis so / *Tib.*[186.2.2]

I follow γ and *Tib.* here, rather than δH². The reading *muhur muhuḥ* could be a scribal insertion, added under the influence of the phrase *svakareṇa muhur muhuḥ* in NS 2. That H² has *muhur muhuḥ svakaraiḥ* is not necessarily evidence of β having it, since H² is sometimes the result of contamination from J (see *Introduction to the Text*, section 4.3).

- 1.126 prasphuranti conj. (*Sanderson*; *Tib.*[186.2.1]) rab tu 'phro ba) : prasphullānām δH² (prapraphullānām J) : prasphurad eva γ

prasphuradvajrakotibhir iti prasphuranti vajrāṇām koṭayo 'grabhāgā yeṣām te praspuradvajrakotayaḥ / taiḥ conj. : rdo rje rtse mo rab 'phro ba zhes ba ni rab tu 'phro ba'i rdo rje'i rtse mo ste / thog ma'i cha dang gang ldan pa de ni / rdo rje rtse mo rab 'phro ba zhes so *Tib.*[186.2.1]

Within the context of the bahvrīhi analysis of *praspuradvajrakotayaḥ* the extant readings cannot be correct since a word is needed to agree with *koṭayo 'grbhāgāḥ*. A present participle is suggested in order to accord with the stem form, *prasphurat*, in the NS *pāda*. *Tib.* supports *prasphuranti*: the same verbal adjective, *rab tu 'phro ba*, is used in the translation of the citation of the *pāda* and its analysis (though abbreviated to *rab 'phro ba* to conform to the metre in the *pāda* citation).

- 1.129 tatra sarvadharmāṇāṃ *codd.* : de la snying rje dang ldan pas snying rje'o / bde ba 'gog par byed pa snying rje ste / *Tib.*[186.2.3–4]

prajñopāyamahākaruṇājagadarthakaraḥ paraiḥ *NS 4cd*[*NS.Dav.* 49, v.4]
: snying rje che dang shes rab dang / thabs kyis 'gro don byed pa'i
mchog *NS.Tib.*[*Mukherji* 3, 9–10]

Tib. does not correspond with the Skt. since it rearranges the NMAA passages that comment on the terms *prajñā*, *upāyaḥ* and *mahākaruṇā* in conformity with their order in *NS.Tib.*. Thus, the passage following *de la* {tatra} above is *Tib.* for the passage on *mahākaruṇā*, which is translated first (1.131–4; *Tib.*[186.2.3–5]). This is followed by the passage on *prajñā* (1.129–30; *Tib.*[186.2.5]); with that on *upāyaḥ* being translated last (1.130–31; *Tib.*[186.2.5]).

Tib.'s *bde ba 'gog par byed pa snying rje ste* translates *kam ruṇaddhīti karuṇā* (emend 'gog par, 'to tear out' to 'gogs par, 'to suppress'?), but the preceding passage has nothing that corresponds with it in the Skt.. Although MSS A and B are missing for this passage, the Skt. does not give the impression that some may have been dropped, and it is not clear how the Tibetan (meaning something such as "[the word] compassion [is used] since [he is] compassionate") could fit in. Also *Tib.* does not attempt to translate *kam iti sukhasyākhyā*, the second part of the *nirvacana*.

- 1.129 pravicaḥ *conj.* (*Tib.*[186.2.5] rab tu 'byed pa) : pravicyā ḍ : prasiddha-ye ṽ

Emendation to *pravicaḥ* is supported by *Tib.* as well as on grounds of sense. *Tib.*'s *rab tu 'byed pa* means 'analysis', 'investigation'. The longer form, *rab tu nam par 'byed pa*, is given for *pravicaḥ* by the Mahāvyutpatti (MVy 846, 990). The second of the seven *bodhyaṅgāni*, *dharmapravicaḥ* is defined as one of the components of *prajñā* by Vasubandhu: *smṛtyupasthānāni*

dharmapравicayasambodhyaṅgaṃ saṃyagdr̥ṣṭiś ca prajñāiva (AKBh 1017, 10).

- 1.130 *prajñā / upāyo conj.* (*Tib.*[186.2.5] *shes rab bo / / thabs ni*) : *prajñopāya-*
yo(-yau C) ḍ : *prajñopāyayoḥ γ*

The context here must be that of a discussion, in turn, of *prajñā*, *upāyaḥ* and *mahākaruṇā*, in which case β's dual form makes no sense (A and B are lacking). Emendation to *prajñā / upāyo* is supported by *Tib.*.

- 1.131 *sakalasattvārthakaraṇaṃ conj.* (*NMAA*[1, 142]; *Tib.*[186.2.6] *sems can rams*
kyi don byed pa) : *sakalasattvakāraṇaṃ codd.*

The context suggests that a word such as *artha* has been lost from *codd.*, and the parallel phrase at 1.142, *sattvārthakaraṇād* (*em.* : *-karaṇāni codd.*), suggests such an emendation. *Tib.*'s *don* confirms this. The emendation from *-kāraṇaṃ* to *-karaṇaṃ* is supported by *byed pa*, which is also used at 1.142 (see the note on 1.142 below).

- 1.135 *arthakarair iti C^aγ* : *arthakaraiḥ parair iti ḍ Tib.*

I have preferred the reading *arthakarair iti* since this passage concludes the material commenting on *prajñopāyamahākaruṇājagadarthakarair* by citing it in the (ablative) form used in the NS. Since *paraiḥ*, the last word of NS 4, is not part of what has been commented on – it is glossed immediately afterwards – there is no point in its inclusion. Scribal familiarity with the half-verse could well result in its addition to the text, and it is the type of error that could occur independently in *ḍ* and *Tib.*.

- 1.142 *sattvārthakaraṇāt conj.* *Tib.*([186.3.1] *sems can gyi don byed pa'i phyir ro*) :
sattvārthakaraṇāni codd. (*om.H*)

The plural termination *-āni* makes no sense in this context. An ablative of reason is supported by *Tib.*'s *phyir*. Since MSS A and B are unavailable here *codd.* represents the reading of β only.

1.144–6 *mahābhairavātṭahāsā conj.* : *mahābhairavo tṭahāsā γ* : *mahābhairavā aṭṭahāsā δ*
(*mahābhairavā aṭṭahāsā C*) ♦ *ālaṃkṛti conj.* : *ālaṃkṛta codd.*

kiṃ tad rūpaṃ / mahābhairavātṭahāsānekaśiṛṣakaracaraṇavikṛtanayano-
rdhvakeśapiṅgalabhrūbhaṅgakapālamālālaṃkṛtisarpābharaṇavyāghra-
carmanivāsanādikaṃ / tad vidyate yeṣāṃ te krodhavigraharūpinaḥ *conj.*
: khro bo'i lus kyi gzugs ci 'dra zhe na / 'jigs byed chen po dang / drag
tu bzhad pa dang / dbu dang phyag dang zhabs du ma dang / spyen mi
sdug cing skra kham pa(sa *Tib.D.*) gyen du 'greng ba dang / rdzi ma ser
po(*em.* : ba *Tib.*) dang / khro gnyer dang thod pa'i phreng bas brgyan
par byed pa dang / sbrul gyi rgyan dang / stag lpags kyi(*kyis Tib.P.*)
smad g.yogs la sogs pa de rnams gang la yod pa de ni khro ba'i lus kyi
gzugs ldan pa ste / *Tib.[186.3.2]*.

Neither the Skt. nor *Tib.* is completely satisfactory here. The bahuvrīhi termination *-ādikaṃ* requires the elements of the compound giving the attributes of the Krodhas to be a list of substantives. However, if *mahābhairava* is part of the compound and if it is read as an adjective (“very terrifying”) it cannot stand alone but has to qualify *aṭṭahāsa*. Yet given the existence of *mahābhairava* and *aṭṭahāsa* as separate epithets of Śiva one might expect them to be separate attributes. Furthermore, the available MSS (AB are lacking) separate *mahābhairava* from *aṭṭahāsa*, as does *Tib.*

If the separation is taken to indicate that *mahābhairava* should be outside the compound, emendation to *mahābhairavam aṭṭahāsa-* is required, to give independent qualification of *rūpaṃ* (thus, “[that form] is very terrifying, with loud laughter, many heads ...”). Though this gives good sense, the process of corruption to *mahābhairavo* (γ) and *mahābhairavā* (δ) is hard to see. Also, *Tib.*, although it separates *mahābhairava* from *aṭṭahāsa*, takes them on the

same syntactic level (ie. *'jigs byed chen po* is followed by *dang*, as are the other attributes).

Alternatively, if *mahābhairava* is part of the compound the Skt. readings could be the result of an earlier separation of *mahābhairava* and *aṭṭahāsa* to show the word break within the compound (γ then taking them as separate words and giving a 'correct' *sandhi* and δ reading *mahābhairavā* for *mahābhairavo*). But *mahābhairava* could be taken as both a separate attribute and part of the compound only if it can be read as a noun. For *bhairava*, MW records the meaning "n. terror or the property of exciting terror" (s.v. *bhairava*, where it is given as a meaning recorded by H. H. Wilson). This could give some sense ("great terrifyingness"), though it seems less likely than the karmadhāraya "greatly terrifying", which is based on the more common adjectival meaning of *bhairava*.

To summarise, the evidence from the MSS points more towards *mahābhairava* being compounded, and this is supported by *Tib.* The evidence for emendation to *mahābhairavam aṭṭahāsā-* is inadequate, and as a result I have emended to *mahābhairavāṭṭahāsā-*. As for meaning, I have translated it in line with the requirements of the syntax (*pace Tib.*, which could possibly have misunderstood the original) as an adjective qualifying *aṭṭahāsā*. Yet reservations must stand. The description of the Krodhas might have been incorporated from elsewhere. If such an original or parallels were traced, further light might be cast on the passage.

I have also conjecturally emended *-kapālamālālamkṛta-* to *-kapālamālālamkṛti-* on the grounds that a substantive is required here (though *alamkṛti* is a little unusual in prose). *Tib.*'s *brgyan par byed pa*, a nominal form, supports such an emendation. Two other features of *Tib.* can be noted: for *urdhvakeśa* it has *skra kham pa gyen du 'greng ba* adding *kham pa* ("brown"), which is not

found in the Skt.; and it takes *piṅgalabhrūbhaṅga* as two attributes (rdzi ma ser po dang / khro gnyer dang), “tawny eyebrows and a frown”.

1.155 *taṃ conj.* : *taṃ nāthaṃ* A : *nāthaṃ* β *Tib.* ([186.3.6] *mgon po*)

I take *taṃ* to conclude the gloss on *nāthaṃ* by signifying its (accusative) case in the NS. This is necessary since the gloss itself is carried out in the nominative. This method of indicating the case of a glossed word at the end of a gloss is seen elsewhere, eg. at 1.127 (*prasphuradvajrakoṭibhir iti prasphuranti vajrāṇāṃ koṭayo 'grabhāgā yeṣāṃ te praspuradvajrakoṭayah / taiḥ //*). The word *nāthaṃ* following *taṃ* in A is redundant.

Tib. would appear to support β's reading of *nāthaṃ*. However, the evidence from *Tib.* at this point is not clear: the punctuation makes *mgon po* the first word in a new sentence that initiates a rearrangement of the text of the NMAA (... *gtso bo ni mgon po'o / / mgon po yang ci 'dra ba'i mgon po yin zhe na / gsungs pa / de bzhin shegs pa zhes so Tib.* [186.3.6–7]). There should probably be a *shad* after *mgon po* with *yang* translating *punar api*. This would leave *Tib.* supporting β. Nonetheless, *nāthaṃ* on its own seems stylistically unlikely: a citation of the root text in such circumstances is usually introduced by *ataḥ* or *ata eva*. Also, β omits *nāthaṃ* after the immediately following *punar api kimviśiṣṭaṃ*. (That A's *punar api kimviśiṣṭaṃ nāthaṃ* is correct here is shown by the parallel forms in this passage on NS 6ab: *'bhūyo 'pi nāthaṃ* – line 157; *punar api kimbhūtaṃ nāthaṃ* – line 165.) The first *nāthaṃ* could possibly be a dittography present in α, with the second (and correct) instance subsequently omitted in β. Despite the evidence, supported by *Tib.*, that *taṃ nāthaṃ* (or *nāthaṃ*) is present in α, I have diagnostically emended to *taṃ* on grounds of style and the existence of other instances of the same pattern elsewhere in the NMAA.

1.156 punar api kimviśiṣṭaṃ nātham ity āha sambuddham iti : yang ci 'dra ba'i mgon po yin zhe na / gsungs pa / de bzhin shegs pa zhes so *Tib.[186.3.6–7]*

praṇamya nātham sambuddham bhagavantam tathāgatam *NS 6ab*
[NS.Dav. 50, v.6] : mgon po bcom ldan de bzhin gshegs / / rdzogs
 sangs rgyas la phag 'tshal te *NS.Tib.[Mukherji 4, 9–10]*

Tib. arranges the text of the NMAA that comments on NS 6ab in a different order to the Skt. at this point. The Skt. takes each word of the half verse in turn. *Tib.*, on the other hand, follows the Skt. order until the conclusion of the comment on *nātham* (ie. ...*anāthānām lokānām anuśāsanāt nāthaḥ svāmī / tam*, line 154–5), after which it takes the glosses on the three remaining words in reverse order (ie. *tathāgatam*, *Tib.[186.3.7]*; followed by *bhagavantam*, *Tib.[186.3.8]*; followed by *sambuddham*, *Tib.[186.4.3]*). *Tib.* returns to the order of the Skt. at *praṇamyeti pūrveṇa...* (line 1.167).

The reason for this order is not clear. Changes by *Tib.* to the order of the Skt. usually reflect the order of the Tibetan translation of the NS used by *Tib.* in the citations of the NS in the NMAA (ie. the order of *NS.Tib.*). For the present verse, *NS.Tib.* does translate the three terms in a different order, but that of *bhagavantam tathāgatam sambuddham* rather than *tathāgatam bhagavantam sambuddham*. (Surely in *NS.Tib.*, *bcom ldan* was placed where it was so that the following *de* could be also heard as 'das). One solution is that this is an instance where the Tibetan translation of the NS used by Smṛtijñānakīrti differed from that usually ascribed to Rin chen bzang po (taking *NS.Tib.* to reflect Rin chen bzang po's translation). Unfortunately, since neither the Skt. of the NMAA nor *Tib.* cite NS 6ab as a whole we cannot see what that translation may have been. (See *Introduction to the Text*, section 5.)

1.157 vā conj. : om. codd.

na śrāvakaṃ pratyekabuddham vā conj. : nyan thos dang rang sangs
 rgyas ma yin pa'i phyir ro *Tib.[186.4.3–4]*

The emendation is diagnostic, the minimum necessary to give some sense. *Tib.* makes this passage a reason for what precedes: “How does it, [that is, the Nāmasaṃgīti,] also describe the Lord? As **the perfectly enlightened one** (saṃbuddhaṃ > samyaksambuddhaṃ), since he is not a Śrāvaka or Pratyekabuddha.” To render this literally in Sanskrit one would have to emend to something such as *na śrāvakapratyekabuddhatvāt*. There is no justification for this in the Skt., though it may be argued that this is its implicit sense as emended.

- 1.159 āvṛti conj. (AAĀ 1.2–3) : āvṛtis codd. : [nyon mongs shes bya’i] sgrib *Tib.* [186.4.1]

The evidence from MS B is unavailable at this point. In emending to the dual form I follow the (unattributed) citation of this verse by Haribhadra, taking *kleśajñeyāvṛti* to stand for *kleśāvṛtijñeyāvṛti*, ie. short-hand for the two hindrances more commonly known in the form *kleśāvaraṇam* and *jñeyāvaraṇam*. *Tib.* supports the word *āvṛti* but is ambiguous as to number (*sgrib pa* is used to translate both *āvṛti* and *āvaraṇam* into Tibetan).

- 1.164 bhaga iti A AAĀ; AbhayaP; CSViv; SpPr : iti bhaga(gaḥ J) β ♦ smṛtiḥ AH²
CSViv : smṛtaḥ β SpPr : śrutiḥ AAĀ; AbhayaP

aiśvaryasya samagrasya rūpasya yaśasaḥ śriyaḥ / jñānasyātha praya-
tṇasya ṣaṇṇām bhaga iti smṛtiḥ // conj. : dbang phyug dang ni gzugs
bzang (bzangs *Tib.D.*) dang / / grags dang dpal dang rab mchog dang /
/ de nas ye shes brtson ’grus dang / / drug po rnams la ldan par bshad
Tib. [186.4.2–3].

The readings of the MSS representing β are clearly corrupt in reversing the order of *bhaga* and *iti*. The final word is more problematic since both *smṛtiḥ* and *smṛtaḥ* are witnessed by testimonia, as is a third option, *śrutiḥ*, which, understood as a synonym for *śabdaḥ*, gives good sense: “The word ‘bhaga’ ...”. The different readings of the testimonia suggest that the verse circulated in

more than one form; the present task, however, is to try to establish Vilāsavajra's reading. AH²'s *smṛtiḥ* is likely to be the reading of (at least) α since when H's corrections do not follow J they come from outside β . (See *Introduction to the Text*, section 4.3 for discussion of H's contamination.) The reading *smṛtiḥ* is attested in the CSViv, and although it could be a corruption of *śrutiḥ*, *smṛtiḥ* gives sense if understood in the sense of 'tradition': "There is the tradition that [the word] 'bhaga' ...". The reading *smṛtaḥ*, attested by β , and also witnessed in a Śaiva testimonium (SpPr 89, 2–4), is more problematic. Being a participle, *smṛtaḥ* needs a subject. If it were to be understood as, "What is called bhaga [denotes] six things ..." one would expect ...*bhaga iti smṛtam*. Also, *smṛtiḥ* could, through an error of omission, easily corrupt to *smṛtaḥ*, whereas corruption from *smṛtaḥ* to *smṛtiḥ* is less straightforward. I have, therefore, preferred the reading *smṛtiḥ*, as attested by AH². (Corruption to *smṛtaḥ* could also have been influenced by its occurrence in line 160, at the end of the preceding citation exemplifying the first *nirvacana* of *bhagavān* – though β has *smṛtāḥ* here.)

Tib. is puzzling in a number of respects. The phrase *rab mchog dang* seems to make a list of seven items rather than six (though *rab mchog* is an adjective); *dang* after *ye shes brtson 'grus* would usually imply another item to follow; and *gzugs bzang* indicates that *samagrasya* has been taken with *rūpasya*, rather than with *aiśvaryasya* as the Skt. *pāda* break would suggest. (That *aiśvaryasya samagrasya* belong together is further suggested by the Śaiva testimonium, which has *aiśvaryasya samagrasya jñānasya yaśasaḥ śriyaḥ*, ie. *jñānasya* substitutes for *rūpasya* suggesting the two are separate items; but *aiśvaryasya samagrasya* stay together.) *Tib.*'s treatment of the final part of the citation is not literal and so cannot throw any light on the Sanskrit: "As for the six,

(sovereignty etc.) [they are] explained as possessions” (*drug po rnam la ldan par bshad*) (Das 709, s.v. *ldan pa lnga* “the five possessions”).

(I am indebted to Prof. A. Sanderson for the testimonia for this and the preceding citation.)

1.183 kleśāḥ ṣaṭ A *Tib.* ([186.4.8] *nyon mongs pa drug go*) : kleśā rāgādayaḥ ṣaṭ β

The reading of A is to be preferred: it is supported by *Tib.*; also the list of *kleśas* that follows starts with *mānaḥ*, not *rāgaḥ*. *Tib.* also supports the order of *kleśas* as given in the Skt.. Since most of the standard lists of the six *kleśas* do, however, start with *rāgaḥ* the presence of *rāgādayaḥ* can be understood as a likely scribal gloss. (See note to the translation.)

1.189 bhagavān *conj.* (*NMAA 1, 191 prakāśayatu bhagavān ityāha*) : bhagavāṃ *NS.Dav. 50, v.9*

In inserting the text of NS 9, I follow the reading *bhagavān* given by *codd.* in its citation of this part of the verse against *NS.Dav.* on the grounds that my intention is to give the NS as read by Vilāsavajra. (In fact for one MS, *Mukherji* [6, v.9] has *bhagavān*. Davidson omits to record this.) It might be argued that *bhagavān* is a scribal regularisation of an originally irregular form, *bhagavāṃ*. I do not think such a position sustainable. There is no evidence that *bhagavāṃ* is any more than an orthographic habit of some Newar scribes, where an *anusvāra* substitutes for a final nasal. (This is probably an extension of the more common habit of substituting an *anusvāra* for medial nasals.) *NS.Dav.* also has *bhagavāṃ* against *codd.*’s *bhagavān* in NS 17 and NS 23 (see notes on 2.1 and 3.1 respectively).

1.201 bhagavan J : bhagavān *cett.* : bcom ldan ’das kyi [ye shes sku] {bhagavaj-} *Tib.* [187.1.1]

atha bhagavan jñānakāyasyetyādi // he bhagavan J : de nas bcom ldan
'das kyi ye shes sku zhes bya ba la sogs pas ni / kye bcom ldan 'das
Tib.[187.1.1]

The context makes it clear that Vilāsavajra reads *bhagavan* here and takes it as a vocative: the gloss *he bhagavan* is attested not only by *codd.* but is supported by *Tib.* (kye bcom ldan 'das). That this is the case is reinforced two lines later when Vilāsavajra treats *jñānakāya* as a separate epithet of Mañjuśrī-jñānasattva: *kimviśiṣṭasya jñānakāyasyeti* (line 203). *Tib.* follows the gloss of *bhagavan* as a vocative despite using an inherited translation of the NS in its opening citation which takes it as compounded in stem form with *jñānakāyasya* to give *bhagavajjñānakāyasya* (bcom ldan 'das kyi ye shes sku = *NS.Tib.[Mukherji 7, v.10]*).

- 1.212 evāvabhotsyate / iti *conj.* : evāvabhotsyatheti A : evāvabhautsatheti β : [kun
tu bzang po ye shes kyi / / bdag] nyid mngon par byang chub bo (*em.* : po
Tib.) *Tib.[187.1.6]*

I have emended diagnostically to the third person singular future since *-āvabhotsyatha* is not possible, *ava* √*budh* being ātmanepada. Corruption to *-eti* could be the result of double sandhi (ie. *evāvabhotsyata iti* → *evāvabhotsyateti*), but it is not straightforwardly clear how *-yateti* could become *-yatheti*. The context provides no clue as to the original person or number, but emendation to the singular maintains the metre and gives sense. *Tib.*'s *mngon par byang chub* can be read as supporting the emendation. (Tibetan prose would use a more periphrastic form.)

- 1.225 gambhīrārthām ityādi *codd.* : mtshan ni yang dag brjod pa'i mchog ces bya ba
la sogs pa ste {nāmasaṃgītim uttamām ityādi} *Tib.[187.2.3–4]*

gambhīrārthām udārārthām mahārthām asamām śivām / ādimadhyānta-
kalyāṇīm nāmasaṃgītim uttamām *NS 11/[NS.Dav. 50]* : mtshan ni yang
dag brjod pa'i mchog / / don zab don ni rgya che zhing / / don chen

mtshungs med rab zhi ba / / thog ma bar dang mthar dge ba //
NS.Tib. [Mukherji 7–8]

For this verse *NS.Tib.* has as its first quarter verse a translation of the fourth *pāda* of the Sanskrit (*nāmasaṃgītim uttamām*); and *Tib.*, following *NS.Tib.*, takes the opening of *NS.Tib.* as the *pratīka* rather than translating the Sanskrit. As a result *Tib.* rearranges somewhat the order of the commentary to accord with the order of epithets in *NS.Tib.* by next translating the gloss on *nāmasaṃgītim uttamām* from line 235 (ie. *Tib.* translates *iti gatārtham*). *Tib.* then returns to the Skt. order, translating the gloss on *gambhīrārthām* (*don zab ces pa ni... Tib.* [187.2.4]). From this point there is no conflict with the order suggested by *NS.Tib.* since after the initial change the order of *NS.Tib.* and the Skt. coincide for the remainder of the verse. The sDe dge edition of the NS revises the order of the translation to accord with that of the Skt., placing the first *pāda* of the earlier translation last. It also revises the translation of the fourth *pāda* to *mtshan yang dag par brjod pa mchog* (see *Mukherji* 7, note 5). Although this accords more closely with the Sanskrit, the correct metrical weighting of *NS.Tib.* is lost.

1.227 udāraś cāsāv arthaś codārārtho conj. : udāra< ~14 > F : udārārtham
 < ~8 > rtha H : udārārtham<– –> rtha C : udārārthām udārārtha D : udārā-
 rtham udārārtha JH² : om. E *Tib.*

udārārthām iti / udāraś cāsāv arthaś codārārtho vaipulyārtha iti yāvat /
 sa yasyām vidyate sā udārārthā / tāṃ ca // conj. : don ni rgya che
 zhing zhes pa ni rab tu rgyas pa'i don to / de gang la yod pa de ni don ni
 rgya che zhing zhes so / *Tib.* 187.2.5

With the exception of E all the MSS available (those representing β; A and B being unavailable) have some corrupted material that I take to be the remnant of a karmadhāraya analysis of *udārārthām*. I have emended diagnostically following the immediately preceding gloss on *gambhīrārthām* since its structure and that of the gloss on *udārārthām* are the same: an opening citation followed

by a karmadhāraya analysis (for both if the emendation is correct) and semantic gloss (*śūnyatārthaḥ* and *vaipulyārthaḥ*); a bahuvrīhi analysis of the whole (here the form is identical in both cases: *sa yasyām asti sā gambhīrārthā*; *sa yasyām vidyate sā udārārthā*) and finally a return to the accusative case of the NS. The grounds for emendation are persuasive given that the two glosses are so clearly meant to run in parallel. However, the process of corruption to the present state of the MSS is not clear, and with the exception of F the lacunae are not large enough to accomodate the proposed restoration. Stemmatic analysis of the readings suggests that β contained a lacuna, witnessed in varying sizes by FHC, which later scribes attempted to correct.

Tib. (following an inherited NS translation with *don ni rgya che zhing*) has no passage that corresponds to the karmadhāraya analysis: it appears to have read *udārārthām iti vaipulyārthaḥ / sa yasyām vidyate sā udārārthā*. Either it omits the karmadhāraya gloss, though it does not omit the corresponding analysis of *gambhīrārthām*, or it is not present in its exemplar. It is possible, though it would be uncharacteristic, that Vilāsavajra dispensed with a karmadhāraya analysis in this instance. Nonetheless, the corrupt passages in the Skt. MSS remain to be accounted for and they are more easily explicable as errors of omission than of addition.

1.230 *tām ca conj.* (NMAA/1, 228f) : *om. codd.*

This is a purely diagnostic emendation based on the fact that Vilāsavajra usually returns to the case of the citation when giving a grammatical analysis of a compound. I have adopted *tām ca* from two lines earlier. If MSS A and B were available here and supported the reading of β, I would be more cautious in suggesting such an emendation, but β often omits words and phrases. *Tib.* is of no help since it does not translate this part of these grammatical analyses.

1.231 *sāsamā conj.* : *sā ity asamām codd.* (*om. F*; *ity asamām H²*)

asamām iti / na vidyate samā yasyā sāsamā conj. : mtshungs med ces
pa ni mnyam pa med pa gang yin pa de ni mtshungs med do
Tib.[187.2.6]

I take *iti* to be a scribal addition, perhaps an attempt to create some sense after an earlier corruption to *asamām*. It is attested by the MSS of β only, A and B being unavailable. The sequence of corruption may have proceeded as follows: *sāsamā* → *sā asamā* (resolving the sandhi), *sā asamā* → *sā asamām* (the accusative termination perhaps resulting from attraction to the case of the original citation), *sā asamām* → *sā ity asamām* (*asamām* marked off as a restatement of the original word). *Tib.* is somewhat interpretive – for *mtshungs*, an inherited translation of *asamām*, it gives a gloss (*mnyam pa*) – but there is nothing to suggest it had a second *iti*. Nevertheless, a problem remains. The usual restatement of the case of the epithet following a bahuvrīhi analysis is lacking. (See the following note, on 1.232.)

1.232 tāṃ ca conj. (NMAA[1, 228]) : om. codd.

My reasons for adopting this diagnostic emendation are the same as those given in the note on 1.230, above.

1.245 punaḥ γε : punaḥ punaḥ ζ : om. Tib.

Stemmatic analysis supports the reading *punaḥ* (ie. being in γε it must be in β), unless γ and ε independently omitted one *punaḥ*. This seems unlikely given that *punaḥ punaḥ* would be familiar as the reading of the NS. An error of commission is more likely in this case than one of omission. (See the following note for discussion of the context and of *Tib.*)

1.246 punar codd. : yang dang yang du {punaḥ punar} Tib.[187.3.2]

punar api kimviśiṣṭām ity āha / yātitair ityādi / atītair buddhair yā
bhāṣitā anāgatās ca ye samyaksambuddhā hi yasmād yām bhāṣiṣyante
punaḥ / pratyutpannās ca buddhā bhagavanto bhāṣante yām
nāmasaṃgītiṃ punar apīti // : khyad par gzhan yang ci 'dra ba ('dra
Tib.P.) zhe na / gsungs pa / 'das pa'i sangs rgyas rnams kyis gsungs

zhes pa la sogs pa ste / 'das pa'i sangs rgyas rnams kyis gang gsungs pa dang / ma 'ongs pa'i yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas rnams kyis gsung bar 'gyur ba gang yin pa dang / yang da ltar byung ba'i sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das rnams yang dang yang du gsung ba (gsungs pa Tib.D.) gang yin pa'i zhes bya'o Tib.[187.2.8–187.3.2]

Rather than emend to *punaḥ punar* I follow *codd.* on the grounds that it is unlikely that one *punaḥ* would be omitted in error given the familiarity of the NS context. It seems that Vilāsavajra reads NS 12d's *punaḥ punaḥ* in such a way that one *punaḥ* qualifies *anāgatāḥ samyaksambuddhāḥ* (see the note on 1.245, above) and the other *pratyutpannā buddhāḥ*.

Tib., however, does not have a *punaḥ* qualifying *anāgatāḥ samyaksambuddhāḥ*, but has both (yang dang yang du) qualifying *pratyutpannā buddhāḥ* (da ltar byung ba'i sangs rgyas). Possibly *Tib.* has been influenced by its inherited translation of the NS: for the opening *pratīka* (yātītair ityādi) *Tib.* cites the whole of the opening *pāda* of NS 12 ('das pa'i sangs rgyas rnams kyis gsungs) and where the Skt. paraphrases the fourth *pāda* *Tib.* cites *NS.Tib.* (yang dang yang du gsung ba gang) and omits any translation of *nāmasaṃgītiṃ*.

There is a case for emending to *pratyutpannāś ca <saṃ>buddhā* since elsewhere the Skt. incorporates the text of the NS into its paraphrase. However, *Tib.*'s *da ltar byung ba'i sangs rgyas* supports *codd.* (*pratyutpannāś ca buddhā*); it does not have *sambuddhā* (da ltar byung ba'i rdzogs sangs rgyas = *NS.Tib.*[Mukherji 8, v.12]).

1.247 māyājāletyādi ... *codd.* : des 'di skad gsung bar (par *Tib.D.*) 'gyur te ... {anenaitad uktam bhavati ...} *Tib.*[187.3.2]

Following its translation of ...*nāmasaṃgītiṃ punaḥ apīti*, *Tib.* translates the passage *anenaitad uktam bhavati* (line 251) → *pradarśitam bhavatīti* (line 255)

before returning to *māyājāletyādi*, ie. where the Skt. has *māyājāletyādi*, *Tib. des 'di skad gsung bar* (par Tib.D.) 'gyur te.

In many ways this is a better order than the Skt. since the passage in question relates to NS 12 rather than to NS 12–14, which is how it has to be understood in the Skt.. MS A and B are unavailable here, so the Skt. is that of β , and not necessarily that of Ω . On all other occasions (except for at 1.156: see note) when the Skt. and *Tib.* order the NMAA differently, it is clear that it is *Tib.* that contains the rearrangement under the influence of an inherited translation of the NS used for the NS citations. Here there is no such influence. However, if the order as preserved in *Tib.* is correct, the process by which β became corrupt is not clear from any of the MSS. One possibility is that an exemplar of β initially omitted the passage and then incorrectly reinserted it as a marginal correction, which was subsequently incorporated into β . Although I have decided to follow the extant Skt., the evidence from *Tib.* and from the context makes a persuasive case for emendation of the Skt. order.

1.252 *sā conj.* : *om. codd.*

tryadhvavartibhis tathāgatair yā bhāṣitā sā nāmasaṃgītiḥ *conj.* : dus gsum gyi de bzhin gshegs pa mams kyis mtshan yang dag par brjod pa gsungs pa *Tib.*[187.3.2-3]

Since MSS AB are unavailable *codd.* represents β rather than Ω . I have emended diagnostically by inserting *sā* as a necessary correlative of the relative pronoun *yā*. The evidence from *Tib.* is neutral since it does not translate the passage with a relative construction (which does not mean that the Skt. did not contain one). Loss of a syllable, *sā*, through scribal omission is not improbable given that there would be three consecutive syllables ending in *-ā*.

1.252 *tulyatām conj.* (*Sanderson*) : *tulya CJ* : *tulyam DEγ* : [nam mkha'] dang 'dra bar *Tib.*[187.3.3]

anenaitad uktaṃ bhavati / tryadhvavartibhis tathāgatair yā bhāṣitā <sā>
 nāmasaṃgītiḥ / ato 'sya dharmaparyāyasyākāśatulyatām saṃdarśayati
conj. : des 'di skad gsung bar(par *Tib.D.*) 'gyur te / dus gsum gyi de
 bzhin gshegs pa mams kyis mtshan yang dag par brjod pa gsungs pa
 de'i phyir chos kyi rnam grangs 'di ni nam mkha' dang 'dra bar bstan
 pa yin te *Tib.*[187.3.2-3]

MSS AB are unavailable here. The emendation to *-tulyatām* is diagnostic: an abstract noun is required for any sense, given the genitive *asya dharmaparyāyasya*. *Tib.* (lit. “therefore, as for this Dharma teaching, it has been explained as [being] like space”) supports the meaning of the Skt. as emended although it does not translate literally (and so has no genitive or abstract particles.)

1.254 *tathāgatānām conj. (SekUdTī; AKBh) : om. codd. Tib.*[187.3.3]

tathā cōktam / utpādād vā tathāgatānām anutpādād vā <tathāgatānām>
 sthitaivaiṣā dharmāṇām dharmateti pradarśitaṃ bhavatīti *conj.* : de skad
 du yang gsungs pa / de bzhin gshegs pa mams byung yang rung ma
 byung yang rung chos nyid ni kun tu (du *Tib.D.*) gnas pa'o zhes bstan
 par 'gyur ro zhes so // *Tib.*[187.3.3-4]

This passage is cited in a number of other sources. Yaśomitra, requoting it from the Abhidharmakośa, states that the passage comes from a sūtra (AKBhVyā 452, 20), though I have not been able to identify which one. Against all the testimonia, both *codd.* and *Tib.* have just one *tathāgatānām*. However, the MS evidence is that of the descendents of β; A and B, generally the most reliable MSS, are unavailable at this point. If a second *tathāgatānām* has been omitted, its omission by *Tib.* could be the result of *Tib.* working with a corrupt exemplar. Alternatively, since the testimonia differ in the latter part of the passage (*sthitaivaiṣā dharmāṇām dharmatā* as against *sthitaiveyaṃ dharmatā*) suggesting it circulated in more than one form, *Tib.* could be following a version of the passage with which it is already familiar rather than translating afresh (as with citation of the NS verses). That it also fails to witness

dharmāṇām, as does the version cited in the AKBh and its Vyākhyā, perhaps supports this view. If *Tib.* is following another version, rather than being corrupt, that version has *tathāgatānām* only once, yet all the Sanskrit testimonia witness it occurring twice.

A further argument for not emending is that the Vairocanābhisambodhi-sūtra, with which Vilāsavajra was familiar – he quotes from its first chapter in NMAA 6 – contains what looks like a version of this quotation in chapter two. Wayman (1985, 51, note 3) cites this passage in English translation (presumably from the Tibetan): “Master of the Secret Ones, besides, the mantra character was not made, nor arranged to be made, nor rejoiced in, by any of the Buddhas. Why so? It is like this: There is a continuum (*dharmatā*) of natures (*dharma*) whether a Tathāgata arises or does not arise. The continuum of dharmas remains immemorially. And this is the mantra-character of mantras...”. Yamamoto translates (less intelligibly) the same passage from the Chinese: “Again oh master of mysteries, all the Buddhas did not make the form of mantras, nor did they let others make, nor did they rejoice by making of others. What is the reason? Because many dharmas (things) are like this as the dharma (sic). All the dharmas remain naturally, whether many Tathāgatas appear or not, for many mantras remain innately.” (Yamamoto 1990, 28).

Here we have just one reference to the Tathāgatas. Could this, perhaps, have been Vilāsavajra’s source? Yet Vilāsavajra was also familiar with the Abhidharmakośa – he cites it a number of times in chapter 6 – where *tathāgatānām* occurs twice. In the present instance, however, the search for a source may be misplaced. Since the quotation appears to have been popular and well-known it is likely to have been part of a general body of quotations from sūtra familiar to the scholar of his time. That Vilāsavajra introduces the citation with *tathā cōktam* supports such a view.

In conclusion, I have emended so as to include a second *tathāgatānām*. Although it is not certain that Vilāsavajra did not know the quotation as it has come down to us in the extant MSS of the NMAA, the fact that all the Skt. testimonia have *tathāgatānām* twice is strong evidence that it generally had such a form.

1.254 *bhavatīti conj. (Tib.[187.3.4]) : bhavati codd.*

pradarśitaṃ bhavatīti conj. (Tib.[187.3.4] bstan par 'gyur ro zhes so)

I emend to *bhavatīti*, following *Tib.*, since, given that the quotation is introduced by *tathā cokaṃ*, *pradarśitaṃ bhavati* makes sense only as part of the citation.

1.269 *adhyeṣya corr. : adhyeṣye codd.*

 Newar scribes often confuse *ya* and *ye* following a consonant.

Textual Notes: Chapter 2

2.1 bhagavān conj. (NMAA[2, 5–6]) : bhagavām NS.Dav.[50, v.17]

bhagavān sambuddha iti gathārthaḥ NMAA[2, 5–6]

In inserting the text of NS 17, I follow the reading *bhagavān* given by *codd.* in its citation of this part of the verse against *NS.Dav.* (though Davidson neglects to record that *Mukherji* [11, v.17] has *bhagavān*). See also the notes on 1.189 and 3.1 for the reading *bhagavān* vs. *bhagavām* in NS 9 and NS 23 respectively.

2.12 kiṃ kṛtvā / smitam ityādi *codd.* : ci zhig mdzad ce na / 'jig rten gsum po snang byed cing zhes pa la sogs pa ste {kiṃ kṛtvā / trailokyābhāsakaraṇam ityādi} *Tib.*[187.5.4]

Tib. does not translate *smitam*, the first word of NS 18, but cites the first line of an inherited translation of the verse, which corresponds to the third *pāda* (trailokyābhāsakaraṇam). *Tib.* follows the citation of NS 18c with that part of the NMAA that comments on it, thereby changing the order of the original. The translation of the remaining material on NS 18 follows the same pattern, ie. it is rearranged so as to follow the *pāda* order of the translation of the NS, namely, c-d-b-a.

2.34 prasūyate A : prasūyate iti D : <-- -->iti εJ : <~3>γ : mahar*dya*m ca iti H² : rab skye ba *Tib.*[188.1.5] ♦ 'nekasāhasra conj. : anekasāhasraṃ β : anekasāhasryā A ♦ parṣadi / iti *em.* : parṣadīti A : parṣadam β

brāhmaṃ puṇyaṃ prasūyate 'nekasāhasraparṣadi / iti conj. : tshangs ldan bsod nams rab skye ba'o (pa'o *Tib.D.*) zhes bshad pa lta bu'o / stong phrag du ma rnam las te *Tib.*[188.1.5]

This passage is problematic in number of ways. The placing of *iti* before *anekasāhasraṃ parṣadam* by β is puzzling. It is the *lectio difficilior*; it is supported by *Tib.*; and *brāhmaṃ puṇyaṃ prasūyate* scans as a second or fourth *anuṣṭubh pāda* (ie. *iti* may mark the citation of a final quarter verse). Yet

sāhasra, part of the next word, is subsequently glossed implying that '*nekasāhasraparṣadi* (in this or some other form) is part of the quotation.

Tib. also differs from the *Skt.* as a whole. It does not have anything for the word *parṣad*, and it has a nominal form (rab skye ba) for *prasūyate*, giving, “There is a production (or ‘producer’) of great merit” as a translation. The ablative and semi-final particles *las te* following *stong phrag du ma rnam* {*anekasāhasra*} are also problematic: they could represent a corruption of the locative *la ste*, in which case there would be some support for A’s locative.

Since the context clearly implies that *sāhasra* is part of a citation I have preferred A’s positioning of *iti* and I have also diagnostically emended to *sāhasra-* giving a *pāda* that scans. There remains the question of the case termination for *parṣad*. Although β’s *parṣadam* is possible as an accusative of extension (“throughout the assembly”), I have followed A’s *parṣadi*. This decision is linked with one to accept A’s reading against β’s for the sentence after the gloss on *sāhasra* (ie. *anekasāhasramayyām parṣadīty arthaḥ* against *anekasāhasramayī parṣad ity arthaḥ*). Here, the locative is more likely to be correct, understood as following the case of the citation although it could be taken as glossing an accusative of extension (*parṣadam*) and so supporting β. Though this is possible it involves accepting β at this one point when other considerations suggest that A has better readings for the passage overall (see the following two notes).

Prof. A. Sanderson has pointed out that an emendation to *prasūyetāneka-* would give a regular sound half-verse. In this case the optative could be taken as being used as a preterite, as it sometimes is in Buddhist Sanskrit (see BHS § 32.85).

- 2.36 mayyām *conj.* : maryyām A : mayī β ♦ parṣadīty AJ : parṣad ity ꣳED
 sāhasraśabdena trisāhasramahāsāhasro lokadhātur avagantavyaḥ /
 anekasāhasramayyām parṣadīty arthaḥ *conj.* : stong phrag gi sgra ni

stong gsum gyi stong chen po'i 'jig rten gyi kham la shes par bya ste /
 stong phrag du ma'i rang bzhin gyi dkyil 'khor zhes don (*conj.* : ston
Tib.) no (to *Tib.D*) / *Tib.*[188.1.5–6]

I take *anekasāhasramayyām parṣadīty arthaḥ* to be a concluding paraphrase of the latter part of the citation following the equation of *sāhasra* with *trisāhasramahāsāhasra* in the preceding gloss. It would be natural to use the same case as the original. Corruption from *mayyām* to *mayī* is feasible, involving loss of a *y* and *anusvāra*, followed by a change in vowel from *ā* to *ī*, not a great change in Newarī script. A second corruption, from *parṣadīty* to *parṣadity*, to give agreement of case termination, might follow (J's *-mayī parṣadīty* may represent the intermediate stage).

Tib.'s ... *dkyil 'khor zhes don no* could indicate a nominative; but since *Tib.* is not always literal a case particle may have omitted. Alternatively, *Tib.* could be following β – it seems to be following some version of β in the original citation (see the preceding note, on 2.34).

2.40–1 tena mahattvād brahma / tasya svarō brahmasvaraḥ *conj.* : tena mahattvād
 brahma / tasya sūro brahmasvaram A : tena mahattvād brahmasvaraḥ β
Tib.([188.1.7] de bas na che ba'i phyir tshangs pa'i gsung ro)

I follow A (emending to *svaro* and *brahmasvaraḥ*) against β and *Tib.*. MS A gives better sense: *tena mahattvād brahma* reasserts the earlier statement that the term *brahma* in *brahmasvara* should be understood to refer to what is great, or what is of great quality (*brahmasvara iti brahmaśabdo mahato mahāguṇasyādhivacanam*: lines 32–3); *tasya svarō brahmasvaraḥ* then gives a tatpuruṣa analysis of *brahmasvaraḥ*, which I take as showing that Vilāsavajra was aware that the compound could not be taken as a karmadhāraya although his explanation of the term suggests the translation 'great sound' to be appropriate. *Tib.* follows β here, as it generally does in this passage on the NS epithet *brāhmyā*. The reading of β is straightforwardly explained as a

corruption of A, an omission resulting from a *saut du même au même*. It is harder to explain A's reading as involving an addition.

In terms of sense, a case might be made for β being correct if, in line 32, *brahmaśabdo* is taken as glossing *brahmasvara* rather than specifying the word *brahma*. This would give, “[His voice is also described as] **sublime** (brāhmyā) because it is endowed with *brahma*-sound. [The phrase] *brahma*-sound (brahmasvaraḥ > brahmaśabdaḥ) is the name for that which is great, that is to say, for that which is of great quality”. The difference in interpretation amounts to the difference between saying that Śākyamuni's voice is sublime because it has great qualities and saying that it is sublime because its sound has great qualities. Adopting the former, the interpretation that could support β 's later reading, *tena mahattvād brahmasvaraḥ*, involves accepting a less likely use of the word *śabda* (as ‘sound’) in this context. It also makes less sense of the following citations, which are concerned with the sound-quality of Śākyamuni's voice.

2.42 *atha vā conj.* (Tib.[188.1.8] yang na) : *tatra codd.*

The emendation is diagnostic, though supported by Tib. (*yang na* usually renders *atha vā*). It is required here since a second explanation of *brahmasvaraḥ* is being introduced.

2.49 *vajradhara conj.* (NMAA[2.54–5]) : *vajradharaḥ NS.Dav.[51, v.20]*

sādhū vajradharetyādi / te tava vajrapāṇeḥ sādhu / śrīmān he vajradhara NMAA[2.54–5]

The NMAA clearly reads the vocative, *vajradhara*. Davidson, though adopting *vajradharaḥ*, notes the reading *vajradhara* in a number of the MSS and editions of the NS (NS.Dav. *Vira, Ne, M, Minaev*). The nominative form could result from a desire to make *vajradharaḥ* agree with *śrīmān* (if read as nominative). See note following.

- 2.49 *śrīmān conj. (NMAA[2.54–5]) : śrīmāṃ NS.Dav.[51, v.20]*
sādhu vajradharetyādi / te tava vajrapāṇeḥ sādhu / śrīmān he vajra-
dhara NMAA[2.54–5]

I follow the NMAA reading, taking the final *anusvāra* of *NS.Dav.* to be, as with *bhagavāṃ* (see notes on 1.189, 2.1 and 3.1), an example of an extension of the use of the *anusvāra* in place of medial nasals to stand for a final nasal. It is not clear whether Vilāsavajra takes *śrīmān* as a vocative, though it is hard not to read it as such. However, it is not explicitly glossed as such, as is the name Vajradhara (*śrīmān he vajradhara ...*). Edgerton gives some examples of the nominative singular being used for the vocative (BHSg p.50, § 8.28) but not for ‘-nt’ stems.

- 2.50 *yat conj. (NMAA[2, 55] yat yasmāt; NS.Tib.) : yas NS.Dav.[51, v.20]*
sādhu vajradhara śrīmān sādhu te vajrapāṇaye /
yat tvam jagaddhitārthāya mahākaruṇayānvitaḥ //
mahārthāṃ nāmasaṃgītiṃ pavitrām aghanāśanīm /
mañjuśrījñānakāyasya mattaḥ śrotuṃ samudyataḥ //
tat sādhu deśayāmy eṣa ahaṃ te guhyakādhipa / (NS 20–22ab) conj. :
snying rje che dang ldan gyur pas / / 'gro la phan pa'i don du khyod / /
ye shes lus can 'jam dpal gyi / / ming brjod pa ni don che ba / /
dag par byed cing sdig sel ba / / nga las mnyan par brtson pa ni / /
legs so dpal ldan rdo rje 'chan / / lag na rdo rje khyod legs so / /
gsang ba'i bdag po de phyir ngas / / khyod la legs par bstan par bya / /
NS.Tib.[Mukherji 13–15]

In reading *yat tvam* in NS 20c against *NS.Dav.*'s *yaḥ tvam*, I follow the NMAA, which has *yat* (glossed as *yasmāt*) at 1.55. *Tib.[188.2.3]* reads *gang dang gang gi phyir*, translating *yat yasmāt*. This is grammatically more satisfactory since, whereas *yat* can be picked up by *tat* in NS 22a, *yaḥ* has no correlative. *NS.Tib.* follows Vilāsavajra's analysis of the structure of NS 20–22ab, with *gyur pas* corresponding to *yat*, and *de phyir* ('therefore') – in the final line of *NS.Tib.* above – corresponding to *tat*. However, the revised NS

translation of the Derge and Narthang editions of the Kanjur substitutes the connective particles *cing* and *te* respectively for the *pas* of *NS.Tib.*'s *gyur pas*, while keeping *de phyir* for *tat*. (For these changes and a change in order of the stanzas to accord more with the Skt., see *Mukherji* 14, note 1; 15, notes 1 & 2.) This evidence suggests that *yat tvam...* and *yas tvam...* may have existed as alternatives in the Sanskrit transmission, with *yas tvam...* possibly being later and hence incorporated only into the revised translation of the NS. If it had come to be regarded as the correct reading by this period, it is not surprising that the extant Skt. MSS of the NS attest it.

Tib. reads *snying rje che dang ldan gyur pas zhes pa la sogs pa ni* (*Tib.*[188.2.2]) for *sādhu vajradharetyādi* (1.54), ie. citing the opening of *NS.Tib.* for NS 20–22, rather than translating the Skt. as it stands. However, *Tib.* keeps to the order of the NMAA in what follows.

2.53 *guhyakādhipa conj. (NMAA[2, 56] he guhyakādhipa) : guhyakādhipaḥ*
NS.Dav.[51, v.22]

I follow NMAA against *NS.Dav.* (Davidson does not note that *Mukherji* [14, v.22] has *guhyakādhipa*). The context indicates that the sense here must be vocative. The reading *guhyakādhipaḥ* could arguably be a survival of an original nominative functioning as a vocative, in the same way as *śrīmān* in NS 20a (see note to 2.49, above) or it could be a straightforward scribal addition. In any case, whereas the unexpected form *śrīmān* is preserved, there is no evidence that Vilāsavajra had *guhyakādhipaḥ* before him.

Textual Notes: Chapter 3

- 3.1 bhagavān conj. (NMAA[3, 4] atha śākyamunir bhagavān) : bhagavām
NS.Dav.[51, v.23]

NS.Dav. has the reading *bhagavām* in NS 23 (though Davidson fails to note that *Mukherji* [15, v.23] has *bhagavān*), as it does for NS 9 and NS 17. However, all the available MSS read *bhagavān* in the NMAA's citation of NS 23a. For further discussion of the grounds for accepting *bhagavān* against *bhagavām* see the note on 1.189 (NS 9). For the reading *bhagavān* in NS 17 see the note on 2.1.

- 3.1 sakalam conj. (NMAA[3, 4], NS.Dav.[51, v.23]) : sakala NMAA[3, 4],
NS.Dav.^{Ne., A}

sakalam mantrakulam mahad iti NMAA[3, 4] (sakalam A : sakala β)

I have accepted A's *sakalam* against β's *sakala* in the citation of NS 23b in the NMAA. NS.Dav.[51, v.23] in fact reads *savakalam*, but I take this to be a misprint of *sakalam*, in which case it supports A. However, Davidson does record two readings of *sakala*-. I have preferred *sakalam mantrakulam mahat* against *sakalamantrakulam mahat* as the reading of the (irregular) quarter verse that Vilāsavajra had before him. Though Vilāsavajra does not gloss *sakalam*, his statement that the phrase is a summary statement (*grahaṇakavākyam*) is in keeping with *sakala* qualifying *kula* rather than *mantra* (ie. the 'entire great family of mantras' rather than 'the great family of all mantras'). The Tibetan translations of the NS give both possibilities. NS.Tib. [*Mukherji* 15, v.23] has *gsang sngags rigs chen thams cad dang* (*sakalam mantrakulam mahat*) but the revised Derge and Narthang xylograph editions have *gsang sngags mtha' dag rigs chen po* (*sakalamantrakulam mahat*). The existence of the different interpretations in the Tibetan translations of the NS suggests that the reading *sakala*- probably appeared quite early. It may have been accepted as the correct reading

at the time when the earlier Tibetan translation of the NS was revised, or it may be that the reviser had a corrupt exemplar before him. Thus where it is found in NS MSS it might be a genuine variant reading and not the result of a lost *anusvāra*, though that may explain its origin. β's *sakala-* in the NMAA citation could be due to the influence of scribal familiarity with that NS reading.

3.4 *ityādi* / *tatra conj.* (*Tib.*[188.3.2] *ces pa la sogs pa ste / de la*) : *om. codd.*

atha śākyamunir bhagavān ityādi / tatra sakalam mantrakulam mahad iti conj. (Tib.[188.3.2] *de nas bcom ldan śā kya thub ces pa la sogs pa ste / de la gsang sngags rigs chen thams cad dang zhes pa ni*) : *atha śākya-munir bhagavān sakalam mantrakulam mahad iti codd.*

I have emended by inserting *ityādi tatra*, which is supported by *Tib.*'s *ces pa la sogs pa ste / de la*. The reading of *codd.* is not necessarily that of Ω, since the testimony of MS B is not available. A number of additional considerations support the emendation.

Firstly, it makes better sense in relation to the NMAA passage that follows. The phrase *grahaṇakavākyam etat sāmānyenopāttam* applies now to just *sakalam mantrakulam mahad*, and not the whole half verse. As an explanation of the half verse *grahaṇakavākyam etat* makes no sense as it cannot stand on its own (ie. it is not a *vākyam*). An alternative solution to emending as *Tib.* indicates would be to see *grahaṇakavākyam etat* as descriptive of both verses that deal with the mantra families (NS 23–4). In this case one would have to emend *codd.*'s *mahad iti* to *mahad ityādi*. However, though one could see these two verses as an introductory or summary statement (*grahaṇakavākyam*), in this context Vilāsavajra wants to mark *sakalam mantrakulam mahad* as introducing the six families that are named immediately afterwards. This makes the reading of *Tib.* more plausible.

Secondly, the emendation suggested by *Tib.* gives a Skt. text that is in stylistic harmony with what precedes and follows. If *codd.* is correct then the NMAA is citing here a complete half verse of the NS. This is atypical thus far in the NMAA. In fact, there is no citation of more than a quarter verse until chapter five, where NS 32cd is cited. Subsequently, whole NS verses are given. Furthermore, when emended, the opening of this chapter becomes close in style to that of the previous one. Chapter two opens, *adhyeṣaṇānantaram prati-vacanam āha / atha śākyamunir ityādi* (see NMAA 2, 3).

Thirdly, *Tib.* is unlikely to interpolate a passage such as *ces pa la sogs pa ste / de la* into a citation of the NS. In general *Tib.* tends to give more of any NS citation in the NMAA than is found in the Skt. MSS (for example, it gives NS 30cd where the Ω has NS 30c: see the note on 5.56 for this and similar instances). Thus it would be uncharacteristic of *Tib.* to shorten an opening citation by adding an extra passage.

3.4 sakalam A NS.Dav.[51, v.23] : sakala β NS.Dav.^{Ne. A}

See note 3.1 above.

3.11 vairocanakulam *codd.* : rnam par snang mdzad kyi rigs zhes pa'i don to {vairocanakulam ity arthaḥ} *Tib.*[188.3.5]

The question of whether to emend to *vairocanakulam ity arthaḥ*, following *Tib.*, is not one of meaning, which is unaffected, but rather one of style. The discussion of *kulatrāyam* in the NMAA differs from that of the other mantra families in its brevity: *kulatrāyam iti kāyavākcittasvabhāvatvād vairocanakulam (codd.)*. This makes good sense as it stands; an additional *ity arthaḥ* is redundant. I have, therefore, accepted the reading of *codd.*, and take *Tib.* to represent an addition, influenced perhaps by the instances of *ity arthaḥ* concluding the passages on the other families.

The discussion of *kulatrāyāṃ* also differs from that of the other families in that the others are all analysed as genitive tatpuruṣas. A concluding *ity arthaḥ* is more appropriate in such a context. See note on 3.18.

3.17 mahad conj. (Tib.[188.3.8] chen) : om. codd.

tasya kulam lokālokakulam mahad vajrakulam ity arthaḥ conj.
(Tib.[188.3.7–8] de'i rigs ni 'jig rten snang byed rigs (rin Tib.P.) chen
dang zhes pa ste / rdo rje'i rigs so //) :

Following Tib., I emend from *lokālokakulam* to *lokālokakulam mahad*, thereby giving the full name of the *kula*. It could be argued that since the sentence analyses *lokālokakulam* as a tatpuruṣa, to have *mahat* is inappropriate. However, the sentence also has the role of identifying the family as the *vajrakula*, for which the full name *lokālokakulam mahad* is more appropriate. The other family that contains an uncompounded *mahat* as part of its name is given its identity in this way: *tasya kulam mahoṣṇīṣakulam mahad ratnakulam ity arthaḥ* (line 22).

3.18 ity arthaḥ H² : iti α : om. Tib.

Though little in terms of meaning turns on it, the assessment of the presence or absence of *ity arthaḥ* at the conclusions of the passages on the six families, and the agreement or disagreement of the Skt. and Tib. witnesses, is not simple. For the passage on Vairocana's family, which differs in structure from the others, see the note above, on 3.11. Of the remaining five families four are analysed in the same way, as genitive tatpuruṣa's followed by an identification of the family symbol, using the form, *tasya kulam X Y-kulam ity arthaḥ* (see lines 10, 14–15, 17–18, and 22), where 'Y' is filled by *karma*, *padma*, *vajra* and *ratna* respectively, and X is the family name given in the NS. The final *ity arthaḥ* is attested for each of these by all the available Skt. MSS and Tib., with the exception of *vajrakulam ity arthaḥ*, which is witnessed by just one corrected MS (H²). The fifth family, the *mahāmudrākula*, is also

analysed as a genitive tatpuruṣa, but no family symbol is given afterwards. (Its identification as the family of Bodhicittavajra is given before the concluding tatpuruṣa analysis.) Here a final *ity arthaḥ* is also witnessed, again, only by the one same corrected MS, giving the reading *tasya kulam mahāmudrākulam ity arthaḥ* (*ity arthaḥ* H² : *iti* α : *om. Tib.*). How are H²'s readings to be assessed? As representing scribal additions made for the sake of an apparent consistency? I am inclined to think not. H² can have good readings from outside α, and the readings of MS B, which come from a separate branch of the stemma, are unavailable here. An assessment of H²'s readings depends on an understanding of the function of the phrase *ity arthaḥ*. This could be to make the family symbol identification, in which case *vajrakulam ity arthaḥ* can be accepted. Such a reading is consistent with the text of the three other family identifications. Alternatively, the scope of *ity arthaḥ* could be wider, having as its reference the tatpuruṣa analysis, with the family symbol identification, when present, seen as part of that analysis. The two options can be illustrated by means of punctuation: 1. *asya kulam lokalokottarakulam / padmakulam ity arthaḥ*; 2. *asya kulam lokalokottarakulam padmakulam ity arthaḥ*. Each can give sense. For the purposes of editing, I have taken *ity arthaḥ* to have the wider scope and have accepted *asya kulam mahāmudrākulam ity arthaḥ*. In both cases I have accepted H²'s reading where *ity arthaḥ* is supported only by H² (*ity arthaḥ* H² : *iti* α : *om. Tib.*). To have assumed a narrower scope for *ity arthaḥ* would have meant accepting *Tib.* in the second case (line 20) against not only H², but also α (insofar as α attests *iti*).

Assuming it is correct that *ity arthaḥ* functions to point to the tatpuruṣa meaning of the NS names, it accords with the decision to accept *codd.*'s reading of *vairocanakulam* rather than *Tib.*'s {*vairocanakulam ity arthaḥ*}.

3.19–20 mahāmudrākulam *codd.* : phyag rgya chen po'i rigs mchog {mahāmudrākulam agryam} *Tib.*[188.4.1]

I have followed the reading of *codd.* here. It could be argued that the same grounds for accepting *Tib.* apply in this case as in the previous one (see preceding note), namely that the full NS description of the *kula* should be given as it is for *mahoṣṇīṣakulam mahad* (line 22). However, the *mahāmudrākula* is analysed differently from the *mahoṣṇīṣakulam*: its identification as Bodhicittavajra's family is made immediately after the opening citation of the NS *pāda*, rather than at the end of the discussion, after the concluding tatpuruṣa analysis. As a result, there is no need to state the full NS description of the family in the tatpuruṣa analysis of *mahāmudrākulam*. Also, since *agryam* is explained earlier (bodhicittavajrakulam ata evāgryam: lines 18–19), further reference to it is unnecessary.

3.20 ity arthaḥ H² : iti α : *om. Tib.*

See note above, on 3.18.

Textual Notes: Chapter 4

- 4.4 *nāmasaṃgītiṃ nāma cūḍāmaṇiṃ codd. Tib.([188.4.5–6] mtshan yang dag par brjod pa zhes pa gtsug gi nor bu)*

mantramukhacaryācārī imāṃ bhagavato mañjuśrījñānasattvasya sarva-
tathāgatajñānakāyasya jñānamūrter advayaparamārthāṃ nāmasaṃgītiṃ
nāmacūḍāmaṇiṃ *NS.Dav.[65, 3–5]* : nāmasaṃgīti<ṃ> nāmnā cūḍā-
maṇiṃ *NMAA 12 [D.185r2]*

The issue here is whether to take *nāma cūḍāmaṇiṃ* as two words or one. They form part of a passage, cited above, that is incorporated into the NMAA from the NS *anuśaṃsā*. I have followed *Tib.* in taking them as two words, making what precedes *nāma* into a title, “this crest-jewel called the Nāmasaṃgīti”. The alternative, of reading them as one word, *nāmacūḍāmaṇiṃ*, is followed by *Tib.* when part of this same *anuśaṃsā* passage is incorporated into chapter five (NMAA 5, 280: see note 5.280): “this crest-jewel of name[-recitations], the Nāmasaṃgīti” (mtshan yang dag par brjod pa mtshan gyi gtsug gi nor bu ’di *Tib.[194.4.8–194.5.1]*). Of the two interpretations the first is preferable since the second involves interpreting *nāmacūḍāmaṇiṃ* as *nāma-saṃgīticūḍāmaṇiṃ* to give any sense. The decisive evidence for Vilāsavajra’s understanding is his gloss on the same passage in NMAA 12 (on the *anuśaṃsā*), which confirms that he took *nāma* to be uncompounded. It should be observed that Davidson (65, note 4) cites *Tib.* for the chapter 12 passage to confirm Minaev’s reading of *nāmacūḍāmaṇiṃ*, but *Tib.* here mistranslates (mtshan gyi gtsug gi nor bu *Tib.[224.1.6]*).

In contrast, *NS.Tib.D.N.* translates *imāṃ ... nāmasaṃgītiṃ nāma cūḍāmaṇiṃ* (the passage cited by NMAA) differently from either of the two translations given by *Tib.*, reading *mtshan yang dag par brjod pa gtsug gi nor bu zhes bya ba ’di* {*imāṃ nāmasaṃgītiṃ cūḍāmaṇiṃ nāma*} (*NS.Tib.D.N. [Mukherji 119, 9–10]*), which could be rendered in English as “this Nāmasaṃgīti,

called a crest jewel”. Though it does take *nāma* as ‘called’ rather than as ‘name’, *NS.Tib.D.N.* does not appear to translate the Skt. as attested by NMAA and *NS.Dav.*. On the one other occasion where the phrase *nāmasaṃgītiṃ nāma cūḍāmaṇiṃ* occurs in the NS (also in the *anuśamsā*: see *NS.Dav.* 66, 21), *NS.Tib.D.N.* does not translate any differently (see *Mukherji* 123, 4–5) and *Tib.* again reads *nāmacūḍāmaṇiṃ* (mtshan gyi gtsug gi nor bu *Tib.* [224.5.3]).

- 4.6 kṛt A *Tib.* ([188.4.6–7] byang chub chen por smon pa’i sems) : kṛta β

Tib. (“the aspiration mind [directed] to great enlightenment”) favours A’s *mahābodhikṛt praṇidhānacittaḥ*. This makes sense in the context of the practitioner who is about to take the vows of the Buddha families as a way of expressing a further stage in his resolve to gain full Buddhahood.

- 4.12 traiyadhvikā *codd.* : traiyadhvika *SDPS*[146, 9]

I follow *codd.* here since it gives a half verse that scans.

- 4.13 kuśala *conj.* (*SDPS*[146, 10]; *Tib.*[188.5.2] dge ba’i [chos ni sdud pa dang]) : kuśalaṃ *codd.*

I emend to *kuśala*, following *Tib.* and *SDPS*, giving *kuśaladharmasamgraham* (“the collecting of good *dharmas*”) for the second *pāda* of the verse, which makes better sense than *kuśalaṃ dharmasamgraham* (“the good collection of *dharmas*”). *SDPS.Tib.*, however, opts for taking it as two words (dge ba dang ni chos sdud dang *SDPS* 147, 11).

- 4.17 vajraṃ γ : vajra Aδ *SDPS*[146, 14] ♦ ghaṇṭāṃ AJ : ghaṇṭāṃñ γ : ghaṇṭā εD

vajraṃ ghaṇṭāṃ ca mudrāṃ ca : vajraghaṇṭāṃ ca mudrāṃ ca : rdo rje dril bu (*em.* : dril bu’i *Tib.*) phyag rgya dag *Tib.*[188.5.3] : rdo rje dril bu phyag rgya yang *SDPS.Tib.* [147, 15–16]

According to an analysis of the readings in relation to the stemma, α should have *vajraghaṇṭāṃ* but since MS B is unavailable it cannot be assumed that this

is the reading of Ω . Also, A and δ could independently have dropped an *anusvāra* from *vajram*. *Tib.* and *SDPS.Tib.* are ambiguous as to number. The former's *dag* can indicate both dual and plural, and in the absence of other indications *SDPS.Tib.*'s *yang* suggests a plural. In context, *vajram ghaṇṭām ca mudrām ca* makes better sense. It is unlikely that only a *vajra*-bell and *mudrā* would be mentioned, given the ritual importance of the *vajra* and *ghaṇṭā* as a pair. If one of the three were to be left out it would most likely be *mudrā*. I have therefore preferred *vajram*, the reading of γ , against *vajra-*. Loss of the *anusvāra* may have been influenced by scribal familiarity with *vajraghaṇṭā* as an alternative term for the bell used in Buddhist Tantric ritual.

SDPS also reads *vajraghaṇṭām ca mudrām ca*, though Skorupski translates, "In truth I will grasp the vajra, the bell, and the *Mudrā*." (SDPS 18, 35).

- 4.54 sarvasattvārthakriyāvirahito β *Tib.* ([189.2.1] sems can thams cad kyi don byed pa dang bral bas [na mal 'byor pas]) : sarvasattvārthakriyā'virahto A

A's *avagraha* indicates a reading of *sarvasattvārthakriyā-avirahito*. However, I take this use of the *avagraha* to be a scribal addition rather than part of the textual transmission. *Tib.* supports *kriyā-virahato*, as does the context, which suggests a transition to *kriyā* in the fifth *abhisambodhi*, away from the absorption in *jñāna* accompanied by *karunā*, characteristic of the first four.

- 4.60 yogī conj. (*Tib.* [189.2.4] mal 'byor pas) : yoginaś codd.

The subject of the sentence cannot be *cittam* with *yoginaḥ* as a genitive singular form since *cittam* could hardly function as the subject of *cintayet*. and also *vicintya* would lack an object. The subject of the sentence is more likely to be 'the Yogin', and the Tibetan translation supports this view, the final instrumentive *s* of *mal 'byor pas* indicating the subject. *Yoginaś* could be a thematised nominative a-stem derived from *yogin*. This hybrid form, though found, is not at all typical of the pure Sanskrit of the NMAA. It is probable that

Vilāsavajra would have used the classical form *yogī* since he uses it just a few lines earlier (at line 54: *sarvasattvārthakriyāvirahito yogī*). If this is correct, *yoginaś* has to be understood as a corruption, perhaps overlaid by scribal correction to a familiar form.

4.61 *akāraṃ vicintya conj. (Tib.[189.2.4] a bsams te) : vicintya codd.*

tato yogī cittam māyopamākāraṃ ākāśadeśastham prakṛtiprabhāsvaram
tāraakāraṃ <akāraṃ> vicintya : de nas rnal 'byor pas sems nyid sgyu
ma'i rnam pa nam mkha'i phyog su gnas pa rang bzhin gyis 'od gsal ba
skar ma'i rnam pa 'gra ba'i a bsams te *Tib.*

This conjectural emendation is suggested by *Tib.*, which indicates that the word *akāraṃ* may have been lost from the Skt., though *Tib.* has just *a bsams te* rather than the more normal *yi ge a bsams te* {ie. it has a word for *a* but not for *kāraṃ*}. The loss of an *akāraṃ* following *tāraakāraṃ* would be explicable as a simple scribal omission of the *saut du même au même* type. It makes sense that the yogin should start by visualising his consciousness in the form of the letter A, given the fundamental role that Vilāsavajra gives this letter (See NMAA 5, 10–11). However, the text still has sense without the emendation: the yogin imagines his consciousness to be naturally radiant, like a star etc.. If the emendation is correct, *tad* in the following *tadudbhūtaṃ* can refer to *akāraṃ* (“arising from that [letter A]”); otherwise it would refer back to *cittam*. A further possibility is that *Tib.* has inserted some text. If the following text in brackets is removed, *Tib.* reads as the Skt.: ...*nam pa'dra ba[i a] bsams te*. It is not obvious why *Tib.* should make an insertion here if indeed this is the case. An omission on the part of α (MS B being unavailable here) is more understandable. Provisionally, I have followed the emendation suggested by *Tib.*.

4.63 *ātmānaṃ bṛhad dhūmkāraṃ codd. Tib.([189.2.5] bdag nyid yi ge hūm chen po bsgom par bya'o)*

Although the use of *brhat* is unusual, the word not being found ordinarily in prose, it is supported by *Tib.*

4.68 *praviśantīti conj. (Sanderson) : praviśataḥ A : praviśanta(-taś J) ḍ : praviś-
antaṃ y*

Though the meaning is fairly clear, the passage from *tasmād dhūmkārād* to *cintayet* is syntactically problematic (lines 63–8). If *anekākāraraśmayah* is the subject of the sentence it needs a verb. The diagnostic emendation *praviśantīti* provides one, the *iti* putting the whole of the sentence into indirect speech. Otherwise *cintayet* would have no object. The alternative is to emend *anekākāraraśmayo*, *vinīḥsrtās* and *sarvatathāgatās* from nominative to accusative, *-raśmīn* becoming the object of *cintayet*, and keep A's *praviśataḥ* as an accusative plural masculine present participle qualifying *-raśmīn*. This latter possibility recommends itself as *praviśataḥ* is the *lectio difficilior*. Even though it would require a greater number of individual emendations they could arise from a single error that 'knocks on' through the whole section.

A further difficulty is the role of *taś ca sarvatathāgataiḥ*. It could be interpreted as taking over the role of the subject of the sentence in the instrumental, but though such an interpretation could yield a good meaning there is no corresponding verb in the passive. Assuming *-raśmayah* stays nominative, then a diagnostic emendation to *te ca sarvatathāgatāḥ* would be appropriate. (If we are dealing with some form of reverberating error, requiring the emendation to *-raśmīn*, then *tān ca sarvatathāgatān* is needed). An alternative is to take *taiḥ ca sarvatathāgataiḥ* as *taiḥ ca sarvatathāgataiḥ saha* so that *-raśmayah* stays as the subject ('the rays ... and together with those Tathāgatas, having gone to all the Buddha-fields' etc.) and this is the alternative I have adopted. In such visualisations it is usually the rays that are finally reabsorbed into the seed syllable. Later in this chapter there is a parallel

visualisation that contains a similar syntactic problem where it is clearer that it is the light-rays that are emanated and reabsorbed into the seed syllable (see note on 4.191).

4.81 *saṃyutaiḥ conj.* (Sanderson) : *saṃyutam codd.*

khacitam vajraratnais tu ardhaandreṇa saṃyutaiḥ conj. : rdo rje rin
chen rnam dang ni / / zla gam (kham *Tib.P.*) rnam kyis yang dag
brgyan (mnan *Tib.P.*) *Tib.*[189.3.5]

If *codd.* is accepted then *saṃyutam*, like *khacitam*, has to be taken as qualifying *kūṭāgāram* and the interpretation of the verse is problematic since it is not clear what “joined with a sickle-moon” might mean in this context. Maṇḍala representations show what is being described is a single decorative motif: a crescent moon with a half-*vajra* emerging from between its horns. The motif is found exactly as described, in the corners and at the door joints of the maṇḍala. As illustrative examples, the mural of the Dharmadhātumaṇḍala of Mañjuśrī (C12th–C14th) in Sum-tsek at Alchi, Ladakh (Pal & Fournier, 1988, S 76) and the line-drawing of the Vajradhātumahāmaṇḍala (Candra, 1987, facing p.30) may be mentioned (see also Olschak, 1973, pp. 35–41). For the half verse to give this meaning *saṃyutam* needs to be emended to *saṃyutaiḥ*, so that *vajraratnaiḥ* is qualified rather than *kūṭāgāram* (I am grateful to Prof. A. Sanderson for suggesting this diagnostic emendation).

Since this passage is a citation, there remains the possibility that it was corrupt (or irregular) from the start. The parallel passages cited in the note to the translation suggest that there were a number of standard *pādas* descriptive of maṇḍalas in circulation. The STTS (63, 15–16) reads, *koṇabhāgeṣu sarveṣu dvāraniryūhasandhiṣu / khacitam vajraratnais tu sūtrayed bāhyamaṇḍalam //*. In this example the quarter verse *ardhaandreṇa saṃyutaiḥ* could have been replaced by *sūtrayed bāhyamaṇḍalam*, or it could be an independent phrase that in some contexts is combined with *khacitam vajraratnais tu*. If the latter is true,

the original form may have contained *saṃyutam*, which remained uncorrected in the new context. Although I have found no other testimonia, the half-verse in the NMAA exactly describes a particular motif, as has been seen. This suggests that the two quarter-verses may have originally belonged together. I have therefore adopted the emendation to *saṃyutaiḥ*.

Tib. does not translate this half verse literally but has one word, *yang dag brgyan*, for both *khacitam* and *saṃyutaiḥ*, giving “... it is adorned with *vajra*-gems and half-moons”. (See *Introduction to the Text*, section 5.3, for further discussion of *Tib.*’s reading.)

- 4.96–7 tatrāsanavikalpaḥ A : tatrāsanam vikalpetah β : de la gdan rnams brtag pa
Tib. [189.4.2] ♦ siṃhāsanam A *Tib.* : siṃhāsanam varam β ♦ gajāsanam
 A *Tib.* : gajāsanam jñeyam β

tatrāsanavikalpaḥ / madhye siṃhāsanam pūrve gajāsanam dakṣiṇe tura-
 gāsanam paścime mayūrāsanam uttare garuḍāsanam iti A : tatrāsanam
 vikalpetah madhye siṃhāsanam varam / pūrve gajāsanam jñeyam
 dakṣiṇe turagāsanam / paścime mayūrāsanam uttare garuḍāsanam / iti β
 : de la gdan rnams brtag pa ni dbus su seng ge’i gdan dang / shar du
 glang po’i gdan dang / lho ru rta’i gdan dang / nub tu rma bya’i gdan
 dang / byang du nam mkha’ lding gi gdan zhes so *Tib.* [189.4.2–3]

I have preferred the readings of A as against those of β. *Tib.* supports A in giving a simple list of the thrones of the deities whereas β continues in metrical form. The additional words, *varam* and *jñeyam* in β are metrical space fillers adding nothing to the meaning. In itself, this is not sufficient reason for concluding that the original was unmetric, though they could easily have been added to transform an original prose passage into verse. In general, MS A is more often correct against β than vice versa, though A could have become corrupt and *Tib.* be based on a similarly corrupt text. Given that MS B is unavailable here, there is no way of inferring the reading of Ω. Consideration of A’s *tatrāsanavikalpaḥ* tips the balance in favour of A and *Tib.*. As a genitive

tatpuruṣa, *āsanavikalpaḥ* makes sense, with *vikalpaḥ* understood as meaning ‘arrangement’ or ‘order’. In contrast, β’s *tatrāsanam vikalpetaḥ* is problematic. It has the extra syllable to make it metric, but needs to be emended to the optative *vikalpeta* to give sense; though this leaves the singular *āsanam*, where a plural (*āsanāni*) is needed. Also, *Tib.*’s *gdan rnams brtag pa* suggests a compound and gives the plural particle *rnams*. One might have expected *nam rtoḡ* for *vikalpaḥ* – *brtag pa* is the usual equivalent for *vicayaḥ* (see MVy 8522) – though perhaps it is too strongly associated with its meaning of (false) ‘conception’ or ‘discrimination’.

There is also the question of whether there are one or two quotations here. It may be argued that the *iti* following *garuḍāsanam* acts to close the list of different thrones rather than signal the end of a citation. If this is the case, the *iti* at the end of line 91 (...*toraṇāni na kalpayet iti*) can be seen as closing the quote but this leaves the question of why the following four lines are in verse. It is unlikely to be Vilāsavajra’s composition: the only other instance of verse in the NMAA, apart from that in citations, is at the opening of the work. I therefore take the *iti* after the list of thrones to indicate the closing of a citation. It could be that if this passage on the Buddha-thrones is a citation, it is more likely that the whole is in verse than that it changes into prose after four lines. This argument has some force, but in addition to the problems involved in accepting β as against A and *Tib.* already discussed, taking the passage as verse also means that the citation uncharacteristically finishes on a half verse.

Though *Tib.* also indicates an *iti* after the list of thrones, it does not after *toraṇāni na kalpayet*. In this case I have accepted the Skt. against *Tib.*. Since there is a shift in the subject matter from a discussion of the construction of the maṇḍala to a description of the thrones, I take the *iti* to indicate the end of the first of two quotations immediately succeeding each other.

4.102–5 tad eva caturmukhaṃ śūnyatādicaturvimokṣamukhānāṃ dharmadhātor ālambanatvena sarvasamādhiprasūtihetutvāt / śuklavarnaṃ dharmadhātusvabhāvatvāt / jaṭāmakūṭopetaṃ nirābharaṇaṃ ca śāntacittatvāt / bodhyagrīmudrāyuktaṃ prajñopāyātmakatvāt /

The Tibetan translation of this passage suggests a different punctuation (and hence interpretation) from that above, where I follow the punctuation of MS A (except that A has a double *daṇḍa* after *-hetutvāt* and nothing following *-ātmakatvāt* at the end). None of the MSS support the punctuation implied by *Tib.*: those remaining (β) differ from A in punctuating after *bodhyagrīmudrāyuktaṃ* – generally a single *daṇḍa* – but not before it. However, any support of the MSS in regard of punctuation cannot be conclusive evidence in its favour. *Tib.* and the punctuation of the Skt. that it implies follow:

de nyid zhal bzhi pa ste / stong pa nyid la sogs pa'i mnam par thar pa bzhi'o / / chos kyi dbyings la dmigs pa nyid kyi ting nge 'dzin thams cad rab tu skye ba'i rgyu yin pa'i phyir sku mdog dkar po'o / / chos kyi dbyings kyi rang bzhin nyid kyi phyir ral pa'i dbu rgyan dang ldan pa'o / / zhi ba'i sems nyid kyi phyir sku la rgyan mi mnga' ba'o / / thabs dang shes rab kyi bdag nyid kyi phyir byang chub mchog gi phyag rgya dang ldan pa'o / / *Tib.* [189.4.4–6] {tad eva caturmukhaṃ śūnyatādicaturvimokṣamukhānāṃ / dharmadhātor ālambanatvena sarvasamādhiprasūtihetutvāt śuklavarnaṃ / dharmadhātusvabhāvatvāt jaṭāmakūṭopetaṃ / nirābharaṇaṃ ca śāntacittatvāt / bodhyagrīmudrāyuktaṃ prajñopāyātmakatvāt /}

There are substantial problems with *Tib.* in this passage. In the opening sentence (*de nyid* → *thar pa bzhi'o*), which corresponds to *tad eva caturmukhaṃ śūnyatādicaturvimokṣamukhānāṃ* it has *bzhi pa* {*caturthaḥ*}, no translation of *-mukhānāṃ*, and concludes with a final particle ('o). It seems therefore to read something like *tad eva caturthaṃ mukhaṃ śūnyatādicaturvimokṣāḥ*, which yields little sense.

For the remainder *Tib.* translates the (remaining) material explaining the significance (*viśuddhi*) of the various attributes of Mahāvairocana. With the exception of *bodhyagrīmudrāyuktam* the links differ from those preferred in the present edition. *Tib.*'s reading of the Skt. produces a text that is stylistically odd; a consistent form of word order, with Mahāvairocana's attribute being followed in each case by its *viśuddhi* in the ablative, is more probable. This would confirm *caturmukham* → *-hetutvāt* as the first (and most complex) *viśuddhi*.

Not only is the word order of the Skt. as read by *Tib.* unlikely, but the resultant *viśuddhis* make little sense. It makes sense to say that Mahāvairocana is white since he is of the nature of the Dharmadhātu (whiteness symbolising the purity of the Dharmadhātu), but it is not clear what the connection might be between whiteness and the generation of *samādhis* (*Tib.* has, "he is white in colour since he is the cause of the production of all *samādhis*..."). Again, following *Tib.*, it is not clear how having a braided hair-crest (*ral pa'i dbu rgyan dang ldan pa*) is to be understood as the result of having the Dharmadhātu as one's nature. On the other hand, braided hair (*jaṭā-makuṭopetam*) and lack of adornment (*nirābharaṇam ca*) are signs of the simplicity of the renunciate and his attainment of tranquility (*śāntacittatvāt*).

4.105 bodhyagrī A *Tib.* ([189.4.6] byang chub mchog); NMAA [4, 221–2] :
bodhyaṅgī β

NMAA 4, 221–2: *vairocanaṃ sitavarṇaṃ bodyagrīmudrāyuktam āḥkārapariniṣpannam* (bodhyagrī AB *Tib.* ([190.5.5] byang chub mchog) : bodhyaṅgī(-gā F) β)

I have accepted the reading of A, supported by *Tib.*, against β (MS B is unavailable). This *mudrā*, here said to be that of Mahāvairocana, is attributed to Vairocana later in the chapter. For the latter reading, B is available and *bodhyagrī* is attested by both AB suggesting that it is the reading of Ω (see note on 4.222). Yet β's *bodhyaṅgī* is the name of a recognised *mudrā*. In the

Vajradhātumaṇḍala it is the *mudrā* of Vairocana (cf. NiṣpY 44, 7). β could be correct if Ω were corrupt and its reading were emended by a scribe familiar with the names of *mudrās*. If this hypothesis is correct then *Tib.* has to be seen as inheriting the error of Ω. However, *bodhyagrī* is also found as the name of a *mudrā*. J.P. Losty, describing a miniature of Vairocana in a twelfth century Nepalese manuscript of the NS, gives *bodhyagrī* as the name of his *mudrā* (see Zwalf W., ed., 1985, 130: item 174). According to Losty, in the *bodhyagrī mudrā* the tips of the thumbs and forefingers are together (but see *Introduction* note 117). Lacking further evidence, I have preferred the reading suggested by the stemmatic analysis of the readings here and at 4.222 and supported by *Tib.*

4.109 *tasyaiva conj.* : *tad eva codd.*

Emendation to *tasyaiva* is made on the grammatical grounds that *bandhanāt* requires a genitive.

4.112 *yasya taṃ conj. (Sanderson)* : *om. codd.*

This diagnostic emendation presents a solution to the syntactic problem of *mukhaṃ* needing to be picked up by a participle (eg. ‘endowed with’) or, as here, within a relative construction.

4.114 *saṃdhārayamānam em.* : *saṃdhāryamānam codd.* (*sadhāryamānam D*)

This emendation to the causative present participle overcomes the grammatical problem of *saṃdhāryamānam* being passive. Since both ātmanepada and parasmaipada forms are found, a more substantial emendation to *saṃdhārayantaṃ* is unnecessary.

4.117 *ṣaṇmantrarājānasamyuktām conj. (NMAA[4, 120-1])* : *ṣaḍmantrarājānam saṃyuktām NS.Dav.[51, v.25] (-rājānasamyuktām NS.Dav.Minaev)*

Cf. *NMAA 4, 120-1*: kiṃbhūtāṃ ṣaṇmantrarājānasamyuktām iti vakṣyamāṇaṣaṇmantropetām A : ji lta bur gyur pa zhe na / gsang sngags

rgyal po drug ldan zhing zhes pa ni phyis 'byung ba'i sngags drug dang
ldan pa la bya'o / *Tib.*[189.5.3–4]

The citation and analysis of this passage in the NMAA suggest that Vilāsavajra read the NS here as *ṣaṇmantrarājānasamyuktām*, one word straddling the first two *pādas* of NS 25. Though only MS A attests *ṣaṇmantra-rājānasamyuktām* in the citation in line 120 (-rājāna- A : -rājānaṃ ḍH : -rājānaḥ H² : -*g*ājātaṃ F), leaving the possibility that its reading is the result of a dropped *anusvāra*, the comment immediately following, *vakṣyamāṇaṣaṇmantropetām*, which glosses *samyuktām* with *upetām*, shows that Vilāsavajra read one word. Davidson prefers to read two words, construing *ṣaṇmantarājānaṃ* as a bahuvrīhi agreeing with *gāthām*, and therefore displaying a confusion of gender (*NS.Dav.* 22, note 64). This analysis leaves the problem of how to understand *samyuktām*, which Davidson appears to take with *girām pateḥ*: “[Śākyamuni] pronounced this mystic verse ... joined with the vocal lord” (*NS.Dav.* 22), but the word order makes this interpretation unlikely and in any event, my concern is to establish Vilāsavajra’s reading. Given that *ṣaṇmantrarājānasamyuktām* makes good sense and does not involve any presumption of gender confusion, it must be the preferable alternative despite the resultant lack of hiatus at the end of the quarter verse.

For the translation of *kimbhūtām ṣaṇmantrarājānasamyuktām iti Tib.* follows *NS.Tib.*, which also treats *ṣaṇmantrarājānasamyuktām* as a single unit (gsang sngags rgyal po drug ldan zhing *NS.Tib.*[*Mukherji* 17]). The Derge and Narthang Kanjurs do not change this line, although its position is altered (see *Mukherji* 17, note 4).

4.153 kimviśiṣṭam ity āha *codd. Tib.*([190.1.6] ci 'dra ba zhig gsungs she na)

Despite the support of *Tib.* this passage is suspect: it is generally used by Vilāsavajra to introduce the next part of the text to be glossed.

4.154 *āraiḥ codd.*

I tentatively retain the non-standard form, *āraiḥ*. Turner (1966, 26: s.v. *ara-*) cites it for ‘spoke’ in Oria and Bihari instead of the usual *araḥ*. It may be a vernacularism surviving within the quotation. Certainly, there is no obvious reason why an original *araiḥ* should become corrupted to *āraiḥ*. Alternatively, though not mentioned by Edgerton in BHSD, the spelling may be a standard one in such (Buddhist Tantric) contexts. For example, Advayavajra’s *Saptākṣarasādhana* reads *tataḥ ṣaṭsv āreṣu vāmāvarttina ṣaḍ devatīḥ paśyet*, “Then, on the six spokes, proceeding anticlockwise, he should visualise the six goddesses” (Sādhana 251; SāMā 492, 1–2).

4.156 *ṣaḍvarṇopetaṃ sāraṣaṭkaṃ conj. : ṣaḍvarṇopetaṃ āraṣaṭkaṃ codd. : kha dog drug dang ldan pa rtsibs drug pa Tib.[190.1.7–8]*

Emending to *sāraṣaṭkaṃ* makes the word an adjective qualifying *pajñācakram* as the unstated subject of the sentence, so giving grammatical sense to the passage. It also removes any need to justify the apparent use of *āraiḥ* (rather than *araḥ*) by Vilāsavajra when he is commenting rather than citing from *āgama* or *śāstra* (though see the preceding note). Corruption to *ṣaḍ-varṇopetaṃ āraṣaṭkaṃ* would not be difficult, involving loss of an *anusvāra* and a subsequent misreading of *sa* as *ma*. (The syllables *sa* and *ma* are easily confused in Newarī script.)

4.163 *namaḥ A : te namaḥ β Tib.[190.2.3]*

Should the form of this and the following mantras be ‘*oṃ x namaḥ*’ or ‘*oṃ x te namaḥ*’? When they appear later in the *sādhana*, placed on the spokes of their respective *prajñācakras*, they are given in the form, ‘*oṃ x namaḥ*’ (see NMAA 4, 201f.). In this latter context, the number of spokes of each *prajñācakra* should correspond with the number of syllables of the mantra associated with it, since each mantra-syllable occupies a single spoke. The

correspondences all work out when the mantras are of this form (ie. ‘*om x namaḥ*’) and therefore it seems likely that this should be the form of the mantras here. Where necessary I have emended accordingly.

The MSS do not give consistent readings. For the third mantra *codd.* reads *om prajñājñānamūrtaye namaḥ*, and for the first two mantras this same form is also supported by MSS close to the archetype. For each of the last three mantras *codd.* attests the form ‘*om x te namaḥ*’. *Tib.* transcribes all six mantras as ...*te namaḥ*. Corruption to this form is understandable both in *Tib.* and in the Skt., given that it is a common formula for mantras found in many other contexts.

4.174 maṇḍalacchāya *em.* : maṇḍalacchāyā *codd.*

bālārkamaṇḍalacchāyaprabhāmaṇḍalam *em.* : nyi ma 'char ka'i dkyil
ltar 'od kyi dkyil 'khor gyis bskor ba *Tib.* [190.2.6–7]

I emend to *maṇḍalacchāya* since a short ‘a’ is required for *bālārkamaṇḍalacchāya* to function as a bahuvrīhi within the larger compound. The Tibetan translation (“encircled by a halo like the disc of the newly risen sun”) is not literal. It fails to translate *-chāya-* treating the compound as if it were *bālārka-maṇḍalaprabhāmaṇḍalam*. It also adds the interpretive *bskor ba* rather than using the more standard possessive particle *can*.

4.191 sthitā iti *conj.* : sthitām A : sthitam β (sthita D)

The meaning is clear but this sentence (ending ...*cintayet*) is syntactically problematic. The apparent subject, *uddiyotayanto raśmayah*, has no verb, exactly mirroring the problem in a passage describing a similar visualisation, using a string of *pūrvakriyās*, earlier in this chapter (see note on 4.68, above). As before my emendation is diagnostic and puts the passage into indirect speech so that *sahaikībhūyāvasthitāḥ* agrees with *raśmayah*. (Possibly, A’s *-sthitām* is a survival of an original *-sthitā*.)

An alternative solution would be to emend *uddiyotayanto raśmayah* to *uddiyotayato raśmīn*, *raśmīn* becoming the object of *cintayet*. The problem appears to have been inherited by *Tib.*. It takes *raśmi* as the subject ('od kyis *Tib.*[190.3.3]), yet has *cintayet* as the main verb (gcig tu gyur nas gnas par sgom par bya'o *Tib.*[190.3.7]).

- 4.201 *idānīm conj.* (*Tib.*[190.4.3] da ni) : *idam idānīm ABγ* : *itam idānīm Cζ* : *itah idānīm E*

Emendation to *idānīm* is supported by *Tib.*. The reading of *ABγ*, which by stemmatic analysis must be that of Ω , yields no sense; it could be explained as a form of dittography with *itam* and *itah* stemming from *idam* as secondary corruptions.

- 4.207 *aṣṭāsv aṣṭau conj.* : *aṣṭāsu cāṣṭau codd.*

tataś cāreṣv aṣṭāsv aṣṭau bījāni om vajratikṣṇāya nama iti vinyaset *conj.* :
de nas yang rtsibs brgyad la sa bon mams ni om badzra tīkṣṇā ya te na
maḥ zhes bskod de *Tib.*[190.4.6]

Some emendation is required here as the second *ca* in the unemended sentence is redundant. The emendation to *aṣṭāsv aṣṭau* is diagnostic, suggested by a parallel difference in readings in the passage on Bodhicittavajra's *prajñācakra* later in the chapter, at 4.249 (*bījākṣarāṇy areṣu B* : *bījākṣarāṇi cāreṣu β*). Alternatively, *cāṣṭau* could be derived from a dittography whose original form was perhaps *aṣṭau*. *Tib.* could be read as supporting this hypothesis since it gives eight as the number of the spokes (*rtsibs brgyad*) but gives no number for the *bījas* (*sa bon*). However, there is reason to suspect that *Tib.* has dropped a word. If the NMAA spells out clearly the arrangement of one seed syllable per spoke, it would be convenient for *Tib.* not to specify that there are eight *bījas* in the mantra since the addition of *te* before *namaḥ* in *Tib.*'s transcription of the mantra results in nine syllables to be placed on the eight spokes.

4.207 nama AB : namaḥ β : te namaḥ Tib.[190.4.6]

In this and the following passages giving the mantras to be placed, syllable by syllable, on the spokes of the six *prajñācakras*, *codd.* gives them in the form ‘oṃ x namaḥ’ rather than ‘oṃ x te namaḥ’ (the exception being *oṃ arapacanāya namaḥ* where four MSS have *te namaḥ*: see NMAA 4, 248). That this is the correct form is clear since in each case the number of syllables in the mantra corresponds to the number of spokes of the *prajñācakra*. By contrast *Tib.* transcribes *te namaḥ* in every case except Vairocana’s *prajñācakra*, where the mantra is given without the *te*: *oṃ pra dznyā dznyā na mū rta ye na maḥ* {oṃ prajñājñānamūrtaye namaḥ} Tib.[190.5.5]. Scribal familiarity with mantras ending with *te namaḥ* could easily result in corruption of the original and *Tib.* could have inherited the corruption from its exemplar or could have incorporated it itself. A possible consequence of the addition of the syllable *te* in *Tib.* is discussed in the preceding note. (See the note on 4.163 for discussion of the variants in the earlier citations of these mantras.)

4.222 bodhyagrī AB Tib.([190.5.5] byang chub mchog) : bodhyaṅgī(-gā F) β

This *mudrā*, said here to be that of Vairocana, is attributed to Mahāvairocana earlier in the chapter (see the note on 4.105). As before, I have accepted the reading *bodhyagrī* against *bodhyaṅgī*. According to stemmic analysis of the present readings, since *bodhyagrī* is in AB, it must be the reading of Ω, unless it is an error that has arisen independently, which is unlikely. AB’s reading is also supported by *Tib.*.

4.227 āḥkāra β : aḥkāra B : yi ge a{akāra} Tib.[190.5.6] : om. Sak. [23,19]

vāmena cakradharaṃ dakṣiṇena prajñākhaḍgam āḥkārapariṇatam vi-
bhāvya taddhṛdi candraṃ tadupary āḥkāraṃ dhyātvā β : vāmena cakra-
dharaṃ dakṣiṇena prajñākhaḍgadharmaṃ āḥkāraṃ dhyātvā Sak. : g.yon
gyis ’khor lo / g.yas kyis shes rab kyī ral gris ’dzin pa bsgoms nas
Tib.[190.5.7]

I follow β here since $\bar{a}h$ is the *bija* attested elsewhere in this *prajñācakra* (see lines 222 & 227) as that of Vairocana and Prajñājñāna. *Tib.* appears to be an unreliable witness for the *bījākṣaras* (see the following note). Sakurai omits *āḥkārapariṇatam vibhāvya taddhṛdi candram tadupary*, perhaps as a result of a *saut du même au même* from *āḥkārapariṇatam* to *āḥkāram*. Also for *prajñākhadgam* he has *prajñākhadgadham*, which is unattested by any of the MSS and is not acknowledged by him as an emendation. Although *Tib.*'s *'dzin pa* qualifies both *'khor lo* (cakra) and *shes rab kyi ral gris* (prajñākhadga), *shes rab kyi ral gris 'dzin pa* may have influenced Sakurai in giving the reading *prajñākhadgadham*. *Tib.* also reorganises the order of the sentence so that *āḥkārapariṇatam* comes earlier, making more idiomatic sense in Tibetan (yi ge a las byung ba'i [bcom ldan 'das shes rab ye shes] *Tib.*[190.5.6]). That it is not in the position that might be expected in a literal translation may also have influenced Sakurai in making his omission.

4.230 *ahkāra* B : *akāra* β *Tib.*([190.5.8] yi ge sa bon a)

MS A is unavailable here. The choice between B and β has therefore to be made on grounds of sense since either could equally hold the reading of Ω . Given that the same *bija* is used throughout each *prajñācakra*, I have accepted the reading of B since the stemma indicates that this is the reading of Ω when it occurs in lines 234 & 235. Also, the syllable A is used as the *bījākṣara* for the *prajñācakra* of Bodhicittavajra and it is unlikely that the same syllable would be used twice. Further indication that *Tib.* is unreliable is demonstrated by it also giving A throughout as the *bījākṣara* for the *prajñācakra* of Vairocana instead of $\bar{A}H$ as attested by the Skt..

4.245 *garvatayā niṣaṇṇam conj.* : *gar*vt*ayāniṣaṇṇam* B : *garbhayādivaṇam* C : *garbha ādivaṇam* E : *garbhapā<-->vaṇam* J : *garbhapādavaṇam* D : *garda-*

bhāvarṇaṃ H*² : garbha< 2 >varṇa F : rdo rje snyems pas bzhugs pa
Tib.[191.1.8]

B's *niṣarṇṇaṃ* is clearly a corruption of *niṣaṇṇaṃ*, which is supported by *Tib.*'s *bzhugs pa* and which I take as the correct reading. The short *i* of *niṣaṇṇaṃ* is preserved in CE (ε), though in the corrupted syllable *di*. B's reading may also show how corruption from *[ni]ṣaṇṇaṃ* to *-varṇaṃ* (β) progressed: *-ṣaṇṇaṃ* → *-ṣarṇṇaṃ* → *-varṇṇaṃ* → *-varṇaṃ*. (The first step exemplifies the generation of a parasitic supercript *r* before a double consonant, characteristic of many Nepalese MSS: see *Introduction to the Text*, section 2.5.)

Tib.'s *snyems pa* ('pride') suggests that it read some form of the word *garva* preceding *niṣaṇṇaṃ*. Emendation to *-garvaniṣaṇṇaṃ*, however, gives one syllable less than found in B and all the MSS of β except for H. Assuming DJ's *[-garbh]apā-* is a corruption of *[-garbh]ayā-* – the result of the similarity of the syllables *pa* and *ya* in Newarī script – B and δ (from CJD) have the element *-[garv]ayā*. This suggests that Ω may have read *vajragarvayā niṣaṇṇaṃ*, although this is still unsatisfactory since *garvayā*, being masculine in gender, cannot be instrumental singular. B's *gar*vt*ayā* may provide a clue to the correct reading. In the uncertain ligature *vta*, the letter *t* is clear, suggesting that the original text may have read *-tayā*, the abstract suffix *-tā* in the instrumental. If this were the case the original could be *[vajra]garvatayā*, which would give good sense as an adverb qualifying *niṣaṇṇaṃ*. On this account, a syllable has been lost in all the extant MSS, a loss probably also in Ω. The alternative – emending to *vajragarvaniṣaṇṇaṃ* – presupposes corruption via the addition of a syllable rather than the omission of one. *Tib.*'s instrumental *[snyems pa]s* could translate either, though since it has no abstract particle *nyid* it could be taken as supporting *vajragarvaniṣaṇṇaṃ*. The balance of probabilities as to which reading is correct seems fairly even. Since a decision is

required I have emended to *-garvatayā*: it explains the presence of *-ayā* in the MSS and it gives the required sense more accurately (*vajragarvaniṣaṇṇam* has to be understood as *vajragarvatvaniṣaṇṇam*).

4.251 pustakāṅkaṃ B : pustaka(-ke D)β : phyag na po ti {pustakapāṇiṃ} Tib.
[191.2.3]

pustakāṅkaṃ khaḍgapāṇiṃ vicintya B : pustakakhaḍgapāṇiṃ vicintya
β : phyag na po ti dang ral gri 'dzin pa bsgoms te Tib.[191.2.3]

B's *pustakāṅkaṃ* is the *lectio difficilior* and corruption to *pustaka-* involves loss of just one syllable (*ṅkaṃ*) and the stroke for the preceding *ā*. Although Tib. does not support *pustakāṅkaṃ* as such, its use of *phyag na po ti* and *ral gri 'dzin pa* {*khaḍgadharmaṃ*} suggests two words here rather than β's one. Also, all the other *prajñācakra* visualisations have separate words for the emblems held in the two hands of the central deity. This is the only case where there is no ascription of the emblems, one to each hand.

4.253 saṃharaṇa conj. (Tib.[191.2.3] bsdu ba dang) : saṃharaṇaṃ β : saṃ-
sphaṇa B ♦ nilaya conj. (Tib.[191.2.3–4] gnas pa [brtan par gyur pa]) :
nilayaṃ β : līlayā B

pūrvavat spharaṇasaṃharaṇanīlayaḍḍhībhāvādikam kṛtvā bhāvayed iti
sarvatra yojanīyam conj. : gong ma bzhin du spro ba dang bsdu ba
dang zhugs pa dang gnas pa brtan par gyur pa la sogs pa byas nas
bsgom par bya'o zhes kun la sbyar bya'o Tib.[191.2.3–4]

The word order here is odd. It is probable that *sarvatra yojanīyam* ("in each case ... should be added") refers to *-nīlayaḍḍhībhāva-* ("making firm the dwelling place") since this is the element that has not been mentioned before in the visualisation instructions for the previous *prajñācakras*. If this is correct, it would make more sense to separate *-nīlayaḍḍhībhāva-* from the instruction to emanate and withdraw light rays (*spharaṇasaṃharaṇaṃ kṛtvā bhāvayet*). A

possible emendation, but one with no support, would be to *pūrvavat spharaṇa-saṃharaṇam kṛtvā bhāvayed iti nilayaḍṛḍhībhāvam kṛtvā sarvatra yojanīyam*. *Tib.* follows the *Skt.* except for the phrase *zhugs pa dang* (“[...and re]entering and [making firm...]”), which has no *Skt.* counterpart and may be an explanatory addition. It is possible that *Tib.*’s exemplar may have already been corrupt.

Textual Notes: Chapter 5

5.11 kṣaratīty B : rakṣati ity ḍ : rakṣatīty γ

β's *rakṣati* is a metathesis of *kṣa* and *ra* in *kṣarati*.

5.11–12 āvicalitatvāt γ : āvicaritatvāt ḍ : mi g.yo ba phir ro Tib.[191.3.4]

The verbal roots $\sqrt{cal}$ and $\sqrt{car}$ being near synonyms, *avicalitatvāt* and *avicaritatvāt* are equally possible. Given the confusion of *ra* and *la* syllables in Newarī MSS, the reading of either ḍ or γ could represent a corruption of the other. On balance I have preferred γ since the Tibetan *mi g.yo ba* is commonly used for the Skt. *acala* ($\sqrt{cal}$) and MW records *avicalita* but not *avicarita*. (In terms of probability, γ is more likely to be correct since overall it has the correct reading more often than ḍ.)

5.13 sattvādyakṣarayoh D^c : sattvādyakṣara<--> D : sattvādyā<-- -- --> εγJ : om.

B : [ye shes] sems dpa' la sogs pa'i yi ge dag gi Tib.[191.3.5])

Though *jñānasattvādyakṣarayoh* is only fully attested by D^c, it is supported by Tib.. However, Tib. misinterprets the dvandva, “of [Mañjuśrī]jñānasattva and the letter A” {*jñānasattva;ādyakṣarayoh*}, taking it to be a karmadhāraya, “of the two syllables *jñānasattva*, etc.” {*jñānasattvādi:akṣarayoh*}. This yields no sense.

5.14–15 tad evaikaikaṃ ca conj. (Tib.[191.3.5] de dag nyid re re yang) : tad evaikaikaṃ

tac ca β : om. B ♦ svacittodaya conj. (Tib. rang gi sems las byung ba'i) :

svacintodayaḥ B : svacittādayaḥ β ♦ pratyavekṣaṇīyaḥ BCγ : tratyavekṣaṇīyaḥ ζ : om. E

tad evaikaikaṃ ca yogināṃ svacittodayasakalamāṇḍaleya devatāsvabhāvaḥ samastavipakṣavyāvṛttarūpatayā pratyavekṣaṇīyaḥ conj. : tad evaikaikaṃ tac ca yogināṃ svacittādayaḥ sakalamāṇḍaleya devatāsvabhāvaḥ samastavipakṣavyāvṛttarūpatayā pratyavekṣaṇīyaḥ β : de dag nyid re re yang māl 'byor pa rang gi sems las byung ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi lha thams cad kyi rang bzhin mi mthun pa'i phyogs ma lus pa

las bzlog pa'i ngo bo nyid du so sor brtag bar bya ba ni Tib.[191.3.5–6]

The MSS evidence for the text here, which has a number of points of difficulty, is restricted: A is lacking and B omits the opening words, ending a two and a half line omission that started at 5.11.

It is not immediately clear whether the passage contains one or two sentences. The latter part, *yoginām svacittodayaḥ sakalamāṇḍaleya devatāsvabhāvaḥ samastavipakṣavyāvṛttarūpatayā pratyavekṣaṇīyaḥ*, could stand on its own giving, “The arising of consciousness of yogins, since it is by nature free from every obstacle, should be understood to be of the nature of all the maṇḍala deities”. However, the meaning is strained and what remains – *tad evaikaikaṃ tac ca* – is unintelligible. I think it more likely there is just one sentence. Tib. treats the passage as a single unit though not as a complete sentence – it finishes with the emphatic particle *ni*; and reads *de ltar* {*tathā*} instead of *ji ltar* for the following *yathā*.

If there is one sentence, however, the opening words as attested by β, *tad evaikaikaṃ tac ca*, yield no sense as they stand; *tac ca* could start a new sentence but this would leave *tad evaikaikaṃ* on its own, again with no clear meaning. I have thus diagnostically emended to *tad evaikaikaṃ ca* taking *tac* as a scribal addition. This gives a sentence that opens with *tad eva* where *tad* can be taken to refer to *svarūpābhidānam* from the preceding sentence.

Although Tib. opens with *de dag*, a dual or plural, which probably refers back to the previous (mis)translation of *sattvādyakṣarayoh* (see the preceding note, on 5.13) it supports the emendation to *tad evaikaikaṃ ca* insofar as it lacks any term that corresponding to *tac*. However, it is not clear what Tib. takes as the grammatical subject of the sentence: it could be either *de dag nyid re re yang* (“And they themselves individually ...”) or *dkyil 'khor gyi lha thams cad kyi rang bzhin* (“The nature of all the maṇḍala deities ...”).

If *tad* is the subject of the sentence and refers to *svarūpābhidānam*, the passage can be taken, in essence, as making the statement that the nature of the maṇḍala deities is the same of that of Mañjuśrījñānasattva, in which case *pratyavekṣaṇīyaḥ* should perhaps be emended to *pratyavekṣaṇīyam* so that it agrees with *tad*. However, if a participle is used in the place of a finite verb it can be attracted in gender to a nearby substantive predicate, rather than agreeing with the subject. Given this possibility that *pratyavekṣaṇīyaḥ* may be correct I have not emended. Also, both B and MSS from β have *pratyavekṣaṇīyaḥ* making it likely to be the reading of Ω.

The relationship between the reading *svacittodayaḥ* and *sakalamāṇḍaleya-devatāsvabhāvaḥ* is problematic. Since B and β read two words it is likely that Ω does. (B's *svacintodayaḥ* is clearly a corruption of *svacittodayaḥ*, the ligatures *nt* and *tt* being often confused in Newarī script.) However, given that in visualisation *sādhana*s maṇḍala deities arise in the yogins' consciousness, one would expect *svacittodaya* to be compounded with *sakalamāṇḍaleya-devatāsvabhāvaḥ*. Tib. supports *svacittodaya* (rang gi sems las byung ba) but could be construed either as taking it in apposition to *sakalamāṇḍaleya-devatāsvabhāvaḥ* or as compounded with it (the genitive particle 'i following *byung ba* is ambiguous). I have emended to the compounded form since otherwise the sense is obscure. The result is a *sāpekṣasamāsa* with the genitive plural *yoginām* qualifying *svacittodaya*-, but this can be tolerated. It also means that Ω is corrupt, unless B and β independently added a *visarga*.

If corruption were present in Ω resulting in a separation of *svacittodaya* from *sakalamāṇḍaleya-devatāsvabhāvaḥ*, the reading *pratyavekṣaṇīyaḥ* may be a 'knock on' error, an attempt to make the rest of the sentence agree with *svacittodayaḥ* as subject, in which case *pratyavekṣaṇīyam* would be correct.

A further difficulty with the passage is the position of *ekaikam*. If it is adverbial it would be more usually placed before *pratyavekṣaṇīyaḥ* (or *pratyavekṣaṇīyam*), though if it is taken in the sense of ‘one by one’, it more properly qualifies *sakalamāṇḍaleya-devatā*.

- 5.16 svasamādhīnām F *Tib.* ([191.3.6] rang gi ting nge 'dzin rnams) : svaṃ samādhīnām *cett*.

F's reading may be the result of dropping the *anusvāra* found in the remaining MSS of β. However, since *Tib.* supports *sva-* (gang gi) rather than *svaṃ* and *svasamādhīnām* gives sense, I have accepted F against *cett*.

- 5.19 saṃskāravimokṣa BE : saṃskārapratipakṣabhāvena(-prati< ~4 > F) kramād animittāpraṇihitānabhisamskāravimokṣa *cett*.

-saṃskārapratipakṣabhāvena kramād animittāpraṇihitānabhisamskārapratipakṣabhāvena kramād animittāpraṇihitānabhisamskāravimokṣa.

The passage in italics above can be seen to be a dittography of the immediately preceding passage, resulting from a *saut du même au même* from the second *-saṃskāra-* back to the first. The dittography is found in all the MSS of β with the exception of E.

- 5.35 sattvavajryādi *conj.* (*Tib.* [191.4.7] rdo rje sems ma la sog pa) : vakvādi B : vajrādi γε : cakrādi ζ

The context and *Tib.* make it likely that this diagnostic emendation is almost certainly correct, though *sems rdo rje ma* might be expected for Sattvavajrī. Such a rendering, which is characteristic of the Tibetan translation of Skt. compounds that keeps the order of the original, is found in *Tib.* where the name Sattvavajrī appears twelve lines earlier (line 23): *sems ma rdo rje ma* (*Tib.* [191.4.1]).

- 5.48 mahāśabdena *conj.* (*Tib.* [191.5.4] ma hā'i sgra ni) : mahacchabdena β : < >śacchaina B

mahaśabdena pūjābhidhīyate conj. : ma hā'i sgra ni mchod pa la brjod
yin no Tib. [191.5.4]

Though the word *maha* is usually neuter (*mahas*), it is also found as a masculine a-stem. That it is so treated by the NS is shown by the form *maha* in *mahāmahamahārāgaḥ* and by the masculine *mahān* in the NMAA analysis that follows the present gloss of *maha* (*mahān maho mahāmahaḥ*). As a result, I have emended to *mahaśabdena*. β's *mahacchabdena* can be understood as a corruption to the more familiar form *mahat* with subsequent sandhi. Tib.'s "As for the word *mahā*, it is a name for worship" is a reversion to another familiar form.

5.48–9 mahān maho mahāmahaḥ / mahātmako rāgaś ca mahārāgaḥ conj. : mahān
maho mahāmahaḥ B : mahātmako mahārāgaḥ β (mahā< ~13 illeg. >tmako
mahārāgaḥ C) : chen po'i bdag nyid kyi 'dod chags dang 'dod chags chen
po'o Tib. [191.5.5]

MS B contains *mahān maho mahāmahaḥ* but omits *mahātmako rāgaś ca mahārāgaḥ*, whereas the remainder of the MSS (β) just have *mahātmako mahārāgaḥ*, which gives no sense as it stands. Could B be correct and β a corruption of B? Tib. has nothing corresponding to *mahān maho mahāmahaḥ* but is retranslatable as *mahātmako rāgaś ca mahārāgaḥ*, which suggests that β lost *rāgaś ca* and is thus a corruption of *mahātmako rāgaś ca mahārāgaḥ*. Further support for the presence of this reading in the original comes from the consideration that if it were not present there would be no grammatical gloss of *mahārāgaḥ* and such neglect of a NS epithet would be uncharacteristic of Vilāsavajra.

This leaves the question of B's *mahān maho mahāmahaḥ*. It could be a corruption of *mahātmako mahārāgaḥ*, which may have been the reading of Ω, already corrupt; it could be a scribal gloss by, or inherited by, B. This, in its turn, would leave the compound *mahāmaha* unanalysed in the original and

again I think this is unlikely given that it is a refrain carried through the next two and a half verses. Also, Vilāsavajra states, on each occasion it re-occurs, that the term *mahāmahaḥ* has been already explained. My conclusion is that both passages were in the original text, their respective omissions coming from an error of the *saut du même au même* type.

MS C might be interpreted as providing further support for this thesis. It has approximately thirteen illegible syllables, which appear to have been intentionally scrubbed out. Could C's reading have initially been *mahān maho mahāmahaḥ* / *mahātmako mahārāgaḥ*, later emended to *mahātmako mahārāgaḥ* to conform with β? This would require C to be contaminated from outside β. In the present part of the text there is no evidence for this (see *Introduction to the Text*, section 4.3). Also, the length of the text deleted in C is some five syllables more than is required. There could well be another (and simpler) explanation for the deletion, such that it was a dittography, discovered during or after the copying of the MS.

- 5.56 mahāmamahādhveṣa iti *codd.* : mchod pa chen po zhe sdang che / / nyon mongs kun gyi dgra che ba zhes pa ste {mahāmamahādhveṣaḥ sarvakleśa-mahāripur iti} *Tib.[191.5.8]*

Tib. cites the whole half verse here rather than the first *pāda* only, as attested by *codd.* The same is true at lines 60, 64 and 68: *Tib.* cites NS 31ab, 31cd and 32ab where *codd.* cites NS 31a, 31c and 32a respectively (see *Tib.[192.1.1–2]*, *Tib.[192.1.3]*, and *Tib.[192.1.5]*). In each case, although MS A is lacking, B is present. The readings must therefore be present in Ω, and there is no reason to suspect Ω of being corrupt. Also, the citation of the first *pāda* on its own is stylistically appropriate in the context of the commentary; it contains the Name that has to be identified with a deity of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala. The beneficial activity of the Name-as-deity is stated in the second part

of the half verse and any discussion of this follows after the deity identification. NS 31d and 32b are thus cited independently (lines 65 & 69) before such discussion, and NS 30d is incorporated into the text (sa ca sarvakleṣa-mahāripuḥ: line 57).

When a complete half verse or verse of the NS is cited (*pādas* c and d of NS 32 are cited together and thereafter each verse is cited as a whole), then, following the citation, the part of the verse that is then to be commented on is requoted before the ensuing comment. Thus after citing NS 32cd we have *tatra mahākāma iti* ... (line 5.78). In the present instances, if the whole half verses were cited as attested by *Tib.*, one would also expect to a following find *tatra*... or some equivalent passage.

I present the text with the NS half-verses inserted in bold (a design to render it readable by those unfamiliar with the NS), which gives a version close to how the text would look if the half-verse were cited. To incorporate the citation fully one would have to add ...*iti* // *tatra* ... after it.

5.61 dhiyāṃ moho dhīmohaḥ Bṃ : blo la gti mug pa ni gti mug gi blo ste
Tib.[192.1.2]

5.60: mahāmahamahāmoha *iti codd.* : mchod pa chen po gti mug che //
gti mug blo ste gti mug sel zhes pa ste *Tib.*[192.1.1–2] ♦ mchod pa
chen po gti mug che / gti mug blo ste gti mug sel / *NS.Tib.*[Mukherji 21]

The NMAA's analysis of the first three words of NS 31b, *mūḍhadhīmoha-sūdanah*, is somewhat unexpected. It takes *-dhī-* with *-moha-*, rather than with *mūḍha-* to give the karmadhāraya {*mūḍha:dhīmoha-*}. *Tib.*, for the citation of NS 31a in line 60, gives a translation of the whole half verse, following, as elsewhere, an inherited translation (see *NS.Tib.*); and its management of the rest of the NMAA on NS 31ab is thereby confused, by both the inheritance of *gti mug* for both *mūḍha* and *moha* and by the translation's implied construal of *mūḍhadhīmoha-* as {*mūḍhadhī:moha-*}.

Thus, *Tib.* either mistranslates *dhiyām moho dhīmohaḥ* or is corrupt. For *dhīmohaḥ* it has *gti mug gi blo*, which retranslates as *mūḍhadhīḥ*, rather than *dhīmohaḥ*. It looks as if *gti mug gi blo* is the result of influence from the inherited translation, *gti mug blo ste gti mug sel*. (See also note following.)

- 5.62 *mūḍhaś cāsau dhīmohaś ca mūḍhadhīmohaḥ* : *gti mug kyang de yin la blo yang de nyid yin pas gti mug blo'o {mūḍhaś cāsau dhīś ca mūḍhadhīḥ}*
Tib.[192.1.2-3]

Continuing the confusion (see the previous note), *Tib.*, here, gives a *karmadhāraya* analysis of *mūḍhadhī*.

- 5.68 *pūrvavat β* : *pūrvaca*kṣu*tārthaṃ B* : [*mchod pa chen po'i don ni*] *gong ma zhin du bshad do* *Tib.[192.1.5]*

Tib. indicates that B may be correct in having something more than β's *pūrvavat*. A few lines earlier *Tib.* translates *mahāmaheti pūrvavat* (line 60) with the shorter, *chod pa chen po ni gong ma zhin no*. I am unable, however, to suggest an emendation. It is possible that *Tib.* is augmenting the original to clarify the meaning, which in any case is not materially affected here.

- 5.77 *mahākāmo mahāsaukhyo mahāmodo mahāratih // iti // (32cd)*

Hereafter in this chapter the NMAA cites each NS verse in full.

- 5.87 *nimittāgrahād conj.* : *nimittā*grahāt B* : *nimittānuṅgrahāt A* : *nimittānugrahāt β* : *mtshan mar(mar yang Tib. P.) mchog tu mi 'dzin pa'i phyir na*
Tib.[192.2.7]

The sense of the passage and *Tib.* suggest a synonym of *aparigrahaḥ* as an emendation, to parallel the previous line's *saṃskṛtapuṇyasambhāranimittāparigrahāt*. *Tib.* does not support emendation with *aparigrahaḥ* itself: the adverbial particle *chog tu* stands most often for the Skt. verbal prefixes *para-* and *pra-*, and where *pari-* is found above (in the preceding *-nimittāparigrahāt*), the usual

adverbial particle *yongs su* is used. As well as the lack of support from *Tib.*, there is no obvious path by which *-āparigrahāt* could become corrupted to *-ānugrahāt*. Taking *Tib.* into account, one might consider emendation to *-pragrahāt* but neither MW or BHSD record *pragrahaḥ*.

An alternative that provides a suitable meaning is *-nimittāgrahād*. B's *-nimittā*grahāt* provides slight evidence that this may be correct since the reading covers a line break, *nimittā** falling at the end of a line. The illegible syllable could be an end of line mark in which case B would read *-nimittāgrahāt*. However, *Tib.*'s *chog tu* remains to be explained (an interpretive addition on the part of the translator?) as does the extra syllable present in A and β. In the absence of further evidence I have adopted *-āgrahād* as a diagnostic emendation.

- 5.90 vilokyata B : vinyasyata A : vinaśyata β (< >naśyata F) : mi rtag [ces pa'i don to] *Tib.*[192.2.8]

I take *Tib.* to be an abbreviation of *mi rtag pa ces pa'i don to*, “[in other words], it refers to what is impermanent, [that is, the transitory world]”. This could be a rendering of β's *vinaśyate*, “that which perishes”. However, one would expect the usual parasmaipada form *vinaśyati* rather than *vinaśyate*. Though *vinaśyate* is supported by *Tib.* as a further gloss on *rūpyata iti rūpam* (“*rūpam* means that which is represented”), B's *vilokyate* makes better sense. In the present context, that of *mahārūpaḥ* as an attribute of Mañjuśrījñānasattva, *rūpam* must denote ‘what is seen’, the object of the sense of sight rather than matter or the external world.

- 5.102 mahad vipulaṃ ABF : mahāvipulaṃ HE : mahāvipuraṃ C : mahāvipula ζ
 ♦ hāsamaṇḍalaṃ γ *Tib.*[192.3.7] : mahāsamayamaṇḍalaṃ A : mahā-
 maṇḍalaṃ BC : mahāmaṇḍa E : maṇḍalaṃ ζH²

mahad vipulaṃ hāsamaṇḍalaṃ sāraṃ yasya sa mahāvipulamaṇḍalaḥ :
 gang gi bzhad (*em.* : bshad *Tib.*) pa'i yangs pa chen po'i dkyil 'khor
 gyi snying po de ni (*di Tib.D.*) dkyil 'khor chen po yangs pa yin te.
Tib. [192.3.6–7]

The Tibetan provides a possible clue to the understanding of the several difficulties of this passage. The term *bshad pa*, ‘to explain’, makes no sense but it could well be a corruption of *bzhad pa*, ‘laughter’ – I am indebted to Dr P. Harrison for pointing this out – suggesting that γ’s *hāsamaṇḍalaṃ* may be correct. Certainly, the opening identification of the epithet *mahāvipulamaṇḍalaḥ* with Vajrahāsa makes it likely that Vilāsavajra will try to establish, as elsewhere, a connection between the epithet and the name of the corresponding deity. If *hāsamaṇḍalaṃ* is right, the reading *mahāmaṇḍalaṃ* could be a corruption of *hāsamaṇḍalaṃ* (through metathesis of *hā* and *sa* followed by confusion of *ma* and *sa*) rather than vice versa. An alternative route of corruption may be seen in A’s *mahāsamayamaṇḍalaṃ*. Starting as *hāsamaṇḍalaṃ*, a scribal gloss, *maya*, could have been incorporated to give *hāsamayamaṇḍalaṃ* (“a maṇḍala consisting of laughter”). The move to reading this as *mahāsamayamaṇḍalaṃ* (ie. *mahā-samaya-maṇḍalaṃ*) through addition of an extra syllable *ma-* could result from the previous word, *vipulaṃ*, initially being written with a *virāma* after the final *-m*. If this were subsequently lost and an anusvāra placed over *-la*, the text would then have *vipulaṃ mahāsa-*. It may be objected that B, from another branch of the stemma, also witnesses *mahā-* as against *hāsa-* and that the present account – where *hāsa-* is preferred – implies that corruption to *mahā-* occurred independently more than once (ie. in B, A and ε), but perhaps this is possible.

The reading *hāsamaṇḍalaṃ* also makes sense in the context of *trailokyābhāsakaravāt*, the reason given after the gloss and bahuvrīhi analysis, with its allusion to the smile (*smitam*, near in meaning to *hāsaḥ*) of Śākyamuni

(see NS 18) which illuminates the three worlds: *smitam samdarśya lokānām apāyatrayaśodhanam / trailokyābhāsakaraṇam caturmārāśāsanaṃ //*.

Yet the passage on the epithet *mahāvipulamaṇḍalaḥ* as read is, to my mind, not wholly satisfactory. Continuity of thought lapses between the first part, the initial gloss of *maṇḍala* as that which receives adornment, and the concluding combination of *bahuvrīhi* analysis and further gloss. The presence of *sāram* alludes perhaps to a gloss of *maṇḍalam* where *sāram* glosses *maṇḍa-* (see note 170 to the translation for an example of this gloss of *maṇḍalam*). Why Vilāsavajra analyses *maṇḍalam* as he does here rather than with a more metaphysical alternative is unclear. (Could it be because NS 33 deals with appearance.)

Tib.’s *gang gi bzhad pa’i yangs pa chen po’i dkyil ’khor gyi snying po* can be taken as a translation of *mahad vipulam hāsamāṇḍalam sāram yasya* (though the positioning of *bzhad pa* might suggest *hāsamahāvipulamaṇḍalam* as a retranslation). Also, in the phrase *yangs pa chen po’i dkyil ’khor*, *chen po* should probably be taken as qualifying *yangs pa* suggesting an original *mahāvipulam* rather than *mahad vipulam*. Yet the latter, attested by ABF, must be the reading of Ω. Vilāsavajra gives no other indication about how *mahā-* in the NS epithet should be taken; both *mahad vipulam* (“great, extensive maṇḍala”) and *mahāvipulam* (“greatly extensive”) are possible analyses, the former being the *lectio difficilior* given the familiarity of *mahāvipula-* from the NS. Thus in the light of the Skt. MS evidence and Vilāsavajra’s tendency to take *mahā-* in a non-adverbial sense, I have preferred *mahad vipulam*.

Tib.’s *dkyil ’khor chen po yangs pa yin*, the translation of the epithet *mahāvipulamaṇḍalaḥ*, is, as usual, inherited rather than original (see Mukherji 22). It is in itself a little unexpected; surely *dkyil ’khor yangs pa chen po* would be better? As we find it, *vipulamahāmaṇḍalaḥ* (“with an extensive great maṇḍala”) seems a more likely exemplar than *mahāvipulamaṇḍalaḥ*.

5.127 bhāṣaḥ β Tib.([192.5.3] smra ba) : bhāṣa AB

I have accepted β's *vajrabhāṣa* (Diamond Speech) against A and B's *vajrabhāsa* (Diamond Light). It is supported by Tib. (rdo rje smra ba). According to stemmatic analysis, Ω should have *-bhāsa*, but sibilant confusion between *ṣa* and *sa* could have resulted in A and B independently writing *-bhāsa* for *-bhāṣa*. This account is persuasive given that other texts describing the Vajradhātu maṇḍala only have the name *vajrabhāṣa* (STTS 11, 21; NiṣpYĀ 45, 14) yet *vajrabhāsa* makes particularly good sense as the name of the maṇḍala deity who has the Names *mahājyotir mahādyutiḥ* and Vilāsavajra may well have intended it. However, at the end of the commentary on NS 34 Vilāsavajra links the deity with 'understanding the intended meanings of all [speech?]' (...*samastābhisandhyarthaparijñānahetutvāt* 5.134–5). If this is the correct interpretation of the passage, it makes sense as the function of Vajrabhāṣā, but is hard to link with Vajrabhāsa.

5.132 lakṣaṇa B Tib.([192.5.5] mtshan nyid) : lakṣaṇe α ♦ vajradharmādi A Tib. ([192.5.5] rdo rje chos la sogs pa) : dharmādi B : om. β ♦ svabhāvaṃ B : svabhāve A : om. β : pratyavekṣaṇājñānāśritavajradharmādisvabhāvaṃ om. β
 tataś ca vikalpamaṇaḥparāvṛtilakṣaṇapratyavekṣaṇājñānāśritavajra-
 dharmādisvabhāvaṃ : de mams kyang mnam par rtog pa'i yid gnas
 gyur pa'i mtshan nyid so sor kun tu (du Tib.D.) rtog pa'i ye shes la
 brten pa'i rdo rje chos la sogs pa'i rang bzhin te Tib.[192.5.5]

I have accepted *-lakṣaṇa-* against *-lakṣaṇe*. If the latter were correct, ie. *-lakṣaṇe* taken as qualifying *pratyavekṣaṇājñāne*, one would expect a different word order, with *vikalpamaṇaḥparāvṛtilakṣaṇe* immediately preceding *pratyavekṣaṇājñāne* (see the parallels in lines 104–5 and 156–7 of this chapter). Line 81's *-svabhāvādarśa-* provides a parallel to the present case (*cakṣūrūpādivāsanāparāvṛttisvabhāvādarśajñānanīṣpatter*). Also, Tib. supports *-lakṣaṇa-*: it

has no locative particle after *mtshan nyid*, and finishes the passage with a semi-final particle. In any case, the meaning of the passage is unaffected.

In accepting *-svabhāvaṃ* I have followed B and *Tib.* against A. Such a reading follows the structure of parallel sections of the commentary in this chapter: those on NS 33 (lines 104–5), and NS 35 (lines 156–7). It also gives better sense than having a locative (*-svabhāve*) agreeing with the following *pratyavekṣaṇājñāne*. As with the parallel passages, one has to assume here an unstated subject: “that same non-dual mind”. *Tib.* takes the subject to be plural, “those same” (*de rnams kyang*), but this will not do if *-svabhāvaṃ* is the singular adjectival predicate. What *Tib.*’s *de rnams* might refer to is unclear. It cannot be ‘deities’ since the subject is qualified as having the four deities, Vajradharma etc., as its nature.

- 5.152 *māyendrajālaṃ* A : *māyendrajāla* β : *māyendralaṃ* B : mig ’phrul can {*indrajālikam*} *Tib.*[193.1.8]

I have accepted *māyendrajālaṃ* against *Tib.*. A reading of *indrajālaṃ* *nirmāṇasamūhaṃ*, suggested by *Tib.*, has *nirmāṇasamūhaṃ* glossing *indrajālaṃ*. However, given that *māyā* is glossed by *nirmāṇa* in each of the three preceding quarter verses of NS 35 (see lines 143–4, 147, 150) it is more likely that *nirmāṇasamūhaṃ* glosses *māyendrajālaṃ* (i.e. *samūhaṃ* glosses *indrajālaṃ*).

- 5.153 *māyendrajālikah conj.* : *indrajālikah codd.* *Tib.*([193.1.8] mig ’phrul can)

I have emended to *māyendrajālikah* against *codd.* and *Tib.* on the grounds that if *māyendrajālaṃ nirmāṇasamūhaṃ kāyavākcittavajrāṇām ekībhāvaḥ* is correct then the next step in the analysis of *mahāmāyendrajālikah* must be to explain *māyendrajālikah*, not *indrajālikah*. Also, *māyendrajālikah* must be correct if the grammatical analysis that follows takes the whole compound to be a karmadhāraya with *mahā-* as its first element (see note following).

- 5.154 *māyendrajālikaś conj. : indrajālikaḥ codd. Tib.([193.2.1] mig 'phrul can)*
mahāmś cāsau māyendrajālikaś ca mahāmāyendrajālikaḥ conj. : sgyu
'phrul chen po yang de nyid yin la mig 'phrul can yang de nyid yin pas
sgyu 'phrul chen po mig 'phrul can no {mahāmāyaś cāsāv indrajālikaś
ca mahāmāyendrajālikaḥ} Tib.[193.1.8–193.2.1]

I have emended to *māyendrajālikaś* since the context indicates that *mahāmāyendrajālikaḥ* is treated as a karmadhāraya {*mahā:māyendrajālikaḥ*}, *mahā* being analysed in the same way as in the other *pādas* of this stanza. The alternative of taking the compound as *mahāmāyā:indrajālikaḥ* would require substantial emendation of the present passage and would be hard to square with the preceding analysis of the compound where *māyendrajālam* is taken as a unit. The emendation also makes sense in the context of the idea of *māyājāla-abhisambodhikramaḥ*, key to both the NMAA and NS. Such an interpretation would also be consistent with the treatment of the term *māyā* in the rest of the verse: *mahāmāyā* is never taken as a unit. The corruption could be due to an error that has reverberated through the passage. Ω could have taken *indrajālikaḥ* from the preceding (erroneous) *tad vettīti / indrajālikaḥ*, or vice versa.

On the face of it *Tib.* appears to take the compound as a karmadhāraya composed of two bahuvrīhis, *sgyu 'phrul chen po yang de nyid yin la mig 'phrul can yang de nyid yin*, lit. “[He is] a great magician and a conjurer” {*mahāmāya:indrajālikaḥ*}. This analysis also does not give any sense in the context of the previous part of the gloss. *Tib.* could have inherited the initial corruption from the Skt., and translated as well as it could on the assumption that *indrajālikaḥ* was correct, compounding the error by giving *mig 'phrul can* for *māyendrajālam* in line 152 (see note above, 5.152). Such a move would be encouraged by *Tib.*’s use of an inherited translation of NS 35d (*sgyu 'phrul chen po mig 'phrul can* (NS.Tib.[Mukherji 23]), “Possessing the magic of great illusion”) for its citation in the NMAA. This translation, reading the compound

as a bahuvrīhi (*mahāmāyā:indrajālikah*), could have influenced *Tib.* to accord with it, especially if the Skt. were doubtful at any point. Although *Tib.*'s karmadhāraya analysis {*mahāmāya:indrajālikah*} does not yield any sense, it can be seen as an attempt to render something that does not contradict the received Tibetan translation of the lemma *mahāmāyendrajālikah*. (See *Introduction to the Text*, section 5.3, for further discussion of the effects of *Tib.* using an existing translation of the NS for the NS citations, rather than translating afresh in accordance with the NMAA.)

- 5.159 ābhisamrakṣaṇa conj. : ābhisamskarāṇa AH : ābhisamskaraga B : ābhisamkāreṇa ḍF : mngon par srung ba[r byed pa dang] *Tib.*[193.2.3]

The emendation is tentative: neither MW or BHSD record *abhisamrakṣaṇa*. However, *Tib.*'s *srung ba* ('protection') makes good sense as an effect produced by the deity Vajrarakṣa, which makes emendation to some form of the root $\sqrt{kr}$ unpromising (*-ābhisamskāra-* makes no sense). The verbal prefix *abhi-* is preserved by the Tibetan *mngon par*, though *sam-* is not. Since both prefixes are attested by all the MSS and the combination *abhisam-* is commonly found in Buddhist material, I have retained it. An original *rakṣaṇa* could be corrupted to *skarāṇa* through metathesis of *ra* and *kṣa*, followed by scribal alteration of *kṣa* to *ska* to create a recognizable word.

- 5.175 dhairyāvalambanatvāt conj. : dhairyāvalambinatvāt ḍ : dhairyāva(-ava F)-lambīnatvāt γ : vairyālambaratvāt B : brtan par sran thub pa'i phyir ro *Tib.*[193.3.3–4]

The two main options here are *-āvalambanatvāt* and *-ālambanatvāt*. The MSS of β attest *-āvalamb-* whereas B has *-ālamb-*. Errors of omission are on the whole easier to make than those of commission, so *-āvalamb-* is perhaps more likely as the reading of Ω. For the latter part of the word, B's *-lambaratvāt* is almost certainly a corruption of *-lambanatvāt*, *na* and *ra* being

commonly confused in Newarī script. The final element *-natvāt* is also present in the MSS of β; and the variants *-lambinatvāt* and *-lambīnatvāt* could well be corruptions of *-lambanatvāt*. A proposal to emend to *dhairyāvalambitatvāt* (which is sometimes found but is, strictly speaking, ungrammatical – the correct form would be *avalambitadhairyatvāt*) is hard to justify given the variants and would be uncharacteristic of Vilāsavajra’s chaste Sanskrit. In terms of meaning, *-āvalambanatvāt* is preferable to *-ālambanatvāt*. Though almost synonymous, Vilāsavajra is familiar with the latter’s technical meaning in Buddhist contexts of ‘object’ (of sense), which makes it less likely that he would use it in the present context (eg. see 5.210, where great compassion is defined as *anālambanātmikā*). Also, for *ava √lamb* MW records the usage ‘to enter a state or condition (as *māyām*, *mānuṣyatvam*, *dhairyam*. etc.)’.

Tib. does not translate the passage literally (“...since he can endure with firmness...”) though the sense does not contradict a reading of *dhairyāvalambanatvāt*.

5.176 *kuśala corr.* : *kuśale* β *Tib.* ([193.3.4] dge ba la) : *kuśalaṣu dharmeṣu* B

I have followed β since *kuśale*, as well as being supported by *Tib.*, mirrors the following *pāpādaḥ* (or β’s *pāpādy-*) giving a contrast between good and evil. This seems more likely than one between good *dharmas* and evil. The reading of *dharmeṣu* in B could be an incorporated scribal gloss, perhaps with the final ‘a’ of an original *kuśala* retained in *kuśalaṣu*.

5.176 *utsāhaḥ conj.* (*Tib.* [193.3.4] spro ba ste) : *ty utsāhaḥ codd.*

vīryam kuśala utsāhaḥ conj. : brtson ’grus che ba ni dge ba la spro ba ste {mahāvīryam kuśala utsāhaḥ} *Tib.* [193.3.4]

Tib. has no particle corresponding to *ty* of *codd.*. Perhaps it should be emended to *tv* to give *vīryam kuśale tv utsāhaḥ*. However, this would still not make any sense in the context of a definition of the term *vīrya*. The *tv*, if that is

what it was, could have been picked up from the definition of laziness that follows.

Tib.'s *brtson 'grus che ba* {mahāvīryam} is puzzling. It could be an influence of the inherited translation of the NS used for its citations in the NMAA. Hence, for *mahāvīryaparākrama iti* (NMAA 5, 175), *Tib.*[193.3.4] has *brtson 'grus chen po brtul ba yin ni* (= NS.*Tib.*[Mukherji 24]) where *mahā* is taken as qualifying *vīrya* (*brtson 'grus chen po*). On the other hand the Skt. does not, as is usual, give a karmadhāraya analysis (ie. mahāmś cāsau vīryaparākramaś ca mahāvīryaparākramaḥ) for the relation between *mahā* and the rest of the compound. Perhaps then, *Tib.*'s reading and interpretation of the compound is correct and the Skt. should be emended to *mahāvīryam kuśala utsāhaḥ*. Though I do not think it is possible to reach a firm conclusion here, I am inclined to see *che ba* as a corruption on the grounds that to take *mahāvīryaparākramaḥ* as “strength of great energy” is unlikely since it would require emendation of the following passage to *kausīdyam eva na mahāvīryam*. Such an emendation is supported by neither the Skt. nor *Tib.* and would also be inconsistent with Vilāsavajra's interpretation of the other *pādas* of this and previous verses in this chapter.

Against this is the fact that in his commentary on the following verse Vilāsavajra does analyse *mahā* as qualifying *dhyāna* and *prajñā* rather than the final elements of the two compounds of which they are a part. But in these cases the grammatical relationship is clearly spelt out as is, in the instance of *prajñā*, the reason for it.

5.176 pāpādaḥ tūtsāhaḥ B : pāpādy(-ody F)anutsāhasya β

pāpādaḥ tūtsāhaḥ kusīdatvāt kausīdyam eva na vīryam *conj.* : sdig pa la
sogs pa la spro ba ni dam pa'i phyir na le lo nyid de brtson 'grus ma yin
no *Tib.*[193.3.4]

I have preferred *pāpādaṁ tūtsāhaḥ* as against emending β. B's locative *pāpādaṁ* is supported by *Tib.* (sdig pa la sogs pa la), though there is no Tibetan for the Skt. *tu*. It makes good sense without emendation, and contrasts well with the preceding definition of *vīrya*, whereas β's *pāpādyanutsāhasya* does not yield sense in context. If it is emended to *pāpādyutsāhasya*, giving *vīryaṁ kuśala utsāhaḥ / pāpādyutsāhasya kusīdatvāt kausīdyam eva na vīryaṁ*, meaning is obtainable: “**vigour** is effort for the good; since effort for evil etc. is [being] lazy, [that] is just laziness, not **vigour**”. However, β's genitive ending *-utsāhasya* is unnecessary and if the emendation is accepted corruption to *pāpādyanutsāhasya* has to be accounted for (involving the insertion of a syllable *nu* and changing *yu* to *ya*). On the other hand, given that *ū / u* and *t / n* are easily confused in Newarī script, the extra syllable of β is explainable as a corruption of B if *dau* is corrupted to *dya*: (*pāpādaṁtūtsāha-* → *pāpādyanutsāha-*). The genitive ending *-utsāhasya* could represent a later scribal emendation attempting to make sense of the passage.

Codd.'s *kusīdatvāt* is problematic since it appears redundant. However, if it is regarded as corrupt – perhaps a remnant of an incorporated scribal gloss (*kusīdatvaṁ*) of *kausīdyam* – and removed, the *eva* that follows *kausīdyam* becomes stylistically odd. Also, *Tib.*'s *dam pa'i phyir na* shows it read a word in the ablative preceding *kausīdyam*, though *dam pa* (‘excellent’, ‘the good’) must be corrupt. A reason in the ablative case makes good sense in context, though it is possible that *kusīdatvāt* is the remnant of a different reason. Nonetheless, I am not convinced that *kusīdatvāt* is without force here (see the translation). Both B and β attest *kusīdatvāt* so that to emend is to conclude that Ω is corrupt. Since there is no further evidence for an alternative I have followed the Skt..

5.177 mūla B : mūlānām β

tasya parākramah sarvalaukikalokottarakuśalamūlaparipūraṇāt B : de'i
brtul ba ni 'jig rten dang 'jig rten las 'das pa thams cad kyi dge ba'i rtsa
ba las yongs su rdzogs par byed pa'o Tib.[193.3.4–5]

Both readings are possible. I have accepted that of B on the grounds that Vilāsavajra usually gives reasons in the form of one or more compounds rather than a number of separate words. No ambiguity results in preferring *-mūlaparipūraṇāt* that would be better resolved by the alternative, *-mūlānām paripūraṇāt*. Arguably, *Tib.* also favours B since there is no plural or genitive particle for *mūla* (*rtsa ba*). *Tib.*, however, is odd in that the verb *yongs su rdzogs par byed pa* is active and causative, giving a different sense to the Skt.: “As for the strength of that [vigour], it is that which brings (others?) to completion as a result of (*las*) (his own?) roots of merit...”. The past form, *byas pa*, would be more satisfactory, giving “As for the strength of that [vigour], it is that which is brought to completion from...”. (I am indebted to Dr P. Harrison for this suggestion.)

5.184 vyatyayo conj. : vyatyaryo B : vyatyayāsau CγÇ : vyatyasau E : bsnor bar Tib.[193.3.8]

This emendation is tentative. Though the meaning is clear, the synonym *vyatyāso* could serve as an alternative emendation. CγÇ's *-āsau* could be seen as giving some support to *vyatyāso*, though the extra syllable *ya* requires explanation (dittography of *[t]ya?*). However, B's *vyatyaryo* strongly supports *vyatyayo*, requiring only the gemination of a superscript *r* as corruption. *Tib.* (*bsnor*: past tense of *snor pa*, ‘to confound, mix, disturb’) does not help here.

5.205 kṛtī // iti em. : kṛtīti AB : kṛtiḥ(-ti H) β : kṛtiḥ NS.Dav.[52, v.38d] (kṛtī NS.Dav.^{Vira}) : mkhas pa [chen po thabs che ba] zhes pa'o Tib.[193.5.3]
mahopāyo mahākṛtī em. : mkhas pa chen po thabs che ba Tib.[193.5.3]

A number of factors suggest that the reading of the NS citation here should be *kṛtī* ('learned', 'skilful') rather than *kṛtiḥ* ('action', 'activity'). Given that both A & B read *kṛtī*, stemmatic analysis indicates that it must also be the reading of Ω. Added support for *kṛtī* is found in the readings for the two citations of the word in lines 215 and 216 in the commentarial passage that follows (mahākṛtīti Bγ : mahākṛtir iti A : mahākṛti iti δ ◆ mahākṛtī Bγ : mahākṛtiḥ A : mahākṛti δ). (There is a difficulty in accounting for γ having *-kṛtī*. Since both A and δ have a short *i*, so should α. Nepalese scribes commonly confuse *i* and *ī*, so it is possible that both A and δ could miscopy independently.) More importantly, the gloss of *mahāpaṇḍitaḥ* (line 216) indicates that Vilāsavajra read *mahākṛtī*. Also, *Tib.*'s *mkhas pa chen po* ("greatly learned") translates *mahākṛtī*.

It is noteworthy that *Tib.* reverses the order of the epithets in its citation of the verse, as if translating *mahākṛtī mahopāyaḥ*. Despite the reversed order, *Tib.* then follows the Skt., commenting on *thabs che ba* first. This retention of the correct order is uncharacteristic (see *Introduction to the Text.*, section 5). In its citation of the NS, *Tib.* is again surely using a previously existing NS translation – here it follows *NS Tib.*'s *mkhas pa chen po thabs che ba* for NS 38d (see *Mukherji* 25). The Derge and Narthang Kanjur editions read *thabs chen byed pa chen po ste* (*Mukherji* 25, note 1), which must be based on *mahopāyo mahākṛtiḥ*. Perhaps there was some confusion as to the Skt. reading for this *pāda*, with *mahākṛtiḥ* being accepted as the preferred reading by bLo gros brtan pa whose revised edition of the NS was used for the Kanjur editions. This confusion of readings is reflected in NS MSS where both *mahākṛtī* and *mahākṛtiḥ* are recorded (see list of variants above).

5.207 paścān *em.* : paścāj β : paśyāt A : paś*c*āta B ◆ nībantaṃ A : jīb-
antaṃ Bβ

paścān nībantam *em.* : mjug ni nge'i (de'i *Tib.D.*) rkyen dang ldan pa'o *Tib.*[193.5.4]

According to the *stemma codicum* Ω should read *jībantam* since both B & β have it. This (or the palaeographically identical *jīvantam*) makes no sense within the present context, which is concerned with the derivation of *maitrī* from *maitram*. A's *nībantam* (*nīp-antam*) containing the grammatical term *nīp* is more likely to be correct. *Nīp* can stand on its own, meaning either 'the suffix *nīp*' or 'a word ending in *nīp*'. A possible translation would be, "Subsequently, it [that is, *maitram*,] has the suffix *nīp* [added] at the end". I take *nībantam* as a bahuvrīhi qualifying *maitram*.

Tib. is also problematic since *mjug ni*, though supporting some form of the Skt. word *paścāt*, is best translated by, "As for the end part [of the word]...". Also, *de'i* in *Tib.D.* is meaningless. Perhaps it and *Tib.P.*'s *nge'i* are corruptions of an originally transcribed *nīp*. However, *rkyen dang ldan pa* does suggest there is a bahuvrīhi here.

5.226 *punya conj.* : puṇyajñāna α *Tib.*([194.1.6] bsod nams dang ye shes)

See the note following.

5.227 *jñāna E* : puṇyajñāna *cett. Tib.*([194.1.6] bsod nams dang ye shes)

Here, I have preferred the reading of E, and in the preceding instance (see the variants above, on 5.226) I have emended. In both cases the choice is determined on grounds of sense. Separate reasons are supplied for the attribution to Mañjuśrī of the epithets *maharddhikaḥ* and *maheśākhyah* so it is more likely that they would be justified respectively in terms of the attainment of *pūṇyasambhāra* and *jñānasambhāra* rather than in terms of the attainment of both *sambhāras* in either case. The fact that all the available MSS (with the exception of B, which omits this whole passage) as well as *Tib.*, read *puṇyajñānasambhāra* on both occasions may be due to an early scribal error,

punyañānasambhāra being a stock phrase of Mahāyāna Buddhism. MS E's (correct) reading *jñānasambhāra* cannot be taken as the reading of Ω . It could be an independent scribal correction, though as E has *punyañānasambhāro-* in the explanation of the first epithet this is unlikely. It could be due to extraneous contamination or, more likely, to erroneous copying of *punyañānasambhāra*. The attribution of the *sambhāras* in the first instance to Laukikas, Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas and in the second to Tathāgatas also suggests that Vilāsavajra had in mind a division between the two *sambhāras*. *Jñānasambhāra*, being the wisdom characteristic of the Mahāyāna (ie. *dharmanairātmya*), is not attainable by the first group who are, however, able to attain the lower *sambhāra* – that of *punya* – as a result of their ethical behaviour. Being associated with means (*upāya*) rather than wisdom (*prajñā*) *punyasambhāra* is also productive of the magical power of the first epithet (*maharddhikaḥ*).

5.241 vinaya Bγ : vineya Aδ Tib.([194.2.6] gdul ba)

sattvavinayavaśāt Bγ : sems can gdul ba'i phyir Tib.[194.2.6]

Applying stemmatic analysis to the readings, α must have *vineya* since it is attested by Aδ. If α has *vineya*, γ 's *vinaya* must be the result of scribal error (even if it is the correct reading) rather than faithful transmission from Ω . Such error is quite possible: *ne* is often hard to distinguish from *na* in Newarī script and is copied as *na*; misreading *na* as *ne* is less likely. The choice of readings is thus between *vinaya* (B) and *vineya* (α). (If γ 's *vinaya* is accepted as the result of accurate textual transmission the readings call into question the structure of the *stemma codicum*.)

Tib. supports *vineya* (*vinaya* would be 'dul ba). Being an adjective, *vineya* makes no sense here (ie. in *sattvavineyavaśāt*). Tib. gives the meaning “on account of beings that are to be disciplined”, which would require *vineyasattva-vaśāt* (taking *-vaśāt* as ‘on account of’). The sense therefore requires a noun

and dictates that the correct reading, following B, must be *vinaya*, giving “[Mañjuśrī displays ferocity] through the desire for the discipline of living beings”. Corruption to *vineya* may have occurred in part of the transmission before the translation into Tibetan, which managed as best it could with a corrupt exemplar.

If B’s reading is itself an erroneous copy of *vineya*, occurring in the same way but independently of γ’s corruption then Ω is in error and the point of corruption has to be placed further back in the transmission.

5.243 śaṃkara iti conj. : saṅkara iti A : ṇaṅkara B : gaṅkaraḥ F : gahvaraḥ Hḍ :
om. Tib.[194.2.6]

mahābhayo mahābhairavarūpadhārī śaṃkara iti conj. : 'jigs chen ni
'jigs byed chen po'i gzugs 'dzin pas na 'jigs chen no Tib.[194.2.6]

I have retained A’s *iti* though since it is absent in Bβ stemmatic analysis suggests that Ω did not have it. It makes sense as punctuating a name and it is not out of the question that it could have been lost independently in Bβ. Tib., with its redundant repetition of *mahābhayaḥ* ('jigs chen ni ... 'jigs chen no) in place of *śaṃkaraḥ* is surely corrupt.

The ease of corruption from *saṅkara* to Hḍ’s *gahvaraḥ* through confusion of syllables in an unfamiliar word is particularly apparent in the Newarī script of MS F where the syllables *śa* and *ga* are very similar, as are the ligatures *ṇka* and *hva*.

5.249 uttamaḥ B : uttama β : uttamaḥ śreṣṭhaḥ A ♦ tāsām uttamaḥ śreṣṭhaḥ om.
Tib.[194.3.1]

According to the stemma, Ω should have plain *uttamaḥ* unless both B and β have dropped *śreṣṭhaḥ* independently, which is unlikely. The reading of *śreṣṭhaḥ* could be a scribal gloss taken from the passage closely following that comments on NS 41b, the next *pāda* (mahāmantrottamaḥ): *tasyottamaḥ śreṣṭha*

ity *arthaḥ* (see line 252). Some doubt over the reading remains as one would usually expect the NMAA to comment on *uttamaḥ*. The corruption of the following *ata eva* by *ḍ* to *agra eva* may be an attempt to provide a gloss.

5.258 *saṃbhāropāya codd.* : 'khor ba'i gnas thabs dang {saṃsāropāya} *Tib.*
[194.3.5]

atha vā trividhānuttaryeṇa saṃbhāropāyagocarādhārasvabhāvo mahāyā-
nasya saṃgrhīta iti : yang na 'khor ba'i gnas thabs dang spyod yul
dang rten gyi rang bzhin te / bla na med pa nam pa gsum gyis theg pa
chen po bsdus pa yin zhes so / *Tib.*[194.3.5]

Orthographically, *codd.*'s *saṃbhāropāya* and the reading indicated by *Tib.*, *saṃsāropāya*, differ in one syllable only. *Tib.* could have preserved the correct word, the Skt. MSS being corrupt. Alternatively, *codd.* could be correct and *Tib.* could have either misread the Skt. or worked from an already corrupt MS. As each reading gives some sense, the choice of which to accept depends on context for support.

The preceding sentence in the NMAA defined *mahāyāna* in ultimate terms (*paramārthasatyam*) as non-objectifying Awareness (*nirvikalpaṃ jñānam*). The present passage is concerned with the conventional meaning of the word (*saṃvṛtisatyam*). Assuming that *saṃbhāra* is the correct reading, one can take the subject of the sentence to be *saṃbhāropāyagocarādhārasvabhāvaḥ*, a karmadhāraya compound {*saṃbhāropāyagocara:ādhārasvabhāvaḥ*} whose first member is a dvandva {*saṃbhāra;upāya;gocara*}. Here the threefold supremacy of the Mahāyāna is of *saṃbhāra*, *upāya* and *gocara*: “Alternatively, the nature of the **Great Way** as a support can be summarized as a threefold supremacy: of provisions, method, and of scope”. Here, the distinction is between Mahāyāna as non-objectifying Awareness and as a support.

If, on the other hand, the correct reading is *saṃsāra*, the subject of the sentence is the same but it has to be interpreted as a locative tatpuruṣa

{*samsāra*²*upāyagocarādhārasvabhāvaḥ*} whose second element is a karma-dhāraya {*upāyagocarādhāra:svabhāvaḥ*} that in turn contains a dvandva as the first element {*upāya;gocara;ādhāra*}. There could initially have been two words, *samsāra upāyagocarādhārasvabhāvaḥ*, in which case the threefold supremacy is of *upāya*, *gocara* and *ādhāra*: “Alternatively, the nature of the **Great Way** with respect to [the context of] *Samsāra* can be summarized as a threefold supremacy: of method, of scope, and as a support”.

Yet further analyses are possible. For example, for *saṃbhāropāyagocarādhārasvabhāvaḥ* the *trividhānuttarya* could be *saṃbhāropāya*, *gocara*, and *ādhāra*. I have chosen to follow the reading of the Skt. MSS, although without the testimony of another śāstric reference to the Mahāyāna’s ‘threefold supremacy’ it is not possible to settle which of these alternatives is correct.

Further complication ensues with the summary statement at the end of the discussion, *tad etat samāsenā trividhaṃ mahāyānam / hetugocarāsvabhāva-paridīpanārthaṃ veditavyam* (NMAA 5, 265–6), which I take as saying that the word *mahāyāna*, “should be understood as having meanings which explain [its] *hetu*, *gocara*, and *svabhāva*”. However, here *Tib.* reads, *rgyu dang yul dang rten gyi rang bzhin rnams* {*hetugocarādhārasvabhāva*-} (*Tib.*[194.4.1–2]). The position of the plural particle *rnams* indicates that *Tib.* took *hetugocarādhārasvabhāva* as a dvandva {*hetu;gocara;ādhārasvabhāva*} meaning “...should be understood as having meanings which explain [its] *hetu*, *gocara*, and *ādhārasvabhāva*”. If this is correct and not a dittography from *trividhānuttaryeṇa saṃbhāropāyagocarādhārasvabhāvaḥ* then it suggests that *ādhārasvabhāvaḥ* could be a unit in this formula of the ‘threefold supremacy’ of the Mahāyāna. Interpretation of this passage depends on whether it is understood to refer to the *trividhānuttarya* or to the total number of explanations given to the term *mahāyāna*, in other words whether or not its definition as

non-objectifying Awareness is to be included as the first of the *trividham mahāyānam*.

Tib. involves another difficulty in that it may have had the correct Skt. (namely, *hetugocarādhārasvabhāvaparidīpanārthaṃ veditavyam*) but misinterpreted it. An alternative analysis would be to take *svabhāva* as the second part of a karmadhāraya {*hetugocarādhāra:svabhāva*}. Lacking a clear way out of this tangle of problems I have again stayed with the Skt. and assumed that the reference of *trividham mahāyānam* is to the three explanations given, which includes non-objectifying Awareness as the first.

- 5.262 *vidha conj.* (*Tib.*[194.3.7–8] *mam pa [bdun]*) : *vidhena α* : *vidhina B*
atha vā saptavidhamahattvāt conj. : *yang na chen po nam pa bdun gyi*
phyir te Tib.[194.3.7–8]

saptavidhena gives no sense as it has no noun or pronoun, implied or stated, with which to agree. The emendation is diagnostic, though supported by *Tib.*'s *chen po nam pa bdun*.

- 5.266 *hetugocarasvabhāva codd.* : *rgyu dang yul dang rten gyi rang bzhin mams*
{i*hetugocarādhārasvabhāva*} *Tib.*[194.4.1–2]

See the latter part of the note above, on 5.258.

- 5.276 *bhavanti conj.* : *bhūtvā ABγ* : *om. δ* : *bsgyur te Tib.*[194.4.6]

This is a diagnostic emendation to create grammatical sense. Without it there is one sentence starting with *tena ca māṇḍaleya* and ending *āvartayiṣyati* but with two subjects, *māṇḍaleyaḥ* and *kulaputro vā kuladuhitā*. *Tib.*'s *bsgyur* is the perfect and future stem of the verb *sgyur ba*, 'to transform'.

- 5.280 *nāmasaṃgītiṃ nāma cūḍāmaṇiṃ* : *mtshan yang dag par brjod pa mtshan gyi*
gtsug gi nor bu 'di {*nāmasaṃgītiṃ nāmacūḍāmaṇiṃ*} *Tib.*[194.4.8–194.5.1]

This is part of a passage incorporated into the NMAA from the *anuśaṃsā* of the NS. This same passage is also incorporated into the fourth chapter of the

NMAA (see the note above, on 4.4). As then, I have taken *nāma cūdāmanim* as two words rather than one. *Tib.* translates them as one word (mtshan gyi gtsug gi nor bu), although in the previous instance it took them as two. I do not think that there is any contextual difference to warrant taking them as compounded here.

5.287 puruṣa α : puruṣaḥ B ♦ puṃgavaḥ conj. (NMAA 12; NS.Dav.[68, 5]) : puṅgalaḥ ABγE : puṃgalaḥ ζC : [yang dag par 'dzin pa'i skyes bu] gang zag {pudgalaḥ} Tib.[194.5.3]

paramārthanāmasaṃgītisaṃdhāraḥ puruṣapuṃgava(em. : -puṃgala D : puṅgala B) iti pradhāna ity arthaḥ NMAA 12 [D.192r3; B.85r2] : don dam pa'i mtshan yang dag par brjod pa 'di yang dag par 'dzin pa'i skyes bu gang zag de ni gtso bo zhes pa'i don to Tib.[225.4.1]

I have emended to *-puṃgavaḥ*, following *NS.Dav.* and Vilāsavajra's later gloss on this *anuśaṃsā* passage in chapter 12, against *codd.*, which can be taken as reading *pudgala* – *puṅgala* and *puṃgala* being common spellings for *pudgala* in Nepalese MSS (see BDSD s.v. *pudgala*; Regamey, 1954, note 4). The gloss in chapter 12 is clear in showing that Vilāsavajra read *-puṃgavaḥ* and read it in its sense of 'best', 'most eminent'. Emendation to *puruṣapuṃgavaḥ* produces good sense ("best of men", lit. "bull among men") whereas it is hard to see what sense *puruṣapudgalaḥ* could make, *puruṣa* and *pudgala* being more or less synonymous. Corruption from *puṃgavaḥ* to *puṅgalaḥ* or *puṃgalaḥ* is easy. Since *puṅgavaḥ* is an alternative spelling for *puṃgavaḥ* (the *anusvāra* being written with an homorganic nasal), the change involves the misreading of just one syllable (*va* as *la*).

What is puzzling, however, is that *Tib.* for the both the NMAA citation and its gloss in NMAA 12, as well as *NS.Tib.D.N.* (see *Mukherji* 126, 8) read *gang zag* (*pudgalaḥ*). It is especially so given that *puruṣapuṃgavaḥ* was sufficiently common to have its own entry in the *Mahāvvyutpatti* (MVy 7360: *skyes bu skyes*

mchog or *skyes mchog*). Comparison of *Tib.* and *NS.Tib.D.N.* for the wider passage reveals a number of differences showing that *Tib.* has, as elsewhere with *anuśaṃsā* passages, not followed the NS translation of the Kanjur editions but translated afresh or followed another (earlier) translation as is the case for the NS verse citations. If this is so, both *Tib.* and *NS.Tib.D.N.* independently read or thought they read *pudgala*. How likely is it that such an error could occur independently in both MS traditions? Could *pudgala* have somehow been seen as a gloss of *puruṣa*? As I have indicated in the *Introduction to the Text* (section 5) the textual transmission of both *Tib.* and the Tibetan translation of the NS is neither straightforward nor clear. Error could occur at a number of points increasing the chance of independent error. A more satisfactory solution is that *Tib.* is following a pre-existing translation of the *anuśaṃsā* here that contained *gang zag*, and when it was revised to give *NS.Tib.D.N.* the reading *gang zag* was retained.

A few lines before the present passage Vilāsavajra, again citing the *anuśaṃsā*, describes the practitioner – the Bodhisattva – who recites the NS as being either male or female: “a son of [good] family or a daughter of [good] family” (*kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā NMAA 5, 281*). On the face of it this conflicts with the present description of the *sādhaka* in masculine terms as the “best of men” (*puruṣapuṃgavaḥ*). If there is a problem here it is one that Vilāsavajra has inherited from the *anuśaṃsā*, and one that he may well have been unaware of.

5.288 *sarvabuddhaguṇān codd. Tib.* (sangs rgyas thams cad kyi yon tan nams) :
buddhaguṇān NS.Dav. [68, 6]; *NS.Tib.D.N.* ([*Mukherji 128, 9–10*] sangs rgyas
 kyi yon tan nams)

I retain *sarva-*, following *codd.* and *Tib.* against *NS.Dav.* and *NS.Tib.D.N.*. The difference in readings suggests that *Tib.*’s translation of this *anuśaṃsā*

passage was independent of *NS.Tib.D.N.* See also the notes on 5.287 and 5.291.

- 5.290 analpa AB *Tib.* ([194.5.4] mang po) : anatyā β ◆ kalpān conj.
 (*Tib.* [194.5.4] bskal pa) : kalyān *codd.* (kalyāṇ E *NS.Dav.* [68, 7]) ◆
 aparinirvāṇa AB : aparimāṇa β

analpakalpān aparinirvāṇadharmā conj. : analpakalyāṇāparinirvāṇa-
 dharmāḥ *NS.Dav.* : bskal pa mang por yongs su mya ngan las mi 'da'
 ba'i chos su 'gyur la *Tib.* [194.5.4]

Except for the ending *-dharmā* (see the following note, on 5.290), *codd.* might appear to support *NS.Dav.* for this passage. But the sense of such a reading is problematic, especially *analpa* as a qualification of *parinirvāṇa*. *Tib.*'s *bskal pa mang por* {*analpakalpān*} clarifies the Skt.; *kalyān* (*codd.*) should be emended to *kalpān* (the ligatures *lya* and *lpa* are easily confused in Newarī script). There is thus a word break after *-kalpān* and the following compound starts *aparinirvāṇa-*

All the NMAA MSS except one have a dental *n*, supporting *-kalpān*, rather than a retroflex, as in *-kalyāṇa-* (though the common confusion between dental and retroflex nasals in Newarī MSS reduces the weight of this testimony). Also, *NS.Tib.D.N.* agrees with *Tib.* in reading *bskal pa mang por*, providing further evidence that *NS.Dav.* is corrupt (see *Mukherji* 126, 11–12).

- 5.290 dharmā *codd.* (dharma J) : dharmāḥ *NS.Dav.* [68, 7] : [yongs su mya ngan las
 mi 'da' ba'i] chos su 'gyur *Tib.* [194.5.4]

I have retained *-dharmā*, taking it as the nominative singular masculine of the older *-an* stem form *dharmān*. It is the *lectio difficilior*; the reading of *NS.Dav.* could be a result of scribal regularisation. *Tib.*, though it supports the Skt. in terms of sense (“becomes ones who has the mark of not entering final Nirvāṇa”), is of no help in the choice of termination.

- 5.291 *deśako codd. Tib.([194.5.5] [chos] ston par byed la) : deśako 'dhiṣṭhito NS.Dav.[68, 8] NS.Tib.[Mukherji 126, 12–14]*

sarvasattvānām anuttaradharmadeśako daśadiksaddharmadundubhir dharmarāja iti *conj.* : sems can thams cad la bla na med pa'i chos ston par byed la / phyogs bcur dam pa'i chos kyi rnga sgra sgrogs pa'i chos kyi rgyal por 'gyur ro *Tib.([194.5.5] : sarvasattvānām anuttaradharmadeśako 'dhiṣṭhito daśadiksaddharmadundubhir dharmarāja NS.Dav. [68, 7–8] : sems can thams cad kyi bla na med pa'i chos ston pa po dang / phyogs bcur chos kyi rnga bo che lhag par gnas pa'i chos kyi rgyal por 'gyur ro NS.Tib.D.N.[Mukherji 126, 12–14]*

In retaining *-deśako* rather than emending to *-deśako 'dhiṣṭhito*, I follow *codd.* and *Tib.* against *NS.Dav.* and *NS.Tib.D.N.*. As well as the omission of *'dhiṣṭhito* (lhag par gnas pa) by both *codd.* and *Tib.*, comparison of *Tib.* and *NS.Tib.D.N.* reveals other differences (eg. bla na med pa'i chos ston par byed la *Tib.* : bla na med pa'i chos ston pa po dang *NS.Tib.D.N.*) that lend support to the hypothesis that they are either independent translations or that *NS.Tib.D.N.* is a revision of one used by *Tib.*. See the notes above, on 5.287 and 5.288.

- 5.297 *śeṣāṇi nāmamantrākṣarapadāni codd.*

I take *śeṣāṇi* as being used adjectivally here.

APPENDICES

Appendix I: Works and Authors Cited in the Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī

Work / Author	Tantra Class	Folio no. (MS B)
Advayasamatāvijaya	Yogottaratantra (Tōh 452-453)	38v3, 39v6
Abhidharma		5v2, 27v8, 30r7, 44r1, 68r7, 83v6
Abhidharmasūtra		52r5
Amoghapāśatantra	Kriyātantra (Tōh 686)	38r8
Aṣṭasāhasrī [Prajñāpāramitā]		46r3 (Āryāṣṭa-), 67v5
Asādhāraṇaguhyālaṃkārav-yūha-tantra	Yogatantra (Tōh 492?)	39r5-6; see Guhyālaṃkāra.
Āryadeva		33v3, 50v6
Āryamañjuśrītantra	Kriyātantra (Tōh 543)	40v5, 40v6
Kamalācārya		50r4
Krodhavijaya	Kriyātantra (Tōh 604)	37v8, 39r3
Krodhendutilaka		39r4
Guhyakośa		38v8, 39r8
Guhyamañtilaka	Yogatantra (Tōh 493)	39v1
Guhyasamāja		See Samāja.
Guhyālaṃkāra	Yogatantra (Tōh 492?)	39r9; see Asādhāraṇaguhyālaṃkārav-yūhatantra
Guhyendutilaka	Yogottaratantra (Tōh 477)	22v1, 38v2, 38v4
Cakrasaṃvara	(= SBSYDJS? Yoganiruttara-tantra Tōh 366-7)	38r7, 39r2; see Saṃvara, Śaṭprajñānayasamvaratantra.
Candrakīrti		61v9; see Madhyamakāvatāra.
Jambhalastotra of Candragomin		46r9
Jñānapāda		58r9
Tattvasaṃgraha	Yogatantra (Tōh 479)	3v3-7, 34v4, 39v1, 40v2 (Śaṭsāhasrika Tattva-), 69v4
Triśatikā [Prajñāpāramitā]		32r6, 70r9 (Ārya-)
Trailokyavijaya	Yogatantra (Tōh 482)	39v6, 40v4
Dignāga		6r8 [PPA 1] 25v8 [PPA 19]
Dharmakīrti		49v8
[Dhātupāṭha]		9r1 [†] [DhP 1.76] 17v2 [†] [DhP 10.49] 19r3 [DhP 25.16]
Nāgārjuna		26r7, 27r3, 31v1, 31v6 [MMK XXV: 20]; see Mūlamadhyamaka, Ratnāvalī.
Paramādya	Yogatantra (Tōh 487-8)	6r4, 39r8
[Pāṇini]		23v7 [AA 6.3.14]
Bhūtaḍāmaratantra	Kriyātantra (Tōh 747)	38v7
Madhyamakāvatāra of Candra-kīrti		23v5 [I 16] 24r1 [VI 2]
Madhyāntavibhāga		23r6 [V 5] 25v4 [III 15-16ab] 25v9 [III 1-2]

[Madhyāntavibhāgabhāṣya]		25v5 [III 15-16ab] 26r2 [III 1-2] 27r7 [†] [I 15] 27r8 [†] [III 7cd-8a] 28v3 [†] [III 10cd-11ab]
Mahābhāṣya [of Patañjali]		74r5
Mahāvidyottamatantra	Kriyātantra (Tōh 746)	38r5
Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi- tantra	Caryātantra (Tōh 494)	22v3-7 [I], 39v4-5
Mahāsamayatantra	Yoganiruttaratantra (Tōh 390)	38v1, 39v2-3
Māyājālatantra	Yogottaratantra (Tōh 466)	37v9, 39r1, 39v3, 39v4
Mūlamadhyamaka[-kārikā]		28v7 [XXIV 8-9]; see Nāgārjuna.
Ratnāvalī		31v1 [I 28] 32r9 [†] [I 22] 32v2 [I 25]; see Nāgārjuna.
Vajraghanoccaya		38r6
Vajrapānyabhiṣekatantra	Caryātantra (Tōh 494)	38r1, 39v9
Vajrapātālatantra	Caryātantra (Tōh 499)	38v6
Vajrabhairavatantra	Yogottaratantra (Tōh 468, 470)	37v5, 39v7
Vajramandālamkāراتantra	Yogatantra (Tōh 490)	12r5-12v2, 38r4-5, 38v7, 40r3
Vajrasekharatantra	Yogatantra (Tōh 480)	40r5
Vasubandhu		27v8 [AK: III 95-6] 32v5-6 [Triṃś 20] 32v9 [Triṃś 21ab] 33r2 [Triṃś 21cd]; see Madhyāntavibhāgabhāṣya.
Vairocanābhisambodhitatantra	Caryātantra (Tōh 494)	See Mahāvairocanābhisambodhitatantra.
Ṣaṭprajñānayasamvaratantra	(= SBSYDJS? Yoganiruttaratantra, Tōh 366-7)	40v3; see Samvara, Cakrasamvara.
Ṣoḍaśasāhasrikā [Prajñāpāramitā]		38v4
Samvara (= SBSYDJS)	Yoganiruttaratantra (Tōh 366-7)	3r9, 28r1, 37v6 (-tantra), 39r8, 72v5 (-tantra), 75r9 (-tantra), 78r3; see Cakrasamvara, Ṣaṭ- prajñānayasamvaratantra.
Samāja [Guhya-]	Yogottaratantra (Tōh 442)	38r9, 39r8, 55v5 (Mahāśrisamāja), 70r1
Sarvatantrasamuccaya		39r5
Subāhukaratantra	Kriyātantra (Tōh 805)	40r9
Suvisiddhikaratantra	Kriyātantra (Tōh 807)	40v1
Unattributed Citations		
<i>ity āha</i>		11r4-9
<i>tathā cāha</i>		5r2, 5r4 [BuBhūś?], 9v1-9, 10r6, 12v5, 23r1, 33r3
<i>tathā coktam</i>		6v9, 8r7, 27v2, 29r5, 34r1, 36r5, 50r3
<i>tad etad uktam bhavati</i>		24r3
<i>yathā coktam</i>		8r4
<i>yathoktam</i>		8r3
Incorporations		10r8, 31r7

Notes to Preceding Table

- 1. The work or author is given as in the NMAA. Where necessary, corruptions in the reading of MS B have been emended with reference to the other MSS.
- 2. Entries enclosed in square brackets, eg. '[Pāṇini]', indicate unattributed citations. Other material in square brackets is additional and explanatory.
- 3. Versions of titles that differ slightly from that given in the first column are given in parentheses after individual folio references.
- 4. For citations of Tantras, the Tantra class and Tōhoku catalogue number have been given where possible. (The Tantra class is that of the Kanjur classification, 'Yogottara' and 'Yoganiruttara' standing respectively for the Father and Mother divisions of the Anuttara Tantras. (See also Introduction note 11.)
- 5. An obelus following a text reference indicates an incorporated citation.
- 6. The folio reference 39r8 for the *Guhyakośa*, *Paramādya*, *Samvara* and *Samāja* is notional since MS B has a lacuna at the beginning of this line. In MS A these citations are found on fol. 57v1.

Works and Authors cited in NMAA chapters 1–5

Work / Author	Text Reference
Abhidharma	1.183
Tattvasaṃgraha	1.88-9
Dignāga	1.118-9 [PPA 1]
[Dhātupāṭha]	3.14 [†] [DhP 1.76]
	5.100 [†] [DhP 10.49]
	5.169 [DhP 25.16]
Paramādya[tantra]	1.210-11
Vajramaṇḍālaṃkāra[ntra]	4.130
Samvara[tantra]	1.81
ity āha	4.77
tathā cāha	1.158, 1.162, 4.8, 4.42, 4.154
tathā cōktam	1.253, 2.44
yathā cōktam	2.36
yathōktam	2.33
Incorporated	4.48-9

Tantras cited in the NMAA listed according to their Tantra Class.

Kriyātantra	Caryātantra	Yogatantra	Yogottara	Yoga– niruttara	Unidentified
Amoghapāśa	Vajrapāṇy- abhiṣeka	Asādhāraṇaguhy- ālaṃkāravṃyūha	Advayasamatā- vijaya	Mahāsamaya	Krodhendutilaka
Āryamañjuśrī	Vajrapātāla	Guhyamañjilaka	Guhyendutilaka	Samvara	Guhyakośa
Krodhaviṃjaya	Vairocanaḃhi- saṃbodhi	Tattvasaṃgraha	Māyājāla		Vajraghanoccaya
Bhūtaḁāmara		Trailokyaviṃjaya	Vajrabhairava		Sarvatantrasaṃ- uccaya
Mahāvidyottama		Paramādya	[Guhya-]samāja		Cakrasaṃvara
Subāhukara		Vajramaṇḍālaṃ- kāra			Ṣaṭprajñānaya- saṃvara
Susiddhikara		Vajraśekhara			

Citations of the *Samvara[tantra]*.

Four citations attributed to the *Samvara[tantra]* have been identified by Mr K. Tanaka as coming from the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasamvaratantra* (see *Introduction* note 20) as follows.¹

1. B.3r9; Text 1.81:

ata evoktaṃ śrīsamvare / sarvākāśāvākāśe śrīvajrasattvas tathāgata iti //

This is found in the Tibetan translation of SBSYDJS, chapter 1:

nam kha' kun gyi skabs na dpal / rdo rje sems dpa' de bzhin gshegs /

2. B.37v6-7, A.55r4:

tathā coktaṃ śrīsamvaratantra /

atyantaduṣṭaraudreṣu saumyatā nopayujyate /

prajñopāyamayaṃ manyuṃ cakruḥ sarvatathāgatā iti //

(B reads *prajñopāyamayaṃ guhyaṃ cakuḥ ...*)

This is found in SBSYDJS chapter 5:

shin tu gdug par gtum po la / zhi bas phan par mi 'gyur te /

shes rab thabs kyi ngo bo yi / khro bor de bzhin gshegs kun mdzad /

3. A.57v1-2 (lacuna at B.39r8):

mahāsukha iti śrīsamvare / tatra mahāsukha iti yat tathāgatam anāsravaṃ sukhaṃ tat

mahāsukha ity ucyate / tatraivoktaṃ

sukham śam iti vikhyātaṃ sarvabauddhaṃ mahāsukham / iti //

This is found in SBSYDJS chapter 1:

shaṃ zhes bya ba bde bar bshad / sangs rgyas kun gyi bde chen vin /

4. B.78r3:

tathā coktaṃ śrīsamvare / kvacic ca paratīrthyānāṃ saha dharmēṇa nigrāha iti //

This is found in SBSYDJS chapter 4:

la lar pha rol mu stegs rnams / chos dang 'thun par tshar gcod do /

¹I am grateful to Prof. A. Sanderson for passing on these findings of Mr Tanaka, who had examined the citations at his request. Unfortunately Mr Tanaka gave no folio references to the Tibetan translation of the SBSYDJS.

Appendix II: Works Attributed to Vilāsavajra (sGeg pa'i rdo rje)

	Sanskrit Title	Tibetan Title	Author	Translator	No. of Folios (Peking)	Cordier No. (Peking)	Tōhoku Cat. No. (Derge)
1	Mahātilakakrama ¹	Thig le chen po'i rim pa	sGeg pa'i rdo rje	Not given	4	XXI 66	Tōh 1290
2	{Guhyasamājatantranidanagurūpa-deśabhāṣya}	gSang ba 'dus pa'i rgyud kyi gleng gzhi bla ma'i man ngag gi bshad pa	sGeg pa'i rdo rje	Not given	9	XLI 7	Tōh 1910
3	Śrīśahajaguhyasamājasādhana	dPal gsang ba 'dus pa lhan cig skyes pa'i sgrub thabs	rDo rje sgeg pa	Buddhaśrījñāna	1	XLI 10	Tōh 1913
4	Śrīyamāntakamūlamantrārthavajraprabhedā ²	dPal gshin rje gshed po'i rtsa ba'i sngags don rdo rje rab tu 'byed	sGeg pa'i rdo rje	Upāyaśrimitra & Chos kyi bzang po	83	XLIII 90	Tōh 2014
5	Āryanāmasaṃgītiṭikā Nāmamantrārthāvalokini ³	'Phags pa mtshan yang dag par brjod pa'i rgya cher 'grel pa mtshan gsang sngags kyi don du mam par lta ba	sGeg pa'i rdo rje	Smṛtījñānakīrti	104	LVIII 2	Tōh 2533
6	{Sāmānyasamayasaṃgraha}	sPyi'i dam tshig mdor bsdus pa ⁴	sGeg pa'i rdo rje	Not given	5½	LXXII 18	Tōh 3723
7	{Ucchuṣmasādhana} ⁵	'Chol ba'i sgrub thabs	sGeg pa rdo rje	Dānaśīla	1½	LXXII 38	Tōh 3742
8 ⁶	{Śrīguhyagarbhamahāntararāja-ṭīkā} ⁷	rGyud kyi rgyal po chen po dpal gsang ba'i snying po'i 'grel pa	sGeg pa rdo rje	rMa Rin chen mchog ⁸	79	LXXV 3	
9	Cittabindu ⁹	Thugs kyi thigs pa	sGeg pa'i rdo rje ¹⁰	Not given	1	LXXV 8	
10	Cittabindūpadeśa ¹¹	Thugs kyi thigs pa['i man ngag]	Sangs rgyas gsang ba (Buddhaguhya), Vimalamitra, dGeg pa rdo rje	rMa Rin chen mchog	11	LXXV 23	
11	{Kramaṣaṭka}	Rim pa drug pa ¹²	sGeg pa rdo rje	Not given	12	LXXV 26	
12	{Samayacittaprakāśa}	Dam tshig gsal bkra ¹³	sGeg pa rdo rje	Not given	6	LXXV 29	
13	{Māyājālaghudrīstāntasvāraya-krama}	sGyu 'phrul dpe chung rang gnas kyi rim pa ¹⁴	sGeg pa rdo rje	Not given	5	LXXV 33	
14	{Māyāśālasahajajñānālōka}	sGyu 'phrul dra ba lhan cig skyes pa'i ye shes snang ba ¹⁵	rGeg pa rdo rje ¹⁶	Jñānakumāra	2½	LXXVI 9	
15	{Samuddeśa}	rGyun bshags ¹⁷	sGeg rdor	Not given	1	LXXVI 14	
16	Pinḍikramatippaṇī ¹⁸	bsDus pa'i rim pa'i dka' 'grel	sGeg pa rdo rje	dGe bsnen Saudita & bLo ldan shes rab	24	LXXXI 4	Tōh 1836

Appendix II (cont.)

Notes

- ¹This work is placed in the *Hevajratantra* section of the Tanjur. According to Dudjom Rinpoche (1991, 464) it is concerned with the perfection stage of Hevajra. If this work is indeed by Vilāsavajra it raises a doubt over giving him a date of the latter part of the eighth century.
- ²Tōh 2014 gives the Skt. title as *Śrī Yamāntakavajraprabhedanāmāmūlanirārtha*.
- ³The Index volume (*dkar chag*) describes the NMAA as the 'grel pa bar ma, the 'Medium[-sized] Commentary' on the NS. The 'Great Commentary' ('grel chen) is the *Ṭīkā* of Mañjuśrīkīrti (Tōh 2534) and the 'Small Commentary' (*grel chung*) is Mañjuśrīmitra's *Vṛtti* (Tōh 2532).
- ⁴This title is taken from the colphon and *dkar chag*. It is missing from the beginning of the text.
- ⁵The Peking Tanjur gives *Ucuśmā* for the Skt. title; Tōh 3742 has *Ucuṣmasādhana*. This *sādhana* is of the wrathful form of Jambhala. The *dkar chag* gives the full name rMugs 'dzin 'chol ba 'i [Ucchuṣmajambhala].
- ⁶This and the following seven works do not appear to be contained in the Derge Tanjur. With the exception of the last two (nos. 15 and 16) they are concerned with the two Mahāyogatantras, the *Māyājāla* and the *Guhyagarbha*.
- ⁷Cordier notes that a 'mutilated' Skt. title, *Mahārājatantraśrīguhyagarbhanāmātika*, is given in the colophon of the Peking edition. It seems likely that this is a reconstruction from the Tibetan rather than the transcription of an actual Skt. title. On the title *Guhyagarbhatantra* see *Introduction* note 42.
- ⁸The translator is not mentioned in the Peking Tanjur but is stated to be rMa Rin chen mchog in a rNying ma edition (Sanje Dorje (ed.) *Commentaries on the Guhyagarbha Tantra and Other Rare Nyingmapa Texts from the Library of Dudjom Rinpoche*, New Delhi, 1974, 222.5). See also *Introduction* note 43.
- ⁹*Cittabindu* is Cordier's restoration of *Citabindu*. The colophon has sGyu 'phrul thugs kyi thigs pa { *Māyājālacittabindu* } as the title and the *dkar chag* has sGyu 'phrul dra ba thugs kyi thigs pa { *Māyājālacittabindu* }.
- ¹⁰sGeg pa 'i rdo rje is only given as the author in the *dkar chag* volume.
- ¹¹The Sanskrit is restored by Cordier from *Cittabindupatṛeṣa*.
- ¹²The title is taken from the second colophon, the opening title being missing. The colophon and chapter colophons have *dPal gsang ba 'i snying po de kho na nyid nges pa las bsdus pa* { *Śrīguhyagarbhatattvanirṇayasamgraha* }.
- ¹³The title is from the second colophon, the opening title being missing.
- ¹⁴The title is from the colophon, the opening title being missing.
- ¹⁵The title is from the sub-title, the colophon and the *dkar chag*, the opening title being missing.
- ¹⁶The *dkar chag* gives sGeg gtor (= sGeg rdor?) as the name of the author.
- ¹⁷The title is from the sub-title. The *dkar chag* has the title *bShags pa gso bor ston pa rgvün bshags*, retranslated by Cordier as *Mukhyadeśanāśāsanasamuddēṣa*.
- ¹⁸This is Cordier's restoration of *Pinḍikramatṛibadu*, though *dka' 'grel* usually translates *pañjikā* rather than *ṭippaṇī*. Tōh 1836 gives *Samuccayakramapañjikā-tripada* as the Skt. title. This work is placed in the *Guhyasamājatantra* section of the Tanjur in the Derge edition.

Appendix II (cont.)

The preceding table lists works attributed to Vilāsavajra (as sGeg pa'i rdo rje) in the Tibetan Tanjur. They are given in their order of appearance in the Peking edition and, unless otherwise noted, the information is taken from the same edition, as recorded by Cordier (*Catalogue du Fonds Tibetain de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Parts II & III*. 1909, 1915). Where a transcribed Sanskrit title is lacking, Cordier's reconstructions are given in brackets.

Of these works only the NMAA is extant in Sanskrit. There is one further work surviving in Sanskrit and attributed to (a) Vilāsavajra that I am aware of one, the short *Samkṣiptavajravārāhī-sādhana*, which is found in the *Guhyasamayasamgraha*, a collection of 47 works devoted to Vajrayoginī and Vajravārāhi, where it is the 26th text. Whether the author of this and the NMAA are one and the same remains a matter for further investigation (see also *Introduction* note 56). (For a palm-leaf MS of the *Guhyasamayasamgraha* see Winternitz & Keith No. 1455, p.264–5 – the title is given incorrectly as *Sādhanamālā Tantra*. In this MS the *Samkṣiptavajravārāhīsādhana* is one folio in length (fol. 101r1–101v6). See also *Dhīh* I, pp. 7–41, for a summary of the contents of the *Guhyasamayasamgraha*.)

Cordier (XLVI 5) lists one further work attributed to sGeg pa'i rdo rje, the *dNgos po gsal ba grub pa* {*vyaktabhāvasiddhi*}, but though it is itemised in the *dkar chag* volume it does not exist in the Tanjur itself. The *dkar chag* also states that sGeg pa'i rdo rje was the disciple of the authoress of the previous work (XLVI 4), Bhagavatī Lakṣmī (= Lakṣmīmkarā). This places sGeg pa'i rdo rje in a *guruparamparā* given in the *dkar chag* linking the authors of Cordier XLVI 2-8 in such a way that (except for XLVI 8) the author of each work is said to be the disciple of the author of the previous one. The following teacher-pupil lineage results: Anaṅgavajra → Indrabhūti → Lakṣmīmkarā → sGeg pa'i rdo rje → Dārika pa → Sahajayoginī Cintā. Dombiheruka, the author of XLVI 8, is said to be the disciple of sGeg pa'i rdo rje. B. Bhattacharyya uses this lineage as a basis for a chronology of Tantric authors (1928, p. xl ff.; 1932, 62ff.). Attributions of authorship and statements such as these concerning teacher-pupil relationships should be treated with considerable caution if attested in the *dkar chag* alone. They are likely in many cases to be the addition of the compilers of the individual Tanjur edition, perhaps made in order to fill a lacuna in the text itself. If this lineage were accurate it would suggest a date of the ninth century for Vilāsavajra, since Anaṅgavajra, Indrabhūti and Lakṣmīmkarā are more likely to be ninth century than eighth (see *Introduction* note 10).

APPENDIX III: NMAA Colophons

Chapter Colophons

Chapter	Colophon
1	āryanāmasaṃgīṭīkāyāṃ nāmamantrārthāvalokinyāṃ adhyeṣaṇāyā<h> prathamō 'dhikārah
2	āryanāmasaṃgīṭīkāyāṃ nāmamantrārthāvalokinyāṃ prativacanādhikāro dvitīyah
3	°ṣaṭkulāvalokanādhikāras tṛtīyah
4	°māyājālābhisambodhikramasyādhikāraś caturthah
5	°bodhicittavajrasya vajradhātumahāmaṇḍalādhikārah pañcamah
6	°suviśuddhadharmadhātujñāna stutyadhikārah ṣaṣṭhah
7	°ādarśajñānasvabhāva stuter adhikārah saptamah
8	°pratya vekṣaṇājñānamukhena stutyadhikāro 'ṣtamah
9	°samatājñānasvabhāvena stutyadhikāro navamah
10	°kṛtyānuṣṭhānajñānastutyadhikāro daśamah
11	°upasaṃhārastutyadhikāra ekādaśamah parisamāptah
12	°anuśaṃsādhikāro dvādaśamah
13	°prajñācakramantravinyāsādhikāras trayodaśamah
14	°upasaṃhārādhikāraś caturdaśamah samāptah

Final Colophon

The final colophon is preserved only by MS A,¹ which is in poor condition, with damage to the left margin and elsewhere loss of the surface layer of palm leaf. *Tib.* has the final colophon, though in an expanded and slightly reordered form. It is clear that at one point *Tib.* mistranslates the Skt., but it nonetheless enables emendation of the Sanskrit. A transcription of MS A, the text of MS A as emended, and the colophon as found in *Tib.* follow. The translators' colophon in *Tib.* is also included. (Note. An asterisk indicates illegible *akṣaras* resulting from damage to the manuscript. Semi-legible *akṣaras* are enclosed in parentheses. Square brackets indicate text missing as a result of loss of the MS margin.)

granthapramāṇam asyāḥ [](dha)sāhasradvitayam / kṛtir ācāryavilāsavajrasya ratnadvīpa-
nivāsi(naḥ) / śrīmadagra(b)*(bhā)gineyasya pra****śvarūpābhīdhānasya A (114v5-6)

granthapramāṇam asyāḥ sārḍhasāhasradvitayam / kṛtir ācāryavilāsavajrasya ratnadvīpa-
nivāsinah śrīmadagrabodhibhāgineyasya prasiddhaśrīviśvarūpābhīdhānasya *conj.*

'phags pa mtshan yang dag par brjod pa'i rgya cher 'grel pa mtshan gsang sngags kyi don du
mam par lta ba zhes bya ba rgya gar gyi mkhan po sgeg pa'i rdo rje nyi ma can gyi rin po che
gling na bzugs pa dpal ldan byang chub mchog gi skal ba dang ldan pa gang gi mtshan dpal
sna tshogs gzugs can du grags pa des mdzad pa rdzogs so // //

rgya gar gyi mkhan po smṛ ti dznyā na kī rtis bsgyur ste bshad nas gtan la phab pa'o / / phyis
rgya gar gyi mkhan po phag na rdo rje dang / lo tsā ba (lo tsā ba *om. Tib.P.*) klog skya (kya
Tib.P.) shes rab brtsegs kyi bcos nas gtan la phab pa'o / / 'di la gzhung tshad ni shlo ka
nyis stong lnga brgya'o // *Tib.* [226.1.6–226.2.1]

¹Of the remaining manuscripts, BH² have the name of the author and the rest have nothing.

Notes¹

1. The Skt. opens with a statement of the length of the commentary. *Tib.* places this after the translators' colophon. *Tib.*'s *nyis stong lnga brgya* ("2,500") supports emendation of the Skt. to *sārdhasāhasradvitayam*.

2. Emendation of *śrīmadagra(b)*-* to *śrīmadagrabodhi-* is supported by *Tib.*'s *dpal ldan byang chub mchog*. Although *skal ba dang ldan pa* (= *bhāgin*) confirms the semi-legible syllable *bhā*, to give the genitive singular *śrīmadagrabodhibhāgineyasya*, the following *yang gi [mtshan]* suggests that *Tib.* read *-yasya* as a separate word (leaving *dpal ldan byang chub mchog gi skal ba dang ldan pa* as a name).

3. *Tib.*'s *dpal sna tshogs gzugs can* suggests emendation of *pra****śvarūpābhi-* to *pra**śrī-viśvarūpābhi-* or *pra*śrīmadviśvarūpābhi-*. However, *grags pa* suggests that *prasiddha* is likely to have been the first word of the compound (MVy 2622 has *grags pa*, without a prefix of *rab tu*, for *prasiddha*) and therefore I emend to *prasiddhaśrīviśvarūpābhidhānasya*.

4. *Tib.*'s *rin po che gling na bzhugs pa* confirms *ratnadvīpanivāsinaḥ*, but the Skt. has nothing corresponding to the appositional *nyi ma can {sūryavat}*.

5. *Tib.* describes Vilāsavajra as a *paṇḍita* (*mkhan po*); the Skt. has *ācārya*.

The emended Skt. and the parallel section of the Tibetan may be translated as follows:

[Here ends] the work of Ācārya Vilāsavajra, inhabitant of Ratnadvīpa, son of the sister of Śrī Agrabodhi [and] whose name is [also] known as Śrī Viśvarūpa.

[The work] called "An Explanation of the Meaning of the Name-Mantras", a commentary on the *Āryanāmasaṃgīti* – composed by the Indian *paṇḍita* Vilāsavajra, dweller on the jewel island, 'Endowed with sun', *Śrīmadagrabodhibhāgin, whose name is [also] celebrated as Śrī Viśvarūpa – is complete.

¹For discussion of the colophon relative to the life and date of Vilāsavajra, see *Introduction*, p.18ff.. On *Smṛtijñānakīrti* and *kLog skya shes rab brtsegs* see *Introduction to the Text*, section 5.1.

Appendix IV: NS Commentaries Surviving in Sanskrit and in Tibetan Translation.*Commentaries in Tibetan Translation*

The following table lists NS commentaries in the Derge Tanjur. As well as commentaries on the NS as a whole it contains Kālacakrapāda's commentary on the *anuśaṃsā* section and Advayavajra's on the *upasaṃhāra*. The information is taken from the Tōhoku catalogue. (Names in square brackets are my additions.)

Author	Title	No of Folios	Tōh no.
[Advayagupta] gNyis su med pa'i sba pa	Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti vṛtti	20	2537
[Advayavajra] gNyis su med pa' rdo rje	1. Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgītiṭikā sārābhisam-aya nāma 2. Nāmasaṃgītyupasaṃhāravatarka nāma	34 28	2098 2094
Anupamarakṣita	Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti amṛtabindupradīpāloka-vṛtti nāma	27	1396
Avadhūtipa	Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti vṛtti	22	2536
[Kālacakrapāda] Dus zabs pa	Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgītyanuśaṃsāvṛtti	53	1399
[Kumārakīrti] gZhon nu grags pa dGa' rab rdo rje	Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgītyupadeśa vṛtti Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgītyarthāloka kara nāma	26 18	2539 2093
rGyal po Padma dkar po	Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgītiṭikā vimalaprabhā	48	1398
[Candrakīrti] Zla ba grags pa	Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti vṛtti	27	2535
Candragomin	Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti nāma mahāṭikā	27	2090
Dombiheruka	'Phags pa 'jam dpal gyi mtshan yang dag par brjod pa'i 'grel pa	40	2542
[Narendrakīrti] Mi'i dbang po grags pa	Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti vyākhyāna	60	1397
dBu ma la dga' ba	Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti pañjikā	76	2540
[Mañjuśrīkīrti] 'Jam dpal grags pa	Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgītiṭikā	187	2534
[Mañjuśrīmitra] 'Jam dpal bshes gnyen	Nāmasaṃgīti vṛtti	26	2532
Ratnākara Gupta	Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti pañjikā saṃgraha nāma	14	2541
[Raviśrījñāna] Nyi ma'i dpal ye shes	Amṛtakaṇikā nāma āryanāmasaṃgītiṭippanī	60	1395
Vimalamitra	Nāmasaṃgīti vṛtti nāmārthaprakāśakaraṇadīpa nāma	37	2092
[Vilāsavajra] sGeg pa'i rdo rje	Nāmasaṃgītiṭikā nāmamantrārthāvalokini	88	2533
Smṛtijñānakīrti	1. Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti guhyavadvidhi-vṛtti jñānadīpa nāma 2. 'Jam dpal mtshan brjod kyi bzhad 'bum	43 51	2584 2538
Author Unknown	1. Gaganāmalasupariśuddhadharmadhātu-jñānagarbha nāma 2. mTshan yang dag par brjod pa'i 'grel pa tshul gsum gsal ba 3. Śrīmañjuvajrodayamaṇḍalavidhisarvasattvahiṭāvahā nāma	69 19 49	2589 2091 2590

Altogether there are 129 works related to the NS in the Tanjur. They are found in three places, according to the way in which they were understood to interpret the NS.¹ The following table summarises the classification in the Derge edition.

Tanjur Division	No of works	Tōh nos.
Kālacakra Tantra	6	1395–1400
Anuttara Tantra	32	2090–2121
Yoga Tantra	91	2532–2622
Total	129	

Commentaries Surviving in Sanskrit

Apart from Vilāsavajra's NMAA only two other NS commentaries are known to survive in Sanskrit: Raviśrījñāna's *Amṛtakaṇikā* (Tōh 1395) and the *Gūḍhapadā*, by an unknown author. The *Amṛtakaṇikā* comments on the NS from the perspective of the *Kālacakratāntra*. It is unedited and survives in a number of MSS, some palm-leaf (see Tsukamoto, 1989). The *Gūḍhapadā* survives in one palm-leaf MS in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, and does not appear to have been translated into Tibetan (see Appendix VII). A subcommentary to the *Amṛtakaṇikā*, the *Amṛtakaṇikoddyotana* of Vibhūticandra, also survives.²

¹Davidson (1981, 15) points out that the classifications were sometimes rather arbitrary. Candragomin's commentary, in the Anuttara Tantra section of the Derge edition, is placed in the Yoga Tantra section of the Peking. Vimalamitra's commentary is found in the Anuttara division though it has a closer affiliation to the NMAA than, say, works by Advayavajra.

²The title is taken from the title sheet of the NGMPP manuscript, A 117/10. There is another MS in the Asha Saphu Kuthi (Asha archives) in Kathmandu. Here the text is referred to as the *Amṛtakarṇikodyota nāma nibandha* (see Yoshizaki 4259, where the MS is also identified as Takaoka DH 366).

Appendix V: NMAA Chapters: Folio Numbers for the Skt. MSS and Tibetan Xylograph Editions

Ch- apter	Corresponding NS Section	NS Verses Commented on	Manuscripts and Tibetan Xylograph Sigla									
			A	B	C	D	E	F	H	J	Tib.D.	Tib.P.
1.	Adhyeṣaṇā	16 (NS 1-16)	1v1	1v1	1v1	1v1	1v1	1v1	1v1	1v1	27v1	184.4.8
2.	Prativacanam	6 (NS 17-22)	(9r)	7r7	7r4	14v4	6r2	11r4	6v8	12r1	33v4	187.4.8
3.	Ṣaṭkulāvalokanam	2 (NS 23-24)	11r1	8v6	8r9	17v4	7r2	13r9	8r3	14r6	35r2	188.3.1
4.	Māyājālābhisambodhikramah	3 (NS 25-27)	11v3	9r6	8v9	18v5	7r11	14r7	8v3	15r7	35v2	188.4.4
5.	Vajradhātumahāmaṇḍalam	14 (NS 28-41)	(20v)	15r7	14r3	31v4	12r5	24r5	13v8	22r6	41r2	191.2.7
6.	Suvisuddhadharmadhātujñānastutiḥ	25 (NS 42-66)	30v6	22r4	19v3	47v4	18r8	36v1	20r8	32r5	48v3	195.1.2
7.	Ādarśajñānastutiḥ	10 (NS 67-76)	54v6	37v3	33v5	84r3	32r4	62r9	33v2	54v1	65v6	203.1.1
8.	Pratyavekṣaṇājñānastutiḥ	42 (NS 77-118)	60v1	41r7	37r4	93v1	35v4	66v4	37r8	60v1	70r1	204.5.5
9.	Samatājñānastutiḥ	24 (NS 119-142)	82v7	59v4	53r11	135v5	50r9	93v9	53v8	87r2	90r1	213.5.2
10.	Kṛtyānuṣṭhānājñānastutiḥ	15 (NS 143-157)	95v5	69v1	63v8	159r4	58r6	110v9	63r2	101v1	99r5	218.4.6
11.	Pañcatathāgatajñānastutiḥ	5 (NS 158-162)	102v5	76r1	70v5	175r2	64r2	119r6	68v6	111r3	105r6	221.3.8
12.	Anuśamsā		103r1	76r5	70v11	175v1	64r6	119v3	69r1	112r2	105v2	221.4.4
13.	Prajñācakramantravinyāsaḥ		(112)	85r7	80r4	192v3	71v8	133v8	77r2	120v4	114r7	225.4.5
14.	Upasaṃhāraḥ	5 (NS 163-167)	(113)	85v4	80r11	193r5	72r2	134r8	77r7	(121r)	114v4	225.5.2
Total no. of folios			115	86	80	194	72	135	77	121	88	104

Appendix VI: Sakurai’s Edition of Chapters 3 & 4 of the Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī

Sakurai bases his edition of chapters 3 and 4 of the NMAA on five Skt. MSS, including the Cambridge palm-leaf MS (Bendall Add. 1708). He also gives the Tibetan translation, using the Peking and Derge xylograph editions.

MSS used by Sakurai

Manuscript	Siglum	
	Sakurai	The Present Edition
Bendall Add. 1708	C	A
Goshima & Noguchi 58	K	G
NGMPP B 109/13	N	K
Takaoka KA50	T ₁	
Takaoka CH380 (= NGMPP 1057/13)	T ₂	E

Notes

K and N (Sakurai). Both of these are descendents of my MS C. N is an apograph of (my) C; K is an apograph of N (see *Introduction to the Text*, section 4). Neither show evidence of contamination that might preserve good readings. The present edition, therefore, uses neither of these MSS.

T₁. Examination of the variants in Sakurai’s edition shows that T₁ descends from my hyparchetype δ. KNT₁T₂ share errors that are errors of δ in my edition, eg. they read *-pātā* for *-pātī* (4.2) (text refs. to the present edition); *taṃ* for *tac* (4.76); *-osvantaraṃ* for *-ābhyantaraṃ* (4.84) and omit *candramaṇḍalāni* (4.99).

T₁ may be be another apograph of my MS C since it shares errors with KN that in the present edition that are those of (my) C alone, eg. *sarvopramā* for *sarvopamā* (4.141), *mahata* for *mahad* (3.22) (K has *mahāta*). T₁ has errors of its own and does not always have the errors of NK indicating that its line of transmission from my MS C is not part from that of NK. However, it is possible that T₁ descends separately from δ, since Sakurai records that NK but not T₁ read *tātrāḍau* for *tatrāḍau* (4.2) and in my edition *tātrāḍau* is an error found only in C.

Of the five MSS used by Sakurai, therefore, four descend from a single hyparchetype (my δ) and of these four one is an apograph (K, of N). A number of MSS used in the present edition, which are of considerable value in establishing the text of the NMAA – in particular my BFH – were not available to Sakurai. His fifth MS, the Cambridge palm-leaf MS, is a valuable witness though he has a tendency to misread it, often on occasions when it provides the best reading. Some examples and other comments on Sakurai’s edition follow.

Sakurai's Edition of NMAA 3

As well as a number of typological errors the edition of this short chapter contains seven misreadings of the Cambridge MS (Sakurai's C). In six of these cases it has the correct reading and in the seventh (5.2) it would be clearer to adopt C's *anusvāra* rather than a homorganic nasal.

Text references are firstly to Sakurai's edition, by (progressive) page number followed by line number of Skt. text, and secondly, in brackets, to the present edition. The reading of C (my MS A) is given in bold. 'Sak. w.' abbreviates 'Sakurai wrongly reads'.

- 3.3 (3.5) **tad** Sak. w. tan
- 3.4 (3.6) **sambandinī** Sak. w. sambandhanī
- 4.1 (3.9-10) **dhāraṇyātmakaḥ** Sak. w. dhāranātmakaḥ
- 4.8-9 (3.19) **evāgryaṃ** Sak. w. evāgrya
- 5.1-2 (3.21) **dharmarājyābhiṣeka-** Sak. w. dharmarājābhiṣekha-
- 5.2 (3.21) **mahoṣṇīsatvaṃ** Sak. w. mahoṣṇīsatvan
- 5.5 (3.24) **gāthe** Sak. w. gāthā

Chapter 3 also has a crux, which is not identified as such: the reading *lokyadarśane* (Sakurai 4.4) is accepted with no suggestion that it is problematic (see *Text* 3.14 where H² has the correct reading *lokr darśane*).

Sakurai's Edition of NMAA 4

Some misreadings of the Cambridge MS in the edition of this chapter follow (*em. Sak* gives the text as emended by Sakurai). The list is not exhaustive. Of these examples the Cambridge MS has the correct reading in every case except two: **parṣad** (20.5) and the dittography **ṣe** (20.4).

- 16.12 (4.141) **prativedhataḥ** Sak. w. prativodhakaḥ (prativedhakā *em. Sak.*)
- 19.10 (4.181-2) **suviḥhaktāny** Sak. w. bhakṣyāni (suvyavasthitāny *em. Sak.*)
- 19.11 (4.182) **vidhamana** Sak. w. vidāraṇa
- 19.12 (4.183) **uddiyotamānaṃ** Sak. w. udyānaṃ
- 20.1 (4.184) **uddiyotayanto raśmayaś caturbhyo mukhebhyo** Sak. w. udyānāntaraṇ ca tair raśmayo caturmukhebhyo
- 20.2-3 (4.185-186) **ṣaḍbhyo vajramukhebhyah ṣaḍvarṇā viniḥsṛtya** Sak. w. sadbhyo cakrebhyo sadvarṇe vinisṛtya (ṣaḍmukhebhyo vajrebhyo raśmayah ṣaḍvarṇā vinisṛtya *em. Sak.*)
- 20.4 (4.187) **aśeṣeṣānavāśeṣasya** Sak. w. aśeṣānavāśeṣa
- 20.5 (4.188) **parṣad** Sak. w. parṣadam
- 20.5 (4.189) **taddhṛdvajraṃ** Sak. w. taddhṛdvajrāṃ
- 20.8 (4.191) **cintayet** Sak. w. vicintayet
- 20.10 (4.193) **bhagavato** Sak. w. bhagavanto
- 20.10 (4.193) **ālabayann iti** Sak. w. ālabayantīti
- 20.11 (4.194-195) **anuvicintayann** Sak. w. anuvicintayet
- 20.12 (4.195) **bhāvayan** Sak. w. bhāvayet
- 21.1 (4.196) **nirmāṇa** Sak. w. nirvāṇa (nirmāṇa *em. Sak.*)
- 21.2 (4.197) **gaganatalagatāmś** Sak. w. gaganāntaragatāmś
- 21.4 (4.199) **anena** Sak. w. etena

- 14. 4-6. Sakurai punctuates this passage, dealing with the attributes of Mahāvairocana, in accordance with *Tib.*. However, this punctuation is not attested by any of the Skt. MSS (though I am unable to check T₁) and makes little sense of the Sanskrit (see textual note 4.102-5).

Appendix VII: The *Nāmasaṃgīti* Commentary, *Gūḍhapadā*.

The *Nāmasaṃgīti* called *Gūḍhapadā* (GūḍhaP) survives in the original Sanskrit in a single, undated, Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society, London (Hodgson collection, no. 34; see Cowell and Egging, pp. 25–26). The condition of the MS is poor in parts; the script is the hooked form of Newarī, which dates it to between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries (Bendall, 1883, xxi ff.). It does not appear to have been translated into Tibetan.

Its present significance is that it contains a number of passages that correspond to passages in the NMAA. The following table shows passages in chapters 1–5 of the NMAA found the *Gūḍhapadā*:

NMAA	GūḍhaPa
1. 1.12–1.18 (tad yathā → upasaṃhāraś ceti)	2r4–2r7
2. 1.19–1.43 (tatra atha vajradhara → upasaṃhāreṇa stutiḥ)	2r7–3r3
3. 1.44–1.46 (adhyardhaśatenānuśamā- → piṇḍārthaḥ)	3r4–3r5
4. 1.71–1.76 (atheti vajradharam → ānantarye)	5r2–5r5
5. 4.30–4.200 (prathamam tāvad → sūcitah)	15v4–19v1
6. 5.292–299 (asya ca → ity āmnāyah)	38v1–38v4

To comment briefly on the relationship between the two texts:

1. The *Gūḍhapadā* passages are almost certainly incorporations from the NMAA rather than vice versa. The former classifies Tantras into five groups: *vajraṃ pañcajñānātmakam / iha pañcajñānaśabdena kriyācaryāyogayogottarayoganiruttarāś ca tantrāny ucyante* (5r6–7). The NMAA's classification into three groups – Kriyā, Caryā and Yoga (Text 1.3) – is characteristic of an earlier period.

2. Incorporated passages deal with the division of the NS into topics and sections (nos. 1–3 above), and with ritual structure (nos. 5–6 above). The long passage from NMAA 4 (no. 5 above) consists of the basic *sādhana*, from the generation of the five forms of perfect understanding (abhisambodhi) to the end of the first *prajñācakra*; that from NMAA 5 (no. 6 above) is the final passage of the chapter listing the numbers and distribution of Name-mantras. It appears that the *Gūḍhapadā* has adopted Vilāsavajra's ritual structure while giving its own commentary on the verses. The influence of Yoginī Tantras on the *Gūḍhapadā* remains to be investigated.

3. In the third passage incorporated (NMAA 1.44–1.46) the *Gūḍhapadā*'s readings follow those of my hyparchetype β rather than those of A, the Cambridge palm-leaf manuscript.¹ The text of β is corrupt at this point, omitting three words, while A is correct (see Textual note 1.45). The omission is of the sort unlikely to have occurred as an independent error and it would therefore appear that the author of the *Gūḍhapadā* copied the passage from a corrupt manuscript of the NMAA. Assuming the *Gūḍhapadā*'s author to be Indian, this would suggest that the corruption is an early one. The Tibetan translation of the NMAA also follows β , possibly because the corruption was likewise present in *Tib.*'s exemplar.

¹adhyārdha(sārdha *GūḍhaPa*)śatenānuśamsāgrāthena ca bhagavataḥ sarvatathāgatajñānakāyasya mañjuśrījñānasattvasya nāmasaṃgīteḥ piṇḍārthaḥ β , *GūḍhaPa* : sārḍhaśatenānuśamsāgrāthena stutiḥ samāgrā / idaṃ ca bhagavataḥ sarvatathāgatajñānakāyasya mañjuśrījñānasattvasya nāma saṃgīteḥ piṇḍārthaḥ A

Appendix VIII: NS 1–41. Text and Parallel Translation

Section 1

atha vajradharaḥ śrīmān durdāntadamakaḥ paraḥ /
trilokavijayī viro guhyarāḥ kulīśeśvaraḥ //

(1)

vibuddhapuṇḍarikākṣaḥ protphullakamalānanaḥ /
prollālayan vajravaram svakareṇa muhur muhuḥ //

(2)

bhr̥kuṭīṭaraṅgapramukhair anantair vajrapāṇibhiḥ /
durdāntadamakair vīrair vīrabībhatsarūpibhiḥ //

(3)

ullālayadbhiḥ svakaraiḥ prasphuradvajrakotibhiḥ /
prajñopāyamahākaruṇājagadarthakaraiḥ paraiḥ //

(4)

hr̥ṣṭatuṣṭāśayair muditaiḥ krodhavigraharūpibhiḥ /
buddhakṛtyakaraiḥ nāthaiḥ sārddham praṇatavigrahaiḥ //

(5)

praṇamya nātham sambuddham bhagavantam tathā-
gataḥ /

kṛtāñjalipuṭo bhūtvā idam āha sthito 'grataḥ //

(6)

maddhitāya mamārthāya anukampāya me vibho /
māyājālābhisambodher yathā lābhi bhavāmy aham //

(7)

ajñānapaṅkamagnānām kleśavyākulacetasām /
hitāya sarvasattvānām anuttaraphalāptaye //

(8)

prakāśayatu sambuddho bhagavān śāstā jagadguruḥ /
mahāsamayatattvajña indriyāśayavit paraḥ //

(9)

bhagavan jñānakāyasya mahošṇīśasya gīṣpateḥ /
mañjuśrījñānasattvasya jñānamūrteḥ svayambhuvāḥ //

(10)

Then Vajradhara, the glorious, best tamer of those hard to tame, a hero [since he is] the conqueror of the three worlds, king of secrets, lord of the thunderbolt,

With eyes like an opened white lotus, with a face like a full-blown lotus, throwing the best of *vajras* upwards with his hand again and again,

Accompanied by numberless Vajrapāṇis with Bhr̥kuṭīṭaraṅga ('Waves of Frowns') at their head – heroes [since they are] tamers of the hard to tame, possessing hideous forms and [displaying] the heroic [Sentiment],

Throwing [their *vajras*] upwards with their hands, with the tips of their *vajras* flashing, supreme [since they are] agents for the [ultimate] purpose of the worlds through their wisdom, skill-in-means, and great compassion,

With an excited and pleased attitude, joyful, possessing the body-form of Krodhas, protectors, accomplishing the business of the Buddhas, with their bodies bowed [in respect] –

Having bowed to the Lord, the perfectly enlightened one, the Fortunate One, the Tathāgata, [he, ie. Vajradhara,] joined his palms [in respectful salutation] and standing before [Śākyamuni] said the following:

"For my benefit, for my sake, out of favour to me, O lord, so that that I may obtain [the method called] the Awakening according to the *Māyājāla*,

For the benefit of all beings sunk in the mire of ignorance, whose minds are agitated by the defilements, for the sake of obtaining the highest fruit,

May the Fortunate One, the perfectly enlightened one, the teacher, the teacher of the worlds, he who knows the essence of the great pledge[-being], he who knows the disposition of [others'] spiritual capacities, [and] who is supreme, teach.

O Fortunate One, [the *Nāmasaṃgīti*] of the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī, the Knowledge-Body, he who is endowed with a great coronal protuberance, the lord of speech, the Embodiment of Knowledge, the self-existing one,

gambhīrarthām udārāthām mahārthām asamāṃ śivām /
ādimadhyāntakalyāṇīm nāmasaṃgītim uttamām //
(11)

yātītair bhāṣitā buddhair bhāṣiṣyante hy anāgatāḥ /
pratyutpannāś ca sambuddhā yāṃ bhāṣante punaḥ
punaḥ //
(12)

māyājālamahātāntre yā cāsmiṃ sampragīyate /
mahāvajradharair hr̥ṣṭair ameyair mantradhāribhiḥ //
(13)
aham cainām dhārayiṣyāmy ā niryāṇād dṛḍhāśayaḥ /
yathā bhāvamy aham nātha sarvasambuddhaguhyā-
dhr̥k //
(14)

prakāśayiṣye sattvānam yathāśaya viśeṣataḥ /
aśeṣakleśanāśāya aśeṣājñānahānaye //
(15)

evam adhyeṣya guhyendro vajrapāṇis tathāgatam /
kṛtāñjalipuṭo bhūtvā prahvakāyasthito 'grataḥ //
(16)

Section 2

atha śākyamunir bhagavān sambuddho dvipadottamaḥ /
nirṇamayyāyatām sphītām svajihvām svamukhāc
chubhām //
(17)

smitam saṃdarśya lokānām apāyatrayaśodhanam /
trailokyābhāṣakaraṇam caturmārāriśāsanam //
(18)

trilokam āpūrayantyā brāhmyā madhurayā girā /
pratyabhāṣata guhyendram vajrapāṇim mahābalaṃ //
(19)

sādhu vajradharaḥ śrīmān sādhu te vajrapāṇaye /
yat tvam jagaddhitārthāya mahākaruṇayānvitaḥ //
(20)

mahārthām nāmasaṃgītim pavitrām aghanāśanīm /
mañjuśrījñānakāyasya mattaḥ śrotuṃ samudyataḥ //
(21)

tat sādhu deśayāmy eṣa aham te guhyakādhipaḥ /
śṛṇu tvam ekāgramanās tat sādhu bhagavann iti //
(22)

[That] supreme *Nāmasaṃgīti*, in which there is deep meaning, lofty meaning, [and] great meaning, which is without equal, auspicious, [and] beneficial in its beginning, middle and end,

Which was proclaimed by past Buddhas; [and] on account of that, [it is that] which future [Buddhas] will proclaim again, and which the perfect Buddhas of the present proclaim again,

Which is recited in the great Tantra [called] the *Māyājāla* by immeasurable joyful great mantra-bearing Vajradharas,

And I, of firm intention, will preserve that [*Nāmasaṃgīti*] until cessation. So that I may be, O lord, the preserver of the secrets of all the perfectly enlightened ones [may the Fortunate One teach].

I will teach [it] according to the particular dispositions of beings, for the destruction of all the defilements [and] for the abandonment of all ignorance."

Having thus requested the Tathāgata for instruction, Vajrapāṇi, the lord of the Guhya-[ka]s, joined his palms in respectful salutation and stood before [him] with his body bowed [in respect].

Then Śākyamuni, the Fortunate One, the perfectly enlightened one, supreme among the two-footed, extended out of his mouth his long, full, beautiful tongue;

Displayed a smile to living beings purifying the three lower destinies, illuminating the three worlds [and] chastising the enemies, the four Māras,

And replied to Vajrapāṇi, of great strength, lord of the Guhya[ka]s, with a sweet divine voice filling the three worlds:

"Well done! O Vajradhara, glorious one. Good for you, Vajrapāṇi. Since you, who are so compassionate for the sake of the benefit of the world,

Are eager to hear from me the *Nāmasaṃgīti* of the Knowledge-Body Mañjuśrī that is of great meaning, auspicious, [and] destructive of evil,

I will teach you [this] good thing, O lord of the Guhyakas. Listen to it well with a one-pointed mind." "O Fortunate One, [so be it." replied Vajrapāṇi].

Section 3

atha śākyamunir bhagavān sakalam mantrakulam
mahat /

mantravidyādharakulam vyavalokya kulatrayam //
(23)

lokalokottarakulam lokālokakulam mahat /
mahāmudrākulam cāgryam mahošṇīśakulam mahat //
(24)

Section 4

imām ṣaṇmantrarājānasamyuktām advayodayām /
anutpādadharminīm gāthām bhāṣate sma girām pateḥ //
(25)

a ā i ī u ū e ai o au am aḥ sthito hṛdi /
jñānamūrtir aham buddho buddhānām tryadhva-
vartinām //
(26)

om vajratikṣṇa duḥkhaccheda prajñājñānamūrtaye /
jñānakāya vāgiśvara arapacanāya te namaḥ //
(27)

Section 5

tad yathā bhagavān buddhaḥ sambuddho 'kārasam-
bhavaḥ /
akāraḥ sarvavarṇāgrya mahārthaḥ paramākṣaraḥ //
(28)

mahāprāṇo hy anutpādo vāgudāhāravarjitaḥ /
sarvābhilāpahetvāgryaḥ sarvavākṣuprabhāśvaraḥ //
(29)

mahāmahamahārāgaḥ sarvasattvaratimkaraḥ /
mahāmahamahādveśaḥ sarvakleśamahāripuḥ //
(30)

mahāmahamahāmoho mūḍhadhīmoḥasūdanaḥ /
mahāmahamahākrodho mahākrodharipur mahān //
(31)

mahāmahamahālobhaḥ sarvalobhanisūdanaḥ /
mahākāmo mahāsaukhyo mahāmodo mahāratiḥ //
(32)

mahārūpo mahākāyo mahāvarṇo mahāvapuḥ /
mahānāmā mahodāro mahāvīpulaṃmaṇḍalaḥ //
(33)

mahāprajñāyudhadharo mahākleśāṅkuśo 'graṇiḥ /
mahāyaśā mahākīrtir mahājyotir mahādyutiḥ //
(34)

Then Śākyamuni, the Fortunate One, having surveyed the entire great family of mantras – the family of mantra spell-holders, the triple family,

The family of the seen and that which is beyond the seen, the great family of the sight of the worlds, the foremost family of the Great Seal, [and] the great family of the great coronal protuberance,

Spoke this verse of the Lord of Speech, which is endowed with six kingly mantras, in which there is the source of the non-dual, [and] which has the characteristic of non-origination:

“A Ā I Ī U Ū E AI O AU AM AH. I, the Awakened One, the Embodiment of Knowledge, am in the heart of the Buddhas of the three times.

OM – Obeisance to you, *Vajra*-Sharp, Destroyer of Suffering, Embodiment of the Knowledge of Wisdom, Knowledge-Body, Lord of Speech, Arapacana.”

That is to say, [the Knowledge-Being Mañjuśrī is] the Fortunate One, the Awakened One, the Fully Awakened One, born from the letter A. The letter A is the head of all letters, the great good, the supreme syllable.

[He is] the great breath, a non-production. Free from speech utterance. Foremost cause of all expression. Very radiant as all speech.

The great festival of great passion, producer of joy for all beings. The great festival of great hatred, great enemy of all defilements.

The great festival of great delusion, destroyer of stupefied mental delusion. The great festival of great anger, great enemy of great anger.

The great festival of great greed, destroyer of all greed. Great object of desire. Great happiness. Great delight. Great joy.

With great appearance, [and] a distinguished body. Great colour, with great beauty. With a great name, great generous one. With a great extensive maṇḍala.

Great bearer of the weapon of wisdom. [Being] the great goad of the defilements, foremost. Of great fame, of great renown. Possessing great light, of great splendour.

mahāmāyādharo vidvān mahāmāyārthasādhakaḥ /
mahāmāyāratirato mahāmāyendrajālikaḥ //
(35)

mahādānapatiḥ śreṣṭho mahāśīladharo 'graṇīḥ /
mahākṣāntidharo dhīro mahāvīryaparākramaḥ //
(36)

mahādhyānasamādhistho mahāprajñāśarīradhṛk /
mahābalo mahopayaḥ prajñadhijñānasāgaraḥ //
(37)

mahāmaitrīmayo 'meyo mahākāruṇiko 'gradhīḥ /
mahāprājño mahādhīmām mahopayo mahākṛtiḥ //
(38)

mahārddhibalopeto mahāvego mahājayaḥ /
maharddhiko mahesākhyo mahābalaparākramaḥ //
(39)

mahābhavādrisaṃbhattā mahāvajradharo ghaṇaḥ /
mahākṛūro mahārauro mahābhayaḥ bhayaṃkaraḥ //
(40)

mahāvidyottamo nātho mahāmantrottamo guruḥ /
mahāyānanayārūḍho mahāyānanayottamaḥ //
(41)

Great creation-holder, [and so] wise. Great adept by means of the utility of creation. Great one, fond of the pleasure in creation. Great knower of the net of creation.

Great lord of gifts, the best. Great possessor of moral conduct, [and so] foremost. Great bearer of patience, unshakable. Great strength of vigour.

Dweller in concentration in great meditation. Possessor of a body of great wisdom. Great power, great [skill in] means. Resolve, ocean of knowledge.

Great one, made of friendliness, [and so] immeasurable. Of great compassion, supreme wisdom. Great wise one, [and hence] very intelligent. Possessed of great [skill in] means, [and so] very learned.

Great one, endowed with the strength of magical power. Possessed of great impetus, [and thus] with great speed. Possessed of great magical power, named 'Great Lord'. Strong in great powers.

Great shatterer of the mountain of existence. Bearer of the great *vajra*, solid. Great fierce one, greatly ferocious. Creating fear in 'Great Fear'.

Master of the great spells, [and so] protector. Master of the great mantra, [and so] guru. Established on the path of the Great Way. Master of the path of the Great Way.

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